The Patriotism of Protest:

The Reconfiguration of the Citizen-Soldier Ideal During the Vietnam War Era

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Abstract

Throughout the Sixties numerous ordinary Americans 'challenged the integrity and virtue of basic institutions and values that had taken on the cover of American tradition.'[1] While historians have extensively explored the anti-war activism of civilians, minimal attention has been given to the activism of anti-war soldiers. This thesis examines the activism of draft resisters, active-duty soldiers and veterans. Using the lens of the citizen-soldier ideal, it explores this activism's impact on enduring assumptions around patriotism, citizenship, race and manhood. A long-standing tenet of American national identity, this ideal asserts that the highest patriotic duty of a male citizen was his unhesitating service in the armed forces in times of national crisis.

I argue that anti-war soldiering severed the relationship between soldiering and the perceived duties of republican citizenship in American national identity. Where previous generations saw patriotic citizenship and a willingness to serve as inextricably intertwined, the activism of anti-war soldiers fostered an understanding of republican citizenship that existed independent of military service. However, American belonging has been consistently defined by whiteness, thus conceptions of citizenship are inextricably intertwined with notions of gender and race. Accordingly, this study explores the centrality of racial identity to reconsiderations of the citizen-soldier ideal. Broadly, activists argued that the primary duty of citizenship became the defence of the democratic ideals rather than an unquestioned commitment to Administrations' policies. Where white activists argued their primary duty lay in defending the Constitution, activists of colour argued that they had a duty to defend their racial communities. Applying the analytical lenses of race and gender sheds new light on the far-reaching impact of this activism and inserts it into broader narratives of the Sixties and American national identity.

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[1] David Farber, ed., *The Sixties: From Memory to History* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 4.

Table of Contents

Abbreviations

AFQT = Armed Forces Qualifying Test

ASU = American Servicemen's Union

AVF = All-Volunteer Force

AWOL = Absent-Without-Leave (from active-duty military service)

BWE = Black Women Enraged

CADRE = Chicago Area Draft Resisters

CAMP = Chicago Area Military Project

CCCO = Committee for Conscientious Objection

EM = Enlisted Man/Men

GI = officially 'Government Issue' – became a colloquial term for men in the Army

GI-SOC = GI Spring Offensive Committee

MDM = Movement for a Democratic Military

NBAWADU = National Black Anti-war Anti-Draft Union

OTH = other-than-honourable discharge

SDS = Students for a Democratic Society

SNCC = Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

SOS = Summer of Support, also Save Our Soldiers, both were organisations founded by civilians to support GI activism. The Summer of Support was instrumental in founding GI coffeehouses, while Save Our Soldiers remained active as a support group throughout the GI movement.

SSS = Selective Service System

UNC = University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

USC = University of South Carolina

USSF = United States Servicemen's Fund

UTEP = University of Texas at El Paso

VOLAR = Project Volunteer Army

VVAW = Vietnam Veterans Against the War

WAC = Women's Army Corps – also a colloquial for the women themselves

YSA = Young Socialist Alliance

Figures List

Introduction

One of the most recognisable symbols of American patriotism is the image of the American soldier. Indeed, for much of American history it was expected that American men would serve their country. In 1813, then former President Thomas Jefferson wrote, 'every citizen should be a soldier. This was the case with the Greeks and the Romans, and must be that of every free State.'[1] Over 100 years later, World War II hero George S. Patton echoed Jefferson's sentiments, writing, 'the soldier is also a citizen. In fact, the highest obligation and privilege of citizenship is that of bearing arms for one's country. Hence it is a proud privilege to be a soldier – a good soldier. Anyone, in any walk of life, who is content with mediocrity is untrue to himself and to an American tradition.'[2] As a nation founded by patriotic citizens temporarily taking up arms against the British in defence of their rights, the citizen-soldier has held significant rhetorical importance throughout American history. Both of my grandfathers were motivated to enlist, consciously or unconsciously, by the image of the honourable citizen protecting a strong democratic tradition, serving in World War II and the Korean War respectively. This patriotic citizen-soldier was seen as an essential bulwark against tyranny and thus became firmly rooted in the identity of a young American nation wary of an overly powerful executive. Through subsequent generations, the ideal has played a central rhetorical role in the American psyche for much of its history.

However, 'the Sixties' prompted significant change on every level of the American experience.[3] As historian David Farber notes, the Sixties 'challenged the integrity and virtue of basic institutions and values that had taken on the cover of American tradition.'[4] The rhetorical usefulness of the citizen-soldier dramatically changed between World War II and the end of the Vietnam War. When the attack on

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[1] Thomas Jefferson to James Monroe, 19 June 1813, Jefferson Papers, National Archives, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-06-02-0188 , (accessed 26 January 2016)

[2] George Smith Patton, Jr., *War As I Knew It* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1995), 335.

[3] In using 'the Sixties', I am drawing on literature which argues for a long 1960s in which the themes of the decade stretch beyond the artificially constructed decade of 1960-1969. See for example, Frederick Jameson, "Periodizing the 60s," *Social Text*, no. 9/10 (Spring/Summer 1984): 178-209 or Simon Hall, "Framing the American 1960s: A Historiographical Review," *European Journal of American Culture* 31, no.1 (2012): 5-23.

[4] David Farber, ed., *The Sixties: From Memory to History* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 4.

Pearl Harbor launched the United States into the Second World War, the relationship between citizenship, duty, manhood and soldiering was widely accepted. The strength of these assumptions endured through the early years of the Cold War. Robert Self notes, 'Cold War militarism valorized the dutiful manliness of the warrior and defined the American military as an international instrument of liberty…[and] few doubted in mid-1960s America that military service was a sure path to manhood and a claim on meaningful citizenship.'[5]

As the Vietnam War progressed, however, the assumed relationship between patriotic citizenship, duty and military service faltered. Whereas both my grandfathers enlisted in their wars out of a sense of duty and to fulfil the expectations of their communities and families, my father more warily accepted his draft lottery number in 1973. Notably, he recalled that all his physically-able male relatives had served and he deeply admired their efforts. However, the realities of the Vietnam War forced him to question if fighting was the best way to serve his country. Instead, he was committed to pursuing a path of resistance, if called to serve, to protest an unjust, undemocratic war.[6] While his lottery number was not called, the decision to serve or resist was central to a young man's experience during this period as increasing numbers questioned if a democratic government could compel young men to sacrifice their lives for a cause which the individual might not support. These questions would have been seen by many as unfathomable only a couple of decades prior – as my maternal grandfather once told me, you served when called because it's what young men were supposed to do.[7] However, by the end of the Vietnam War, the military had abandoned a draft system, ostensibly based on a universal sharing of the burden of military service, and embraced an all-volunteer model of military service. Accordingly, military service was no longer discussed as a national obligation but as an economic opportunity. With the conclusion of the draft, the centrality of soldiering to patriotic citizenship waned.

While the rhetoric surrounding the citizen-soldier had never been sufficient on its own to raise an American army, its rhetorical importance has persisted for most of the nation's history. However, the Vietnam War era became a moment where this rhetoric no longer provided a meaningful way to understand the nature of republican

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[5] Robert Self, *All in the Family: The Realignment of American Democracy Since the 1960s* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2012), 60.
[6] Kent Mottle, conversations with author (2001, 2018)
[7] John Russell Haley, conversation with author (2000)

citizenship. Indeed, present-day policymakers consistently indicate that a return to a system of conscription is unfathomable. My brother, a young man who would be of draft age, had never even considered the relationship between his sense of patriotism and soldiering. Military service became only tangentially relevant in his life with the compulsory Selective Service registration that accompanies university education loans. Many young men and women of his generation are able to conceptualise a patriotism and dutiful citizenship that exists completely independently of soldiering.

Clearly, something significant changed during the Vietnam War era that shifted military service from an expectation of American men to an employment option selected by only some. As my family history suggests, my male relatives have been influenced by this changing narrative of citizenship, manhood and soldiering for generations. As they have related to it in different ways and through their experiences, I too have been influenced by this narrative. Indeed, the differing experiences of my father and maternal grandfather was foundational to my growing interest in this subject. Sitting in my grandfather's basement looking through old photos, I was struck by photos from his service in Korea – which he'd never mentioned. As one of the gentlest, kindest people I have ever met, even as a young teenager I wondered what compelled him to participate in war. A year later I had my first exposure to the history of the Vietnam War in school. My teacher emphasised the vital importance of personal narratives in broadening our understanding of the war beyond the facts he presented us in class. Speaking with my father yielded a very different narrative of war, citizenship and manhood.

These personal experiences mean that I am simultaneously exploring a changing national narrative of war, manhood and citizenship while also seeking to more fully understand aspects of my family history and my relationship to broader conversations around national identity and gender. It also leads me to place significant importance on individuals participating in these conversations and emphasise the efforts of 'ordinary' people. Consciously or unconsciously, these individuals engaged in a social performance of their various identities, particularly those as a citizen, and that performance reflects their racial and gender identities. Consequently, I draw on a broader literature which explores and restores ideas of subjectivity to theories of masculinity and the centrality of human relationships to practiced assertions of

masculinity and national identity.[8] This literature problematizes male identity conceptualised 'primarily in terms of ideological codes, which are studied through representations such as political tracts, enlightenment philosophy, art, conduct books, poetry, religious discourse, and propaganda', or external societal influences. As Michael Roper argues, 'such an emphasis leaves open, and untheorized, the question of what the relationship of the codes of masculinity is to actual men, to existential matters, to persons and to their psychic make-up.' In other words, we need to more clearly account for 'what these forms "feel like" from the inside, as "private" imaginings, to those who invest in and inhabit them.'[9] As a similarly performative identity, it follows that the same themes are applicable to conceptions of republican citizenship.

Thus this study will foreground the experiences and rhetoric of grassroots activists to more fully grasp how individuals conceptualised their sense of citizenship, duty and manhood. Simultaneously influenced by external cultural structures and making a deeply personal decision, their resistance provides a unique avenue to explore the dramatic changes during the Vietnam War era on political, social and individual levels. The soldier-hero, according to Graham Dawson, 'has proved to be one of the most durable and powerful forms of idealized masculinity in Western cultural traditions since the time of the Ancient Greeks…[the stories of military heroes] became myths of nationhood itself, providing a cultural focus around which the national community could cohere.'[10] Following the US military's adoption an all-volunteer force in 1973, it is clear that a significant shift in popular and individual conceptions of citizenship, manhood and military service occurred during and after the Vietnam War as soldiering moved from obligation to career path.

What about the Vietnam War prompted this shift? How did draft resisters, active-duty soldiers and Vietnam veterans themselves conceptualise the changing relationship between their Americanness and their role as a soldier? How did their resistance lead to the demise of the rhetorical usefulness of the long dominant citizen-soldier ideal? This thesis will explore the activism of anti-war soldiers during the

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[8] Michael Roper, "Slipping Out of View: Subjectivity and Emotion in Gender," *History Workshop Journal* 59, no. 1 (2005) and Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 1994), especially the Introduction and Chapters 9 and 10.

[9] Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 1994), 233.

[10] Ibid., 1.

Vietnam War who re-examined the nature of their republican citizenship and its relationship to their racial identity, their masculinity and military service. Using the analytic lenses of race and gender, it will assert that this anti-war activism raised profound questions about the relationship between citizenship and soldiering that exposed existing contradictions within American national mythology.

While the war began in a nation that still viewed military service as a duty of its male citizens, it concluded with a national understanding of citizenship that no longer relied on this this expectation. In doing so, long-standing relationships between citizenship, patriotism, military service and masculinity were reconfigured or cast-off entirely. As the individuals to which the ideal referred, the activism of anti-war soldiers played a central role in this shift. By exploring the untethering of this ideal during the Vietnam War era, this study simultaneously draws attention to the schisms and continuities of the nature of American identity and explores a moment where the very nature of republican citizenship was questioned. This exploration of American identity creates a more comprehensive understanding of the implications of the activism of the Sixties and contributes to current debates on immigration, race relations and the global responsibilities and engagement of individual citizens.

The US is far from unique in its rhetorical embrace of the citizen-soldier ideal; this relationship is widely recognised in the foundations of many democracies.[11] However, it provides a particularly useful rhetorical framework for analysis by embodying the contestations and contradictions inherent to American national identity that anti-war soldiers, and activists more broadly, challenged during the Vietnam War era. As R. Snyder notes, 'because the citizen-soldier addresses the tension between civic and martial imperative, remembering this tradition should add a new dimension to current debates.'[12] In an era where the definition of what it meant to be American was being re-evaluated, the ideal constitutes a vital lens through which to examine dramatic and profound shifts in the relationships between citizenship, patriotism, manhood. As the basis of the citizen-soldier ideal, these connections shape scholarly debate surrounding the relationship between the military and democratic civic

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[11] R. Claire Snyder, "The Citizen-Soldier Tradition and Gender Integration of the US Military," *Armed Forces & Society* 29, no. 2 (Winter 2003):186; Ronald R. Krebs, "The Citizen-Soldier Tradition in the United States: Has Its Demise Been Greatly Exaggerated?" *Armed Forces & Society* 36, no.1 (October 2009): 156; Eliot A. Cohen, *Citizens and Soldiers: The Dilemmas of Military Service* (London: Cornell University Press, 1985), 117.
[12] Snyder, "The Citizen-Soldier Tradition," 188.

society.[13] As Beth Bailey argues, 'it was around the issue of army service that Americans struggled over some of the most important questions of the [Sixties]: over who "belongs" in America and on what terms, over the meaning of citizenship and the rights and obligations it carries, over whether equality or liberty is the more central of American values, and over what role the military should play in the United States.'[14] Through this lens, this study will explore how this activism altered the rhetorical relationship between citizenship and military service and fostered new performances of republican citizenship, manhood and patriotic duty that existed independently of military service.

While opposition to military efforts and peace activism by veterans is not a new phenomenon in American history, the Vietnam War era witnessed unprecedented dissent by those charged with fighting the same war they were rejecting. Indeed, it is the first instance in American history in which a movement of anti-war soldiers protested *en masse* against the very war they were currently fighting. According to a 1971 Pentagon commissioned study, more than half of all soldiers engaged some form of resistance during their service.[15] Additionally, the very visible protests of Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) made an indelible mark on American memory. Through their activism, these military men challenged national ideas about the role of the soldier, the duties of citizenship, the manifestation of his masculinity and his patriotic duty.

The centrality of the citizen-soldier to anti-war soldiering has been previously highlighted by historians. In his 1997 book *Winter Soldiers: An Oral History of the Vietnam Veterans against the War*, Richard Stacewicz notes that veterans' concept of the citizen-soldier is important to any consideration of veteran activism. He suggests that these veterans saw themselves as citizen-soldiers when they went to Vietnam and similarly saw their protest 'as part of the duty of citizen-soldiers and even, perhaps, as

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[13] See for example, Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1964); Suzanne C. Nielsen and Don M. Snider, eds., *American Civil-Military Relations: The Soldier and the State in a New Era* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); John Hopton, "The State and Military Masculinity," in *Military Masculinities: Identity and the State,* ed. Paul Higate (London: Praeger, 2003), 111-123; Elliot Abrams and Andrew Bacevich, "A Symposium on Citizenship and Military Service," *Parameters* 31 (Summer 2001):18-22; James Burk, "Theories of Democratic Civil-Military Traditions," *Armed Forces & Society* 29, no.1 (2002): 7-29; Matthew J. Morgan, "The Reconstruction of Culture, Citizenship, and Military Service," *Armed Forces & Society* 2 (Spring 2003): 373-391.
[14] Beth Bailey, *America's Army: Making the All-Volunteer Force* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), xi.
[15] James Lewes, *Protest and Survive: Underground GI Newspapers During the Vietnam War* (London: Praeger, 2003), 4.

"above and beyond the call of duty."'[16] Throughout his work, Stacewicz emphasises the ways in which the Vietnam War challenged participants' understandings of republican citizenship, patriotism and their Americanness through interviews with 30 VVAW members. Like Stacewicz, I use these and other oral histories to directly access the voice of activists.

While *Winter Soldiers* provides compelling insights into what motivated Vietnam veterans to join VVAW, this study moves beyond the tendency of scholarship to focus on VVAW in analyses of anti-war soldiering, looking at moments of activism amongst active-duty GIs, draft resisters, and veterans from other organisations, and civilian support for this activism. Additionally, while Stacewicz's oral histories were collected from mostly white, working class men, this study explores this activism from organisational and individual perspectives and amongst variety of identities, specifically considering race and gender. Engaging with both oral histories and the written ephemera of activists and organisations brings less-often heard voices into analyses of patriotism, soldiering and the Vietnam War. Using the words and voices of the activists themselves, this study explores themes highlighted by Stacewicz in the context of racial identity and changing understandings of the relationship between manhood and military service.

Richard Moser has most directly related the activism of GIs and veterans to the citizen-soldier. In his 1996 book, *The New Winter Soldiers*, Moser uses the citizen-soldier ideal to analyse the activism of both GIs and VVAW. Notably, while Moser expands his analysis to dissenting GIs, his discussion of veterans' activism continues the scholarly tendency to place VVAW at the centre of examinations of anti-war soldiering. Like Stacewicz, Moser contends that relationship between citizenship and soldiering was 'fundamentally altered' by this activism.[17] However, for Moser this fundamental change transformed the American soldier tradition from one that emphasised, 'paranoia, hate and the glorification of weapons and war' to one that emphasised 'citizen activism for social justice and peace.' Put another way, Moser argues that, 'combat in Vietnam destroyed any recognizable or compelling image of warrior heroism and so demanded a revolution of values. The struggle for peace

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[16] Richard Stacewicz, *Winter Soldiers: An Oral History of Vietnam Veterans Against the War* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996) 4-5.
[17] Richard Moser, *The New Winter Soldiers: GI and Veteran Dissent During the Vietnam Era* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1996), 7.

became the "moral equivalent of war."[18] While my research similarly concludes that anti-war soldiering prompted profound changes in the American understanding of the relationship between citizenship and soldiering, it differs from Moser's conclusions on the locus of change. Whereas Moser contends that anti-war soldiering transformed the role of the soldier, this study argues that the most significant transformation occurred in the role of the citizen. Specifically, this study asserts that the most momentous change resulting from this activism was the severing of national assumptions that male republican citizenship is intimately connected to military service. Undoubtedly, the heroism of the soldier remains a significant patriotic symbol in American culture. What has changed, however, is the broad assumption that it is the duty of patriotic men to serve their nation in the Armed Forces.

While both Moser and Stacewicz include activists of colour and acknowledge the racial tensions that permeate the war in their studies, they do not specifically use race or gender as analytic lenses. Both acknowledge the significance of race, and to some extent gender, but do not meaningfully engage with the relationship between the activism they examine and shifting societal understandings of race, gender and citizenship. As will be discussed, the differing experiences of the rights and privileges of citizenship created significantly different start and end points for this broader shift. Accordingly, this study draws on theories around constructions of both race and gender to further illuminate the significant changes around the utility of the citizen-soldier ideal. By explicitly foregrounding the complicated interplay of racial and gender identity with these performances of social identity, this research endeavours to paint a much fuller picture of the sweeping changes the Vietnam War era brought to American society.

The ideal of the citizen-soldier encapsulates the intricate web of continuities, inequities and contradictions that would be challenged during the Vietnam War era. While the ideal developed situationally within the American context, its basic premises remained. Renaissance, Enlightenment and American philosophers alike posited the citizen-soldier as a practicable role that citizens in a republic could, should, and must undertake to keep the state healthy. Viewing military service as an extension of one's citizenship has important implications for its relationship with soldiering.[19] First and foremost, as the name of suggests, the temporary role as a

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[18] Ibid., 7.
[19] Eliot Cohen, "Twilight of the Citizen-Soldier," *Parameters* 31, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 23.

soldier is subservient to the character of the citizen. As Eliot Cohen explains, 'the true citizen-soldier's identity is fundamentally civilian. However much he may yield to...[or] even come to enjoy [military life]…he is always, in the core of his being a member of civil society.'[20] By putting his civilian identity at the forefront, the citizen-soldier becomes a 'brake on tyranny' and a preserver of the peace.[21] As citizen-soldiers remained principally focussed on returning to their communities and their private lives, they served as soldiers only to preserve their own independence and the larger public good. In turn, these citizens-turned-soldiers desired a swift return to their civilian lives, and would not seek war unless circumstances are appropriately dire and the danger is immediate. They were also unlikely to challenge the state that protects their rights and thus would not readily give in to an attempted takeover.[22]

In Renaissance and Enlightenment philosophy, the citizen-soldier is set as a counterpoint to the employee-, or occupational-soldier.[23] While the former serves only when his nation requires his service, the employee-soldier possesses 'flexible' political allegiances, whose[sic] fighting skills can be bought.' Reflecting a long history of distrust of professional military service, the employee-soldier could not be trusted to protect a democracy.[24] Moreover, as the professional-soldier relied on war to earn his living, he would be less likely to encourage an enduring peace. Importantly, this understanding of the citizen-soldier is relevant across a variety of state and historical contexts.[25]

The citizen-soldier also provided an essential bulwark against the decline of republican societies. As James Burke notes, the decline of Rome 'defined the challenge facing those in modern times who would establish or maintain modern democratic republics: it was to preserve the citizens' opportunity and enthusiasm for public service, to include their willingness and ability to soldier well enough to protect

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[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Cohen, *Citizens and Soldiers*, 123-124, 136; R. Claire Snyder, *Citizen-Soldiers and Manly Warriors: Military Service and Gender in the Civic Republican Tradition* (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999), 1, 21.

[23] Cohen, "Twilight of the Citizen-Soldier," 23; Krebs, "The Citizen-Soldier Tradition," in the United States: Has Its Demise Been Greatly Exaggerated?," 154, 162.

[24] Krebs, "The Citizen-Soldier Tradition," 162; Snyder, *Citizen-Soldiers and Manly Warriors*, 21.

[25] See for example, Helen B. McCartney, *Citizen-Soldiers: The Liverpool Territorials in the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Robert Nye, "Western Masculinities in War and Peace," *The American Historical Review* 112, no. 2 (April 2007): pp. 417-438; Stefan Dudnik, Karen Hagemann and John Tosh, eds., *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004)

the community from defeat in war.'[26] The writings of Niccolò Machiavelli and Jean-Jacques Rousseau are foundational in the establishment of the citizen-warrior as essential to the endurance of a republic and their writings place soldiering as foundational to healthy republics. Greece and Rome, philosophers believed, declined as their citizens rejected their responsibility to serve, instead embracing the decadence and lavishness of their imperial success. Thus, Machiavelli and Rousseau argued that an increasingly decadent society reflective of an increasingly inactive citizenry would be more likely to forgo fulfilling this duty of citizenship.[27]

These theories were central to American conceptions of US nationhood throughout its history and were compounded by fears of a powerful, centralised military.[28] In a 1775 letter, then General George Washington wrote, 'when we assumed the Soldier, we did not lay aside the Citizen; and we shall most sincerely rejoice with you in that happy hour when the establishment of American Liberty…shall enable us to return to our Private Stations in the bosom of a free, peaceful and happy Country.'[29] He wrote this letter in response to the New York Legislature's desire that when the war ended, Washington would 'cheerfully resign the important Deposit committed unto Your Hands, and reassume the Character of our worthiest Citizen.'[30] Washington's comments further reveal the ways in which the citizen-soldier alleviated fears of a too-powerful central government supported by standing armies – in being first and foremost a citizen, the citizen-soldier would defend the nation, but not support those seeking individual power.

Despite the enduring wariness of the professional soldier throughout American history, it is by this model that the American military now operates. Thus, while this study explores the activism of draft resisters, active-duty soldiers and Vietnam veterans, it also contributes to a larger literature that explores the ways in which the Sixties redefined the nature of American national identity.

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[26] James Burk, "The Citizen-Soldier and Democratic Societies: A Comparative Analysis of America's Revolutionary and Civil Wars," *Citizenship Studies* 4, no. 2 (2000): 152.

[27] Robert E. Shalhope, 'The Armed Citizen in the Early Republic', *Law and Contemporary Problems* 49(1) (Winter 1986), 127; Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Government of Poland*, trans., Willmoore Kendall (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 1985), 81.

[28] Shalhope, "The Armed Citizen in the Early Republic," 127; Snyder, *Citizen-Soldiers and Manly Warriors*, 7.

[29] George Washington to New York Legislature (26 June 1775), George Washington Papers, Library of Congress, http://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/presentationsandactivities/presentations/timeline/amrev/contarmy/newyork.html (accessed 28 March 2018)

[30] Ibid.

'These Times They Are A'Changin': The Broader Sixties Context

Scholars have written extensively on one of the most tumultuous decades in American history. However, many of these studies either discuss the decade as a whole, the leaders who drove their respective movements, or focus only on a specific movement.[31] Given the proximity of the period to the present day, as well as the vast numbers of available written sources created by activists, a sweeping narrative of the Sixties was initially established by those who had been on the front line of change.[32] Until recently, these narratives have shaped historical analysis of the decade.

The initial historiographical narrative of the Sixties centres the influential activism of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).[33] It begins with the youthful optimism of the Port Huron Statement and a deeply rooted belief in participatory democracy and the potential for non-violent marches, mass gatherings and mass publications to foster meaningful societal change. Initially organising around university reforms, SDS soon turned its attention to anti-war activism, organising the first anti-war teach-ins and became a key player in all national marches on Washington. However, the ideals of participatory democracy became detrimental in practice as factions emerged and the New Left's emphasis on decentralised leadership

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[31] This list of books on the Sixties is too extensive to fully include here. General studies of the 1960s include: Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York: Bantam Books, 2003), Maurice Isserman and Michael Kazin, *America Divided: The Civil War of the 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Allen Matusow, *The Unravelling of America: A History of Liberalism in the 1960s* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 2009); Irwin Unger, *The Movement: A History of the American New Left, 1959-1972* (Boston: Addison-Wesley Educational Publishers, 1998); David Burner, *Making Peace with the Sixties* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); James Miller, *Democracy Is in the Streets: From Port Huron to the Siege of Chicago* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004); Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm: Barry Goldwater and the Unmaking of the American Consensus* (New York: Nation Books, 2009); Maurice Isserman, *If I Had a Hammer: The Death of the Old Left and the Birth of the New Left* (New York: Basic Books, 1987); Kirkpatrick Sale, *SDS:The Rise and Development of Students for a Democratic Society* (New York: Random House, 1973); Charles DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal:The Antiwar Movement of the Vietnam Era* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1990); Melvin Small, *Antiwarriors: The Vietnam War and the Battle for America's Hearts and Minds* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources Inc., 2002)

[32] John McMillian, "You Didn't Have To Be There: Revisiting the New Left Consensus," in *The New Left Revisited*, ed. John McMillian and Paul Buhle (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003), 2.

[33] See for example, Sale, *SDS*; Gitlin, *The Sixties*; Miller, *Democracy is In the Streets*; Godfrey Hodgson, *America in Our Time: From World War II to Nixon* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); Alan Brinkley, "1968 and the Unravelling of Liberal America," in *1968: The World Transformed,* eds. Carole Fink, Phillip Gassert and Detlef Junker (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Maurice Isserman, "The Not-So-Dark and Bloody Ground: New Works on the 1960s," *The American Historical Review* 94, no. 4 (October 1989): p. 993; Isserman, *If I Had a Hammer*; Perlstein, *Before the Storm*; Isserman and l Kazin, *America Divided*.

ended up contributing to its demise.[34] Activists remained unable to unite emerging ideologies and those emphasising immediate militant action clashed with those looking to instil longer term, ideological changes in society. Todd Gitlin writes, the New Left 'wanted to be both strategic and expressive, political and cultural: to change the world while freeing life in the here and now.'[35] Because the factors that led to the organisation's demise already existed within the threads that had brought the New Left together in the first place, scholars of this narrative see the decline of the New Left as predictable and inevitable. This narrative similarly notes that as SDS declined and more militant factions came to the fore, the anti-war movement fractured and lost public support. In placing SDS in the centre, this narrative also tends to speak of anti-war activism as a phenomenon spearheaded and driven by SDS, and as a movement driven primarily by white, middle class students. Broad narratives of the anti-war movement tend to replicate this focus, placing SDS and organisations led by other white university students at the centre of their analyses, briefly acknowledging activities by activists from other backgrounds without giving these important movements sustained attention.[36]

This 'declension thesis' was essentially 'codified by the mid-1980s' in the historiography.[37] While there are many rationales given for the decline of the New Left, the dominant historiographical narrative overwhelmingly asserts that the 1960s should be evaluated as a period of unfulfilled optimism that did not live up to its promised ideals. Works aligning themselves with this narrative were often written by activists-turned-historians; many of who had personal experience in SDS, or some other manifestation of 'the Movement.' As historian Thomas Sugrue lamented in 1996, 'Sixties historiography is still so limited…and Sixties veterans still have the corner on the market.'[38] It was not until the early 2000s that this trend began to shift in favour of revisionist perspectives on the decade. John McMillian notes how a younger

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[34] Matusow, *The Unravelling of America*, ix; Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy and the United States, c. 1958-1974* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 15; Burner, *Making Peace with the Sixties*, 3; Unger, *The Movement*, 88; Gareth Davies, *From Opportunity to Entitlement: The Transformation and Decline of Great Society Liberalism* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 1999), 6; Miller, *Democracy is In the Streets*, 320; Isserman, "The Not-So-Dark and Bloody Ground," 999.
[35] Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 5-6.
[36] See for example, DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*; Tom Wells, *The War Within: America's Battle Over Vietnam*, 2nd ed. (Lincoln, NE: iUniverse Inc., 2005)
[37] Simon Hall, "Framing the American 1960s: A Historiographical Review," *European Journal of American Culture* 31, no. 1 (2012): 6.
[38] Perlstein, *Before the Storm*, 4.

generation of historians have begun to critique the dominant paradigm as being too reflective of the personal experiences of those who helped construct the narrative originally.[39]

Revisionists primarily take issue with the overwhelming focus on SDS and its leaders. Doug Rossinow argues that national histories of the New Left focus primarily on a few cities and the experiences of the early leaders in SDS. While he concedes that these studies produced relevant and vital knowledge, they do not explain the emergence of the New Left all over the country.[40] Similarly, Winifred Breines writes 'by focusing on the fate of SDS as an organisation, these accounts diminish the mass movement after 1968…thus the enormous impact of the sixties is now narrowed.'[41] She continues:

> there were many centers of action in the movement, many actions, many interpretations, many visions, many experiences. There was no unity because each group, region, campus, commune, collective and demonstration developed differently by all shared in a spontaneous opposition to racism and inequality, the war in Vietnam and the repressiveness of American social norms and culture, including centralization and hierarchy.[42]

Moreover, there is increasing recognition that grassroots-level manifestations of the zeitgeist of the period are equally, if not more important than, the actions of the leading organisations or individuals of the period.[43]

This study embraces McMillian's assertion that that the Sixties must be understood as a 'messy, agglomeration of national and local groups, and initiatives,' only some of which associated with SDS.[44] Moreover, it focuses on groups of activists who 'exercised just as profound an influence at the time [but] who have been ignored or delegitimized in most histories.'[45] Thus, this study contributes to this shifting

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[39] McMillian, "You Didn't Have to Be There" in McMillian and Buhle, 2.
[40] Doug Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity: Liberalism, Christianity and the New Left* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 10-11.
[41] Winifred Breines, "Whose New Left?" *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 2 (September 1988): 531.
[42] Ibid., 543.
[43] Robert Cohen, "Prophetic Minority versus Recalcitrant Majority: Southern Student Dissent and the Struggle for Progressive Change in the 1960s," in *Rebellion in Black and White: Southern Student Activism in the 1960s*, eds. Robert Cohen and David Snyder (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 10; Isserman, "The Not-So-Dark and Bloody Ground,"1000; Jennifer Frost, "Organizing from the Bottom Up: Lillian Craig, Dovie Thurman, and the Politics of ERAP," in McMillian and Buhle, 92.
[44] McMillian, "You Didn't Have to Be There", in McMilliam and Buhle, 2; see also Kenneth Heinemann, *Campus Wars: The Peace Movement At American State Universities in the Vietnam Era* (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 3; Perlstein, *Before the Storm*, 4-5; Doug Rossinow, "Letting Go: Revisiting the New Left's Demise," in McMillian and Buhle, 241.
[45] Andrew Hunt, *The Turning: A History of Vietnam Veterans Against the War* (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 1; Terry Anderson, "The GI Movement and the Response from the Brass," in

narrative of the Sixties by exploring a 'multiplicity of participants voices' and 'restor[ing] a sense of human agency' to challenge the perceived inevitability of the failure of activists to create meaningful change.[46] While it does not directly consider notions of success and failure of any particular activism, this study continues to broaden the purview of the New Left in terms of constituencies, region and temporal scope. Additionally, it contributes to literature that challenges the 1960s as a period of decline by examining grassroots activists, non-student resistance and non-campus based organisations from a variety of racial, regional and class backgrounds that were active well into the 1970s. In doing so, this study contributes to a historiographical expansion of where and when the Sixties occurred by examining the relatively under-explored constituencies of draftees, soldiers and veterans.

Importantly, the traditional declension narrative places the activism of GIs and veterans, whose movements reached their high points between 1969 and 1972, outside the purview of some studies of the Sixties. Soldiers in particular are traditionally portrayed as adversaries of the New Left, a narrative which endures in the popular memory of the spat-upon-soldier.[47] However, historian Penny Lewis suggests that 'along with the college campus, the military itself must be seen as the other great mobilizing vehicle through which anti-war sentiment was stoked and action unleashed.'[48] While the pioneering studies of the anti-war movement by Charles DeBenedetti, Melvin Small and Tom Wells provide important insight into the civilian movement, they typically acknowledge anti-war GIs only in particular moments of

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Give Peace a Chance: Exploring the Vietnam Antiwar Movement, ed. Melvin Small and William D. Hoover (Syracuse University Press, 1992), 93.

[46] Breines, "Whose New Left?" 545; Isserman, "The Not-So-Dark and Bloody Ground," 1009.

[47] In 1998, sociologist Jerry Lembcke challenged this supposedly widespread disrespect of returning soldiers in his work *The Spitting Image: Myth, Memory and the Legacy of Vietnam*. Lembcke concluded that this mythology only gained prominence in 1990 when the Bush Administration used it to garner support for the Persian Gulf War and his efforts to corroborate instances of spitting never succeeded. Despite this, popular memory of the Vietnam continues to view this myth as reflective of truth and remembers soldiers and anti-war civilians as adversarial. Until recently, historical scholarship had done little to challenge this popular conception, typically leaving soldiers out of their analyses entirely. Isserman and Kazin's *America Divided* has no mention of soldiers or GIs at all and only mentioned veterans to acknowledged their protest in Washington DC and in the context of John Kerry's presidential run. Todd Gitlin's more expansive study does mention soldiers, but only in passing references to GI activism or in the context of a broader desire of SDS to organise soldiers. This issue in scholarship is highlighted by Michael Foley in "Sanctuary!: A Bridge Between Civilian and GI Protest Against the Vietnam War," in *A Companion to the Vietnam War*, ed. Marilyn B. Young and Robert Buzzanco, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 417 and Penny Lewis, *Hardhats, Hippies, and Hawks: The Vietnam Antiwar Movement as Myth and Memory* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013)*,* 4; 116-137.

[48] Penny Lewis, *Hardhats, Hippies, and Hawks: The Vietnam Antiwar Movement as Myth and Memory* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013)*,* 116-117.

interaction with civilian anti-war activists or as evidence of declining morale amongst troops, rather than acknowledging the military as 'the great mobilizing vehicle' that Lewis suggests.[49] Conversely, existing studies of Vietnam Veterans Against the War make it abundantly clear that the military experience was the most central experience that galvanised anti-war sentiments amongst veterans.[50] This research builds upon existing scholarship by continuing efforts to place the anti-war soldiering as a movement into the broader context of the decade. Specifically, it explores how they continued conversations raised by the student New Left by furthering anti-racist, anti-imperialist activism that highlighted the gap between American democratic rhetoric and the realities of combat in Vietnam, and struggles for equality at home.

In doing so, this study challenges the narrative of the working class 'hardhat' American as the adversary of the anti-war 'hippie'. As Lewis argues, 'the reigning assumption of elite dominance within the social groups opposing the Vietnam War has served to obfuscate a more complex story of the class character of this social movement and the anti-war sentiment of the era…Working class opposition to the war was significantly more widespread than is remembered, and parts of the movement found roots in working class communities and politics.'[51] Christian Appy further notes that nearly 80% of those who served in Vietnam came from the working class.[52] This study focuses primarily on young men, many of whom were working class and/or men of colour, aged anywhere from age 18 to their mid-twenties. Ultimately, the story of activism amongst draft resisters, soldiers and veterans provides an important avenue for reincorporating working class anti-war activism into a larger narrative of the anti-war activism of decade.

These assessments of the Sixties have, to some extent, been reflected in the popular memory of the decade and of the Vietnam War. Robert Self notes that 'what changed in [the Vietnam War era] was not the experience of the soldier…but the public consumption of that experience and the political uses to which it was put.'[53] Whereas the popular representation of previous wars glorified the patriotic narrative of citizens sacrificing to defend the nation, a different, more sombre and critical narrative

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[49] Debendetti, *An American Ordeal*; Wells, *The War Within;* Small, *Antiwarriors.*
[50] See for example, Hunt, *The Turning*, Moser , *The New Winter Soldiers*, Stacewicz, *Winter Soldiers*, Wells, *The War Within* ,139-141.
[51] Lewis, *Hardhats, Hippies, and Hawks*, 5.
[52] Christian Appy, *Working Class War: American Combat Soldiers & Vietnam* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 6.
[53] Self, *All in the Family,* 48; See also Meredith Lair, *Armed with Abundance: Consumerism and Soldiering During the Vietnam War* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 4.

emerged from the Vietnam War. Previous scholarship has acknowledged the changing popular perceptions of the American soldier. Andrew Huebner in particular explores the period between the Second World War and Vietnam noting that, 'designers of the war image increasingly stressed the plight of the individual over the cohesion of the collective; the damaging rather than the edifying consequences of battle.' These shifts 'increasingly fueled implicit and explicit critiques of the nation's military commitment overseas.'[54] Notably, Heubner places the beginning of this change, not during the Vietnam War, but in the closing years of World War II and the Korean War. His work vitally demonstrates that a change in the public consumption of soldiering did not suddenly appear during the Vietnam War. Nevertheless, it also supports this study's argument that the shift to an all-volunteer force after Vietnam War was a culmination of on-going changes in American society in conceptions of soldiering, manhood and citizenship.

This image of the suffering soldier remains central to historical memory of the war. Meredith Lair notes that assumed sacrifices of the citizen-soldier form an entrenched narrative: 'American wars are fought by ascetic citizen-soldiers who willingly forgo the comforts of home to serve the homeland and the nation is represented abroad by valorous warriors confronting moral peril in an equal fight with a dastardly foe.'[55] Scholars such as Lair, Natasha Zaretsky, Michael Allen and Heubner all explore the ways in which the Vietnam soldier and veteran have been remembered as heroic and long suffering citizens who were betrayed by their government during and after the war.[56] To some extent, the national reckoning with the Vietnam War depicts soldiers as victims of their government and war rather than patriotic citizen-soldiers. Zaretsky, Allen and Heubner take this assertion a step further and explore the ways in which the military defeat in Vietnam, and the accompanying images of the betrayed soldier, had a profound impact on American conceptualisations of nationalism, their broader role on the international stage and their faith in the federal government.[57] Thus, while utility of the citizen-soldier ideal

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[54] Andrew Huebner, *The Warrior Image: Soldiers in American Culture from the Second World War to the Vietnam Era* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 12.

[55] Lair, *Armed with Abundance*, 5.

[56] Lair, *Armed with Abundance*, 13; Natasha Zaretsky, *No Direction Home: The American Family and the Fear of National Decline, 1968-1980* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 2; Michael Allen, *Until the Last Man Comes Home: POWs, MIAs, and the Unending Vietnam War* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 4.

[57] Zaretsky, *No Direction Home*, 18, 29, 225; Allen, *Until the Last Man Comes Home*, 9; Heubner, *The Warrior Image*, 279.

had been on the decline in the years after World War II, the increasing perception of soldiering as harmful to young men was solidified by public consumption and memory of the Vietnam War. As this study will demonstrate, the activism of anti-war soldiers contributed to this broader reconsideration of the positive relationship between national citizenship and soldiering.

Earning One's Spurs as a Citizen?: Race, Vietnam and the Citizen-Soldier

The citizen-soldier also provides a vital lens from which to examine changing ideas about American belonging during the Sixties. By foregrounding the identity of citizen, the ideal demands that those who benefit from the rights and liberties of the societies in which they live also have a duty to protect that society from external threats and to defend the common good.[58] Moreover, the existence of citizen-soldiers willing to defend the republic also cultivates a citizenry well versed in civic virtue, the common good and participatory citizenship.[59] By developing this common language of civic virtue and participatory citizenship military service becomes a 'great equaliser'.[60] Thus, a military composed of citizen-soldiers is one in which, according to 20th century American philosopher Ralph Barton Perry, 'the differences of wealth, education, locality, taste, occupation, and social rank, which divide Americans…are lost sight of. Men are brought face to face with the elemental fact of nationality.'[61] In this iteration, military service becomes a duty of citizenship for all, and in turn the military becomes a tool of state unity.

Additionally, the ideal purports to provide an accepted avenue towards claiming republican citizenship.[62] As Barry Strauss notes 'in a republic, the highest calling is service to the common good…every citizen is called on, in turn, to make some small contribution to that service. The reward, in turn, is to earn one's spurs as a

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[58] Krebs, "The Citizen-Soldier Tradition," 156; Cohen, "Twilight of the Citizen-Soldier," 23; Snyder, "Gender Integration of the US Military," 186-188.
[59] Snyder, *Citizen-Soldiers and Manly Warriors,* 18-19; Eliot A. Cohen, *Citizens and Soldiers*, 121.
[60] Cohen, "Twilight of the Citizen-Soldier," 23
[61] Ralph Perry, *The Plattsburg Movement: A Chapter of America's Participation in the World War* (New York, E.P. Dutton & Company, 1921), p. 260; Cohen, *Citizens and Soldiers,* 122. Perry was a Professor at Harvard University and president of the American Philosophical Association's eastern division from 1920-1921. He is most well remembered for founding the New Realism movement.
[62] David R. Segal, *Recruiting for Uncle Sam: Citizenship and Military Manpower Policy* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1989), 10; Snyder, *Citizen-Soldiers and Manly Warriors,* 7; James Burk, "The Military Obligation of Citizens Since Vietnam," *Parameters* 31, no. 2 (Summer 2001), http://strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/parameters/Articles/01summer/burk.htm (accessed 26 January 2016)

citizen.'[63] Notably, this understanding of the citizen-soldier relies on fixed notions of citizenship as other identities and experiences are devalued in relation to 'the elemental fact of nationality.'[64] However, this study will explore citizenship as a fluid concept that could develop in response to international dynamics as well as internal societal notions of race and gender. By using both race and gender as analytical lenses, this study problematizes hegemonic historical categories and illuminates the presumed normativity of whiteness and maleness.

The activism of the Sixties sought to highlight the wide-ranging inequities of the American system. In particular, activists from a variety of organisations and movements drew attention to the inequitable experiences of the privileges and protections of citizenship. Anti-war activism arose alongside an existing black freedom movement and activists from both movements noted that there had always been two American experiences – one for those who had access to the full array of the privileges of American citizenship and one for people of colour who consistently had to fight for these privileges by demonstrating their 'fitness' for republican citizenship. Using the citizen-soldier ideal as a framework, this study utilises recent scholarship in the field of critical whiteness studies and masculinities studies alongside Black Power scholarship to explore the significant contestations around racial identity and national belonging. In doing so, this study illuminates many of the assumed truths that undergird American national identity. As Michael Roper and Josh Tosh have argued, future scholarship must examine 'mutations of male dominance overtime and their relation to other structures of social power, such as class, race, nation and creed.'[65] In this way, understandings of masculinity as natural and monolithic can be complicated. Similarly, Ashley Doane argues that critical whiteness studies challenges the transparency and "universalization" of whiteness.[66] This is particularly true in the American context.

Recently, critical whiteness studies have become a central component to understanding American national identity.[67] Doane asserts that 'one focus of whiteness

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[63] Barry Strauss, "Reflections on the Citizen-Soldier," *Parameters* 33, no. 2 (Summer 2003): 77; See also, Snyder, *Citizen-Soldiers,* 3, 11, 15; Krebs, "The Citizen-Soldier Tradition," 161.

[64] Perry, *The Plattsburg Movement*, 260.

[65] Michael Roper, introduction to *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, ed. Michael Roper and John Tosh (London: Routledge, 1991), 7.

[66] Woody Doane, "Rethinking Whiteness Studies," in *White Out: The Continuing Significance of Racism*, ed. Ashley W. Doane and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (New York: Routledge, 2003), 12.

[67] Peter Kolchin, "Whiteness Studies: The New History of Race in America," *The Journal of American History* 89, no.1 (June 2002);155.

studies has been to examine, albeit in an unsystematic way, how transparent forms of "whiteness" reinforce the existing racial understandings and racial order of society.'[68] As this study will explore, the inherent whiteness of American national identity played a central role in the experience of men of colour with the draft, within the military and upon their return home from Vietnam. Revealing the whiteness of American belonging was critical to the activism of anti-war soldiers. In particular, anti-war soldiers asserted that the inherent whiteness of American citizenship and the subsequent inequitable access to citizenship rights belied the most basic assumption of the citizen-soldier ideal: that military service was the shared burden of democratic citizens in exchange for the protection of their rights. More profoundly, these inequities called into question the very nature of American democratic ideals and its broader Cold War mission as an international protector of democracy.

While both black and white activists were involved in anti-war activism, the hidden privileges of whiteness often complicated alliances between groups that sought to engage with this broader critique of American democracy. As a result, the pioneering scholarship of the Sixties tends to depict the anti-war movement as a white endeavour which intersected only briefly with the black freedom movement. For example, Tom Wells' *The War Within*, provides an extensive analysis of the 'protracted contest' between those who opposed the war and those who directed it.[69] In it, he refers directly to SNCC only four times despite it being the first national civil rights organisation to publicly oppose the war and an organisation that cultivated a significant anti-draft movement within black communities. By neglecting groups outside the dominant narrative's focus on the activism of predominately white students, the first wave of narratives of the anti-war movement obscure significant anti-war activism in black communities.[70] While previous scholarship on black

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[68] Doane, "Rethinking Whiteness Studies," in Doane and Bonilla-Silva, 11.

[69] Wells, *The War Within*, 1.

[70] As noted previously, the dominant narrative of the Sixties focuses on the activism of SDS, a predominantly white middle class organisation and continues to centre SDS in discussions of the anti-Vietnam war movement. These works either overlook the anti-war activism of African Americans (see for example, DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, Gitlin, *The Sixties*, Isserman and Kazin, *America Divided* or James Miller, *Democracy Is in the Streets*, or discuss the anti-war activism of African-Americans in the context of the black freedom movement (see for example Hall, *Peace and Freedom*, Kimberley Phillips, *War!: What Is It Good For?: Black Freedom Struggles & The US Military from World War II to Iraq* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2012); While draft resistance does gain some brief mention in larger histories of the Black Panthers or the Black Power movement, as well as in broader histories of the relationship between black freedom activism and the Vietnam War, an unpublished dissertation by Amanda L. Higgins entitled "Instruments of Righteousness: The Intersections of Black Power and Anti-Vietnam War Activism in the United States,

freedom and the anti-war movement has provided valuable insight into anti-war activism in white communities, and acknowledged moments of cooperation with leading black freedom organisations, this study foregrounds soldiers of colour and grassroots organisations in its examination of anti-war activism. In doing so, it builds on recent scholarship which emphasises the complex relationship between the black freedom movement and the anti-war movement.[71] Moreover, it paints a fuller picture of anti-war activism and its inextricable relationship to broader questions about race and citizenship that were central to the zeitgeist of the Sixties.

That said, the anti-war activism of black men and women also has a tendency to be subsumed into broader histories of the black freedom movement. Existing scholarship on Black Power groups often acknowledges the importance of the Vietnam War in raising the consciousness of black men. However, they often only briefly acknowledge the ways in anti-war activism simultaneously influenced and drew on the rhetoric of black liberation.[72] As such, this study seeks to explore anti-war soldiering amongst men of colour as a movement in its own right, while also placing it in the larger context of the black freedom movement during the Vietnam War era.

In particular, it will highlight how the rhetoric of racial pride profoundly impacted the relationship between racial identity and the on-going reconsideration of associations between duty, soldiering and manhood. Judson Jeffries and Ryan Nissim-Sabat poetically note, 'like many Americans, some Panthers went to war because they thought America was worth fighting for. When they returned home they fought against the practices of the US government because they believed the country

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1964-1972" offers perhaps the most sustained focus on the intersections of grassroots black anti-war activism and Black Power.

[71] See for example: Hall, *Peace and Freedom* and Daniel Lucks, *From Selma To Saigon: The Civil Rights Movement and the Vietnam War* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2014); James Westheider, *Fighting on Two Fronts: African Americans and the Vietnam War* (New York City: New York University Press, 1997)

[72] See for example, Robert Widell Jr., "'The Power Belongs to Us and We Belong to the Revolutionary Age': The Alabama Black Liberation Front and the Long Reach of the Black Panther Party," in *Liberated Territory: Untold Local Perspectives on the Black Panther Party,* eds. Yohuru Williams and Jama Lazerow (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 136-180; Donna Murch, "The Campus and the Street: Race, Migration, and the Origins of the Black Panther Party in Oakland, CA," *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture, and Society* 9, no. 4 (December 2007): 333-345; Jama Lazerow, "'A Rebel All His Life': The Unexpected Story of Frank "Parky" Grace" in *In Search of the Black Panther Party: New Perspectives on a Revolutionary Movement*, ed. by Jama Lazerow and Yohuru Williams (London: Duke University Press, 2006), 104-157; Joel Wilson, "Invisible Cages: Radicalized Politics and the Alliance between the Panthers and the Peace and Freedom Party" in Lazerow and Williams, 191-222; Nikhil Pal Singh, *Black Is A Country: Race and the Unfinished Struggle for Democracy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005); Simon Hall, *Peace and Freedom: The Civil Rights and Anti-War Movements in the 1960s* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).

had lost its soul. But more importantly, they believed it could be redeemed.'[73] While Jeffries and Nissim-Sabat are referring specifically to the Black Panthers here, this sentiment can be seen in anti-war soldiers of colour more broadly. Indeed, Black Power activism gave 'organizational expression to a tendency in the [black freedom] movement that long pre-dated the BPP: that the entire [American] system is corrupt and needs to be reconstructed.'[74] This is particularly significant in light of previous studies which have explored the vital role that the Vietnam War had in radicalising black men.[75] Thus, while many black men did not go to Vietnam as active Black Power activists, their experiences in the military and in Vietnam significantly altered their understanding of life in America upon their return. Ultimately, this would contribute to a broader questioning that elevated racial identity over national identity.

Recent works by James Westheider, Kimberley Phillips and Herman Graham have focussed on black anti-war resistance and its links to the Black Power movement's anti-imperialist politics. Westheider's, *Fighting on Two Fronts* and Graham's *The Brothers War*, both published in 2003, analyse the ways in which the racial inequities of the military experience contributed to the growth of a collective black identity and recast military service as a hindrance to the cause of black freedom and/or a symptom of an imperialist America.[76] Similarly, Westheider's 2008 work, *Brothers in Arms* and Phillips' *War!*, published in 2012, explore the ways in which a persistent denial of citizenship rights and the experience of racial violence prompted a reconsideration of the relationship between military service, citizenship and black freedom activism.[77] However, these studies focus primarily on black resistance in the military or trace the development of black anti-war resistance from the vantage points of national organisations. Given the war's profound and tangible impacts on individuals, communities of colour and the larger black freedom movement, this study will seek to move beyond this top-down analysis by exploring lesser studied

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[73] Judson L. Jeffries and Ryan Nissim-Sabat, "Painting a More Complete Portrait of the Black Panther Party," in *Comrades: A Local History of the Black Panther Party,* ed. Judson L. Jeffries (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007), 2.

[74] George Katisiaficas, introduction to *Liberation, Imagination and the Black Panther Party: A New Look at the Panthers and their Legacy*, ed. Kathleen Cleaver and George Katisiaficas (New York: Routledge, 2001), vi.

[75] See for example, Herman Graham, *The Brother's Vietnam War: Black Power, Manhood, and the Military Experience* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2003); James Westheider, *Brothers in Arms: The African American Experience in Vietnam* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2008); Westheider, *Fighting on Two Fronts*.

[76] Westheider, *Fighting on Two Fronts*; Herman Graham III, *The Brothers' Vietnam War: Black Power, Manhood and The Military Experience* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2003).

[77] Phillips, *War*; Westheider, *Brothers in Arms*.

individuals and moments of black anti-war resistance from individual soldiers, draft resisters and veterans. By examining the activism of anti-war soldiers of colour, this study continues efforts to restore black anti-war activism to the narrative of the 1960s.

Turning Boys into Men: Masculinity and the Citizen-Soldier

While the Sixties, and the New Left in particular, are remembered for their challenge to the unevenly applied promises of democracy, the broader activism of the decade also profoundly questioned assumed truths about gender. A broad base of scholarship demonstrates how and why a movement of feminism(s) emerged in the latter half of the 1960s.[78] In particular, many women began to foreground gender in their activism and increasingly called attention, in part, to the assumed fixedness of gender and gender roles. While analyses and examinations of feminism and feminist theories arose alongside second wave feminism, it is only more recently that the constructed nature of masculinity has received its own scholarly attention. Like whiteness, maleness has been depicted as a cultural norm while alternate gender identities have been consistently 'othered'.[79] Given the inextricable relationship between soldiering and masculinity, this study will draw on general theories of masculinity and understandings of masculinity and manhood within an American context.

On its most basic level, this study embraces the assertion that gender as a whole, and masculinity in particular, is a socially constructed category that is developed separately from the biological characteristics of men. Theorists R.W. Connell and James Messerschmidt note that 'masculinities are configurations of practice that are accomplished in social actions.'[80] In turn, masculinity must be

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[78] Sara Evans, *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979); Jeannine DeLombard, "Femmenism," in *To Be Real: Telling the Truth and Changing the Face of Feminism*, ed. Rebecca Walker (New York: Anchor Books, 1995), 22; Kevin Gaines, "From Center to Margin: Internationalism and the Origins of Black Feminism," in *Materializing Democracy: Toward a Revitalized Cultural Politics,* ed. Russ Castronovo and Dana D. Nelson (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002); Winifred Breines, "Struggling to Connect: White and Black Feminism in the Movement Years," *Contexts* 6, no. 1 (2007): 18-24; Becky Thompson, *A Promise and A Way of Life: White AntiRacist Activism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001); Benita Roth, *Separate Roads to Feminism: Black, Chicana, and White Feminist Movements in America's Second Wave* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), especially Chapter 3.
[79] Roper, introduction in Roper and Tosh, 11, 13.
[80] R.W. Connell and James Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept," *Gender and Society* 19, no. 6 (Dec 2005): 836.

viewed a 'performance' which men enact as a response to specific circumstances.[81] As Roper and Tosh argue, 'despite the myths of omnipotent manhood which surround us, masculinity is never fully possessed, but must perpetually be achieved, asserted, and renegotiated.'[82] Moreover, Connell notes that a single masculine identity 'is simultaneously positioned in a number of structures of relationship' and is 'liable to internal contradiction and historical disruption.'[83] Masculine performance is affected by numerous factors, including, but not limited to race, class, (dis)ability, geography, regional identity and religion.[84] This study explores attempts to redefine performances of hegemonic masculinity and its relationship to notions of soldiering and citizenship.

Connell defines hegemonic masculinity as 'the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men.'[85] In other words, it 'embodie[s] the currently most honoured way of being a man' and men will judge their manliness through their relation to this dominant model, and will often desire to get as close to this ideal as possible.[86] Importantly, hegemonic masculinity does not just refer to those men that fall under its definition, but also to the practices and processes that shape this ideal.[87] Further, hegemonic masculinity often does not directly reflect the lived experiences of men, and a key component of masculinity studies is gaining an understanding as to how men make sense of the internal contradictions surrounding their relationship to hegemonic masculinity.[88] As such, any history of masculinity must include two histories: one which recounts the changing ideal, or hegemonic, conception of masculinity and a

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[81] Bryce Traister, "Academic Viagra: The Rise of American Masculinity Studies," *American Quarterly* 52, no.2 (2000): 294; Connell and Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity," 836

[82] Roper, introduction in Roper and Tosh, 18.

[83] R.W. Connell, *Masculinities,* 2nd ed. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), 73.

[84] Harry Brod and Michael Kaufman, introduction to *Theorizing Masculinities* (London: SAGE Publications Inc., 1994), 4-5.

[85] Connell, *Masculinities,* 77.

[86] Connell and Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity," 832, 838.

[87] Frank J. Barrett, "The Organizational Construction of Hegemonic Masculinity: The Case of the US Navy," *Gender, Work and Organization* 3, no. 3 (July 1996): 130; Connell and Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity," 832.

[88] Brod and Kaufman, introduction, 9; Barrett, "Organizational Construction," 131; While a historiography of American masculinity is still developing, historians of European and British masculinity have previously applied these theories to multiple historical contexts in a variety of works. See for example: John Tosh, "The History of Masculinity: An Outdated Concept?," in *What is Masculinity?: Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World*, ed. John Arnold and Sean Brady (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), 17-36; Martin Francis, "The Domestication of the Male?: Recent Research on Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Masculinity," *The Historical Journal* 45, no. 3(September 2002): 637-652; Dudnik, Hagemann, Tosh, eds., *Masculinities in Politics and War*; Roper, introduction to Roper and Tosh, 13-14.

second that examines the competing versions of masculinity that exist alongside it.[89] Additionally, scholars of masculinity suggest that there are historical periods where definitions of hegemonic masculinity are most in flux, or 'crisis points in masculinity', which often correspond to simultaneous crises in wider society's economic, political and social life. As Michael Kimmel notes, these are 'moments when men's relationships to their work, to their country, to their family, to their visions, were transformed.'[90] Indeed, Brenda Boyle argues that what the Sixties 'assaulted most…was an American sense of a coherent, bounded, "monolithic" masculinity.'[91]

One of the most important sites of defining, measuring and displaying one's masculinity is in relation to other men. As a result, homosocial groups, or groups that are constituted overwhelmingly by a single gender, are a vital space to examine the construction of masculinity.[92] The military and soldiering provides one particularly useful avenue to theorise masculinity from within homosocial groups. As David Morgan notes, the military has been one of the most consistently gendered social structures both in separating men from women, and by serving in almost all societies as a core experience of manhood.[93] Consequently, the military is not only an institution populated by men but also plays a central role in articulating masculinity within the larger context of society.[94]

On the surface, the military appears to create a very specific monolithic masculinity. However, scholars suggest one cannot view the military as 'a site for the construction of a single embodied masculinity.'[95] In an institution like the military, where gendered divisions are at the core of the organisation, both in positions held and training tactics, one's masculinity is constantly scrutinised, and must constantly be proven and displayed.[96] Thus, the creation of masculinity within the military results from a more complicated interaction of factors than the popular image of a monolithic

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[89] Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History,* 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 4.

[90] Kimmel, *Manhood in America,* 7; see also Roper, introduction to Roper and Tosh, 18-19.

[91] Boyle, *Masculinity in Vietnam War Narratives*, 3.

[92] Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 5.

[93] David H. J. Morgan, "Theatre of War: Combat, the Military and Masculinities," in Brod and Kaufman, 166.

[94] Barrett, "The Organizational Construction," 129.

[95] Morgan, "Theatre of War," in Brod and Kaufman, 174; Connell and Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity," 835.

[96] Barrett, "The Organizational Construction," 141; In studies of the military, basic training is often described as a situation that turns boys into men. A key part of this process is shaming those who do not live up to the military ideal by using gendered language to critique their performance. Words such as 'sissy' or 'fag', along with other terms, are often used by drill sergeants to contribute to homosocial bonding and unit cohesion and to use the feminine other as a way to motivate men.

masculine warrior suggests.[97] Consequently, Morgan encourages scholars to examine the entire military structure, rather than solely combat situations and to study contradictions between hegemonic ideals and lived experiences, to understand the link between the military and gender construction.[98] This study, in part, takes up Morgan's assertion by exploring the ways in which anti-war soldiers, outside of a combat environment, reconstructed ideals of masculinity. In particular, it examines anti-war soldiers' critique of the masculine traits emphasised by the military to reveal the contradictions between democratic citizenship and popular notions of military masculinity. It is particularly important to examine the competing narratives of hegemonic masculinity in a moment in American history where gender norms were more broadly contested to paint a fuller picture of the impact and legacy of the Sixties.

Additionally, civilian society's celebration (or the lack thereof) of military service is indicative of connections between ideas constituting the nation-state, citizenship, the military and the role of heroic masculinities.[99] Societal conceptions of manhood are inextricably intertwined with notions of citizenship. From its initial incarnations in Renaissance era republican theory, both national identity and military service were interrelated in understandings of an active republican citizenry. According to Machiavelli and Rousseau, through militia service, the citizen-soldier develops *virtù*, a term with two distinct, yet intertwined meanings. Firstly, militia service teaches citizens civic virtue, or the need to place the common good above their own personal gain and militia service gave men an opportunity to perform their citizenship. Like manhood, republican theorists believed that individuals must constantly act as a citizen to retain that identity.[100] Secondly, through military service, citizens learn the virile action necessary for the domination of weaker and more fickle entities.[101] For Machiavelli, this meaning of *virtù* is set in contrast to *Fortuna*, a goddess representing unpredictable nature of luck and abundance in Machiavelli's *The Prince*. Those who rise to prominence through *virtù* rather than *Fortuna* are more successful and secure in their civic position or leadership role.[102]

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[97] Dudnik, Hagemann and Tosh, eds., *Masculinities in Politics and War*, especially Part 1.
[98] Morgan, "Theatre of War," in Brod and Kaufman, 172.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Snyder, *Citizen-Soldiers and Manly Warriors*, 19,30.
[101] Ibid., 19.
[102] Ibid.

Rousseau similarly defined *virtù,* as 'the strength and vigour of the body', cultivated by militia service.[103] To give in to a 'softness of character', representing the feminine, and thereby abandoning this *virtù* would not only cripple one's masculinity, but lead him to also abandon his republican citizenship.[104] As Hanna Pitkin notes, '*virtù* tends to connote energy, effectiveness, virtuosity…the word derives from the Latin *virtus*, and thus from *vir*, which means 'man.' *Virtù* is thus manliness, those qualities found in a real man.'[105] Both were essential to the maintenance of the state. Vitally, Rousseau 'vehemently insists that women be denied access to participation in the practices constitutive of republican citizenship and armed masculinity.'[106] This relationship between armed masculinity and civic virtue espoused by Machiavelli, and later Rousseau, 'fostered a belief in the inseparable nature of arms and a full array of civil rights.'[107] As Snyder notes, 'citizenship and masculinity are profoundly interconnected for Rousseau because both identities are performatively constructed through the same set of civic and martial practices.'[108] Thus, this maintenance of *virtù* was simultaneously essential to the defence of the republic and the definition of a good citizen.

Consequently, military service became a vital path to affirm one's manhood in many societies. As Brenda Boyle notes, 'in the American tradition, war has been offered as a forge for monolithic masculinity.'[109] Despite this, a historiography of American masculinity is still in its infancy. Michael Kimmel provocatively states 'American men have no history.'[110] Like the assumed normativity of whiteness, 'great men' have been central to popular and historical narratives. However, few studies examine a history of men in their socially constructed role as (white) men, rather than telling a historical narrative in which (white) men happen to be dominant. This study will contribute to a growing literature surrounding the constructed nature and development of American masculinity and its relationship to understandings of race.[111]

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[103] Ibid., 54.
[104] Jean-Jacques Rousseau quoted in R. Snyder, *Citizen-Soldiers and Manly Warriors*, 64.
[105] Hanna Fenichel Pitkin, *Fortune Is A Woman: Gender and Politics in the Thought of Niccolo Machiavelli* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 25; Snyder, *Citizen-Soldiers and Manly Warriors*, 22-24.
[106] Snyder, *Citizen-Soldiers and Manly Warriors*, 56.
[107] Shalhope, "The Armed Citizen in the Early Republic," 127.
[108] Snyder, *Citizen-Soldiers*, 56.
[109] Brenda M. Boyle, *Masculinity in Vietnam War Narratives: A Critical Study of Fiction, Films and Nonfiction Writings* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2009), 5, 3.
[110] Kimmel, *Manhood in America,* 1; see also Roper, introduction to Roper and Tosh, 10.
[111] See for example, Roper, introduction to Roper and Tosh, 11, 13.

Through the citizen-soldier ideal, we are better able to explore a moment in American history in which the assumed fixedness and inherent traits of masculinity were challenged. As the embodiment of masculinity, soldiers engaged in anti-war activism posed a particularly profound challenge to dominant notions of masculinity. This study will assert that anti-war soldiering posited and fostered new acceptable performances of masculinity that were entirely separate from military service. In doing so, the relationship between military service and gender underwent a significant change.

The Struggle for Liberation and Reclaiming a Masculine Identity: Intersections of Race and Gender

The 1960s was a time of dramatic alterations to the connections and interactions between race, class, soldiering and masculine identities.[112] Kimmel notes that, 'all the marginalized groups whose suppression had been thought to be necessary for men to build secure identities began to rebel.' White men had to rethink the basis of their hegemonic identities that had long been rooted in their power over subordinated masculinities.[113] By examining the racial and gender dynamics of American belonging through the ideal of the citizen-soldier, this study will explore the relationship between race, gender and the changes that masculinity underwent in relation to these other social hierarchies.

As will be explored in Chapter 1, racial identity is central to conceptions of American citizenship, and consequently conceptions of hegemonic masculinity. Maurice Wallace states that 'at no point in the history of the New World…has race *not* constituted a defining feature of [American] national manhood.[114] Despite this, a more nuanced and extensive analysis of the relationship between race and masculinity is needed, particularly within specific cultural and social contexts.[115] As such, this study will analyse shifting notions of black masculinity by building on scholarship that explores fluctuating understandings of African-American identity, community and

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[112] Connell, *Masculinities*, 228; Boyle, *Masculinity in Vietnam War Narratives*, 3.
[113] Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 174, 185.
[114] Maurice O. Wallace, *Constructing the Black Masculine: Identity and Ideality in African American Men's Literature and Culture, 1775-1995* (London: Duke University Press, 2002), 2
[115] Wallace, *Constructing the Black Masculine*, 2; Harry Stecopolous and Michael Uebel, introduction to *Race and the Subject of Masculinities* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 2, 9; Riché Richardson, *Black Masculinity and the US South: From Uncle Tom to Gangsta* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2007), 19.

citizenship.[116] Its focus on soldiers and veterans reconsiders the performance of masculinity within the military and the nuances of masculine identities within and across racial lines.

As Steve Estes notes, since voting rights were restricted to (white) men for most of the nation's history, voting and citizenship were linked directly to manhood.[117] Accordingly, the relationship between citizenship and manhood crucially shaped and defined the black freedom movement from the 1950s to the 1970s – activists linked their struggle for liberation and enfranchisement to the reclamation of a masculine identity.[118] Historians suggest that the early years of the Civil Rights Movement marked an attempt to include blackness in existing hegemonic masculine performances, while many scholars of the Black Power movement argue that activists sought to pave a new path to manhood by redefining what it meant to be a black man.[119] Riché Richardson highlights a 'need to recognize that the black-liberation era, as constituted by a range of activist struggles in the United States and in international contexts, brought with it intensified contestation over definitions of black masculinity.'[120] My research deepens current discussions on these important shifts and contours by analysing how black soldiers (re)constructed their racial and masculine identities within and around an institution credited as 'a maker of men'.

In discussing assertions of black masculinity, this study foregrounds black male notions of black masculinity, particularly Black Power's emphasis on militant, hypermasculinist notions of black masculinity. Within the more militant Black Power groups, the emphasis on virile masculinity was often constructed as an effort to

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[116] See for example Wallace, *Constructing the Black Masculine*, Stecopolous and Uebel, eds., *Race and the Subject of Masculinities*; Riché Richardson, *Black Masculinity and the US South: From Uncle Tom to Gangsta* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2007); Matthew J Countryman, "Questions of Gender, Class, and Politics in Philadelphia's Black Power Movement," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 130, no. 4 (October 2006): 407-413; Steve Estes, *I Am A Man!: Race, Manhood and the Civil Rights Movement* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Trayce Matthews, "'No One Ever Asks What A Man's Place in the Revolution Is': Gender and the Politics of the Black Panther Party, 1966-1971', in *Black Panther Party Reconsidered*, ed. by Charles E. Jones (Baltimore: Black Classics Press, 1980); Peter J. Ling and Sharon Montheith, eds., *Gender and the Civil Rights Movement* (London: Rutgers University Press, 1999), especially Chapters 1, 2 and 4; Jesse Zink, "Martin and Malcolm and Manhood: Masculinity, Nonviolence and Success in the Civil Rights Movement," *Glossolalia* 4, no. 1 (December 2011): 100-117.

[117] Estes, *I Am A Man!*, 2-3.

[118] Ibid., 3-4, 88, 186; Matthews, "'No One Ever Asks What A Man's Place in the Revolution Is'" in Jones, 278.

[119] Estes, *I Am A Man!*, p. 142; Stecopolous and Uebel, introduction, 7; Richardson, *Black Masculinity,* 195; There is a parallel body of scholarship that explores the role of women in Black Power activism – see footnote 112.

[120] Richardson, *Black Masculinity,* 195; see also Kimmel, *Manhood in America,* 174; Self, *All in the Family*, 54; Steve Estes, *I Am A Man!*, 142; Stecopolous and Uebel, introduction, 7.

'reclaim' a black manhood after years of emasculation by a white dominated society. However, this study also acknowledges that this rhetoric was not shared by all that were active in the movement. In particular, black women frequently did not subscribe to these notions of hypermasculinity. Vital scholarship has explored the ways in which women claimed their own space within Black Power activism more broadly, rooting their activism in their own understanding of their femininity and its relationship to the rhetoric of black liberation.[121]

As the black freedom movement reconceptualised citizenship and masculinity, the 'gendered potency of the soldier-citizen ideal to which black [World War II] veterans appealed' increasingly fell out of favour.[122] In this context, Steve Estes asks, 'How did participation in the American military affect black men's conceptions of themselves as men and citizens?'[123] My research asks the same question in the context of the Vietnam War by exploring a moment when ideas about masculinity, soldiering and citizenship became unstable across American society. In doing so, it highlights the differences and similarities in how white and black GIs and veterans sought to answer this question.

While the military gave young African-American men the opportunity to develop and express their masculinity, the endemic racism they experienced led many black GIs to find refuge among other black GIs.[124] Within these groups, frustrations at continued racially-motivated humiliation led to a 'redefined masculinity through the liberating ideas and cultural practices of the Black Power Movement.'[125] Placing these ideas in terms of citizenship and belonging, Graham notes that, 'militant anti-war rhetoric defined the black male identity as being based upon race and Third World consciousness rather than on American citizenship.'[126] Graham further notes, 'African

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[121] For considerations of black women in Black Power see for example: Robyn Spencer, *The Revolution Has Come: Black Power, Gender and the Black Panther Party in Oakland* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016); Ashley Farmer, *Remaking Black Power: How Black Women Transformed and Era* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2017); Rhonda Williams, "Black Women and Black Power," *OAH Magazine of History* 22, no. 3 (July 2008): 22-26; Matthews, "'No One Ever Asks, What a Man's Role in the Revolution Is': Gender and the Politics of the Black Panther Party, 1966-1971," in Jones, 267-304 and Angela D. LeBlanc-Ernest, "'The Most Qualified Person to Handle the Job': Black Panther Party Women, 1966-1982," in Jones, 305-334.
[122] Peter J. Ling, "Gender and Generation: Manhood at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference," in Ling and Monteith, 103.
[123] Estes, *I Am A Man!*, 8.
[124] Graham, *The Brothers' Vietnam War,* 23.
[125] Ibid, 90; See also Westheider, *Fighting On Two Fronts*, 67; Lawrence Allen Eldridge, *Chronicles of a Two-Front War: Civil Rights and Vietnam in the African American Press* (London: University of Missouri Press, 2011), 190-192.
[126] Graham, *The Brothers' Vietnam War*, 28.

American activists used radical anti-war rhetoric to encourage [young black men] to reconsider the warrior role and to imagine alternative masculinities.'[127] By highlighting the differing and on-going reconsiderations of black manhood, this study draws on the literature of multiple masculinities to more fully illuminate ways in which the Sixties challenged existing gender norms.

The shaking of these hegemonic pillars also prompted questions about citizenship, duty and identity as an American into question. The First and Second World Wars further established 'a larger cultural manhood script' in the American psyche characterised by a willing sacrifice for the defence of society.[128] In particular, the Vietnam generation was raised on stories of the Second World War. Those coming of age during the Vietnam War had grown up with 'hero-fathers of the Second World War, who became 'the primary models of male adulthood.'[129] These fathers 'exemplif[ied] the requirements for masculinity [and] his model of manhood is stamped deeply into the psyches of his young sons.'[130] The Vietnam generation was also raised on narratives touting the success of the GI Bill, and many witnessed men benefitting from the soldiering experience, becoming simultaneously a man and a provider. Despite the documented inequities of the distribution and experience of GI Bill benefits, young men of colour were similarly influenced by this narrative as the black freedom movement broadly continued to consider the military a path of opportunity and towards more equitably treatment.

However, the slow progress and increasing death toll in Vietnam War, combined with a growing public dislike of the conflict, drastically altered these connections between soldiering and manhood. Robert Self argues that as reports of violence and atrocities flooded American television screens, the 'moral ambiguity' of the war effort 'tarnished…the most masculine of pursuits.'[131] Consequently, Vietnam 'tore the connective tissue holding together soldiering and manhood, citizen and duty.'[132] In particular, atrocities such as My Lai forced a reconfiguring of the connection between violence, the military and masculinity. K.A. Courdelione notes that the relationship between masculine virility and liberalism established by Teddy

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[127] Ibid., 26.
[128] Dean, *Imperial Brotherhood*, 39.
[129] Tracy Karner, "Fathers, Sons and Vietnam: Masculinity and Betrayal in the Life Narratives of Vietnam Veterans with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder," *American Studies* 37, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 70, 68.
[130] Ibid., 91.
[131] Ibid., 92.
[132] Self, *All in the Family,* 72; see also Boyle, *Masculinity in Vietnam War Narratives,* 5.

Roosevelt and sustained through to John F. Kennedy, was 'delegitimised by the catastrophe of Vietnam…became a source of immense mischief in the world,…lost its credibility, and its excesses came to an end.'[133] Even today, Kimmel notes, 'Vietnam veterans are seen by some has having acted out of an excessive and false hypermasculinity.'[134] This characterisation of Vietnam veterans must be understood in the context of race as these implications were further exacerbated for men of colour who returned to nation wary of the assertive manhood put forth by Black Power groups which, in the eyes of some, fulfilled fears that black men were inherently violent. Despite previous assertions that military service could lead to equality and increased prestige, for both white and black men, the Vietnam War forced the soldier, one of the strongest pillars of hegemonic masculinity, into disrepute.[135]

In this way, the Vietnam War facilitated a crisis in 'the political and cultural narrative of patriotism's alignment with manhood.'[136] Self argues that the war produced two competing definitions of hegemonic masculinity. The first considered a manhood that pledged himself to his nation unquestioningly, even if that meant he would have to do violence. The second alternate masculinity, articulated primarily by the GI and civilian anti-war movements consisted of 'challenging, rather than defending, national righteousness and renouncing, rather than enduring violence.'[137] By considering race in this moment of crisis in American masculinity, this study explores how differing experiences of citizenship based in racial identity created additional performances of masculinity that embraced a masculine assertiveness while simultaneously challenging national righteousness. Acknowledging the complex intersections of race, gender and citizenship deepens our understanding of the Sixties.

This study also pursues directions for future research suggested by scholars of masculinity and the Vietnam War era. Brenda Boyle notes that 'the combined influence of the war and the social movements on American conceptions of masculinity has received little critical attention.'[138] Similarly, Morgan notes that the participation of men in social movements and their impact on masculinities has rarely

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[133] K.A. Cuordileone, *Manhood and American Political Culture in the Cold War* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 237-238.
[134] Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 174.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Self, *All in the Family,* 73.
[137] Ibid., 64.
[138] Boyle, *Masculinity in Vietnam War Narratives,* 3.

been examined.[139] This is particularly interesting given that the social movements of the 1960s proved so essential to challenging and reshaping performances of hegemonic masculinity. Moreover, issues raised by the Vietnam War did not simply call into question what it meant to be a man, but also what it meant to be American. Thus, Boyle also suggests that additional exploration is needed into how the Vietnam War and masculinity influenced the ideas of American national identity, both symbolically and in practice.[140] By examining anti-war soldiering through the citizen-soldier ideal and the intertwined relationship between race, citizenship and manhood, this study contributes to these avenues of inquiry and seeks to better understand the complex relationship between American national identity, soldiering and masculinity.

Structure of the Study

To explore the activism of anti-war soldiers, this study focuses on four movements: draft resistance, the GI movement, the Coffeehouse Movement and the activism of veterans. This study draws on a variety of under-utilised archival material including ephemera from activist organisations including flyers, pamphlets, internal and mass mailed letters, and a vast array of underground publications and various collections of oral histories, both published and unpublished. Close reading of this material foregrounds the words and rhetoric of the activists themselves. By exploring the ways in which activists engaged with, discussed and utilised understandings of the relationship between their role as soldiers and their national, gender and racial identity within each of these moments of activism, we can better understand the shifting nature of American national identity and conceptions of citizenship.

While the citizen-soldier ideal exemplified core assumptions about the relationship between citizenship and masculinity, Chapter 1 begins by situating the citizen-soldier ideal in its American context. As discussed previously, the ideal held a central rhetorical importance throughout American history. However, developing societal norms of American society, particularly surrounding assumptions around race, influenced the construction of citizenship. As a result, the privileges and responsibilities of the citizen-soldier were unevenly applied throughout American history. This chapter explores how American belonging has been explicitly and implicitly defined by whiteness and the ways in which this assumed whiteness shaped

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[139] Morgan, "The Reconstruction of Culture," 170.
[140] Boyle, *Masculinity in Vietnam War Narratives,* 8.

understandings of the relationship between military service and republican citizenship. Synthesising a variety of previous scholarship, this chapter takes a chronological look at these themes, from the nation's first citizenship law to the eve of the Vietnam War, illuminating the ways in which American racial and gender theories intertwined with the nation's identity, its military, and its presence on the international stage.

Chapter Two analyses the rhetoric of draft resistance activism in both white and black communities. While draft resisters may never have become official soldiers, the draft demanded that young men grapple with their understanding of citizenship and military service in the public forum. Broadly, anti-draft activists argued that the draft ran counter to American democratic ideals and highlighted the inequities of the Selective Service System (SSS). However, reflecting their differing experiences with the privileges of citizenship, this chapter also explores the differing rhetoric of draft resistance between white and black communities. The predominately white anti-war movement argued that the draft in its current incarnation was unsuited to democratic governance; consequently, it became the duty of the citizen to resist. Black anti-draft activists, however, emphasised the relationship between the draft and the continued oppression of black communities. Putting forward similar understandings of the relationship between resistance and masculinity, black draft resistance activists rooted their activism in the denial of the privileges of citizenship. By drawing attention to the ways in which America continued to deny these privileges, draft resistance activists argued that the duty to serve embodied by the citizen-soldier ideal did not apply to them. Instead, their primary duty lay in the protection of their own communities. In doing so, black and white activists simultaneously posited performances of masculinity outside of military service, emphasising the traditional masculine ideals of protection and procreation.

Chapter Three follows the critique of the citizen-soldier ideal into the military itself. In its examination of the GI Underground Press, this chapter draws on archival collections of GI underground papers. Rather than using them to construct a narrative of the GI Movement, as a few scholars have done, this chapter foregrounds the rhetoric used by activist soldiers to illuminate the ways in which GIs reconsidered and redefined the duty of the soldier. Through observations that soldiers swore an oath to the US Constitution, these soldiers used the GI underground press to argue that the primary duty of the soldier was to democratic ideals and not to a particular leader or policy, or to embrace a blind patriotism. The realities of the Vietnam War and the

denial of Constitutional rights to soldiers led activist GIs to argue that the war and military life ran counter to these democratic ideals. Moreover, this understanding of patriotism placed America in the role of oppressor and profoundly challenged Cold War rhetoric and its equation of loyalty with unquestioned support. Drawing on national patriotic mythology and imagery, activist GIs painted themselves as soldiers in a second American Revolution, asserting a duty rooted in the defence of American ideals and the masculine bravery of standing up for one's conscience.

Chapter Four takes up the Coffeehouse Movement which sprung up in support of the growing GI Movement. As civilian activists became increasingly aware of a growing anti-war sentiment among GIs, they created so-called GI Coffeehouses near military bases. Initially, these served primarily as a space for GIs to relax and hangout off base. However, with the growing involvement of SDS, civilian activists increasingly sought to create movement centres to expand the activist consciousness of GIs. In particular, this chapter explores how these establishments served the same purpose as the consciousness raising groups typically associated with second wave feminism. Run by civilians and often linked to New Left organisations, coffeehouses provided a space to bolster the GI movement and expand the critique of GI activists beyond their experiences in the military. By providing a physical space to gather off base, these coffeehouses exposed activist GIs to other movements occurring around the nation and encouraged GIs to link the oppressions they experienced in the military with broader oppressions being challenged around race, class and gender. Moreover, this network brought GI grievances to the attention of the larger civilian anti-Establishment movement by providing a space for GIs and civilians to interact. In relating the military experience to larger issues around race, gender and class oppressions, coffeehouses fostered a broader anti-Establishment critique and provided a more comprehensive foundation for the reconfiguration relationship between citizenship, soldiering and activism. An exploration of this relationship directly challenges the scholarly and popular depiction of GIs and anti-war activists as adversaries. Both Chapters 3 and 4 utilise the materials created by coffeehouse activist and GIs themselves, including extensive archival materials, oral histories, GI newspapers and other movement ephemera.

Chapter Five explores the anti-war activism of Vietnam veterans. Returning home from war, veterans were able to speak with an authority unavailable to civilian activists and drew attention to the contradictions between the citizen-soldier ideal and

the experiences of America's soldiers and citizens. Using this authority conferred by the citizen-soldier ideal, activist veterans' organisations emphasised their identity as soldiers to serve a 'second tour of duty,' bearing witness to the ways in which the war ran counter to American democratic ideals. Like anti-draft and GI activists, veterans' organisations positioned their primary duty as citizens to be the defence of American ideals and used guerrilla theatre protests to bring these contradictions home to the American public. Drawing on archival materials from the Swarthmore Peace Collection, the Wisconsin Historical Society and Temple University's Contemporary Culture Collection, this chapter continues beyond the end of the war to trace the critique of the citizen-soldier ideal fostered by the activism of veterans. It explores activist veterans' involvement in activism around the on-going oppressions based on race, class and gender. Continuing to emphasise their authority as veterans, veterans of colour in particular drew attention to the unrealised promises of the citizen-soldier ideal as they continued to face economic and social inequities in civilian life. In doing so, they posited performances of citizenship and masculinity rooted in the defence of the black community. By highlighting the interconnectedness of these oppressions, veterans established an anti-imperialist critique of American identity, and rooted their sense of duty within the continued defence of democratic ideals, or in defence of the community that most directly protected their rights and privileges.

Despite challenging existing foreign policy and an on-going war, activists throughout the Vietnam War era rooted their dissent in their definition of citizenship more broadly. Inequitable experiences of citizenship, despite the conferral of legal citizenship to most constituencies by the Sixties, had a significant impact on how individual activists understood the relationship between their identities, their citizenship and their military service. While the gendered aspects of the citizen-soldier ideal are rooted in understandings of the relationships between masculinity, military service and citizenship across the Western world, the inextricable nature of race and American citizenship in the context of the citizen-soldier is exceptional to the particular history of the United States.[141] Thus in order to full understand the profound changes that the ideal underwent in the Sixties, we must first explore the historical relationship between race, citizenship and soldiering.

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[141] See for example Joshua S. Goldstein, *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), especially Chapter 5; Dudnik, Hagemann and Tosh, eds., *Masculinities in Politics and War*, especially Chapters 1-4.

Chapter 1

The Call to Duty: Defining the Citizen-Soldier in an American Context

Since antiquity, the citizen-soldier ideal has been influential across Western cultures in various incarnations. It has been particularly significant throughout American history, where it developed distinctive connotations. As such, a full understanding of the citizen-soldier ideal in its American context requires an exploration of American conceptions of citizenship, the role of standing armies, and the maintenance of the republic. As Lawrence Cress notes, 'by their nature, military institutions held the power to destroy as well as to preserve…For Americans, the issue evoked fundamental questions about the nature and viability of republican society.'[1] For much of American history, the exaltation of the citizen-soldier settled the tensions between democratic freedoms and the undemocratic nature of military power. This was particularly essential given the nation's historical wariness of a too-powerful federal government. This chapter explores the contours and characteristics embodied in and reflected by the citizen-soldier ideal throughout American history. The specific ideologies that constitute American definitions and understandings of citizenship were foundational to the multifaceted significance of the citizen-soldier.

'American Means White': American Citizenship and Race

In forming a new nation in the eighteenth century, American philosophers and revolutionaries drew on existing theories of republicanism which demanded that a citizenry be independent and active. As David Roediger notes, 'republicanism had long emphasized that the strength, virtue and resolve of a people guarded them from enslavement.'[2] In this way, an active citizenry protected against 'enslavement' by powerful ruling figures such as a monarch. However, existing attitudes concerning the superiority of 'civilised' groups to so-called 'savage' peoples, carried over from European thought and combined with ideas about republicanism to make race the

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[1] Lawrence Cress, *Citizens in Arms: The Army and the Militia in American Society to the War of 1812* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), xi.
[2] David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*, 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 2007), 35.

'prevailing idiom for discussing citizenship and the relative merits of a given people.'[3]
For example, John Locke argued that 'chattel slavery could only apply to Africans
because such a condition "was so vile and miserable an estate" that it could find no
application among Englishmen.'[4] Locke's argument built on existing theories which
concluded that certain peoples were better suited to handling the moral and intellectual
rigours of self-governance.[5] Indeed, pervasive understandings suggested that
republican states self-corrected to some extent, as those peoples who were unfit for
self-governance would fail to thrive in a republican environment.[6] While the American
Revolution, and its embrace of republican ideals, 'radically altered the lines of
authority from the Crown to "the people,"…it left entirely untouched various
Enlightenment assumptions about whom "the people" properly ought to be.'[7] In
general terms, 'the people' were 'civilised' white, land-holding, Christian European
men. While colonial documents do not necessarily use the word 'white', it emerged
as a juxtaposition to increasingly racialized enslavement and servitude, both
rhetorically and practically.

Prior to the Revolution, colonial legal structures emphasised an individual's
whiteness as a way to offer the rights of citizenship to indentured servants and
landless free-peoples while simultaneously denying these rights to African slaves.[8]
Additionally, the existence of laws pertaining to slavery made republican
characteristics of active, responsible citizenship unattainable to slaves as they were
unable to exercise their independence, politically or economically. As Matthew Frye
Jacobson notes, 'the new democratic order would require…a remarkable degree of
self-possession – a condition already denied literally to Africans in slavery and
figuratively to all "non-white" or "heathen" peoples in prevailing conceptions of
human capacity.'[9] As enslaved peoples inevitably failed to thrive, colonists and later
Americans took this as proof that the African race was unsuited to self-government.[10]
However, this posed another problem to the budding republic. Republican theory also
suggested that dependent peoples actually presented a risk to the health of that

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[3] Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (London: Harvard University Press, 1998), 8-9.
[4] Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*, 28-29.
[5] Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 17.
[6] Ibid., 17.
[7] Ibid., 26.
[8] Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different* Color, 23-24; Doane, "Rethinking Whiteness Studies," in Doane and Bonnila-Silva, 9-10; Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness,* 32, 34-36.
[9] Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 26.
[10] Roediger, *The Wages of* Whiteness, 35.

republic. The same independence and virtue that protected a citizenry from 'enslavement' in theories of republicanism also suggested that 'weakness and servility made those most dependent a threat to the Republic' as these peoples were 'apt to be pawns of powerful and designing men.'[11] Indeed, the republican distrust of centralised power extended also to the powerless who, it was feared, would vote for the preferences of the powerful and ultimately undermine the strength of independent republican citizens.[12]

Given the growing institutionalisation of slavery the colonies and the early American republic, it was easy to put people of colour into this 'dependent' category. In doing so, slaves became anti-citizens; they were 'enemies rather than members of the social compact.'[13] As Roediger points out, many worried that 'Negroes [who] had been born into slavery [and] filled with a spirit of dependence' would become 'pawns of the rich and powerful' and risk democracy devolving into aristocracy.[14] Thus slaves, and later free blacks, were explicitly and consistently excluded from definitions of citizenship. Years of servitude had 'proved' that they were unsuited to self-government and must be 'watched' in order to prevent them from being taken advantage of by the greedy and the powerful for the very safety of the republican order.

Additionally, republicanism's emphasis on independence as a necessity for successful citizenship made slavery 'a touchstone by which independence and degradation were measured.'[15] The concept of slavery was used this way rhetorically throughout the American Revolution. Americans consistently construed the actions of the British as 'plots to enslave free people.'[16] John Adams wrote 'there are but two sorts of men in the world, freemen and slaves.'[17] Moreover, the presence of slaves gave the language of slavery and freedom more significance, serving as an ever-present reminder of 'the dangers of dependency' and establishing a 'strong suspicion of paternalism.'[18] As Jacobson notes, the 'deeply embedded racial assumptions of

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[11] Ibid., 35.

[12] Kathleen Cleaver, introduction', in Roediger, xxi; Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness,* 44.

[13] James Flint, *Letters from America, 1818-1820*, vol. 33 (Carlisle, MA: Applewood Books, 1882), p. 145.

[14] Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*, 56-57.

[15] Ibid., 20.

[16] Ibid., 27.

[17] John Adams, "To The Inhabitants of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay," 30 January 1775, John Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, https://www.masshist.org/publications/apde2/view?&id=PJA02dg5 (accessed 28 April 2016)

[18] Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*, 28, 46.

republican ideology,' combined with the practicalities of maintaining slavery and efforts to settle a 'savage continent, led to an unquestioned acceptance of whiteness for naturalized citizenship.'[19] This further solidified the equation of economic and political independence with patriotic citizenship and the assertion of servitude and republicanism as diametrically opposed to one another. Thus, as Jacobson notes, in the American context, citizenship has been 'a racially inscribed concept' since the beginning of its history.[20]

These American ideas about the relationship between race and the citizen were legally codified in the first definitions of US citizenship. In 1790, the new US Congress passed the nation's first naturalisation law, stating 'that all free white persons who, have, or shall migrate into the United States, and shall give satisfactory proof…that they intend to reside therein…shall be entitled to the rights of citizenship.'[21] As Jacobson quips, 'so natural was the relationship of whiteness to citizenship that, in the debate which followed, the racial dimension of the act remained unquestioned.'[22] Similarly, Noah Webster's 1829 American Dictionary of the English Language, one of the first works to offer distinctly *American* words and definitions, defined freemen firstly as 'one who enjoys liberty…not a slave or a vassal', and secondly as 'one who enjoys or is entitled to franchise.'[23] Thus his definition invoked ideas of economic and political independence while simultaneously making his American freeman white. The Constitution also provided a path to citizenship for indentured servants, who were typically white, but remained silent on the subject of rights and chattel slavery. These provisions demonstrate 'the republican convergence of race and "fitness for self-government."'[24] Thus, as Toni Morrison

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[19] Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color,* 30.

[20] Ibid., 13.

[21] First Congress, 2d sess., Act of 12 August 1790, chapter 3, *United States Statutes at Large*: *A Century of Law Making for the New Nation*, Library of Congress, http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsl&fileName=001/llsl001.db&recNum=226 (accessed 21 May 2018). This was further reaffirmed in a 1795 law instituting a 'uniform rule' of Naturalization across the nation. This 1795 act again stated "That any alien, being a free white person, may be admitted to become a citizen of the United States, or any of them, on the following conditions…" see Third Congress, 2d sess. Act of 29 January 1795, chapter 20, United States Statutes at Large, http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsl&fileName=001/llsl001.db&recNum=537 (accessed 21 May 2018)

[22] Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color,* 22.

[23] Noah Webster, "An American Dictionary of the English Language," 1829 Online Edition, http://webstersdictionary1828.com/Dictionary/freeman (accessed 27 April 2016); Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*, 56.

[24] Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 22.

once wrote, 'deep within the word "American" is its association with race…American means white.'[25]

European ideas about civilisation were also tied up with ideas regarding land-ownership. In republican terms, land-ownership became a way to demonstrate and practice one's independence and to ensure the continued heath of a republic. James Harrington, a writer in the English Opposition tradition, built on Machiavelli and Rousseau's caution that virile *virtù* must be consistently performed and maintained for a republic to stave off decadence and linked the concept of property to their writings on *virtù*. Indeed, Robert Shalhope notes that Harrington's most significant contribution 'lay in joining land ownership with the possession of arms as the twin bases of virtuous citizenship.'[26] Specifically, by holding land the citizen had the means and independence to defend the state. An individual without land 'was dependent on another for his livelihood and therefore could be neither citizen nor soldier.'[27] Moreover, relying on the government for defence represented a sacrifice of the independence stemming from property rights.[28] Thus a rejection of standing armies and the elevation of the citizen-soldier was perceived as essential to the survival of free institutions.

In the American tradition, Harrington's emphasis on landownership was embodied by the exaltation of the armed husbandmen. This figure was free because he controlled his own labour and was seen as America's defence against the decadence that doomed Greece and Rome.[29] Embracing Harrington's ideas, the leaders of the Early Republic believed that American virtue could be revitalized on the frontier. Specifically, as Shalhope notes, they 'believed that in order to accommodate both virtue and commerce a republic must be as energetic in its search for land as it was in its search for commerce. A vast supply of land, occupied by an armed and self-directing yeomanry, might establish an endless reservoir of virtue.'[30] This constant search for land required the manly *virtù* of the citizen-soldier. Indeed, Shalhope further argues that the nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of a 'violently activist democratic ideology, based on nature's abundance and vitality.'[31] It was

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[25] Toni Morrison quoted in Doane, "Rethinking Whiteness Studies," in Doane and Bonilla-Silva, 12.
[26] Shalhope, "The Armed Citizen,"128.
[27] Ibid.; see also Cress, *Citizens in Arms*, 16.
[28] Cress, *Citizens in Arms*, 16-17.
[29] Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*, 45.
[30] Shalhope, "The Armed Citizen," 140.
[31] Ibid.

through this contact with nature that the citizen could constantly reassert himself and prevent the development of the dependence on government and the resultant corruption that doomed ancient Rome.[32] Thus, the maintenance of American civic virtue demanded a process of self-renewal through acts of violence on the frontier.

Importantly, women and femininity existed outside these paradigms. Unable to hold land or serve in a militia, women instead were expected to maintain American civic virtue by 'engaging in the practices of constitutive of "republican mothers" rather than citizen-soldiers.'[33] As Linda Kerber notes, the role of republican mother provided 'a political role for women' and created a context in which 'women might define the civic culture and the responsibilities to the state.'[34] Unlike most Enlightenment philosophers who excluded women from the civic sphere, American theorists such as Judith Sargent Murray, Susan Rowson and Benjamin Rush argued that as the health of the nation rested on a virtuous citizenry, the creation and cultivation of this citizenry relied on the work of mothers.[35] Accordingly, while men practiced their civic and martial *virtù* in the militia and as a frontier-warrior, women practiced their virtue through their domesticity, providing practical support for their husbands and celebrating the efforts of frontier-warriors.

The exalted frontier warrior also constructed himself and his superiority in a gendered and raced language. The maintenance of national *virtù* relied on frontier-warriors securing lands at the expense of the Native Americans who were 'unfit for citizenship.'[36] As Snyder notes, 'white male Americans constructed their civic identity through violent martial practices that annihilated Native American populations…American citizen-soldiers likewise constituted their identity in opposition to the Mexicans, as they patrolled America's southern border.'[37] Similarly

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[32] J.G.A. Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003), 535; Shalhope, "The Armed Citizen,"140-141.

[33] Snyder, *Citizen-Soldiers and Manly Warriors*, 3.

[34] Linda Kerber, "The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment – An American Perspective," *American Quarterly* 28, no. 2 (Summer 1976), 188; For more on Republican Motherhood see Linda Kerber, *No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998); Rosemarie Zaggari, "Morals, Manners, and the Republican Mother," *American Quarterly* 44, no. 2 (June 1992): 192-215; Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1980), especially 228-255; Ruth H. Bloch, "The Gendered Meanings of Virtue in Revolutionary America," *Signs* 13, no. 1 (Autumn 1987): 37-58.

[35] Kerber, "The Republican Mother," 201-202; Zaggari, "Morals, Manners, and the Republican Mother," 192; Bloch, "The Gendered Meanings of Virtue in Revolutionary America," 46.

[36] Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*, 21.

[37] Snyder, *Citizen-Soldiers and Manly Warriors*, 92.

Richard Moser emphasises the importance of the frontier myth in American history. In this context, Americans 'fought a special mission to civilize wayward people, make barren lands productive, and ensure the tranquillity of home and hearth.'[38] Just as citizenship was defined by whiteness, frontier-warriors were constantly restoring the nation's virtue by defending the nation from 'uncivilised' peoples on their borders.

National *virtù* was also preserved by militiamen serving to protect their local communities. The militia, a voluntary force, was the primary vehicle for citizen-soldiers to practice their individual *virtù* in early America. As Stefan Dudnik and Karen Hagemann note, 'the republican masculinity of the militias centred around a masculinity of independence that connected the individual citizen to the collective activities of politics and war at the same time that it linked these two activities.'[39] Thus, the militia represents a manifestation the citizen-soldier because it is distinct from the employee-soldier military. In this role, citizen-soldiers were meant to 'provide for the common defense' but even this is profoundly influenced by the realities of racial assumptions and relations in the US. The primary defence role played by the militia was the protection against insurrection from the external threat of native peoples or the internal threat of slave rebellion.[40] Thus, the citizen-soldier became, by rhetorical and practical necessity, inclusive of white men only. The centrality of race to the citizen-soldier remained one of its key features well into the 20th century.

The Citizen-Soldier in the Early Republic

As the nation established itself, the citizen-soldier ideal continued to be influenced by republican ideas about race, citizenship, independence and virtue, and continued to play a central rhetorical role in the new nation. As Kirk Savage notes, 'the myth of the citizen-soldier accorded well with the republican ideology of self-government with its antistatist basis and its distrust of specifically federal power.'[41] Moreover, in theory at least, the citizen-soldier provided a twofold defence against the tyranny of standing armies and the strength of a centralised government. The citizen-soldier could simultaneously demonstrate and practise his *virtù* and the independence

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[38] Moser, *The New Winter Soldiers*, 3.
[39] Stefan Dudnik and Karen Hagemann, "Masculinity in Politics and War in the Age of Democratic Revolutions, 1750-1850," in Dudnik, Hagemann and Tosh, 8.
[40] Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 25.
[41] Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 1997), 168.

central to his citizenship, while also, through militia service, remain primarily loyal to his community rather than to a more centralised state.

Ultimately, the Revolution began the process of intertwining the citizen-soldier with professions of loyalty as militia service became the most direct way to demonstrate one's support for the rebel cause.[42] James Burk notes, 'once in the militia, even citizens who fought no battles…branded themselves as rebels and identified their fate with the fate of the revolution.'[43] Thus the citizen-soldier came to embody definitions of patriotism, loyalty and citizenship that demanded a public performance of these ideals. However, the American Revolution also demonstrated that while the citizen-soldier provided a foundational rhetorical tool to distinguish the American cause from the oppression of the British army, it proved less applicable to the more practical needs of armed resistance. Indeed, the militia increasingly failed to serve the military demands of the new nation as governments needed men to serve longer, travel farther and face well-trained national armies.[44] As Shalhope notes, 'the popular interpretation of victory in the Revolution ignored the vital role played by the regular army and reinstated the people's militia as the vital pillar of American virtue and essential to the preservation of the nation's unique republican character.'[45] However, soldiers were simultaneously patriotic citizens, who defended a nation in crisis, and subordinate soldiers, who answered to the demands of a single individual. The latter characterisation stood in stark contrast to republicanism's emphasis on an independent citizenry. As Savage notes, the nature of soldiering 'represented two extremes of masculinity, one the hero, the other the slave.'[46] However, leading American thinkers continued to be shaped by the idea that the enduring success of a republic relied on the willingness of citizens to bear arms in its defence and the rhetorical utility of the citizen-soldier endured.

By the War of 1812, citizen-soldiers were discussed in opposition to standing armies and 'hireling' soldiers; a designation akin to the employee-soldier. Hireling soldiers were defined by a lack of bravery and a tendency to flee in a difficult battle; a depiction which serviced to reemphasise the bravery of the citizen-soldier. Given that he sacrificed his independence and became a soldier for profit, he sacrificed the

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[42] Moser, *The New Winter Soldiers*, 20.
[43] Burk, "The Citizen-Soldier and Democratic Societies," 159.
[44] Cress, *Citizens in Arms*, 5.
[45] Shalhope, "The Armed Citizen," 140.
[46] Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, 168.

independence that was foundational to his citizenship. Such men 'behaved as the very opposite of the self-sacrificing republican citizens' and made 'reward or material remuneration the motive of [their] actions.'[47] The hireling soldier was such a widely reviled figure that Francis Scott Key included the figure in an original verse of the Star Spangled Banner. This third verse noted 'no refuge could save the hireling and slave/From the terror of flight or the gloom of the grave.'[48] As Key's lyric suggests, hireling soldiers were also often compared to slaves. Both were unfit for citizenship and acted under the influence of more powerful people. As one contemporary observer noted, those who labour for others become 'mere Negroes…lazy and careless.'[49] Moreover, the lyrics demonstrate the centrality of the patriotic citizen-soldier to the growing nation by including a rejection of its opposite in a song that would come to epitomize patriotic citizenship for Americans.

The fear of a loss of national *virtù* profoundly shaped debates about the structure and function of government through the end of the 18th century.[50] As Ronald Krebs notes, 'at the time of the founding, a civic republican tradition reigned supreme: that generation extolled local militias regardless of their failings. One American offered the following toast on the first anniversary of the Declaration of Independence: "May only those Americans enjoy freedom who are ready to die for its defense."'[51] George Washington expressed similar sentiments, arguing that virtuous men demonstrated their loyalty through unfaltering service to the common good. Writing his 'Sentiments on a Peace Establishment' in 1783, Washington further argued, 'it may be laid down as a primary position, and the basis of our system, that every citizen who enjoys the protection of a free government, owes not only a portion of property, but even his personal services to the defence of it.'[52] Thus the protection of the nation, both practically and ideologically, relied on the citizenry's possession of arms and their ability and willingness to defend themselves and the nation. According

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[47] Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*, 45.
[48] Francis Scott Key, "The Star Spangled Banner," (1854), https://amhistory.si.edu/starspangledbanner/the-lyrics.aspx (accessed 19 July 2018)
[49] Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*, 45.
[50] Shalhope, "The Armed Citizen," 132.
[51] Krebs, "The Citizen-Soldier Tradition,"161.
[52] George Washington, "Sentiments on a Peace Establishment," in *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799*, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office,1931-1944), http://press-pubs.uchicago.edu/founders/documents/a1_8_12s6.html (accessed on 2 February 2016); John Bodnar, *Bonds of Affection: Americans Define Their Patriotism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 4.

to Shalhope, this intellectual tradition 'constituted the bedrock, the "palladium", of republican liberty.'[53] This understanding of citizenship, the citizen-soldier and the endurance of the republic persisted through the earliest years of the nation's history. However, the upheaval of the Civil War challenged, altered and affirmed some of the central tenets of American citizenship.

'Splendid Symbols': The Civil War and the Citizen-Soldier

At the core of the many changes occurring as a result of the Civil War was a redefinition of ideas about citizenship. Before 1865 only 'free white persons' could lay claim to the identity of American citizen and its attendant rights and responsibilities. However, unlike the American Revolution, which left mostly unchanged Enlightenment ideas about who was suited to be 'the people' in charge of republican governance, the aftermath of the Civil War dramatically expanded this entity. With the passage of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments, 'the people' came to include 'slave and slave owner alike' while the Reconstruction period revolved around the question of who belonged within the concept of the nation and the protections and privileges of citizenship. [54]

Almost immediately after the conflict, North-South reunions, or Blue-Grey reunions, occurred across the nation as soldiers and civilians came to terms with the carnage the war left in its wake. It was in these gatherings that soldiers quickly became 'splendid symbols around which to forge reunion.' and the image of the valorous fighting man became central to the reconciliation process.[55] As David Blight notes, 'in the cult of the fallen soldier, a nineteenth-century manly ideal of heroism was redefined for coming generations,' forging national reunion 'around the values of manliness, valor, sacrifice, and a mutual sense of honor.'[56] In the spirit of reconciliation, the causes of the war and the reasons soldiers fought were often overlooked. Instead, these veterans' reunions repositioned the war as 'a heroic struggle between brothers' whose sacrifice strengthened and revived the nation.[57] Thus soldiers on both sides became victims of the whims of politicians and their

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[53] Shalhope, "The Armed Citizen," 138.
[54] Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, 5.
[55] David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (London: Belknap Press, 2001), 189-190; 86.
[56] Ibid., 72, 199.
[57] Cecilia Elizabeth O'Leary, *To Die For: The Paradox of American Patriotism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 135, 203; Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 189-190.

willingness to sacrifice their lives for their cause became worthy of celebration and the gratitude of the nation.[58] Similarly, one of the nation's first veterans' organisations, the Grand Army, used the popular memory of the Civil War to 'teach each son…that the noblest act of man is to love his country.' By tying articulations of manhood to courageous military service, the organisation 'contributed to a modern masculinity that made aggressive virility and militarism the core of [American] national character.'[59] Moreover, the exaltation of shared sacrifice and the connection between loyalty, performative patriotism and citizenship solidified the central underpinning of the American citizen-soldier: dutiful military service was the citizen's most significant display of loyalty and performance of citizenship.[60]

However, the realities of fighting the Civil War simultaneously challenged existing ideas about masculinity and democracy. The American emphasis on the importance of independence lay in stark contrast to soldiers' experiences in combat. The demands of an increasingly mechanised military created an uneasy shared experience between African-Ameriacns and white citizen-soldiers: while white men tended to experience this new subservient position as 'a drastic curtailing of personal agency and a concomitant loss of manhood,' black men gained a path out of slavery and into a legitimate social identity.[61] Thus, in the post-war era, white men had to reassert their independence in numerous forums. For example, the veterans' reunions glorified the honour of the fight, rather than focussing on the issues that caused the war, allowing a continued exclusion of black soldiers. Another method was the construction of numerous monuments to the 'ordinary white man, the generic citizen-soldier.'[62] The representation of this generic soldier figure required artists to 'condense the polyglot faces of the nation into a standard "American" type…what it meant to be "American" was not easy to define, but whiteness was a prerequisite.'[63]

The image of the black soldier challenged this narrative of a nation seeking to come together over the valour of its soldiers rather than the specifics of their cause.[64] As Savage notes, 'the black body was already identified with slavery, and the black

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[58] Blight, *Race and Reunion,* 90.
[59] O'Leary, *To Die For*, 55.
[60] O'Leary, *To Die For,* 53.
[61] Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, 170, 174.
[62] Ibid., 19.
[63] Ibid., 162.
[64] Ibid., 180.

soldier specifically came to be identified with emancipation.'[65] Consequently, the perceived 'whiteness of Civil War valor and the blackness of Reconstruction' ultimately shaped American memory of the conflict and the subsequent renewal of American ideas of citizenship and soldiering.[66] By overlooking the causes for which the men had fought, and instead emphasising the bravery required for the fight, veterans' reunions 'made belief in the righteousness of their cause, self-sacrifice coupled with courage on the field of battle and devotion to duty the defining characteristics of a patriot.'[67] Simultaneously, veterans' reunions solidified the image of the citizen-soldier as white, despite the fact that roughly 179,000 black men fought for the Union, and between 3,000 and 6,000 black men were compelled to support Confederate efforts.[68] According to Blight, the dominant Civil War memory became that of a 'white man's war, a war between men of equally strong character and devotion on both sides, a vision destined to reconcile the sections, celebrate a common American manhood, but largely ignore[d] race and black freedom.'[69] Moreover, the repetition of the image of the virile 'American' soldier continued to 'solidify the association between the white body and the moral duty of citizenship.[70] Thus the reassertion of the virile citizen-soldier was a reassertion of a distinctly white manhood.[71]

The Civil War also altered understandings about the relationship between the citizen-soldier and the state. As Grace Hale notes, the war and Reconstruction 'definitively shifted the location of citizenship from the individual states to the national level.'[72] Whereas in the Revolution and Early Republic period, the citizen-soldier had been tied to the strength of local communities, the military occupation of the South during parts of the Reconstruction period reshaped citizen-soldiers from various states into citizen-soldiers of the nation.[73] Indeed, the numerous soldiers'

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[65] Ibid.
[66] Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1840-1940* (New York: Vintage Books, 1998), 50.
[67] O'Leary, *To Die For*, 123.
[68] "Black Soldiers in the Military During the Civil War," The National Archives (1 September 2017), https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/blacks-civil-war (accessed 26 July 2018); John Stauffer, "Yes, There Were Black Confederates. Here's Why." *The Root* (20 January 2015), https://www.theroot.com/yes-there-were-black-confederates-here-s-why-1790858546 (accessed 26 July 2018)
[69] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 198.
[70] Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, 182.
[71] Ibid., 163.
[72] Hale, *Making Whiteness*, 6; Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, 5.
[73] Burk, "The Citizen-Soldier," 162.

monuments constructed across the country 'celebrated the local people's continuing sacrifice of their own men for the nation.'[74] As a result, this new sense of a national-identity, despite the drastic redefinition of citizenship in the Constitution, remained entrenched in earlier republican understandings of 'fitness for self-government' and racial identity.

Significantly, the underlying reassertion of the whiteness of American citizenship that provided the foundation for national reconciliation also provided for the endurance of the Lost Cause narrative. The Lost Cause narrative represents both an attempt to control the popular memory of the Civil War, but also to create a useable history for white Southerners seeking to make sense of the carnage of the conflict. Having been defeated, Southerners sought a useable past to defend their cause and validate their war experiences. As one Southern newspaper, *The Richmond Dispatch*, argued, the South fought from 'a sense of rights under the Constitution' and sacrificed gallantly to answer the still unanswered question of the appropriate relationship between the states and the federal government. By sacrificing themselves in pursuit of an answer, the paper asserts that they had fought with 'unparalleled "courage and constancy."'[75] Additionally, Blue-Grey reunions provided an avenue for the Southern spirit to be redeemed through 'the story of irrepressible and heroic Confederate soldier.'[76] The reunification around the courage of (white) soldiers 'allowed white southerners to "distance themselves from the issues of the war without repudiating the veterans"' and ultimately, without repudiating the cause for which they fought.[77] Indeed, in the aftermath of the Civil War, white Southerners consistently created a regional identity that emphasised their difference from the rest of the nation and from the freed African-Americans still living within the South.[78] Specifically, the Lost Cause painted Confederate soldiers as heroic victims and embraced 'a sense of pride and soldierly honor, an end to defeatism, and a new sense of racial mastery.'[79]

Simultaneously, the narrative celebrated the virile *virtù* of the citizen-soldier by 'providing a model of masculine devotion and courage in an age increasingly dominated by gender anxieties and material gain that would threaten the health of the republic.' Thus the Lost Cause narrative created a Confederate history which became

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[74] Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, 178.
[75] *The Richmond Dispatch* (9 December 1865), quoted in Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 37.
[76] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 79.
[77] Hale, *Making Whiteness*, 9; 67.
[78] Ibid., 9-10.
[79] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 37.

a source of Southern pride, as well as a source of protection against the tumultuous social and political disorder of the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[80] As Blight notes, 'white supremacy, a hardening of traditional gender roles, a military tradition and patriotic recognition of Confederate valor, and a South innocent of responsibility for slavery…were the weapons arming the fortress against the threats of populist politics, racial equality and industrialization.'[81] The social upheavals and labour riots of the last quarter of the nineteenth century would elevate the Lost Cause narrative from a Southern tradition to the dominant national popular memory. As Kirk Savage notes, 'central to the founding mythology of the American nation, the citizen-soldier could not and did not survive the trauma of the Civil War intact. The new realities of mass warfare – not the least of which was the introduction of nearly 200,000 black men into the Union army – forced a profound reappraisal of what it meant to be a soldier and a man.'[82]   The war also forced a reappraisal of what it meant to be a citizen and the citizen's relationship to the nation.

As the nation accommodated increasing numbers of immigrants, and industrial workers became more vocal in their demands for rights, the cult of the fallen soldier 'became a tonic against fear of social change, a preventative ideological medicine for the sick souls of the Gilded Age.'[83] In this new era, Civil War veterans represented a more wholesome, respectable society, from a more heroic, authentic era.[84] This nostalgia for 'simpler times' solidified the virtuous, dutiful sacrifice of the soldier for the health of the nation in American national identity. For example, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes decried the Gilded Age's emphasis on wealth and instead encouraged young men to 'pray not for comfort, but for combat' and to 'keep the soldier's faith against the doubts of civil life.'[85] In Holmes' words we can see the endurance of the manly soldier protecting his republican society from the triumph of decadence and the loss of virtue.

Dutiful, loyal military service by America's young men became engrained in American identity and endured throughout the twentieth century. As John Bodnar notes, 'the emasculation of southern manhood [after the Civil War], the need for

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[80] Ibid., 266, 272, 274.
[81] Ibid., 291.
[82] Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, 167.
[83] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 266.
[84] Ibid., 129,172, 209.
[85] Richard Posner, ed., *The Essential Holmes: Selections from the Letters, Speeches, Judicial Opinions and Other Writings of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.* (Chicago: The University Of Chicago Press, 1992), 92.

political reconciliation, the intensification of class conflict, and the acquisition of economic and world power combined to encourage greater idealization of male warrior heroism and aggressive nationalism.'[86] Further, Hale argues that 'sectional reconciliation within a common whiteness [after the Civil War] provided a common grounding…for the expansion of American imperialism.' Similarly, Kathleen Cleaver argues that 'the claim to republican citizenship and maleness…was central to the nineteenth-century worker's devotion to whiteness.'[87] In other words, the nature of national reconciliation solidified the military as a nationally recognised affirmer of patriotic masculinity. Moreover, it celebrated the masculine *virtù* of the citizen-soldier and created a gendered performance that served as a bulwark against the gender, class and racial anxieties of the early 20th century.[88]

The reshaping of the citizen-soldier that occurred during the Civil War differs from that which occurred during the Vietnam War in important ways. During the Civil War, the changes in this ideal were a result of larger societal forces which soldiers and civilians experienced. Conversely, the reconfiguration of the ideal during the Vietnam War era was first spearheaded by the citizen-soldiers themselves: active-duty GIs and Vietnam veterans. In other words, the Vietnam War era is particularly significant because changes in the meaning and significance of the citizen-soldier came from within the military itself, rather than from society at large. However, the fissures of the Civil War are vital to understanding the ideal of the citizen-soldier that Vietnam GIs and veterans sought to change a century later.

A White Man's Burden: The Citizen-Soldier and Imperialism

As the US expanded its quest for Manifest Destiny beyond its borders in the late 19th century, the citizen-soldier ideal became more explicitly entwined with ideas of white masculinity as the nation increasingly defined themselves against non-white 'others'.[89] As captured by Rudyard Kipling's iconic poem 'The White Man's Burden', American imperialist endeavours were built on ideas about racial identity and 'fitness for self-government'. According to Joane Nagel, the citizen-soldier, and accompanying understandings of masculinity and race, were 'tightly woven into two nationalist imperial projects: manifest destiny, which justified and advocated

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[86] Bodnar, *Bonds of Affection*, 12.
[87] Cleaver, introduction to Roediger, xxii.
[88] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 266, 272, 274.
[89] Hale, *Making Whiteness*, 6.

westward expansion, and the Monroe Doctrine, which justified and extended the US sphere of influence to include the entire western hemisphere.'[90] The Spanish-American War in particular was 'infused with imperial language, nationalism, and racial supremacy.'[91] For President Theodore Roosevelt, imperial conquest provided yet another way for Americans to renew their *virtù* on the frontier, as a strong state was also a masculine state and martial dominance was inextricably connected to masculinity.[92] Put another way, 'the gendered aspect of loyalty was fortified by the tumultuous experience of warfare…and the opportunity it created to venerate the sacrifice of male warriors for the nation.'[93] Given the twin influences of conquering the frontier and solidifying the nation's hegemony in the Western hemisphere, 'America's nationhood itself was the product of both racial superiority and virile manhood.'[94]

By linking military successes to the goals and the very health of the nation, supporting or serving in the military became a 'standard way to identify a true patriot.'[95] Just as during the Revolution, it quickly became national gospel that loyalty to one's country could be most clearly expressed through support of national military efforts.[96] This was further engrained into the American psyche as military leaders fervently emphasised subordination, loyalty, duty and obedience as core military values; the highest glory of the soldier was 'obedience, unthinking, instinctive, prompt and cheerful obedience.'[97] This understanding of loyalty as linked to international military conquests provided socially subordinate groups, such as immigrants and African-Americans, with a path to assert their Americanness. Its paramount emphasis on loyalty made military service 'a device by which excluded segments of society could achieve political legitimacy and rights.'[98] Key works on the critical whiteness suggest that many immigrant communities, seeking to be included in society, laid

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[90] Joane Nagel, "Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21, no. 2 (1998): 249.

[91] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 347, 352; Hale, *Making Whiteness*, 67.

[92] Ibid., 251; see also Theodore Roosevelt, "The Strenuous Life," (speech, Chicago, IL, 10 April 1899), Voices of Democracy: US Oratory Project, http://voicesofdemocracy.umd.edu/roosevelt-strenuous-life-1899-speech-text/ (accessed 24 April 2018)

[93] Bodnar, *Bonds of Affection*, 13.

[94] Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 186; see also O'Leary, *To Die For*, 116.

[95] O'Leary, *To Die For*, 21.

[96] John Somerville, "Patriotism and War," *Ethics* 91, no. 4 (July 1981): 575.

[97] Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, 258.

[98] Segal, *Recruiting for Uncle Sam*, 10.

claim to, or emphasised their whiteness. These works also note that the early 20th century saw an expansion of the definition of 'white'.[99] For example, Irish immigrants were increasingly included in American understandings of whiteness, citizenship and American belonging. Despite this, whiteness remained a prerequisite for claiming citizenship through military service.

The 1906 Naturalisation Laws and Regulations Act stated that any foreigner over 21 years of age, 'who had enlisted, or may enlist in the armies of the United States…[and] has been, or may be hereafter, honorably discharged, shall be admitted to become a citizen of the United States, upon his petition.' However, the act also continued to restrict citizenship to foreigners who were 'free white persons, and to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent.'[100] Significantly, those that were unable to successfully demonstrate their whiteness, continued to be denied the privileges of citizenship, despite a history of military service.[101] For example in 1922, Bhagat Singh Thind, an Indian Sikh man who served in the US Army in World War I, petitioned the US government to include 'high-caste Hindus' under the umbrella of 'free white persons.' Despite his military service, the case was decided in favour of the US Government, and Thind was denied naturalisation.[102] In other words, the military service of peoples who were not 'free white persons' continued to be viewed as outside the purview of the privileges of citizen-soldier. This remained true for black Americans as well. As Blight suggests, in the wake of the Civil War and the Constitutional conferral of citizenship, black Americans were 'eager to prove' the manhood and patriotic citizenship that they had long been denied. In doing so, some black Americans believed they might further the cause of black equality eliminate some of the existing prejudices through valorous military service. However, those serving did so in segregated units and were also not afforded the citizenship rights that other 'white' immigrants were able to claim. Significantly, in a precursor to a debate

[99] See for example, Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*; Theodore W. Allen, *The Invention of the White Race* (New York: Verso, 1997); Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White,* 2nd ed. (Milton Park: Routledge Classics, 2009); Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color.*
[100] Department of Commerce and Labor, *Naturalization Laws and Regulations of October 1906* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906), US Citizenship and Immigration Services History Office and Library, https://www.uscis.gov/library (accessed 4 May 2016)
[101] There are multiple Supreme Court cases in which individuals applied for citizenship by claiming that their racial identity fit under the 'free white persons' definition. Examples include: *Takao Ozawa v. US* (1922) and *Takuji Yamashita v. Hinkle* (1922) in which both men argued that Japanese people qualified as 'free white persons'. However, the Supreme Court denied their request for naturalisation.
[102] United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind, 261 U.S. 204 (1923), http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5076/ (accessed 4 May 2016)

that would resurface in the Vietnam War era, many ultimately concluded that the challenges and violence that faced their communities was more important than those across an ocean.[103]

Thus, expressions of nationalism became increasingly tied with a masculinity rooted in military service and 'true patriots were often represented as male [white] warriors.'[104] Perhaps as a result of this gendered and racial understanding of military service, this was also the period where the reliance on the militia began to permanently give way to an army as a nationally, rather than locally representative force, further linking military conquests to national strength.[105] As Snyder notes, 'the increasing diversity of class, race, and ethnicity in American society created fear on the part of the white, property-owning classes of the dark, urban proletariat gathering in the cities and led calls for the building of a modern professional army.'[106] Moreover, this fear of the urban proletariat provided space in which 'national and sectional desires merged', creating a new sense of national purpose.[107] Significantly, much of the military remained staffed by volunteers. However the rhetoric around the responsibilities of citizenship, which persisted through this period, took on increasingly gendered and racial layers.[108] The election of Woodrow Wilson, and the growing emphasis on obedient loyalty accompanying World War I and the Red Scare, further solidified the importance of performative patriotism.

The World Wars: Unquestioned Loyalty and Being Quietly Useful

Jeanette Keith notes that the US is 'alone among the combatants in World War I that locate the war's significance not in the trenches of France, but on the homefront.'[109] Indeed, the Great War marked a moment when the relevance of the citizen-soldier ideal was simultaneously challenged and reasserted.   While the militia ceased to be an effective fighting force as war became increasingly mechanised, the rhetorical importance of the citizen-soldier remained central to conceptions of American identity on the global stage. In part, this was forcibly imposed rather than

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[103] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 347-348.
[104] Bodnar, *Bonds of Affection*, 13.
[105] Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, 229.
[106] Snyder, *Citizen-Soldiers and Manly Warriors*, 96.
[107] Hale, *Making Whiteness*, 76.
[108] Krebs, "The Citizen-Soldier Tradition," 161; Segal, *Recruiting for Uncle Sam*, 27.
[109] Jeanette Keith, "The Politics of Southern Draft Resistance, 1917-1918: Class, Race and Conscription in the Rural South," *The Journal of American History* 87, no. 4 (March 2001), 1336.

readily adopted by the majority of the American public. Positioned as a war to make the world safe for democracy, President Wilson went to great lengths to garner support for the war, orchestrating loyalty campaigns that linked an unquestioning support of American military efforts to citizenship and loyalty. In a 1916 speech, the president declared 'so long as we have contrary sympathies…so long as one body of us is pulling in one direction and another body in another direction, we can't do anything, either for ourselves or for the world.'[110] Closely intertwined with traditions of anti-foreignism and anti-radicalism, this '100% Americanism' campaign meant those that refused to conform faced discrimination or jail, and were deemed un-American.[111] With the passage of the 1917 Espionage Act and 1918 Sedition Act, the duty to support the nation in its military endeavours became socially required as well as legally codified. Despite this, the war fostered significant dissent, which challenged the utility of the citizen-soldier ideal. The establishment of the first national draft, the American positioning of the war as one in defence of democracy and the widespread unpopularity of the war has important implications for the utility and endurance of the citizen-soldier. Specifically, the war, and its reliance on the first national system of conscription, raised vital questions about the relationship between citizenship and soldiering in a society with explicit and institutional racial and class imbalances. While it was primarily working class southern white men that were sent to the front lines, the World War I-era draft, like its Vietnam War era counterpart, disproportionately conscripted black men.[112] Pointing to these inequities, this period witnessed significant questioning, or outright rejection of the utility and applicability of the citizen-soldier ideal. Like the Vietnam War era, resisters rooted their critique in the gap between American democratic ideals, the explicit and institutional

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[110] Woodrow Wilson quoted in Anthony Gaughan, "Woodrow Wilson and the Rise of Militant Interventionism in the South." *The Journal of Southern History* 65, no. 4 (November 1999): 786.

[111] For a further discussion of these dynamics see Gaughan, "Woodrow Wilson and the Rise of Militant Interventionism in the South," 771-808; Chambers, *To Raise an Army*, 93-96; New York Public Library, "Over Here: WWI and the Fight for the American Mind,' NPYL.org, https://www.nypl.org/events/exhibitions/overhere/more (accessed 11 January 2019); Michael S. Neiberg, *The Path to War: How the First World War Created Modern America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 179-205, especially 187; 100% Americanism refers both to what is exceptional about the United States, reflecting a tradition of American Exceptionalism, but also includes a steadfast loyalty to those political ideals which depicted America as a united front and guardian of liberty.

[112] Jennifer D. Keene, *World War I: The American Soldier Experience* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2011), 93-105; Keith, "The Politics of Southern Draft Resistance," 1351; John Whiteclay Chambers II, *To Raise an Army: The Draft Comes to Modern America* (New York: Free Press, 1987), 223.

inequities of American belonging and questioned the authority of the government to compel citizens to serve in a war that did not immediately threaten the nation.

The establishment of the national draft provided one of the first moments for citizens to tangibly challenge the assumed relationship between democratic citizenship and the duty to serve. The initial debate around conscription centred on the question of preparedness. Advocates acknowledged that a national system of conscription would serve both military and national needs by 'teach[ing] young men discipline, Americaniz[ing] immigrants and break[ing] down class and regional divisions' echoing the assertion that a reliance on citizen-soldiers acts as a 'great equaliser.'[113] President Wilson defined the move within the voluntary service of the citizen-soldier, asserting that the draft was 'in no sense a conscription of the unwilling; it is, rather, selection from a Nation which has volunteered in mass.'[114] Some activists drew on this assumption of the military as a 'great equaliser' to support efforts to correct racial inequities in American society. The black bourgeois in particular asserted traditionally patriotic stances in the hopes that valorous military service would bring first-class citizenship.[115] As Theodore Kornweibel notes, 'practically the whole leadership establishment echoed W.E.B. DuBois' famous statement urging the race to put aside for the moment its homefront grievances, "close ranks," and join with whites' in the fight against Germany.[116] These perspectives were 'colored by the belief that white America would reward the black race for its loyal wartime service by opening up fresh new opportunities, relaxing segregation and inaugurating a new era of race relations.'[117] While this patriotism was most easily perceived by contemporaries and scholars, according to Kornweibel, it often tells us more about the opinions of black

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[113] Keith, "The Politics of Southern Draft Resistance," 1339.

[114] Woodrow Wilson, Proclamation 1370 – Conscription, 18 May 1917, The American Presidency Project, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=65403 (accessed 28 April 2018)

[115] Keith, "The Politics of Southern Draft Resistance," 1357; Theodore Kornweibel Jr., "Apathy and Dissent: Black America's Negative Responses to World War I," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 80 (Summer 1981), 323; For a more extensive discussion of black patriotism during World War I see Arthur Barbeau and Florette Henri, *The Unknown Soldiers: African American Troops in World War I* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1974)

[116] While scholars have debated Du Bois' position on black participation in American wars, it is clear that he saw some usefulness in black military service, if only to further black activism. See for example, Mark Ellis, "W.E.B Du Bois and the Formation of Black Opinion in World War 1: A Commentary on 'The Damnable Dilemma'," *The Journal of American History* 81, no. 4. (Mar., 1995): 1584-1590.

[117] Kornweibel, "Black America," 322.

newspaper editors than the black masses who 'had only a handful of spokesmen to articulate their apathy or anti-war views.'[118]

Many other factions of the American populace emphasised the inequities of the draft to challenge the government's right to conscript men. One of the precedent-setting legal challenges to the draft argued that it constituted involuntary servitude, violating the Thirteenth Amendment. The Supreme Court rejected this argument, asserting that 'the very conception of a just government and its duty to the citizen includes the reciprocal obligation of the citizen to render military service in case of need and the right [of the government] to compel it.'[119] However, some dissenters could accept this assertion while rejecting the draft's demand that men serve beyond America's borders for a cause that wasn't immediately relevant to the lives of many citizens.[120] Secondly, Southerners in particular repurposed Civil War era states' rights arguments, deeming the draft an unconstitutional overreach of federal power by requiring men to serve beyond America's borders.[121]

Even those who accepted the right of the national government to compel military service noted that the draft disproportionately conscripted working class men of both races. John Whiteclay Chambers notes that most resisters and deserters were 'poorer men' such as agricultural or industrial labourers.[122] Consequently, some resisters decried the war as a 'Wall Street War', highlighting the class inequities of the draft.[123] To some extent, these inequities were built into a conscription system designed in part to shelter industry for preparedness, particularly in the way that it assessed deferments and only the wealthiest (white) farmers could hope to obtain an agricultural deferment.[124] Reflecting existing stereotypes that underpinned the Jim Crow order, American policymakers, draft boards and politicians further asserted that black men could not be used effectively as combat soldiers and feared the social and political implications of training and arming significant numbers of black men.[125]

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[118] Kornweibel, "Black America," 322, 336.

[119] Arver v. United States, 245 U.S. 366 (1918), https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/245/366 (accessed 8 January 2018)

[120] Keith, "The Politics of Southern Draft Resistance," 1337-1338.

[121] Keith, "The Politics of Southern Draft Resistance," 1337-1338.

[122] Chambers, *To Raise an Army*, 212-213.

[123] Chambers, *To Raise an Army,* 205.

[124] Keith, "The Politics of Southern Draft Resistance," 1342, 1345; The particularly low earnings of farmers, most of whom earned less than $1 per day, meant that the Army's $30 per month income was an 'improvement' on their existing incomes and married men could 'adequately support' their families on an Army salary and thus did not qualify for and economic deferment.

[125] Keith, "The Politics of Southern Draft Resistance," 1341; Chambers, *To Raise an Army*, 222-224.

Thus, Keith notes that 'while blacks were disproportionately drafted, black conscripts did not stand much danger of being sent into combat. World War I was not just a poor man's fight; it was a poor white man's fight.'[126] Some white Southerners resisted the draft overtly through armed, violent resistance, while others sought to evade the draft through non-cooperation. During the First World War these men were collectively deemed 'slackers'.[127] Despite Wilson's campaigns for loyalty, Keith notes that 40.7% of rural county draft boards reported that the community encouraged young men to resist.[128] The acceptance of these slackers suggests that a number of communities did not fully embrace the idea that male citizens could be compelled to serve their nation.

This resistance also challenged relationships between manhood, citizenship and soldiering embodied by the citizen-soldier ideal. Determining deferments based on the ability of a man to (financially) support his family foregrounded one particular performance of manhood, rooted in a 'protect, procreate and provide' model of hegemonic masculinity. Notably, this mirrored America's increasing assertion of itself as a masculine nation on the international stage as discussed previously. Historian Gerald Shenk notes that while elite white men had begun to assert a 'true manhood', which linked masculinity to state power and war-making, this was by no means hegemonic in 1917. His study reveals 'a plenitude of contesting discourses on masculinity.'[129] In turn, resistance to the war rejected this 'true manhood' and considered alternate performances. Women seeking to keep men at home utilised the language of motherhood and the role of men in 'defending' women.[130] Moreover, the focus on conscientious objection by resisters, in part, sought to redefine a manhood separate from valour on the battlefield.[131] Protest in defence of conscientious objection emphasised right of citizens to democratic freedoms and a man's ability to control

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[126] Keith, "The Politics of Southern Draft Resistance," 1351; See also, Chambers, *To Raise an Army*, 223.

[127] The term initially referred to those who failed to be inducted, but evolved to mean 'all those who were less than white-hot in their enthusiasm for the war.' See Jeanette Keith, *Rich Man's War, Poor Man's Fight: Race, Class and Power in the Rural South during the First World War* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 171; For more discussion on slackers during World War I see: Keith, *Rich Man's War, Poor Man's Fight*, 171-175; Keene, *World War I*, 38-39.

[128] Keith, "The Politics of Southern Draft Resistance," 1346.

[129] Frances Early, *A World Without War: How US Feminists and Pacifists Resisted World War I* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997), 91.

[130] Early, *A World Without War*, 68-71, 74, 91.

[131] Early argues that resistance to the Great War resisted the state's aim to create specific understandings of manliness and womanliness in the context of war. She notes that during the First World War, 'we can identify the beginnings of a collective attempt to refashion men and women…and recognize that [feminist pacifists and conscientious objectors] appreciated that a warless world required both new men and new women. See: Early, *A World Without War*, 121.

their lives. This did not necessarily contest the core assertion of the citizen-soldier ideal, that men should serve their nation in times of need, but instead drew on the republican emphasis on individual rights and freedoms.[132]

Black activists and potential conscripts further questioned if a nation could compel citizens to serve. The mere existence of black soldiers 'exposed potent contradictions within the Jim Crow social order and raised critical questions about the very foundations of citizenship…Could a liberal democratic government compel citizens to sacrifice their lives in battle and yet continue to deny them franchise?'[133] Indeed, some advocated for black men to resist the draft until they were treated as equitable citizens.[134] Much as during the Vietnam War era, the portions of the black community struggled to support a fight to make the world safe for democracy which did not exist for them at home.[135] Activists A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owens asserted that 'blacks should not fight in the name of a country that lynched, Jim Crowed, and disenfranchised them.'[136] Additionally, black activists decried the war as a 'white man's war' and argued that they had no specific grievances with Germany.[137] Instances of open dissent in the black community reflected this inequitable experience of citizenship. For example, a 1917 march following a race riot in St Louis included signs which read, 'Mr. President, Why Not Make AMERICA Safe for Democracy' and 'Bring Democracy to America Before You Carry It To Europe'.[138] Rather than fighting abroad, some argued that the real fight was at home. In particular, World War I provided a space to 'imagine a world in which [racial] power relations were reversed…the metaphor of a war for democracy, the heroics of Black troops in France, and the anticolonial struggles of Africans served as a powerful basis for organized political action, empowering Blacks to expand their visions of what was possible.'[139] As newspaperman Roi Ottley noted, 'Negroes exhibited little enthusiasm for the war – actually their eyes were fixed on Washington, not on London, Paris or Berlin.'[140]

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[132] Chambers, *To Raise an Army*, 207; 215; Early, *A World Without War*, 93-99.
[133] Steven Reich, "Soldiers of Democracy: Black Texans and the Fight for Citizenship, 1917-1921," *The Journal of American History* 82, no. 4 (March 1996): 1484.
[134] Chambers, *To Raise an Army*, 206; Kornweibel, "Black America," 328.
[135] Scholars that highlight this claim include: Kornweibel, "Black America," 325; Keith, "The Politics of Southern Draft Resistance," 1357; Chambers, *To Raise an Army*, 206; Reich, "Soldiers of Democracy," 1504.
[136] Kornweibel, "Black America," 332; Chambers, *To Raise an Army*, 206.
[137] Kornweibel, "Black America," 324, 326;
[138] Kornweibel, "Black America," 325.
[139] Reich, "Soldiers of Democracy," 1489, 1482.
[140] Kornweibel, "Black America," 325.

Notably, however, these arguments continue to utilise the language of the citizen-soldier, asserting that black men could not be compelled to serve until they were treated as equal citizens.

Despite these significant challenges to the underpinnings of the citizen-soldier ideal, the violent and widespread crackdown on dissent precluded sustained activism. Under the authority of the Espionage and Sedition Acts, dissent was 'immensely hindered by government harassment and punishment.' However, the 'major impetus came not from the President…nor primarily from his administration, but rather from a variety of private and public sources, particularly at the state and local levels.'[141] Indeed, loyal citizens were urged to identify the potentially disloyal and rally them to the cause.[142] The military also increasingly emphasised loyalty as its cardinal virtue, shifting from the pre-war military tendency to value objective obedience to the wartime and post-war military demand for subjective loyalty.[143] These campaigns were so effective that, 'virtually no nationally recognized spokesperson for immigrant ethnic groups publically denounced the war and the draft' out of fear of being branded disloyal.[144]

This was particularly true for black Americans, who by asserting demands for the equitable treatment due to citizen-soldiers threatened the underpinnings of the Jim Crow system. Faced with this challenge, whites mobilised to maintain the status quo, using the law, coercion and terror to ensure that activism against the draft did not blossom into a movement for black equality. Steven Reich concludes that 'no southern Black protest movement, no matter how vigorous, could survive in such a hostile political environment.'[145] Unsurprisingly then, evasion of the responsibility to serve, rather than open resistance, was preferred during World War I by working class men of both races.[146] Thus, despite significant grievances and some outright rejections of the core assumptions of the citizen-soldier ideal, the political environment crushed meaningful dissent before a mass movement that fostered enduring change could be coordinated.

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[141] Chambers, *To Raise an Army*, 208.
[142] Chambers, *To Raise an Army*, 222-224.
[143] Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, 304.
[144] Chambers, *To Raise an Army,* 205.
[145] Reich, "Soldiers of Democracy," 1482, 1502.
[146] Chambers, *To Raise an Army,* 212; Keith, *Rich Man's War, Poor Man's Fight*, 84.

What World War I demonstrated that the citizen-soldier ideal had its limits, and might only be widely embraced where the threat was real and immediate. It did not, for many resisters, extend to international conflicts that did not directly threaten the nation. In assessing 'the morale of the Negro on the homefront' a 1943 article by renown black psychologist Kenneth Clark crucially asserted that the patriotic fanfare of around World War I was 'synthetic morale' which 'simulated patriotism; a genuine morale would have fostered beliefs and commitments for which one would have more willingly died.'[147] Similarly, H.Q. Alexander, the North Carolina Farmer's Union's white president, asserted in a letter to the North Carolina congressional delegation: 'if this war was to protect the free institutions of America, our homes, women and children, selective conscription might be justified; but in that case there would be no need of conscription.'[148] Notably, these and other resisters continued to draw on the language of the citizen-soldier in their rejection of the war. Many asserted that the specifics of *this* war did not meet the requirements to compel their service, but their resistance did not necessarily reject the core tenet of the ideal itself: that the nation could compel men to serve in the right circumstances. These questions would come to the fore again during the Vietnam War era.

However, as World War II approached, the citizen-soldier ideal still held a central importance in American national identity. Specifically, the war reinvigorated the citizen-soldier ideal as it re-emphasised the demand for actual service, rather than rhetorical support. The citizen-soldier that emerged from this period emphasised the dutiful obedience of soldiers and a loyalty which manifested itself through the unquestioned support of US military efforts. Reacting to the outbreak of war in Europe, the US government reinstituted the draft in 1940. Significantly, this manifestation of the draft created a system that distributed the 'obligation and privileges' or military service 'in accordance with a fair and just system.'[149] Thus, the language of universally sharing the burden of service continued through the Second World War.

Indeed, the image of the willing volunteer who diligently carried out his mission in relative anonymity was reaffirmed during World War II as the epitome of patriotic manhood. As Susan Faludi notes, the World War II soldier 'would be judged

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[147] Kornweibel, "Black America," 337.
[148] H. Q. Alexander, quoted in Keith, "The Politics of Southern Draft Resistance," 1342.
[149] Kristy N. Kamarck, *The Selective Service and Draft Registration: Issues for Congress* (Washington DC: Congressional Research Service, 2016), 5.

not on his personal dominance but on his sense of duty, his voluntary service to an organization made up of equally anonymous men.'[150] Moreover, serving in the war established 'a larger cultural manhood script' characterised by a willing sacrifice for the defence of society.[151] Indeed, the experiences of World War II further solidified the idea that demonstrations of loyalty required quiet obedience. During the war, 'the foot soldier was elevated into a masculine emblem – a man who proved his virility not by individual feats of showy heroism but be being quietly *useful* in conducting a war and supporting the welfare of his unit.'[152] Essentially, World War II strengthened the bonds between unquestioned loyalty, dutiful service and masculine performance. This sense of manhood was amplified by the influence of World War I veterans who believed that their sons must not only serve their country, but that they would be improved in the long term as a result of their service.[153]

Indeed, the citizen-soldier was reinvigorated not only through its demand for actual military service, but also the resurgence of the perception of military service as an equalising force in society. As scores of soldiers returned home from service overseas, a plethora of federally funded social programmes arose to support their transition into civilian life. While many of these programmes were problematic in the equality of the distribution of these resources, legislation like the GI Bill allowed men of different classes to make a claim towards advancing in American society. As Robert Dean notes, 'service during World War II offered elite men a means to elide class differences through a fictive kinship, a brotherhood of patriotic deeds.'[154] In turn, the door was opened to middle and working class men to use their identity as veterans to gain economic and educational advantages in the post-war world. In a reality that would be profoundly challenged by the experience of Vietnam veterans, World War II veterans often saw tangible gains in their civilian lives as a result of their military service.

Importantly, the observable benefits of being a World War II veteran fostered increased demands for the 'right to fight' in the military. The post-war era saw a 'surge in the citizenship revolution,' particularly among black Americans as black veterans laid claim to the ideal of the citizen-soldier as proof of their equal claim to

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[150] Susan Faludi, *Stiffed: The Betrayal of Modern Man* (London: Vintage, 2000), 19.
[151] Robert D. Dean, *Imperial Brotherhood: Gender and the Making of Cold War Foreign Policy* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 39.
[152] Faludi, *Stiffed*, 17.
[153] Burk, "The Military Obligation."
[154] Dean, *Imperial Brotherhood*, 39, 35.

the rights of citizenship.[155] However, despite the supposedly democratic nature of the GI Bill in rewarding men for their service, its benefits were inequitably distributed. As Lizabeth Cohen suggests, the GI Bill 'orchestrated much less social engineering than it promised and has been given credit for.'[156] The structure of the GI Bill meant that funding for veterans went through existing state and local bureaucratic structures. Consequently, discrimination within local communities directly affected their access to GIs' access to benefits. As such, 'the GI Bill was hardly the ticket to upward mobility for African Americans that many had hoped and patriotic lore has enshrined.'[157] These veterans of colour continued to experience discrimination in [terms of the] educational admissions process, low-interest mortgages and access to many neighbourhoods. The endurance of underlying racial assumptions of citizenship and the resultant unrealised returns on benefits due to veterans would have significant implications for the reconfiguration of citizenship in black communities during the Vietnam War era.

Ultimately, the US emerged victorious from the conflict and a 'special heroic immortality' was bestowed upon those that fought in the war.[158] This elevation of the soldiering experience, and its relationship to masculinity, further influenced American understandings of the impending Cold War. Susan Faludi notes that the US emerged from the war 'with a sense of itself as a *masculine* nation…[which] claimed ascendency over the world.'[159] Indeed, the reality of the Cold War only solidified this need to emphasise the strength and dominance of the US in world affairs. In the Cold War world, 'masculine versions of patriotism pervaded the culture at large.'[160] As the United States sought to create a cohesive American identity to fit the 'us v. them' narrative of the Cold War, policymakers utilised the 'image of the middle class, straight, white American man, who served in the military defending the nation and returned home to support and lead his family.'[161] Indeed, Tracy Karner's study of Vietnam veterans suggests that World War II veterans had 'come home as national

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[155] Segal, *Recruiting for Uncle Sam*, 102.
[156] Lizabeth Cohen, *Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Post War America* (New York: Vintage Books, 2004), p. 156.
[157] Ibid., 171.
[158] Dean, *Imperial Brotherhood*, 32.
[159] Faludi, *Stiffed*, 16.
[160] Bodnar, *Bonds of Affection*, 15.
[161] Brandon Thomas Locke, "The Military-Masculinity Complex: Hegemonic Masculinity and the United States Armed Forces, 1940-1963" (master's thesis, University of Nebraska, 2013), 24, https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1065&context=historydiss (accessed 24 April 2018)

heroes' and presented a performance of manhood, which 'equate[d] masculinity with productivity, occupation, and breadwinning' that could be realized through military service.[162] American understandings of hegemonic masculinity became essential articulating the superiority of United States to the communist Soviet Union which masculinized women by putting them to work.[163] Moreover, the constant need for military readiness in the Cold War world made the military fundamental to foreign policy.[164] The Cold War context also irrevocably exposed the contradictions of American republicanism and the inequitable definitions of citizenship. As Thomas Borstelmann suggests, 'the growing engagement with a mostly non-white world pointed toward an era in which many more white Americans would be forced to confront and resolve the contradiction between liberty and racial hierarchy.[165] Thus, on the eve of the Vietnam War, the citizen-soldier was again exalted as the best defence mechanism for the nation. Unlike World War II, however, service in Vietnam did not result in the fulfilment of promises that loyalty through military service would be rewarded.[166] Moreover, the claims of communities of colour on the rights of citizenship would simultaneously draw on and shatter the myth of the citizen-soldier.

For the most part, the Korean War left the tenets of the citizen-soldier unquestioned. However, as Heubner notes, the Korean War played a vital role in beginning to crack the relationship between patriotism and an unquestioned support of American military commitments. In Korea, the American GI was, 'no longer a cultural hero just because of his contribution to a worthy collective effort, [but] was valorized in the media for his suffering as well…The soldier in Korea, then, was heroic precisely because he struggled against long odds and miserable conditions.'[167] This shifting image of the warrior, Heubner notes, 'both reflected and shaped the cynicism some Americans felt about the ability of their leaders to manage the armed forces and foreign policy.'[168] However, the conflict's relatively short duration and the wave of Cold War volunteers that constituted just over half of the war's fighting force, meant

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[162] Karner, "Fathers, Sons, and Vietnam," 70-72.

[163] Laura A. Belmonte, *Selling the American Way: U.S. Propaganda and the Cold War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 54-58.

[164] Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, 345.

[165] Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 18-19.

[166] Bodnar, *Bonds of Affection*, 15.

[167] Huebner, *The Warrior Image*, 130-131.

[168] Ibid., 131.

the war did not prompt broad societal questions about the relationship between military service and republican citizenship.

Despite the rhetorical importance of the citizen-soldier in the American psyche, the resistance of GIs and veterans had questioned its utility throughout American history. Veterans of both world wars seized the national stage to protest a perceived inability of the state to facilitate their return to their role as citizens. The end of the First World War and the start of the Great Depression brought the Bonus Army, as it came to be known, to the White House. While these veterans certainly led Americans to consider what the state's duty to its veterans should be, they were, first and foremost, demanding receipt of benefits already promised. The issue at hand remained the timing of their benefits, rather than questions of the relationship between the state, citizenship and soldiering. The end of World War II witnessed perhaps the most significant uprising of active-duty soldiers until the Vietnam War era. Dubbed 'The Back Home Movement', soldiers celebrating V-J Day quickly turned to protest as they found that their ships were not bound for home, but to secure American interests against the Soviet Union. Protesting this slow demobilisation, soldiers engaged in public protests and created a mass letter writing campaign from veterans and their families. Significantly, past uprisings against the military either occurred in protest of a draft or after the war had concluded. Moreover, James Hayes suggests, 'the social movement characteristics exhibited by the [GI] movement, e.g., a sense of group identity and solidarity, consciously articulated ideologies, movement organizations, distinguish it from other more spontaneous and transitory uprisings such as the "Back Home Movement" in the aftermath of World War II.'[169] Thus, the citizen-soldier ideal remained an important social and political paradigm on the eve of the Vietnam War. What made this period so significant is that the military was challenged from within, and by its veterans while their war was still underway.

The Decline of the Soldier-Protector in the Vietnam War Era

When the Vietnam War began, the idea that male [white] citizens had an 'absolute duty' to serve in the military was widely accepted.[170] Indeed, politicians in the Cold War era drew on American traditions of the citizen-soldier to assert the

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[169] James R. Hayes, "The Dialectics of Resistance: An Analysis of the GI Movement," *Journal of Social Issues* 31, no. 4 (1975): 126; For more information on the Back Home Movement see http://www.vvaw.org/veteran/article/?id=1667&print=yes

[170] Burk, "The Military Obligation."

nation's Cold War mission. Reflecting a tradition of American exceptionalism, America was deemed the sole protector of liberty and the only nation capable of spreading democracy and social justice. Simultaneously, fears of a declining American manhood 'intersected with fears of waning of American hegemony over the 'developing nations.'[171] Indeed, Cuordileone argues that the dynamics of the early Cold War years cannot be 'fully understood apart from the politics of manhood and the cultural tensions that nourished it.'[172] In terms of the citizen-soldier, fears of economic decadence and a declining national character threatening American virtue played a role in increasing the exaltation of virile virtue through Cold War conflict. As Dean notes, 'the Kennedy Administration politically exploited widespread elite fears of creeping "luxury" and "softness" among American men, seen as a debilitating weakness in the grim national struggle with global communism.' Political elites shared the Administration's 'vision of reinvigorated masculine virtue as a bulwark against the decline of empire.' Narratives such as this linked the present international climate to 'central American myths of manly virtue.'[173]

Despite the decline of the practical application of the militia, the rhetorical relationship between citizenship, masculinity and military service endured in the American psyche.[174] However, scholars widely agree that the Vietnam War fostered a profound deconstruction of the traditional links between masculinity, soldiering and citizenship. Robert Self notes, 'in every way, Vietnam tore the connective tissue holding together soldiering and manhood, citizen and duty.'[175] Raised on the stories of their fathers' sacrifices in World War II, Vietnam-era troops endured a very different wartime experience. World War II veterans often reported enjoying a sense of community following their service. However, Vietnam veterans often suffered alienation upon their return home. Moreover, while World War II veterans often drew tangible benefits from their service, Vietnam veterans often developed a profound distrust in the government given the perceived gap between rhetoric and experience.[176]

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[171] Dean, *Imperial Brotherhood*, 172, 170; Loren Baritz, *Backfire: A History of How American Culture Led Us into Vietnam and Made Us Fight the Way We Did* (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 26.
[172] Cuordileone, *Manhood and American Political Culture*, xxiii.
[173] Dean, *Imperial Brotherhood*, 198.
[174] Snyder, *Citizen-Soldiers and Manly Warriors*, 100; Snyder, "The Citizen-Soldier Tradition," 188.
[175] Self, *All in the Family*, 72.
[176] Strauss, "Reflections on the Citizen-Soldier," 69.

As the demands of the citizen-soldier increasingly became the burden of a few, military service shifted from being an obligation of citizenship, to a job.[177]

The most profound fractures in the citizen-soldier ideal, and its attendant assumptions about masculinity and citizenship, were shaped by the soldiers to whom the ideal was meant to refer. As reports of the war filtered back into American society, many began to question the official justifications of the war. Doubts about the war grew and questions emerged about the compulsory nature of service as an expression of citizenship and patriotism.[178] Similarly, soldiers of colour overtly challenged the demand to fulfil the 'responsibilities' of the citizenship, without possessing the privileges of it. While many men certainly considered the implications of the Vietnam War in their private thoughts, the draft demanded that young men grapple with their understanding of citizenship and military service in the public forum. A young man receiving his draft notice was forced to contend with the sometimes contradictory nature between his sense of duty, his ideas about what it meant to be a man, and the importance of his ideals. It is in this decision of how to handle this 'call to duty' that the Vietnam War era began to fracture the relationship between soldiering, citizenship and masculinity.

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[177] Burk, "The Citizen-Soldier and Democratic Societies," 154; Segal, *Recruiting for Uncle Sam*, 45; Krebs, "The Citizen-Soldier Tradition," 153-154.
[178] See for example Burk, "The Military Obligation."

Chapter 2

'Hell No, We Won't Go!': Draft Resistance and the Duty to Dissent

'Like all good American boys, there was a time when I wanted to be a Marine', recalled draft resister David Gearey; 'I was attracted by their big chests and rugged, ragged look…Man against death—the bullfighter, the trapeze artist, the soldier…The moments which can make a man…visions of polar expeditions, scientific explorations, and rescues at sea, filled my kindhearted reveries.'[1] For Geary, as for many other young men, youthful experiences of their father's war stories and childish war games accompanied a national culture trumpeting the patriotic messages of the Cold War and the triumph of democracy over authoritarianism.[2] However, the Vietnam War profoundly challenged this narrative of military service. For Geary, the reality of military service hit home when he received his notice to report for induction into the military. Justifying his decision to resist, he noted:

> it seems that a man becomes something else once he's been slipped an induction order—some sort of a puppet of the Department of Defense, or a brainwashed loser from the Selective Service System…He forfeits the right to examine what is happening to him… if he decides that he will not allow the government to intimidate him into voluntarily taking the final involuntary step [and be inducted], he becomes a criminal and is accused of the vilest and unpatriotic deeds.[3]

As Geary's words suggest, the Vietnam War era draft challenged a long dominant narrative in which the military was a 'maker of men.' For resisters, submitting to the draft stripped a man of his intellectual and physical independence and strength. By viewing the draft in this way, the citizen-soldier ideal became less useful in its traditional capacity to alleviate tensions between democratic freedoms and military service. However, in choosing to resist the draft, a young man still opened himself up to criticism from numerous angles, as detractors would question his patriotism, loyalties and manhood. Indeed, despite widespread uncertainty and anti-war sentiments in the general population, popular memory still reviles those who resisted

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[1] David Gearey, "The Downpour of Absurdities," in *We Won't Go: Personal Accounts of War Objectors*, ed. Alice Lynd (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), 68.
[2] Graham Dawson has previously explored the significance of "playing war" in utilising, internalising and creating cultural narratives around masculinity in children from a young age. See Dawson, *Soldier Heroes:* Chapters 9 and 10.
[3] Gearey, "The Downpour of Absurdities," in Lynd, 71.

the draft.[4] As historian Michael Foley notes 'draft dodgers…were [seen as] disloyal and un-American…That draft resisters may have broken a law as an act of patriotism seems inconceivable.'[5]

Despite the importance of draft resistance in this era, its complexities remain relatively under-explored by scholars. In his 2004 book, Michael Foley declares that 'draft resistance has been virtually forgotten, or, at best, understated by historians of the anti-war movement.'[6] Over a decade later, this issue remains. Foley suggests this is a reflection of the popular memory of the war. While most Americans viewed the war as a tragic mistake, they 'also regard those who sought to end the war as equally worthy of contempt. Those who tried to end a villainous war are themselves seen as villains.'[7] Existing studies often focus on draft resistance within the (predominately white, middle class) student movement, and overwhelmingly examine groups involved in visible militant protests, such as draft card burnings, and those choosing to move abroad to avoid service.[8] This existing literature also seeks to more fully integrate draft resistance to the narrative of the larger anti-war movement.[9] This chapter will build on existing historiography by exploring the draft resistance as a movement in its own right, rather than as one component of the larger civilian anti-war movement and focus on grassroots activism rather than the top-down, organisation-centred narrative of the New Left. It will use the citizen-soldier ideal as a lens to uncover the specific critiques of American militarism made by anti-draft activists.

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[4] Michael Foley, *Confronting the War Machine: Draft Resistance During the Vietnam Era* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 13.

[5] Ibid., 6.

[6] Ibid., 6.

[7] Ibid., 13.

[8] David Card and Thomas Lemieux, "Going to College to Avoid the Draft: The Unintended Legacy of the Vietnam War," *The American Economist Review* 91, no. 2, Papers and Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association (May 2001): 98; Foley, *Confronting the War Machine*; Lynd, *We Won't Go*; Sherry Gershon Gottlieb, *Hell No, We Won't Go: Resisting the Draft During the Vietnam War* (London: Viking Penguin, 1991); Lawrence M. Baskir and William A. Strauss. *Chance and Circumstance: The Draft, The War, and The Vietnam Generation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978); For accounts of a resisters who fled the US to avoid the draft: Terry Whitmore and Richard Weber, *Memphis-Nam-Sweden: The Autobiography of a Black American Exile* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1971); Alan Haig-Brown, *Hell No We Won't Go: Vietnam Draft Resisters in Canada* (Vancouver: Raincoast Books, 1996); John Hagan, *American Vietnam War Resisters in Canada* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); For studies of working class resistance to the war, of which the draft is a part see: Christian G. Appy, *Working Class War: American Combat Soldiers and Vietnam* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Penny Lewis, *Hardhats, Hippies, and Hawks: The Vietnam Antiwar Movement as Myth and Memory* (London: Cornell University Press, 2013).

[9] Foley, *Confronting the War Machine;* Baskir and Strauss, *Chance and Circumstance*; Gottlieb, *Hell No, We Won't Go*; "Return of the Draft," *Radical America* 14, no. 5 (Sept.-Oct. 1980): 5-8.

It will also move beyond existing scholarship's primary focus on the national (white) anti-draft movement. When discussed, the voices of black anti-draft activists most often appear in larger histories of black freedom struggles one component of a larger struggle. Many studies of Black Power highlight the significance of the Vietnam War in raising the consciousness of black men. However, they often only briefly acknowledge the ways in which draft resistance simultaneously influenced and drew on the rhetoric of black liberation.[10] While this chapter will place black draft resistance in the context of the black freedom movement, it will focus on the particular relationship between a growing racial consciousness and the ways in which black activists rejected the draft. Given that the draft had profound and tangible impacts on both individuals and the larger black freedom movement, this chapter will seek to move beyond the typically top-down analysis of previous works by exploring lesser studied individuals and moments of black draft resistance. This analysis of black draft resistance also highlights the inextricable nature of race to the contestations of American national identity that characterised the activism of the Sixties more broadly.

This chapter explores the experience of men who personally resisted the draft and within specific anti-draft organisations. In this context, the men who refused to register or refused induction are referred to as draft resisters. Due to the nature of the Selective Service System (SSS), only men aged 18-26 could be resisters. The SSS, an independent government agency tasked with maintaining all information pertaining to conscription, was a constant presence in the lives of young men during the Vietnam War era. The term draft resistance activists, however, refers to those groups, organisations and individuals who supported draft resisters or community draft resistance efforts and includes men and women of all ages and backgrounds. Included in this category are draft counsellors. Draft counselling as resistance was practiced across the nation, particularly by the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors (CCCO), which trained hundreds of counsellors on conscription law. At draft

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[10] See for example, Robert Widell Jr., "'The Power Belongs to Us and We Belong to the Revolutionary Age': The Alabama Black Liberation Front and the Long Reach of the Black Panther Party," in *Liberated Territory: Untold Local Perspectives on the Black Panther Party,* ed. by Yohuru Williams and Jama Lazerow (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 136-180; Donna Murch, "The Campus and the Street: Race, Migration, and the Origins of the Black Panther Party in Oakland, CA." *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture, and Society* Vol. 9, No. 4 (December 2007), 333-345; Jama Lazerow, "'A Rebel All His Life': The Unexpected Story of Frank "Parky" Grace" in *In Search of the Black Panther Party: New Perspectives on a Revolutionary Movement*, ed. by Jama Lazerow and Yohuru Williams (London: Duke University Press, 2006), 104-157; Joel Wilson, "Invisible Cages: Radicalized Politics and the Alliance between the Panthers and the Peace and Freedom Party" in *In Search of the Black Panther Party*, 191-222; Singh, *Black Is A Country*; Hall, *Peace and Freedom*

counselling centres young men could access informed advice on the draft, the war and the options available to them. Vitally, draft resistance counsellors could not directly assist men in evading the draft, but by informing them of their options, and providing support and guidance to a resister, these centres helped cultivate draft resistance activism.

As Selective Service only put American men at risk, the rhetoric of manhood and masculinity is vital to draft resistance.[11] While women played important roles in every American conflict, they were not granted a permanent status in the military until 1948.[12] Moreover, the draft continued to exclude women. Consequently, soldiering, conceptualised as a male only space, remained one particularly valorous avenue to demonstrate one's manhood. Self notes that in the early years of the Cold War, that military masculinity continued to resolve tensions between morality and the violence required of soldiers by rooting it in the language of patriotism and duty. Throughout the Vietnam conflict, both sides of the political aisle 'drew on it to conceptualise freedom, equality and the citizens' relationship to the state.'[13] The desire of mainstream leaders to exalt traditional definitions of masculinity was further motivated as draft resistance existed alongside feminist, radical New Left and black freedom activism, all of which challenged established gender and social norms. Thus, conversations around and analyses of the Vietnam War era draft are simultaneously conversations about American masculinity.

Resistance to military conscription has been a feature of nearly every war in American history and resisters have consistently depicted conscription as counter to American ideals of individuality and freedom of choice. Some combination of substitution, street protests, riots, conscientious objector deferments and payment for commutation of service have accompanied all American wars. However, the widespread use of the draft during the Vietnam War forced a significant number of

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[11] Despite the centrality of men and masculinity to draft resistance, a parallel body of scholarship explores the critical importance of women participating in and using draft resistance activism in ways that reflected their own challenge to broader gender norms in society. For considerations of women and draft resistance see: Amy Swerdlow, "'Not My Son, Not Your Son, Not Their Sons': Mothers Against the Vietnam Draft," in Small and Hoover, 159-170; Michael Foley "The 'Point of Ultimate Indignity' or a 'Beloved Community'? The Draft Resistance Movement and Gender Dynamics," in McMillian and Buhle, 178-198; Andrea Estepa, "Taking the White Gloves Off: Women Strike for Peace and "the Movement,"' in *Feminist Coalitions: Historical Perspectives on Second-Wave Feminism in the United States*, ed. Stephanie Gilmore (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 84-113.
[12] Women in the Armed Services Integration Act, Public Law 80-625 § 356, *US Statutes at Large*, 62 (12 June 1948): 356-375, http://uscode.house.gov/statviewer.htm?volume=76&page=748# (accessed 30 July 2018)
[13] Self, *All in the Family*, 47-48.

young men to consider concretely, many for the first time, their personal understanding of the relationship between military service and citizenship. Accordingly, draft resisters engaged in both an internal negotiation and a public-facing discourse that reshaped notions of patriotism, citizenship and manhood. The issues raised by resisters during the Vietnam War encouraged the American public to reconsider the very nature of requiring citizens to serve. Thus, this chapter will analyse the ways in which draft resistance had important and intertwined implications for understandings of the relationship between citizenship, racial identity and masculinity.

A Universal Duty?: The Inherent Inequalities of the Draft

While the first national draft was enacted during the Civil War, the military did not rely primarily on conscription until World War I.[14] As discussed previously, federal justification for this national system of conscription was couched in the language of sharing the burdens of service. The Selective Service Act of 1917, the first mass national conscription effort, was developed 'to share the obligation of military service' across the growing US population, and forbade the Civil War practice of hiring a substitute.[15] By prohibiting this practice, the 1917 Act, at least in rhetoric, laid the burden of national defence at the feet of all American men of a certain age, irrespective of class background. Similarly, to justify America's first peacetime draft, begun in September 1940, the Director of Selective Service argued that 'the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 is based on the principle that the obligation and privileges of military training and service should be shared generally in accordance with a fair and just system of compulsory military training and service.'[16] Thus, the supposedly democratic nature of the draft was, rhetorically at least, central to its conception from the start. However, by its very nature as a *selective* Service System, and the built-in network of deferments for those in 'valuable' occupations, demonstrates that the draft was never the institution of universal service it purported to

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[14] For general histories of American conscription see: Chambers, *To Raise an Army*; George Q. Flynn, *The Draft, 1940-1973* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1993); Martin Anderson and Valerie Bloom, eds., *Conscription: A Select and Annotated Bibliography* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1976).

[15] Timothy J. Perri, "The Evolution of Military Conscription in the United States," *The Independent Review* 17, no.3 (Winter 2013): 432.

[16] Kamarck, "The Selective Service."

be. Renewed in 1948, the Selective Training and Service Act made the draft an ever-present reality for young men.

From the beginning, the peacetime draft embodied numerous inequities that would only be exacerbated when the nation went to war. These Acts also established the bureaucracy of the SSS which would continue into the Vietnam War. For the first time in US history men were obligated to register for the draft during peacetime as 'all male persons between the ages of 21 to 30…present themselves for and submit to registration [for military service].'[17] The 1917 Act established a network of local draft boards, reconstituted by the 1940 Act, which assessed each individual man's fitness for service and operated relatively autonomously. Relying on the 1917 Selective Service Act's exemptions for 'essential' occupations and religious beliefs, draft boards often spared wealthier, educated men, deeming them vital to the maintenance of the home front. Men of colour and working class men were disproportionately inducted.[18] As Keith notes in her study of the First World War, 'conscription, designed ostensibly to allocate the burdens of military service equitably, in practice, proved extremely adaptable to systems of privilege.'[19] Moreover, students in full-time higher education could also claim a student, or II-S deferment, from service during the Korean and Vietnam Wars. Part-time students, on the other hand, were unable to claim this deferment, privileging those who could afford full-time education. While these issues were noted during the Korean War, the conflict's relatively short duration and the wave of Cold War volunteers meant they did not garner mass opposition. The Vietnam War's overwhelming reliance on the SSS to raise an army made the inequities of conscription a central issue of the war.

As the war in Vietnam escalated, draft numbers reflected these inequities. Self argues that 'class and race emerged as the draft's most troubling filters to those who regarded democratic fairness as an essential feature of military service.'[20] Young men of colour were particularly disadvantaged compared to their white peers in the SSS.

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[17] Wilson, "Proclamation 1370 – Conscription."

[18] Essential occupations included medical and agricultural fields as well as some scientific fields such as physics. Significantly, the vast majority of occupations that qualify for draft resistance required extensive qualifications beyond a high school diploma than thus were available to only those that could afford higher education. Baskir and Strauss, *Chance and Circumstance*, Chapter 1; Dick Cluster, "Lessons from the 60s," *Radical America* 14, no. 5(Sept.-Oct. 1980): 7-8; Anne Yoder, "Military Classifications for Draftees," https://www.swarthmore.edu/library/peace/conscientiousobjection/MilitaryClassifications.htm (accessed 02 November 2017); See Appendix A for a full list of draft classifications and exemptions.

[19] Keith, "Politics of Southern Draft Resistance, 1917-1918," 1352.

[20] Self, *All in the Family*, 51.

While local draft boards were meant to reflect their communities, only 1% of draft board members were individuals of colour. According to Lawrence Baskir and William Strauss, 'consciously or not, a board's policy usually reflected its members' traditional values, treating deferments and exemptions as rewards for young men who shared these values.'[21] The draft also drew heavily on working class communities, some of which were also heavily African-American. Approximately 80% of draftees came from working class backgrounds, and further unknown numbers of men were draft-motivated enlistees: those who enlisted to avoid an inevitable draft call in the hopes of having some control over their role in the military.[22] Moreover, even though African-Americans made up roughly 13% of the US population between 1961 and 1966, they represented 20% of the combat-related deaths in the first few years of the war.[23] Thus, the SSS consistently reflected racial and class inequities entrenched within institutions and society at large.

Contemporary policymakers did not necessarily view these inequities as problematic. Instead, some contended that military service would give the poorest Americans access to opportunities and training that had previously been unavailable. They argued that having benefited from these new opportunities, young men could return to their communities prepared and capable of improving their economic lot.[24] In this way, the military could act as a great equaliser as the citizen soldier ideal suggested. Labor Secretary Daniel Moynihan viewed service as an extension of the War on Poverty. Appy argues that for Moynihan, 'the military seemed like a vast, untapped agent of social uplift with the potential to train the unskilled, to put unemployed youth to work, and to instill confidence and pride in the psychologically defeated.' Consequently, 'the military could help solve the problem he claimed was at the heart of black poverty—broken, fatherless families.'[25]

In this spirit, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara initiated Project 100,000 in 1966. Ostensibly this programme would provide military training to the under-privileged who lived in poverty to provide them with skills and training for future employment. Again, however, existing institutional inequities meant that such efforts only put men of colour at further risk of serving on the front lines. Upon induction

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[21] Baskir and Strauss, *Chance and Circumstance,* 24.

[22] Appy, *Working Class War*, 6.

[23] "African Americans in the US Military," *Encyclopedia of the Vietnam War: A Political, Social, and Military History*, ed. Spencer C. Tucker, (Oxford, UK: ABC-CLIO, 1998), 9.

[24] Appy, *Working Class War*, 33; Self, *All in the Family*, 52-53.

[25] Appy, *Working Class War*, 31.

men took the Armed Forces Qualifying Test (AFQT) to determine the potential roles of inductees. While black men were initially disproportionally deferred on 'mental deficiency' grounds – 62% of black inductees versus 22.7% overall – McNamara's Project 100,000 lowered the required score on the AFQT in an effort to increase the numbers eligible for military service.[26] Reclassifying previously 'deficient' men pulled even greater numbers from communities of colour and the working class. More than 40% of these new troops were African American and were overwhelmingly assigned to combat roles.[27] As Appy notes, 'the institutions most responsible for channelling men into the military – the draft, the schools, and the job market – directed working class children to the armed forces and their wealthier peers towards college.'[28] These class and race discrepancies remained even after the establishment of the lottery system in 1969, as educational deferments and the lowered AFQT eligibility score policies continued.[29] These realities led a member of the National Black Draft Counselors to declare in 1970, 'the draft system, like everything else in this country, is blatantly racist.'[30]

'To Be A Man With Honor Means to Say No!': White Draft Resistance and a New *Virtù*

The differing experiences of citizenship created a distinct division between the experiences and emphases of draft resistance in black and white communities. Where white draft activists and resisters spoke primarily about the immorality of the war, their democratic rights to life, liberty and dissent, and the gap between the war's conduct and American ideals, black draft resisters emphasised the relationship between the inequities of the draft and the daily lived experience of oppression within Black communities.[31] Additionally, white anti-draft activists put their activism at the

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[26] Edward J. Drea, *McNamara, Clifford and the Burdens of Vietnam, 1965-1969* (Washington DC: US Government Printing Office, 2011), 267.
[27] Ibid., 269.
[28] Appy, *Working Class War,* 6.
[29] Card and Lemieux, "Going to College," 98.
[30] "Protest the jailing of Walter Collins and the situation of black draft resisters," (ca. 1970), Box 31, Folder: National Black Draft Counselors, Social Action Vertical File, Wisconsin Historical Society, University of Wisconsin-Madison [archive hereafter referred to as WHS]
[31] See for example: "White Draft Counseling Groups," N*ational Black Draft Counselors Newsletter* (June 1971), Box 31, Folder: National Black Draft Counselors, Social Action Vertical File, "Excerpts from Bob Browne's Speech," *Minutes of the Eastern Black Anti-Draft Conference,* (Harlem, New York: January 21, 1967), Box 32, Folder: National Coordinating Committee of Black Organizations Against the Draft, Social Action Vertical File; Michael Simmons, interviewed by author, 30 January 2018.

intersections of critiques of the Cold War, citizenship and American militarism, while black anti-draft activists foregrounded the relationship of the war to global decolonisation struggles. By exploring the differing critiques between white draft resistance activists and resisters of colour we can further illuminate the vital role of race to draft resistance and the reconfiguration of the citizen-soldier.

While they often did not engage in activism that directly sought to alleviate the inequities of the draft, white draft resistance activists called attention to the incongruities between the draft and American democratic ideals. For example, activists noted that the classed inequities of the draft created a unique situation for the economically privileged: legal avenues of draft resistance. These socially and politically acceptable exclusions from military service were often only available to the middle class. Significantly, those who resisted the draft through legal avenues are not counted as resisters by official record, or considered in statistics and literatures of draft resistance. As Vietnam Veterans Against the War would later argue, many men legally avoided military service:

> They found ways to prevent their personal involvement in the Vietnam War. These ways include: CO status, staying in school, getting jobs which carried draft exemptions, finding medical excuses (often provided by anti-war and sympathetic doctors), etc. The common basis for all these types of actions was the financial ability and availability of information to essentially a middle-class group. These people are usually not counted among figures of resisters because their forms of resistance carried no penalty. But in fact, they form an enormous base of people who acted as they did because of their anti-war sentiment. [However] men who left the military after induction are that group for whom alternatives were very few. They largely come from poor economic backgrounds. Many did not have information about the various forms of legal resistance which were available…This group has always been the "cannon fodder" of any war.[32]

Some anti-draft activists acknowledged these contradictions, decrying both who was drafted and the resources they had (or lacked) to shape their resistance. Activists argued that by accepting a legal avenue of resistance, they would be silently complicit in the SSS and the perceived overreach of government power. The Boston-based group The Resistance reasoned that, 'to cooperate with conscription is to perpetuate its existence, without which, the government could not wage war.'[33] Resister Malcolm Dundas similarly argued 'I cannot abide by the position of conscientious objector because to do so would be to subscribe to a system that sends others to death in my

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[32] Vietnam Veterans Against the War, pamphlet, "Unconditional Amnesty," (ca. 1974), Subseries 1.9 – Military, Box 77, Folder 1: Amnesty, Liberation News Service Records, Contemporary Culture Collection, Temple University; See also Tom Gardner, "Manpower Unchanneled," in Lynd, 9-10; Michael Barnett and Ken Vogel, "A Statement of Resistance," Box 43, Folder: Selective Service System, Social Action Vertical File.
[33] "The Resistance," in Lynd, 239.

place – it would give the system a legitimacy that no slave system should have.'[34] Resisting the draft by publicly rejecting the SSS, the draft and the duty to serve, questioned the foundational relationships of the citizen-soldier ideal.

Dundas' comments highlight another criticism foregrounded by (white) draft resisters. Many draft resistance activists deemed the draft incompatible with American democratic values, bringing to the fore the ever-present tension between democracy and military service that the citizen-soldier sought to alleviate. In the context of an unpopular, and as activists argued, unnecessary war, the implicit duty of the citizen to serve instead became evidence of undemocratic governmental power taking away the choice of its citizenry. As Sherry Gottlieb notes, 'American men have always been willing to defend their country when it is in danger, but sometimes the government has been less than clear about why American lives are being sacrificed. Never was it less clear than in Vietnam.'[35] Indeed, the citizen-soldier ideal itself is based on a militia system in which each man legitimately chooses to serve out of a sense of duty to his nation, rather than a compulsion to serve. Drawing on this assumption, an SDS pamphlet questioned, 'THEN WHY DOESN'T THE GOVERNMENT LOOK FOR PEOPLE WHO WANT TO BE SOLDIERS IN THIS WAR?' The pamphlet suggests that if volunteers are hard to come by, and the government is unable to persuade its citizens, then 'why don't they quit trying to force us to fight? After all, the thing about American democracy is supposed to be that the government belongs to the people.'[36]

A key theme that runs through draft resistance sources is a challenge to the relationship between a conscript army and American democracy. In a pamphlet entitled 'Why the Draft Should Go', John Swomley Jr., a Methodist minister, challenged the idea that a draft-compelled 'citizen army' was more democratic than a volunteer-based professional army. Warning that citizen armies should not be equated with conscript armies, Swomley argued that 'drafted men do not prevent the use of armies for imperialism or war.'[37] By challenging the rationale for democracy's preference of citizen-soldiers over employee-soldiers, his writing suggests not only a

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[34] Malcolm Dundas, "In Peace and Love," in Lynd, 159.

[35] Gottlieb, *Hell No, We Won't Go*, ix.

[36] Untitled SDS Pamphlet, Series A-VIII, Reel 21, Folder 208, The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Papers, 1959-1972, microfilm, University Library, University of Cambridge [collection hereafter referred to as SNCC Papers]; See also, Gene Keyes, "An Arrest of One is an Arrest of All," in Lynd, 17.

[37] John M. Swomley, Jr., pamphlet, "Why the Draft Should Go," ACC87A-003, Box 1, Folder: Straight, General Articles, David Cortright Papers, Peace Collection, McCabe Library, Swarthmore College. [collection hereafter referred to as SPC]

rejection of the draft, but a rejection of the American understanding of citizen-soldier. SDS and The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) made a similar argument to Congress in their 1966 'Joint Statement on Conscription Laws'. According to the statement, contemporary manifestations of the army were not reflective of the democratic military embodied in the citizen-soldier ideal. Rather, the draft compelled a man to 'renounce his liberty and risk his lifeblood for a cause which is not his. No man need be coerced to defend what is in his interest.'[38] The statement deemed conscription 'a form of legalized enslavement'; as the slave serves the master's economic interest with his body, so too does the draftee serve the national interest 'with murder and his own blood.'[39] As a way to critique a supposedly democratic institution, numerous activists spoke of the draft as a form of involuntary servitude rather than the epitome of democracy in action.[40]

Activists also suggested the SSS itself was constructed on undemocratic principles, despite official rhetoric to the contrary. The Channelling Memo, made public in July 1965, confirmed these concerns for many. Distributed to local draft boards by the SSS as part of an orientation kit, the memo argued the draft could be used to direct civilian as well as military life. Those with the talents and education could receive a deferment for remaining in particular fields vital to 'the national well-being', while those without said talents could be directed towards military service.[41] In other words, the memo argued that the draft forced *all* citizens into productive service to their nation through a desire to avoid the draft and free of overt coercion.[42] In light of these revelations, Chicago Area Draft Resisters (CADRE) activist, Gunnar Knutson, argued that 'individual liberty' means nothing if some have that freedom taken from them via the draft, while others are channelled into relevant career paths, and thus robbed of their individuality in a different fashion.[43] Consequently, activists

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[38] Stokely Carmichael and Carl Oglesby, "Draft Copy of the Joint Statement of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and of the Students for a Democratic Society on the Conscription Laws." Series A-VII, Reel 44, Folder 171: Students for a Democratic Society, SNCC Papers.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Tom Cornell, "Not the Smallest Grain of Incense," in Lynd, 37; Dundas, "In Peace and Love," in Lynd, 167; Mildred Scott Olmstead, "Pleas for a Humane View," *Rights: The Draft* (January-March 1966), Box 9, Folder 15: Draft Resistance: 1966-1970, Fred Halstead Papers, WHS.

[41] Baskir and Strauss, *Chance and Circumstance*, 15.

[42] Selective Service, "Channeling," (Washington D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1965), Box 1, Folder: Boston Draft Resistance Group, Twentieth-Century Political Pamphlet Collection, Ellis Library, University of Missouri.

[43] Gunnar Knutson, "CADRE Personal Statement," Box 8, Folder: Chicago Area Draft Resisters, Social Action Vertical File.

viewed the whole SSS and military conscription itself as incompatible with democracy.

An anonymously written newsletter letter entitled 'Personal Liberty' deemed the draft similarly unsuited to democratic governance. Quoting Daniel Webster, the author noted that 'the question of conscription…"is nothing less than whether the most essential rights of personal liberty shall be surrender."' As such, conscription is a dutiful service to the state (the first principle of any authoritarian regime, the author notes). However, conscription is also 'fundamentally opposed "to the values of a citizen-centered social order."'[44] Further flipping the popular narrative of the citizen-soldier on its head, Detroit Women For Peace argued that the American heritage of individualism is 'essential as a basis…of a posture we call patriotic.' Moreover, according to the Detroit Women for Peace, 'those who betray [this heritage of democracy and individualism] are traitors to our country.'[45] The materials produced by draft resistance groups echoed these charges, deeming conscription an oppressive system suited more to monarchies and totalitarian regimes than to American democracy.[46]

As men chose to pursue a path of non-cooperation, they also put forth an alternate set of parameters for achieving manhood. Joshua Goldstein suggests that warring and warrior-hood was 'central component of manhood' across societies and cultures and soldiers 'are motivated to fight by culturally reinforced stereotypes of masculinity' in which manhood is equated with bravery in combat.[47] In rejecting the path of military service, draft resisters needed to posit new, meaningful performances of masculinity. Mark Gerzon argues that the anti-war activism of the era articulated a 'different model of manhood' and participants sought to distance themselves from a

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[44] Letter, Box 17, Folder: Draft Resistance (ca. 1972), Social Action Vertical File
[45] "Treason is Which?" *Detroit Women For Peace Newsletter* (February 1966), Reel 16, Folder: Detroit Women For Peace, Radicalism and Reactionary Politics Collection, microfilm, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds; See also Letter, Richard M. Boardman to Draft Board No. 114, Middlesex County, West Concord, Massachusetts, Reel 18, Folder: Draft Resistance, Radicalism and Reactionary Politics Collection.
[46] "Resist the War; Refuse the Draft: April 3," Reel 55, Folder: Resistance, Radicalism and Reactionary Politics Collection; Michael Ferber, "A Time To Say No," (sermon, Arlington Street Church, 16 October 1967), Radicalism and Reactionary Politics Collection; Mother's Draft Resistance, "The Garrison State," (10 January 1968), Box 29, Folder: Mother's Draft Resistance, Social Action Vertical File; "Wanted for Draft Resistance, "flyer (29 July 1968), Box 2, Student Activism Reference Collection, David Rubenstein Library, Duke University; Martin Jezer, "Sheep Meadow Graduation," in Lynd, 222; USA v. David Henry Mitchell – Brief of the Defendant, US District Court – District of Connecticut, Box 13, Folder 4: Black United Action Front/Black Anti-Draft Union 1965-1967, James Haughton Papers, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library. [hereafter referred to as SCBC]
[47] Goldstein, *War and Gender*, 266-267; 331; 9.

masculinity which fostered warlike policies.[48] Whereas hegemonic definitions of masculinity emphasised that real men served their nation by 'accept[ing] the possibility of violence and perform[ing] his duty without question', the national peace movement provided an alternative masculine performance, implicitly and explicitly suggesting that their manhood could be attained through dissent. Further, anti-war activists argued that 'manhood might consist in challenging, rather than defending, a national righteousness and renouncing, rather than enduring violence.'[49] Whereas valorous military service provided a rite of passage into manhood, draft resisters made the open defiance of induction orders an equivalent rite of passage.[50] The predominately white draft resistance movement posited individual resistance a civic duty and 'valorized a manhood based on defiance of the war, definition principled objection to injustice as a male citizen's first duty.'[51]

Importantly, anti-draft activists utilised alternate, but accepted tenets of masculinity to reconsider performances of manhood. In these differing conceptions of masculinity, they emphasised the traditional masculine traits of individuality and independence in thought and action. In other words, draft resisters created a masculinity built on the bravery of standing up against peer and national pressures to defend the ideals of the nation and humanity itself, and emphasised a strong defence of their individuality and the right to make personal choices. This rhetoric permeated the language of draft resistance. Resister James Taylor Rowland proclaimed, 'To be a man, with honor, means to say "no!" to the ugly, gnawing creature that is the U.S. foreign policy.'[52] Similarly, Stephen Fortunado argued that 'a [truly] free man preserves his freedom by acting freely and not by following those who would herd men into regiments or send people scurrying like moles into bomb shelters.'[53]

In particular, draft resisters and their supporters challenged the argument that the citizen-soldier needed to display loyal obedience in times of national crisis. Instead, true democratic (male) citizenship was encapsulated by each individual citizen's right to think and speak freely. Men were those brave enough to protect this individualism. As the CCCO argued, 'true bravery is expressed instead by a willingness to sacrifice oneself in the more hopeful ways of nonviolence and peace.

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[48] Goldstein, *War and Gender*, 286.
[49] Self, *All in the Family*, 64
[50] Foley, *Confronting the War Machine*, 127.
[51] Self, *All in the Family*, 55.
[52] James Taylor, "Against the System," in Lynd, 45-46.
[53] Stephen Fortunato, Jr. and Others, "Thou Shalt Not Kill", in Lynd, 80.

True bravery means the courage to work out a better world for Americans…even if your decision makes you unpopular.'[54] Moreover, the CCCO noted that Civil Rights activists, 'have shown us a higher type of bravery, a bravery based on love of one's fellow man, rather than a shallow bravado based on a hatred of people you do not know.'[55] CADRE similarly argued that men who 'meekly submit' to the draft were less courageous than those who refused to submit and took control of their lives.[56] A variety of anti-draft ephemera argued that 'real' men make their own decisions. The draft took this away, ultimately emasculating the draftee.[57]

Draft resisters also rejected a definition of manhood based on physical superiority. Instead, they emphasised the traditional masculine ideals of protection and procreation. Writing in a CADRE pamphlet, David M. Reynolds asked 'Is there something "manly" about the drunken American Legion guy who slugged the Negro woman because she was carrying a sign he didn't like? Is there something really "manly" about being able to stick a bayonet into a man's belly? There isn't a damn thing about killing that is "manly." A man's job is to make babies, not to kill them.'[58] He wrote of draft card burners 'they are going to resist openly. That takes a lot of guts. On October 16th those boys will become men. They will take the risk partly to save the peasants in Vietnam and partly to save you men from killing and being killed….they have the courage, as men, to say No to Johnson.'[59] Similarly, Another Mother for Peace's newsletter described a mother who sent a letter to the draft board on behalf of her son, refusing his 'invitation' to be inducted. The article concluded, 'she is acting for all of us who have brought up our sons to love others and to create rather than destroy.'[60] Reynolds and Another Mother for Peace suggested that traditional demands of men to protect and procreate could be fulfilled through draft resistance. Similarly, The Resistance demanded young men 'deny the [military the]

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[54] Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, "YOU and the Draft," pamphlet, Box 8, Folder: Central Comm. For Conscientious Objectors (COOO), Social Action Vertical File.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Pamphlet, Box 8, Folder: Chicago Area Draft Resisters (CADRE) 1967-1969, Social Action Vertical File.

[57] See for example: Bill Jones, "Uncle Sam Needs You. Do You Need Him?' *The Second Front* (May 1968), Reel 18, Folder: Draft Resistance, Radicalism and Reactionary Politics Collection; Flyer, Reel 59, Folder: SDS: Michigan State University: Anti-Draft Union, Radicalism and Reactionary Politics Collection; Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, "YOU and the Draft,"

[58] David M. Reynolds, "An open letter to our men in service," Box 8, Folder: Chicago Area Draft Resisters (CADRE) 1967-1969, Social Action Vertical File.

[59] Ibid.

[60] "A Mother Speaks," *Another Mother for Peace Newsletter* (February 1969), Reel 195, Folder: Another Mother for Peace, Radicalism and Reactionary Politics Collection.

privilege of using your life as an arm of its extensive machine of domination.'[61] In this iteration, the attainment of manhood lay not in traditional military masculinity, which emphasised physical dominance, but in the courageous decision to resist being stripped of your independence. It could also be confirmed by fulfilling the manly duty to protect by defending life, rather than defending a nation through military service. Drawing on traditional definitions of manhood as being independent, draft resisters rejected the compulsion of the draft as antithetical to performances of masculinity.

Repurposing familiar performances and traits, draft resisters made it their duty to challenge the undemocratic SSS. This system took away a man's independence, in thought and action, and did not adequately allow him to defend American ideals or its citizenry from an undemocratic application of power. As such, resisters argued that the inequities of the draft demanded action. In a letter to his draft board, Richard M. Boardman extolled American individualism to 'reject any system of imposed and involuntary recruitment of man power…that defers the most fortunate members of society and forces the least fortunate to bear the burden of responsibility.'[62] SDS and SNCC made a similar critique in their 1966 statement to Congress arguing that the 'blatant inequities' in the SSS made it unsalvageable in its current form; the only choice was resistance.[63] For some it was these inequities, rather than any questioning of the duty to serve, that formed the foundation of their draft resistance. Michigan State University's chapter of The Resistance directly challenged the privilege of its students asking: 'Have you thought about how that II-S [student deferment] in your pocket…makes you a partner of the war and the draft, no matter how much you may speak, write, vote, or march against them?'[64] Similarly, a Duke University student rhetorically questioned why the US sent troops abroad to fight peasants when there were impoverished domestic communities that needed help. The same student discussed the draft, noting 'the poor boy has to go and fight, the rich boy can always get an easy deal.'[65] Another Duke student argued in the radical *Protean Radish* magazine that the draft is intentionally constructed to manage, control and punish

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[61] "The Resistance: October 16," flyer, Box 8, Folder: Chicago Area Draft Resisters (CADRE) 1967-1969, Social Action Vertical File.

[62] Letter, Richard M. Boardman to Draft Board No. 114, Radicalism and Reactionary Politics Collection.

[63] Stokely Carmichael and Carl Oglesby, "Draft Copy of the Joint Statement," SNCC Papers; See also "Wanted for Draft Resistance," flyer (29 July 1968), Box 2, Student Activism Reference Collection.

[64] MSU Resistance, "Do You Want Your II-S?" (1969), Reel 37, Folder: Michigan State University: The Resistance, Radicalism and Reactionary Politics Collection.

[65] "Is the Draft Good For Us? Is This War Good For Us?" Box 2, Folder: Vietnam War, Student Activism Reference Collection.

certain groups, specifically the people of the Third World. This is true at home and overseas, she concluded.[66]

While many black activists critiqued the predominately white anti-war and anti-draft movement of overlooking the intrinsic relationship between the Vietnam War, racial oppression and poverty in the United States, some draft resisters were well aware of these contradictions and used them to structure their opposition to the draft.[67] Michael Barnett and Ken Vogel noted that 'the game is clearly unfair…those who are white, middle class and college educated are likely to escape the mud and death in Southeast Asia, while those who are black, poor, and "unsuitable" for college die on battlefields at a rate double that of their proportion in the population.'[68] Similarly, CADRE argued that every American must take responsibility for their complicity in the continuation of the war. They proclaimed: 'when black men die in their homes, when Vietnamese die in their homes at the hands of the United States military, you and I are responsible.'[69] Activists suggest that the 'universal' duty of military service for all citizens was anything but universal. These realities opened up a space to question the utility of the ideals embodied in the citizen-soldier.

'We Resist On the Grounds That We Aren't Citizens': Black Draft Resistance and the Inequities of American Belonging

Black draft resisters rejected the duty to serve and the masculinity embodied by the citizen-soldier alongside their white peers. Indeed, white and black anti-draft groups were having similar conversations around the (in)justice of the draft and questioning the right of the government to compel men to serve.[70] However, black anti-draft activists expanded these critiques to include the relationship between the draft and enduring racial and economic oppression, rather than solely emphasising the issues raised by the war itself. As Foley notes, 'particularly because it seemed to be carried out primarily by children of privilege – white, middle and upper-class college students – the act of resistance took on an air of condescension for some working class

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[66] Judith Weinberg, "The Draft As Repression," *Protean Radish* (1969), Box 2, Folder: Protean Radish, Student Activism Reference Collection.
[67] Hall, *Peace and Freedom*, 128.
[68] Michael Barnett and Ken Vogel, "A Statement of Resistance," Box 43, Folder: Selective Service System, Social Action Vertical File.
[69] "The Resistance: October 16," Social Action Vertical File.
[70] See for example: Foley, *Confronting the War Machine*; Lynd, *We Won't Go!*; Baskir and Strauss, *Chance and Circumstance*; Gottlieb, *Hell No, We Won't Go*; Foley, "The 'Point of Ultimate Indignity' or a 'Beloved Community'?, 178-198

observers.'[71] Given their inequitable experiences of citizenship, the language of patriotism generally held little meaning for black draft resistance organisations. Michael Simmons, a SNCC member who resisted the draft in 1966 recalled that white anti-draft activists discussing the draft from a philosophical point of view and 'wound up in arguments [with black activists] about patriotism and obligation and things like that [but] Black Power just totally negated patriotism. I mean once the call for Black Power got into being, then patriotism, that was out the window.' Simmons continued, 'the articulation of anti-war, anti-draft in the black community was always tied up with the domestic struggle…And you couldn't even justify the language of [patriotism]…when you can't even go pee in Mississippi!'[72] In referencing the death of Navy veteran Sammy Younge Jr., Simmons highlights the ways in which significantly different experiences of American citizenship had a profound impact on how draft resistance was articulated and positioned.

Similarly, draft counsellor Ernest Alexander argued that his white counterparts did not have the 'cultural background and experiences' to relate to the black needs and experiences. Resistance must be something black Americans could 'visualize and relate to.'[73] Simmons also organised and participated in the 1967 Eastern Black Anti-Draft Conference in Harlem where he declared:

> Black people know from their experiences here that nothing comes out of sitting at the peace table with this white racist country. The left harps on moral questions. The problem is not a moral one, but of one of white power which is amoral – the Peace Movement has not assaulted white power…The building of Black Resistance to the draft has to be grounded in the Black Community. The building a strong Black Resistance to the Draft is contingent upon the Black Community viewing their struggle as the struggle for Black Liberation and Black Nationhood.[74]

As Simmons' and Alexander's words suggest, activists believed that black draft resistance should be rooted firmly in the black experience, both as second-class citizens and in bearing a disproportionate burden of the draft. By elevating the role of racial identity, these organisations engaged directly with the rhetoric of Black Power.

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[71] Foley, *Confronting the War* Machine, 25; See also, "Proposal of the Midwest Committee for Draft Counseling," (13 June 1969), Box 18, Folder 13: Alice & Staughton Reference/Subject File: Midwest Committee for Draft Counseling (regional Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors Office [Midwest Committee for Draft Counseling], 1969, Alice Niles Lynd and Staughton Lynd Papers, SPC.

[72] Simmons, interview; Here Simmons is referencing the murder of Navy veteran and civil rights activism Sammy Younge Jr. who was killed by a white gas station attendant for trying to use a "white's only" restroom in Tuskegee, Alabama in January 1966.

[73] Ernest Alexander, "A Position Paper on Black Draft Counseling," Box 31, Folder: National Black Draft Counselors, Social Action Vertical File.

[74] Michael Simmons, speech at the Eastern Black Anti-Draft Conference (January 21, 1967), Box 32, Folder: National Coordinating Committee of Black Organizations Against the Draft, Social Action Vertical File.

It was not until 1967, according to Simmons that black opposition to the war became 'mainstream', suggesting that the increasing influence of Black Power was essential in cultivating black draft resistance.[75] Moderate Civil Rights groups were generally hesitant to link the black freedom struggle with anti-war activism. These organisations were broadly concerned that a focus on anti-war activism would damage the movement's relationship with the federal government and distract from the fight for equitable rights for black Americans.[76] Manfred Berg argued that as opinion began to turn against the war, the NAACP's reluctance to link anti-war and civil rights issues was further rooted in ideals of loyalty and patriotism. In the NAACP's view, civil rights organisations could not afford to be painted as adversaries of democracy by protesting a war that was purported to be fought in democracy's defence. Hall has demonstrated how these concerns manifested themselves throughout other moderate civil rights groups such as the Urban League and other movement leaders.[77] Those who did critique the draft believed its inequities could be corrected, rather than rejecting the draft's ability to compel men into service. This, however, often reflected the opinions of an older generation that had seen benefits from military service through the GI Bill.[78]

Black Power activists, conversely, argued that a central component of their full participation in American life included the ability to critique wars.[79] Unlike the more moderate civil rights organisations, which viewed anti-war activism as a potential barrier to success, SNCC activist Gwen Patton, who would later found the National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union (NBAWADU), argued that the black anti-war movement could and should address the impact of the war both outside of and within their communities.[80] In doing so, the anti-war movement could link anti-racist and anti-colonial struggles, long present in the black freedom movement, to the daily experiences of oppression faced by black communities.

The emergent rhetoric of Black Power and the tangible losses faced by black communities in the war made the draft's disproportionate burden on men of colour a

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[75] Simmons, interview

[76] Hall, *Peace and Freedom*, 80-105, Phillips, *War!,* 231; Westheider, *Brothers in Arms*, 66.

[77] Manfred Berg, "Guns, Butter, and Civil Rights: The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Vietnam War, 1964-1968," in *Aspects of War in American History*, ed. David Adams and Cornelius van Minnen (Keele: Keele University Press, 1997), 220; Hall, *Peace and Freedom*, 80-104.

[78] Westheider, *Fighting on Two Fronts,* 19.

[79] Phillips, *War!,* 240.

[80] Ibid., 254.

rallying point for black activists. Recalling an enduring history of oppression and repression by white America, black anti-draft activists constructed a racially conscious critique of the draft system specifically, and American citizenship more broadly. Deprived of citizenship's protections and privileges, black draft resisters argued that they did not have a duty to serve the nation in its military, and simultaneously questioned ideas and definitions surrounding citizenship. Specifically, the rhetoric of black draft resistance facilitates the unveiling of the assumed whiteness of American belonging.

One widespread method of draft resistance by black Americans was non-cooperation, or avoiding the draft by simply not registering while hoping to avoid detection. Baskir and Strauss note that while non-registration was particularly risky for white, middle class men, it was a significant draft resistance technique of the poor, and often reflected their 'alienation from the American mainstream.'[81] Simmons recalled that he only registered for the draft because 'if by chance you got stopped by the police, they would ask to see your draft card…I always reflect back, had I not registered, I would not have even had to deal with [the draft].' Speaking more broadly about draft resistance in the black community, Simmons noted, 'I would argue that…a lot of African Americans just voted with their feet, as we say, and just said to hell with the draft, I'm not going to register, they just ignored it, period…a lot of guys did [and they] thought I was crazy for having registered, for an example, said "Man, just ignore that shit."'[82] A survey conducted by the University of Notre Dame in 1975 study concluded that 'roughly 250,000 young men broke the law by never registering for the draft. Broken down by race, 0.6 percent of all whites, 3.9 percent of all blacks, and 1.7 percent of all other minority (mostly Spanish-speaking) persons were found never to have registered.'[83] This survey was on a very small scale, only focusing on men living in South Bend, Indiana, but its results suggest that men of colour more often chose non-cooperation than their white peers. As Foley notes, the 'mainstream New Left...shied away from draft non-compliance as a tactic, fearing such direct confrontation with the federal government.'[84]

However, many black men engaged in direct resistance to the draft to foreground their inequitable experience of American citizenship. While the citizen-

[81] Baskir and Strauss, *Chance and Circumstance*, 86.
[82] Michael Simmons, interview.
[83] Baskir and Strauss, *Chance and Circumstance*, 87
[84] Foley, *Confronting the War Machine*, 31.

soldier ideal suggests that citizens should defend their nation in exchange for the protection of their rights by a republican government, black activists were quick to note that persistent discrimination never made this protection a reality for black Americans. Draft resister John Otis Sumrall noted that after years of oppression 'it was made clear to me that I am not a citizen of the United States…if I am not looked upon as an equal citizen in everyday life, why am I looked upon as an equal citizen when it comes time for me to report for induction?'[85] Similarly, the Boston-based Afro-Americans Against the War noted in their Statement of Purpose that in three-hundred years of history, the US had never 'granted Afro-Americans equal rights or recognized Negroes as dignified human beings' and, as such, black men should not fight abroad until they have these rights at home.[86] Notably, resisters did not directly engage with the intellectual question of whether or not a government could or should compel its citizens to serve in the military. Rather, black anti-draft activists asserted that as communities of colour could not access the full privileges of citizenship, black men could not be compelled to serve by (white) policymakers.

Despite noting their lack of citizenship rights, some draft resisters evoked traditional American imagery to make their point. An anonymous letter to the editor of SNCC's *The Organizer* challenged the idea that draft resistance was unpatriotic, noting, 'I do not reject your flag; rather, the country for which is stands has rejected me…It is a flag which was created by a country whose constitution defined a black male as being three-fifths of a man. As far as I am concerned, we are still only allowed to be three-fifths of a man.' The writer further noted that while black Americans had fought in every war in American history, they returned home to face the same oppression.[87] Indeed, black activists drew on a history of service in America's wars to reject the duty to serve embodied in the ideal of the citizen-soldier. For example, the Black Women's Organization Against the War and Racism argued, 'the men of the black masses are used in time of war and forgotten about the rest of

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[85] John Otis Sumrall, "Freedom, Equality and the Draft," *We Won't Go!: A Conference on Draft Resistance* (University of Chicago: Chicago, 4 December 1966), Box 8, Folder: Chicago Area Draft Resisters (CADRE) 1967-1969, Social Action Vertical File; John Otis Sumrall, "Freedom At Home," in Lynd, 88-89.

[86] Johanne Eubanks, "Statement of the Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam," Box 20, Folder 15: Printed Matter, Robert S. Browne Papers, SCBC.

[87] Letter to the Editor, *The Organizer* (3 December 1965), Series B-II, Reel 52, Folder 84, SNCC Papers.

the time.'[88] Put more bluntly, Ernest Stephens writing in a March 1967 issue of the
Student Voice stated 'the only aspect of the Great Society of which we are permitted to
partake equally is the right to die.'[89]

Drawing on a long tradition of black military service, these and similarly-
minded activists challenged the perception of military service as a path of opportunity.
Instead, anti-draft activists argued that military service was evidence of their
continued oppression by white society.[90] Read at a Black Youth Conference in Los
Angeles in 1967, a poem entitled 'Liberation Will Come from a Black Thing'
captured this shift in mind set:

> Remember.
> We your soldiers.
> Fought in all dem wars.
> Brother Crispus Attucks[sic] the one to fall first
> And now you got me fighting against my own kind – Santa Domingo, Vietnam, Congo,
> Dontcha hear me.
> Hell No.
> Not this time!
> …
> My folks are out there, been there, but you fooled me, you kept telling me I was an individual,
> I had democratic rights, personal freedom…to remain the thing, praying to your god, making
> money for you, fighting your wars, killing my people.[91]

For James Foreman, the military no longer served as a potential path to further
opportunity and prosperity; instead, it was further evidence of white society taking
advantage of black men.

Despite the legislative victories of 1964 and 1965, ostensibly ending legal
segregation and securing legal protections for black voters, black communities still
faced discrimination, dwindling funding for President Johnson's Great Society
programmes and violence at the hands of law enforcement. Thus, rather than being a
path to opportunity, Simmons noted 'people of my generation did not see the military
as a good down payment on freedom.'[92] Similarly, resister Robert Allen declared in a
press statement, 'an army which will not protect its citizens at home...is not an army in

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[88] Black Women's Organization Against War and Racism, "Black Man Stay Home!" Box 6, Folder:
Black Women's Organization Against the War and Racism, Social Action Vertical File.
[89] Ernest Stephens, "Why Vietnam," *Student Voice Inc.* (March 1967), Series B:II, Folder 1: The
Aframerica, SNCC Papers.
[90] See for example National Staff, mass mailed letter (22 February 1972) Box 31, Folder: National
Black Draft Counselors, Social Action Vertical File.
[91] Brother James Foreman, "Liberation Will Come from a Black Thing," speech, (Los Angeles:
Western Regional Black Youth Conference, November 23, 1967) Series A-XVII, Reel 42, Folder 32:
Black Youth Conference, SNCC Papers.
[92] Simmons, interview.

which any self-respecting Black man should serve.'[93] Put in the terms of the ideal of the citizen-soldier, many black anti-draft activists felt the nation did not protect their rights as citizens, or did not consider them citizens at all. Thus black men had no obligation to serve in the Armed Forces and the draft was a tool of compulsion, or even enslavement, rather than democracy. Reflecting these tensions, a 1968 *Black Panther* article decried previous rhetoric suggesting that by 'being a responsible citizen and a good soldier, you could defeat these problems.' Instead, the author notes, 'we recognize that our people are slaves, referred to as citizens in desperation', as black servicemen are 'playing the historical role of most slaves.'[94] Significantly, this rhetoric completely discards the 'Double V' campaign from World War II, which called attention to plight of African-American soldiers fighting and dying abroad while being denied their rights at home, and previous generations' emphasis on using patriotic military service to further the cause of black freedom. In doing so, they refused to participate in a dominant paradigm of patriotism in which African Americans had to prove their suitability for democratic citizenship.[95]

Instead Black draft resistance, according to an August 1968 article in *Ebony Magazine,* was 'based on the logic that a man should not pay the premium when he cannot get the policy.'[96] Similarly, Lenneal Henderson, a UC Berkeley student quoted in the same article noted: 'we have a different reason for not going [to Vietnam]. We haven't enjoyed the benefits of society. The whites are resisting as citizens. We resist on the grounds that we aren't citizens.'[97] SNCC activist Terry Ardery echoed this sentiment, noting that the laws of the land, including the draft law, 'were made by, and meant to protect whites, not Blacks. Therefore how can I obey a law or laws not designed for me?'[98] Drawing on a long history of racial oppression, anti-draft activists raised questions about whom and what fell under the language of American belonging and rights. In doing so, they critiqued not only the draft, but the very nature of American citizenship by highlighting its assumed whiteness.

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[93] "Press Statement – Robert Allen's Draft Refusal," *Downdraft: End the Draft Magazine*, (September 1966), Box 25, Folder 10, Northern Student Movement Records, SCBC.

[94] Monk Teba, "Black GIs Part of American 'Big Stick'," *The Black Panther* 4, no. 28, (13 June 1970), microfilm, Philip Robinson Library, Newcastle University.

[95] Simmons, interview.

[96] L. Deckle McLean, "The Black Man and the Draft," *Ebony Magazine*, Special Issue: The Black Soldier (August 1968), Charles Blockson Collection, Temple University.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Terry Ardery, "Confront the Warmakers or 'Civil Disobedience,'" Series A-VII, Reel 21, Folder 208, SNCC Papers.

SNCC member and Georgia State Representative Julian Bond developed an anti-draft comic book that was widely distributed in black communities with the intention of alerting readers to the relationship between the Vietnam War and the struggle for black liberation.

Importantly, the use of a comic reflected the particular needs and experiences of the black community. On a practical level, the comic allowed activists to engage those suffering from the persistent inequities in the American education system by providing an image-b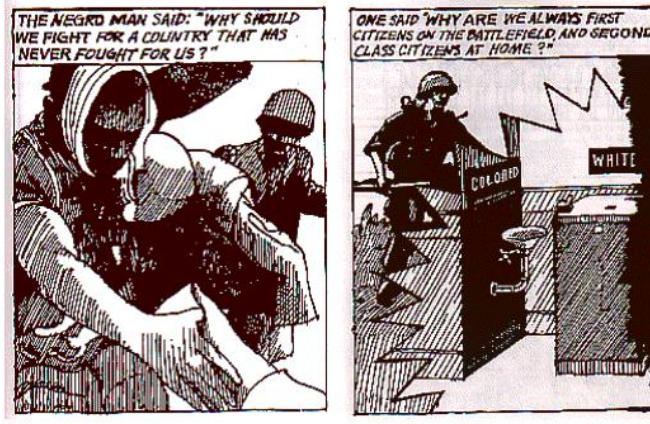ased analysis of the war.[99] The comic begins with a list of a variety of black leaders who were against the war, thereby depicting the anti-war position as an issue of importance to all black Americans, irrespective of their particular opinion on how best to achieve equality or liberation.[100] It also gives a brief history of Vietnam and the Vietnamese people, highlighting the continued influence of external imperial powers in Vietnamese affairs. In emphasising the undemocratic nature of the war, the comic then challenges its readers to consider the black role in the conflict. Speaking both to draft aged men and the black community as a whole, the comic asked, 'why should we fight for a country that never fought for us' (see Figure 1).[101] Similarly it asks, 'why are we always first citizens on the battleground and second class citizens at home?'[102]

Figure 1: Bond and Lewis, Vietnam: An Antiwar Comic Book, 4.

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[99] Amanda L. Higgins, "Instruments of Righteousness: The Intersections of Black Power and Anti-Vietnam War Activism in the United States, 1964-1972," (PhD dissertation, University of Kentucky, 2013), 191, http://uknowledge.uky.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1010&context=history_etds (accessed 19 April 2017), 161.

[100] The comic notes that Martin Luther King, the SCLC, the SCEF, 'Interracial Civil Rights Groups', Stokely Carmichael, SNCC, Julian Bond, Muhammad Ali, Elijah Muhammad, 'the Black Muslims', Malcolm X, Adam Clayton Powell, James Famer, Floyd McKissick, CORE, 'most of the Africans at the United Nations' and 'thousands of others, white and black, rich and poor' are against the war in Vietnam; see pages 1-3.

[101] Julian Bond and T.G. Lewis, *Vietnam: An Antiwar Comic Book* (1967), 4, http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/sixties/HTML_docs/Exhibits/Bond/Bond.html (accessed 19 April 2017)

[102] Ibid.

Black draft resisters and activists used their lack of citizenship rights to construct a critique of the US which deemed the war, and the nation itself, an example of racist, capitalist and imperialist oppression. As such, this resistance challenged the democratic nature of the American system. Despite rejecting the citizen-soldier ideal's emphasis on patriotic military service, black draft resisters drew on other traditional components of the citizen-soldier to shape their activism. Specifically, they argued that men had a vital duty to protect their communities. Rather than carrying out military service to protect the nation which guarded citizens' democratic rights, black men had a duty to protect their home front: black neighbourhoods and black bodies, constantly under siege by capitalism, institutional racism and, in some articulations, genocidal violence.

A Common Enemy: A Community of Third World 'Freedom Fighters'

In highlighting the inequities of the draft system, resisters drew on existing traditions of black anti-war and anti-imperial activism. During the early twentieth century black freedom organisations engaged in anti-colonial efforts and black activists had long decried the racial undertones of American foreign policy.[103] In the context of the Cold War, these critiques became particularly salient. As Thomas Borstelmann notes, the US 'needed to demonstrate that traditional white racism would not be a central element in the domestic and international anti-Communist coalitions they were constructing.'[104] The Cold War brought to the forefront the complicated interplay of race, international influence (or imperialism) and the ideals of democracy. Domestically, the black freedom movement existed at the intersection of these conversations.

Reflecting the relationship between international and domestic struggles for black freedom, some activists embraced the tenets of Black Nationalism, which Wahneema Lubiano defines as a variety of activities and behaviours stemming 'from vague feelings of black racial solidarity in the face of a white supremacist world view

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[103] See for example, Carol Anderson, *Bourgeois Radicals: The NAACP and the Struggle for Colonial Liberation, 1941-1960* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015); John Munro, *The Anti-Colonial Front: The African-American Freedom Struggle and Global Decolonization* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2017).
[104] Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line,* 48.

and white dominance.'[105] Most significantly, Black Nationalism critiques the racial order of the US and the resulting treatment of its black citizens.[106] Influenced by black thinkers such as Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X, Black Nationalism also foregrounded the idea that black independence and black pride were the most efficient tools to securing black rights. Utilising Black Nationalism and Black Power rhetoric, black anti-draft activists also argued that their paramount identity was their blackness, rather than their Americanness. In doing so, they also collectively challenged the idea that America was a standard-bearer for democracy at all.

Similarly, many black anti-draft activists embraced the internal colony theory, or the argument that black Americans constituted a colonised people. This idea had always existed in American black freedom movements. Over a century before the Vietnam War, abolitionist Martin Delany described the subordination of free blacks to white America as 'a nation within a nation.'[107] Similarly, W.E.B. Du Bois spoke of the 'colonial status' of black Americans in the US.[108] In the 1960s, Black Power founder Stokely Carmichael, argued that 'the black community was politically, economically, and militarily subjugated to white America' just as international colonies were controlled by European nations.[109] Colonies, in this iteration, were determined by their assumed and practiced structures of domination and subordination rather than their global location. For example, black activists viewed the American Indian peoples as members of their own internal colony.[110]

The black freedom movement drew inspiration from the decolonisation battles across the Global South in the aftermath of the Second World War.[111] Malcolm X explicitly linked these contemporary international struggles with the pursuit of rights within the US. Speaking in November 1963, he described how the 1954 Bandung Conference allowed participants from colonised African and Asian Nations 'to

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[105] Wahneema Lubiano, "Don't Talk with Your Eyes Closed: Caught in the Hollywood Gun Sights," in *Borders, Boundaries and Frames: Essays in Cultural Criticism and Cultural Studies*, ed. Mae Henderson (London: Routledge, 1995), 188.

[106] Jane Rhodes, *Framing the Black Panthers: The Spectacular Rise of a Black Power Icon* (London: The New Press, 2007), 8.

[107] Martin Delany quoted in Robert Allen, "Reassessing the Internal (Neo)colonialism Theory," *The Black Scholar* 35, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 2.

[108] W.E.B. DuBois quoted in Ibid., 2.

[109] Allen, "Reassessing the Internal (Neo)colonialism Theory," 2.

[110] Ibid.

[111] Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line,* 5-6; Hall, *Peace and Freedom*, 60-62; Robert Allen, *Black Awakening In Capitalist America: An Analytic History* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, Inc., 1992), 7; Robert Self, "The Black Panther Party and the Long Civil Rights Era," in Lazerow and Williams, 21, 37, 206.

submerge their little petty differences and agree on one thing.' According to X, 'they began to recognise who their enemy was…They realized all over the world where the dark man was being oppressed, he was being oppressed by the white man; where the dark man was being exploited, he was being exploited by the white man.' Significantly, he found this instructive for American black communities, noting that 'we too realize here in America we all have a common enemy.'[112] Positioning themselves as an internal colony provided activists with an explanation for the lived experiences of black Americans throughout the country.[113] Simmons recalled that, 'a lot of things were bubbling up' and that Africa, decolonisation, and other Third World struggles were the backdrop for conversations around the war. Vietnam then, 'became the centrepiece…because we were directly affected by Vietnam.'[114]

However, the increasing militancy of Black Power activists led white political leaders to further intensify, directly and indirectly, their attempts to maintain existing racial hierarchies within the US.[115] Thus, at the same moment that draft calls were increasingly pulling men and resources from communities of colour, attempts to 'restore order' after the race riots of 1965-67 heightened the colonial consciousness of many Black Power activists. This positioning also strengthened a sense of an international alliance amongst Third World peoples struggling against the West. Thus, black anti-draft activism built on broader Black Power conversations surrounding the internal colony thesis and its emphasis on a global Third World community of oppressed peoples. Embracing this Third World consciousness, Black Power groups rejected the continued capitalist and imperialist domination of the US.[116] Black draft activists argued that they, as members of a domestic colony, must resist conscription and join their fellow Third World freedom fighters in the struggle against western imperialism and capitalist exploitation.

As Self argues, the evolution of black radicalism alongside the Cold War's anti-colonial struggles made the question of black America's relationship to colonialism particularly salient. Retelling the whitewashed 'patriotic' narrative of American history, anti-draft activists emphasised that American prosperity was built

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[112] Malcolm X, "Message to the Grass Roots," Northern Negro Grass Roots Leadership Conference, Group on Advanced Leadership, King Solomon Baptist Church, Detroit (10 November 1963), http://ccnmtl.columbia.edu/projects/mmt/mxp/speeches/mxt26.html (accessed 11 April 2017)
[113] Allen, "Reassessing the Internal (Neo)colonialism Theory," 4.
[114] Simmons, interview.
[115] Allen, "Reassessing the Internal (Neo)colonialism Theory," 4.
[116] Self, "The Black Panther Party and the Long Civil Rights Era," in Lazerow and Williams, 28, 37; See also, James T. Campbell, "The Panthers and Local History," in Lazerow and Williams, 97.

on the coerced labour of slaves and the enduring oppression of black Americans. In a 1967 pamphlet entitled 'Concerned Black People', the authors proclaimed that 'American prosperity and development was founded on the exploitation of the material resources of the Third World…just as it is based on the exploitation of the human resources of the Afro-American.'[117]

The Black Women's Organization Against War and Racism also invoked this colonial rhetoric, arguing that black people were colonized subjects involuntarily brought to America. As non-citizens, they remained unequal in the eyes of the law and in the protections of the Constitution.[118] In this iteration, black Americans could not be democratic citizens because they were a subordinated class with unequal power. Thus, they had no duty to serve, as the citizen-soldier ideal demanded service in defence of rights and privileges they did not share. Indeed, black draft activists emphasised the inequities of the draft to argue that black Americans were not truly democratic citizens. One flyer created by Black Women Enraged similarly proclaimed, 'Oh, you're an American? And you want to fight for your government? Well Malcolm told you, you ain't Americans, you're ex-slaves and you have no government. The government is of the whites, by the whites and for the whites.'[119]

In turn, black draft resistance circles depicted America, not as a beacon of democracy, but as the source of oppression. As Stokely Carmichael noted in his speech at the 1967 Spring Mobilization Against the War, 'the draft exemplifies as much as racism, the totalitarianism which prevails in this nation in the disguise of the consensus democracy…This President sends young men to die without the consent of anyone.'[120] The duty of the citizen-soldier cannot apply to men who are not citizens, nor can it apply to a nation that does not protect the rights of those that it calls to serve. Ultimately, black draft activists reconsidered who or what demanded the protection of its most loyal 'citizens'. Moreover, the rhetoric surrounding the draft called into question whether the US was a democracy worth the protection of the citizen-soldier.

Thus black activists utilised Black Power's emphasis on racial pride and their understanding of themselves as a domestic colony to further challenge ideas about

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[117] "Concerned Black People: The Black Position on the War in Viet Nam," (1967), Box 5, Folder: Anti-War, Social Action Vertical File.
[118] "Black Men Stay Home!" Box 6, Folder: Black Women's Organization Against War and Racism, Social Action Vertical File.
[119] Black Women Enraged, flyer, Box 6, Folder: Black Women Enraged, Social Action Vertical File.
[120] Stokely Carmichael, Speech at Spring MOBE (1967), B:II, Reel 52, Folder 84, SNCC Papers.

citizenship and the duty to serve. Anti-draft organisations used familiar language and experiences to cultivate a racial consciousness in which black men refused induction in order to halt the exploitations of lives and their bodies by the white power structure.[121] Their activism also sought to change opinions of draft resistance within the black community. Far from being cowardly or lazy, anti-draft groups positioned conscription as another hardship faced by black communities. As white leaders intensified their attempts to maintain existing racial hierarchies, positioning themselves as internal colonial subjects provided activists with an explanation for the lived experiences of black Americans throughout the country.[122]

Reflecting the enduring discrimination experienced by black Americans, the continued and blatant inequities of the draft led some black draft activists not only to critique the war, but to attach an even more sinister implication to conscription. Reflecting their subordination as colonial subjects, some argued that the draft was a tool of oppression at its best and, at its worst, an attempt at genocide against the black community. As more men of colour were called up and inducted, some black activists considered the draft an attempt at genocide by the US government in an effort to alleviate racial problems in America.[123] SNCC activist James Foreman argued that the violence in Orangeburg, Watts, Harlem, Nashville and black communities across the country proved 'that genocide is also the power structure's answer to the black liberation movement.'[124] Black Panther Rodney Barnette similarly connected Vietnam to stateside violence proclaiming, 'we are resisting genocide…it is genocide when pig police go unpunished when they murder Black people in the streets. It is genocide when Black youth are systematically sent off to Vietnam and are dying in such an inordinate proportion.'[125]

SNCC and the Black Panthers regularly drew connections between the violence and lack of opportunities at home, and the war in Vietnam.[126] They argued

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[121] Higgins, "Instruments of Righteousness," 191.
[122] Allen, "Reassessing the Internal (Neo)colonialism Theory," 4.
[123] "Protest the Jailing of Walter Collins and the situation of black draft resisters," pamphlet, Box 31, Folder: National Black Draft Counselors, Social Action Vertical File; Judith Weinberg, "The draft as repression," *Protean Radish* 4, no.16 (Jan 21-Feb 3, 1969), Box 2, Folder: <u>Protean Radish</u>, 1969, Student Activism Reference Collection; Higgins, "Instruments of Righteousness," 145, 149.
[124] James Foreman, "Liberation Will Come From a Black Thing," Reel 62, Folder: SDS: Pamphlets: Black Liberation, Radicalism and Reactionary Politics Collection.
[125] Rodney Barnette, "Pigs Plotted Murder of L.A. Panthers," *The Black Panther* (7 September 1968), microfilm.
[126] See for example, National Black Anti-war Anti-Draft Union, flyer, Folder 15: Vietnam, Robert S. Browne Papers; National Black Anti-war Anti-Draft Union, letter, C:III, Reel 59, Folder 55: NBAWADU, SNCC Papers; Carmichael, speech at Spring MOBE, SNCC Papers.

that their resistance to the draft was not simply a rejection of the war, but necessary for the survival of black America.[127] In a proposal for a Black Anti-Draft Programme in 1966, SNCC activists wrote that the draft could be opposed on moral, organisational or legal grounds, but 'necessity dictates that we oppose it also on the grounds of survival…of us as a people.'[128] SNCC activists Simmons and Larry Fox similarly proclaimed in a memo to SNCC staff, 'the drafting of all our young Black men will leave our Black Nation to be further plundered and murdered!'[129] Domestic black freedom activists argued that this directed removal of 'the most articulate' and 'most useful' black men, was not accidental, but an intentional effort to silence the movement.[130]

By framing the disproportionate drafting of young black men as an orchestrated attempt at genocide, some black anti-draft activists moved beyond acknowledging that black Americans were not citizens. They argued that the system that demanded the protection of the citizen-soldier was intentionally condemning its citizens to die. This rhetoric subverted the citizen-soldier ideal by suggesting that there was a war to fight in, and possibly directly against, the US. In being sent away from home by the draft, these young men were being stripped of the right to defend and improve the communities that were the source of their freedoms and identity. As such, they were denied the right to be good citizen-soldiers at home.

In falling outside the boundaries of American citizenship, some black draft resisters argued they had more in common with the beleaguered Vietnamese than they did with the message of American democracy and patriotism, and linked the struggles of the Vietnamese to the struggles of the domestic black colony. By emphasising the physical and economic exploitation of black Americans, these draft activists drew on their knowledge of imperialist actions to highlight their rhetorical, if not actual

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[127] See for example, "Interview with H. Rap Brown," *Black Power: SNCC Speaks for Itself: A Collection of Interviews and Statements* (July 1967), Reel 62, Folder: SDS: Pamphlets: Black Liberation, Radicalism and Reactionary Politics Collection; Pat Burg, Marian Dowdell and National Black Draft Counselors National Staff, Mass mailed letter (22 February 1972), Box 31, Folder: National Black Draft Counselors, Social Action Vertical File; "Fake Draft Notice," pamphlet, (n.d.), Box 18, Folder 3: Alice & Staughton Reference/Subject File: Chicago Area Draft Resistance, Alice and Staughton Lynd Papers.
[128] "A Black Anti-Draft Program," (August 1966), Series A:VIII, Reel 21, Folder 208, SNCC Papers.
[129] Michael Simmons and Larry Fox, "Memo to SNCC Staff," (28 November 1966), Series B:II, Reel 51, Folder 18: Draft, SNCC Papers.
[130] National Council for Universal and Unconditional Amnesty, "On The Military – Interview with Walter Collins," in *Amnesty for Vets Too!*, Subseries 1.9 – Military, Box 77, Folder 2: Amnesty, Liberation News Service Records.

alliance with the Vietnamese. [131] In this understanding, the draft became further evidence of an imperial power 'us[ing] the Black man's labor on their own terms.'[132] Indeed, the rhetoric of draft resistance often directly linked the struggles of the Vietnamese to the struggles of the domestic black colony.

As one writer put it, 'the barbarous treatment of the Vietnamese is comparable to her internal colonization of the black man.'[133] Bond's anti-war comic book similarly linked the struggles of the Vietnamese to the black freedom struggle by highlighting their lack of freedom at the hands of the United States (see Figure 2). One of the comic's panels noted that 'in December 1960, the National Liberation Front war formed. Some people here called it the "Viet Cong" like people who don't like Negroes call us "Niggers."'[134] Showcasing the breadth of anti-war critiques made by black anti-war activists, the comic book emphasised the second-class citizenship of black Americans, and the similar
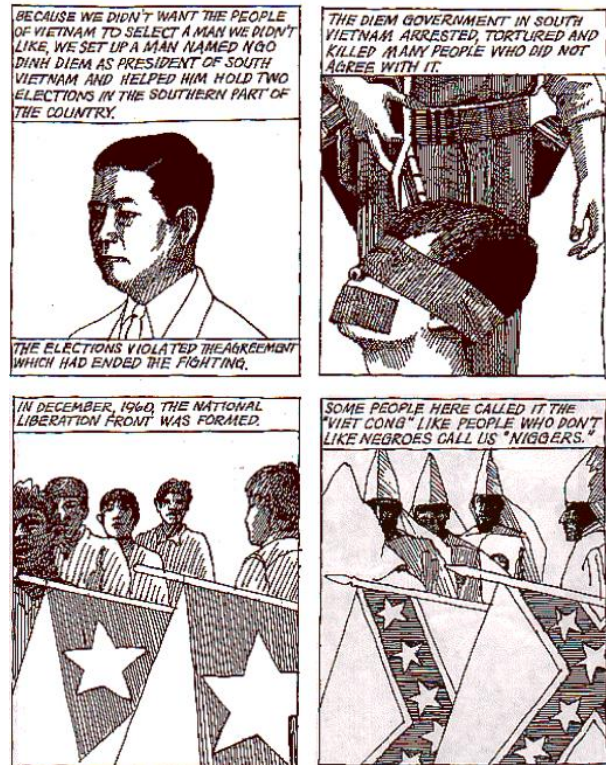

Figure 2: Bond and Lewis, Vietnam: An Antiwar Comic Book, 10.

struggles of the Vietnamese against their continued oppression at the hands of an imperialist America. As Amanda Higgins argues, 'the comic book opened an

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[131] "Concerned Black People: The Black Position on the War in Viet Nam," Box 5, Folder: Anti-War, Social Action Vertical File; "Black Workers Demand US Government Stop War in Vietnam," pamphlet, Box 13, Folder 4: Black United Action Front/Black Anti-Draft Union 1965-1967, James Haughton Papers; Huey P. Newton, "Functional Definition of Politics," *The Black Panther* (10 June 1968), microfilm; Higgins, "Instruments of Righteousness," 158.
[132] David Schiller, "The National Question & the Class Question," in *Black Liberation*, Special Edition of the New University Conference Newsletter, ed. Judy Nissman Taylor (20 May 1970), Radicalism and Reactionary Politics Collection; See also, "Excerpts from Bob Browne's Speech," Social Action Vertical File.
[133] "Concerned Black People," Social Action Vertical File.
[134] Bond and Lewis, *Vietnam*, 10.

imagined space where the Vietnamese and African-Americans shared the same wants and needs.'[135]

Draft resister Bill Epton argued that the war 'becomes all the more sinister' when people recognise that the 'systematic attempts to wipe out the Vietnamese people' is inextricably linked to the attempt to 'destroy the black youth of this country.'[136] As both the Vietnamese and black Americans were attempting to defeat the oppression of an exploitative power, black peace activists noted that 'the people of Washington and the people of Indo-china are each involved in a struggle for the right to determine our destinies for decent, human survival.'[137] Kathleen Cleaver noted that black and Vietnamese people were both fighting to regain control of their communities.[138] Because they were fighting the same struggle, black anti-draft activists encouraged young black men to challenge conscription.[139]

Activists emphasised the Third World alliance of freedom fighters to convince other young men to resist. In 1967, Robert Lee Swarty refused induction in a letter he titled 'Declaration of Solidarity' to his Chicago draft board. He began by invoking the Declaration of Independence's demand for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and concluded 'the despotic government of the US has denied the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin American their unalienable right to determine their own destinies…And the heroic men and women of the US who condemn and disassociate themselves from their government's criminal and tyrannical polices are branded as "traitors". Clearly, it is those in the US government who are the real traitors.'[140] Swarty's letter simultaneously emphasised his solidarity with the Vietnamese, who were fighting for their own freedom, and the lack of equal access to core American rights as motivations for his protest. As similarly oppressed people, resisters emphasised their membership in a Third World community, rather than citizens of an oppressive American system. Far from dissenting, Swarty and other draft resisters believed they were fighting the real fight for freedom.

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[135] Higgins, "Instruments of Righteousness," 166.

[136] "Statement by Bill Epton," Folder 15: Vietnam-Printed Matter, Robert S. Browne Papers.

[137] "The DC Black Community Speaks to a Racist Peace Movement," (16 June 1972), Gwen Patton Collection, Trenholm State College Library, Trenholm State Community College.

[138] Kathleen Cleaver, "Racism, Fascism and Political Murder," *The Black Panther* (4 September 1968), microfilm.

[139] "New SNCC Directions," *The Movement* (July 1967), ed. Clayborne Carson (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993), 246; Ralph Hendrix, "Black Youth Must Struggle for the Liberation of Their Own People!" Box 6, Folder: Black Anti-Draft Union, Social Action Vertical File.

[140] Letter, Robert Lee Swarty to Chicago Draft Board no. 27, "Declaration of Solidarity," Box 8, Folder: Chicago Area Draft Resisters (CADRE) 1967-1969, Social Action Vertical File.

Others emphasised the need for black solidarity against their domestic oppression. The Black Panthers admonished young men who were 'Black and proud and still go to Vietnam' to fight or perform, as they were 'committing a crime against all the descendants of slaves in the US.'[141] Similarly, one young man said that he refused the draft because he would 'feel just like the KKK over there.'[142] Black anti-draft activists argued that young black men choosing to fight in the Army were continuing the imperialist tradition of American business interests profiting off of the bodies of the black community.[143] The Roxbury Action Program, based in Boston, made anti-draft activism one component of their larger focus on self-determination, community improvement, and 'helping people themselves to understand the political significance of their plight.'[144] The group argued that the SSS 'impresses Black men…and has made Black men kill another oppressed people…Black men have been oppressed in this country, and are now being sent to Asia to do what has been done to us.'[145] A similar sentiment is expressed in a pamphlet distributed in support of Philadelphia draft resister Ronald Lockman in 1967. Aptly titled, 'My Fight is in the Ghettos of Philadelphia', this pamphlet noted, 'his enemies are not the Vietnamese people battling for independence and self-determination…his real enemies are racism, police terror, unemployment, slum housing and ghetto education, poverty – the oppression that black people face in America.'[146] These comparisons further utilise the concept of a domestic black colony by emphasising the unequal power systems in the US. Thus black draft resisters highlighted the mutual oppression suffered by black Americans and the Vietnamese to justify their refusal to participate in the draft as both are fighting as allies, not enemies in a battle to 'wrest control of their lives from the

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[141] "Cultural Nationalism," *The Black Panther* (3 March 1969), microfilm.

[142] John Otis Sumrall, in Lynd, 91.

[143] See for example, "Statement By Cleveland Sellars, Upon His Attempted Induction, May 1, 1967," Box 6, Folder: SNCC and Civil Rights – Black Men and the Draft, Judy Richardson Papers, David Rubenstein Library; "The Chicago 15," Box 9, Folder 15: Draft Resistance: 1966-1970, Fred Halstead Papers; "Hell No To The Draft," *The Movement*, (April 1967) in Carson, 220.

[144] "Roxbury Action Program," *Roxbury Action Program Collection, 1944-1975*, http://scua.library.umass.edu/umarmot/roxbury-action-program/ (accessed 12 April 2017)

[145] "Statement of the Roxbury Action Program Given at a Congressional Hearing on the Draft," newsletter (June 1971), Box 31, Folder: National Black Draft Counselors, Social Action Vertical File; See also, Stokely Carmichael, "Speech at Spring MOBE," (1967), SNCC Papers.

[146] "My Fight Is In the Ghettos of Philadelphia – Not Vietnam," pamphlet (ca. 1967) Box 118, Folder 1: Vietnam – Protests, Reference Center for Marxist Studies Printed Ephemera Collection, Tamiment Library & Robert Wagner Labor Archives, New York University [archive hereafter referred to as TAM].

same system.'[147] In terms of the citizen-soldier, then, young black men had a duty to defend their communities against a true and dangerous enemy: oppressive and imperialist America.

By positioning themselves as more closely allied with the Vietnamese and their struggle, black draft activists made an important assertion about the relationship between citizenship and soldiering. 'By using this colonized subject argument', argued the Black Women's Organization Against War and Racism, 'no black man owes allegiance to this country until America makes the words "liberty and justice for all" mean just what it says.'[148] Likewise, the authors of 'Concerned Black People' declared, 'black people can only be patriotic when we are given proof that this country is ours. Such is not the case of America 1967.'[149] While previous generations of black Americans had sought to use the rhetorical thrust of the citizen-soldier to demonstrate and support their demands for equal treatment, black draft resisters and activists during the Vietnam War challenged the utility of these assumptions.

Ultimately their arguments highlighted the inherent whiteness of American citizenship. By deeming themselves colonised subjects, black draft resistance activists rejected even the appearance of belonging in the American rhetoric of citizenship. By drawing on the ideas of Black Nationalism and the anti-colonial movements of the Global South, activists repurposed ideas around citizenship and military service to position the experience of colonialism as a source of strength for young black men, which could instil a new sense of belonging and duty. In doing so, they simultaneously rejected the demand to serve as there was no existing mutually beneficial relationship to protect. Activists argued that because the black community did not receive the benefits of citizenship and that the US was not democratic in its actions, its policies did not deserve the sacrifice of their bodies. Thus, the traditional utility of the citizen-soldier crumbled.

'A Catalyst Issue': Draft Resistance as an Organising Tool

However, these activists did not entirely eschew the duty to defend. Instead, black anti-draft activists redefined the entity in need of protection. A citizen-soldier

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[147] National Staff, Mass mailed letter, Social Action Vertical File; See also, Pat Burg, "Report on Black Draft Counseling – Fall 1970," (November 9, 1970), Box 31, Folder: National Black Draft Counselors, Social Action Vertical File.
[148] "Black Men Stay Home!" flyer, Box 6, Folder: Black Women's Organization Against War and Racism, Social Action Vertical File.
[149] "Concerned Black People," Social Action Vertical File.

must defend the source of protections of their democratic rights and freedoms. Like many colonies seeking independence, black anti-draft activists argued that this source was the black community itself, rather than the external (or internal) hand of an imperialist nation. Intertwining anti-draft activism with the larger struggle for black freedom, activists demanded that black men reject military service in order to serve and protect their own communities. As draft counsellor Ernest Alexander noted, 'Amerikkka is the Black man's battleground and our Black men should be free to stay in their own communities and reconstruct the damage from political, economic and social war that is waged on Black communities.'[150] Throughout the growing anti-draft movement, black activists consistently argued that the draft was simply another moment in which the black community was exploited by powerful whites. As such, resisting the draft was 'not draft dodging but merely taking full advantage of your rights not to be conscripted. [Black draft counsellors] must project that you don't change a system that exploits us by joining it.'[151] As the privileges and rights of citizenship continued to be denied to black communities, black draft resisters turned to the source of their daily empowerment: their own communities to conceptualise duty and citizenship. In a further rejection of the idea of an inclusive America, draft resistance became another component of the on-going black liberation struggle.

Because of the tangible threat of conscription, activists viewed draft counselling as a way to introduce young men to broader activisms around black racial identity and American belonging. Vietnam veteran turned draft counsellor Elliot Moreland noted, 'a lot of draft counseling isn't so much "Evade the war"; it's more "Open your eyes and see what the war is, and then make your own decision.'[152] This was particularly important for black draft counsellors seeking to engage young black men in a more critical analysis of their lived experiences of oppression. The National Black Draft Counselors Association deemed draft counselling an 'effective organising tool in the black community…[because] the Selective Service System affects the lives of every male in the United States, we have tools with which to gain the attention of every brother and sister we talk to.'[153] As such, counsellors needed to view draft counselling, 'not as an isolated service but as an organising tool…to increase the level of awareness of third world people as to the disastrous effects of the draft on the

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[150] Alexander, "A Position Paper on Black Draft Counseling," Social Action Vertical File.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Gottlieb, *Hell No, We Won't Go!*, 243.
[153] National Staff, Mass mailed letter, Social Action Vertical File.

community, and how it relates to the racism of militarism which characterize this society.'[154] Thus draft resistance was simultaneously a product of and contributor to the rhetoric of Black Power. Indeed, draft counselling programmes and the most vocal draft resistance movements were often inner-city areas with strong local chapters of Black Power organisations such as Atlanta, Chicago and Harlem.

In connecting draft resistance to black liberation, activists drew on traditional relationships between patriotism and protecting one's community. By intertwining these ideas with Black Power rhetoric on masculinity and blackness, draft resistance activists cultivated a refusal to serve in the US Armed Forces as another battlefield for black liberation. Accordingly, activists argued that rather than carrying out military service to protect the nation which guarded citizens' democratic rights, black men had a duty to protect their home front: black neighbourhoods and black bodies constantly under siege by capitalism, institutionalised racism and, in some articulations, genocidal violence. SNCC was particularly vocal in noting both the racial discrepancies in the draft, and its associated exemptions. Significantly, they did so by invoking traditional conceptions of duty embodied by the citizen-soldier, but in a way that could support the black freedom struggle. In their initial statement of dissent against the war, organisers asked 'where is the draft for the freedom fight in the United States?'[155] As VISTA and Peace Corps members were exempt from military service as long as they were doing humanitarian works, SNCC contended that black freedom activists were doing the same and 'encourage[d] those Americans who prefer to use their energy in building democratic forms within this country.'[156] One of the central arguments of black draft resistance efforts was that black communities were engaged in their own struggle for rights at home.

In particular, draft resistance activists believed that once black men understood the multifaceted relationship between their daily experiences, the draft and the larger societal oppression black men faced, they could become more effective participants in the black liberation struggle.[157] CADRE argued that when a black man refused the draft it was 'indicative of a new understanding of the relationship between the

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[154] Ibid.
[155] Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, "On Vietnam," http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/sixties/HTML_docs/Resources/Primary/Manifestos/SNCC_VN.html (accessed 10 March 2017)
[156] Ibid.
[157] See for example: Pat Burg, "Report on Black Draft Counseling – Fall 1970," (November 9, 1970), Box 31, Folder: National Black Draft Counselors, Social Action Vertical File; National Staff, Mass mailed letter, Social Action Vertical File.

individual and the state in our society, a new analysis of the responsibility of the individual for the acts of his government and his nation.'[158] While the group organised primarily around the draft, they supported the struggles of other organisations fighting for change and social justice. SNCC similarly viewed draft resistance as an avenue for young men into the larger black freedom struggle. In an October 1967 issue of *The Movement*, one contributor described the draft as 'a catalyst issue' around which farther reaching community organising could occur.[159] The first anti-war statement from a Civil Rights organisation placed this sentiment front and centre. SNCC's January 1966 'Statement on Vietnam' noted, 'our country's cry of "preserve freedom in the world" is a hypocritical mask, behind which it squashes liberation movements'[160] Simmons recalled that this statement was not simply an anti-war statement, it was 'an anti-US foreign policy statement' and noted that the draft was always discussed in the context of a broader anti-imperial activism.[161] By connecting anti-war activism to a 'mass consciousness on international issues', this activism could become a catalyst issue, as SNCC hoped.[162]

A central contention of Black Power organisations and anti-draft activists was that conscription drained communities of vital resources by removing young men from home. The Milwaukee Black Draft Counseling Centre argued that the draft was 'robbing our community of our young brothers who would otherwise be able to us build our community [rather than] destroying a community half way around the world.'[163] Likewise, the National Black Draft Counselors, in a mass-mailed letter to its members in 1972, noted that draft resistance was of the utmost importance as it determined 'the survival of our greatest asset: strong, young Black men.'[164] These young men were essential to the protection of the black community from oppression by local police forces and institutionalised racism. 'We not only need black power', declared one activist, 'but also physical power to deal with this beast-white man.'[165]

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[158] "Resistance IS," Box 18, Folder 3: Alice & Staughton Reference/Subject File: Chicago Area Draft Resistance, Alice and Staughton Lynd Papers.

[159] "Getting Guys Out of the Army and Into the Fight," *The Movement*, 3, no. 10 (October 1967), in Carson, 300.

[160] Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, "On Vietnam."

[161] Simmons, interview.

[162] Ibid.

[163] "Milwaukee Black Draft Counseling Center," Box 6, Folder: Black Draft Counseling Center, Social Action Vertical File.

[164] National Staff, Mass mailed letter, Social Action Vertical File.

[165] Black Women Enraged, "Black People of Harlem," flyer, Box 6, Folder: Black Women Enraged, Social Action Vertical File.

According to activists then, draft resistance was a battle for survival not only because resisting protected young men from dying in what some perceived to be a government-orchestrated genocide, but also because it took young men away from efforts to improve black communities. In the terms of the citizen-soldier, these young men were being stripped of the right to defend and uplift the communities that were the source of their freedoms and identity.

Anti-draft activists further reminded young black men that they had something to fight for at home. Drawing on the rhetoric of the citizen-soldier, they had a people and a black nation that required their defence. A flyer distributed in Harlem proclaimed 'Our People Need You! To Stay at Home And Fight For Your Black Self, Your Family, Your Community, and Your Black Nation.'[166] Similarly, in a position paper on the draft, a SNCC community organiser made 'a plea for our brothers in Vietnam to come on home.' He proclaimed, 'AMERICA IS THE BLACK MAN'S BATTLEGROUND…our mothers, fathers, sisters and brothers are being shot down like dogs and we earnestly need their protection and their skills.'[167] These demonstrate the ways in which draft resisters simultaneously used and reconfigured the definition of duty embodied in the citizen-soldier. Activists rejected the equation of national loyalty with military service, but upheld the ideal's requirement of defending a 'nation' in need. Simultaneously, black draft activists explicitly redefined patriotic service for young black men in America and reaffirmed the need for men to provide a defence of their community. As the Black Panther party proclaimed: 'because you have refused to serve in the oppressor's racist mercenary aggressive war machine…you are hereby drafted into the black [sic] Panther Party for Self-Defense.[168] The fight was not overseas, but on the streets of America.

Those who 'chose' to go to Vietnam faced differing reactions from black anti-draft activists. Some thought that these men were merely victims of a larger system of oppression they did not yet understand while others viewed those serving overseas as enemies of their own race. For example, a soldier identified as Major Merritt demanded that black officers 'start acting like men' and standing up for their rights. Otherwise they become 'the largest collection of identifiable accommodationists…a

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[166] "Our People Need You!" flyer, Northern Student Movement Records.
[167] "Statement by Jan Bailey on his Position Against the Draft," (18 January 1968), Series C:I, Reel 53, Folder 5, SNCC Papers.
[168] "Carmichael Drafted by the Black Panther Party," *The Movement* 3, no. 7 (July 1967), in Carson, 263.

synonym for Uncle Tom.'[169] Similarly, the NBAWADU published a pamphlet that
warned people against 'the man who walks in your community with an army suit.'
His participation in the army, the pamphlet argued, made him complicit in the death of
'our Vietnamese brothers and protect[s] a system that is against you!!' Rejecting
military service as evidence of patriotism, the pamphlet further warned that he must
not be given 'praise' for his service. Instead he should be viewed with 'scorn' and
black women 'should want their loved ones to join those armies which are educated to
the liberation of our people.'[170] The Harlem-based Black Women Enraged similarly
argued that those who served in Vietnam were doing a disservice to the black
liberation struggle, asking 'what the hell are black men doing in Vietnam…If our men
must fight, let it be here for their dignity as black men.'[171] Combining ideas about
loyalty, service and black masculinity, these statements reflect the on-going
redefinition of the citizen-soldier by positing new performances of loyalty and
expectations of service, but simultaneously reaffirming that manhood meant providing
aggressive defence and protection of one's community. Far from rejecting the need to
serve, anti-draft activists argued that men of draft age had a battle to fight within the
US, rather than overseas in Vietnam.

As this emphasis on the role of men suggests, many anti-draft positions drew
on the hegemonic expectation of men to 'protect' and as such were argued in gendered
terms. In her analysis of Black Nationalism, Lubiano notes that within understandings
of Black Nationalism, the 'autonomous subject is inevitably male, heterosexual, and in
training to be a powerful patriarch – only in and on "black" terms, terms that are both
separate from and continuous with those of hegemonic culture.'[172] Scholar Winifred
Breines notes that Black Nationalists equated 'overcoming racism' with 'achieving
manhood.'[173] Concerns about black masculinity were reinvigorated alongside the rise
of black draft resistance activism with the publication of 'The Negro Family: A Case
for National Action' by Assistant Labor Secretary Daniel Moynihan in 1966. More
commonly known as the Moynihan Report, the paper argued, among other things, that
the matriarchal nature of black American life hindered the ability of men to 'act like

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[169] "Major Charges Army is a 'citadel of racism,'" *Newark Afro* (26 October 1968), Box 20, Folder 15:
Printed Matter, Robert S. Browne Papers.
[170] "For Us Women," Series C:II, Reel 59, Folder 55: NBAWADU, SNCC Papers.
[171] Black Women Enraged, letter, (n.d.), Series B:II, Reel 52, Folder 84, SNCC Papers.
[172] Lubiano, "Don't Talk with Your Eyes Closed," in Henderson, 188.
[173] Winifred Breines, "What's Love Got to Do with It?: White Women, Black Women, and Feminism
in the Movement Years," *Signs* 27, no. 4 (Summer 2002): 1120.

men.' According to the report, this matriarchal society deformed the black family specifically, and the black community more broadly. [174] Notably, this report draws on established hegemonic narratives about what constitutes American masculinity. Ignoring the intersection of racial identity and gender, the report admonished black men for not performing hegemonic traits of American (read: white) masculinity. These assertions about black families were ultimately used as a justification for lowering entry requirements for the military. Thus, ideas about a 'crisis' of black manhood are inextricably intertwined with conversations about draft resistance.

Self has drawn particular attention to the fact that black resistance was driven firstly by a 'model of masculinity in which manhood was affirmed in the refusal to do the bidding of whites.'[175] As Amanda Higgins argues, Black Power activists 'sought to include draft evasion and exemption in the definition of black manhood.'[176] Placing these ideas in terms of citizenship and belonging, Herman Graham asserts that, 'militant anti-war rhetoric defined the black male identity as being based upon race and Third World consciousness rather than on American citizenship.'[177] He further notes, 'African American activists used radical anti-war rhetoric to encourage [young black men] to reconsider the warrior role and to imagine alternative masculinities.'[178] As some black men searched for a definition of black manhood in a white society, resistance to the draft and an anti-imperialist analysis of the war provided an important path to reimagining blackness through a language of duty and manhood. Echoing the direction of the wider black liberation movement, many anti-draft positions drew on the hegemonic expectation of men to 'protect' to provide another avenue to assert their manhood. Belonging in a real or imagined 'black nation' became inextricably intertwined with ideas around masculinity and duty.

Significantly, the most militant Black Power rhetoric emphasised that women should play a secondary role in the movement and primarily existed to bolster and cultivate 'the black male ego.' In a movement that emphasised a hyper-masculinist

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[174] Office of Policy Planning and Research, *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* (Washington D.C: United States Department of Labor, 1965), especially 29-34, https://web.stanford.edu/~mrosenfe/Moynihan%27s%20The%20Negro%20Family.pdf (accessed 8 April 2018)
[175] Lubiano, "Don't Talk with Your Eyes Closed," in Henderson, 188.
[176] Higgins, "Instruments of Righteousness," 20; Erika Doss, "Imaging the Panthers: Representing Black Power and Masculinity, 1960s-1990s," *Prospects* 23 (October 1998): 491.
[177] Graham, *The Brothers' Vietnam War*, 28.
[178] Ibid., 26.

culture, women were forced to 'quietly forg[e] an alternative path' to liberation.[179] However, some of the most vocal black anti-draft groups were organised and led by women. Capitalising on existing gender narratives and repurposing fears of black emasculation raised by the Moynihan Report, black women utilised and re-appropriated the traditional male role of protector to encourage draft resistance. Indeed, black women were often at the forefront of organised draft resistance within black communities, and simultaneously grounded their critique of the draft in their racial and gender identities. On the national level, the NBAWADU was spearheaded and led by SNCC activist Gwen Patton in 1968. In aligning itself with both SNCC and the Black Panthers, the NBAWADU sought to create an organisation that 'mobilized at the intersection of racism and imperialism.'[180] Patton in particular wanted to highlight relationship between black women, imperialism and war and argued that a central component of women's anti-war activism should posited the war as a reproductive rights issue, focusing on a woman's desire to protect her children.[181] Thus, for Patton and the NBAWADU more broadly, womanhood and motherhood played a central role in their anti-draft activism.

Black Women Enraged (BWE), founded in Harlem in 1967, similarly foregrounded the desire to protect their sons. BWE was one of the most militant of the women-led anti-draft groups, perhaps as a result of the strong Black Panther influence in Harlem. Originally founded to help the late Malcolm X's family, the group shifted their focus to anti-draft activism shortly thereafter.[182] Both BWE and the San-Francisco based Black Women's Organization Against War and Racism argued that men had a duty to defend their communities from poverty and racism. The activism of anti-draft women then, provided a further challenge to the assumptions around masculinity and citizenship that underpinned the traditional narrative of the citizen-soldier, the association of manhood with service in the military, and hypermasculinist definitions of Black Power.

The draft also provided an avenue for activist black women to link the struggles of black men to issues facing black women in particular, and the black

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[179] Rhodes, *Framing the Black Panthers,* 108, 110; See also, Higgins, "Instruments of Righteousness," 1.
[180] Ashley Farmer, "'Heed the Call!': Black Women, Anti-Imperialism, and Black Anti-war Activism," (blog), *African American Intellectual History Society: Black Perspectives*, 3 August 2016, http://www.aaihs.org/heed-the-call-black-women-anti-imperialism-and-black-anti-war-activism/ (accessed 19 February 2018)
[181] Ibid.
[182] Evans, *Personal Politics*, 196; Roth, *Separate Roads to Feminism,* 87.

community as a whole. SNCC activists Karen Koonan and Bobi Cleciorka argued

when resistance is put in the context for the larger struggle for self-determination,

'men can't talk about self-determination and at the same time refuse self-

determination for women.'[183] Through draft resistance, black women simultaneously

utilised societal understandings of women's roles and challenged the subordination of

women by actively partaking in resistance.[184] For example, BWE encouraged black

women to embrace their roles as mothers to challenge the draft. One pamphlet titled

'For Us Women' encouraged black women to take their son's place at induction and

inform the draft board that 'your son is not of age until he is 21 and that you do not

want him in the army.'[185] A similar tactic was used by the predominately white anti-

draft movement. The 'New York Eight', who damaged draft board documents, argued,

'we acted together as women…because conscription rests on a woman's accepted role

as insulated comforter and support of violence.'[186] Thus women construct a critique of

the draft which utilised and challenged established norms of femininity.

    Black draft resistance organisations also acknowledged the central role of

women in the draft resistance movement. The National Black Draft Counselors group

noted that women have a 'vital interest in keeping their men home to deal with

problems' in their communities. However, reflecting the dual role of women in this

struggle, the group also acknowledged that a concerned mother, girlfriend, sister or

grandmother could 'be the strong right arm of the Black draft counselor.'[187] Similarly,

participants in the Eastern Black Draft Conference in Harlem in 1967 acknowledged

that the ongoing activism of black women demonstrated that, 'women are a powerful

force. They can demand Black men be exempt from the draft. They can call for black

troops to come home to protect them from white racists…[or] for the formation of

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[183] Karen Koonan and Bobi Cleciorka, "Anti-Draft and Women's Rights," *The Movement* 3, no. 11 (November 1967), in Carson, 314.

[184] This idea of women utilising widely accepted understandings of femininity to challenge those same definitions is a theme that persists throughout analyses of women in draft resistance and women in Black Power organisations. See for example, Swerdlow, "'Not My Son, Not Your Son, Not Their Sons,'" in Small and Hoover, 159-170; Foley, "The "Point of Ultimate Indignity" or a "Beloved Community," in McMillian and Buhle, 178-198; Estepa, "Taking the White Gloves Off," in Gilmore, 84-113; Spencer, *The Revolution Has Come*; Farmer, *Remaking Black Power*; Williams, "Black Women and Black Power," 22-26; Matthews, "'No One Ever Asks What A Man's Place in the Revolution Is,'" in Jones, 267-304 and LeBlanc-Ernest, "'The Most Qualified Person to Handle the Job' in Jones, 305-334.

[185] "For Us Women," SNCC Papers.

[186] "Statement of the New York Women," Reel 44, Folder: New York Eight, Radicalism and Reactionary Politics Collection.

[187] National Staff, Mass mailed letter, Social Action Vertical File.

Black men into guards to protect Black women and children from this country.'[188]
Likewise, a BWE flyer declared in all capital letters, 'If our men must fight, let it be to
protect us, their women and children from the murder and rape of the white racist.'[189]
By demanding that young black men stay home and defend their mothers, sisters and
wives from an oppressive American regime, black women simultaneously used a
familiar language of femininity and masculinity to cultivate a space for women in
draft resistance activism.

Moreover, their activism reflected the revolutionary womanhood performed by
Vietnamese women, and admired by activist women.[190] Vietnamese women
simultaneously emphasised their role as revolutionaries and as mothers and
'maintained their femininity despite fighting in defense of their homeland.'[191] As
Jessica Frazier notes, in the context of Chicana activism, both women of colour and
Vietnamese women were engaged in a battle for cultural survival. She continues,
'women of colour often wanted to claim their ability to remain authentic to their
culture while taking revolutionary roles.'[192] By exalting the image of the
revolutionary womanhood of the Vietnamese, Frazier argues that 'Chicanas could join
the Chicano movement as equal partners in the revolution' while retaining their
femininity. Through their involvement in anti-draft activism, women furthered a
critique of American belonging by asserting that black men had a duty to defend their
communities at home while rejecting the duty to serve in the military.

Using a familiar language of masculinity based in protection and physicality,
black women argued that black men could reclaim and reassert their masculinity by
resisting the draft. Two flyers from BWE encapsulate the relationship between draft
resistance and masculine performances. One flyer demanded that black men 'Stay
here and fight for your Manhood', while another demanded to know when 'you Black
Men [are] going to stop being faggots of the world?'[193] For BWE, being a 'real' man

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[188] "Excerpts from Michael Simmons' Speech," Social Action Vertical File.
[189] Black Women Enraged, letter, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Papers, 1959-1972; See also "If the Negro Doesn't Get it, the Reds Will," *NFA Daily News*, (n.d.), Series A:VIII, Reel 20, Folder 170, SNCC Papers.
[190] Jessica M. Frazier, *Women's Antiwar Diplomacy During The Vietnam War Era* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 22; see also Farmer, "'Heed the Call'"; Paul Finkelman, ed., *Encyclopedia of African American History 1896 to the Present: From the Age of Segregation to the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 83.
[191] Frazier, *Women's Antiwar Diplomacy*, 62-63.
[192] Ibid.
[193] Black Women Enraged, flyer, SNCC Papers; Black Women Enraged, "Black People of Harlem," Social Action Vertical File.

demanded draft resistance, even if it meant choosing jail. Notably, this rhetoric is an example of the concurrent use of gender norms while asserting new avenues for masculine performance. This letter simultaneously draws on hegemonic ideas about male sexuality and heteronormativity and anxieties around a feminized black manhood, while also embracing black liberationists' emphasis on an aggressive, heterosexual masculinity.[194] In this iteration then, not only were men doing the bidding of whites by serving in the military, but they were sacrificing their manhood in the process. In the context of the hypermasculinist culture of the black liberation movement, this was a particularly salient critique. Moreover, as Higgins notes, 'by connecting welfare, war spending and the plight of black Americans women challenged the economic arguments presented as reasons for black men to enlist in the military.' Black women's focus on keeping black men out of military service served 'to undermine matriarchal dogma, while also reinforcing the humanistic arguments of a shared Third World mentality and imagined community of colonial subjects.'[195]

Drawing on widely accepted definitions of masculinity and femininity, draft resistance activists emphasised the relationship between racial identity and the need to defend the community. In particular, activists drew on the citizen-soldier's interpretation of military service as a path to manhood and the implied duty of women to support their men. However, black draft resisters shifted the entity which deserved their protection. As such, black men had a duty to stay home and defend the black community. The long standing relationship between soldiering and masculinity provided fertile ground for anti-draft groups to utilise rhetoric around defining and confirming one's masculinity to structure draft resistance. Given that manhood, like citizenship, is an identity that must be consistently be performed to be affirmed, this challenge to masculinity held powerful potential for the anti-draft movement.

Thus anti-draft and black liberation struggles were mutually reinforcing. In particular, black anti-draft activists deemed draft resistance as another component of the larger struggle for black freedom. Intertwining ideas about military service and racial pride, these activists argued that draft resistance must reflect the particular needs and experiences of black communities while simultaneously providing an avenue through which to introduce young men to the larger black liberation struggle. The

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[194] Doss, "Imaging the Panthers," 483-516; Rhodes, *Framing the Black Panthers*, 108; Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 180.
[195] Higgins, "Instruments of Righteousness," 205.

nationally visible white draft resistance movement consistently failed to provide racially conscious draft counselling. While some of these missed interactions can be attributed to well-meaning white activists who nevertheless let their privilege overlook the particular needs of men of colour, some groups were overtly hostile. Simmons recalled, 'a lot of these white groups, man, just treated me like shit. I mean their view was you from the hood, black people ain't non-violent' and specifically, 'treated the issue of conscientious objection as if it was a precious enclave for middle and upper class Quakers or Mennonites.'[196] More broadly, white activists would 'end up articulating points of view that are just philosophical' when, in Simmons' experience, the core of black draft resistance lay in 'a hard-core, viable alternative' to the economic benefits of military service.[197]

To some extent, the interconnected nature of anti-draft and Black liberation activism provided possible alternatives. Patton noted that the constant exploitation of black communities made black people 'more politically sophisticated [as] black people had gotten their education from street experiences and white people had gotten their political education from books.'[198] Similarly, a position paper for the National Black Draft Counselors argued 'white counselling attempts to combat an inhumane system conscription and an immoral war. It seeks to return to everyday white people control of their lives…The ramifications of Black counselling are much more extensive… We try to get our counselees to raise questions about their station in life. And we want to raise the contentiousness of the rest of the community by projecting Black draft counseling as a response by a concerned Black community to a particular need.'[199] In terms of the citizen-soldier, black anti-draft activists redefined the ideal's component understandings of duty and belonging in a national community to conceptualise a new direction for black liberation.

Conclusion

While scholars debate the impact draft resistance activism had on ending the draft, resisters profoundly challenged the enduring patriotic narratives of warring in which boys went off to war to become men as they defended their nation. Vietnam

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[196] Simmons, interview.
[197] Ibid.
[198] Gwen Patton, "Why Black People must develop their own Anti-War and Anti-Draft Union…Heed the Call," January 1967, Gwen Patton Collection.
[199] Alexander, "A Position Paper on Black Draft Counseling," Social Action Vertical File.

draftees were raised on the stories of male relatives serving in World War II and witnessed the benefits, both tangible and intangible of this service. However, the ever-present threat of conscription for an increasingly unclear mission forced young men to directly consider their personal relationship to military service and the draft. In doing so, they simultaneously considered their understandings and definitions of manhood, patriotism and duty.

Moreover, as the draft only required the participation of American men, conversations about draft resistance were simultaneously conversations about masculinity. Participation in war had been a method of confirming (white) masculinity throughout human civilisation. Thus resisting the draft required young men to embrace differing paths to and definitions of manhood. Within the Cold War context, and the ever present perceived danger of a Soviet attack, white draft resisters questioned whether the enduring emphasis on physical dominance was the best path to follow. Through draft resistance, these activists argued that bravery displayed in standing up for one's beliefs was a preferred marker of manhood. In doing so, they exercised the equally masculine traits of independence and control of one's actions.

The white draft resistance movement asserted their patriotism by arguing that they were defending American democracy against an undemocratic war. The visible inequities in who was being sent to serve challenged the democratic nature of a system meant to propagate an equal burden for military service. Some young men were quick to challenge a system that continued to privilege the most privileged in society. Others resented the control that the SSS had over their lives by coercing them to pursue education and career paths that were deemed 'useful' to national security if they wished to avoid dying in Vietnam. Drawing on a larger conversations occurring with the New Left and amongst other youthful protest movements of the 1960s, these predominately white draft resisters and groups questioned the relationship and the responsibilities of the state to its citizens. In doing so, they collectively argued that when the actions of the nation's leaders challenged American democratic values, patriotic citizens must be brave enough to resist. Through resistance, participants confirmed their patriotism, manhood and citizenship.

Black draft resisters and organisations further acknowledged the inequities of the draft, but placed them in the context of enduring racial discrimination and economic inequities of American society. In their activism, black draft resisters contended that black men only became equal citizens when called to shed blood in

defence of the United States. Emphasising a long history of exclusion from the privileges of citizenship, members of the black community argued they were not bound to defend a nation that did not protect their basic rights. Instead, their primary duty lay in battling the dual oppression of American racism and imperialism in their communities. Drawing on Black Power rhetoric surrounding the subject-hood of black Americans in a 'domestic black colony', draft resisters invoked a colonial rhetoric based on racial subordination and highlighted the whiteness of American citizenship.

Inverting the perception that military service was a path towards opportunities and securing the rights of black Americans, black draft resisters during the Vietnam War argued that the draft was another tool of oppression. Far from deeming America a nation deserving of protection, black draft activists argued that America was a racist and imperialist oppressor. They encouraged young black men to exempt themselves from service and instead foreground their blackness by embracing a more militant black masculinity in defence of their communities. As such, black draft resistance was a product of ongoing conversations within the black freedom movement about the relationship of black Americans to the nation as a whole. Black Power activists embraced Black Nationalism's internal colony thesis and argued the continued experience of oppression and discrimination made black Americans members of an internal, domestic colony. As second-class citizens, or arguably not as citizens at all, black draft resisters proclaimed that they had no duty to serve in the Armed Forces.

Drawing on traditional ideas about duty, service and manhood, activists argued that young men were needed at home to fight for black liberation. They were needed to do their 'manly duty' and protect their communities. Thus, black manhood, and black 'patriotism' was affirmed and displayed by a rejection of the demands of whites and participation in the struggle for black liberation. Indeed, much of the rhetoric surrounding black draft resistance drew on the perceived need by some Black Power men to rehabilitate a powerful black masculinity. The duty of a black citizen-soldier then, was not to fight in the US Armed Forces, but to battle for his rights and freedoms at home and to protect his community from worsening oppression and racism at the hands of powerful whites.

By calling into question the draft's authority resisters, both black and white, profoundly challenge to enduring conceptions of what it meant to be a citizen in 1960s America. This activism contested traditional avenues towards manhood and attempted

to provide alternate performances of masculinity. Widespread anti-draft activity in all its forms contributed to a sense of crisis in the country. According to activist-turned-historian Dick Cluster, 'visible anti-draft activity, even more than other forms of opposition to the war, contributed to the demoralization of the Army in Vietnam.'[200] Perhaps the most shocking manifestation of dissent against the Vietnam War was born of this increasing sense of demoralization within the Army. Indeed, challenges to the citizen-soldier ideal emerged within the Armed Forces. Occurring alongside draft resistance, these movements contributed to and built off of one another. As significant numbers of young men, both civilian and in uniform, asserted new definitions of citizenship and duty, the Vietnam War continued to take a significant toll on American society and the assumed truths exemplified by the citizen-soldier ideal.

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[200] Cluster, "Lessons from the 60s," 8.

Chapter 3

'Ours _Is_ To Reason Why': Reconfiguring the Citizen-Soldier in the GI Underground Press

On 30th June 1966, roughly forty members of the press assembled in New York City awaiting a statement from three soldiers who history would remember as the Fort Hood 3. PFC James Johnson, a twenty year old African-American from Harlem, Private Dennis Mora, a university graduate from Spanish Harlem, and Private David Samas, a Chicago native of Lithuanian descent, publicly refused their orders to ship out for Vietnam.[1] On the day, Mora was left to read their joint statement alone as Johnson and Samas had been arrested on their way to the press conference. Declaring their decision to take a stand against a war they considered 'immoral, illegal and unjust', the Fort Hood 3 argued their decision was honourable, and indeed, quintessentially American, noting, 'We represent in our backgrounds a cross section of the Army and of America. James Johnson is a Negro, David Samas is of Lithuanian and Italian parents, Dennis Mora is a Puerto Rican. We speak as American soldiers.'[2] Their decision to publicly refuse orders to Vietnam marks for many scholars the beginning of a movement that would shake the military and societal assumptions about patriotism, citizenship, manhood and duty to their core.[3]

Patriotism May Mean Not Fighting At All: The GI Movement and the Citizen-Soldier

Beginning in 1966, covert yet influential anti-war GI organisations developed on American bases across the country and throughout the world, and their impact was tangible. As Penny Lewis notes, 'what is remarkable about the "soldiers' revolt" is how effective such measures were in achieving both their goals of self-help and their

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[1] "The Fort Hood Three: The Case of The Three GIs Who Said "No" to the War in Vietnam," pamphlet, (ca. 1969), Floor 4, Sir No Sir! digital archive, (accessed 19 October 2016) [archive hereafter referred as SNS].
[2] Ibid.
[3] Anderson, "The GI Movement," in Small and Hoover, 111; Moser, _New Winter Soldier_, 6-7; Stacewicz, _Winter Soldiers_, xi, David Cortright, _Soldiers in Revolt: GI Resistance During the Vietnam War_, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2005), 51-52.

anti-war goals.'[4] Despite this, the GI movement has remained understudied in the
historiography of the tumultuous 1960s. 'With rare exception,' laments Richard Kohn,
American historians have neglected this significant movement.[5] Where GI activism
makes it into broader analyses of the 1960s or anti-war activism, it is often only in
moments where civilian activists 'discover' anti-war sentiment among GIs, organise
an action that involves GIs, or through discussions of decreasing morale within the
ranks that GI dissent garners mention.[6] Acknowledgements of GI activism also appear
in analyses of anti-war activism amongst working class Americans, but this
scholarship foregrounds activists as members of the working class instead of primarily
analysing relationships between their activism and their role as soldiers.[7] Indeed, only
a handful of works acknowledge this activism as a cohesive movement.

The most extensive analysis of the entire GI movement is still David
Cortright's 1975 study entitled *Soldiers in Revolt*. A second book by James Lewes
published in 2003, *Protest and Survive,* is the first full length monograph to advocate
for the use of GI underground newspapers as an essential primary source base for
scholars. A handful of other articles and chapters on the GI movement have been
written – most recently David Parson's 2017 book *Dangerous Grounds: Antiwar
Coffeehouses and Military Dissent in the Vietnam Era* – but like Cortright's work,
these are primarily focussed on the story of GI activism, rather than using materials
created by GIs as analytical tools in their own right.[8] According to Lewes, the result

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[4] Lewis, *Hardhats, Hippies and Hawks*, 117.

[5] Richard H. Kohn, "The Social History of the American Soldier: A Review and Prospectus for
Research," *The American Historical Review* 86, no. 3 (June 1981): 553-554; see also, Lewes, *Protest
and Survive*, 6; Anderson, "The GI Movement," in Small and Hoover, 93; David Cortright, "GI
Resistance During the Vietnam War, in Small and Hoover, 128; Michael Bibby, *Hearts and Minds:
Bodies, Poetry, and Resistance in the Vietnam Era* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press,
1996), 131.

[6] The Fort Hood Three and the GI-Civilian Alliance, for example, make brief apperances in some
works, but are discussed mostly in isolation from a cohesive GI movement within the ranks. Gitlin, in
particular speaks of GI activism speaks of dissent among GIs as individual acts of resistance, rather
than acknowleding that these acts might have been motivated by a broader and more cohesive culture of
dissent within the military. See for example, Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 417-418; Small, *Antiwarriors,* 45, 69,
105;Wells, *The War Within*, 99-100; 294-296; 404; Debenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 155, 169, 245;
Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity,* 230-232, 313; In a work that sets out to 'offer a new synthesis
of older and recent scholarship on all the Movements of the New Left,' Gosse devotes only two
paragraphs to acknowledging that GIs were 'disgruntled' and participated in marches. However, Gosse
does refer to a GI movement in those two paragraphs. Van Gosse, *Rethinking the New Left: An
Interpretive History* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005).

[7] See for example, Appy, *Working Class War*, 94-95 and Lewis, *Hardhats, Hippies and Hawks*, 116-
138.

[8] A recent conference at the University of Notre Dame in May 2018, organised by Cortright andentitled
'Voices of Conscience' served as the launch of the GI Press Project, a newly developed digital archive
of these anti-war papers, in the hopes of making them more accessible to researchers and served as the

of this oversight is 'the effective disenfranchisement of a whole class of activists.'[9]
The collective memory of the Vietnam War also reflects this oversight, as simplistic
narratives of brave, patriotic and honourable soldiers versus privileged, left-influenced
anti-war activists endure.

The climate of social activism in the 1960s facilitated anti-war activism in the
military and many activist soldiers saw their activism as extensions of the anti-war and
black freedom movements, and later, feminist activism.[10] As Barbara Tischler notes,
'women and men in the military could not have presumed to struggle for their rights
without indications that they would find support in the [larger] culture of protest' of
the 1960s.[11] That said, Michael Bibby encourages scholars to remember that dissent
within the military 'emerged from the Vietnam-era US military itself, not as a result of
the civilian movement.'[12] To overlook this is to discount the central role of the
military experience in fostering dissent.

While American military history is rife with instances of resistance,
disobedience and desertion, the GI movement of the Vietnam War era is 'without
parallel' in American history.[13] It remains distinct from other periods as a collective
movement with consciously developed ideologies and a vast network of support from
both military and civilian activists.[14] Its distinctiveness arises in part due to the nature
of the war itself. Combat experience became a radicalising force and led soldiers to
question not just specific commanders or orders, but the mission as a whole.[15] In doing
so, these activists 'made it impossible for the [military] to fight the kind of war they
wanted to fight.'[16]

US launch of the Waging Peace exhibit (http://www.wagingpeaceinvietnam.com/) to foster new public
awareness of and scholarship on the GI Movement.
[9] Lewes, *Protest and Survive*, 6.
[10] Steve Rees, "A Questioning Spirit: GIs Against the War," in *They Should Have Served that Cup of
Coffee: Seven Radicals Remember the '60s*, ed. Dick Cluster (Boston: South End Press, 1979), 170;
Lewes, *Protest and Survive,* 59; Barbara L. Tischler, "Discourses of Dissent: Men, Women, and the GI
Antiwar Press," *Columbia Journal of American Studies* 1, no. 1 (1995),
http://www.columbia.edu/cu/cjas/11/2.html (accessed 10 March 2015); Anderson, "The GI Movement,"
in Small and Hoover, 93-94; Derek Seidman, "Vietnam and the Soldiers' Revolt: The Politics of a
Forgotten History," *Monthly Review* 68, no. 2 (June 2016),
https://monthlyreview.org/2016/06/01/vietnam-and-the-soldiers-revolt/ (accessed 28 May 2018);
Moser, *New Winter Soldiers*, 4; Cortright, *Soldiers in Revolt*, 51.
[11] Tischler, "Discourses of Dissent,"
[12] Bibby, *Hearts and Minds*, 140.
[13] James R. Hayes, "The Dialectics of Resistance: An Analysis of the GI Movement," *Journal of Social
Issues* 31, no. 4 (Fall 1975):125.
[14] Hayes, "The Dialectics of Resistance," 126; Moser, *New Winter Soldiers*, 68, 88; Rees, "A
Questioning Spirit," in Cluster, 149.
[15] Rees, "A Questioning Spirit," in Cluster, 170, 174.
[16] Lewis, *Hardhats, Hippies and Hawks*, 126.

While it is difficult to determine how many soldiers engaged in some form of resistance, a brief look at some statistics demonstrates its scope. Desertions increased to rates three times higher than during the Korean War. Statistically, seventeen out of every one hundred soldiers went Absent-Without-Leave (AWOL) and seven deserted.[17] The Army also experienced a significant increase of in-service conscientious objector (CO) application. While the years 1967 and 1968 saw the completion of 2,216 CO applications, 1969 and 1970 saw 5,752 CO applications – a 160 percent increase. Meanwhile, a 1971 study by the Pentagon concluded that more than half of all soldiers were involved in some form of resistance.[18] Cortright goes a step further in pointing out that, in the same study, thirty-two percent reported engaging in acts of resistance on more than one occasion.[19]

The earliest public GI resistance was characterised by individual acts of conscience. By 1968, this activism began to develop into a national movement.[20] The first act of resistance occurred in 1965 when Lieutenant Henry Howe participated in an anti-war demonstration in El Paso, Texas. As a result, he was sentenced to two years hard labour. The next major act of resistance was the Fort Hood 3 in 1966. By consciously publicising their protest, they forced the military to respond and demonstrated that the army had a two-front fight on their hands: one in Vietnam and one within its own ranks. Further, while they could have gone AWOL, the Fort Hood 3 deemed this course of action 'dishonorable' and instead stood their ground against the military. In doing so, they painted standing up for one's conscience through resistance as courageous.[21] In 1967, Captain Howard Levy refused to train Green Berets for medic duty at Fort Jackson in South Carolina, citing reports of war crimes carried out by Special Forces in Vietnam.[22] Like the Fort Hood 3, he stated his position as a moral one, and his dissent an action of standing up for his conscience.[23] Soon thereafter, two black GIs, William Harvey and George Daniels were convicted of making 'disloyal statements'. They conducted a single meeting to discuss

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[17] Anderson, "The GI Movement," in Small and Hoover, 110-111.

[18] Howard Olson and R. William Rae, *Determination of the Potential for Dissidents in the U.S. Army* (McLean, VA: Research Analysis Corporation, 1971)

[19] Olson and Rae, *Determination of the Potential for Dissidents*; Cortright, "GI Resistance During the Vietnam War," in Small and Hoover, 116; Lewes, *Protest and Survive*, 4;

[20] Moser, *New Winter Soldiers*, 69; Hayes, "Dialectics of Resistance," 127; Lewes, *Protest and Survive*, 100.

[21] Anderson, "The GI Movement," in Small and Hoover, 96.

[22] Hayes, "Dialectics of Resistance," 128.

[23] Anderson, "The GI Movement," in Small and Hoover, 96.

involvement of black men in the Vietnam War in light of the turmoil in black communities at home and were sentenced to ten and six years hard labour respectively. What began as a few individual acts of dissent against the war grew into a movement which challenged multiple facets of American society, adopting feminist, Black Power and anti-imperialist positions.[24]

GI activists faced significant obstacles to their organising efforts, making their activism all the more significant. As the military's reaction to the first acts of individual resistance suggest, activist GIs faced stiff penalties and serious consequences for their activism. Larry Waterhouse notes, 'in the extremely repressive and highly structured military environment, organized actions by a group of GIs…are not easy to put together.'[25] GIs risked imprisonment or less-than-honorable discharges, both of which followed a soldier well beyond his military service and had a significant impact on their ability to re-enter civilian life. Further, the strength and totalitarian nature of military justice allowed the army to identify GI organisers and separate them from their peers. As the ACLU noted, 'the punitive transfer became "the most widely used weapon against dissenting service members."'[26] Beyond the influence of the military hierarchy, the GI movement was transitory due to the very nature of military life. Movement organisations were 'notoriously impermanent' due to the natural ebb and flow of transfers and discharges of soldiers.[27]

Significantly, the GI movement took on a few shared characteristics. Firstly, even with the expansion of anti-war ideas among civilians, 'American soldiers nonetheless faced a personal and often lonely struggle to express their dissent.'[28] Additionally, despite the existence of a national movement with a similar set of demands, specific anti-war GIs engaged mostly with local actors and issues. As activists embraced critiques of the treatment of servicemen and the perpetuation of racism, sexism and imperialism by the military and policymakers, protest took on a very local flair and reflected local issues. Most GI activists were Enlisted Men (EM)

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[24] Ibid., 108; see also Lewes, *Protest and Survive*, 89.
[25] Larry Waterhouse and Mariann G. Wizard, *Turning the Guns Around: Notes on the GI Movement* (London, Praeger Publishers, 1971), 115; see also Cortright, *Soldiers in Revolt,* 51; Moser, *New Winter Soldiers,* 100; Bibby, *Hearts and Minds*, 131-132.
[26] Anderson, "The GI Movement," in Small and Hoover, 101; see also Harry Haines, "Soldiers Against the Vietnam War: *Aboveground* and *The Ally*," in *Insider Histories of the Vietnam Era Underground Press, Part 2,* ed. Ken Wachsberger (East Lansing, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2012), 3; Moser, *New Winter Soldiers*, 42.
[27] Cortright, *Soldiers in Revolt*, 51; Anderson, "The GI Movement," in Small and Hoover, 94, Haines, "Soldiers Against the Vietnam War," in Wachsberger, 14.
[28] Moser, *New Winter Soldiers*, 72.

who 'volunteered' for their service, and often came from working class backgrounds.[29] This reality challenges the collective memory of anti-war protest as the patriotic working class 'hard-hats' versus privileged university students. Further, given that men were disproportionately drafted from communities of colour, the GI movement provides the opportunity to discuss race and class issues as well as larger questions of national identity.

Like the civilian anti-war movement, 1968 marked a year of change as anti-war soldiers gained public attention, developed their own networks of on- and off-base resistance groups and created an underground newspaper network.[30] The establishment and growth of the GI underground press and civilian-run coffeehouses provided significant support and structure for this movement of anti-war soldiers. Scholars agree that these two institutions were vital to the success of the GI movement.[31] In the next two chapters, I demonstrate the ways in which the GI underground press and GI coffeehouses facilitated activism that critiqued long-held understandings of citizenship, duty and manhood embodied by the citizen-soldier, and fostered a broader critique of American society. Scholars have noted that the war challenged existing notions about the soldier's role and duty to his country, as 'they laid claim to the rights and duties of citizens in a democracy.'[32] I argue that the GI underground press provided a space for GIs to proclaim and find support for the reconfiguration of ideas around patriotism, duty, masculinity and the utility of the citizen-soldier paradigm. By focusing on the words of the GI activists themselves, we can uncover how those in the role of soldier reconfigured the duty of the citizen.

'You Are Not Alone': Cultivating a Language of Anti-War Soldiering

As public opinion towards the war worsened, a significant network of GI underground papers emerged on military bases across the globe. Through the

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[29] Bibby, *Hearts and Minds*, 132-133; Lewis, *Hardhats, Hippies and Hawks,* 122; Hayes, "Dialectics of Resistance," 126; Cortright, *Soldiers in Revolt,* 222. The word volunteered is placed in quotes to reference debates around draft or penal induced volunteers, as well as those from less advantaged communities who viewed the military as 'a way out' of their circumstances.

[30] Waterhouse and Wizard, *Turning the Guns Around*, 69; Anderson, "The GI Movement," in Small and Hoover, 98; Bibby, *Hearts and Minds*, 145.

[31] Brandon Michael Ward, "The War in the Desert: The Vietnam Antiwar Movement in the American Southwest," (master's thesis, Texas A&M University, 2009), 24; Heather Stur, *Beyond Combat: Women and Gender in the Vietnam War Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 185.

[32] Moser, *New Winter Soldiers*, 44; Rees, "A Questioning Spirit," in Cluster,178; Cortright, *Soldiers in Revolt*, 227; Stur, *Beyond Combat*, 213; Bibby, *Hearts and Minds*, 168; Higgins, "Instruments of Righteousness," 20.

transient nature of military service, these papers reached tens of thousands of servicemen and paint a picture of the scope of anti-war dissent.[33] The first anti-war papers appeared in 1967. By the end of direct American involvement in Vietnam military documents suggest 245 known anti-military underground papers existed.[34] In establishing a common critique against the nature of military life, the Vietnam War and American society at large, scholars agree that these papers had the most significant influence on the development of the GI movement.[35] The mere covert production of these papers constituted a political challenge to the military.

Despite their significance, Lewes notes that 'these GI underground newspapers have been treated in the historiography as a subset of the civilian press rather than on their own terms.'[36] However, given the particular challenges of organising in the military, the GI press merits a separate focus. While these underground papers have been discussed and used as source material in a handful of monographs and articles, only Lewes study specifically explores them as a unique source base. Vitally, he sets out to demonstrate the importance and relevance of the GI press and to 'reconstruct how these enlisted men expressed their opinions to the public.'[37] This chapter, however, explores not just how soldiers expressed their opinion but analyses the impact of this under-explored clandestine press in cultivating protest amongst GIs. It accepts Lewes' assertion that the GI press must be considered independently of civilian underground presses while also embracing the radicalising potential of underground publications and the communities they cultivate. Developing these key ideas from Lewes work, this chapter uses the lens of the citizen-soldier to specifically explore GIs' shifting understandings of the relationship between citizenship, duty and military service. In doing so, we are able to place the GI underground press in its appropriate context as a result of the unique experiences of Vietnam-era military service and examine the radicalising potential of underground publications. Moreover, we are able to assert not just how soldiers presented their position, but to contextualise it within the broader activism of the Sixties.

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[33] Moser, *New Winter Soldiers*, 96; Lewes, *Protest and Survive*, 69.
[34] Cortright, *Soldiers In Revolt*, 55, 62; Anderson, "The GI Movement," in Small and Hoover, 98; Bibby, *Hearts and Minds*, 130.
[35] Cortright, *Soldiers in Revolt*, 54-55; Haines, "Soldiers Against the Vietnam War," in Wachsberger, 10; Lewes, *Protest and Survive*, 4, 62.
[36] Lewes, *Protest and Survive*, 52.
[37] Ibid., 6.

The growth of the GI underground press was a manifestation of a larger culture of underground dissent cultivated by the 1960s. Radical writer Walt Crowley noted that, by 1966, underground papers were 'popping up…like mushrooms after a spring rain.'[38] Underground papers were seen as a useful and effective way to challenge the power of the elite. As John McMillian argues in his recent work, *Smoking Typewriters*, that the wide variety of underground publications were products of their environments, conveying ideas that mattered to its producers in a language that would be understood by their respective radical communities.[39] The papers facilitated and expanded the dissident community by 'impart[ing] to their readers a sense of connection and belonging' to a larger challenge to the Establishment.[40] An early editor of SDS' *Discussion Bulletin*, Don McKelvey similarly argued that 'people's written contributions were thought to facilitate the "creation of community."'[41] By accepting publications from activists who participated in the events they reported on, and welcoming submissions from anyone with an opinion to share, the underground presses of the 1960s created a community which simultaneously reported on and created dissent. They also provided the opportunity to subvert more traditional publications and narratives.

Simultaneously writing from their perspective as a soldier and citizen, the GI underground press played a significant role in providing reconfiguring the citizen-soldier ideal. Specifically, it provided a space for activist soldiers to reconceptualise the obligations of citizenship and performances of patriotism and manhood. Like the anti-draft movement, the GI movement had significant racial contours. Generally, GIs of colour highlighted their continued oppression and treatment as second-class citizens to argue that their duty to serve lay in improving their communities, while white GIs argued that their duty to defend lay in upholding the Constitution. However, activist GIs collectively viewed themselves as the inheritors of America's tradition of patriotic dissent begun during the American Revolution. By painting themselves as a new generation of patriots with a new sense of duty, these GIs rejected obedient military service as the preferred path to demonstrating one's citizenship and patriotism.

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[38] Walt Crowley, *Rites of Passage: A Memoir of Sixties in Seattle* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995), 61.

[39] John McMillian, *Smoking Typewriters: The Sixties Underground Press and the Rise of Alternative Media in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 4.

[40] Ibid., 7.

[41] Ibid., 23.

From their first incarnations, GI underground newspapers directly challenged the military and its traditions. Papers intentionally subverted official military terminology and played on the unique language of soldiering. Titles such as *The Fatigue Press, A Four Year Bummer* or *We Got the brASS* took traditional military terminology and created 'hybrids unique to the military experience of Vietnam.'[42] One of the first GI papers published was simply entitled *FTA*. Undermining the military recruiting acronym, 'Fun, Travel and Adventure', the newspaper emphasised an alternate meaning: Fuck the Army. Demonstrating the widespread reach of the GI press, this phrase ultimately became a rallying cry for activist soldiers. Utilising this term also allowed activist GIs to identify one another while flying under the radar of military justice. Similarly, dissident GIs used traditional terms to describe career military soldiers, such as 'the Brass' and 'lifers', with disdain to distance themselves from the military elite (see Figure 3).[43] In subverting this standard discourse, these papers simultaneously alerted readers to their critical position while appealing to the unique experience of soldiering in an effort to create a community of dissenting soldiers. As Michael Bibby notes, 'through imaginative and densely intertextual re-codings of their military culture, soldier-activists during the Vietnam War forged an important resistance to both the war and the ideologies of the war.'[44] As with all GI organising, those involved in the publication of underground papers faced substantial challenges, making the development of this underground network all the more significant.

Figure 3: Cartoon provided by GI activist Skip Delano, originally published in Left Face, Ft. McClellan, Alabama

While studies suggest that dissent was widespread within the military, only a small minority of GIs became activists. In an anonymous letter to *The Ally*, one GI wrote:
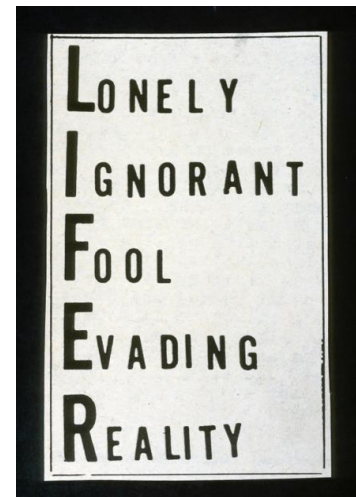
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[42] Haines, "Soldiers Against the Vietnam War," in Wachsberger, 16; see also Rees, "A Questioning Spirit," in Cluster, 150; Lewes, *Protest and Survive*, 5; Bibby, *Hearts and Minds*, 124.

[43] These derogatory terms were widely used to refer to military elites. Lifers referred to those men who had chosen the military as a lifelong career; these men were often seen as brainwashed for accepting the submission required of military life, or lazy for advancing their own careers off the backs of men in combat. The Brass was used similarly, and referenced the numerous medals and commendations worn by superior officers. Conversely, soldiers referred to themselves as EMs, short for enlisted men to set themselves off from the privilege of the Brass.

[44] Bibby, *Hearts and Minds*, 24.

> something else you perhaps don't realize is the reluctance most GI's feel (as I do) in being identified with dissenting opinions. It is simply not worth the possibility of Army harassment to identify yourself as not being one of the rank and file. Undoubtedly this sounds cowardly to you; perhaps it is. But your life can be made miserable if the wrong people decide they want to get on your back.[45]

Indeed, unlike other underground news workers, GIs had to contend with a judicial structure that explicitly rejected the guarantee of individual rights.[46] As such, much of the work in producing GI papers was done covertly and anonymously. These realities have implications for any study of GI underground papers. Firstly, individual papers were often very short lived, with most lasting a year or less. Their endurance was complicated by incarcerations, and punitive or naturally occurring transfers and discharges.[47] Secondly, most GI papers also evolved on each base independently of one another. Some evolved more organically, as soldiers increasingly found the courage to vocalise concerns over the war and military service; others evolved when a radicalised civilian entered the military or when dissident GIs were transferred. However, once a paper emerged, particularly after 1968, editor-GIs could access a series of civilian-run support organisations or draw from other circulating GI papers for material.

Simultaneously local and global, the GI press created an international network of dissent while individual publications developed their critique at a pace that reflected the local culture of dissent. Thus, even a short-lived paper is indicative of the level of dissent in this period. Finally, anonymity in all stages of the process was paramount in order for GIs to protect themselves against punishment. In his extensive study of GI underground papers, Lewes notes that 'nearly thirty years after my primary source material was first published, it is impossible to identify an author for most of the articles cited in this study…it was, in fact, the result of these GIs not wanting to draw attention to themselves and incur the wrath of lifers and brass whose actions they regularly pilloried.'[48]

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[45] "Sound Off!," *The Ally*, no. 3 (April 1968), Reel 28, Folder 22: The Ally, Underground Press Collection, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

[46] Lewes, *Protest and Survive*, 52; Lewes notes that 'The Federal Courts ruled that GIs were no longer protected by the Constitution because they had "willing [given] up their constitutional rights when they enlisted. Weighing the benefits, either consciously or subconsciously, the men in the armed forces [had chosen] the benefits of military service over the benefits of the *Bill of Rights.*"'

[47] Cortright, *Soldiers in Revolt*, 54-55; John Ernst and Yvonne Baldwin, "The Not So Silent Minority: Louisville's Antiwar Movement, 1966-1975," *The Journal of Southern History* 73, no. 1 (February 2007): 113.

[48] Lewes, *Protest and Survive,* 81.

This anonymity also empowered the GIs involved. David Cline, a key GI activist at Fort Hood recalled, 'we would take the literature…and we'd sneak through barracks at night and put them in barracks and that used to be something you had to be careful with, they were trying to catch you with that. That used to be a little cat and mouse game we'd play.'[49] Seemingly revelling in this covert operation, Cline's comments suggest that participation in the GI press provided an avenue for GIs to take some control from a position of little power. As activist-turned-historian Harry Haines notes, 'clandestine distribution also afforded GIs the chance to fight the system of which they were an unwilling part.'[50] The covert nature of the underground press allowed GIs to undercut the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ) and individual base commanders, while simultaneously being able to make sense of their war experiences. In some cases, it allowed GIs to take responsibility for their part in the war.[51] As papers travelled with soldiers, those on other bases learned that they were not alone in questioning the war or in their active dissent against it. Scholar James Hayes notes that, 'the establishment and proliferation of the GI press served to bridge some of the structural limitations GIs faced in regard to communication and mobility and helped to foster a feeling of consciousness of membership and interaction between activist GIs.'[52] Similarly, Derek Seidman notes that these papers 'provided a common project' for activist GIs separated by geography.[53] For some, an underground paper provided a first introduction to this covert anti-war movement.

The distribution of GI papers within and between bases actively challenged the misconception that anti-war GIs were few and far between. Indeed, the spread of GI newspapers proved essential in breaking down this sense of isolation and challenged the military's efforts to isolate dissident GIs.[54] Both GIs and scholars widely

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[49] David Cline, interview with Richard Moser, (15 February 1998), David Cline #3 cassette tape, Richard Moser Collection, TAM.
[50] Haines, "Soldier Against the Vietnam War," in Wachsberger, 12.
[51] Lewes, *Protest and Survive*, 62, 81; Haines, "Soldiers Against the Vietnam War," in Wachsberger, 10.
[52] Hayes, "Dialectics of Resistance," 132-133.
[53] Seidman, "Vietnam and the Soldiers' Revolt."
[54] In arguably the most well publicised example of the attempt to isolate dissident GIs, Joe Miles began the group GIs United Against the War in Vietnam at Fort Jackson in South Carolina, and was promptly transferred to Fort Bragg in North Carolina to separate him from his activist peers. However, Miles began another chapter of the organisation and was unexpectedly placed on a one-man transfer to Alaska or 'exile to the American Siberia.' Miles continued, 'This blatantly punitive transfer is a cheap and shoddy attempt to punish and silence me for exercising the very rights I am called upon to defend with my life...This move only shows how low the Army will stoop to crush legitimate dissent, to maintain its dictatorial grip over the lives of enlisted men.' GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, "Statement

recognise the role of GI papers in providing evidence to GIs that they were not alone in their dissent.[55] Many papers put this issue front and centre within their first few print runs. In their first issue, writers for *The Ally*, one of the longest running GI papers, declared their desire to 'pen a new channel of communication to servicemen,' and to support men seeking to inform others that they were not unique in their opposition to the war.[56] Similarly, writing in *Task Force-Madison*, a contributor a named 'Short Vietnam Dan Peutech' concluded that the GI underground press 'offers many like myself a much needed outlet' for anti-war, anti-military sentiments.[57] Some articles addressed GIs directly, encouraging them to recognise they were not alone in their dissent. The Concerned Officers Movement (COM) Newsletter proclaimed, 'the sheer number of positive responses to our newsletters have provoked strongly proves that you are not alone. You are neither a traitor, nor a coward.'[58] Similarly, a reprinted letter noted that by choosing to dissent, 'yours will be a lonely position. Your actions, if properly motivated, take a greater strength than that required to go to Vietnam. To persevere will be an act of personal bravery far beyond the capabilities of most of us.'[59] As Lewes notes, 'these papers empowered their subscribers by drawing their attention to the activities of other anti-war GIs in the military.'[60]

Paper contributors saw them as a forum to cultivate community and solidarity by challenging the military hierarchy. The second issue of *OM* argued that 'the Brass keep[s] telling us how those GIs who oppose the war are just a few kooks. We think it's just the opposite. When you find a serviceman who loves the military and thinks the war is great you know you're either talking to a lifer or a nut.'[61] Similarly, *The Ally* argued that they aimed to simultaneously create a line of communication for anti-war GIs and to 'help morale' by providing both an outlet for criticism and frustration, and a way to subvert the military hierarchy. Or as the editors put it, the underground

Made by Pvt. Joseph D. Miles," pamphlet on 3 June 1969, Floor 4, SNS (accessed 30 November 2016); See also, Cortright, *Soldiers in Revolt*, 60.

[55] Waterhouse and Wizard, *Turning the Guns Around*, 64; Haines, "Soldiers Against the Vietnam War," in Wachsberger, 10, 12; Lewes, *Protest and Survive* 53, 69, 152; Moser, *New Winter Soldiers*, 58.
[56] "Editorial," *The Ally*, no. 17 (February 1968), Reel 28, Folder 22: The Ally, Underground Press Collection.
[57] Dan Peutech, "Letter to Task Force," *Task Force-Madison*, Box 5, Folder 17, Richard Moser Collection.
[58] "Concerned Officers Movement Newsletter", no. 3 (July 1970), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 19 October 2016)
[59] "Letter from Donald Duncan," Box 118, Folder 1: Vietnam Protest, Reference Center for Marxist Studies Printed Ephemera Collection.
[60] Lewes, *Protest and Survive*, 62.
[61] "Do You Believe In Their Madness," *OM*, no. 2 (May 1969) Floor 3, SNS (accessed 19 October 2016)

papers 'are a way of striking back at the guys who are standing on your stomach.'[62] The paper's Sound Off! section, featuring letters from GIs to the paper, allowed soldiers to find 'echoes of their own grievances, confirmation that they were linked to a wider circle of troops like them.'[63]

Other papers emulated this tactic, making regular use of letters written by GIs to create a platform where GIs could speak for themselves. Extensive sifting through these papers reveals that a significant number of GIs wrote to these papers to say that they were relieved to find a community of people who felt as they did. Many letters thanked newspaper producers for their efforts in breaking down these geographic and personal barriers.[64] These sentiments were expressed throughout the GI underground press, as many articles debuting in local base papers made later appearances in other bases' papers across the country.[65] Thus, despite being a highly localised movement, these papers contributed to an international movement consciousness.

However, only a minority chose to actively dissent. Ronald Lockman, a black GI put in military prison for his refusal to go to Vietnam, recalled that 'most of the fellows in my company, black and white, fear the war. But they fear being called un-American and un-patriotic even more. And also they fear the military power structure.'[66] Paradoxically, the military's efforts to punish publishers and eradicate these papers from bases actually furthered the spread of dissent by creating interest around and conversation about what rights soldiers maintained during their service.[67] Despite the rhetorical importance of the citizen-soldier, it was widely accepted that unit cohesion and military success demanded the suspension of a man's rights as a citizen, including the right to free speech. Federal court decisions created a precedent whereby servicemen had 'willingly [given] up their constitutional rights when they enlisted. Weighing the benefits, either consciously or subconsciously, the men in the

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[62] "Growth of GI Power," *The Ally*, no. 17 (May 1969) Library Floor 3, SNS (accessed 19 October 2016)

[63] Derek Seidman, "Paper Soldiers: The *Ally* and the GI Underground Press During the Vietnam War," in *Protest on the Page: Essays on Print and the Culture of Dissent Since 1865*, ed. James L. Baughman, Jennifer Ratner-Rosenhagen and James P. Danky (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 2015), 191.

[64] None of these letters are particularly quotable, but after extensive viewing of thousands of issues of GI papers, the vast majority of printed 'letters to the editor' included some sort of reply along these lines.

[65] See for example, "Editors Corner: Growth of GI Power," *A Four Year Bummer*, no. 17 (June 1969), Reel 33, Folder 4: A Four Year Bummer, Underground Press Collection.

[66] Gene Dennis, "Black GI Won't Go," *The Bond* 1, no. 8 (ca. October 1967), Reel 1, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds, WHS.

[67] Haines, "Soldiers Against the Vietnam War," in Wachsberger, 13, 19; Waterhouse and Wizard, *Turning the Guns Around*, 83.

Armed Forces [chose] the benefits of military service over the benefits of the *Bill of Rights.*'[68] However, as the Vietnam War progressed and draft calls increased in scope, fewer soldiers had actively 'weighed the benefits' of joining the Armed Forces. Instead, men were forced to enter the army through compulsory draft call-ups or joined as 'draft motivated' enlistments in an effort to pick their preferred avenue of service before they were drafted. Upon their arrival at boot camp, many men rejected the involuntary suspension of their individual freedoms. Indeed, one of the major demands of the GI movement became the protection of Constitutional rights for soldiers. In demanding these protections, soldiers also reshaped the ideal of the citizen-soldier. In popular wisdom, the citizen-soldier demanded that men place their life as a citizen on hold to carry out their duty as a soldier. Anti-war GIs, however, argued that the duties and rights of the citizen remained paramount to the responsibilities of soldiering.

Many papers established a hierarchy in which the duty of the citizen trumped that of the soldier. As a contributor to *Left Face!,* the underground paper of Ft. McClellan, proclaimed: First: <u>we are citizens of the United States of America.</u> Second: <u>We are members of the United States Army. We are the citizen-soldiers…The right to express opinions…is secured to the citizen-soldier by the Constitution</u> [emphasis in original].'[69] Writing in *Aboveground*, the editors noted that 'working as citizens first, and GIs second, we will stop the war.'[70] In this way, the GI press framed dissent as the natural duty of the citizen, rather than the disobedience of the soldier. However, contributors also emphasised the need to balance the two roles, reconstructing them rather than rejecting soldiering wholesale. The *Huachuca Hard Times* encouraged soldiers to demonstrate against the war, noting that, 'as a citizen and a soldier you have both civil rights and military obligations, they are not incompatible. In balance, they make for responsible citizenship.'[71] An editorial in *Bragg Briefs* expressed a similar sentiment, arguing that 'history has often proven a man can serve his country in both capacities [as a citizen and a soldier] simultaneously.'[72] GIs for Peace

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[68] Lewes, *Protest and Survive,* 52.

[69] "War-Ft. McClellan," *Left Face!* 1, no. 5 (January 1970), Reel 4, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

[70] Curtis Stocker, "AG Unclassified," *Aboveground* (December 1969/January 1970), Reel 1, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

[71] "Demonstrators Read This!" *Huachuca Hard Times* (April 1969), Reel 3, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

[72] "Editorial: The Patriotism of Protest," *Bragg Briefs* (November 1969), Reel 34, Folder 9: Bragg Briefs, Underground Press Collection.

similarly argued in *Gigline* that by dissenting, soldiers became 'responsible reasonable American citizens' as democracy required an active citizenry.[73] Thus, for many GI contributors, dissent, soldiering and citizenship were not incompatible.

Further, GI underground papers encouraged soldiers to realise that their duties as citizens actually *required* dissent. Airman 1st Class Robert D. Glover wrote to *P.E.A.C.E.* after a request to publish his letter in the official Air Force publication was denied. His article, entitled 'Ours is Not to Reason Why', challenged the traditional military motto, 'ours is not to reason why, ours is but to do and die', adopted from Alfred, Lord Tennyson's 'The Charge of the Light Brigade'. This sentiment emphasised the obedient, solemn duty of the soldier. After asking questions that were on the minds of many soldiers, about the purpose, role and desired outcomes of US involvement in Vietnam, and in other nations across the globe, Glover concluded: 'I ask these questions in all humility…I ask them as a citizen and not as a soldier, for my service as a soldier cannot, indeed, must not abrogate my rights and responsibilities as a citizen. If it does, then why am I serving?'[74] Other articles addressed this issue directly. For example, an editorial in *Broken Arrow* stated:

> First and foremost, you are a citizen of the United States, an individual with a conscience. You have an obligation to take a stand and to voice your opinion about the war…The government of this country is supposed to be "of the people, for the people and by the people" and [if] the government acts in a way which you feel isn't in the interest of the majority of the people you should protest.[75]

Likewise, former GI Mike Locks argued that 'we must consider ourselves citizens of America first and Soldiers second…we are members of the populace who must decide the ideals and actions of our chosen land: We must help make our country great and honorable…it is not only our right but our duty.'[76] Locks' words came weeks before the 12th October, 1968 protest in San Francisco, led by GIs for Peace, and were a direct plea for GIs to get involved in public activism. Simultaneously published in *The Ally*, Locks along with Lt. Hugh Smith, argued that the right to freedom of expression was 'enhanced' when one donned a uniform. Moreover, 'it becomes a duty – a duty to laud his country for its greatness, and like any other citizen, to criticize based on

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[73] "Peace Now," *Gigline* 1, no. 4, Reel 36, Folder 6: Gigline, Underground Press Collection.

[74] Robert D. Glover, "Ours Is Not To Reason Why," *P.E.A.C.E.* 1, no. 7 (February 1971), Reel 5, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds; A1C is the Airforce's 3rd enlisted rank, and is below non-commissioned officers; see Appendix B for a hierarchy of military rankings.

[75] "Editorial," *Broken Arrow* 2, no.4 (29 January 1971), Reel 1, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

[76] Mike Locks, "Editorial," *Task Force* 1, no. 2 (25 September 1968), Reel 6, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

any betrayal of its basic ideals.'[77] Numerous further articles in GI papers emphasised that a soldier was not relieved of his citizenship rights when he put on a military uniform.[78]

Contributors recognised the unique position of soldiers in anti-war protest and argued that their dual role as citizens and soldiers made the duty to dissent all the more imperative. As an article in the *Ultimate Weapon* argued, 'we have the right and duty of any citizen to speak out on public issues. And as GIs we have an added reason for speaking out.'[79] This sentiment was echoed in *Head On!*, which noted 'it is every citizen's right and duty to speak out on unpopular issues….our armed services have the most right and greatest duty to speak freely and audibly', as it is soldiers who defend and sacrifice their lives in defence of Constitutional rights.[80] Likewise, the *Fatigue Press* staff argued that their primary duty was to keep GIs informed. 'Just because we are soldiers does not mean that we are exempt from our duty as citizens,' they wrote. 'If anything we are even more responsible, because it is our duty to defend and I mean defend the laws and principles on which this country has been founded.'[81]

As the very men charged with fighting the war, many soldiers used this position to galvanise support for a growing culture of dissent in the military. Soldiers increasingly pointed out the irony of being asked to die for rights and freedoms they themselves were denied in the military. In doing so, dissident soldiers elevated the civic duty of the democratic citizen above the loyal obedience of the soldier.

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[77] Hugh Smith and Michael Locks, "Editor's Corner – Peace Is the GI's Cause," *The Ally*, no. 9 (September 1968), Reel 28, Folder 22: The Ally, Underground Press Collection. Additionally, portions of this letter by Smith and Locks appear in multiple incarnations of GI dissent reappearing in issues of *The Ally*, *Task Force* and a letter from the Army Band at Fort Wadsworth to a Senator as a defence for their refusal of duty. The re-use of this text further demonstrates the ability to create a community for dissident GIs.

[78] See for example, "GI's and the Right of Free Speech," *Top Secret*, no. 1 (14 February 1969), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 19 October 2016); "Land of the Free?" *The Bond*, 1, no.5 (18 August 1967), Reel 1, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds; "Towards GI Power," *A Four Year Bummer*, no. 1 (May 1969), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 19 October 2016); "Statement from Fort Jackson GIs," *Counterpoint*, 2, no. 2 (3 March 1969) CDGA Collective Box - Georgetown University Center through Global Action to Prevent War, Folder: GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, SPC; "COM Newsletter," no. 4, (ca.1970), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 19 October 2016)

[79] "Nixon Talks – But Who Speaks for Us?" *Ultimate Weapon*, no. 3 (5 February 1969), Reel 41, Folder 21: Ultimate Weapon, Underground Press Collection; See also Lea Tammi, GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee mass mailed letter (ca.1969), CDGA Collective Box - Georgetown University Center through Global Action to Prevent War, Folder: GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, SPC.

[80] "Use Your Rights or Fail as An American," *Head On!*, 1, no. 5 (1 May 1969), Reel 3, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

[81] "Go To The Oleo Strut – We the People," *Fatigue Press* (23 November 1969), Reel 2, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

Contributors to the GI underground press simultaneously spoke to the specific realities of soldiering and reflected the larger culture of dissent cultivated by the New Left. They emphasized the significance of the everyman in cultivating change and the need for America to live up to its professed ideals. As Edward Spann notes, New Left activists believed that 'by restoring American democracy at home…they could made democratic America once again a model for the world and an influence for worldwide freedom and prosperity.'[82] A student leader of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement similarly noted that progress would be made when average people prioritised, 'getting in to motion and acting and breaking rules and standing up to authority' and participated in the democratic process if it failed to listen to the people. Rejecting the supposedly 'patriotic' crackdown on dissent by political elites, both movements imbued GIs with support for their belief that protesting a moral wrong might in fact be patriotic.

'Blind Patriotism Can Kill': Rejecting the Silent Obedience of the Soldier

As discussed in Chapter 1, the national experience of the Second World War served to strengthen the rhetorical relationship between unquestioning loyalty, masculinity and soldiering. From the Second World War emerged a man who proved his manhood by being 'quietly *useful* in conducting a war.'[83] The GI press recognised this incarnation of the soldier, noting that the military elite equated silence with loyalty and patriotism. As a contributor to *Liberty Call* declared, 'there are men who set loyalty to an institution above all' and any questioning of that institution constituted an act of disloyalty.[84] Similarly, an article in *Final Flight* noted, 'patriotism to [our leadership] means the unquestioned sacrifice of the citizenry to further their own ambitious aims.'[85]

While activist GIs understood the relationship between citizenship and soldiering in different ways, the GI press consistently asserted that the nature of the war required GIs to dissent. In doing so they would demonstrate true loyalty and perform their true duty as a citizen. Building on the elevation of the citizen over the soldier, GIs were encouraged to actively reconsider how best to act in the role of

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[82] Edward K. Spann, *Democracy's Children: The Young Rebels of the 1960s and the Power of Ideals* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2003), 66.
[83] Faludi, *Stiffed*, 17.
[84] "Flags Don't Matter," *Liberty Call,* 1, no. 1 (12 May 1971), Reel 4, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[85] "Patriotism," *Final Flight* (July 1970), Reel 4, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

citizen. The GI press also used this to counter arguments from critics of their dissent. For example, officers active in COM argued that 'the informed officer has been unwilling to speak out [and] the result has been leaders who equate silence with loyalty and dissent with disloyalty.' However, to not speak out, according to COM, was to 'betray our commissions and duties as American citizens.'[86] By making dissent a duty of citizenship, the GI press challenged one of the core tenets of the American citizen-soldier ideal: the dutiful, obedient service of military men.

A letter from retired Captain Rowland Thomas Jr. to *Cry Out*, the GI paper of the American base in the Philippines, placed dissent in a distinctly American context. He wrote:

> Perhaps you say "My country right or wrong"…Did you know this quote is taken out of context? The full quote reads, "My country right or wrong…When right to be kept right; when wrong to be made right." This is the true spirit of American patriotism, the spirit that questioned Kings, Presidents, and Generals to determine the course of history without listening to the wishes of the people.[87]

By challenging a traditional patriotic slogan, this quotation sets up the central themes utilised by the GI press in an effort to reconstitute ideas about duty and patriotism. Thomas emphasised the need for action when the nation's direction did not match its ideals and placed dissent and the questioning of authority the very core of American nationhood. By recalling the dissenting nature of the American Revolution, the GI press framed protest as part of the American tradition, and thus central to the duty of the citizen. The contributions to GI papers defined patriotism by speaking out to advance its lofty ideals of equality and democracy for all. In this way, citizens could most successfully defend and support their nation. As such, many articles in the GI press emphasised the relationship between love of country, patriotism and duty. In an article encouraging GIs to join the November 15, 1969 Moratorium against the war, a GI noted, 'patriotism is love for one's country. Love it enough to help make it better.'[88] Other GIs echoed similar sentiments: that their deep love for America and its ideals demanded their dissent.[89]

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[86] *COM Newsletter*, no. 1 (n.d.), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 19 October 2016)

[87] Rowland D. Thomas Jr., "Letters to the Editor," *Cry Out*, 1, no. 3 (May 1972), Reel 2, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

[88] "All Out for Nov. 15 March in DC: November 15, 1969," *Ultimate Weapon,* no.10 (15 November 1969), Reel 41, Folder 21: Ultimate Weapon, Underground Press Collection.

[89] See for example: "Antiwar GIs Buried; Family Bars Army," *Olive Branch*, 1, no. 4 (October 1971), Reel 4, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds; "Involuntary Servitude," *Olive Branch*, 1, no. 1 (15 December 1970), Reel 4, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds,; "Second Coming," *Fatigue Press*, no. 28 (February 1971), Reel 2, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds; "Letter

GIs also targeted another patriotic phrase: 'America, Love it or Leave it.'
Writing in the *Star Spangled Bummer*, Gary Staiger proclaimed, 'mere flag waving
and the continued utterance of such phrases as "America, Love it or Leave it"…Do
not constitute, nor begin to qualify as patriotism.' Instead, Staiger noted that the name
Star Spangled Bummer indicated a rejection of 'blind obedience and baseless pride' to
'show that we do not consider [these things] as being enough to qualify as an
American. Our responsibilities to our country…have just begun.'[90] Similarly, a
contributor to *OM* declared, '"America, Love it or Leave it" is pure shit man. I love
this rotten, run-down, diseased country so much that I'm willing to stay and fight
those that have brought us to the point of annihilation.'[91] Rooting this dissent in their
American identity, an editorial in *Bragg Briefs* echoes the same sentiment. In
response to 'love it or leave it', the writer argued that 'we <u>do</u> love our country, but we
do not think it is perfect…therefore, we are exercising our distinctly American right to
offer alternatives to policies.'[92] As with the rejection of 'my country, right or wrong',
these GIs placed dissent in a unique American context and emphasised that true
citizenship required vocal opposition.

Whereas some spoke of loving their nation, others directly argued that dissent
was patriotic. While awaiting trial for 'promoting disloyalty…among members of the
armed forces' for statements made in an underground paper he published and
distributed, Roger Priest declared, 'as an American citizen I have been speaking the
truth as I see it to be. If that be a "crime" it is one that I PROUDLY admit.'[93]
Countless articles emphasised that dissent was legal, patriotic and central to the
American way.[94] Quoting Senator William Fulbright, an article in *Final Flight*
declared that 'it is more patriotic to object to the immoral abuse of power in

to the Editor," *On the Beach* 1, no.2 (October 1970), Reel 5, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

[90] Gary L. Staiger, "An Editorial," *Star Spangled Bummer* 1, no. 3 (October 1970), Reel 6, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

[91] "Over the Hill," *OM* 1, no. 2 (1 May 1969), Reel 4, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

[92] "The Patriotism of Protest," *Bragg Briefs*, 2, no. 3 (November 1969) Floor 3, SNS (accessed 19 October 2016)

[93] Roger Priest, "Stop the Trial!" *OM* (ca.1970), Box 40, Folder: Roger Priest, Social Action Vertical File.

[94] See for example, *Head On!*, 1, no. 5 (1 May 1969), Reel 3, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds; "PCS and NLG Expose Themselves," *Omega Press* 1, no. 12 (14 October 1972), Reel 5, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds; Ally Staff, "GI's to March: The Time for Peace," *The Ally*, no. 10, Floor 3, SNS digital archive (accessed 19 October 2016); "Word Trip," *Fatigue Press*, no. 22 (July 1970), Reel 2, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

Washington, more right to dissent when our country is wrong.'[95] In rejecting the 'love it or leave it' standpoint and emphasising the patriotism of protest, the GI press asserted that loving one's nation demanded active dissent. More precisely, the admiration of the ideals of freedom and liberty that defined America, that they were being sent to die to protect, became a justification for active dissent by soldiers. Indeed, officers writing in *COM Mon Sense* warned 'in some subtle, sinister way, duty to American Constitutional principles has been pre-empted by duty to uniform and then, somehow, the two are redefined as synonymous.'[96]

Ultimately, the duty of this reconfigured citizen-soldier lay in the protection of American ideals and to fight, or protest, in defence of the Constitution. Contributions to GI papers consistently invoked their Constitutional rights. One contribution to *The Chessman* quoted the Declaration of Independence and the 1st, 4th, 5th, 8th, 9th, 13th and 14th amendments. This author declared 'we volunteered to defend and uphold the Constitution…it is our duty to oversee and reverse these denials and to secure and preserve our country's freedom.' To neglect this duty is to 'be a traitor to the ideas and ideals our country is built on.'[97] Numerous others invoked the defence of Constitutional principles as their highest obligation.[98] The Fort Holabird chapter of GIs United explained in their Statement of Purpose in the Baltimore based *Open Ranks* that the organisation was 'dedicated not to the undoing of this country, but instead to the furtherance of America's highest and most honorable precept, namely that of individual freedom.'[99] Again, readers were encouraged to consider their duty to the nation's ideals as paramount to the blind obedience of the soldier. Driving the point home, one GI wrote, 'your loyalty transcends your bars, stripes and uniform…it is your loyalty to your country's ideals that causes you to speak out.'[100]

Some contributors made a more explicit connection between soldiering and the defence of Constitutional principles. Upon entering the military, all newly inducted GIs were required to swear the Oath of Enlistment:

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[95] "Patriotism," *Final Flight*, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[96] "Preface," *COM Mon Sense* 2, no. 1 (December 1970), Floor 1, SNS (accessed 19 October 2016)
[97] "Why?" *The Chessman* (July 1969), Reel 1, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[98] See for example, *COM Mon Sense* 2, no. 2 (March 1971), Reel 1, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds; "Untitled," *Morning Report* 1, no. 1 (May 1970), Reel 4, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds; "Statement of Private David Samas," (June 1966), Box 19, Folder: Fort Hood Three Defense Committee, 1966-1967, Social Action Vertical File.
[99] "Statement of Purpose," *Open Ranks* 1, no. 5 (February 1970), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 19 October 2016)
[100] "Talk to Each Other," *Puget Sound Sound Off* 1, no. 1 (23 March 1971), Reel 5, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

> I, _____, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; and that I will obey the orders of the President of the United States and the orders of the officers appointed over me, according to regulations and the Uniform Code of Military Justice. So help me God.[101]

Contributors to GI underground papers pointed out that this oath placed the requirement to defend the Constitution ahead of the requirement to obey orders. As Navy Ensign Gerard Steiner wrote, 'when I took the oath of commissioning, I swore to support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic. The effects of this war at home are a greater enemy to the Constitution and its ideals than [the Vietnam War].'[102] Similarly, COM noted, 'We have - - each of us - - sworn to "support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic"; and so we shall.'[103] GIs were also reminded through the GI press that their oath was to defend the Constitution, not a specific war or policy.[104] By using the military's own language against them, this argument directly reflected the particular experience and knowledge of soldiers. Speaking a recognised military language, the GI press argued that a citizen's first duty was to hold their nation to its highest ideals and that his oath as a soldier demanded his first loyalty and duty be the protection of the US Constitution.

'To Sin By Silence…Makes Cowards of Men': Reconfiguring Military Masculinity

Just as 1960s activism challenged the Establishment and demanded that America live up to its professed ideals, it also challenged existing social norms.[105] Specifically, the culture of the 1960s dramatically challenged American society's gender norms. Most famously preserved in the popular memory by the behaviours of the counter-culture, some activists discarded traditional expectations of young men

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[101] "Enlistment Oath," Public Law 87-751 § 502, *US Statutes At Large* 76 (1962): 748, http://uscode.house.gov/statviewer.htm?volume=76&page=748 (accessed 25 October 2017)

[102] "Talk to Each Other," *Puget Sound Sound Off*, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

[103] "Facts About the Concerned Officers Movement," ACC75A-105, Box 1, Folder: Concerned Officers Movement, David Cortright Papers.

[104] Talk to Each Other," *Puget Sound Sound Off*, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds; *COM Newsletter*, no. 4, Floor 3, SNS (accessed 19 October 2016); "Purge," *Broken Arrow* 1, no.6 (2 October 1969), Reel 1, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

[105] This title is taken from a quote by Abraham Lincoln. The full text reads, 'To sin by silence when they should protest makes cowards of men.' The quote appears in multiple GI papers in both articles and as thought-provoking filler quotes. See for example, "Statement of Purpose and Responsibility," *Xpress*, no. 1 (September 1970), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 19 October 2016); "Open Letter From Ft. Dix Stockade," *Spartacus* 1, no. 1 (4 August 1969), Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

and women. Moreover, with the rise of the women's movement in the latter half of the decade, feminist activists, black and white, challenged men to explore the detrimental effect that hegemonic masculinity had on both men and women. As the assumed fixedness of gender roles were increasingly understood as fluid concepts, activist GIs were able to draw on a protest culture to redefine military masculinity.

By drawing on the relationship between citizenship, masculinity and patriotism embodied in the citizen-soldier ideal, GI activists began rejecting traditional performances and notions of military masculinity. As Heather Stur notes, some anti-war GIs and veterans demanded a 'reassessment of gender roles that did not link masculinity with the warrior myth.'[106] Like the predominately white draft resistance movement, the GI press argued that 'real' men did not silently follow leaders. Instead they were courageous enough to speak out and stand up for themselves. A GI writing as Uncle Charley argued that a 'real' man must reject military masculinity as 'to do so takes courage, perseverance, patience and strength…the old virtues in fact that our elders claim make a real man.' A real man has 'the guts to face assault, prison and maybe death as some have. [This] is not a child's character, it is a man's, a real man's.[107] Similarly, writing in a 1969 issue of *Aboveground* Alan Linder and Sp/4 Fitzsimmons declared, 'a man who will not follow the dictates of his conscience is a coward.' Dissent could lead to imprisonment, they noted, but that individual will 'have been convicted of a crime which was, in fact, the highest form of patriotism: that of loyalty to one's own conscience.'[108] Fighting for one's beliefs and taking responsibility for one's actions became the duty of brave (read: real) men.[109] By preventing GIs from speaking out, activist GIs argued that the military actually hindered soldiers from becoming men.[110] As a GI writing under the name Sidney

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[106] Stur, *Beyond Combat*, 15; See also, Bibby, *Hearts and Minds*, 128.

[107] Uncle Charley, "A Search for Manhood," *Omega Press* 1, no. 2 (15 February 1972), Reel 5, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

[108] Alan Linder and Fitzsimmons, "Conscience," *Aboveground* 1, no. 4 (November 1969), Reel 1, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

[109] Frank Torres, "Did You Know?" *Aboveground* 1, no. 5 (December 1969/January 1970), Reel 1, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds; "On To Freedom," *Broken Arrow* 1, no. 6 (2 October 1969), Reel 1, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds; "Challenge and Responsibility," *Fatigue Press,* no. 10 (October 1968), Reel 1, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds; "Open Letter From Ft. Dix Stockade,", Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds; Paul Nevins, "Some Thoughts Before I Go," *Gigline* 1, no. 4 (November 1969), , Reel 36, Folder 6: Gigline, Underground Press Collection.

[110] E.D. Steele, "What Did I Fight For?" *Task Force* (10 August 1968), Reel 6, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds; Fort Bliss GI, "Untitled," *Up Tight* 1, no. 1 (July 1969), Reel 6, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds; "Freedom of Speech," *Anchorage Troop,* no. 4 (March 1970) Floor 3,

declared, 'Now is the time to stand up for our manhood and no longer be their machine…Now is the time to fight for our rights…The right to be a man and be free.'[111]

As Sidney's words suggest, some GIs argued that those who gave into the silent obedience and respect demanded by the military actually gave up a piece of their manhood. Responding to a letter, the editor of *The Bond* wrote, 'those who direct the military monster are using us as tools for their own interests, and in addition they want to make us live on our knees and walk on our bellies. To accept this sorry role is to give up our manhood.'[112] In another article, *The Bond* also sought to rally soldiers around the preservation of their manhood, arguing that 'it is high time we stand up and demand the right to act like real men - - not puppets.'[113] Similarly, one GI in *Rap!* wrote, 'The army has taken a man's body and soul and turned him into a puppet on strings.'[114] Thus, like draft resistance activism, GI contributors drew on hegemonic performances of masculinity that emphasised masculine independence and control of their surroundings to challenge the belief that soldiering provided a direct path to manhood. Echoing this puppet imagery, an activist GI described military men as 'simple sheep' that were so insecure that they had to wear evidence of their manhood on their uniform. 'Is it proof of your manhood,' asks this writer, 'to allow your life to be governed by some clown for whom you have no respect at all?'[115]

The masculinity fostered by military life was often challenged in articles with a sarcastic tone, like the question posed above. Like the names of the newspapers, this sarcastic tone would have allowed GIs to poke fun at and insult the realities of military life while gaining a sense of control over their surroundings. However, once a man seized his duty to think for himself, his manhood was restored.[116] Thus, the GI press was able to encourage men to performa their masculinity and citizenship through dissent.

SNS (accessed 19 October 2016); "Brass Harass: Harass the Brass," *Attitude Check*, special issue (May 1970) Library Floor 3, Floor 3, SNS (accessed 19 October 2016).
[111] Sidney, "The Service Make A Man Out of You?" *Navy Times Are A' Changin* 1, no. 2 (April 1970), Reel 4, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[112] "Letter to the Editor: Don't Let Them Scare You Brother," *The Bond* 3, no. 4 (15 April 1969), Reel 1, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[113] "We Need A Union," *The Bond* 2, no. 3 (18 March 1968), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 19 October 2016)
[114] "Just A Little Rap," *Rap!*, no. 10 (November 1970), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 19 October 2016);
[115] 'H.L.B., "Join the Army and Be a Man!" *AboutFace* (April 1969), Reel 1, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[116] "To Those In Power," *Olive Branch* 1, no. 1 (15 December 1970), Reel 4, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

Activist GIs also rejected the military's emphasis on violence and physical strength as a measure of manhood.[117] Private Juan Barracas wrote, 'He-manism is the faith of soldiery [but] the mask of machismo is the mask of death. And it's time to take it off.'[118] In an article entitled 'Is A Soldier Really A Man?', the author argued that 'the military in essence prostitutes all the finer traits of man - - duty, loyalty, sense of responsibility, etc. - - placing them in service of an unworthy cause, aggression against his fellow men.'[119] Being trained to kill, argued another GI, meant you became more animal than man, while another author argued that instead of making men, the military 'takes males and makes them neuters, murderous, aggressive neuters.'[120] As masculinity must be constantly performed and measured in relation to other men, this use of emasculating language spoke to broader anxieties, both societal and personal, around gender. Perhaps speaking to a soldier's concerns about performing a socially acceptable masculinity, *Short Times* published a letter from 'a soldier's sister'. She declared that 'by being trained to kill, a man is shorn, castrated and desensitized.'[121] Rather than being a physically strong individual who can commit murder in defence of their nation, this new man had a duty to reject this version of manhood and instead speak up. Thus, as activist GIs reconfigured ideas about citizenship and soldiering, they also altered the citizen-soldier ideal's assumptions about masculinity and manhood.

Notably, black GIs constructed a parallel critique and often phrased their rejection of these traditional ideals in a way that reflected hypermasculinist strands of Black Power rhetoric. For example, one imprisoned GI wrote in *Aboveground*, 'I'll never plead or beg [to be let out of prison] because the Blackman has begged through the years and all he has got is mud in his face and a lot of unnecessary ghettos…I am a true blue Blackman also and I will rot in here before I will beg and plead with any

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[117] "On Generals," *Fatigue Press*, no. 26 (November 1970), Reel 2, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

[118] Juan Barracas, "Drill Sgt. --- Tell me I'm a Man," *Every GI is a POW*, no. 2 (April 1971), Reel 5, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

[119] "Is A Soldier Really A Man?,'" *The Logistic* (20 December 1968), Reel 4, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

[120] "Open Letter to All People in the Service," *Out Now* 1, no.2 (June 1970), Reel 5, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds; see also Zaavan Shar, "An Act of Courage," *Short Times* 4, no. 1 (31 January 1971), Reel 6, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds; "Editorial – Army Pits GI Against GI," *Short Times*, (ca.1969), Reel 6, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

[121] "A Letter from A Soldier's Sister," *Short Times* 3, no. 4 (April 1970), Reel 6, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

white man.'[122] This soldier embraced the rejection of blind patriotism as a path towards opportunity while simultaneously articulating a definition of manhood that rejected continued subservience to military and white power structures. Graham argues that hegemonic masculinity, defined in part by whiteness, 'had placed blacks in positions of passivity and powerlessness [while] the Black Power movement valued an assertive masculinity that was independent from white control.'[123]   Reflecting this more assertive black masculinity, 'a Black Brother' asked, 'if we can't be treated like humans why should we be put in the man's thing (the military) and be forced to function the way he wants us to (like Toms)?'[124] Invoking the imagery of the subservient Uncle Tom, this GI simultaneously rejected obedient military masculinity and the existing racial power structure. He deemed the recruiting slogan 'The Marine Corps Builds Men' a 'phony phrase' and argued that 'if the Marine Corps or any other branch of Military Service does anything, it is that it makes you half a man.' Instead, according to this GI, black men will achieve equality by embracing Black Pride.[125]

Further, Graham argues that Black Power 'encouraged African American men to feel a sense of empowerment through their connections with other black people [and] stressed their identities as black men rather than their identities as marines and army soldiers.'[126] Some GIs of colour, particularly black GIs, viewed themselves as black first and a soldier second. In this iteration, the black GI should not take personal pride in their service or actions, according to a GI in *Ultimate Weapon*. Instead he is proud as 'a Black man from a Black society… surely exhibiting sincerity and loyalty to each other first and the military procedures secondly is Black Power in the military.'[127] As the Black Power movement grew and the war in Vietnam worsened, GIs of colour used the GI press to construct a racially conscious critique of the citizen-soldier. In doing so, they actively reconfigured the ideal by illuminating its racial dimensions.

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[122] "Double Jeopardy in Prison for Blacks," *Aboveground* (March 1970), Reel 1, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[123] Graham, *The Brothers' Vietnam War*, 112.
[124] "A Black Brother Speaks Against Racism," *Attitude Check* 1, no. 1 (1 November 1969), Reel 1, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Graham, The *Brothers' Vietnam War*, 99-100.
[127] "Black Power in the Military," *Ultimate Weapon*, no. 9 (24 July 1969) Floor 1, SNS (accessed 19 October 2016)

'We Have No Reason To Be Her Saviors': The Inequities of the Duty of Citizenship

As Lewis argues, a significant portion of anti-war activism after 1968, particularly by minorities, took place as component of broader identity-based movements. Increasingly, GIs of colour rejected the singular goal of ending the war and instead argued that racism must be central to the anti-war movement.[128] Both inside and outside the military, activists encouraged GIs of colour to think differently about their duty to serve. As Kimberley Phillips notes, some veterans used a 'critical analysis of race, power and violence to frame their experiences with the work of killing in Vietnam.'[129] Given the anonymity required in the GI underground newspaper network, it is not possible to know with certainty the race of each author. While GIs of many racial and ethnic backgrounds contributed to the GI press, it appears that black GIs most often identified their racial backgrounds in their articles. This is perhaps reflective of the fact that some of the roots of other racial power movements lie in the Black Power movement; thus GIs of other racial backgrounds might have increasingly utilised the rhetoric of racial power in the closing years of the GI Movement. By exploring contributions of GIs of colour, particularly black GIs, to the GI underground papers, we can see the unique ways that racial consciousness, and the racial inequities of American belonging, influenced the re-imagination of citizen-soldier ideal.[130]

Like their civilian counterparts, the inequitable experience of citizenship led GIs of colour to argue that years of discrimination absolved them from the need to defend the nation. Instead of one's American citizenship being the source of loyal patriotic military service, black GI activists, drawing on Black Power rhetoric, argued that theye were members of an internal 'black colony' and their higher priority was the defence of their community and their people from an imperialist, racist US foreign and domestic policy agenda. Just as the university provided a space for thousands of predominately white middle class students to interact, providing a population ripe for

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[128] Lewis, *Hardhats, Hippies and Hawks*, 137; see also, Moser, *New Winter Soldiers*, 35; Hall, *Peace and Freedom*, 191.
[129] Phillips, *War!*, 224.
[130] The quotation from the title is from a letter to *Sepia* magazine from a black GI stationed in Vietnam. The full quote reads: 'As second class citizens of America, we have no reasons to be her saviors. Who put her in the face of this destruction you spoke of? Certainly not blacks. See John Schmidt, "From Our Men in Vietnam," *Sepia (*November 1971), 80, Charles Blockson Collection.

mobilisation, the military provided a similar context for men of colour.[131] The

disproportionate drafting of men of colour brought individuals from different regional

and political backgrounds into contact with one another as they shared the same

oppressive military experience. Thus military service 'proved to be a fertile space for

gaining a "better understanding of blackness" and "the thought ground" of the black

revolution.'[132]

 While military elites claimed the Vietnam War was fought by a fully

integrated military, GIs of colour quickly found that racism and discrimination

endured in all aspects of military life. Graham notes that this reality increasingly

frustrated black GIs and 'made them feel like second-class citizens.'[133] As a black GI

at Fort Hood explained to *The Ally*:

> I thought things would be out of sight [when I returned from Vietnam]. I fought for my
> country, so to speak, and established myself as a man and I expected to be accepted into
> society whether I was black, white, green or what have you, and I won't be treated as a damn
> dog, you know, a second rate citizen. This was foremost in my mind and it didn't turn out that
> way.[134]

This was true of soldiers identifying with a spectrum of racial identities, as black,

Chicano and American Indian men also challenged the ideal of the citizen-soldier by

calling attention to their continued treatment as 'second class citizens.' They argued

that since they were not equally afforded the rights of citizenship, the duties of

soldiering should not apply to them.

 As an activism rooted in racial pride found traction among minority soldiers,

their contributions to the GI press increasingly argued that by virtue of the government

not protecting their rights, they did not owe the nation their service. Michael A. Grant,

in his article 'Blackman In A White Army' quipped, 'only in time of war do Black

men suddenly become "citizens" with "duties" to God and country.'[135] Likewise, *The

Bond* covered black GI Tom Tuck's refusal to swear the Oath of Enlistment. The

paper discussed Tuck's belief that 'a person should not be required to perform the

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[131] Seymour Martin Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*: *A History of Student Activism in America* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971), 17-18, 30-35.

[132] Higgins, "Instruments of Righteousness," 101; see also Westheider, *Fighting on Two Fronts*, 41-42; Westheider, *Brothers in Arms*, 334; Graham, *The Brothers' Vietnam War*, 31.

[133] Graham, *The Brothers' Vietnam War*, 90.

[134] "Interview at Ford Hood," *The Ally,* no. 11 (November 1968), Floor 1, SNS (accessed 19 October 2016)

[135] Michael A. Grant, "Blackman In A White Army," *The Black Political Prisoner*, no. 1, Box 10, Folder 3, Fred Halstead Papers.

duties and responsibilities of a citizen' without having the privileges of citizenship.[136] Put more forcefully, a letter 'from a Black Brother' to *Pay Back* concluded, 'the Marine Corps is not the way out of your misery. We have lived through 400 years of oppression and now we think that the White Man's Army will treat us as equals.'[137]

Writers like the one above directly challenged the relationship between military service and economic advancement by suggesting to young men that military service would not alleviate their 'misery.' Instead, GIs of colour argued that life in the military was equivalent to enslavement. One contributor to *On the Beach* noted that he was denied his manhood and his 'greatness' by an oppressive society, but that military service was not the path to overcoming this oppression. The Enlisted Man 'has come seeking a real life…guided by…his pride in being American. He enters a world that keeps him down – and is placed in chains. He is no longer half a man, he is a slave.'[138] In this iteration, military service is a step backwards for black freedom and acquiescence to a white power structure. A pamphlet in support of incarcerated GIs echoed this sentiment, declaring, 'if we are called unpatriotic because we don't believe in America's wars and killings so be it…but don't ever call me or the 38 men with me slaves. Because, brother, that's something we know we'll never be again.' This writer rejected the basics of military discipline arguing that the 'sir-ing' of officers must cease as it is 'equal to the "yes mista bossman" and "nosa mista Charlie."'[139] Reflecting this rhetoric, Graham argues 'African American servicemen resisted the military regimen as a way of asserting their independence from white authorities.'[140]

Consequently, where previous black freedom activists supported the 'double-V campaign' to secure victories against undemocratic forces at home and abroad, and fought for the right to fight, activist black GIs viewed the nation's history of racial oppression as evidence that military service would not lead to equality. As Pvt. Leonard Steel asked in the popular black magazine *Sepia*, 'why should I be a first black fighting man…when back in America I'm a second class citizen and the mere

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[136] "Black Soldier Court Martialed," *The Bond* 1, no. 6 (6 September 1967), Reel 1, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

[137] A Black Brother, "All Power to the People. Dig Man," *Pay Back* 1, no.1 (July 1970), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 19 October 2016)

[138] "Half Man to SLAVE," *On The Beach* 1, no. 4 (December 1970), Reel 5, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

[139] "Fort Dix 38 Speak Out," no. 1 (August 1969), Wars, Protests Against (Subject File #1): Civil War through Vietnamese Conflict, 1961-1975, Box 1, Folder: GI Resistance, SPC.

[140] Graham, *The Brothers' Vietnam War*, 99, 96.

color of my skin exempts me from the rights to be equal in pursuit of happiness?'[141] Contributors highlighted the citizen-soldier's whiteness directly by pointing out the discrepancy between military service and the conferral of citizenship rights. For example, in *Demand for Freedom* a GI wrote, 'did you know that you aren't supposed to be in this military? Years ago a black man was not allowed to join the military…More recently our fathers fought in their wars, but they still did not have freedom and constitutional rights. They had to pass a damn Civil Rights Bill for us just because we're black.'[142] Despite the patriotic military service of numerous black men, this author emphasised that black communities still had to fight at home for their Constitutional rights.

Further contributions encouraged black GIs to think about this history of oppression in America. 'Dig this,' begins a poem in *Broken Arrow,* 'I am 322 years old and I'm/still a boy in today's/White society/How long must I/wait to become a man./ To enjoy freedom of mind and soul??'[143] Similarly, the multiracial organisation GI United Against the War in Vietnam, based out of Ft. Jackson, South Carolina, reflected on the unfulfilled promises to black Americans. 'The rights and dignity of the black man in America have been trampled upon for the past 400 years,' begins an open letter to other GIs on base, 'while being called upon to fight and die for so-called freedom, he has been forced to suffer racial oppression, discrimination, and social degradation within as well as outside the Armed Forces.'[144] Years of repression and oppression led the 'call of duty' to fall on deaf ears.

Other GIs of colour expressed similar sentiments through the GI press and, in doing so, elevated their racial identity over their national identity. Like their black counterparts, Chicano GIs used the GI press to highlight their second-class citizenship. They noted that despite being forced to serve, Chicanos had been excluded from economic and civic participation in American life. One GI noted, 'if the Mexican Americans are not treated like US citizens they should not be forced to defend US

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[141] Leonard L. Steel, From Our Men in Vietnam, *Sepia* (July 1971): 80-81, Charles Blockson Collection.
[142] "Why This Newspaper," *Demand for Freedom*, no. 1 (7 October 1970), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 19 October 2016)
[143] "Reflections of Black GIs," *Broken Arrow* 2, no. 1 (12 July 1970), ACC75A-105, Box 2, David Cortright Papers.
[144] "Open Letter from GIs United Against the War in Vietnam," Box 9, Folder 17, Fred Halstead Papers.

policies.'[145] Sp/4 Richard Macias pointed to the unequal treatment of Chicano GIs in and out of the military. Expressing his lack of surprise at a field exercise being codenamed 'Operation Wetback', he noted that 'Chicanos have long been victims of invasion, conquest and exploitation…still Chicanos continue to be drafted into the Army. We continue to fight and die for the rich Anglo.'[146] Like black veterans, Chicano veterans asserted that a history of oppression and a denial of citizenship rights provided them with the grounds to refuse or reject military service.

American Indian veterans also drew on a shared history of oppression to frame their dissent. Private Ronald Blevins foregrounded his native heritage by writing as Anatonoka Kalanu, or The Raven. He asserted that the treatment of his Cherokee and Shoshoni ancestors required him to speak out. After summarising the tragedy of the Trail of Tears, Blevins wrote, 'now I have been drafted into the same army that did a damn good job of trying to wipe out my tribe and my race in a 300-year war of genocide.'[147] Michael McCloud, an American Indian GI arrested for a refusal to follow orders, similarly placed his tribal identity over his American citizenship. He began his statement with his birth name, Sumac, and highlighted his citizenship in the Umatilla Walla Walla nation. As his nation was not in conflict with any others, including Vietnam, he explained, 'I wish to remain loyal to my people of the Umatilla Walla Walla nation,' and consequently could not consent to serve in the US military.[148] Like other GIs of colour, American Indian men writing in the GI papers placed their tribal identities and loyalties above the call to duty embodied by the citizen-soldier. In doing so, they placed themselves outside of notions of American belonging.

The reshaping of the citizen-soldier among GIs of colour reflected their experience in a nation where whiteness remained central to conceptions of citizenship. These GIs saw themselves as doing a disservice to their communities by serving in the military. As Sp/4 Charles Duncan argued, 'I have committed a crime greater than desertion. I am black first and a soldier second. Deep within myself, I feel that American whites have not fulfilled their obligation to the blacks.' Admonishing his

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[145] "Brown People Gripe," *Fatigue Press*, no. 16 (ca.1969), Reel 2, Folder: Old GI Movement Stuff, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

[146] Wetback is a derogatory term for individuals of Hispanic dissent; Richard Macias, "Operation Wetback," *Where We Are* (September 1971), Reel 6, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

[147] Ronald L. Belvins, "Letters to the Editor: Massacres: From Indians to Vietnamese," *The Bond* (16 December 1969), Reel 1, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

[148] "Native American Fights Army," *CAMP News* 3, no. 11 (15 November 1972), Reel 95, Folder 2: CAMP News, Underground Press Collection.

own silence Duncan continued, 'For 20 years I sat idly by while blacks all over the country were being chastised for being black. And what did I do? I journeyed 10,000 miles to place myself on the line to protect my tormentor. I'll return home with my head bowed in shame and the heart of a traitor.'[149] In this case, by serving, he furthered the dominance of a white power structure that continued to oppress black communities.

Like their counterparts engaged in draft resistance activism, black GIs writing in the GI press discussed the war as a dual struggle: one in Vietnam and one for racial equality in the military and at home. In rhetoric echoed by draft resistance activists and veterans, the enemy was American policymakers. As one article put it, 'I don't believe that you actually prefer to be over there…because your own people, whom you left behind in Babylon, are also fighting for their freedom against the very same pigs who have you over there to do their dirty work for them.' This writer continued, 'your people need you…to help us take our freedom.'[150] By positioning American policymakers as an enemy from which communities needed to secure their freedom, GIs of colour repurposed the rhetoric of the citizen-soldier ideal. Notably, this reconfiguration still drew on the core assertion of the ideal: men are expected to actively defend the entity that preserved and protected their rights and freedoms.

GIs of colour increasingly shifted their understanding of obligation away from military service and into their own communities. In these iterations, community included both their geographic communities and their broader racial community. Importantly, these GI activists echoed similar rhetoric put forth by black, Chicano and American Indian civilian activists. Sp/4 Willie Snell wrote in *Sepia* to young black men that 'one day may be forced to fulfill their "obligation" to their country.' He recommended that these young men 'stay out of this Army if you can. Stay in the world and fight where you're needed most.'[151] Snell's comments reflect both a racial consciousness and the unique language of military life to make his point. By placing obligation in quotation marks, he mocked the idea that black men have any sort of duty to serve. Simultaneously, he told men to 'stay in the world', a widely used military term that distinguishes between military life and civilian life. Thus, Snell's

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[149] Charles Duncan, "From Our Boys in Vietnam," *Sepia Magazine* (April 1971), Charles Blockson Collection; Specialist E-4 is an enlisted rank, but is not considered a Non-commissioned officer. See Appendix B for hierarchy of military ranks.

[150] "Racism," *sNORTON Bird* (16 June 1970), Reel 6, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

[151] "Letters from Our Boys in Vietnam," *Sepia* (March 1971), 14, Charles Blockson Collection.

comments demonstrate that racial consciousness was central to reimagined ideas about duty within a military context.

These ideas regarding obligation and duty had an extensive presence within the GI underground press. A GI writing as 'Duff' wrote, 'Listen Brothers, it is time to fulfill your obligation to your own people, the Black Race…Some people say this is treason, but to use the words of one White American hero, "If this is treason, let them make the most of it."'[152] Like the wider Black Power movement, activist black GIs argued that black communities needed protection from America itself, again positioning America as an enemy. 'I am the Black American fighting man', declared an anonymous black GI in poem published in *Task Force*, 'Have defended this USA in Germany/in the Philippines thru Okinawa/in Japan, Korea, China/Now Vietnam, Laos, Thailand/Time is now to defend Black American's/from America.'[153] These GIs argued that black communities needed defending from the persistent oppression of racism, capitalism and imperialism inherent in US society.[154] Specialist W.H. Cooper wrote, 'Maybe I'm in the wrong war in the wrong place. Why am I fighting for other people when me and other black people don't have it?...I'm disgusted and sick of being a second class soldier because of my black face. I am a man!'[155]

Encouraging GIs to embrace their blackness, contributors argued that the first duty of black men was to the advancement of their people and communities at home. A GI writing in *The Ally* argued that fighting in Vietnam to return home to discrimination and poverty 'is not where it's at. Too many black GIs have said that their real fight is at home.'[156] Incarcerated GI Ronald Lockman proclaimed, 'I will not be used any longer. I will not go 10,000 miles away to be a tool of the oppressors of the Vietnamese people.'[157] Similarly, Stur suggests that the Chicano anti-war movement similarly rejected the 'imperialistic attitude that John Wayne represented'

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[152] Duff, "Struggle for Freedom," *Attitude Check* 2, no. 1 (1 February 1970), Reel 1, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds; Here, Duff references the words of Patrick Henry, a colonial Virginia legislator in the House of Burgesses. This quote was uttered in response to being interrupted during his speech to the legislature with cries of 'Treason!" as he condemned the Stamp Act and critiqued the actions of King George III.

[153] "Black Poetry," *Task Force* 1, no. 2 (25 September 1968), Reel 6, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

[154] "Open Letter From A Black GI," *The Black Panther* (25 May 1969), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 19 October 2016)

[155] W.H. Cooper, "From Our Boys In Vietnam," *Sepia* (June 1970), Charles Blockson Collection,

[156] "Comment: Black Re-enlistment," *The Ally*, no. 8 (August 1968), Reel 28, Folder 22: The Ally, Underground Press Collection.

[157] Gene Dennis, "Black GI Won't Go," *The Bond* 1, no. 8 (ca. October 1967), Reel 1, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

and instead wanted to fight for equality at home.[158] The figure of a community defender actually drew upon the initial incarnations of the citizen-soldier ideal. As the citizen-soldier was initially grounded in young men serving in local militias, GIs of colour indirectly drew on this tradition once again.

As Moser notes, the community soldier/defender was produced by personal commitments to kin, community, ideology, and nation.'[159] Civilian Chicano anti-war protestors, for example, repeatedly argued 'it is better to fight for *la raza* than to die in Vietnam.'[160] Similarly, American Indian soldiers like Anatonoka Kalanu and Michael (Sumac) McCloud argued that they could not serve against the interests of their tribe in the US military. Pfc Wendell Hill's letter to *Ebony Magazine,* later reprinted in the underground publication *GI Organizer*, made a similar argument. Hill admonished previous generations of black soldiers for willingly serving overseas but remaining silent in the struggle for black freedom at home. One can almost hear the anger in Hill's voice when he declared:

> You say your loyalty is to your country? You are wrong. You don't have a country. Your first loyalty is to your little black brothers and sisters in the ghettos of America freezing to death; to all the black people of America who go to bed hungry every night in a land of surplus and waste; to the thousands of black babies who die each year in America because of a lack of proper medical care in a land of medical miracles…You do not stop and think. It was not a communist society that bought you to America in chains. It was not a communist society that degraded you and made you hate yourself. It was not a communist society that lynched your fathers and brothers and raped your mothers and sisters.[161]

Hill continued, arguing that black Americans had fulfilled their obligation to America in World Wars I and II, and in the Korean War. Now, 'it is time to fulfill your obligation to your race.'[162] As Hill's words indicate, some black GIs encouraged young men not to serve in the military but instead to serve their communities at home and fight against the persistent injustices in American society. In doing so, they elevated their racial identity over their national identity.

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[158] Stur, Beyond *Combat*, 187.

[159] Moser, *New Winter Soldiers*, 34.

[160] Ward, "The War in the Desert," 30; See also Moser, *New Winter Soldiers*, 34; Literally translating to "the race", *la raza* more accurately means "the people". The phrase was first used by Mexican scholar José Vasconcelos in a 1925 essay: "La Raza Cósmica", which emphasised the mixture of races. The term was shortened to *la raza* when it became the title of a bilingual newspaper published by Chicano/a activists beginning in 1967. However, activists used the term to emphasise the common experience and sense of community Chicano/a people in the US. See for example: Lorena Oropeza, *¡Raza Sí! ¡Guerra No!: Chicano Protest and Patriotism during the Vietnam War* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005) or Yolanda Alaniz and Megan Cornish, *Viva La Raza: A History of Chicano Identity and Resistance* (Seattle: Red Letter Press, 2008).

[161] Wendell Hill, "An Open Letter to Black GIs," *GI Organizer*, no. 3 (26 May 1969), Reel 3, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

[162] Ibid.

However, the draft made military service nearly inevitable for many young black men and contributors to the GI press were, of course, soldiers themselves. Thus black GIs also offered directives to active-duty GIs. The militant black GI group, Rising Up Angry perhaps put it most directly in their paper of the same name: 'learn all of the military skills you can so that you can bring them back to your people…We need to learn those skills to build our own liberation army to fight the pigs. Dig?'[163] A GI in *Bragg Briefs* encouraged GIs to learn how to beat 'racists' by 'practicing on the Army.'[164] Military skills were seen as potentially useful to the larger black liberation struggle. Writing in the *Black Panther*, an author identified only as 'a Black GI' noted, the Army 'trains men to become certified qualified bonafide killers…[and black men] may learn what they teach, and upon his release, he will be well qualified to enter into the Black Army.' This Army-educated man should then dedicate the rest of his life 'in the Revolution to liberate his people.'[165] Thus, black GIs radically reconfigured the ideal of the citizen-soldier. Acknowledging their second class citizenship, these activist black GIs view military service not as their most patriotic duty, but as a training ground for their real duty: defence of the black community.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, black GIs who continued to embrace definitions of duty that encompassed loyal, obedient military service were reviled in articles published by activist black GIs in distinctly racial terms. One flyer, complete with a skull dressed in traditional Uncle Sam garb, proclaimed 'Uncle Sam wants <u>You</u> nigger…you are a member of the world's highest paid black mercenary army!' The flyer also referenced enduring beliefs that the draft was an orchestrated attempt at genocide stating, 'You cause too much trouble in your ghetto. Uncle Sam wants you to die in Viet Nam.'[166] Similarly, an article in *Fatigue Press* critiqued conformist black GIs, noting, 'a lot of blacks who stayed behind are what Malcolm X called "house niggers". They'd rather stay behind and stay silent than get out in the fields and work for their freedom.'[167]

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[163] "Angry Talks to Our Brothers & Sisters in the Service," *Rising Up Angry* (n.d.), Folder 6: Newspaper Clippings, Vietnam War Protest Collection, TAM.

[164] "A Black GI Speaks Out'," *Bragg Briefs* 2, no. 3 (November 1969), Reel 34, Folder 9: Bragg Briefs, Underground Press Collection.

[165] "Open Letter from a Black GI," *The Black Panther* (25 May 1969), SNS.

[166] "RITA Note 3," Reel 5, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds; See also, Graham, *The Brothers' Vietnam War*, 126.

[167] "Third World People Unite Against the War," *Fatigue Press*, no. 23 (August 1970), Reel 2, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

In rejecting obedient patriotism, black GIs performed an assertion of racial identity over their national citizenship. Exemplifying this shift, a contributor to *Last Harass* wrote of a Private James Stein, a Vietnam vet active in both Black Power and anti-war activism, who 'scared lifers shitless' by refusing 'to act like a black man is expected to in this society and its army: Uncle Tom, a yes man, eager to please white superiors at the expense of his own black pride.'[168] Likewise, contributor Bill Harvey proclaimed that young men visit recruiting stations 'under the pretext of fighting for freedom' and to those who continue to remain ignorant of the 'real' fight for freedom, Harvey declared, 'maybe death in Vietnam is what you need.'[169] Thus those seen as embracing previous definitions of duty and obedient patriotism actually became harmful to the cause of black freedom. Describing African American servicemen as mercenaries, Uncle Toms, and house niggers simultaneously evoked the discrimination and second-class citizenship most black men experienced while rejecting the obedient military service traditionally encompassed by the citizen-soldier in specifically raced language.

In June 1970, *Duck Power*, the paper of Naval Base San Diego reprinted Eldridge Cleaver's 1970 article 'The Black Man's Stake in Vietnam' in which he notes, 'we appeal to you Brothers to come to the aid of our people. Either quit the army now, or start destroying it from the inside. Anything else…is a form of treason against your own people.'[170] The use of the word treason is particularly interesting here. As a term which specifically refers to betraying one's nation, Cleaver, and indeed many black GIs, began to articulate a new definition of the citizen-soldier which simultaneously embraced and reconfigured traditional understandings of duty and loyalty.

'Will You Be A Tory Or A Patriot': The Imagery of the American Revolution in the GI Press

A key focus of Sixties activism was on making the promises of democracy a reality for all citizens. Thus it was not uncommon for activists to root their protests in traditional American symbols and rhetoric. McMillian notes that 'underground

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[168] "Black GI Stockaded," *Last Harass*, no. 3 (March 1969), Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[169] Bill Harvey, "A Black Brother's Voice 'Death Is What You Need,'" *The Bond* 4, no. 2 (18 February 1970), Reel 1, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[170] Eldridge Cleaver, "The Black Man's Stake in Vietnam," *Duck Power* 2, no. 6 (6 June 1970), Reel 2, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

journalists of the 1960s sometimes drew self-serving comparisons between themselves and their earliest forebears, the pamphleteers of the American Revolution.'[171] Like black liberation activists, who used the Constitution to justify bearing arms in a revolution to free the black community from oppressive white America, activist black GIs argued that they too were on the brink of a second revolution. Their revolution would similarly reject a violent, imperialist, hypocritical America. Perhaps unsurprisingly then, the rhetoric of throwing off a tyrannical power, and the imagery of the American Revolution, provided an oft-used motif in the GI press.

While black GIs typically rejected traditional symbols of American mythology, contributors used the colonial history of the nation to support their arguments. For example, 'Brother Lamont' invoked the patriotic displays of the 4th of July in his article in *sNORTON Bird*. He argued that black Americans did not find similar patriotic joy in these events and highlighted how early Americans 'enslaved our forefathers, broke up their family life, stole their children and molested their daughters. These honored men who wrote "all men are created equal" did not even believe that Black people were human. Yet for 193 years we have supposedly had to honor these men who considered us beasts of burden.'[172] The internal colonial rhetoric embraced by Black Power was also useful to black GIs invoking the imagery of the American Revolution in their contributions. Writing in *Left Face*, a black GI stated, 'black people in America are oppressed as a people by the system…they're like a colony, right in the middle of this country, fighting for freedom and independence.'[173] In referring to themselves as a black colony, black GIs simultaneously redefined the citizen-soldier while drawing on American foundational mythology. Given that the United States itself was once a colony that rejected a tyrannical oppressor, this rhetoric was particularly salient.

Indeed, black GIs argued that their activism continued the American tradition of rebellion begun in the American Revolution. In an interview published in pamphlets across the GI press, black GI George Daniels, one of the first publicly anti-war GIs noted, 'everything this country has, she achieved through violence. Back in the 1776's [sic] around here, when Britain had imposed an embargo act on this

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[171] McMillian, *Smoking Typewriters*, 32.
[172] Brother Lamont, "A Black Man Looks at the 4th of July," *sNORTON Bird* 1, no.2 (4 July 1970), Reel 6, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[173] "Black Power," *Left Face* (ca. late 1969/mid 1970), Reel 4, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

country, she didn't just get around a coffee table and talk it over. They picked up arms. Perhaps this is what is necessary here.'[174] Similarly, Sp/5 Joseph Matthews wrote, 'the white man tells us to talk, be patient, and freedom will come…while you are being patient, ask yourself this question: How did he (the white man) get his freedom? Using the means he did, how do you expect him to just reach out and give you yours?'[175] Both GIs draw on the militant nature of the American Revolution to support their militant activism. 'A Letter from a Black Revolutionary' published in *P.E.A.C.E.* proclaimed, 'anyone with an open mind and who can think for themselves can plainly see a need for Revolution…There was nothing non-violent about George Washington, Paul Revere, Patrick Henry or any of the other patriots during the Americans Revolution. Put THAT in your newspapers, because you are about to see history repeat itself.'[176]

In utilising this rhetoric these GIs did not reject the idea that a 'citizen' should stand up against tyranny through militant actions. Sp/5 Jeffrey Barnette DeShields in a letter to General Westmoreland proclaimed, 'I state once again, release me [from the military] so I can be with those I love…the true patriots…with the minds of Malcolm X…Your people praise all the white revolutionaries of 1776. My people praise all the revolutionaries of 1971.'[177] By rooting their dissent in American tradition, black GIs simultaneously reimagined the specific definitions of duty embodied by the citizen-soldier while affirming its validity. Thus, despite disputing the ability of the federal government to force black men into service, the duty to protect a community against tyrannical infiltration remained.

Numerous other GIs invoked the militant nature of the American Revolution and its beginnings as a protest movement to legitimise GI dissent to their readers. In doing so, activist GIs considered themselves to be patriots of a second American Revolution and defenders of the core ideals that made America a nation worth fighting for. For example, 'Ex-Army "EM" Tom Roberts' wrote, 'protest, even revolution is an American tradition. What is American heritage? – The Boston Tea Party; the Boston Massacre; The Revolutionary War; The Declaration of Independence.'

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[174] "Black Marines Against the Brass," pamphlet, ACC75A-105, Box 1, Folder: Movement Pamphlets, David Cortright Papers.
[175] Joseph Matthews, Letters from Our Men in Vietnam, *Sepia* (March 1971), 14.
[176] "Letter from a Black Revolutionary – The People Speak…and Sputter," *P.E.A.C.E.* 1, no. 5, (December 1970), Reel 5, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[177] "Letter to Westmoreland," *Every GI is a POW*, no. 5 (August 1971), Reel 5, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

Roberts continued, 'But like George III, Nixon will use force to stop the revolution. The force is you – the GI. When the time comes will you be a Tory or a Patriot?'[178] By positioning protest on the side of the patriot, Roberts inverted the traditional utility of the citizen-soldier ideal. American policymakers became an enemy that 'patriots' needed to challenge. Drawing on new definitions of duty GIs used the overtly patriotic imagery of the American Revolution to justify the legitimacy and the Americanness of their dissent.

Perhaps the most common use of references to the American Revolution was to justify and contextualise GI dissent. By challenging a military environment that continued to demand obedient loyalty, activist GIs risked being rejected or turned in by their peers who questioned the patriotism of their actions. GIs regularly faced counter-protestors or military elites who rejected their activism and considered their protest treasonous and unpatriotic. In response, dissident GIs turned to the story of the American Revolution, and its glorification in popular culture, to interpret their dissent as the epitome of patriotism. An editorial in the *Fatigue Press*, for example, took issue with GI protests or rap sessions being deemed 'un-American activities'. The editorialist wrote, 'leave us not forget, dearhearts, that once upon a time a people unhappy with its form of government, dumped Tea in a harbor…and then violently overthrew its government. The discerning historian will be quick to point [out] that as un-American as these men may have been they turned out those documents and systems that define the very nature of the American way.'[179] Similarly, a GI by the name of 'Lee' encouraged GIs to look back in history to learn the story of America. He asked:

> How was Amerika started? Demonstrations? You're damn right (Boston tea party to name one of many). Then came the revolution…in which oppressed people got tired of being pushed around and did something about it…and the United States was born…these people call us (by us we mean the people who have united against the oppressor) communist. What would they have called the people who united against the oppressors of our forefathers and produced the American Revolution?[180]

A GI writing in *Final Flight* echoed Lee's sentiments noting, 'most of our elders accuse us of being unpatriotic…George Washington was told not to rock the boat by

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[178] Tom Roberts, "Revolution-The American Way," *Aboveground* (ca. mid 1969-mid 1970) Reel 1, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[179] "Political Language," *Fatigue Press*, no. 8 (September 1968), Reel 2, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[180] Lee, "FTA Letters," *Fatigue Press*, no. 20 (May 1970), Reel 2, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

the majority of colonists, so it's nothing new in America.'[181] These GIs, and many others, emphasised the dissident origins of the American Revolution to firmly fix newly established ideas about duty within the American story.[182]

GIs further argued that they were compelled to pursue the same duty as America's original revolutionaries by challenging the public message that American intervention was protecting the freedoms of the Vietnamese. Relying heavily on the imagery of the American Revolution, they argued instead that the Vietnamese were actually fighting the patriotic fight in defence of individual freedoms. One image published in *Napalm* depicted a monument at Concord Bridge in Massachusetts, the site of one of the first battles of the American Revolution. The poster noted that in memory of the men who died, the monument reads 'They came three thousand miles and died to keep the past upon its throne', thereby rejecting the justness of the British cause. However, the poster asks 'What will be inscribed in memory of the American soldiers who die fighting the Vietnamese?'[183] By indicating that American efforts in Vietnam were akin to the tyrannical British on the eve of the Revolution, dissident GIs complicated the duty of the citizen-soldier while simultaneously encouraging readers to question the war itself.

This parallel was used in striking images across the GI press. An article in the *Fatigue Press* retold the story of the Sons of Liberty and their patriotic contributions to the Revolution using contemporary terminology, referring to the Minutemen as 'guerrilla forces.' The article concluded 'in 1776 we were the Vietcong.'[184] *Final Flight* similarly asked in its 'Graffetti [sic]' section, 'In 1776 who would have been the Vietcong?'[185] A full page image in *P.E.A.C.E.,* depicted an image of a Vietnamese man on horseback entitled 'The Americans Are Coming,' in a very clear allusion to Paul Revere (see Figure 4). By depicting a Vietnamese rider in the image of a hero of the American Revolution, this image defiantly equated invading Americans to the British in 1776.[186] *Short Times* used the same provocative rhetoric arguing that 'today's Establishment is the new George III' and demanded that GIs consider that

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[181] "America: To Love or To Leave," *Final Flight*, no. 3 (July/August, 1969), Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[182] "The Patriotism of Protest," *Bragg Briefs*, SNS; *David Samas Court Martial*, Floor 5, SNS (accessed 19 October 2016)
[183] *Napalm* 1, no. 3 (ca. August 1970), Reel 4, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[184] "SL Plot Exposed," *Fatigue Press,* no. 22, (ca. July 1970), Reel 2, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[185] *Final Flight*, (Jan/Feb, 1970), Reel 3, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[186] "The Americans Are Coming," *P.E.A.C.E.* 1, no. 2 (1 September 1970), Reel 5, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

'your uniform might not be British red - - but you represent the same tyranny. Which side are you on?'[187] This unsettling role reversal drew on and challenged the very core of the patriotic American narrative and encouraged GIs to reconsider their understanding of patriotism and duty in the context of the Vietnam War.

GIs took this role reversal further by explicitly painting the contemporary American government as a tyrannical power. The editorial

Figure 4: "The Americans Are Coming," printed in P.E.A.C.E (September 1970)

staff of the *Stuffed Puffin* deemed the war a waste of lives in 'an "exercise of executive discretion"' and informed GIs that 'these dangerous and provocative and unconstitutional acts must be opposed and the spirit of the American Revolution rekindled.'[188] Similarly, a 1969 issue of *Fatigue Press* argued that 'our forefathers' claimed the right to overthrow a government to provide 'new guards for their future security.' Referencing contemporary domestic events, this GI argued that 'when educators feel it better to beat students than change out-moded methods of instruction and control, when instead of protecting people police beat them while laughing inwardly, then it is time to use our right and duty to throw off such government and provide new guards for the future security of ourselves and our fellow men.'[189] GIs used both the conduct of the US in Vietnam and the domestic treatment of protestors to frame policymakers as tyrannical oppressors of freedom whose actions demanded the active dissent of patriotic citizens.

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[187] *Short Times* 3, no. 6 (1 August 1970), Reel 6, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds; See also, "A GI Witness," *The Bond* 1, no. 7 (15 September 1967), Reel 1, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[188] "1787," *Stuffed Puffin* 1, no. 1 (4 September 1970), Reel 6, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[189] "Destroy the Machine," *Fatigue Press* (ca.1969), Reel 2, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

This rhetoric became more salient after the National Guards' intervention at Kent State in 1970, which resulted in the death of four students engaged in peaceful protest. An article in *First Amendment* proclaimed that these events, 'reminds us of a similar, long forgotten page of American history…the Boston Massacre. It helped shape the American revolution.' Most importantly, this author noted, the Boston Massacre justified violent responses to 'massacres by a strong and unyielding force.'[190] In painting their obedient military service as complicity with a tyrannical force, both at home and abroad, dissident GIs sought to make active dissent the only patriotic option.

Using the imagery of the American Revolution, GIs also suggested that enduring the difficulties that accompanied protest further solidified and demonstrated one's patriotism. An editorial by Sergeant Lewis Delano, published in both *Duck Power* and *Left Face*, declared, 'we who have spoken out against the war declare our willingness to be patriots in the true historical sense of the word. Being a patriot in 1776 was not easy, nor is it today. It demands sacrifice and a willingness to bear abuse and reprehension.' If his dissent was unpatriotic, Delano suggested, 'then the American Spirit has suffered a number of degenerative changes since its inception.'[191] Similarly, a 1971 article in *Morning Report* invoked the figure of Nathan Hale, famed spy for the Continental Army whose famous words, 'I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country,' are central to American patriotic mythology. This enduring memory of Hale indicates that he was remembered and admired for 'accept[ing] those responsibilities of the true revolutionary and did not shirk those responsibilities' even when his own life was on the line. 'Revolutions are paid for in blood and agony', argued this GI, and participants must be willing to 'pay this part of the price without complaint.' The article continues by invoking the memory of Dr Benjamin Spock, GI David Harris (who served time in jail rather than the Army), and Martin Luther King. These men 'entered into revolution knowing the possible consequences…[and were willing] to accept them with dignity and honor. None of

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[190] "***," *First Amendment* (May 1970), Reel 3, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

[191] Lewis A. Delano, "No Wonder Why But to Do Or Die," *Duck Power* 2, no.1 (22 January 1970), Reel 2, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds; see also, *Left Face*! 1, no. 4 (December 1969), Reel 4, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

them screamed amnesty or in any way claimed exemption from punishment.'[192] Thus, for this writer true revolutionaries paid any price and bore any burden.

This rhetoric also intertwined with ideas around republican citizenship and hegemonic masculinity and emphasised that 'real' patriots, and 'real' men stood their ground and bravely defended national ideals. As an article in *We Got the brASS* noted, 'could you see George Washington, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, Ben Franklin and all the rest saying, "Man, this British thing's a drag – I'm splitting." Bullshit! They fought for their freedom…just like we have to do to get the brass and the politicians to end the war and start working on bringing some freedom on back home.'[193] Similarly, an 'American Housewife' expressing her support for dissident GIs in *Gigline* wrote, 'to speak out here and now requires a great deal of courage: the same sort our ancestors had in 1776. It also takes moral integrity.'[194] Daniel O'Leary further argued in *Liberty Call*, 'there is a revolution in America today…The American Serviceman must become just that; a man who does a service to America.'[195] Not only was patriotic imagery utilised to reshape ideas about patriotism, it was also put to use in tandem with ideas about masculinity to create a new vision of a patriotic manhood which embraced dissent and defending American ideals.

Perhaps to encourage indecisive or unconvinced GIs, writers also drew on the popular memory of American Revolutionary heroes to demonstrate that contemporary illegal activity could take on a radically different historical memory. For example, incarcerated GI Jimmie Higgens noted that when Americans remembered the Revolutionary War 'we judge the necessity with which the colonists fought to overthrow tyranny and establish their independence…we support that revolution because of the principles it fought for, and do not condemn them for the laws that it broke.'[196] Likewise, a GI writing in *Bragg Briefs* argued that they willingly accepted the label of traitor for they were 'secure in the knowledge that Tory sympathizers said the same things about those who demanded their freedom during the Revolution.'[197]

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[192] "The Real Revolutionary," *Morning Report* 3, no. 1 (April 1971), Reel 4, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[193] "On Jive- A discussion of some famous propaganda statements we hear all the time," *We Got the brASS*, Asian Edition, no. 1 (Fall 1969), Reel 6, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[194] "Readers Rap," *Gigline* 1, no. 4 (November 1969), Reel 36, Folder 6: Gigline, Underground Press Collection.
[195] Daniel O'Leary, "It Can Be Done Only By Us," *Liberty Call* 1, no. 4 (September 1971), Reel 4, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[196] Jimmie Higgens, "Stockade Letters," *Fragging Action* 1, no.2 (August 1971), Reel 3, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[197] "The Patriotism of Protest," *Bragg Briefs*, SNS.

As these quotes demonstrate, the GI underground press encouraged GIs to reconsider their definitions of manhood and patriotism, citizenship and duty by rooting their dissent firmly in American patriotic mythology.

Activist GIs also suggested that the nature of the military and the conduct of the Vietnam War demanded a renewal of this patriotic fighting spirit. As a poem by Chaplain John proclaimed: 'Listen closely, you proud-flag waving Americans/you will hear the Spirit of 1776.' Chaplain John continued:

> It is the new revolution, the Spirit of 1976
> Who have arisen against the present system of government,
> Joining hand in hand with their brothers in the streets,
> They angrily march against the present government
>
> Yes, you proud majority of silent Americans,
> We are disgusted with the present way of life,
> Tired of useless foreign wars, sick of poverty in the nation,
> Tired of useless discrimination against our brothers and sisters
> And tired of unjust burdens we have to bear
>
> So, we have arisen like our forefathers did long ago
> To make a new government, a just people's government[198]

Like the words of Chaplain John suggest, some GIs considered themselves patriots of a second American Revolution. They viewed their duty as securing a just America for all citizens, recognising and connecting with other groups in the struggle for equality. By drawing on the patriotic imagery and rhetoric of the American Revolution, the GI underground press placed dissent at the heart of the American story. In this iteration, dissent lay at the core of the duty of a patriotic citizen seeking to live up to the task set by America's original patriots. While not all GIs contributing to the underground press were calling for active revolution, the majority of activist GIs argued that concrete changes needed to be made in America.

Conclusion

Writing in the underground press, activist GIs reached tens of thousands of active-duty soldiers and fostered a 'profound challenge to the hegemonic narratives of war.'[199] While many papers were short-lived, they created an essential network of GIs who questioned the war. Most significantly, they challenged enduring narratives of a patriotism defined by a silent obedience to, and support of, the leaders of the nation. While many of their detractors deemed them unpatriotic, the rhetoric of rights and

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[198] Chaplain John, "Dream Of A Revolution," *Omega Press* 1, no. 6 (14 April 1972), Reel 5, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[199] Moser, *New Winter Soldiers*, 96; Bibby, *Hearts and Minds*, 172.

patriotism is plentiful throughout GI underground papers. As Lewes notes, of the 710 articles he examined for his work on the GI underground press, 224 of them invoke the Constitution or the Bill of Rights while numerous others invoked the 'unfinished work' of the Revolution.[200] Further, Moser argues that GI underground papers created a historical context for the GI movement. In doing so, they suggested that 'the proper historical perspective' for understanding the Vietnam War and public dissent was the American Revolution.[201] By looking back to the founding of the nation, GIs were able to tackle a crucial rhetorical ideal that endured through American history: the citizen-soldier.

Active-duty soldiers challenged the core tenets of the citizen-soldier in the GI press and ultimately reconfigured the relationship between their identity as a citizen and their role as a soldier. By arguing that the duties of the citizen trumped those of the soldier, they challenged demands for blind patriotism and instead contended that citizens in a democracy demonstrated their patriotism by holding the nation to its professed democratic ideals to make it the best version of itself. These efforts demanded active protest when the nation failed to live up to these ideals. Simultaneously, GIs of colour declared their inability to serve as long as they were denied the rights of citizenship. Their duty lay in protecting their communities and fighting to give them the life that they were supposed to have as equal citizens. Further, GIs criticised a military masculinity which emphasised physical strength, and instead defined masculinity as being in control of one's own actions and destiny. Faced with an unjust war, and a government drafting men to their deaths for a fight they did not necessarily agree with, contributions to GI newspapers argued that they had inherited the duty of America's initial revolutionaries. Whether rhetorical or actual, this revolution would once again force a tyrannical power to uphold its promises to its citizens, or risk being rejected completely by the populace.

The GI press, however, was only one piece of this effort. The restrictive nature of military life and the substantial risk undertaken by activists made activism consistently precarious. The GI press facilitated the process of overcoming some of these difficulties. As dissent grew, GI papers were increasingly connected with off-base, civilian-run coffeehouse or counselling centres. These civilian and GI networks were natural allies as both endeavoured to give GIs a space to develop their own

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[200] Lewes, *Protest and Survive*, 58-59.
[201] Moser, *New Winter Soldiers*, 97-98.

critique of the war and to encourage them to take whatever action they saw fit. Nevertheless, this alliance was not without its difficulties.[202] As more soldiers returned disillusioned with their experience in Vietnam, civilians increasingly viewed GIs as possible allies in the anti-war movement. As Lewis argues, 'the sustained attention of the anti-war movement to the overall problems with the war in Vietnam helped soldiers…connect their own experiences with broader criticism of the fight. This in turn enabled them to interpret their own disagreements with the war in a less isolating way.'[203] While the GI press provided one space to alleviate this isolation, civilian-run organisations played a similarly crucial role in developing GI activism. Primarily through GI coffeehouses, active-duty soldiers were able to interact directly with anti-war civilians and develop a more sustained critique of the war. In doing so, they further shook the pillars that held up the ideal of the citizen-soldier.

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[202] Rees, "A Questioning Spirit," in Cluster 150.
[203] Lewis, *Hardhats, Hippies and Hawks*, 127.

Chapter 4

'Wake Up and Smell the Coffee': GI Coffeehouses and Consciousness Raising

In the military town of Killeen, Texas, at an unassuming coffeehouse called the Oleo Strut, GIs from Fort Hood could find a respite from the rigours and rigidity of military life. The coffeehouse signalled its anti-military sentiment by repurposing the name of a helicopter's vertical shock absorber: an oleo strut. As one GI noted, they needed the coffeehouse because the army 'is such a bring-down we needed something to absorb the shock.'[1] In 1968 singer and anti-war activist Barbara Dane visited the Strut and described the scene:

> I arrived on Wednesday afternoon, to find the place already bustling. When I left on Monday, I had yet to see the place quiet. Typically, in one corner were two in a tight head shot, talking intensely, four playing cards over there, in the back room a skinny Texan painting a "psychedelic poster"…another knocking out a poem on the ancient typewriter, others lounging around with copies of everything from Avant Gard, Ramparts, Green Lantern Comics, Camus, the Austin Rag (one of the country's best underground papers) and the Guardian to the Area Handbook for South Vietnam which was published by the U.S. Government in 1967. Others are eating chocolate cake, drinking cider, and listening to folk-rock on the hi fi machine. It's easy to get down to serious talk with anyone. They are full of puzzling thoughts, unresolved conflicts, loneliness…Not one said "Gee, I miss my girl" or "Where are the chicks?" They are far too preoccupied with trying to understand that they are basically decent young people who have been asked to become murder machines.[2]

For Dane, the biggest takeaway from her visit was a newfound awareness of the discontent among GIs. 'An overburdened peace movement,' she wrote at the end of her article, 'has overlooked its natural link to the young men who really have the most reasons to want to end this war. The soldier, after all, suffers directly.'[3] As Dane's comments suggest, the soldier and civilian anti-war movements had, for the most part, evolved separately. Complicating any alliance, civilian anti-war activists often viewed soldiers as part of the corrupt System they sought to challenge and 'essentially ignored or denounced' those serving in the military.[4] Similarly, many soldiers perceived the peace movement with disdain, deeming it the complaining of otherwise privileged university students.

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[1] Barbara Dane, "The Oleo Strut," *The Guardian* (July 30, 1968), Floor 1, SNS (accessed 17 July 2017)
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Haines, "Soldiers Against the Vietnam War," in Wachsberger, 15.

In late 1967, Fred Gardner drew on his experience as a reservist to foster cooperation and understanding between civilians and soldiers. He also recognised that the civilian peace movement generally expressed such 'contempt for GIs' that the 'prevailing anti-GI ideology was actually keeping them from finding one another.'[5] As a reservist, Gardner had experienced the dual roles of soldier and civilian and was able to relate to both groups. Seeking to create a space where GIs could meet away from military oversight to exchange ideas or simply unwind, he founded the first GI coffeehouse. Called the UFO (as a play on the USO, or the official United Service Organizations), the coffeehouse was located near Fort Jackson in Columbia, South Carolina and was an attempt to 'find a way to work with the segment of our society that pays most heavily for the iron-heel foreign policy of the United States - - the soldier - - without making strident or impossible demands on him.'[6] The UFO would ultimately become the model for subsequent efforts to bring the civilian and GI anti-war movements together.[7]

Despite this important collaboration, Foley notes that historians have given only cursory treatment to cooperation between the GI and civilian anti-war movements. In particular, scholars of the GI movement tend to discuss this activism as independent of developments in the civilian movement.[8] There is a similar oversight in the literature on civilian anti-war activism.[9] Additionally, popular and historical memory tends to paint military personnel as a patriotic monolith. As David Parsons notes, the false narrative of the spat-upon veteran and 'related myths, trade on false

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[5] Fred Gardner, "Case Study in Opportunism: The GI Movement," ACC-87A-003, Box 1, Folder: GI Movement – Articles, Reports, David Cortright Papers.

[6] "Prospectus: Summer of Support," pamphlet (August 23, 1968), Box 50, Folder: Summer of Support, Social Action Vertical File.

[7] Cortright, *Soldiers in Revolt*, 53; Ernst and Baldwin, "The Not So Silent Minority," 112.

[8] Michael Foley, "Sanctuary!: A Bridge Between Civilian and GI Protest Against the Vietnam War," in *A Companion to the Vietnam War*, ed. Marilyn B. Young and Robert Buzzanco, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 417.

[9] Like the GI movement as a whole, acknowledgements of the existence of coffeehouses appear in the pioneering histories of the anti-war movement. The movement goes unmentioned in DeBenedetti's monograph and more recent scholarship including Hall's *American Patriotism and American Protest* and *Peace and Freedom* and Small, *Antiwarriors.* When mentioned in broader narratives of the anti-war movement, these works typically do not fully explore the foundations, characteristics and vital role that coffeehouses play in developing GI dissent, or highlight the agency of GIs in these coffeehouses. Instead, they are most often mentioned to highlight civilian efforts to organise undirected GI antiwar sentiment. For example,. Wells acknowledges the existence of coffeehouses and their subsequent evidence of 'peace activists stepping up their organizing in the military.' Giltin acknowledges coffeehouses even more briefly as 'the only organising work with momentum' after the decline of ERAP. See Wells, *The War Within*, 280-281; 296; Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 323.

stereotypes of both activists and soldiers, and their continued cultural currency clouds our understanding of the interaction between antiwar politics and the US military.'[10]

Through an examination of GI coffeehouses, this chapter takes up Parson's assertions that coffeehouse activism complicates enduring depictions of soldiers and anti-war civilians as hostile or antagonistic. This sentiment is echoed through other scholarly discussions of this activism. As Moser and Cortright note, coffeehouses often resulted in increased political activity among GIs and provided the structure for GI activism.[11] Similarly, activist-turned-academic Harry Haines considers the establishment of coffeehouses 'a significant development in the history of the general anti-war movement.'[12] Civilians seeking to challenge the war found support for their cause amongst those charged with fighting it, and GIs found allies in the otherwise isolating military life. This chapter explores an effort that merged the civilian and GI movements into two components of the same story. Thus, this chapter also echoes Parson's assertion that continued study of the coffeehouse movement are vital to understanding the broader narratives, direction and locations of Sixties activisms.[13]

The coffeehouse movement Gardner initiated played an important role in redefining the relationship between anti-war civilians and soldiers, and demonstrated that anti-war GIs could and would find support within the larger anti-war movement.[14] Writing in the Summer of Support Prospectus, a programme designed to open more GI coffeehouses, the civilian authors noted that the coffeehouses aimed to 'change the misconception among many people in the peace movement that the GI is the enemy or that there is no distinction between the unhappy conscript and the marine sergeant who actually enjoys burning down huts with his zippo lighter.'[15] Ultimately, the connections fostered in coffeehouses would have beneficial outcomes for both activist GIs and anti-war civilians.

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[10] David Parsons, *Dangerous Grounds: Antiwar Coffeehouses and Military Dissent in the Vietnam Era* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 2.

[11] Cortright, *Soldiers in Revolt*, 79; Moser, *New Winter Soldiers*, 99.

[12] Haines, "Soldiers Against the Vietnam War," in Wachsberger, 15.

[13] Parsons, *Dangerous Grounds*, 12.

[14] See for example, "Antiwar Coffeehouses Delight GIs, Not the Army," *New York Times* (August 12, 1968), Box 10, Folder 13: GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, 1968-1970, Fred Halstead Papers; John Davis, "Suggestions on Visiting an Army Base," *The Mobilizer* 5, no. 1 (October 25, 1969), Box 3, Folder: GI Rights, David Henderson Papers, David Rubenstein Library; Fred Halstead, "How GIs in Vietnam View the War," Box 10, Folder 2: GIs Against the War, Fred Halstead Papers.

[15] "Prospectus: Summer of Support," Social Action Vertical File.

Through these coffeehouses, civilian radical organisations played a vital role in sustaining dissent in the military and facilitated GI activism.[16] As noted previously, activist GIs faced an uphill battle organising in the military, risking legal and extra-legal punishment, punitive transfers and dishonourable discharges. The ebb and flow of transfers and discharges meant that GI organisations that were often very short lived. However, civilians, especially full-time activists, were free of these restrictions and had access to the wider resources of the national anti-Establishment movement. More importantly, the coffeehouses created a national network of civilian organisations to support GI activism. The United States Servicemen's Fund (USSF), in particular, became the primary fundraising organisation and supporter of GI coffeehouses, providing financial resources as well as educational programmes, films and materials to coffeehouses across the country.[17] Moser considered the organisation 'the financial lifeblood of the organized soldier movement.'[18] The mailing list of the USSF demonstrated the success of these efforts and demonstrated that GIs were increasingly supported by the civilian anti-war movement.[19]

The USSF was not alone in its efforts. Save Our Soldiers (SOS), the Chicago Area Military Project (CAMP), American Servicemen's Union (ASU) and the GI Office were just a few organisations founded to supply resources to the GI movement through the coffeehouses. Additionally, the Pacific Counseling Service, the GI Defense Organization and other civilian groups provided a national legal defence network to GIs [20] Most significantly, the coffeehouses solidified an emerging national consciousness for the GI movement and provided a network to circulate ideas. As Cortright suggests, the growth of civilian support resulted in a greater degree of unity and self-awareness.[21] Organisations like the USSF provided an important space of intersection between the military and civilian anti-war movements.[22]

Few scholars have studied the coffeehouse movement in detail, but those who have agree that coffeehouses played an essential, albeit often short-lived, role in the

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[16] Cortright, *Soldiers in Revolt*, 57.
[17] Cortright, *Soldiers in Revolt*, 61.
[18] Moser, *New Winter Soldiers*, 91-92.
[19] Ibid., 92; See also Hayes, "Dialectics of Resistance," 135.
[20] Waterhouse and Wizard, *Turning the Guns Around*, 132; Anderson, "The GI Movement," in Small and Hoover, 98-99; Hayes, "Dialectics of Resistance," 135; Cortright, *Soldiers in Revolt*, 61.
[21] Cortright, *Soldiers in Revolt*, 79.
[22] Moser, *New Winter Soldiers*, 92.

GI movement.[23] Both Cortright and Moser devote some time to descriptions of the nature of coffeehouses and their role in the growing GI Movement. However, Parson's 2017 monograph, *Dangerous Grounds*, provides the most extensive scholarly examination of the coffeehouse movement. His work sets out to 'consider the coffeehouse movement as a whole' and to track the development of other projects that spawned from the coffeehouses.[24] This monograph provides an extensive narrative history of three of the 'most active' coffeehouse projects and brings much needed insight into the coffeehouse movement. This chapter builds on his work by analysing the ways in which coffeehouse activists and GIs problematised existing underpinnings of the relationship between citizenship and soldiering. Specifically, it asserts that coffeehouses served as consciousness raising centres that allowed GIs to directly relate their anti-war and anti-military sentiments to broader social activist movements of the decade. Ultimately, this broader consciousness allowed them to articulate their critique of the war through the lenses of race, class and gender to create a broader critique of the relationship between war, American imperialism and militarism. Notably, Parsons' acknowledges the above themes in his own work. However by engaging with these ideas within and beyond the Oleo Strut, the Shelter Half and the UFO, this chapter moves beyond Parsons' narrative of coffeehouse activism by centring the rhetoric of individual soldiers and activists as they conceptualised their space and role in these broader conversations. In doing so, it analyses the impact that coffeehouses on reconfigurations around the relationships between citizenship, race, manhood and soldiering.

Through the civilian-GI interactions they prompted, coffeehouses brought new perspectives on questions around citizenship, duty and soldiering into the general anti-war movement and played a central role in facilitating the development of a national movement consciousness among GIs. In turn, coffeehouses became spaces for consciousness raising. While this term is often used to describe early moments of second-wave feminist activism, this chapter will explore the ways in which coffeehouses served the same goal of fostering a mass movement by highlighting the shared experiences of oppression amongst GIs. Despite the fact that these spaces were often facilitated by civilian resources, their success was ultimately shaped by the GIs

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[23] Ernst and Baldwin, "The Not So Silent Minority," 112, 116; Cortright, *Soldiers in Revolt*, 79; Ward, "The War in the Desert," 32; Lewis, *Hardhats, Hippies and Hawks*, 112.
[24] Parsons, *Dangerous Grounds*, 7.

themselves. Given the freedom to speak in coffeehouses, GIs connected their anti-war and anti-military sentiments to national conversations about the role of race, class and gender in American national identity. Coffeehouses also provided a space in which GIs could practice renegotiated performances of masculinity, racial identity and patriotism. Ultimately, GIs developed a more intricate understanding and criticism of the roles and responsibilities of the citizen and imbued the civilian anti-war movement with a new understanding an appreciation for the interconnectedness of oppressions.

As Paul Lyons writes, 'one must examine the social and political movements of the 1960s…in the context of their geographic, political and cultural environments.'[25] The majority of Army bases were located in the US South, and consequently so were many GI coffeehouses. Of the three most successful coffeehouses identified by scholars, two were located in the 'Deep South'.[26] Acknowledging the local context of these coffeehouses allows for a deeper understanding of civilian-GI interactions. By placing the region at the centre of the GI-civilian alliance exemplified by the creation of coffeehouses, this chapter will also contribute to literatures that seek to challenge traditional characterisations of the South in studies of the Sixties. Despite its centrality to the dominant narrative of Civil Rights Movement, in New Left historiography the South is most often depicted as an activist training ground abandoned by white activists in 1963 and 1964 for New Left struggles.[27] In narratives of the anti-war movement, the South is either deemed 'the bad guy', or is essentially absent.

However, scholars of the US South argue that the region must be at the centre of any comprehensive understanding of the Sixties.[28] A variety of literature tackles the concepts of Southern distinctiveness and Southern identity, and historians of the Southern 1960s recognise the particular challenges of organising in the South. This scholarship suggests that being an activist in the South was a decision with unique risks, challenges and consequences.[29] Specifically, Doug Rossinow argues activists

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[25] Paul Lyons, *The People of this Generation: The Rise and Fall of the New Left in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 2.
[26] As mentioned previously, the Oleo Strut was located in Texas and the UFO was located in South Carolina. As the most successful coffeehouses, these two, plus the Shelter Half in Washington state form the foundation of Parsons' work.
[27] Cohen, "Prophetic Minority versus Recalcitrant Majority," in Cohen and Snyder, 7, 14.
[28] Jeffrey Turner, *Sitting In and Speaking Out: Student Movements in the American South, 1960-1970* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2010), 5; Cohen, pp. 10-11
[29] Turner, *Sitting in and Speaking Out*, 2, Gregg L. Michel, *Struggle for a Better South: The Southern Student Organizing Committee, 1964-1969* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), 5-6; Rossinow, *Politics of Authenticity,* 14.

had to learn to 'speak American', which he describes as the ability to 'oppose dominant arrangements of society and politics with tools already existing in dominant political culture.'[30] The revered role of soldiers provided these tools for GIs and civilians alike to voice critiques of American society. Moreover, by examining the coffeehouse movement's role in the wider public reconsideration of the citizen-soldier, this chapter will also challenge the depiction of the South as a monolithic patriotic, pro-military bloc. This is not to say that coffeehouses did not face significant repression. On a daily basis organisers and GIs faced harassment from local citizens and military and civilian law enforcement, while some coffeehouses experienced physical violence. That said, the existence and endurance of this challenge to the citizen-soldier paradigm in the South demonstrates the widespread questioning of this traditional patriotic myth.

By visiting these establishments, GIs publicly rejected the idea that a duty of republican citizenship was being silently useful to American military efforts. The mere attendance of GIs at coffeehouses challenged the assumptions inherent to the citizen-soldier. Through the GI-civilian alliance fostered by coffeehouses, activists further asserted that performing their duty as citizens meant defending democratic ideals. In other words, military service no longer provided an avenue to perform Rousseau's civic virtue. Instead, this virtue was practised and performed through the defence and use of the privileges of American citizenship.

'USOs for Peace': The Coffeehouse Basics

While coffeehouses reflected the local base and civilian culture, at the most basic level, they were a physical space for GIs to relax and hangout off-base. Established in the towns that surrounded military bases, coffeehouses were 'first and foremost, places where GIs can escape from the ever watchful eyes of the brass.'[31] As a 1970 pamphlet on coffeehouses noted:

> it was crucial to find a way of countering the attempt of the military to isolate GIs from the "real" civilian world – a world which was and still is a serious threat to maintaining a "disciplined" army. At the coffeehouse a GI could talk to people about their experiences in Nam and their lives in the military. They could eat good food, and essentially reinstate their identity as human beings after a day of mowing lawns with razorblades for punishment, or of practicing on the rifle range where a 40 foot bill board taunts them with the orders to "kill, kill, kill."[32]

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[30] Rossinow, *Politics of Authenticity,* 14.
[31] Waterhouse and Wizard, *Turning the Guns Around*, 75; Moser, *New Winter Soldiers*, 98.
[32] Movement for a Democratic Military, "Free the Fort Ord 40,000," pamphlet, quoted in Lewis, *Hardhats, Hippies and Hawks*, 122.

They also provided an alternative to the otherwise exploitative economy of many base towns which were predominately populated by casinos, brothels and pawn shops. Coffeehouses, by contrast, provided a relaxed atmosphere where GIs could speak freely, enjoy newly released films and music, and 'congregate in an atmosphere free from military coercion and commercial exploitation.'[33] A GI in San Antonio, Texas expressed his gratitude for this relative freedom, declaring 'you're not hassled here…nobody's after your money.'[34] Coffeehouses endeavoured to construct inviting and relaxed environments with most featuring posters, music and books from contemporary youth culture. Some, but not all, even served coffee. As Larry Waterhouse notes, 'the youth culture rebellion proved to be the first real bridge between anti-war protesters and dissatisfied GIs.'[35] By focussing on the commonalities of youth culture, organisers were able to attract both activist GIs and those who would not have defined themselves as radicals, but who sought a connection to their civilian lives and enjoyments.

Many soldiers were attracted to the coffeehouse for this relaxed atmosphere and the escape from on-base life. Writing of the Oleo Strut, reporter Garvey Stone notes that military bases lacked places where GIs could 'relax, bullshit, and most importantly be treated as people, not Government Issues.'[36] By using the term Government Issue, the long form of GI, this particular speaker echoes a critique civilian activists made of the Establishment turning men into 'cogs in the machine.' In turn, the coffeehouse environment helped GIs re-engage with their individual civilian identities. Coffeehouses were most able to attract GIs by offering them this escape from military life and to alleviate feelings of isolation.[37]

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[33] "About 'About Face,'" *About Face!: The US Servicemen's Fund Newsletter*, no. 1 (March 1971) Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds, Reel 1; "Prospectus: Summer of Support," Social Action Vertical File; "Antiwar Coffee Houses Delight GIs, Not the Army," *The New York Times* (August 12, 1968) Box 10, Folder 3: GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, 1968-1970, Fred Halstead Papers.
[34] "Army Acts to Close Coffee House Where GIs Relax Off Duty and Damn the War," *New York Times*, Box 5, Folder 20: 1968 August-1972 April, United States Servicemen's Fund Records, WHS.
[35] Waterhouse and Wizard, *Turning the Guns Around*, 63.
[36] Harvey Stone, "GI Coffeehouses – Humane But Hassled," *Mid-Peninsula Observer* (ca.1968-1969), Box 2, Folder 17: Coffeehouses circa 1969, United States Servicemen's Fund Records; The term GI was initially short for 'Government Issue' and used by the logistics services of the Armed Forces to identify military kit. Over time, the term became shortened to GI, and during World War II, the term began to be used to refer to the soldiers themselves. This was solidified in popular culture by the creation of GI Joe comic strip in 1941, and further by Hasbro's distribution of their GI Joe line of children's toys.
[37] "Projects,'" *About Face!* (n.d.), Floor 1, SNS (accessed 20 February 2017); "Friends," pamphlet (December 7, 1970), Floor 4, SNS (accessed 20 February 2017); "The Underground GI Press – Pens Against the Pentagon," *Duck Power* 1, no. 4 (4 October 1969), Floor 1,

Most of the GIs who initially visited coffeehouses were not seeking outlets for their political activism. However, the casual atmosphere that Gardner emphasised also created a space for political discussions. As one GI wrote in *The Chessman*, 'the relaxed atmosphere of the UFO enables one to discuss the political and military issues relevant to us which are so often supressed by the brass…the atmosphere of the UFO is <u>real</u> freedom.'[38] However, Gardner believed that these conversations had to occur organically, and coffeehouse staff should only facilitate political activism if approached by soldiers for this purpose.

Impressed by the success of the UFO in 1968, SDS leaders Rennie Davis and Tom Hayden spearheaded the Summer of Support (SOS). Initially called 'USOs for Peace', SOS used Gardner's coffeehouse model to set up political organising centres to reach active-duty soldiers. The programme sent New Left activists into military towns to set up similar coffeehouse near large military bases with large numbers of new recruits, both trainees and draftees.[39] They argued that the already simmering dissent within the Armed Forces created a potential base ripe for directed activism. Prior to the SOS, a sustained direct relationship between the GI and civilian movement was almost non-existent. SOS participants viewed 'GI's as victims of the system rather than as willing perpetrators of it.'[40] Similarly, activist GIs saw the benefits of these civilian-run coffeehouses. In an editorial, an Sp/4 from Ft. Lewis noted, 'we GI's need the civilians to defend us…The civilians need us…to destroy that last bullshit argument that opposing the war means you're not supporting the servicemen.'[41] Recognising the uniquely oppressive restrictions of the military, civilian-run coffeehouses sought to provide support for GIs and to build relationships between like-minded GIs and the larger anti-Establishment movement.[42]

SNS (accessed 20 February 2017); "On the Need for GI Organization," *Aboveground* 1, no. 6 (February 1970), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 20 February 2017); "A New Kind of Green Machine," *Attitude Check* 1, no. 1 (1 November, 1969), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 20 February 2017)

[38] "The UFO," *The Chessman* (July 1969), Reel 1, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

[39] Robert Christgau, "Military Personnel Will Not Participate in Any Activity Having To Do With Creating A Union for Enlisted Men – Oh Yeah?" *Esquire Magazine* (August 1968), Box 2, Folder 17: Coffeehouses circa 1969, United States Servicemen's Fund Records.

[40] "Oleo Strut: GI Haven," pamphlet, Floor 4, SNS (accessed 20 February 2017); Dane, "The Oleo Strut," SNS; "The Underground Press," *Duck Power* (4 October 1969) Floor 3, SNS (accessed 20 February 2017); Hayes, "Dialectics of Resistance," 135; Ward, "The War in the Desert," 31; Harvey Stone, "GI Coffeehouses - - Humane but Hassled," *Mid Peninsula Observer*, Box 2, Folder 17: Coffeehouses circa 1969, United States Servicemen's Fund Records.

[41] Sp/4, Ft. Lewis, "We Disagree," *The Ally*, no. 16 (May 1969) Floor 3, SNS (accessed 20 February 2017)

[42] "Hands Off the Shelter Half," *Fed Up!* 1, no. 3 (16 January 1970), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 20 February 2017); "A New Kind of Green Machine," *Attitude Check* 1, no. 1. (1 November, 1969, Floor

Filled with GI and civilian underground papers and other radical literature, coffeehouses often became spaces where individual soldiers could interact with like-minded GIs and widen their critique of the war and the military by engaging in discussions or reading other movement literature.[43] Successful coffeehouses expanded to include bookstores, libraries and counselling centres. They also provided spaces for returning GIs to interact with new inductees and, in conjunction with civilian anti-war activists, discuss the implications of the Vietnam War as they saw them.[44]

Civilians in coffeehouses also took on the critical role of putting together the base's underground GI paper, providing crucial infrastructure, funding and distribution channels for GIs. Simultaneously, coffeehouses provided a space for dissident opinions that often formed the foundation of GI underground papers.[45] Thus dissident GIs could widen and deepen their radical critiques of the war by linking it to other movements. But most significantly for civilian organisers, coffeehouses allowed curious GIs to dip their toes in to growing anti-war, anti-military sentiments facilitating their efforts to radicalise more GIs. As one Fort Knox GI argued, coffeehouses were:

> dedicated to building a movement of GIs who no longer will accept being messed over in the army and being used to mess over other people around the world. The Coffee-House will be a place where a guy who has been torn away from his family and friends and put into the cesspool known as the army can get away, a place to go where people are not telling him what to do and how to do it, a place to call his own, do what he wants, LIVE…Most important, it is a place where he can get together with other guys who feel like he does and begin to change things.[46]

Increasingly, these shops became 'off-base focal points for these sustained [organising] activities with GIs participating in all programs and activities at every level.'[47] Thus, while their function and role changed over time, the basic philosophy behind the coffeehouses remained the same.

3, SNS (accessed 20 February 2017); "The Underground Press," *Duck Power*; "The Power is Ours," *Counter-Attack*, no. 1 (n.d.) Floor 3, SNS (accessed 20 February 2017); Lewis, *Hardhats, Hippies, and Hawks*, 123; "An Answer To A 'Non-Announcement,'" *Top Secret*, no. 3 (May 1969) Floor 3, SNS (accessed 20 February 2017); "Fort Knox Coffeehouse," pamphlet, (n.d.), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 20 February 2017)

[43] SOS Oakland, California, "An Exciting Career Awaits You In The…GI Movement," *SOS* (n.d.), pamphlet, Floor 3, SNS (accessed 20 February 2017)

[44] Ernst and Baldwin, "The Not So Silent Minority," 113; Haines, "Soldiers Against the Vietnam War," in Wachsberger, 3, 10.

[45] Haines, "Soldiers Against the Vietnam War," in Wachsberger, 15; Waterhouse and Wizard, *Turning the Guns Around*, 83; Moser, *New Winter Soldiers*, 98.

[46] "GI Coffee House Opens," *FTA*, no. 10 (August 1969), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 20 February 2017)

[47] SOS Oakland, California, "An Exciting Career Awaits You in the….GI Movement," SNS.

Civilian activists also recognised some of the challenges GI organising and used coffeehouses to overcome these barriers. Advertising the Summer of Support, activists noted that, once drafted, GIs were ripped from their familiar hometowns and moved to isolated military bases. Beyond that, the particular methods of military training and indoctrination led GIs to be 'isolated from each other by the promotion of racism and sexism, by the class difference between officers and enlisted men, and by fear of prison or death in Indochina.'[48] One of the first barriers civilians had to overcome was convincing GIs that their experiences were not simply their own, but the result of the powerful Establishment taking advantage of the citizenry. In his contemporary examination of the coffeehouses, Matthew Rinaldi notes, 'the service was permeated with an FTA ("Fuck the Army") consciousness…they were actively seeking a new way to understand the world around them.'[49] In this way, coffeehouses provided a space for consciousness raising groups. While GIs did not necessarily use the term 'consciousness raising', the idea that coffeehouses provided an organising base for those who sought change resonated with GIs. Similarly, civilian activists often did not use the phrase 'consciousness raising', but regularly articulated the importance of exposing GIs to and involving GIs in a larger anti-establishment discourse as their primary purpose in working at a coffeehouse.

Consciousness Raising and Coffeehouses

Consciousness raising (CR) groups are most often associated with the organising efforts of second-wave feminists who argued that individuals had unconsciously undergone a socialising process which led them to understand problems as personal, rather than reflective of systemic oppression. Developing consciousness allowed an individual to 'see how the system operated…and in doing so, envision alternatives.'[50] Conceptualised by Kathie Sarachild and Carol Hanish in 1967, CR groups became an effective tool in developing this awareness. As Debra Michal argues, 'consciousness raising referred to the notion that by coming together weekly in small groups to discuss their individual female experiences, women would not only

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[48] "An Exciting Future Awaits You in The…GI Movement," *SOS*, (n.d.), Reel 3, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

[49] Matthew Rinaldi, *The Olive-Drab Rebels: Military Organizing During the Vietnam Era*, Wars, Protests Against (Subject File #1): Civil War through Vietnamese Conflict, 1961-1975 – Protests re: US involvement in the Vietnamese conflict: marches, vigils, etc., SPC

[50] Debra Michals, "From 'Consciousness Expansion' to 'Consciousness Raising': Feminism and the Countercultural Politics of the Self," in *Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and 70's,* ed. Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle (Hoboken, NJ: Taylor and Francis, 2013), 42.

end their isolation but would also learn what they assumed to be their personal problems had broader social implications.'[51] Ultimately, these CR groups became a method of exposing women to the root of social ills in order to begin the process of rejecting the status quo and rebuilding a new social order.[52] These groups became central to the activities of radical feminists seeking a more profound change to the gender dynamics of US society. The space for discussion provided by coffeehouses played a similar role in developing GI consciousness surrounding the war, their experiences in the military and larger questions around race, gender and class. As GIs began to question these oppressions, they more deeply critiqued the lie of equal American belonging and fostered a more comprehensive rejection of traditional relationships between citizenship, duty and patriotism.

One of the first goals of CR groups was for individuals to recognise that their experiences and concerns were shared by many. When speaking of their coffeehouses, civilian organisers regularly put this among their most important priorities. Gardner noted that listening to GI complaints would help soldiers to understand that their problems were not individual but 'widespread and historical.'[53] Similarly, SOS activists noted that regular visitors to coffeehouses 'began to discover that there are soldiers with similar sensibilities and convictions…the military problems which had been perceived as individual were common to many.'[54] Importantly, this consciousness raising required the efforts of both GIs and civilians. Dane noted that coffeehouses fulfilled the need of GIs to have 'places to find and talk to like-minded guys, and to understanding civilians who can listen to their fears and confusions, help remove their sense of isolation.'[55] From these coffeehouses 'there would develop a network of organizers…whom soldiers would consider politically trustworthy – because they had a record of telling the truth about conditions.'[56] To

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[51] Michals, "From 'Consciousness Expansion' to "Consciousness Raising,"'" in Braunstein and Doyle, 44; See also, Stacey Sowards and Valerie Renegar, "The Rhetorical Functions of Consciousness-Raising in Third Wave Feminism," *Communication Studies* 55, no. 4 (Winter 2004): 535-552.
[52] Kathie Sarachild, "Consciousness Raising: A Radical Weapon," *Feminist Revolution* (1975), 144, 147-149, http://www.redstockings.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=47&Itemid=62 (accessed 26 July 2017); See also Michals, "From 'Consciousness Expansion' to "Consciousness Raising,"'" in Braunstein and Doyle, 46; Jo Reger, "Organizational 'Emotion Work' Through Consciousness-Raising: An Analysis of a Feminist Organization," *Qualitative Sociology* 27, no.2 (Summer 2004): 205-222.
[53] Fred Gardner, "Case Study in Opportunism," David Cortright Papers.
[54] "Prospectus: Summer of Support," Social Action Vertical File.
[55] Dane, "The Oleo Strut," SNS.
[56] Gardner, "Case Study in Opportunism," David Cortright Papers.

some extent, coffeehouses were effective in creating this trustworthy network of organisers. The GI underground paper *Attitude Check*, for example, was born of the civilian-GI alliance. In their first issue, GIs declared that the purpose of the coffeehouse, The Green Machine, was to establish an alliance between the anti-war movement and 'the EM snuffies' (Marine slang for Enlisted Men) against 'the brass and bacon that administer[ed] Fort America.'[57]

However, it was not just crucial for GIs to recognise these issues; they had to acknowledge that by uniting these problems might be resolved. Just as in feminist CR groups, raising an awareness of the broader implications of their experiences was only the first step. Sarachild noted, 'in consciousness raising, through shared experience, one learns…that naming what's really going on, is necessary but insufficient for making changes.' However, 'action comes when our experience is finally verified and clarified. There is a tremendous energy…generated for getting to the truth of things…Learning the truth can lead to all kinds of action and this action will lead to further truths.'[58] Soldier-turned-organiser David Cline echoed Sarachild's sentiments. He noted that in their first interactions, soldiers tended to react with an 'individualistic analysis…But then we get in there and start talking about uniting and the guys can dig it.'[59] Cline worked at the Oleo Strut, whose organisers viewed their role as guiding GIs 'past the anger and getting to a constructive thing, seeing what can be done.'[60]

Thus coffeehouse activists hoped to take these individualist analyses and turn them into a broader awareness that might lead to action. The USSF declared that the 'most important reason' for the coffeehouses 'is the desire to develop the consciousness of soldiers and the realization among them that only by talking, organizing, and standing together as a community can their common problems be solved.'[61] On the local level, civilians heading to Fort Carson in Colorado Springs noted that they aimed to create a space where men could gather 'and get a sense of their common problems and their common strengths.'[62] Organisers at the Strut in 1969 also noted that their primary goal was to give GIs the tools to organise within their

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[57] "A New Kind of Green Machine," *Attitude Check* 1, no. 1, Floor 3, SNS (accessed 23 July 2017)

[58] Sarachild, "Consciousness Raising: A Radical Weapon."

[59] "Two GIs in the Struggle," Reel 63, Folder: SDS: Pamphlets: GI Anti-War Movement, Radicalism and Reactionary Politics Collection.

[60] Ibid.

[61] United States Servicemen's Fund, "The GI Coffee Houses," ACC-87A-003, Box 1, Folder: GI Movement – Articles, Reports, David Cortright Papers.

[62] "No Vacancy for GI Coffeehouses," *Plain Rapper* 1, no. 6 (Aug/Sept 1969), Reel 18, Folder: Draft Resistance, East Lansing, MI, Radicalism and Reactionary Politics Collection.

own companies and go about 'breaking down the feeling of powerlessness so many guys have.'[63] Vitally, the coffeehouses allowed for a continuous process of consciousness raising, overcoming one of the key barriers faced by GIs – the transient nature of military life. Even as regular coffeehouse visitors were transferred off base, new recruits arrived and coffeehouse veterans could educate these newer GIs on 'where it's at.' This increased consciousness was essential to the growing interactions between GI and civilian activism.

Once GIs recognised themselves as part of an oppressed community, they were able to connect their experiences to larger discussions around class, race and gender, and to the national anti-Establishment movement more broadly. As civilian organiser Jane Maragalis said, 'our role was to feed the fire…to make [GIs] feel strong enough to take the risks involved – to be examples for the rest of the other GIs.'[64] Coffeehouse organisers relied on a variety of techniques to build on GI consciousness, with varying degrees of success. Some simply made radical literature available to GIs to explore as they pleased, or used particular forms of entertaining, usually from the growing counter-culture, to attract the more disillusioned GIs.[65] For example, the coffeehouse near Fort Riley in Kansas was decorated with posters of Joan Baez, Stokely Carmichael and Muhammad Ali.[66] With these less intrusive forms of consciousness raising, coffeehouse staff would encourage soldiers to discuss the various materials available in an effort to foster discussion.

Other coffeehouses were more direct in their approach and offered educational programmes and films that spoke to a particular issue. The Oleo Strut, for example, hosted 'Nine Days in May', 'a series of education programs dealing with social problems we face and the movements fighting for the solution.'[67] As the flyer in Figure 5 indicates, GIs visiting the Strut watched films and heard from speakers on a variety of issues that addressed many strands of New Left activism. Significantly, the majority of planned speakers were involved in relevant local activisms.

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[63] Strut Staff, "From the Coffee Houses," *New SOS News* 1, no. 2 (March 18, 1969), Reel 38, Folder 17: New SOS News (San Francisco, CA), Underground Press Collection.
[64] Jane Maragalis, "Women as GI Organizers', Box 5, Folder 13: GI Movement miscellany, 1970, United States Servicemen's Fund Records.
[65] Strut Staff, "From the Coffee Houses," *New SOS News*; United States Servicemen's Fund, "The GI Coffee Houses,"; "Covered Wagon Rolls," *Helping Hand,* no. 10 (ca. 1971), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 17 July 2017)
[66] James L. Fisher, "Soldiers Run a Pacifist Oasis," *Kansas City Star* (August 29, 1968), Box 2, Folder 17: Coffeehouses circa 1969, United States Servicemen's Fund Records.
[67] "9 Days in May," flyer, SNS (accessed 17 July 2017)

For example, Velma Roberts, a member of the Austin National Welfare Rights Organization, spoke during the 'Capitalism vs. the People' programme, while a Chicana militant from Austin, Marianne Hernandez, spoke during the 'Latinos' programme. Thus, this series of programmes allowed GIs to interact directly with broader issues tackled by national movements, but also to engage with the issues from a local perspective.

The Strut's staff consistently and explicitly highlighted consciousness raising in their aims. In their eyes, the Strut had four key roles: education through literature, speakers and films, 'to agitate around specific issues, raising consciousness around those issues', develop basic concepts for organising, and provide a resource centre for GIs.[68] The USSF notes 'the primary political functions of coffee houses are educating GIs about the war and the nature of

Figure 5: '9 Days in May' Flyer, showing the diversity of programmes offered by the Oleo Strut. Accessed from Sir No Sir! Digital Archive, Floor 4.

American society, bringing together GIs who are opposed or become opposed to the war and the brass and helping them form more cohesive political organizations.'[69] These activities were meant to foster discussion among GIs and these became 'a
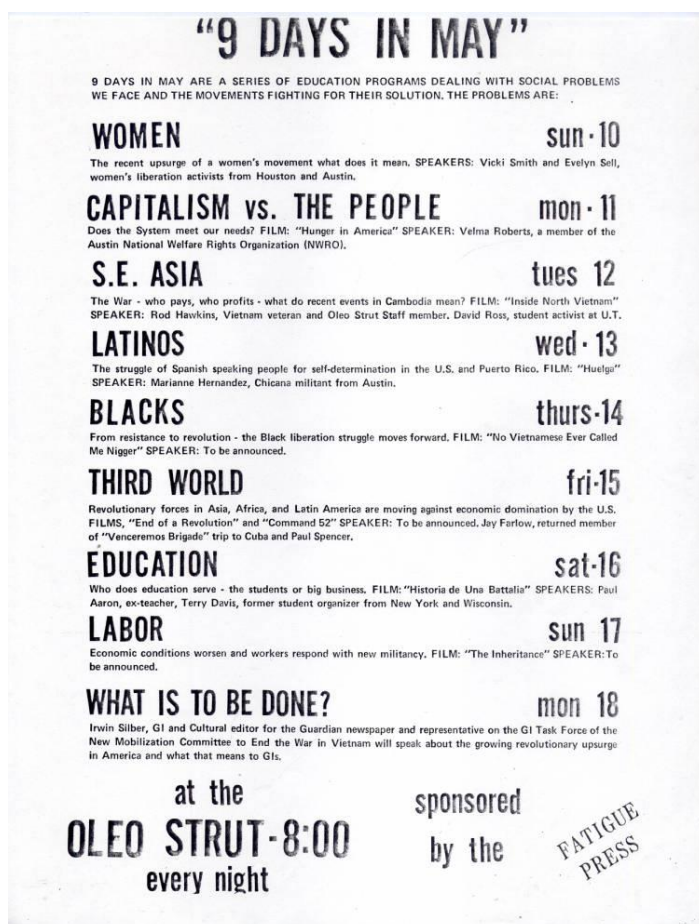
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[68] "From the Strut," *GI News and Discussion Bulletin*, no. 8 (August 1971), Reel 3, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[69] United States Servicemen's Fund, "The GI Coffee Houses," David Cortright Papers.

means through which soldiers can discover how many of their colleagues share their frustrations and convictions.'[70]

However, they did not just raise the consciousness of soldiers on a local level. By providing important links to the larger anti-Establishment movement, organisers encouraged GIs to explore those issues most relevant to them as discussions developed.   As the USSF noted, through these discussions 'soldiers learn to relate their own predicament with those of other oppressed elements in American society.'[71] Coffeehouse activists hoped that this expanded consciousness would get GIs involved in organising both while on active-duty, and after soldiers were discharged. Activists at the Shelter Half coffeehouse believed that their primary purpose was to provide a space where GIs could be exposed to and work on anti-military activism and continue to work and develop when they moved on from Fort Lewis.[72]   Similarly, Oleo Strut activist Mike Keegan argued coffeehouses would be most valuable in creating GI activists who could continue to work in the civilian movement once they were discharged.[73]   Writing in *The Mobilizer*, newspaper of the National Mobilization Movement Against the War in Vietnam, Donna Michelson noted that there was 'nothing more revolutionary than showing [soldiers] that they're conscripts, brothers, victims - - and citizens who still have rights and a role and a voice.'[74]   These activists invoked a duty of citizenship which challenged the military's expectation of dutiful obedience. In doing so, they built on ideas within the GI press that made active citizenship central to conceptions of patriotic duty, even if that meant dissent.

Activists recognised that the diverse experiences and backgrounds of GIs created the opportunity to get them involved in multiple efforts.[75] Since the rigid discipline and inequitable power distribution of the military created problems for all enlisted men, activists at the FTA Project near Fort Knox noted that many 'have seen

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[70] Ibid.; See also, "Coffeehouse Achieves Goal of Getting People Together," (October 13, 1968), Box 2, Folder 17: Coffeehouses circa 1969, United States Servicemen's Fund Records; Christgau, "Military Personnel Will Not Participate," United States Servicemen's Fund Records.

[71] United States Servicemen's Fund, "GI Coffee Houses," Box 2, Folder 17: Coffeehouses circa 1969, United States Servicemen's Fund Records.

[72] "Paper By the Shelter Half Collective," ACC75A-105, Box 1, Folder: Project Description Internal, David Cortright Papers.

[73] "Oleo Strut: Ft. Hood GI Haven," Floor 3, SNS (accessed 27 July 2017)

[74] Donna Michelson, "GI Coffee Houses," *The Mobilizer* 5, no. 1 (October 25, 1969), Box 3, Folder: GI Rights, David Henderson Papers.

[75] "GI News and Discussion Bulletin: Conference '71," no. 10 (January 1972), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 27 July 2017)

the connection between their problems and the way that other groups are oppressed.'[76] This awareness, they noted had fostered discussions around gay liberation, feminist activism and black liberation.[77] Thus civilian activists sought to expose GIs to as many relevant movement discourses as possible. Cortright argued in 1971 that involvement with coffeehouses were expanding GIs' anti-war critiques and allowed them 'to see their activity in terms of long-range revolutionary struggle to end the economic and social structures which permit war, racism and poverty.'[78] Through the coffeehouses, GIs expanded their critique to relate their anti-war, anti-military sentiments to class, gender and racial issues to make sense of their own personal experience and provided the foundation for a more comprehensive critique of American citizenship and society. In doing so, they further highlighted the inequities of American belonging and continued to redefine patriotic duty as one that ensured that the nation lived by its professed ideals.

Class, Gender and Race: Consciousness Raising and Activism Among GIs

As well as organising around ending the war, discussions and education around class issues helped overcome existing obstacles to GI-civilian interactions. A significant cause of the previous lack of cooperation between GIs and civilians were the perceptions each group held of one another. Previous scholarship has explored the class tensions between the anti-war movement and the general public. Speaking of the anti-war movement more broadly, Simon Hall argues that, 'by engaging in militant tactics that were unpopular with many Americans the antiwar movement actually helped to discredit opposition to the war.'[79] Soldiers in particular took issue with many anti-war protestors. As Christian Appy notes, the anti-war movement was viewed as essentially middle class, made up of those who had the economic privilege to attend college and avoid service in Vietnam; 'when college students protested the war, many soldiers took it as a personal assault, a social snubbing by those who perceived

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[76] "FTA Project Report," ACC75A-105, Box 1, Folder: Project Description Internal, David Cortright Papers.

[76] David Cortright, "The Greening of the Green," *Liberation* (Spring 1971), CDGA Collective Box: Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Inc., Folder: Vietnam Veterans Against the War Inc. – Reference Material, David Cortright Papers.

[77] "FTA Project Report," ACC75A-105, Box 1, Folder: Project Description Internal, David Cortright Papers.

[78] Cortright, "The Greening of the Green," David Cortright Papers.

[79] Simon Hall, *Rethinking the American Anti-War Movement* (Oxford: Routledge, 2011), 137.

themselves intellectually and morally superior.'[80] Appy also notes that civilian protestors were quick to critique the military as a whole, and not distinguish between gung-ho military 'lifers' and dissident or apathetic enlisted men.[81] Coffeehouse organisers recognised this division as well and sought to breakdown these class-based barriers.[82] Thus civilian anti-war activists rightly viewed coffeehouses as venues not only to expose GIs to class issues, but also to breakdown class-related barriers between the civilian and GI anti-war movements.

Discussions around class oppression provided a particularly direct way to relate to GIs. While few GIs were well versed in the literatures surrounding Marxist ideas about class and class consciousness, the GI underground press had established a classed rhetoric of its own. Reflecting the particular nature of military life, contibutors pitted the daily suffering and injustice experienced by Enlisted Men (EMs) against the military elite who were derisively referred to as 'The Brass'. Sp/5 Jim Goodman captured the enduring tensions between EMs and the brass, noting in a letter to the civilian underground paper *The Great Speckled Bird*, 'so long as there are general and colonels and captains there will be a contradiction between them and the EM…So long as the most unpopular war in US history – the war in Vietnam – continues, and so long as class divisions in the Army exist, there will be a GI Movement.'[83] Similarly, the writers of *Fall In At Ease* noted, 'what is really happening is the brass has more privileges than everyone else put together. And the businessmen the military is protecting all over the world have the most privileges of all.'[84] By coming together, GIs believed they could counter this oppression. As the staff of *The Last Harass* noted, 'GIs who stand alone are screwed easily! Support from other GIs has saved many a soldier from quietly being messed over by the brass.'[85] Once a GI visited the coffeehouse, civilian activists were able to draw on a pre-existing discourse

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[80] Appy, *Working Class War*, 220-221; See also Lewis, *Hardhats, Hippies and Hawks*, 127; "Two GIs in the Struggle," Radicalism and Reactionary Politics Collection.
[81] Appy, *Working Class War*, 305.
[82] Barry Cunningham, "Dissent in the Army – The Coffeehouses," *New York Post* (January 28, 1970), Box 1, Folder 10: Administration Correspondence – Support Our Soldiers, United States Servicemen's Fund Records; Rinaldi, *The Olive-Drab Rebels*Wars, Protests Against (Subject File #1): Civil War through Vietnamese Conflict, 1961-1975; Hayes, "Dialectics of Resistance," 135.
[83] Jim Goodman, "Letter from an Anti War GI," *The Great Speckled Bird* (August 24, 1970), Folder 3: GI Protests, Vietnam War Protest Collection.
[84] "Who Gets Over the Most? (The Brass!)," *Fall In At Ease*, special issue: Racism in the Military (circa 1972), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 11 August 2017)
[85] "The Army is Out to Get You!" *The Last Harass*, no. 1, (n.d.), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 11 August 2017)

of officers v. EMs from the GI papers to get the individual to consider the larger implications of their experiences to begin the process of consciousness raising.

Thus coffeehouse activists, and the civilian movement groups that supported their efforts, drew on this existing articulation of 'class struggle' to widen GIs' perspectives. The civilian group Support Our Soldiers declared, 'our work…will be increasingly centered around the material conditions of GI life. But as we participate in helping to lead the daily struggles of GIs we will attempt to build the understanding that the GI struggle is part of two larger and connected struggles on the outside: the struggle of the working class as a whole…and the struggle of black and brown people against national oppression.'[86] Given that most coffeehouses were staffed by middle class, educated activists, it is perhaps unsurprising that, initially, the coffeehouses attracted similarly privileged GIs.

Through the coffeehouses, economically privileged GIs were increasingly able relate their experiences in the military to the concerns of working class Americans. Robert Christgau, writing for *Esquire Magazine* in 1968, noted that the Army is one of the few places where men of all backgrounds came together. This experience of Army life, 'brings the middle class issue – the morality of the war – home to the working class kid, [and] it brings the working class issue – the day-to-day unpleasantness of laboring to an autocratic boss – home to the middle class kid.'[87] Thus coffeehouses provided an essential space for increasing the class consciousness of middle class GIs. As coffeehouses guided GIs to widening their critique of their individual experiences, coffeehouses increasingly attracted more working class GIs, further encouraging conversations around lived experiences of class oppressions between working class and middle class GIs.[88]

An increased class consciousness also linked GIs to activisms that critiqued imperialism and capitalism. As USSF activist Doug LaFrenier noted, 'struggles around living or working conditions (but primarily around basic democratic rights) have a direct, tangible effect on the "big stick" of imperialism, and "anti-imperialist"

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[86] "SOS Newsletter-Strategy and Tactics for GI Organizing," discussion draft, Floor 4, SNS (accessed 27 July 2017)

[87] Christgau, "Military Personnel Will Not Participate," United States Servicemen's Fund Records.

[88] Sue Devlin, "Coffee Houses for Ideas," *World Magazine* (March 14, 1970), Box 1, Folder 10 – Administration Correspondence - - Support Our Soldiers 1970-Jan 1972, United States Servicemen's Fund Records; "GI News and Discussion Bulletin: Conference '71," SNS.

or anti-war struggles provide direct lessons to elements of the US working class.'[89] Notably, LaFrenier connected struggles around working conditions to struggles around basic democratic rights theoretically entitled to all citizens. In this context, GIs could craft a more expansive critique of the citizen-soldier's role in 'defending democracy' when much of the working class was still seeking these basic rights. Thus, some GIs spoke of themselves, not as defenders of American democracy against outside invaders, but as defender of those who struggled to enjoy the privileges of democratic citizenship. In 1969 GI Charles Hightower declared, 'I know that this system of dog-eat-dog expects a person such as me (white), who was able to get a little college, to step on my brother to get ahead. But I don't seek to escape from my class. I cannot do this. I must stand with my class who are oppressed.'[90] Class, then, provided one avenue into a more extensive critique of what sort of democracy the citizen-soldier should defend and fight for. This consciousness raising also led GIs to relate their military experiences to other conversations and to explore the oppressions experienced as a result of one's race or gender.

In particular, coffeehouses provided a space for GIs to connect with the growing women's movement and broaden their critique of gendered expectations.[91] Through interactions with feminists, military dependents (most often the wives of soldiers), and WACs (women serving in the Women's Army Corps), GIs further developed their critique of a military masculinity rooted in physical dominance and violence. As Stur notes, coffeehouses 'helped GIs view their struggle against the Vietnam War as part of a larger struggle against the oppression of mainstream American power symbolized by sexist expressions of masculinity.'[92] Soldiers had already made profound challenges to military masculinity through the GI press, and coffeehouse activists sought to build on these efforts. A 1969 report on the coffeehouse movement noted that, while the military discouraged 'real manhood' – characterised by a sense of dignity, individuality and self-expression – the coffeehouses could provide this to soldiers. 'Our message', notes this report, 'is that

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[89] Doug LaFrenier, "Some Thoughts on the Future Role of USSF," Box 2, Folder 10: Reports and Position Papers, United States Servicemen's Fund Records.
[90] Charles Hightower, "GI Conference November 13 To Put Brass on Trial" (20 September 1969), Floor 4, SNS (accessed 27 July 2017).
[91] Stur, *Beyond Combat*, 192, Moser, *New Winter Soldiers*, 99-100.
[92] Stur, *Beyond Combat*, 192-193; see also Parsons, *Dangerous Grounds*, 5-6.

they are still Americans and part of the human community who can think, act, speak and feel for themselves.'[93]

Coffeehouses also provided the opportunity to interact with military and non-military women. Despite many activist GIs' rejection of the overtly violent aspects of military masculinity, women working in coffeehouses often found this experience challenging, as many GIs initially disregarded the ideas of women, or viewed them as 'easy pick-ups.'[94] One civilian organiser argued that the coffeehouse actually exacerbated the stereotypical ways that men and women were supposed to interact as women ended up serving the coffee and providing emotional support to soldiers.[95]

However, organisers argued that informed feminists could expose the dehumanising, hypermasculinist nature of military psychology by utilising the rhetoric of women's liberation.[96] The USSF in particular encouraged women to work as GI organisers, and these women became vital in helping GIs understand their own struggles in the language of gendered oppression.[97] This manifested itself, not as a direct engagement with feminist activism, but in a reconsideration of gender roles and gendered performances. Stur notes that those anti-war GIs who visited coffeehouses were more likely to reject traditional military masculinity.[98] For example, one GI in a rap session (the military term for a CR meeting) lamented his experiences in Vietnam and declared, 'they told me if I did this stuff I was a MAN.'[99] His participation in this rap group suggests he rejected a definition of masculinity based on violence or physical dominance. In doing so, this GI was practicing a renegotiated masculinity in the context of the citizen-soldier. Interactions with feminist activists gave GIs a more diverse language with which to critique the traditional masculinity of the citizen-soldier. Indeed, GIs began to explore the ways that the military used gendered language to maintain control. A working group at the 1971 conference between GI and civilian organisers tackled the ways in which the military used sexism to exert control and dominance; notably, this group consisted exclusively of men. They concluded that the Brass' use of sexism divided GIs from their female counterparts

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[93] "SOS: The GI Coffeehouses, where they came from, where they're going," Box 10, Folder 5: GIs Against the War, 1969, Fred Halstead Papers.
[94] Maragalis, "Women As GI Organizers," United States Servicemen's Fund Records.
[95] Ibid.
[96] "On GI-Civilian Solidarity," ACC75A-105, Box 2, Folder: GI Solidarity, David Cortright Papers; Parsons, *Dangerous Grounds*, 5.
[97] Moser, *New Winter Soldiers*, 100; Parsons, *Dangerous Grounds*, 5.
[98] Stur, *Beyond Combat*, 193.
[99] "Viet Vets Rap," *The Sheet* (March 1970), Reel 25, Folder: High School Underground Press, Radicalism and Reactionary Politics Collection.

and obscured the real enemy of the EM as that sexism inaccurately encouraged ideas of male superiority. This reality allowed the Brass to solidify the tenets of military masculinity that many GIs sought to eliminate. They noted that, 'we must encourage men to discuss sexism, how it is used as a control device by the Brass; we must educate men not to view our struggle against sexism as a threat to them but as an incorrect idea holding our struggle back.'[100] Through interactions at coffeehouses, GIs became increasingly aware that the military intentionally emphasised class, gender and racial divisions as methods of control. By suggesting the military was a barrier to equality and freedom, they problematized ideas about manhood and duty exemplified by the citizen-soldier.

In a reciprocal exchange of ideas, civilian women drew on GI experiences to deepen their understanding of sexism. One WAC, writing in the underground paper *Right-On Post*, declared, 'the enemy of women's liberation is the same enemy that GIs in [the Movement for a Democratic Military (MDM)] are fighting against because they don't want to be sent to Vietnam or into their own cities to fight and kill people that are fighting for their own freedom…Together is the only way that we are going to defeat the pig system.'[101] Coffeehouse organisers of both genders acknowledged that the experiences faced by women could be used to raise the consciousness of GIs.[102] Jane Maragalis noted that a strong feminist movement could alter the nature of the male-dominated GI movement by introducing GIs to women's issues. Moreover, issues around gender could illuminate understandings of other identity-based oppressions. Maragalis highlighted the number of women who served, despite the lack of the threat from the draft, and argued that GIs could be exposed to class issues as most women enlisted out of economic necessity.[103] By linking these issues, GIs could further recognise the relationship between their military experiences and the struggles of civilian life.

By facilitating exposure to broader conversations about gender, oppressions and hegemonic masculinity, coffeehouse activists could expand GIs critiques of their role as defenders of democratic freedoms reflected in the citizen-soldier ideal. While women were placed outside of early incarnations of this ideal, the presence of WACs

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[100] "GI News and Discussion Bulletin: Conference '71," SNS.
[101] "Sisters in Struggle," *Right-On Post* 1, no. 3 (July 10, 1970), Reel 5, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[102] Parsons, *Dangerous Grounds*, 5-6.
[103] Maragalis, "Women As GI Organizers," United States Servicemen's Fund Records.

and their experiences of oppression complicated the idea that those who served their country received the benefits of democratic citizenship. Moreover, through these coffeehouse interactions, GIs increasingly viewed women as allies in their activism against a broader system of oppression. As an article in *Right-On Post* noted:

> It isn't GIs then, or the men in the movement that are the enemy of women's liberation. The enemy of women's liberation is the same enemy that GIs in MDM are fighting against because they don't want to be sent to Vietnam or into their own cities to fight and kill people that are fighting for their own freedom. The same pig system that channels third world and white working people into shit jobs channels women into being house slaves or sex objects. Together is the only way that we are going to defeat the pig system. One of the ways that we are going to get together and stay that way is to help each other struggle over the things like sexism and racism that divide us.[104]

Coffeehouses provided this vital space for GIs to 'get together' with civilians. The quotation also demonstrates that by getting together, organisers could link struggles around sexism to struggles around racism. GI and civilian activists collectively noted in a mutual statement 'when broads become women, so too do gooks become people.'[105] Similarly, while reminiscing on his interactions at a local coffeehouse, black GI Greg Payton recalled, 'a light went off in my head, and I said, wow, a gook is the same thing as a nigger.'[106] Thus, the experiences and language of the Vietnam War could provide a consciousness raising tool around the relationship between racial and gender oppressions.

Like the larger anti-war movement, coffeehouse activists sought to create a broad, anti-war, multiracial alliance. Activist civilians realised that racial issues highlighted the inequities of American citizenship and was a major impetus for GI activism on base.[107] Despite grand plans for a multiracial alliance of anti-war GIs, coffeehouse organisers often replicated the racial tensions present within the larger anti-war movement. Echoing issues on the national level, coffeehouse organisers struggled to genuinely relate to black GIs as their organising around racial issues were 'conceptualized as moral issues rather than issues of the real oppression of blacks…by the ruling class.'[108] Furthermore, coffeehouse staffs were mostly white, and as such could only speak of racial oppression from a theoretical perspective, and thus, struggled to attract GIs of colour, who often set up their own rap groups and

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[104] "Sisters in Struggle," SNS.
[105] "On GI-Civilian Solidarity," David Cortright Papers.
[106] *Sir No Sir!*, DVD, directed by David Zeiger (Los Angeles: Displaced Films, 2005)
[107] Parsons, *Dangerous Grounds*, 4.
[108] "Letter from the Fort Knox Collective," *New SOS News* (December 5, 1969), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 28 July 2017)
[108] *Sir No Sir!*, DVD.

organisations.[109] These groups occasionally used the coffeehouse as a gathering place for their discussions and in these instances coffeehouses were eager to serve as resource centres.[110] However, coffeehouse collectives increasingly recognised that while they might not be successful in directly organising GIs of colour, they could perform an important function of connecting racial issues to GIs' experiences in the military for their mostly white audience.

Civilian organisers recognised the military's use of racism and racist rhetoric to divide GIs and prevent them from uniting against the Brass. Highlighting the military's use of racism also spoke to the interconnectedness of the war, racism and the daily oppressions of military life. Coffeehouse organisers emphasised these relationships to raise the consciousness of GIs around the broader culture of oppression fostered by the system. The OM Collective, for example, declared that 'if white organizers accomplish little else, they should at least help turn the aggressions of enslaved white GIs away from the scapegoats of race and nationality.'[111] This could be achieved by showing GIs who profited from the war, emphasising how both the Vietnamese and GIs suffer as a result and by 'relating external aggression inside the military and inside the US. We're all niggers; we're all Vietcong; we're all oppressed.'[112] Similarly, Cline argued that GIs were already aware of the divisions between enlisted men and officers, and it was relatively straightforward to inject discussions of racial oppression into these conversations. In an interview he noted:

> when you start rapping with [white GIs] you can see what racism is. You can really see it 'cause the same dude is fucking with everybody…A lot of GIs start being conscious and they think about it. Say you get fucked with and you start thinking about why there is that race hatred and then you see who's injecting it into the thing is the officers.[113]

In this way, coffeehouse activists drew again on pre-existing conversations about tensions between the Brass and EMs to increase the consciousness of GIs about the realities and impact of racism on their lives. As civilian activists struggled to foster the

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[109] "An Exciting Career Awaits You In The…GI Movement," SNS; David Zeiger, *History of the Oleo Strut Coffeehouse* (August 1972), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 28 July 2017); "Fort Hood: Development of a Movement," *The Ally*, no. 12, Floor 1, SNS (accessed 28 July 2017)

[110] "Army Acts to Close Coast Coffee House Where GIs Relax Off Duty in Damn the War," *New York Times* (April 1972), Box 5, Folder 20: 1968 August-1972 April, United States Servicemen's Fund Records; "GI Coffee Houses," *USSF Newsletter*, Box 2, Folder 17: Coffeehouses circa 1969, United States Servicemen's Fund Records; "New Black Unity," *Fatigue Press*, no. 25 (November 1971), Reel 2, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds; LaFrenier, "Some Thoughts on the Future Role of the USSF," United States Servicemen's Fund Records; *Pentagon GI Coffeehouse Newsletter*, Floor 3, SNS (accessed 28 July 2017); "Report from the Oleo Strut," *New SOS News* 1, no. 4 (July 27, 1969) Floor 3, SNS (accessed 28 July 2017)

[111] The OM Collective, *The Organizers Manual* (1971), Floor 4, SNS (accessed 28 July 2017)

[112] Ibid.

[113] "Two GIs in the Struggle," Radicalism and Reactionary Politics Collection.

multiracial coalitions they initially desired, many shifted their focus to consciousness raising among white GIs.

This was all the more vital as the concurrent rise in Black Power rhetoric meant that, 'the consciousness of the mass of black GIs was generally higher than the consciousness of white GIs.'[114] Organisers across the network noted that Black GIs were often the most politically active GIs on base. Thus, white GIs and civilian coffeehouse activists sought to develop programmes which raised the consciousness of their less politicized peers.[115] This racial consciousness was perceived as vital to getting GIs to more fully understand their oppression within the military, and the larger issues being addressed by the anti-Establishment movement. For example, the MDM, based primarily on West Coast military bases, mounted one of the more successful efforts in multiracial organising. However, in explaining their dissolution in 1970, they noted that 'we are all struggling to reach the same goals, but we each have to organize our own people first.'[116] Similarly, in 1969 the Oleo Strut's staff noted that their primary role was 'continuing to talk to white guys 'on a one to one basis' who might be put off by black power rhetoric and organising around racial issues.[117] By rapping with white GIs, coffeehouse activists began to raise the consciousness of these men. Once the awareness of these GIs was expanded, coffeehouses audiences could begin to 'deal with racism on the level of practice instead of the bullshit moral level.'[118] Ultimately, coffeehouse activists used the presence of persistent racism to critique both the military and American society as a whole. As GI and civilians meeting at the 1971 national GI conference noted, 'the issue of American racism seems clearly to extend into American national chauvinism as well.'[119] Accordingly, consciousness raising around racial issues raised broader questions about the inequitable experiences of American belonging, the duty of citizens and soldiers, and American imperialism.

The issue of riot control proved particularly useful in consciousness raising around issues of race. Moreover, it provided the foundation to question the

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[114] Rinaldi, *The Olive-Drab Rebels*, SPC; *Pentagon GI Coffeehouse Newsletter* (ca. 1970)

[115] Ibid.; See also The Oleo Strut Collective, "Riot Control – Hell No!" Floor 3, SNS (accessed 27 July 2017)

[116] "The Reason MDM Separated," *Black Unity*, no. 1 (ca. late 1970), Floor 1, SNS (accessed 27 July 2017)

[117] "Report from the Oleo Strut," *New SOS News* 1, no. 4 (July 27, 1969), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 27 July 2017)

[118] "Letter from the Green Machine Staff," *New SOS News* (November 1969), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 27 July 2017)

[119] "GI News and Discussion Bulletin: Conference '71," SNS.

relationship between citizenship and soldiering. In response to the spread of race riots in the mid-1960s, the US Army crafted a Civil Disturbance plan, more commonly known to soldiers as Operation Garden Plot. This allowed for the deployment of federal forces to restore and maintain law and order in any state. As Vietnam returnees were required to work for the remainder of their enlistment, they were retrained for riot control within the United States. The plan specifically noted that these disturbances were likely to occur in situations of racial unrest or 'dissatisfaction with national policy as manifested in the anti-draft and anti-Vietnam demonstrations.'[120]

Fort Hood in Killeen, Texas was one of the first bases to undergo this riot control training as the base was primarily populated by Vietnam veterans. Coffeehouse organisers recognised this training provided important opportunities for consciousness raising and uniting GIs. First and foremost, riot control training made previously intellectual conversations about race and racial oppression suddenly have concrete implications. This allowed GIs to make direct links between racial issues and their own experiences of oppression in the military. The first instance of resistance came when 43 black GIs refused to ship out for riot control duty at the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago. The Fort Hood 43, as they came to be known, refused to '"go to Chicago or any place in the United States to put down a civil disturbance or riot by our black brothers."'[121] Many GIs, black and white, had already expressed an extreme dislike for the training. As Cline noted, 'no one wanted to go out and fight Americans, and especially after we just got done fighting the Vietnamese.'[122] In a testament to the potential impact of coffeehouses, GIs turned to the Oleo Strut to guide and support organising around this issue. As Cline further recalled, the Strut facilitated an 'awareness of and ties with what's going on outside. If there weren't any riots, the guys here wouldn't be moving around the issue of riot control.'[123]

Significantly, Strut organisers acknowledged the importance of developing a critical racial consciousness in organising white GIs, and were one of the few

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[120] "US Department of the Army Civil Disturbance Plan 'Garden Plot,'" 10 September 1968, https://nsarchive.files.wordpress.com/2010/09/garden-plot.pdf (accessed 6 June 2018); While a wordpress blog could be a problematic source, upon examination, the source does appear to be authentic and is accompanied by a FOIA request by another website.
[121] "Ft. Hood Strike," *Vietnam GI* (September 1968), Floor 1, SNS (accessed 27 July 2017)
[122] Interview with David Cline, video recording, undated, VHB 309, David Cline Papers, WHS.
[123] "Strut Staff Raps," *Space City News* (ca. 1969), Floor 1, SNS (accessed 27 July 2017)

coffeehouses to do so in a very transparent and intentional manner. Subsequently, the GI Spring Offensive Committee (GI-SOC) was organised at the Strut 'to build from that gut-level resentment' of riot control 'an anti-racist, anti-imperialist movement', which sought to 'elevate the militancy and consciousness of white GI's to a level [of racial consciousness and institutional racism] compatible with the sentiment of blacks.'[124] Strut organisers also encouraged GIs to ask political questions in their riot control training classes to demonstrate how GIs were being used by the system in the hopes of politicising other GIs. This remained a central component of discussion around riot control at the Strut and in the *Fatigue Press*. Following a riot control deployment at UC Berkeley, *The Fatigue Press* noted that white GIs needed to 'wake up' and realise 'how we as GIs are being used to oppress other people, in Nam and in the States.'[125] Organising around this issue drew on an existing widespread questioning of the war and permitted GIs to connect to numerous movements including the anti-war movement, the Black Power movement and the anti-imperialist activism.

This consciousness also raised questions about the nature of American citizenship and prompted many GIs to reconsider the duty of the soldier. In 1969, a white GI named Richard Chase became involved in organising at the Strut, and helped publish *The Fatigue Press*. Despite being a registered conscientious objector, he was given punitive orders to partake in riot control training as a consequence of his organising efforts. He refused and declared that riot control supressed the legitimate protests of black Americans.[126] Chase's rejection of riot control training encouraged GIs to consider the relationship between the demands of protestors, protestors' rights as citizens, and their personal role as a soldier and as a citizen. GIs writing in the *Fatigue Press* also noted that it was not in the interest of the GI to 'play the part of policeman in the US.'[127] For these GIs, riot control was the Vietnam War brought into a domestic context. By considering riot control training in this fashion, GIs further questioned the dutiful obedience embodied by the citizen-soldier ideal as they were being asked to fight within the nation's borders and against fellow citizens. Reflecting the heavy-handed treatment of civilian protestors, one GI quipped, 'We may end up

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[124] The Oleo Strut Collective, "Riot Control – Hell No!," SNS.
[125] "National Guard in Occupied Berkeley," *Fatigue Press,* no. 15, Reel 2, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[126] "Free All Political Prisoners," *Left Face* (ca. 1969), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 27 July 2017)
[127] "Bringing the War Home," *Fatigue Press*, Reel 2, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

drafting men to fight – not in the Nam, but in Atlanta, Chicago, New York and LA.'[128] As many anti-war GIs already questioned their role in Vietnam as bringers of freedom, riot control led GIs to question what freedom and citizenship meant in America and to them as soldiers.

Riot control training also provided a concrete moment in which GIs could apply their expanded consciousness to an issue that intertwined class and racial issues with questions about the relationship between citizenship and soldiering. As one Fort Hood GI put it:

> I came back from Vietnam and don't feel like putting up with that old bullshit [of riot control]…They're my people out there an officer who's instructing a class gets up there and says forget you're black or white, you're Army and have responsibilities…I wouldn't expect you to go out and fight your family and friends 'cause the Army told you to.[129]

Soldiers had to decide if their dutiful service extended to removing citizenship privileges, such as the right to protest from other Americans. Ostensibly, the citizen-soldier defended the nation to secure the democratic freedoms of its citizens. However, the use of soldiers in American communities to quell protests further contradicted the public-facing message that young men were needed to serve to defend American freedoms. 'We must realize', wrote Oleo Strut activists, 'that by putting down ghetto rebellions, we are denying freedom to black people.'[130] By providing a space for consciousness raising, coffeehouses were able to facilitate and expand GIs critique of the military and American society. Collectives linked concrete experiences to ideas about citizenship and various oppressions faced by individuals across American society. Ultimately, this laid the groundwork for a national protest that intertwined and reflected an increased consciousness around the relationship between military, class, race and gender oppressions, which in turn contributed to a profound reconsideration of what the role of a soldier should be in 1960s America.

The Oleo Strut: A Case Study of Consciousness Raising

The Oleo Strut was arguably the most successful coffeehouse, unmatched in the numbers of soldiers involved and the breadth of political issues they addressed and tactics they utilised.[131] The coffeehouse opened in June 1968 during the Summer of

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[128] "War in the States," *Vietnam GI* (April 1968), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 27 July 2017)
[129] "Interview at Fort Hood," *The Ally*, no. 11, Floor 3, SNS (accessed 27 July 2017)
[130] "Black Power vs. 'Riot' Control," *The Fatigue Press*, Reel 2, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[131] Cortright, *Soldiers in Revolt*, 83.

Support to serve GIs at Fort Hood.[132] Its goal was to create a place for GIs to 'get away from the harassment, talk about the war, and have some direct contact with the movement in Texas and the rest of the country', and to explore turning 'his feelings into actions.' It also served as a 'resource place' where GIs could 'get the latest information and other reading material to help them with organizing at the base.'[133] It attracted the support of GIs, students, and community members, and provided the space for GIs to publish *The Fatigue Press*, the underground paper distributed at Fort Hood from late 1968 to early 1971.[134] By 1968, the Strut catered to roughly 150 Fort Hood GI's a night, and by 1970 offered educational programmes, a bookstore and free military counselling.[135] Significantly, Fort Hood had a relatively equal mix of new recruits being trained for service in Vietnam and veterans returning from their deployment. Men with these vastly different experiences in military life could meet at the Oleo Strut; veterans could share the realities of military life, while new recruits offered a new cohort of potential activist GIs with more recent connections to the civilian world. Moreover, organisers embraced a diverse political outlook, including Black Nationalist, environmentalist, feminist and working class activisms. Cline recalled that the Strut had formed alliances with a SNCC chapter, the Mexican American Youth Organisation and Vietnam Veterans Against War at various moments in its organising.[136] 'In mobilizing these diverse communities', Moser argues, 'the military anti-war movement struck hard at the cultural sinews of empire by challenging the racial, gender, class and sexual strategies used by American warmakers.'[137] The Oleo Strut's relatively long history provides the opportunity to explore coffeehouses' capacity for consciousness raising among GIs.

Drawing on the particulars of Fort Hood and its prior importance to organising around riot control, the Oleo Strut planned a GI boycott against Tyrell's Jewellery

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[132] Fort Hood was the largest Armoured Post in the Army and GIs stationed there were often returnees from Vietnam. The Fort housed over 45,000 men at this time. See, "Free All Political Prisoners," *Left Face*, no. 5 (n.d.), Floor 1, SNS (accessed 27 July 2017) and "Join the GI Movement," *The Fatigue Press* (1970), Floor 1, SNS (accessed 27 July 2017); While the Oleo Strut was arguably the most successful, other coffeehouses had similarly long and complex histories of engaging GIs successfully such as the Shelter Half in Washington, the UFO in South Carolina and the Covered Wagon in Idaho.
[133] Zeiger, *History of the Oleo Strut Coffeehouse*, SNS; "Appendix 2: GI Publications, 1967-1970," in Lewes, *Protest and Survive*, 176; "The Oleo Strut," *New SOS Newsletter* 1, no. 2 (18 March 1969), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 27 July 2017)
[134] Zeiger, *History of the Oleo Strut Coffeehouse*, SNS.
[135] "Armed Forces: The Peace GIs," *The San Francisco Chronicle*, War Protest Issue: Soldiers Sue the Army (2 April 1969), Floor 4, SNS (accessed 27 July 2017); "Join the GI Movement," *The Fatigue Press*, SNS.
[136] David Cline, interview by Richard Moser, February 1988, transcript, Richard Moser Collection.
[137] Moser, *New Winter Soldiers*, 100.

stores in 1971. This boycott provides an excellent vantage point from which to explore the success of a coffeehouse in raising the consciousness of GIs and connecting military experiences to societal issues. Tyrell's was a national chain of jewellery stores that had a significant number of branches in military towns. Activist GIs in these military towns viewed Tyrell's as one of the more egregious examples of the exploitation that characterised military towns. 'Their philosophy is simple,' declared the nationally distributed *CAMP News*, 'GIs are there for the taking.'[138] In particular, GIs argued that through their business model, salesmen were encouraged to prey on the feelings of isolation and fears of new recruits. The Strut charged the chain of stores with profiting from 'the exploitation of the alienation, loneliness, and hatred of the army that is an everyday part of GI life.'[139] *CAMP News* accused Tyrell's of being 'one of the most vicious examples of the base town business community: people whose livelihood rests on the exploitation of fleecing GIs who are trapped in that community…[their practice] involves psychological warfare playing on guilt, homesickness, love of family, fear of death, and other exploitable emotions shared by most servicemen.'[140]

This was particularly salient at Fort Hood, where a larger number of recruits bound for Vietnam were sent for training. Oleo Strut civilians and GIs argued that these new recruits were often 'confused and disoriented by basic training, and given a sense of helplessness. Tyrell's exists by using these feelings to make their sales.'[141] GIs charged that salesmen appeared friendly on the surface, and appealed to GIs' desires to connect with the outside world. As Cline recalled, when GIs would arrive in Killeen, Tyrell's salesmen would encourage them to purchase incredibly expensive jewellery for a mother, girlfriend or sister left behind. Cline notes that 'particularly, they were tryin' to get the guys who were gonna go to Vietnam. "You better by something for your mother, you might not get to see her again, something to remember you." They were out there hustling.'[142] GIs were particularly incensed by the chain's 'Honor Wall', which included the names of GIs who died in Vietnam

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[138] "We Don't Want Your Rip Off Store," *CAMP News* 2, no. 8 (ca.1971), Floor 1, SNS (accessed 27 July 2017)

[139] "A Proposal For Concrete Support of the GI Movement," flyer, (ca. 1971), Floor 4, SNS (accessed 27 July 2017); See also Sue Mithun, "Boycott on Ave. D," *Space City News* (July 6, 1971), Folder 6: Newspaper Clippings, Vietnam War Protest Collection.

[140] "We Don't Want Your Rip Off Store," *CAMP News*, SNS.

[141] "Not A New Thing," *Fatigue Press,* no. 30 (June 1971), Reel 3, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.

[142] *Sir No Sir!*, DVD.

while still owing money to Tyrell's. Salesmen pointed to the Honor Wall as a demonstration of their patriotism and good will by forgiving the debts of those who 'died gallantly and proudly' while serving.[143] Despite this supposed deference to patriotic servicemen, activists believed Tyrell's actions further demonstrated the widespread corruption of military towns. Moreover, it exemplified the oppression faced by soldiers at the hands of the Brass as shopkeepers colluded with military authorities to garnish the wages of soldiers when the store demanded payment. The perceived exploitation by Tyrell's tapped into a shared experience by many servicemen: the feeling of powerlessness at the hands of the military hierarchy and the mistreatment by their superiors as well as the tendency of base 'strips' to be rife with economic exploitation and insalubrious businesses.[144]

Tyrell's, then, was a perfect target for those who wanted to challenge what *The Fatigue Press* characterised as 'a symbol of this corruption caused by the military everywhere they open bases.'[145] This reflected an understanding of both the experiences of oppression by GIs in daily military life, as well as the military's larger role in creating an unequal, imperialist, profit-driven society. Specifically, GIs made four demands of Tyrell's: to 'stop sidewalk soliciting and high-pressure sales; Stop exploiting GI homesickness; End Army intervention and cooperation on payments; Remove the hypocritical "Honor Roll."'[146] The boycott began 1st June 1971 and garnered attention when two civilians and eight GIs, four of whom were Vietnam veterans, were arrested while maintaining a picket line. After these arrests other GIs came off the street to join the remaining picketers, and encouraged their peers to get involved. USSF coverage of the event noted that, within a few minutes of the arrest over 75 had joined the picket line and some people began to chant and clap. The protest that evening ended with an impromptu march back to the Oleo Strut.[147]

The boycott also provided an avenue for Fort Hood GIs to bridge the tension between the local community and those that visited the Oleo Strut. Reporting on the success of the boycott, the USSF noted that the protest garnered significant support

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[143] "Fort Hood GIs Busted for Organizing Local Boycott," *Movin' Together* (June 16, 1971), Box 39, Folder: People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, Social Action Vertical File.
[144] Lewes, *Protest and Survive*, 62.
[145] "Not A New Thing, "*Fatigue Press*, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[146] Mithun, "Boycott on Ave. D," Vietnam War Protest Collection.
[147] "For Immediate Release," press release, (June 1, 1971), Box 52, Folder: United States Servicemen's Fund, Social Action Vertical File.

from the local population.[148] Drawing on their deepened understanding of class awareness, GIs highlighted the exploitative practices of Tyrell's to emphasise their mutual interests with the local population in ending these practices. According to GIs, these tactics resulted in higher prices, hostile sales tactics and the unsavoury businesses that this exploitative economy attracted. Removing these businesses benefitted soldiers and civilian base town residents alike. *CAMP News* reported that the boycott created an important link between GIs and community organisers 'on the common ground of economic exploitation.'[149] GIs arrested in the aftermath of the boycott also filed a lawsuit based on their right as citizens to participate in peaceful protests and boycotts.[150] Thus the boycott also demonstrated that GIs were mounting a broader attack on societal oppression beyond the particular question of the Vietnam War.

In choosing to boycott Tyrells, GIs demonstrated the effectiveness of the Oleo Strut in raising the consciousness of GIs. By drawing on a shared sense of exploitation among GIs, the Strut attracted even more GIs who had 'felt the pinch of the many business rip-offs' in base towns who had been previously politically inactive.[151] They raised critiques that would be familiar to other civilian anti-Establishment activists. The boycott made conversations surrounding class exploitation and the powerful influence of businesses on government institutions more tangible for GIs. It also raised issues around race and gender. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Tyrell's sales tactics replicated racial power dynamics prominent throughout the South. Moreover, Tyrell's sales tactics preyed on existing definitions of hegemonic masculinity which placed military men in the role of provider. The boycott also posed a broader challenge to the economic practices of establishments in military base towns. Activists noted that some businesses took advantage of military dependents, primarily women and children, who were forced to purchase their daily necessities at exorbitant prices, while others exploited women for their sexual appeal to 'entertain' local soldiers. As *CAMP News* reported, discussions leading up to and after the boycott 'provided education about capitalism, military oppression, imperialism, and

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[148] "For Immediate Release," press release, (June 1, 1971), Box 52, Folder: United States Servicemen's Fund, Social Action Vertical File.
[149] "We Don't Want Your Rip Off Store," *CAMP News*, SNS.
[150] "Killeen Jewelry Shop Pickets File Police Harassment Suit," *Killeen Daily Herald* (25 June 1971), Box 5, Folder 20, United States Servicemen's Fund Records.
[151] "We Don't Want Your Rip Off Store," *CAMP News*, SNS.

sexist oppression of military dependents and women in the community.'[152] A year later, Strut organiser David Zeiger deemed the boycott against Tyrell's to be 'one of the most effective actions of the Strut's history.'[153]

Vitally, the boycott raised important questions about the nature of citizenship and the duty of citizens for participating soldiers. While the citizen-soldier purportedly defended the democratic freedoms, Tyrell's exploitative practices actively took advantage of citizens. Moreover, as its efforts to collect debt were supported by local base commanders, this activism demonstrated that the military was not fulfilling its role as defender of democratic freedoms. Instead, the military, and the soldiers who supported it, placed other citizens in a state of oppression – a duty in stark contrast to that of the citizen-soldier. Through this activism, GIs indirectly critiqued a key underpinning of the citizen-soldier ideal: that the military was an institution that demanded reverence for its defence of democratic freedoms.

The boycott of Tyrell's also reveals a moment of success, in which GIs and civilians united and were joined by some members of the local community. However, the majority of the coffeehouse story was, as a member of the FTA collective recalled, 'a story of harassment, a story of repression, a story ultimately, of resistance.'[154] Most coffeehouses experienced significant backlash from local communities. What this reveals, however, was the significant challenge that GIs and coffeehouse activists were making to the status quo, particularly when it came to beliefs regarding the appropriate role and duties of soldiers. The most successful coffeehouses managed to foster alliances between the coffeehouse and local communities. These alliances demonstrate the significant and resonance of GI criticisms around common New Left issues, as well as their larger reconfiguration of the duties of citizenship.

Red Tape, Firebombs and Harassment, Oh My!: Coffeehouses Face Backlash

As Parsons explores in *Dangerous Grounds*, many towns surrounding military bases relied heavily, if not entirely, on the military base for their continued existence. Speaking specifically of Killeen, 'a local historian noted that "the complete economic foundation of [Killeen], its very reason for existence," had been "replaced by an

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[152] 'We Don't Want Your Rip Off Store', *CAMP News*, SNS.
[153] Zeiger, *History of the Oleo Strut Coffeehouse*, SNS.
[154] "The Coffeehouse Story," *FTA* 2, no. 3 (ca. 1969), Floor 1, SNS (accessed 4 August 2017)

economy dependent upon the federal government.'[155] As with many base towns, '[Killeen's] fortunes, for better or worse, became inextricably tied to the presence of the US military.'[156] Unsurprisingly then, these communities, supported by the local military leaders, created significant barriers to the success of coffeehouses. Activists confronted powerful local forces, including administrative, legal and extra-legal harassment, who wanted to keep them out. Some collectives were never able to secure a building from which to organise. Summer of Support activists heading to Fort Polk, Louisiana, faced 'opposition so heated that [they] were recently run out of town.' Organisers in Colorado Springs near Fort Carson endured similar treatment.[157]

In the process of getting set up, civilian activists often faced subtle repression through intentional slow-downs of paperwork processing procedures, or onerous requirements for licensing.[158] Those coffeehouses that did succeed in opening their doors faced regular harassment from local law enforcement and local residents. One of the most popular tactics was to label coffeehouses organisers, or their visitors, as vagrants, or charge them with being a public nuisance.[159] Furthermore, those that attended coffeehouses were often subject to intimidation by local law enforcement; it was not unheard of for local law enforcement to support efforts to falsely plant drugs in coffeehouses and later raid them for evidence of their wrong-doing. As officials sought to remove coffeehouses from their towns, coffeehouses endured endless drug busts and schemes to send in informants who would attempt to get coffeehouse patrons to admit to illegal activities.[160] The coffeehouse near Fort Knox, for instance, was charged with 'maintaining a public nuisance frequented by idle and evil disposed people.'[161] Given that these establishments were often surrounded by 'gentlemen's clubs' and gambling centres, many GIs and civilians found these assertions difficult to accept.

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[155] Parsons, *Dangerous Grounds*, 30.
[156] Ibid.
[157] Donald Johnson, "Oasis for the Antiwar GI," *San Francisco Chronicle* (August 15, 1968), Box 2, Folder 17: Coffeehouses circa 1969, United States Servicemen's Fund Records; "No Vacancy for GI Coffeehouses," *Plain Rapper*, Radicalism and Reactionary Politics Collection.
[158] "Fort Knox Coffeehouse Bomb," *Duck Power*, vol. 1, no, 6 (6 November 1969), Floor 1, SNS (accessed 4 August 2017); "Fort Knox Coffeehouse," pamphlet, Floor 3, SNS (accessed 4 August 2017)
[159] "Uses of the Law – Leesville, LA," *New SOS News* 1, no. 4 (July 27 1969), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 5 August 2017); 'From the UFO', Floor 3, SNS (accessed 5 August 2017); "Coffeehouse Story," *FTA* (January 13, 1970), Reel 16, Folder: Detroit Friends of the GI Coffeehouse, Radicalism and Reactionary Politics Collection.
[160] "From the Shelter Half," pamphlet, Floor 4, SNS (accessed 4 August 2017)
[161] "Let A Thousand Nuisances," *Left Face* 2, no. 1 (April 1970), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 22 August 2017)

The coffeehouse in Muldraugh, Kentucky, near Fort Knox, perhaps faced the most sustained violence. Activists at the simply named Coffee House were, in their few months of existence, maliciously evicted from the property in advance of their lease expiring, attacked by organised vigilante gangs, and had their coffeehouse fire-bombed on two occasions.[162] Writing in 1969, the FTA collective noted that this repression was a deliberate and coordinated attempt to stop GI dissent from growing. 'The army brass and town officials', they wrote, 'decided that GIs shouldn't get together to share coffee and conversation about the war.'[163] The Coffee House was not alone in its experience of extra-legal oppression. Both the MDM Centre in San Diego and the Covered Wagon Coffee House in Mountain Home, Idaho also experienced fire-bombings and had unknown vigilantes open fire into the coffeehouse.[164] Thus, for both GIs and civilians, visiting coffeehouses became an experience potentially fraught with danger.

However, even this repression served the mission of increasing the consciousness of GIs. For some GIs with neutral or sympathetic tendencies, the military's treatement of GIs who patronised coffeehouses was only further evidence of the imperialist, hierarchical, undemocratic nature of the military. The *Black Panther* reported on the harassment faced by organisers at the UFO in South Carolina, noting that staff had been charged with 'operating a public nuisance.'[165] However this action, argued the *Black Panther,* 'is the continuation of the conspiracy of military and civilian authority to crush GI dissent.'[166] While the coffeehouse in Muldraugh did not ultimately survive the repression it faced, their reopening attracted 100 GIs and 150 local citizens who 'partook in a lively discussion of the Vietnam War, and the role of the GI in the Army and what he could do about it.'[167] These discussions resulted in increased activism amongst GIs and civilians, who wrote a petition to the mayor demanding an end to harassment and the firing of the Police Chief. Civilians and GIs

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[162] Ibid.; See also "Right On! Coffee House," *FTA* 2, no. 4 (October 1969), Reel 35, Folder 11: FTA (Ft Knox, KY), Underground Press Collection; "Coffeehouse Story," *FTA*, Radicalism and Reactionary Politics Collection.

[163] "Letter from the Organization," (November 25, 1969), Reel 16, Folder: Detroit Friends of the GI Coffeehouse, Radicalism and Reactionary Politics Collection.

[164] "GIs Fight Back," *A Four Year Bummer* 2, no. 7 (September 1970), Floor 1, SNS (accessed 4 August 2017)

[165] "GI Coffeehouse Suppressed," *The Black Panther* (February 7, 1970), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 22 August 2017); "FBI Report on the Covered Wagon," (November 28, 1973), Reel 15, Folder 63, Archives Unbound: America in Protest: Records of Anti-Vietnam War Organizations, Western Bank Library, University of Sheffield. [collection hereafter referred to as Archives Unbound]

[166] Ibid.

[167] "Right On! Coffee House," *FTA*, Underground Press Collection.

also united to boycott all local businessmen who refused to sign their petition to the mayor, and leafletted Muldraugh with their demands.[168] By the end of 1969, the local GI paper *FTA* reported that 'the marches, meetings and rallies to protest the harassment in Muldraugh have been getting bigger and bigger.'[169] Similarly, following a drug bust that closed the UFO, a group of three hundred students, GIs and locals held a march to the nearby University of South Carolina. The UFO collective declared 'this was an indication that we were gaining unprecedented support in the liberal community.'[170]

Perhaps the most significant boost in participation as a direct result of repression occurred at the Shelter Half at Fort Lewis in Washington. The coffeehouse's name refers to a small piece of sticky canvas (a 'shelter half') that was issued to all soldiers; however, the tents were too flimsy to be useful as tents unless two soldiers joined them together. In adopting this name, the organisers sought to 'invoke a sense of strength through solidarity and cooperation' between GIs and civilians.[171] Civilian organisers from the Shelter Half staged a series of stunts and protests, including a mass leafleting practising the same methods used in Vietnam, and an 'invasion' of the base to 'liberate' GIs from Fort Lewis in 1969.[172] Bolstered by their interactions with the coffeehouse, GIs got increasingly involved in these protests alongside civilians. Consequently, in December 1969, the base commander at Fort Lewis became the first to declare the Shelter coffeehouse 'off-limits' to all military personnel. Practically, this meant that even visiting the Shelter Half was grounds for charges of insubordination and punishment through the UCMJ. Like in Kentucky, South Carolina and Idaho, this decision actually fostered more activism amongst GIs and local civilians.

For many, it provided more evidence that the military was an oppressive organisation that unconstitutionally restricted the rights of soldiers. The *GI Press Service,* published by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, quoted a Shelter Half staff member who declared 'the Army is scared because it can no longer brainwash the men…they think by keeping GIs from meeting

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[168] "Let A Thousands Nuisances," *Left Face*, SNS.

[169] "Coffeehouse Story," *FTA*, Radicalism and Reactionary Politics Collection.

[170] "From the UFO Coffeehouse, Columbia, SC - - Bust," pamphlet, Floor 4, SNS (accessed 22 August 2017)

[171] David L. Parsons, "Dangerous Grounds: The American GI Coffeehouse Movement, 1967-1972," (PhD diss., The City University of New York, 2013), 122.

[172] Jessie Kindig, "GI Movement Timeline," http://depts.washington.edu/antiwar/gi_timeline.shtml (accessed 22 August 2017)

together…and from reading and talking to civilians they can make more obedient soldiers.'[173] The *Black Panther* similarly declared that by forbidding soldiers from going to the coffeehouse 'the Army is telling GIs officially what they can read and who they can talk to in their off duty hours.'[174] Notably, this raised questions about the relationship between citizenship and soldiering. Far from reflecting Washington's sentiments that men do not lay aside the identity of citizen while soldiering, the military was erasing the identity of the citizen to preserve the soldier. Far from defending democratic freedoms, the soldiers fighting to perform their citizenship were challenged by the very structure that ostensibly existed to preserve those rights from tyrannical, undemocratic forces.

In response to being declared 'off-limits' the Shelter Half united with the ASU, SDS and other anti-war groups to hold a 'Trial of the Army.' Hosted the day before the official military hearing on the Shelter Half, the trial sought highlight the hypocrisy between the demands of GIs of free speech and the military's supposed goals in Vietnam.[175] The trial united local and GI organisations and activists and explicitly connected the struggle of GIs with local activism around issues of class, race, gender and other anti-Establishment positions.[176] Shelter Half GI activist Bruce MacLean was one of the 'witnesses' in this mock trial. He recalled that racism was 'one of the focuses of the trial' as testimonies from various participants discussed the racist treatment of soldiers, civilians of colour and the Vietnamese people by the US military.[177] Just as the Oleo Strut succeeded in connecting conversations around broader societal oppressions to the experiences of soldiers, the Shelter Half connected oppressions within the military to larger societal injustices.

Thus, while the repression of coffeehouses created endless problems for organisers, it also demonstrates their radicalising potential. More importantly, such repression validated the conclusion that GI protest mounted a significant and meaningful challenge to the established status quo. Additionally, restricting these establishments demonstrates the Brass' concerns about the impact of GI activism on

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[173] "GI Anti-War Coffeehouses Placed 'Off-Limits,'" *The GI Press Service*, 2, no .1 (January 21, 1970), The GI Press Collection digital archive (accessed 5 May 2018)

[174] "Politics Are Off Limits For Ft. Lewis," *The Black Panther* (January 17, 1970), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 22 August 2017)

[175] Parsons, "Dangerous Grounds: The American GI Coffeehouse Movement," 143.

[176] Ibid., 146.

[177] Bruce MacLean, interview by Jessie Kindig and Maria Quintana (July 13, 2009), Anti-War and Radical History Project, http://depts.washington.edu/antiwar/interview_maclean.shtml (accessed 5 May 2018)

the military's ability to function effectively and to continue to recruit more manpower for the war. Moreover, the consciousness raising done by coffeehouses attracted further numbers of GIs as well as some members of the local community. Overall, however, interactions with local communities remained contentious and antagonistic. By necessity the GI movement engaged with the local community for both direct support and alliances, as well as for general goodwill required to keep coffeehouses functional.[178]

This good will was particularly difficult to come by in base towns, many of which were in the US South. Writing in 1971, Cortright noted that one of the most significant obstacles to GI work is 'living in a small, southern or rural, lifer town [where]…the political and social atmosphere of Army towns is stifling and rigid.'[179] However, coffeehouse activists across the South recognised that by linking local issues and discourses with larger national conversations, they could make some headway in garnering civilian support in environments traditionally unfriendly to dissent. Civilian organisers near Fort Knox and Fort Campbell argued that 'the work we do locally is the most important work we can do, especially for the South.'[180] As the Southern Conference Educational Fund noted, the South is 'somewhat of a different animal' and, as such, 'Southerners will identify themselves much more with that happens in the South than happenings in the rest of the country.'[181] Indeed, studies of student activism in the US South suggest that local and regional issues were as vital as the Vietnam War in fostering student organising.[182]

Organising Regionally and Nationally: Bringing the Critique to the Public

The South's highly conservative and overtly patriotic context affected the ability and desire of many to participate in anti-war activism.[183] Residents in military towns, whose local economy often relied primarily on patronage from their local military base, often felt these pressures more acutely. As such, organisers in the South

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[178] Ward, "War in the Desert," 31.
[179] Cortright, "The Greening of the Green,", David Cortright Papers.
[180] "GI News and Discussion Bulletin: Conference '71," SNS.
[181] Molly Martindale, "Report – To the Vietnam Summer Southern Field Staff," Box 54, Folder: Vietnam Summer, Social Action Vertical File.
[182] Gary S. Sprayberry, "Student Radicalism and the Antiwar Movement at the University of Alabama," in Cohen and Snyder, 150.
[183] Gregg Michel, "Building the New South: The Southern Student Organizing Committee," in McMillian and Buhle, 49.

had to establish a group people 'could join without having to reject their cultural and history.'[184] GI-led protests created this space for Southern communities, and coffeehouses provided an important organising space for anti-war, anti-Establishment activism in the South. The GI movement used their credibility as soldiers to paint protest as patriotic, providing a vital foothold for Southerners desiring engagement with national anti-war activism while maintaining their Southern identity.

As early as 1968, GI-led protests became the first local, large scale, anti-war actions in some Southern communities. Protests in October 1968 led by GIs, occurred in Austin, Texas, Fayetteville, North Carolina and Atlanta, Georgia, attracting 1200, 600 and 800 civilians respectively.[185] A year later, approximately fifty GIs from Fort Bragg led a march of 1,000 people in protest down the main street of Fayetteville.[186] Local instances of GI-civilian activism were further bolstered when coffeehouses and military bases were within reach of a university. As an issue of *FTA* noted, the first Teach-In was held 'for GIs, by the GIs of Fort Knox…with the aid of students from the Cleveland area.'[187] Jeffrey Turner and Robert Cohen have demonstrated that, while Southern universities were often hostile to activism, significant anti-war, anti-Establishment movements did arise on campuses across the South.[188] Perhaps drawing on the region's general reverence for soldiers, activist students proved eager to liaise with coffeehouses and their GI visitors. Coffeehouse organisers were similarly eager to take advantage of the students' resources and connections to local movement organisations to move GI organising beyond on-base issues. This was particularly true of alliances between GIs and students at the University of Texas-El Paso (UTEP), the University of South Carolina (USC), as well as students at Duke and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (UNC). Through their respective coffeehouses, GIs at Fort Bliss, Fort Jackson, Fort Hood and Fort Bragg united with students to protest local issues of mutual importance.

The alliance between UTEP and Fort Bliss GIs targeted voter registration drivers to counteract racial and ageist discrimination within the surrounding

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[184] Ibid., 53.

[185] "GI Actions in Atlanta, Seattle, Austin," *The Logistic*, no. 1 (ca. 1968), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 27 July 2017)

[186] "Fort Bragg GIs Get It Together," *Duck Power* 1, no. 6 (6 November 1969), Floor 1, SNS (accessed 27 July 2017)

[187] "Extra, Extra - - GIs Speak Out," *FTA*, no. 6 (December 1968), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 27 July 2017)

[188] Turner, *Sitting In and Speaking Out*; Cohen and Snyder, eds., *Rebellion in Black and White*.

communities.[189] Between 50-100 GIs attended the planning meeting the evening prior, while the rally attracted 2,000 people. The campaign also created connections between Women's Liberation, GIs, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and local anti-draft groups.[190] A September 1969 protest at UTEP included a reading of a partial list of El Paso men killed in Vietnam, and fostered discussions around the disproportionate number of Mexican-Americans killed.[191] Similarly, students at USC regularly visited the USO to 'rap' with GIs. Following a protest in which students burnt a Confederate flag on USC's campus, students drew on conversations about Southern identity and Southern culture that the action raised with GIs. UFO organisers noted that in the aftermath, 'many of the previously apolitical people are now rapping politics and attempting to work with each other - - they also have freed up a lot about GIs and talk with them instead of sitting with their kind.'[192] References to GIs at Fort Bragg are noticeably present in the ephemera of the anti-war movement at Duke and UNC. In October 1969, GIs from Fort Bragg joined with the Duke, UNC and North Carolina State University students and residents of Fayetteville to protest against the war.[193] In May 1971, GIs gathered at the UNC Arboretum with local students for a GI Picnic. The protest featured films, guerrilla theatre and an open mike session for GIs and was organised by GIs from Fort Bragg and Camp LeJueune in conjunction with the YSA, UNC's chapters of SDS and SSOC and Duke's Student Liberation Front.[194] By interacting with local students and discussing both GI and local issues, these efforts demonstrate how GIs further linked the issues discussed at coffeehouses with activism in their neighbouring communities.

While many of these interactions were short-lived, they demonstrate the success of consciousness raising efforts, as GIs choosing to participate in local protests did so at great risk. As such, they likely felt strongly about the causes involved. For example, a July 1970 rally in Augusta, Georgia brought Fort Gordon

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[189] Press release, CDGA Collective Box, Folder: GIFP leaflets, releases, reports, SPC; "Moratorium '71," ACC75A-105, Box 1, Folder: GIFP leaflets, releases, reports, David Cortright Papers.

[190] Press Release (October 14, 1971), ACC75A-105, Box 1, Folder: GIFP leaflets, releases, reports, David Cortright Papers.

[191] "Reading Successful," *Gigline* 1, no. 3 (October 1969), Reel 36, Folder 6: Gigline (El Paso, Texas), Underground Press Collection.

[192] "From the Coffeehouses: Letter from Columbia," *New SOS News*, Reel 38, Folder 17: New SOS News, Underground Press Collection.

[193] Robert Poole, "GI's Mobe march for war end," *Duke Chronicle* (October 11, 1969), Box 2, Folder: Chronicle Coverage, 1968-   ), Student Activism Reference Collection.

[194] GI-Civilian Mobilization for Peace, press release (ca. May 1971), Box 3, Folder: GI Rights, David Henderson Papers.

GIs together with local black activists around the issue of a young black man being beaten to death in prison, with six more being killed by police at the subsequent riot. The GI Alliance, a GI organisation supported by civilians, noted that the protest would 'bring Augustans and Fort Gordons together around issues of political repression, ending the war, and constitutional rights for GIs.'[195] Similarly, GIs at Fort McClellan in Alabama joined with custodial staff at Anniston Memorial Hospital to support their demands for improved working conditions and higher wages. GI contributors to *Left Face* deemed this protest 'a march against slavery' to improve current working conditions imposed on the staff.[196] A week later fifteen GIs, and six WACs joined a march organised by local churches to support the staff of the hospital.[197] Significantly, both these protests required an understanding of, or appreciation for, existing issues around race and class exploitation. GIs in North Carolina at Fort Bragg demonstrated a similar awareness, turning out for an October 1969 march from the Quaker House, the local GI coffeehouse, to Rowan Park in Fayetteville, NC. Fifty GIs and about 400 civilians heard speeches from GIs, local students, anti-draft protestors and representatives from the Fayetteville Area Poor People's Organization and Female Liberation.[198] While these did not receive the attention that some of the more sensational protests of the Sixties garnered, they demonstrate the important, and successful work that coffeehouses carried out in building civilian and GI alliances. Moreover, this involvement is particularly notable in a region where simply speaking out could lead to substantial repercussions.[199] These interactions with local communities also reflect the successful consciousness raising efforts of coffeehouse organisers and activist GIs.

For anti-war protest in the US South, these numbers were significant, especially when compared to a 1968 protest organised by students at the University of Alabama which attracted only fifty people or a 1968 petition in favour of the war at the University of Georgia attracted only two counter protestors.[200] Compared to these

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[195] "Rally Scheduled for July 11 in Augusta, Georgia," *GI Alliance Newsletter Two* (June 24, 1970), Box 20, Folder: GI Alliance, Social Action Vertical File.
[196] "GIs and the People Join Forces," *Left Face* (May 1971), Reel 4, Miscellaneous Vietnam Era GI Undergrounds.
[197] Ibid.
[198] 'GI March', *Protean Radish* 4, no. 5 (October 13-19, 1969), Box 2, Folder: Protean Radish, Student Activism Reference Collection.
[199] Turner, *Sitting In and Speaking Out*, 2; Cohen, "Prophetic Minority versus Recalcitrant Majority," in Cohen and Snyder, 3; Michel, *Struggle for a Better South*, 3.
[200] Sprayberry, "Student Radicalism," in Cohen and Snyder, 152; Turner, *Sitting In And Speaking Out*, 234.

numbers, GI led protests attracted in the hundreds, and sometimes thousands, demonstrating that Southerners participated in GI actions in relatively large numbers compared to wholly civilian anti-war protests. The advent of these protests throughout the South put the region on the forefront of public protests led by GIs and supported by local civilians. Despite studies of anti-war activism noting a marked difference between Southern anti-war protests and those occurring in the North and Western US, GI activists discussed Southern bases with no additional fanfare or surprise. For example, the GI paper *Task Force* applauded GIs and civilians for participating making clear that 'GIs will not remain silent. Boston, Atlanta, New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Ft. Hood [Texas], Ft. Dix [New Jersey], Ft. Jackson [South Carolina], Ft. Benning [Georgia] are only a few of the areas and bases where civilian-supported GI actions' have occurred.[201] This discussion of GI activism across the nation stands in stark contrast to the ways contemporary activists and present day scholars emphasise the uniqueness of anti-war activism in the South. Moreover, activist GIs and civilians across the South turned to the successful UFO and the Oleo Strut as examples upon which to model their coffeehouses and their networks for further organising.

Ultimately, the coffeehouses created both a base for local organising and fostered a national movement consciousness. While the nature of the military kept GIs close to their bases, the coffeehouse network and the GI papers gave GIs a common language and a sense of unity against the military establishment. This sense of a unified cause was most clearly on display in the first national GI protest, chosen to coincide with the celebration of Armed Forces Day in 1970. This protest brought a directed criticism of the citizen-soldier to the general public. The Cold War context had made the military more than a sign of national strength; military readiness was also depicted as proof of the superiority of the American way. Reflecting new Cold War tensions, President Truman made the decision to unify the Army, Navy and Air Force under one department, the National Military Establishment in 1947. To celebrate this newly unified force, then Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson announced the establishment of Armed Forces Day. Celebrating the first incarnation of the day, on 20th May 1950, President Truman issued a Presidential Proclamation which stated that the celebrations marked 'the first combined demonstration by

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[201] "October 12, 1968 Marked A New Stage In the Developing Movement of GIs Against the War in Vietnam," *Task Force*, no. 4 (1968), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 4 August 2017)

America's defense team of its progress, under the National Security Act, towards the goal of readiness for any eventuality. It is the first parade of preparedness by the unified forces of our land, sea, and air defense.'[202] Part of the celebrations opened up military bases to the general public to both educate them on the role of the Armed Forces and for the military to show off its state of the art equipment.

Various official comments regarding Armed Forces Day reflected the centrality of the citizen-soldier to American national identity. Four-star Admiral Forrest Sherman, marked the first Armed Forces Day by proclaiming, 'today let us, as Americans, honor the American fighting man. For it is he – the soldier, the sailor, the Airman, the Marine – who has fought to preserve freedom. It is his valor that has given renewed hope to the free world that by working together in discipline and faith our ideals of freedom will always prevail.'[203] This this theme remained central to the celebrations through the Sixties. Speaking in 1970, former Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird declared:

> our servicemen and women shoulder the burden of defense as one of the responsibilities of citizenship in this free country. Having participated in protecting our rights and having met oppression on the battlegrounds of the world, they are able to appreciate and savor the blessings of citizenship in the country they serve.[204]

Thus Armed Forces Day was, in part, celebration of the citizen-soldier. Activist GIs and civilians rejected Laird's assertion that bearing the burden of defence was a responsibility, and even less a blessing, of citizenship. Instead, their activism suggested that citizenship might be best performed by exercising their rights and challenging the status quo.

Before GIs actively protested the event, it is clear that many GIs rejected the pomp and circumstance of Armed Forces Day. As one GI noted in *The Bond,* it was simply a day for the military to 'show off' and minimize the very real costs that came with military service.[205] Continuing their subversive play-on-words, GIs dubbed the

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[202] Harry Truman, Proclamation 2873 – Armed Forces Day, 1950 (27 February 1950), The American Presidency Project, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=87233 (accessed 24 July 2018)
[203] The Department of Defense, "Armed Forces Day History," Armed Forces Day, https://afd.defense.gov/History/ (accessed 24 July 2018)
[204] United States Department of Defense, "About the Department of Defense," https://www.defense.gov/About/ (accessed 3August 2017); United States Department of Defense, "Armed Forces Day History," http://afd.defense.gov/History/ (accessed 3 August 2017)
[205] Armed Forces Day was traditionally a day in which bases were opened to the public for the military to 'show off' as one writer for *The Bond* put it. See for example, "Armed Forces Day: Return to Fort Dix," *The Bond* 4, no. 6 (17 June 1970), Floor 1, SNS (accessed 3 August 2017); "Armed Forces Day," *A Four Year Bummer*, vol. 2, no. 4 (June 1970), Floor 1, SNS (accessed 3 August 2017); "Other Scenes…Other Voices…Armed Farces Day, 1970," *Gigline* 2, no. 5 (May 1970) Floor 1, SNS (accessed 3 August 2017)

May 1970 protest Armed Farces Day. As the GI paper *Gigline* reported, 'the objective was not simply to shut down these bases, but rather to shut down the war machine.'[206] With this objective, GIs appeared to wholly reject the ideal that it was the duty of a citizen to serve in this incarnation of the military.

Facilitated by the resources from coffeehouses, GIs across the country refused to do their assigned duties. Instead, they held picnics, large scale rap sessions and hosted anti-Establishment speakers.[207] At Fort Benning, Georgia, approximately 150 GIs and 350 civilians hosted a mock trial to demonstrate that the My Lai massacre was not simply a tragic accident but a symptom of American imperialism and racism. GIs at Barksdale Air Force Base in Louisiana hosted a festival of life where an audience of around 900 people, of which roughly 150 were GIs, listened to speeches by civilian anti-war activists and anti-war veterans of previous wars. Marines at Camp Pendleton listened to addresses by former SDS president Tom Hayden, their fellow GIs, and a local Black Panther activist. The involvement of GI and civilian organisers reflected the expanded consciousness of GIs and allowed attendees to view American military efforts as one of the manifestations of the oppression facing the American public. Many base commanders quelled these GI protests by closing the bases to the public; GIs considered this silencing of American military might to be a significant victory. In summarising the day's events, a writer for *Gigline* noted, 'we can probably feel pretty safe in assuming that what went on this past weekend has really brought the strength of and the universality of the GI movement to the fore as far as the press and millions of Americans are concerned.'[208]

The Armed Farces Day protests fostered the first anti-war actions in some Southern communities. Columbus, Georgia, Anniston, Alabama, Junction City, Kansas and Killeen Texas, experienced their first off-base anti-war protests of the era.[209] The high incidence of GI dissent creating the first protests in Southern military communities might suggest that Southerners were able to reconcile the often conflicting relationship between patriotic Southernness and anti-war protest through the actions of GIs. To some extent, civilians participating in these protests embraced GIs' arguments that military service did not provide an acceptable, patriotic

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[206] "Other Scenes…Other Voices: Armed Farces Day 1970," SNS.
[207] Appendix C shows the estimated numbers of civilians and GIs attending various local Armed Farces Day protests.
[208] "Other Scenes…Other Voices: Armed Farces Day 1970," SNS.
[209] "Armed Forces Day," *A Four Year Bummer*, SNS; "Other Scenes…Other Voices…Armed Farces Day, 1970," SNS.

performance of citizenship. Moreover, these moments of activism introduced and engaged civilians with activist GIs' rejection of the traditional relationship between citizenship and soldiering. By protesting, interactions with GIs may have encouraged participating civilians to similarly reconsider if patriotism should be equated to being 'quietly useful.' The first Armed Farces Day protest also demonstrates that GIs and civilians from Southern military bases were as politically engaged as their northern and western counterparts. Importantly, coffeehouses and GIs faced multiple instances of repression at the hands of both military and local authorities during the Armed Farces Day protests. However, the importance of these establishments lies not in the repression they faced, but in their ability to bring community members and GIs together, allowing a mutual interaction that provided a space for GIs to affirm a patriotic identity and masculine performance characterised by standing up for one's conscience.

The success of this protest in attracting the attention of the nation made the Armed Farces Day protests an annual occurrence, with similar actions occurring in 1971 and 1972. These subsequent protests continued to find support among GIs and anti-Establishment civilians. In 1971, protests in Killeen, Fayetteville and Leesville, LA attracted 3500, 1000 and 500 participants respectively. Protests took place in 1972 at the Cherry Point Marine Corps Air Station in North Carolina, Fort Campbell in Kentucky, Fort Hood and Kirtland Sandia and Mazano Air Force and Army bases. Reflecting the increasing consciousness of GIs, this latter protest focussed on the struggles of Indigenous, Chicano and women's groups alongside the protest of local GIs against the military establishment.[210] GI patrons of the Shelter Half coffeehouse in Washington organised another trial of the military and demanded an end to the war as well as an end to racism in the Armed Forces and freedom for all political prisoners.[211] These demands reflect the ways in which GIs wove their increased consciousness around the interconnectedness of struggles into their own anti-military activism.

While there was certainly still more to be done, the consciousness raising work of the coffeehouses, coupled with the increased financial and material support from the civilian movement, gave GIs the ability to take their rejection of traditional relationship between citizenship and soldiering to the national stage. Thus, GIs took

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[210] "From California to the New York Islands," *About Face! The US Servicemen's Fund Newsletter* 2, no. 4 (1972), Floor 3, SNS.
[211] "Hands Off the Shelter Half," *Fed Up!*, SNS.

an event meant to celebrate the strength of the US military and turned it into a day that questioned its authority. In turn, they performed a citizenship based in defending democratic freedoms against an oppressor, rather than fulfilling their role as obedient soldiers. By bringing their protest off bases and into public spaces, GIs were able to articulate their critique of the citizen-soldier to a national civilian audience. As Cortright argues, 'the May 16 [Armed Farces Day] actions had great impact on the civilian community. The spectacle of simultaneous soldier demonstrations at twelve separate bases finally convinced people that sweeping changes were occurring within the Army and aroused new appreciation of the potential of GI resistance.'[212] The activism of Armed Farces day represented, to some extent, an alliance with components of civilian movement and a willingness to join in their critiques of the Establishment.

Conclusion

Writing in 1969 after her visit to the UFO, Donna Mickleson reported that the coffeehouses are 'just a beginning…the possibilities are almost limitless; each coffeehouse takes on its own mood and style, according to the people who run it, the kinds of soldiers and local people who frequent it, and the places they're from.'[213] While coffeehouses achieved varying degrees of success, they allowed GIs to congregate off-base and more deeply explore the dissent cultivated by the GI underground press. Providing a space for civilians and GIs to interact, the coffeehouses went a long way in breaking down enduring barriers between the civilian and GI anti-war movements. In doing so, GIs' critiques of the citizen-soldier could be enhanced and expanded by ideas from other movements. By engaging in discussions at coffeehouses, civilians were able to recognise that many GIs were not simply uncritical, complicit actors in the war machine, while GIs learned that they had potential allies among civilians.

Civilians also played an important role in providing continuity to GI activism. They provided support to GIs facing harassment and sustained production of many GI underground papers, relieving GIs of the time and financial commitments and resolving distribution issues. Most importantly however, the success of coffeehouses

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[212] Cortright, *Soldiers in Revolt*, 68.
[213] Donna Mickelson, "Underground USOs Support Our Boys," *San Fran Express Times* (July 17, 1969), Box 2, Folder 17: Coffeehouses circa 1969, United States Servicemen's Fund Records.

prompted the development of additional civilian organisations intended to support GI activism. As these organisations liaised with coffeehouses to provide essential resources and support, they also created direct channels of communication between coffeehouse and GI projects across the nation. This network brought GI grievances to the attention of the larger civilian anti-Establishment movement, and vice versa. Initially attracting GIs simply seeking an escape from restrictive military regulations, coffeehouse actively encouraged GIs to speak about their experiences both in and out of the military, and used their connections (intellectual or actual) with other anti-Establishment discourses to encourage GIs to think more widely about the oppression they faced. In relating the military experience to larger issues around race, gender and class oppressions, coffeehouses fostered a broader anti-Establishment critique.

By encouraging soldiers to consider the military as just another part of an inherently flawed American system, they deepened the GI Movement's critique of the war and became important centres of consciousness raising. Moving from critiquing the conduct of the war and more specific issues around the privileges and rights of soldiers, GIs brought their activism to the public sphere to critique the role of the military in the American system. Building on rap sessions at coffeehouses, GIs connected the exploitation they experienced in the military and in base towns, to the oppression faced by women, the working class, and people of colour, both at home and abroad. They argued that the military was part of a larger system of imperialist and capitalist oppression that ran counter to the nation's promises of democracy and freedom. In doing so, GIs demonstrated that the role of the citizen was not to serve dutifully and unquestioningly in this oppressive military machine. Coffeehouse civilians and GIs alike used their position within this oppressive military machine to draw others into the anti-war movement. In particular, the patriotic mythology surrounding the soldier provided an avenue for Southerners to be active and equal participants in activism around the war. Indeed, an examination of activism fostered by coffeehouses throughout the South challenges existing literature in which the region is either absent from the narrative, or simply the enemy of dissent. Additionally, the story of GI coffeehouses illuminates the importance of GI-civilian alliances to the narrative of the anti-war movement and challenges the idea of the monolithic, patriotic soldier.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the GI movement and the influence of coffeehouses declined in the Army as ground troops were withdrawn from Vietnam in 1972 and the

burden of the fighting shifted to the Navy and Air Force.[214] When the US withdrew from Vietnam in 1973, the GI movement ceased to exist in any meaningful way. However, its enduring impact on the citizen-soldier and attendant ideas about patriotism, masculinity, citizenship and duty must be acknowledged. Indeed, many young men, influenced by an enduring narrative of the patriotic tradition of American military service, entered the Army prepared to serve as a citizen-soldier. As one anonymous GI recalled:

> you may come into [the military] thinking, you know, it's your patriotic duty. I mean there's a lot of guys, I mean they come out of families where there's a long tradition of uh patriotism: their father was in the army, their brother was in the army, their uncle was in the army, the whole family put in their heads to be a good person you go into the army, you don't cause trouble, you don't complain.[215]

However, through the GI underground press and coffeehouses, active-duty soldiers created a space to actively question the endurance of the citizen-soldier and the long-standing connections between citizenship, masculinity, patriotism and duty that it embodied.

While scholars continue to debate the impact of GI activism on the military, Penny Lewis notes, 'their rebellion was so successful that the military changed its internal organization as well as it was strategy in response.'[216] Partially in response to the rise of this network of GI underground papers, the military penned a May 1969 memo entitled *Guidance on Dissent* which laid out specific recommendations and policies for dealing with dissenting soldiers. Prior to its publication, dissent was handled by specific commanders rather than in conjunction with a wider military policy and often resulted in exceedingly harsh punishments.[217] However, this memo encouraged base commanders to liberalise their treatment of dissenters and increased the scope of permitted activities, including the ability to have a copy of a GI underground paper, visit coffeehouses and to participate in the publication of a paper in off duty hours.[218] While this seems like a small gain, the protest of GIs and their widespread rejection of silent obedience, arguably prompted the military to change its policies.

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[214] Cortright, "GI Resistance During the Vietnam War," in Small and Hoover,, 124.
[215] *Only the Beginning*, VHS, directed by Vietnam Veterans Against the War, VHB 306, David Cline Papers.
[216] Lewis, *Hardhats, Hippies and Hawks*, 117.
[217] Lewes, *Protest and Survive*, 89.
[218] "Army Adjutant General Issues Policy Statement on Dissent & Coffeehouses," *New SOS News* 1, no. 4 (27 July 1969), Floor 3, SNS (accessed 4 August 2017); James Hayes, "The War Within A War: Dissent in the Vietnam-Era Military," *Vietnam Generation* 2, no. 1 (January 1990): 16.

Contemporary sources also acknowledged the impact of GI activism. In an momentous statement at the time, Colonel Robert Heinl (in)famously wrote in *Armed Forces Journal* that 'by every conceivable indicator, our army that now remains in Vietnam is in a state approaching collapse…elsewhere than Vietnam, the situation is nearly as serious.'[219] While it cannot be said that the GI Movement was the sole contributor to this 'state of collapse', Heinl specifically discussed GI papers and coffeehouses as evidence of the 'sedition [which] infests the Armed Services.'[220] Of the underground press, he wrote, 'these journals are not mere gripe-sheets that poke soldier fun in the "Beetle Bailey" tradition, at the brass and the sergeants. [For example], '"In Vietnam," writes the Ft Lewis-McChord Free Press, "the Lifers, the Brass, are the true Enemy, not the enemy." Another West Coast sheet advises readers: "Don't desert. Go to Vietnam and kill your commanding officer."'[221] Heinl also noted that 'off-base anti-war "coffeehouses" ply GIs with rock music, lukewarm coffee, antiwar literature, how-to-do-it tips on desertion, and similar disruptive counsels.'[222] As Heinl's article indicates, the military itself acknowledged the detrimental impact of GI dissent on morale and combat effectiveness.

GI and coffeehouse activists hoped that their GI visitors would continue participating in some sort of activism following their discharge from the military. Indeed, in perhaps the most remembered chapter of soldier dissent, some veterans returned home to their communities and still felt moved to challenge the war and its implications for American society. For the first time in American history, veterans of an active war took to the streets to protest the same conflict they had just returned from. In this manner, they continued the work of coffeehouse activists seeking to unite the issues raised by soldiers with the larger anti-Establishment movement outside of the military.

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[219] Robert D. Heinl, "The Collapse of the Armed Forces," *Armed Forces Journal* (June 1971), Floor 3, SNS.
[220] Ibid.
[221] Ibid.
[222] Ibid.

Chapter 5

'Lady, We Are the Troops!': Veterans' Activism and the Contradictions of the Citizen-Soldier

On Labor Day Weekend 1970 approximately two hundred Vietnam veterans gathered to march in the footsteps of George Washington. Tracing his arduous journey to Valley Forge during the bleakest years of the American Revolution, the organisers declared that having seen the war 'first-hand…we [as veterans] are now obligated to serve our country again by telling the American people the truth. We must tell our fellow Americans what we saw because we believe strongly that to remain silent is a detriment to our country.'[1] Many veterans returning home felt compelled to speak out about their experiences and the realities of combat in Vietnam. The activism of Vietnam veterans stood in stark contrast to the ideal citizen-soldier who, upon returning home from war, should reclaim his life as a citizen and fade back into his civilian life. Having done his patriotic duty for a grateful nation, his obligations were fulfilled. However, for many returning Vietnam veterans, their experiences in war contributed to the feeling that their military service did not fulfil their true duty to the nation. As former Marine Sergeant Scott Camil recalled:

> I went into the Marine Corps three days out of high school. I believe it was my duty as an American citizen to defend my country…coming back from 'Nam, going to college, doing research using the Pentagon Papers for information, I came to the conclusion that I had been tricked, deceived, used, and that my life had been made expendable for reasons that I didn't consider patriotic.[2]

Camil was not alone in these experiences, and Vietnam veterans became an increasingly crucial voice in anti-war dissent. Some felt that their duty as a citizen-soldier was either incomplete or had yet to truly begin; many believed they had a second tour of duty to serve on American soil. This time, however, they would be fighting to defend democratic freedoms in the US rather than battling the Vietnamese with firearms. Others, like Camil, felt that betrayed that they had been called to serve an undemocratic, dishonest government. Activist veterans argued that their

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[1] "Statement by Craig Scott Moore," press release (12 August 1970), Box 13, Folder 7: Operation RAW 1970 September, Records of Vietnam Veterans Against the War, WHS.
[2] Vietnam Veterans Against the War, "Biographical Sketch of Gainesville 8," Box 14, Folder 20: Gainesville – Press Releases and Misc., Records of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

experiences in Vietnam vindicated broader concerns that the war and its policies ran counter to American ideals.

In making these assertions, veterans used their experiences in the military to highlight a variety of contradictions embedded within the citizen-soldier ideal. Firstly, veterans put the gruesome facts of their combat experiences on display to interrogate the relationship between military service and defence of American democracy. In doing so, this activism challenged accepted performances of patriotism and manhood through military service. Moreover, activist veterans highlighted the chasm between the ideal's emphasis on a universal burden of service and the reality that men of colour and the working class carried the brunt of this burden of service. This activism also illuminated the incongruities of the ideal's promise to confer citizenship and manhood by calling attention to the persistent inequities experienced by veterans, and embedded within American society more broadly. While veterans of previous wars also raised some of these questions, the Vietnam War was the first conflict in which veterans publicly protested the conflict from which they had just returned.

Despite the significance of this activism, the enduring historiographical dominance of the 'declension narrative' of the 1960s means that the anti-war activism of veterans has yet to fully receive the scholarly attention it deserves.[3] Only recently have studies begun to explore groups of activists who, according to Hunt, 'exercised just as profound an influence at the time who have been ignored or delegitimized in most histories.'[4] Importantly, an overwhelming majority of studies focus on Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW).[5] As the largest activist veterans group with an extensive national infrastructure and bureaucracy, VVAW is a key organisation for studying veterans' activism.

Unlike the New Left's mostly white, middle class, university-based constituency, criticism from veterans who had 'been there' tended to carry more weight in the eyes of the American public. As Stacewicz notes, these were men 'who had been in the belly of the beast and had emerged to share their knowledge.'[6] Many scholars agree that one of the most significant contributions of this activism to the 1960s was in imbuing a new sense of authority to anti-war protests. Specifically,

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[3] Hunt, *The Turning*, 1, 5, 191; See also Stacewicz, *Winter Soldiers*, xii.
[4] Hunt, *The Turning*, 1.
[5] See for example: Gerald Nicosia, *Home to War*: *A History of the Vietnam Veterans' Movement* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2004); Hunt, *The Turning*; Moser, *New Winter Soldiers*; Stacewicz, *Winter Soldiers*.
[6] Stacewicz, *Winter Soldiers*, 3.

scholars credit veterans, particularly VVAW, with reinvigorating a struggling anti-war movement.[7] Hunt argues that the direct involvement of veterans in the war 'endowed VVAWers with a legitimacy in the court of public opinion that few other antiwar activists possessed.' Perhaps reflecting the exalted nature of the citizen-soldier, Hunt continues, 'an unwritten, unspoken compact of trust existed between the veterans' and a 'substantial portion' of the American public.[8] Contemporaries recognised this as well. William Crandall, in his self-categorised 'organizer-historian's memoir,' examines the development of the VVAW at his alma mater, Ohio State University. He notes, 'VVAW members possessed a credibility that could not be ignored or scared away. Our slogan was "What can they do to us – send us to Vietnam?"'[9] Media outlets echoed these sentiments. The *Akron Beacon Journal*, for example, declared that the testimony of veterans 'must inevitably carry more weight that the protests or endorsements of those who have never seen this war first hand.'[10] Likewise, the *Philadelphia Daily News* declared, 'certainly the opinion of those who have fought [in the Vietnam War] should carry special weight.'[11] As the embodiment of the citizen-soldier ideal, veterans were particularly well-placed to critique the relationship between citizenship and soldiering. This chapter will place the efforts of VVAW into a larger narrative of organising around veterans' post-war experiences and activisms by considering the participation of black veterans in veterans' groups and Black Power activism, and the involvement of the National Association of Black Veterans, Veterans for Peace, the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors (CCCO), The Radical Lawyers and Campaign for Justice for War Resisters and Victims, the Midwest Amnesty Project and the Military Action Committee to name a few.

It will also explore the activism of veterans after the Vietnam War. Existing studies of VVAW tend to focus on the hey-day of their activism from 1970 through to the end of the war. Robert Lifton and Gerald Nicosia's works are two of the only studies of VVAW that extend beyond the withdrawal of American troops from

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[7] See for example, Hunt, *The Turning*, 5; Stacewicz, *Winter Soldiers*, xii; Moser, *New Winter Soldiers*, 1, 5.
[8] Hunt, *The Turning*, 192.
[9] William Crandall, "They Moved the Town: Organizing Vietnam Veterans Against the War," in Small and Hoover, 152.
[10] Hunt, *The Turning*, 116.
[11] "Voices of Authority," *Philadelphia Daily News* (22 April 1971), Folder 15: Dewey Canyon III, Richard Moser Collection.

Vietnam.[12] However, Lifton focuses primarily on the psychological difficulties of readjustment to civilian life after the War, rather than any further organising carried out by VVAW. Conversely, Nicosia does discuss the continued activism of VVAW, but particularly around issues that directly affect veterans. In particular, he explores activism directed at the Department Veterans' Affairs and around the unacknowledged catastrophic effects of Agent Orange on veterans' health. What is under-examined in the scholarship is the way that veterans' activism, sometimes stemming from VVAW, sometimes not, expanded into a broader anti-imperialist critique of the American system. Indeed, as the war drew to a close, activist veterans increasingly turned their attention to the network of oppressions that had made the war in Vietnam possible. Far from being a societal equaliser, activists asserted that the war benefitted the political and economic elites at the expense of America's communities of colour and the working poor. Moreover, American involvement in 'hot' moments of the Cold War was rooted in racist, imperialist mentalities that painted America as the saviour of Third World nations.

This chapter also seeks to more fully explore the activism of veterans of colour. Most of the studies of veterans' activism put minority voices in their narratives as a 'cameo appearance.' Hunt's expansive study of VVAW only mentions black veterans a few times, noting that the Black Panthers attracted many black veterans, especially those who were drafted from 'the ghettos of America.'[13] He suggests that some black veterans 'trickled' into VVAW but that many of these veterans were also members of the Black Panthers.[14] Nicosia's study is by far the most inclusive of black veterans; however, most of this analysis is done through an examination of Al Hubbard, the only black founder of VVAW, and his attempts to draw black veterans into VVAW. Nicosia also discusses the involvement of black veterans in VVAW actions, observing that they were the primary actors in protests of draft boards in Brooklyn.[15] Clearly, a significant gap in the literature remains. As journalist Wallace Terry noted in his 1984 book of oral histories with black veterans, the stories of these veterans 'deservedly belong in the forefront because of the unique experience of the black Vietnam veteran. He fought at a time when his sisters and brothers were

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[12] Robert Jay Lifton, *Home from the War: Vietnam Veterans: Neither Victims Nor Executioners* (New York: Basic Books, 1985); Nicosia, *Home to War*, especially Chapters 4-9.
[13] Hunt, *The Turning*, 133.
[14] Ibid., 134.
[15] Nicosia, *Home to War,* 54.

fighting and dying at home for equal rights and greater opportunities, for a colour-blind nation promised to him in the Constitution he swore to defend.'[16] Having sacrificed for the nation, rhetoric suggested that veterans would be embraced as full citizens. However, this went unrealised for many veterans of colour and their subsequent activism highlighted the contradictions between the whiteness of American citizenship and the promises of the citizen-soldier ideal.

To achieve these aims, this chapter begins by looking at the activism of VVAW to contextualise the critiques made by veterans. In particular, it will examine the theatricality of the organisation's activism to explore how they used performance to reconfigure enactments of citizenship and masculinity. While draft resisters and active-duty GIs made similar critiques, the activism of VVAW most directly brought the reconfiguration of the citizen-soldier into public view, drawing on their authority as men who had 'been there'. Despite the popular memory of veteran's activism, these were not the only campaigns in which VVAW participated and this chapter will also examine the understudied campaigns of veterans and other activist groups around universal amnesty and advocacy for a universal military discharge classification. This chapter will then explore veterans' rejection of performances of masculinity based in physical dominance and violence imbued by military training. Instead, they put forth a reconsidered manhood rooted in courageousness in standing up for one's convictions. The reconfiguration of masculinity during the Vietnam War era cannot be understood without exploring its relationship to race. As such, this chapter will examine the critique of the citizen-soldier made by black veterans and the creation alternate performances of citizenship and masculinity based in community. Finally, it will conclude by considering the intersections of race and gender in this context.

VVAW's critique of citizenship and manhood through their anti-war activism is essential to exploring veterans' activism after the war. This activism used guerrilla theatre to critique the hegemonic performances of citizenship and masculinity exemplified by the citizen-soldier ideal. Thus, this chapter builds on existing scholarship by further illuminating the importance of theatricality and performance in veterans' redefinition of duty and citizenship. These criticisms directly influenced the rhetoric of future activism around amnesty and universal discharges. In these campaigns, VVAW becomes one voice among many in the critique of the citizen-

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[16] Wallace Terry, *Bloods: An Oral History of the Vietnam War by Black Veterans* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1984), xv-xvi.

soldier ideal. As the dominant narrative of veterans' activism has retained its focus on VVAW, a predominately white organisation, and the spectacle of protesting veterans, interrogations of the racial dimensions of veterans' activism, and to a further extent the intersection of race and gender, have been almost entirely overlooked. The last section of this chapter seeks to remedy this oversight by considering the intersections of race and gender in the context of the citizen-soldier ideal. While veterans of colour were making similar critiques of the citizen-soldier's assumptions around masculinity and duty, their critique foregrounds their racial identity and their inequitable experience of American citizenship, and results in a very different reconfiguration of the performances of masculinity and citizenship inherent to the ideal.

Bearing Witness in Defence of Democracy: Bringing the Contradictions of the War Home

In his book *The Soldiers' Tale*, Samuel Hynes sets out to tell a single coherent story that characterises the broader story of 'men at war.' In exploring this genre of war narratives, Hynes concludes that soldiers' narratives 'make war actual, without making it familiar. They bear witness.'[17] Whereas some veterans sought to move on from their experiences in combat, activist veterans felt compelled to bear witness to the war. As Hunt argues, anti-war veterans, 'motivated in most cases by the carnage they had witnessed in Vietnam, sought to narrow the gap between the ideals and the reality of American society.'[18] A VVAW flyer echoed Hunt's assertion, declaring, 'our experience with the agony of war gives us a special responsibility to speak out about the war in Vietnam.'[19] This idea of bearing witness was central to many veterans' decision to participate in some form of activism and activist organisations. These veterans argued that they had a patriotic duty to bear witness to the horrors of war to bring it to an end, and a further duty to ensure American domestic and foreign policy embodied the nation's democratic ideals. Jan Barry, the founding president of VVAW, insisted that veterans' primary aims should to educate the public as 'moral witnesses' against the war.'[20] As one Vietnam vet declared, 'veterans bring the reality

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[17] Samuel Hynes, *The Soldiers' Tale: Bearing Witness to Modern War* (New York: The Penguin Group, 1997), 30.
[18] Hunt, *The Turning*, 4.
[19] Vietnam Veterans Against the War, flyer, Box 5, Folder 22: Misc. Vet and GI #2, Richard Moser Collection.
[20] John Hollitz, *Contending Voices, Volume II: Since 1865*, 4th ed. (Boston, MA: Cengage Learning, 2017), 237.

of imperialism home. We actively participated and our credibility cannot be disavowed.'[21] Thus, veterans realised they were uniquely placed for this task. While civilians made some of the same criticisms of the war, the authority of veterans, resulting in part from the centrality of the citizen-soldier ideal to American national mythology, was harder for the public and policymakers to dismiss.

By foregrounding their identity as soldiers, the first incarnations of veterans' activism sought to highlight the gap between the rhetorical role of the citizen-soldier and the actual role soldiers were playing in Vietnam. In its most practical application, the duty of a citizen-soldier was to defend the nation against specific threats. Embracing the domino theory, official rhetoric argued that a communist Vietnam posed a threat to democracy around the world, and ultimately also posed a threat to the US.[22] However, the activism of veterans sought to demonstrate that the US and its military was not the entity at risk, but the threatening oppressor. Given this reality, rather than embracing the quiet, dutiful service of the soldier, veterans argued that it was the duty of the citizen to defend American democratic ideals above all else.

Using their authority as veterans, activists challenged the legitimacy of the war. Veterans for Peace, an organisation that included both Vietnam veterans and veterans of other wars, declared in a flyer that veterans were uniquely placed to 'make the public aware that it is patriotic to oppose the war. We, who have served our country with honor…we meet our right and responsibility to speak out. And speak out we must against a war contrary to both America's interests and its best traditions.'[23] Civilian publications also recognised the implicit authority of veterans. A local Pennsylvania newspaper, *Daily Record,* reflected: 'the soldiers asked why they could not be accepted as Americans with a legitimate protest against a war in which they fought and fought bravely.'[24] Nationally, the *Washington Post*'s William Raspberry declared, activist veterans 'were saying "stop the war – not because I don't want to get

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[21] "Veterans and GI Caucus," conference report, Box 1, Folder 20: The Covered Wagon, Records of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

[22] The domino theory posited that if one nation fell to communism influence, their regional neighbours would follow. It would become a central theory in American foreign policy after President Eisenhower coined the term in a news conference in April 1954; See for example: Robert McNamara with Brian VanDeMark, *In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam* (New York: Random House Inc., 1995), 31-32.

[23] "Vets Demand Viet Peace," flyer, Box 5, Folder 4, Richard Moser Collection.

[24] "Veterans March to Valley Forge," *Daily Record* (8 September 1970), Reel 1, Folder 2, Archives Unbound.

hurt but because the war is tragic, senseless and wrong.'"[25] By drawing on their authority as veterans, anti-war veterans were able to bring a profound critique of the citizen-soldier, and its attendant assumptions about performances of patriotic duty and manhood, to large swaths of the American population, some of which may have been previously unmoved by anti-war activism.

Notably, this credibility did not go uncontested. Jeffery Kirk recalled he joined a VVAW march to support an anti-war group 'whose patriotism loyalty and integrity, and national service no serious citizen could question.' In the same recollection, however, he notes as an aside that he was 'very surprised when I heard some watchers shouting, "Why don't you go back to Russia, you cowards!"'[26] Similarly, a popular tactic of critics was to accuse protestors of not being veterans at all. Ultimately, VVAW asked veterans to display their DD-214's, or discharge papers, to counter these assertions during protests.[27] While these attempts to weaken the credibility of veterans certainly captured the minds of some, the use of such tactics reflects the broad rhetorical importance of the citizen-soldier ideal to conceptions of Americanness. This narrative tapped into the widespread opinion that anti-war protestors questioning the Administration's policies were in some way 'un-American.' However, like activist GIs, veterans asserted that their protest was the epitome of patriotism and their responsibility as a citizen.

Repurposing the citizen-soldier's duty to serve the nation, anti-war veterans argued that their primary obligation as a citizen and soldier lay in defending the Constitution, rather than in supporting a specific foreign policy agenda. Vietnam vet John Kniffin recalled, 'we had taken an oath to defend the government of the United States and the Constitution. What do you do when the government of the United States is the enemy of the Constitution? Where does your allegiance lie?'[28] VVAW's Great Plains Regional Director, John Musgrave similarly stated, 'we were sent to Vietnam to fight, supposedly, for our Constitution - - we lost there through deceit. We can't lose here.'[29] By arguing that a citizen's primary duty was to defend the Constitution and American ideals, anti-war veterans affirmed that this new duty was a

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[25] William Raspberry, "Some Good Things About War Protest," *The Washington Post* (27 April 1971), Box 5, Folder 15: Dewey Canyon III, Richard Moser Collection.

[26] Jeffery Kirk, "Participants Questionnaire," Box 13, Folder 8 – Operation RAW, Records of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

[27] Hunt, *The Turning*, 49, 102.

[28] John Kniffin quoted in Stacewicz, *Winter Soldiers*, 2.

[29] "Statement of John Musgrave," (1 August 1973), Box 14, Folder 21: Gainesville 9 Defense Press Releases and Statements, Records of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

citizen's highest patriotism. In a 1968 Statement of Principles, VVAW declared, 'We believe in the freedom to speak, to think, to change our mind and to dissent…We do not believe our country should be supported "right or wrong", but rather that it is our democratic duty to challenge government policies when we conscientiously believe them to be wrong. We believe that this is the highest patriotism.'[30] Veterans for Peace in Vietnam echoed VVAW's sentiments, proclaiming, 'blind support for our government's policies is not patriotism. True patriotism means the courage to question, and to insist that our policies be just and worthy of our great country.'[31] In terms of the citizen-soldier, this activism asked whether the duty of the citizen was to his nation's leaders or to the maintenance of democracy; veterans asserted that the citizen's duty was to the latter.

By putting forth this reconsidered duty of citizenship, veterans elevated role of the citizen over that of the soldier. As Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam declared, US intervention in Vietnam 'violat[ed] American traditions and principles more blatantly…The only thing honest and loyal Americans can do when their government has gone so far wrong is to publicly disassociate themselves' from these policies.'[32] Similarly, in a flyer, Veterans for Peace declared, 'after our service in Vietnam, we face our greatest responsibility. We too must serve beyond our enlistment if the nation is to be preserved.'[33] The idea of a duty to continue serving in defence of American ideals was central to this activism and numerous veteran organisations drew on the rights and privileges of the citizen to posit this ultimate duty of the citizen-soldier. While, the following consideration of VVAW's activism will touch on topics and themes previously highlighted by scholars, it is through this activism that we can better understand the profound challenge that activist veterans made to the long-standing relationship between democratic citizenship, soldiering and patriotism. By bearing witness to the war, VVAW publicly performed reconfigured iterations of citizenship and masculinity that mounted a significant challenge to the assumptions of traditional iterations of the citizen-soldier ideal.

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[30] "Statement of Principles," (ca. May 1968) Reel 1, Folder 12: FBI Case File, Archives Unbound.

[31] "Support Our Men in Vietnam, Join Veterans for Peace in Vietnam," flyer, Box 10, Folder 8: Vietnam Veterans Against the War, 1971-1975, Fred Halstead Papers.

[32] Mass mailed letter (n.d.), Box 54, Folder: Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam, Social Action Vertical File.

[33] "Long Island Winter Soldier Investigation," pamphlet, CDGA Collective Box, Folder: Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Inc., SPC.

In an effort to bear witness, the organisation made use of street theatre, or guerrilla theatre style protests, to 'bring the war home' to the American people and draw their attention to these discrepancies between rhetoric and reality. Originating in the mid-1960s, guerrilla theatre used theatrical performances to bring controversies and social commentaries directly into the public eye by performing for free in public spaces.[34] As Michael Doyle suggests, these performances were not meant as a 'call to arms, but a *cultural* revolt aimed at replacing discredited American values and norms.'[35] While guerrilla theatre protests are typically associated with the activism of the Black Panthers or more radical New Left groups, it was particularly well suited to VVAW's desire to awaken the general public to the gap between the rhetoric of policymakers and the realities of combat in Vietnam. These protests were rooted in the shared experience of soldiering and the rhetoric of serving again to protect American ideals. Participants were simultaneously bearing witness to the war and critiquing the society that allowed it to unfold.

Through guerrilla theatre protests, activist veterans problematised the image of the soldier bravely fighting to defend democracy abroad by emphasising the violent denial of Vietnamese lives and liberties at the hands of soldiers. VVAW made use of guerrilla theatre throughout its protests including Operation Rapid Action Withdrawal (RAW) in September 1970, their January 1971 Winter Soldier Investigation and Operation Dewey Canyon III in April 1971.[36] Through Operation RAW and Operation Dewey Canyon III, activists intentionally recreated and performed the Vietnam experience for civilians by enacting search and destroy missions and engaging with actors standing in as Vietnamese civilians. During the Winter Soldier Investigation, activist veterans conducted a mock trial, accusing the nation of war crimes and on the final day of Operation Dewey Canyon III, veterans discarded the symbols of honour earned in combat. In doing so, they performed a rejection of the popular performances of manhood and citizenship embodied by the citizen-soldier.

One of the primary goals of this activism was to perform the contradictions between rhetoric and reality. In describing his participation in VVAW's Operation

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[34] Michael William Doyle, "Staging the Revolution: Guerrilla Theater as a Counter-Cultural Practice, 1965-68," in Braunstein and Doyle, 72.

[35] Ibid., 74.

[36] These were three of the most significant public protests of VVAW as a national organisation, although local protests were simultaneously taking place. For the details of these protests, see Gerald Nicosia, *Home to War: A History of the Vietnam Veterans' Movement* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2004), especially Chapter 2 and 3; Moser, *New Winter Soldier*s, Chapter 5 and Hunt, *The Turning*, Chapters 2, 3 and 6.

RAW march, Robert Dunne noted, 'I wanted to try to explain to the people what the WAR was really like, not the bull that they have been fed by there [sic] administration.'[37] Similarly, Manuel Doanes declared, 'I could not bring the people to Vietnam so I helped bring the Vietnam War to the people.'[38] By revealing the realities of combat in Vietnam, activist veterans demonstrated that the government should not demand the sacrifice of its young men for an unjust cause. After participating in Operation RAW, Tomas Pritchett wrote, 'The use of my Army fatigues as a symbol with which most Americans readily identify enabled me to breach the gap between we, who believe the war to be insane, and others who feel the war to be a necessary evil.'[39] The visual impact of guerrilla theatre put these discrepancies between ideals and rhetoric on display. As republican citizenship and manhood were both performatively constructed through military service, the guerrilla theatre of VVAW displayed reconfigured performances of citizenship and masculinity that rejected silent obedience and a manhood defined by violence.

Guerrilla theatre performances in Operation RAW and Operation Dewey Canyon III sought to recreate the Vietnam experience as closely as possible, employing actors to play Vietnamese civilians who were beaten, 'shot' and tormented in full view of the local population (often suburbanites going about their errands or heading to social engagements). One veteran recalled that guerrilla theatre was meant to 'let people know what it feels like to be Vietnamese, let them know what it's like to have no political freedom, have someone come in and impose their will on your will.'[40] After one 'raid' during Operation RAW, a black veteran addressed the onlookers, declaring, 'what you have just seen is what the Vietnamese people experience every day, absolute repression, infringement on all civil liberties and its done in your name...if you continue to remain silent, you are responsible.'[41] In this iteration, it was not the Vietnamese who posed the most significant threat to American democracy; rather the American policymakers responsible for planning and executing the war were the most pressing enemy of American democracy. It was under the dictates of these military elites and politicians that veterans had been ordered to carry

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[37] Robert Dunne, "Participants Questionnaire," Records of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.
[38] Manuel Doanes, "Participants Questionnaire," Records of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.
[39] Tomas Prichett, "Participants Questionnaire," Records of Vietnam Veterans Against the War. [emphasis in original]
[40] *Different Sons,* VHS, directed by Jack Oldfield and Arthur Littman (Hudson, NY: Bowling Green Films, 1971), TAM.
[41] Ibid.

out these acts of violence to strip the Vietnamese people of their rights in the name of protecting their rights and freedoms.

By understanding the threat to democracy in this way, veterans rearticulated who and what required the defence of patriotic citizen-soldiers. VVAW's description of Dewey Canyon III perhaps best encapsulates this shift. Named after two previously secret invasions of Laos (Dewey Canyon I and II), the demonstration was described as 'a limited incursion into the countries of Congress, the Supreme Court and the Fourth Estate.'[42] By describing the protest as an 'incursion', VVAW depicted the American government as an enemy combatant or as an adversary that needed to be confronted. In preparation for the march, the organisation declared, '[we] have identified the enemy. He is us. Armed with this knowledge, we will not in this crisis shrink from the service of our country. Instead…we will continue to bring the war home. We have identified the enemy, and we will engage the enemy on his battlefield, America.'[43] This description of the protest simultaneously evokes the language of soldiering and posits a new duty centred on the protection of American ideals.

Like GIs, activist veterans firmly rooted their understanding of the citizen-soldier within American history and long-standing national mythologies. In early 1971, VVAW launched the Winter Soldier Investigation to demonstrate that American troops were harming the Vietnamese, rather than protecting their democratic rights. The term 'Winter Soldier' is taken from *The American Crisis,* a pamphlet written by Thomas Paine in December 1776.[44] By evoking the symbolism of the American Revolution, this protest called attention to the discrepancies between the rhetorical duty of the citizen-soldier and the actual actions of soldiers in Vietnam. While the primary focus of the protest was on veterans explicitly recounting their actions and experiences in Vietnam, it put forth protest as a new performance of patriotic duty and rejected a manhood rooted in violence. Invoking the image of the patriotic Winter Soldiers, William Crandall's opening statement declared:

> In the bleak winter of 1776 when the men who had enlisted in the summer were going home because the war was hard…Thomas Paine wrote, "These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will in this crisis shrink from the service of country, but he that stands it now deserves the love and thanks for man and woman." Like the winter soldiers of 1776 who stayed after they had served their time, we veterans of Vietnam know that America is in grave danger. What threatens our country is not Redcoats, or even

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[42] "Winter Soldier Offensive – Phase 3," Box 8, Folder 3: David Cortright, Records of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Thomas Paine, *The American Crisis* (Philadelphia: Styner and Cist, 1776), Broadside Collection, Library of Congress.

> Reds; it is our crimes that are destroying our national security unity by separating those of our countrymen who deplore these acts from those of our countrymen who refuse to examine what is being done in America's name…We are here to bear witness not against America, but against those who are perverting America.[45]

By invoking the words of Thomas Paine, VVAW embedded its protest in traditional patriotic imagery and equated the struggle of testifying veterans with the patriotic sacrifices of America's original revolutionaries. In turn, American leaders were placed in the role of the oppressive and tyrannical British forces. Like the winter soldiers of 1776, activist veterans were struggling against a tyrannical government that restricted humanity's natural and inalienable rights to life and liberty. Echoing the patriots of 1776, who fought for a government accountable to the people, VVAW acknowledged that current foreign policy and domestic efforts threatened the ability of the citizenry to hold the government accountable, a role that is central to the success of a democracy.

These ideas were central to other VVAW protests. In 1972, from the historical home of Betsy Ross (who American mythology credits with sewing the first American flag), VVAW released a statement that read, 'We have liberated this hall and are holding it in trust for the American people until such time as the government represents all of the American people and any ideals associated with the flag.'[46] Also included in the pamphlet was a statement of support by Ross's four times great grandson, Dan Bolderstein who thanked VVAW for making her home 'once again the focus of the struggle for liberty and justice for all.' Again recalling the 'Spirit of '76', Bolderstein equated Ross's work on the American flag, which he described as 'a symbol of resistance to the illegitimate power of Britain', with the current struggle against 'injustice and murder perpetrated by the United States in Indochina.'[47] Thus, for VVAW, the war was not aligned with the traditional demands that citizens be willing to sacrifice in defence of their nation. Instead, the compulsion to serve in the military was evidence of an illegitimate, undemocratic authority embodied by military and civilian policymakers. Simultaneously using and critiquing the citizen-soldier ideal, the activism of VVAW highlighted a key contradiction within the traditional citizen-soldier ideal. When the policies of the nation itself were undemocratic, the role of the citizen-soldier must, by necessity, shift. The role of the citizen and soldier

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[45] William Crandall, "Opening Statement," Box 18, Folder 32: Programs: Winter Soldier Investigation, 1971 Publicity, Records of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

[46] "Operation Peace on Earth," Box 13, Folder 5 – Operation Peace on Earth 1971 December, Records of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

[47] Ibid.

cannot simply be aligned with the defence of the nation; it must be aligned with the defence of democratic ideals.

Also in 1972, VVAW protestors hung the American flag upside down upon arriving at the top of the Statue of Liberty invoking an internationally recognised symbol of distress.[48] Of their protest, one veteran told the press:

> The reason we chose the Statue of Liberty is that since we were children, the statue has been analogous in our minds with the freedom and an America we love. Then we went to fight a war in the name of freedom. We saw that freedom is a selective expression allowed only to those who are white and maintain the status quo. Until the symbol again takes on the meaning it was intended to have, we must continue our demonstrations all over the nation of our love of freedom and America.[49]

Through their activism, VVAW sought to realign democratic promises with the actions of the nation. In doing so, they foregrounded their role as the embodiment of the citizen-soldier ideal. Anti-war Brigadier General Hugh Hester, in a letter to Veterans for Peace in Vietnam, stated his support for anti-war veterans, writing, 'I know of no more proper task for men who have demonstrated their devotion and loyalty to the American people by risking their lives in combat, than by protesting against the terribly dangerous and unnecessary war…Their action, I believe, in doing these things, constitutes the exercise of patriotism in its very highest form.'[50] VVAW similarly asserted in a 1970 'introductory letter' that their organisation 'recognizes its patriotic duty to protect the ideals upon which this country was founded, and accepts its responsibility to question its government and to petition for those changes for the good of the country.'[51] Through their activism, VVAW sought to expose the contradictions between the citizen-soldier's original role as a defender of democracy and the contemporary, undemocratic actions of American soldiers during the Vietnam War. In doing so, this activism fostered a profound critique of this long-standing, patriotic rhetorical figure of the citizen-soldier.

As the war came to a close, the specific focus of veterans' activism shifted away from stopping the war to broader issues underpinning the war and the experience

[48] Historically, hanging a flag upside down was a symbol of distress used by country's navies, particularly the American and British navies. However, it has since gained popular currency as a symbol of distress. It is also perceived as a desecration of the flag, particularly in the United States. The 2018 version of 4 USC§8, more commonly known as 'The Flag Code' notes in the section entitled 'Respect for the Flag' that , 'the flag should never be displayed with the union down, except as a signal of dire distress in instances of extreme danger to life or property.'
[49] Hunt, *The Turning*, 140.
[50] "What Five Military Leaders Say About Vietnam," Reel 8, Folder: Clergy and Laity Concerned, Radicalism and Reactionary Politics Collection.
[51] "Introductory Letter," (17 August 1970), mass-mailed letter, Box 13, Folder 6: Operation Raw 1970 July-October, Records of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

of veterans. However, despite shifting the target of their dissent, their activism continued to expose the contradictions within the citizen-soldier ideal. Transitioning from anti-war activism to a campaign for amnesty, veterans continued to assert that, because the war was fought for and on undemocratic terms, the government did not have the right to compel the sacrifice of American citizens., or punish those who had patriotically resisted.

Who Are the Criminals and Who Are the Heroes?: The Debate Over Amnesty

As the US concluded its direct involvement in Vietnam, the country turned to the question of how to treat the many anti-war activists who had broken existing conscription laws to protest the war. A 1973 *New York Times* article noted, 'though seven years of war might be almost over, some of that war's central questions – bitter and divisive ones – [that] remain facing the public will not go away: Was it a just war? Were the young men who avoided the fighting cowards and traitors who betrayed their country or were they heroes and patriots who showed their country the way to a new high level of morality?'[52] The answer to those rhetorical questions had tangible consequences for veterans' employment prospects and access to benefits throughout their civilian lives. For anti-war veterans and their allies, the answer was clear: their principled refusal to cooperate was the epitome of patriotism and should be a source of commendation, not castigation. However, veterans returning from service with a record of anti-war or anti-military agitation were often given less-than-honourable discharges and those who had gone AWOL or fled the country to dissent against the war were considered criminals under US law. Men who had stood up for their consciences or agitated to defend American ideals found themselves labelled felons and rejected by the civilian world to which they returned.

In an effort to 'bind the nation's wounds and to heal the scars of divisiveness', President Ford issued a Presidential Proclamation on 16th September, 1974 that proposed a programme of amnesty for 'the return of Vietnam era draft evaders and deserters.'[53] Ford proclaimed:

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[52] Anthony Ripley, "Amnesty for Draft Resisters Is Expected to be Divisive Political Issue for Years – Forces Asking Pardons are Gathering Strength," *New York Times* (30 January 1973), Box 77, Subseries 1.9: Military, Folder 1: Amnesty, Liberation News Service Records.
[53] Gerald Ford, "Announcing A Program for the Return of Vietnam Era Draft Evaders and Military Deserters," (16 September 1974), Record Group 11, Series: Presidential Proclamations, 1791-2011,

these young Americans should have the chance to contribute a share to the rebuilding of peace among ourselves and with all nations. They should be allowed the opportunity to return to their country, their communities, and their families, upon their agreement to a period of alternate service in the national interest, together with an acknowledgement of their allegiance to the country and its Constitution.[54]

Under this programme, draft resisters could receive amnesty for their 'crime' after reaffirming their allegiance to the nation and working for two years in a public service job. However, for activist veterans, this proposal further emphasised the inherent contradictions of the citizen-soldier ideal. While activists posited a citizen-soldier who stood firmly in defence of American democratic ideals, Ford's Amnesty programme equated dissent with criminality that required forgiveness. As VVAW declared, 'the word "Amnesty" implies a crime…We know that US involvement in Indochina is wrong, therefore it is our duty as Veterans Who Fought The War to band together to persuade the country that it is not with amnesty, but with "Repatriation" that we must welcome back those brothers and sisters who [resisted the war].'[55]

Activist veterans groups and allied civilian organisations demanded the nation unconditionally welcome resisters back to society. Activists argued that these individuals had chosen to stand up for their conscience, making a significant sacrifice of their prestige or reputation, and placed their duty to defend the nation's ideals above their existing relationships. Some who had chosen to resist by moving outside of the US had accepted the possibility that they could never reunite with their families, while others faced imprisonment, a loss of employment and respect from their communities and families. As far as anti-war veterans were concerned, not only was there nothing to forgive, but these resisters had already proved their patriotism and loyalty and fulfilled a far greater duty than most of the American public. GIs stationed in Germany concluded that the only 'amnesty' they could support was one that openly welcomed back resisters as 'they have served their country (and indeed saved countless lives) at tremendous personal sacrifice. In the truest sense, these men are American's "heroes".'[56] Having sacrificed for the defence of American ideals, they deserved the support, not the ire of the nation.

United States National Archives and Records Administration, https://catalog.archives.gov/id/299997 (accessed 7 December 2017)

[54] Ibid.

[55] "Veterans and GI Caucus," Box 11, Folder 20: The Covered Wagon, Records of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

[56] Schofield Coryell, "American Amnesty Conference Banned in Paris," *French Protest*, Box 77, Subseries 1.9: Military, Folder 1: Amnesty, Liberation News Service Records.

Speaking specifically of conscientious objectors, religious, moral and philosophical, the CCCO declared, 'The "crime" for which these men became felons, and thereby lost their civil rights, was their renunciation of the futility and mass slaughter of modern war…Loyalty to their deepest beliefs has thus already cost these men [as] their Selective Service violation has made them felons and most states deprive them of their right to vote, hold office, or to obtain licenses to many of the professions. This second-class citizenship continues for life.'[57] The CCCO's argument directly challenged enduring understandings of the relationship between citizenship and soldiering. By punishing resisters, the law reflected the traditional notion that the government could (and possibly should) compel men to serve; failure to fulfil this duty resulted in legal repercussions. By becoming felons, resisters were stripped of key citizenship rights, particularly the right to vote and hold public office.

Amnesty activists argued, however, that these men had fulfilled a central duty to their nation by exercising their agency as citizens and refusing to participate in a war that ran counter to American ideals. In a 1972 issue of *National Affairs*, CCCO activist John Swomley Jr. declared that war resisters were being punished for valuing freedom 'too highly to submit to conscription or [because] their consciences did not permit them to contribute even indirectly to the in Vietnam.'[58] He echoed the demands of amnesty activists arguing that the government ought to 'recognize the devotion of some of their other citizens to a higher moral duty or citizenship that makes them disobey an order for induction or decide they cannot continue in the armed forces.'[59] He continued, noting that this decision to dissent and the subsequent self-imposed exile 'points to their courage rather than their cowardice.'[60]

This reconfiguration of duty also facilitated a critique of American policymakers. The Radical Lawyers and the Campaign for Justice for War Resisters and Victims argued that there was nothing that needed to be forgiven because resisters were morally justified in their resistance. The group declared 'our position is that the term, which means "forgiveness or forgetfulness" does not apply in this case. Those who seek justice - - war resisters, exiled draft resisters and deserters, veterans with bad

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[57] "Amnesty for Conscientious Objectors," Series B, Box 5, Folder 1: Leaflets/pamphlets/flyers (title A), Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors Records, SPC.
[58] John M. Swomley, Jr., "Amnesty: The Record and the Need," *National Affairs* (17 January 1972), Series IV, Box 29, Folder 1: Reference Material: amnesty for conscientious objectors/deserters, Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors Records.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.

discharges and our brothers and sisters in civilian and military prisoners for resisting a racist, imperialist war and system - - do not seek forgiveness from the real criminals. Therefore we do not ask for amnesty. We demand justice.'[61] Likewise, the American Servicemen's Union declared, 'the entire concept behind President Ford's so-called "amnesty plan"…is that courageous people who refused to take part in a war of criminal aggression must now return…to do two years of "penance" to the war machine which prosecuted this genocidal war. In addition to this, it is required that they swear allegiance to this government of war criminals.'[62] VVAW echoed these sentiments, arguing that no crime had been committed by resisters – they had simply exercised their rights as citizens, their rights under International Rules of War and the Nuremberg Trial's emphasis on personal responsibility.[63] By positioning dissent as the most patriotic course for a citizen, veteran activists placed the nation's policymakers in the position of imperialist oppressor.

A 1974 issue of *Winter Soldier*, the national newspaper of VVAW, argued that only unconditional amnesty would lead the public to 'understand that resistance to imperialist wars, such as the Indochina war, is correct.' As such, 'veterans and civilians should not be punished in any way for their deeds.'[64] As these comments suggest, campaigning around the issue of amnesty relied on the reconfiguration of the citizen-soldier ideal that underpinned the anti-war activism of soldiers and veterans throughout the war. Inverting the language of the citizen-soldier ideal, amnesty activists argued that resisters had not only done their patriotic duty by resisting, but made a significant, heroic sacrifice for their country. By resisting, they defended American ideals against a war which made a mockery of these same ideals and fulfilled their most essential duty as a citizen. In other words, the citizen-soldier protected democratic ideals, and not, as Ford's amnesty programme suggested, the government. In this sense, activist veterans drew a clear line between the ways in which they understood the duty of the citizen and the view of American policymakers.

By requiring an alternate term of service, the amnesty proposed by Ford did not accept this redefinition of the citizen-soldier. It simply removed the threat of

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[61] Radical Lawyers and Campaign for Justice for War Resisters and Victims, "Amnesty," Box 7, Folder 36, Records of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.
[62] American Servicemen's Union, press release (18 September 1974), Box 77, Subseries 1.9: Military, Folder 1: Amnesty, Liberation News Service Records.
[63] "Position Paper: On Amnesty," (31 March 1973) Box 7, Folder 9, Records of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.
[64] "Earned Re-entry is Not Amnesty," *Winter Soldier Newsletter* (November 1974), Reel 19, Folder 80, Archives Unbound.

front-line combat from the equation without acknowledging the underlying questions about the authority of the Selective Service to compel citizens to serve against their consciences. Indeed, VVAW argued that a central premise of the amnesty campaign was that 'no army has the right to force people to fight in imperialist wars.'[65] Rather than supporting citizens who fought to defend their democratic ideals, Ford's amnesty programme suggested that good citizen-soldiers obediently served their nation, even if it was conducting a war that did not defend, or ran counter to, American democratic ideals. Instead of alleviating tension, Ford's programme left these questions unanswered.

In terms of the citizen-soldier, amnesty activists emphasised the question originally posed by activist veterans: to whom does the citizen owe their democratic duty of service when the nation's policymakers were behaving in undemocratic ways? Through their activism, they upheld the conclusion that a true patriotic duty lay in defending American democracy and its ideals and demanded recognition for a new relationship between citizenship, duty and patriotism. As an FBI report noted, resisters 'feel that they have not indicated any lack of patriotism towards the United States by becoming exiles, rather they consider themselves to be the true patriots who follow their conscience.'[66] VVAW, meanwhile, took the view that those who resisted, both in and out of the military, 'were correct and acting in the best interests of the American and Vietnamese people.'[67] As patriots following their consciences, or enacting the true duty of the citizen-soldier, unconditional amnesty was the only acceptable option. Thus the issue marked a pivotal point at which American society as a whole was asked to accept this reconfigured relationship between patriotism, dissent, citizenship and soldiering. In particular, they argued that through their dissent they were actually preserving the democratic promises pledged to Vietnamese and American people.

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[65] "Campaign for Amnesty Position Paper," Reel 2, Folder 16, Archives Unbound.
[66] "FBI Report,'"(7 October 1974), Reel 19, Folder 78, Archives Unbound.
[67] Great Plains Vietnam Veterans Against the War, "Letter to the Editor on Amnesty," (17 September 1974), Box 4, Folder 2: Correspondence, Chapters and Regional Offices, Kansas, 1971-1974, Records of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

'The Most Vulnerable Once Again Pay the Greatest Penalties': Military Discharges and the Discontinuities of American Belonging

The realities of military life, and subsequent homecoming experience, provided a further avenue for veterans to highlight the contradictions embodied by the citizen-soldier ideal. In republican philosophy, the use of citizen-soldiers made military service a great social equaliser. In other words, as all citizens bore the burden of service in the nation's time of need, 'the differences of wealth, education, locality, taste, occupation, and social rank, which divide Americans…are lost sight of.'[68] To some extent, this theory still underpinned conceptions of military service in the Vietnam War era; the draft was positioned as a necessary and democratic sharing of the burden of service. However, activist veterans pointed out numerous contradictions in this promise through their critique of the military discharge system by highlighting the relationship between dissent, race and discharge classifications. For veterans, the inconsistencies in applying discharge classifications, which often relied on the opinions of individual superior officers, exemplified the structural inequities within American society. By critiquing this system, activist veterans expanded their analysis to include the ways in which military service specifically, and American policy more broadly, constructed an undemocratic system that continued to disadvantage some American citizens and counteract the nation's democratic ideals. Notably, however, this activism primarily bore witness to this inequitable treatment, rather than seeking to tangibly combat its implications for working class veterans and veterans of colour.

When their term of service concluded, veterans were discharged with a classification that reflected the military's assessment of their service. These discharges fell into two categories: honorable and other-than-honorable (OTH). Veterans receiving either an honorable discharge or a general discharge under honorable conditions fell into the first category – the military considered these soldiers to have carried out their duties faithfully or they were discharged for medical, personal or emotional reasons, but had not broken any military laws. Those convicted of crimes under the UCMJ, on the other hand, received one of three OTH discharges: undesirable, bad conduct or dishonorable. Veterans received an undesirable discharge if the military considered them to be unadaptable to military life. Bad conduct discharges were issued by special court martial or general court martial, while a

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[68] Cohen, "Twilight of the Citizen-Soldier," 23; Cohen, *Citizens and Soldiers*, 122.

dishonorable discharge was given if a soldier was convicted at a general court-martial. Those receiving an OTH discharge were often barred from accessing veterans' benefits and rejected from employment opportunities.[69]

Importantly, the Ford Administration's discussions of amnesty applied only to those who had resisted the draft or gone AWOL. VVAW pointed out that Ford's plan ignored 'the fact that the majority of resisters in need of amnesty are the 580,000 veterans with less-than-honorable discharges.'[70] As activists engaged with the issue of in-military resistance and amnesty, veterans and their civilian allies both engaged with the contradictions in the promises of the citizen-soldier ideal in the conferral of American belonging and tackled issues around the relationship between race, class and war resistance.

As discussed previously, GIs widely criticised the military for not respecting the Constitutional rights of soldiers and for replicating civilian patterns of institutional racism. As discharges were entirely determined by the Brass, many veterans felt they had been unjustly saddled with a discharge that would impact their civilian life. Veterans' organisations and their allies particularly highlighted the ways in which the issue of OTH discharges disproportionately affected veterans of colour and those from working class backgrounds. 'It's bad enough,' declared VVAW, 'that 93% of people who apply for their [veteran's] benefits with a bad discharge get turned down, but employers, to make it worse, view discharges in a bad light. This means that veterans often cannot get a job in their field and many times cannot get a job at all. This discrimination is almost insurmountable if the person is black or gay.'[71] In 1973, the Midwest Amnesty Project, run by the Military and Veterans Counseling Center, declared one of the primary obstacles to amnesty 'is that those who need it are by far mostly poor, working class, black and other racial minorities.'[72] In a position paper on amnesty, VVAW similarly declared:

> our political analysis leads us to the position that the racist and class bias of American society…also attempts to structure the forms of dissent: those who resisted legally were, for the most part, those who were able to do so; those who resisted illegally were forced to do so. There is a direct correlation between the increasing penalties that people face for opposing or resisting the war, and the decreasing value of the class or racial group they represent…The

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[69] Westheider, *Brothers in Arms*, 60.
[70] "Exile Returns," *Winter Soldier Newsletter* (December 1974), Reel 19, Folder 80, Archives Unbound.
[71] Vietnam Veterans Against the War, "Proposals: Discharging Upgrade Paper," (1973) Reel 2, Folder 16, Archives Unbound.
[72] "Proposal for Funding for the Midwest Amnesty Project," (28 September 1973), Folder 26, Box 10, Records of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

most vulnerable people have once again taken the greatest risk and are being asked to pay the greatest penalties.[73]

Likewise, the CCCO noted that recipients of OTH discharges 'have been disproportionately black or members of other minority groups, and poor…they were unable to find draft counseling, and were drafted or enlisted under draft pressure in disproportionate numbers. If, after entering the military, they realized they could no longer be a part of it, their options were few.'[74]

This assertion by the CCCO highlights two inequities of the discharge system. Firstly, individuals who had the means to resist the war, both financial and educational, engaged in resistance, but did so through legal means.[75] By avoiding service entirely, these men never interacted with the discharge system, further privileging the already privileged. These individuals were not considered resisters by the American public.[76] Secondly, institutional and overt racism exacerbated existing inequities in military service. Like the CCCO, VVAW asked, 'what of the thousands of black, chicano [sic], and other third world veterans whose only military "crime" was the color of their skin and whose reward for service was a bad discharge.' The proposal concluded by noting that the disproportionate assignment of OTH discharges to soldiers of colour was further evidence of both overt and casual racism rampant in the military.[77] Put another way, VVAW's Discharge Upgrade Project declared that a bad discharge 'has become the military's chosen and deliberate response to third world people who resist white rule and white definition of social roles and behaviors; to political activists who work while in the military to advocate and promote change from within the institutional structure.'[78] Being labelled with an OTH discharge put the veteran in the role of second-class citizen, often with little or no due process. Thus, the discharge system further belied the ideal that military service could serve as a 'great equaliser'. Instead, it amplified existing institutional inequities and continued to exclude men of colour from the promises of the citizen-soldier ideal.

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[73]"Campaign for Amnesty Position Paper," Records of Anti-Vietnam War Organizations.

[74] Bob Musil, "A War They Did Not Make Or Choose," Series B, Box 5, Folder 7: Leaflets/pamphlets/flyers (title U-Y), Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors Records.

[75] "On GI-Civilian Solidarity," David Cortright Papers; "Position Paper: On Amnesty," Records of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

[76] "Position Paper: On Amnesty," Records of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

[77] "The Discharge Upgrade Project," (25 April 1973), Box 22, Folder 24, Records of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

[78] Ibid.

The Universal Discharge Campaign also brought veterans toward a broader critique of American society. A central contention of anti-war soldiering was that the war was only possible in its contemporary manifestation because of larger flaws and inequities within American culture, especially with regard to race and class. Moreover, veterans' anti-war activism understood the war as a natural outcome of American foreign policy and not the result of a series of ill-advised policy decisions with tragic outcomes. Veteran Bill Crandall noted that while the peace movement tended to depict the war as 'a tragic mistake of an otherwise acceptable foreign policy… [veterans recognised] that oppression and repression have broad and deep roots in our country.'[79] With the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam in 1973, these critiques moved beyond the war itself and into issues facing American society. This broader anti-racist, anti-imperialist activism further exposed the contradictions within the citizen-soldier ideal as it was currently being employed by US policymakers. Far from being a tool of state unity then, the American military experience created and supported further inequities in the lives of its citizens.

In 1971, the Texas regional office of VVAW wrote a letter to the Executive Committee arguing that activist veterans must do more than bear witness to a specific war. They wrote, 'to be anything more than a large lobby to the conscience of middle America, we must implement in as strong a way as we can, and break down the values that have been manipulated by the rulers of this country to perpetuate the war…These smokescreens are racism, sexism, and class privilege.'[80] As veterans cultivated this broader critique, they concluded that American imperialism was the foundation of these interconnected oppressions. After VVAW's efforts to disrupt the 1972 Republican National Convention, for example, one veteran wrote, 'as members of the Armed Forces, many of us were forced to live the real effects of American Imperialism. We watched it, we participated in its workings…Now we are veterans, our knowledge, our education, our consciousness, and our developing politics now force us to fight American imperialism, American racism and American sexism.'[81]

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[79] Bill Crandell, "Impressions of Operation RAW," Box 13, Folder 7: Operation RAW 1970 September, Records of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

[80] Letter from Vietnam Veterans Against the War Texas Office to Executive Committee (30 June 1971), Box 2, Folder 36: Chapter Materials – 1971-1976-Texas Region, Records of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

[81] "Summer Soldiers," *Unconventional News*, Miami, Florida (29 August 1972), Box 5, Folder 18: Madison VVAW – Unprocessed Gainesville 8, Richard Moser Collection.

Veterans and GIs also understood the oppression they experienced at the hands of the military to be linked to the larger oppression faced by Americans across the country. In discussing Operation Dewey Canyon III, the Revolutionary Union declared that the protest marked a 'giant step in building an anti-imperialist veterans movement – a movement that while fighting around the day-to-day issues of veterans, focuses them all on their source – the imperialist system.' The group encouraged VVAW to oppose the broad spectrum of oppressions resulting from American imperialism, including 'repression against Black people, or speed-up in the shops.'[82] By expanding their critique beyond the inner workings of the military, veterans also sought to broaden their activist coalition.

George Schmidt, of the Military Action Committee, stated in a letter to VVAW that GIs were increasingly organising to establish 'stronger links between working men and women in the military and those on the outside.'[83] GI activists at Fort Hood similarly encouraged the largely white, middle class peace movement to 'break out of its class biases and reach beyond the campus and the suburbs to the lower classes within the military.' In the group's estimation, working with GIs provided the best path to reach the working class and people of colour as they were over represented in the ranks of the military.[84] Indeed, veterans and GIs alike noted the similarities between the conditions experienced by GIs in the military and workers across the US. Despite this, activists noted that GIs were often pitted directly against members of the working class. For VVAW a primary goal of activism was to highlight the 'contradiction between the social role that [GIs] are forced to serve in the military with their own class interests.'[85] In other words, as activists increasingly understood the war and their experiences in the military as a symptom of the larger nature of American imperialism, they argued that the military existed to protect the economic interests of the ruling class of political and business elites both at home and

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[82] Revolutionary Union, "Vet Struggle Grows," Reel 1, Folder 1, Archives Unbound; It's not clear from this source, but it's possible that this group is the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement, a group of African-American workers from Chrysler's Dodge Main Assembly plant in Michigan. The term 'speed-up in the shops' refers to 'speeding up the line.' Bosses would increase productivity quotas or actually make the assembly line's conveyance system move at a faster pace. While more product is produced this way, there are a number of negative implications for workplace safety and individual health and well-being. Moreover, the increased profits were not passed on to workers.
[83] Letter from George Schmidt to Gary (29 November 1973), Box 10, Folder 30, Records of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.
[84] "On GI-Civilian Solidarity," David Cortright Papers.
[85] "Draft Program Proposal – VVAW/WSO GI Organizing," (November 1974), Reel 1, Folder 5, Archives Unbound.

abroad. This was further evidence that the military could not serve as a societal unifying force, or as a defender of democratic freedoms. As the organisation grew and developed their critique of the Vietnam War, VVAW aimed to create an alliance between GIs and other members of the working class based on their shared oppression.

For VVAW, their central task was to increase the class consciousness of other GIs and veterans to highlight their natural alliance with working class activism.[86] They argued that both soldiers and workers put their physical bodies on the line to work in oppressive conditions for insufficient pay and benefits. These conditions existed to turn a profit for America's ruling class either through traditional economic gains, or by exploiting the resources of other nations. In October 1974, at the National GI Conference, GIs indicated that soldiers were both 'human cannon fodder for imperialism' but endure a system which 'degrades and dehumanizes them.' Most GIs 'are forced into the military on the basis of their class and race…if they aren't forced into the military by draft, they are forced in by the gun of economic necessity to their heads.'[87] These class issues provided an avenue to unite the 'masses of veterans and GIs' around the common oppression and common understanding of the nature of the imperialist military.'[88] Thus, both GIs and veterans sought to build an alliance with the civilian working class.

This reflected changes within some veterans' organisations, as VVAW and GI groups were increasingly made up of veterans from working class backgrounds.[89] As the war wound down, these organisations shifted their focus from educating the public on the war to issues faced by their constituents, organising around issues with medical care, access to veterans' benefits and joblessness among veterans.[90] Combined with a broader focus on anti-imperialist organising, tackling class issues facilitated efforts to improve the lives of returning veterans. As Lewis argues, 'the primary identity of these activists was not working class, but neither was their class identity subsumed or

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[86] Ibid.

[87] "Building the Anti-Imperialist GI Movement – Statement and Proposal by VVAW for the National GI Conference," (ca. October 1974), Box 8, Folder 42: GI Conference Background Literature, Records of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

[88] "Draft Program Proposal – VVAW/WSO GI Organizing," (November 1974), Reel 1, Folder 5, Archives Unbound.

[89] Lewis, *Hardhats, Hippies and Hawks,* 129; "A Statement from the Fort Hood Killeen Chapter of the Texas VVAW," Box 5, Folder 37, Richard Moser Collection; Hunt, *The Turning*, 2, 129-136.

[90] Lewis, *Hardhats, Hippies and Hawks,* 130; Appy, *Working Class War;* for an extensive discussion of VVAW's organising around veterans' issues such as employment, mental health issues and military benefits see Nicosia, *Home to War*, especially Chapter 4, 9, 10 and 11.

negated by their identities as…veteran, soldier, and so on. Rather their experiences with working class people directly contributed to their opposition to the war, and their opposition to the war was in turn understood through their particular class-based experiences.[91] This was particularly important as military service was often seen as a collective rite of passage rather than a personal choice in many working class communities and was rarely questioned or avoided.[92]

Additionally, VVAW argued that veterans' experiences made them particularly aware of the broad reach of American imperialism. Therefore, VVAW argued that veterans had a duty to educate others on the nature of, and the oppressions required for, the maintenance of American imperialism. Rather than fighting for democracy, activist veterans argued that by serving in Vietnam, soldiers were actually defending the interests of America's ruling class. Accordingly, they asserted that the war further belied the promises of the citizen-soldier ideal by simultaneously highlighting the inequities of who suffered most on the front-lines and calling attention to the lack of opportunities and insufficient benefits available to those who returned from combat.

Redefining *Virtù*: Rejecting Military Masculinity

Just as the citizen-soldier promised to provide veterans with a useable performance of citizenship, it also suggested that military service would affirm one's manhood. However, in the context of the Vietnam War, reports of violence abroad created a popular conception that the actions of soldiers had surpassed allowable performances of physicality and violence. This was particularly jarring given that many men went to Vietnam seeking to fulfil the same role experienced by their fathers, uncles and grandfathers in the World Wars. As Karner argues, previous generations of soldiers had 'reaped the benefits of a grateful society [and]…returned as national heroes [and it] was from this heroic stance that they modeled military service for their sons.'[93] However, Vietnam veterans did not encounter the same national or personal affirmation of their military service, returning to 'a society that had rendered them "mute and invisible"—silent reminders of what had occurred.'[94] Moreover, as the American public increasingly opposed the war, it fostered a sense of

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[91] Lewis, *Hardhats, Hippies and Hawks,* 132.
[92] Appy, *Working Class War*, 11-12.
[93] Karner, "Fathers, Sons, and Vietnam," 70.
[94] Ibid., 65.

'revulsion' towards the Vietnam War and 'all it stood for.'[95] By drawing attention to the plight of returning soldiers, veterans' activism further challenged the gendered assumptions intrinsic to citizen-soldier ideal.

Vietnam veterans were not the first generation of soldiers to posit new performances of manhood. Indeed, this reconsideration of what actions constitute bravery and/or masculinity in war are part of the 'coherent story [of] men at war' that Hynes endeavours to explore.[96] He notes that terms like courage and cowardice persist throughout war narratives. However, the courage discussed across soldiering narratives does not reflect the 'Heroic Man', John Wayne-esque tradition.[97] Instead, what comes through in these narratives is a redefined, quieter courage that emphasised endurance, compassion and protectiveness.[98] In the context of Vietnam, Hynes argues, 'courage and heroism were possible in Vietnam narratives; the *ideal* of courage, the Heroic Man of the war tradition, was not. Or rather he was, but only as a ridiculous celluloid figure…the courage that is reported in the narratives is not usually demonstrated in acts against the enemy…It's the protective acts…that carry emotional value.'[99] Thus while the activism of Vietnam veterans overtly challenged conceptions of courageousness through soldiering, it simultaneously reflected continuity in the soldiering experience.

Vietnam veterans reflected this definition of courage through their efforts to protect their fellow soldier by stopping the war that was ending their lives. In highlighting the violent nature of the warzone, veterans challenged the military as an institution that 'made men'. Instead, they put forth a performance of masculinity which simultaneously utilised and repurposed traditional masculine performances embodied by the citizen-soldier, particularly around conceptions of masculine bravery and the autonomy of (male) citizenship. As Huebner suggests, 'the terms of what made the soldier honorable – indeed, the terms of what made him a *man* – were

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[95] Ibid.

[96] For example, Lois Bibbings and Jessica Meyer have explored the ways in which soldiers in the First World War participated in (re)constructing new definitions of bravery and manhood within specific context of World War I. Both acknowledge that soldiers (re)construct their sense of masculinity beyond the bounds of the popular culture images of virile, physical powerful soldier. See for example: Lois Bibbings, *Telling Tales About Men: Conceptions of Conscientious Objectors to Military Service During the First World War* (Manchester University Press, 2009) and Jessica Meyer, *Men of War: Masculinity and the First World War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

[97] Hynes, *The Soldiers' Tale*, 214-215.

[98] Ibid., 21-22.

[99] Ibid., 214.

widening and changing.'[100] Rejecting the traditional association between valorous battle experiences and bravery, veterans asserted that true courage came from embracing a man's sense of independence and standing up for one's conscience. Huebner notes that VVAW in particular challenged the notion 'that manliness in war meant selfless devotion to the group effort.'[101]

Taking Huebner's assertion a step further, activist veterans posited a new potential performance of manhood in which standing up for one's conscience was the epitome of manly courage. As Michael Bibby argues, the soldier was an 'icon of masculine potency, physical prowess and heroism,' and the activism of veterans 'inverted one of America's most powerful cultural symbols of the masculine.'[102] The language used by veterans' organisations reflects this shift. In an undated statement, VVAW proclaimed: 'We are proud, but not of these crimes, not of the things we were forced and suckered into by this barbaric monstrosity of a system called America. We are proud of our resistance. We are proud of our opposition to that war...These are the real heroics of the Vietnam GIs and veterans and this is what we are proud to be recognized for.'[103] Veteran and GI activist Donald Duncan similarly noted that veterans who recounted the violent realities of the Vietnam conflict to uninformed audiences displayed more bravery than was required to carry out their orders in Vietnam.[104] Thus, part of what soldiers sought to reject through their activism was the ubiquitous environment and rhetoric of violence throughout military life. Moser argues that, 'in critiquing machismo as a masculine ideal and model for the soldier, dissident GIs and veterans struck at the heart of military training and the fighter spirit.'[105] As veterans challenged the premise that military service as a conferrer and affirmer of masculinity, the physically powerful masculinity once seen as a benefit of military service became a detriment to returning veterans.

Some popular media also accepted this new understanding of masculine bravery. Reporting on VVAW's Dewey Canyon III protest, the Pennsylvania-based *New Kensington Dispatch*, declared that 'no American can speak with greater authority…than these men who have borne the brunt of the battle. They answered the

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[100] Huebner, *The Warrior Image*, 175.
[101] Ibid., 226-227.
[102] Bibby, *Hearts and Minds*, 159; see also Huebner, *The Warrior Image*, 219;
[103] "Statement from Vietnam Era Veterans," Folder: Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Inc. – Reference Material, CDGA: Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Inc., CDGA Collective Boxes, SPC.
[104] "Statement by Donald Duncan," (1971), Box 18, Folder 3: Winter Soldier Investigation, 1971 Transcript – Closing Statement, Records of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.
[105] Moser, *New Winter Soldiers*, 151; Bibby, *Hearts and Minds*, 179.

call of their country. They fought bravely.'[106] Having affirmed their patriotism and their manhood, these veterans have earned the right, so to speak, to make their critiques. The *New Kensington Dispatch* suggested that, by participating in protest, veterans are 'displaying the same valor they demonstrated on the battlefield…[by joining] the crusade for peace.'[107] In this reconsideration of the citizen-soldier ideal, bravery on the battlefield could be equated with bravery through activism. In other words, manhood could be affirmed by standing up for one's conscience at home, just as it could be affirmed through violence on the battlefield abroad. Moreover, indirectly referencing the rhetorical importance of the citizen-soldier, the *Akron Beacon Journal* acknowledged that veterans were best placed to encourage civilians to reconsider their position on and understanding of the war. 'Whatever one's views may be on the necessity or folly of this costly war,' the editorial board declared, 'it is sobering to witness the bitter repentance of men who participated, often with distinction.'[108] Echoing the sentiments of VVAW itself, the *Dispatch* and the *Beacon* invoke the image of a warrior for peace, further affirming that a battle to defend American principles could replace soldiering as a performance of patriotism. Directly crediting the activism of Vietnam veterans, a 1978 pamphlet notes that, 'for the first time in American history…to resist military service was not culturally inconsistent with a young male's manliness…in the eyes of himself and in the eyes of an enormous amount of others.'[109]

The activism of veterans also linked the violence intrinsic to military masculinity to broader conversations about gender. As Stur argues, anti-war GIs and veterans, along with their supporters had exposed the destructive consequences of using the warrior myth to explain US military endeavors.'[110] Just as veterans highlighted the racial and class imbalances required to perpetuate a system of imperialism at home and abroad, activists became increasingly aware of the role that gender played in propping up this system further. Stur notes that 'veterans' experience in combat, and the shame at the violence they had participated in, led many to

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[106] "The Veterans; Crusade," *New Kensington Dispatch* (21 April 1971), Box 5, Folder 15: Dewey Canyon III, Richard Moser Collection.
[107] Ibid.
[108] "Men of Conscience," *Akron Beacon Journal* (April 26, 1971), Box 5, Folder 15: Dewey Canyon III, Richard Moser Collection.
[109] Janet McLaughlin, "Disarmament and Masculinity: An Outline Guide and Bibliography for Studying the Connection Between Sexual Violence and War," (1978), Reel 17, Radicalism and Reactionary Politics Collection.
[110] Stur, *Beyond Combat*, 238

activism that 'challenged not only the war but also the gender assumptions that informed it.'[111] Increasingly, veterans recognised that the subordination of women and the primacy of hegemonic performances of masculinity were essential to maintaining the military's hypermasculinist image. Accordingly, 'servicemen demanded an end to sexism in the military, and some even reached out to women's groups, adopting the rhetoric of women's liberation and applying it to their situations.'[112] VVAW in particular advocated for their members to support of both women's liberation groups and gay men in the military. The organisation argued that the gendered system of power was another example of the oppression of soldiers wrought by American imperialism.[113] Thus some activist veterans encouraged the input of women, especially as the 1970s progressed.

According to activists, women and their awareness of restrictive gender norms, particularly within the military, could be vital in 'demonstrating the inadequacy of such brackets and piercing the whole dehumanized framework of military psychology.'[114] This was not without its issues however. In planning a 1971 protest, the Texas Regional office, wrote a letter to coordinators around the state. The Regional office staff noted:

> Of late much VVAW communications (nationally as well as Texas) has contained references to our sisters as "…our chicks…," and "…their own…women." This brings us to a touchy situation, for on the one hand VVAW is condemning those parts of our society which are racist and treats others as if they are less than human (see VVAW Objectives #4, #6, #9), yet on the other hand we are referring to women as if they were a piece of chattel property. What say we be consistent in our struggle to end the oppression of all people???![115]

Without assessing the success of these efforts to support feminist and gay rights activism, the mere awareness of the intersectionality of these issues demonstrates the broad critique of American society and American imperialism that veterans were formulating. Challenging the gender norms inherent in military life was intrinsically linked to the broader battle against American imperialism. Vitally, veterans believed hegemonic masculinity, particularly the performance put forth by the military, was essential to the domineering mentality required for American imperialism. As veterans asserted the need to challenge American imperialism, they simultaneously asserted a

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[111] Ibid., 182.
[112] Ibid.
[113] "Building the Anti-Imperialist GI Movement – Statement and Proposal," Archives Unbound.
[114] "On GI-Civilian Solidarity," David Cortright Papers.
[115] Letter from VVAW Texas Regional Office to Texas Area Coordinators (22 August 1971), Box 2, Folder 36: Chapter Materials – 1971-1976 – Texas Region, Records of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

need to question the gendered and racial hierarchies required for the maintenance of this system. As Joe Urgo recalls 'collectively, guys are talking about how we're going to fight sexism and racism…it was really an astounding experience…here you've got the epitome of American males; bloodthirsty, John Wayne killers who've just done all this shit to the [Vietnamese] people. Now here they are, talking a totally different language.'[116] Instead of accentuating the aggressive aspects of military masculinity, veterans emphasised a masculine performance based in the independence and bravery required for standing up for one's conscience.

'Giving Their Lives is Apparently Not Enough': The Racial Inequities of the Citizen-Soldier

Perhaps one of the most central contradictions between the promises of the citizen-soldier ideal and the lived experiences of American soldiers were experienced by veterans of colour. Despite touting itself as the most integrated military in American history, the activism and experiences of Vietnam veterans illuminated the contradictions between the whiteness of American citizenship and the democratic promises of the citizen-soldier ideal. Activists increasingly drew attention to the dehumanizing rhetoric required to continue a system of American imperialism. Notably, veterans' organisations often bore witness to these relationships more than they directly organised to remedy them. However, black veterans sought to organise for tangible improvements in their lives rather than opportunities to simply bear witness to the war.

Accordingly, many veterans of colour felt that veterans' organisations did not adequately or tangibly address the relationship between race, the inequitable treatment of veterans of colour and the broader inequities of American belonging. As Hall notes, anti-war groups often focused on ending the war at the expense of creating a multi-issue activism targeting the causes of the war intrinsic of US society, chiefly institutional racism and imperialism.[117] Thus, many sought to join movements that emphasised the struggles of being black in America, rather than organising around their status as a Vietnam veteran. Vitally, this meant that black activist veterans put forth a very different reconsideration of the citizen-soldier ideal. Building on the ideal that citizen-soldiers should defend the entity which protected their rights and

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[116] Joe Urgo quoted in Hunt, *The Turning*, 50.
[117] Hall, *Peace and Freedom*, 63.

freedoms, black veterans asserted that their primary duty lay in defending their own communities from an imperialist American oppressor. Moreover, as the promises of the citizen-soldier failed to materialise, they posited new assertions of belonging and masculinity rooted in defence and provision.

Many black veterans were radicalised by their experiences in Vietnam itself. There they were confronted with the contradictions of fighting to 'defend democracy' while encountering Vietnamese peasants who reminded them of the black experience in America. Veteran Frank "Parky" Grace recalled that the elderly Vietnamese people toiling in rice paddies seemed no worse off than his own relatives in the US.[118] This clashed directly with Grace's understanding that he was fighting against communism and defending the Constitution which 'in his view was both an illusion and the root of his sense of fairness and justice' that he carried into his domestic activism in the Black Panther Party.[119] Another black vet, Michael Reese, recollected, 'I soon realized I was fighting people, some of whom were darker tan me, people who were poor like my people at home', and connected this to a critique of American capitalism.[120]

Linking their wartime experiences with their civilian lives, veterans of colour noted that this racism was a core component of American life. American Indian veteran Evan Haney highlighted the enduring legacy of racism in American history. 'If you took the Vietnamese War as it is,' Haney declared, 'and compared it to the Indian Wars a hundred years ago, it would be the same thing…Nowadays they use chemical warfare; back then they put smallpox in the blankets and gave them to the Indians.'[121] Robert Jones, a black vet, echoed this relationship between race and American policy in his short speech before throwing his medals over the fence in Operation Dewey Canyon III. He declared that he was returning all medals given to him by 'the power structure that has genocidal policies against non-white peoples of the world.'[122] For these and other veterans of colour, racism was central to understanding both the war and the broader issues facing American society. Moreover, this reflected an acute awareness of the interconnectedness of the war with other

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[118] Lazerow, "'A Rebel All His Life,'" in Lazerow and Williams, 117.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Michael Reese quoted in Widell, "'The Power Belongs to Us and We Belong to the Revolutionary Age,'" in Williams and Lazerow, 152.
[121] Evan Haney quoted in *The New Soldier by John Kerry and Vietnam Veterans Against the War*, ed. by David Thorne and George Butler (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1971)
[122] Robert Jones quoted in Moser, *New Winter Soldiers*, 113-114.

instances of racial repression in America's past and present. The persistence of these issues highlighted a central discontinuity in the rhetoric of the citizen-soldier ideal.

First and foremost, the ideal suggested that service would provide a useable performance of citizenship. However, the persistent assumed whiteness of American belonging belied this promise. Upon returning home, Sergeant Potts attempted to enter a Veterans of Foreign Wars club, but was denied by a white patron who declared that 'colored boys are damn good on the front lines, but I don't want no nigger messing around my club.'[123] This white vet acknowledged that Sgt Potts, and black men more generally, had fulfilled their 'duty' to serve the nation honourably in its time of need, but by using racist language blatantly demonstrated that the recognition due to citizen-soldiers did not apply to Sgt. Potts. For his part, Potts told the *Black Panther* that he was 'shocked and amazed that such a thing happened to us here, and in a military organization of all places. I told the manager that I thought it was un-American and undemocratic.'[124] Despite their service, then, black veterans still experienced limits on their citizenship rights. Sergeant Murphy Lloyd, a black veteran, recalled being stopped by police, who upon seeing his VVAW button, sent him to jail. 'I went over there to fight,' he declared 'and come back home to this thing here they call freedom.'[125] Korean War vet George Saunders summarised the shifting conceptions of military service for activist veterans of colour. He notes, 'Black vets have been "burned" for generations by a racism that has been synonymous with the flag *and* patriotism. That many are still discriminated against – after going to war to defend ideals they themselves are denied – is the worst kind of racist insult…perhaps black vets need to rethink their positions on patriotism and faith. Giving their lives is apparently not enough.'[126] Here, Saunders explicitly invokes the assumed whiteness of American belonging and encouraged black men to revaluate the relationship between their racial and national identities and to reconsider their proper role as a citizen.

Even those who sought to make use of their veterans' benefits faced obstacles. Hollis Crowder enrolled in the University of Tennessee, an all-white institution. He recalled, 'I didn't apply with a sense of rebellion or anger; it was just something I felt

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[123] "Black Vietnam Veteran Denied Entry to VFW Club," *The Black Panther*, vol. 12, no. 4 (17 August 1974), microfilm.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Murphy Lloyd, "Transcript Third World Panel," (January 1971) Box 18, Folder 46: Winter Soldier Investigation, 1971, Records of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.
[126] George Saunders, "Black Vets' War Goes On," *Daily News* (30 July 1989), Box 2, Folder 8: Black Vets, David Cline Papers.

I really had a right to do.' However, he continues, 'I was an African American and a Vietnam Veteran…when I started some of the students were very friendly to me there and others said "nigger, go home."'[127] For Crowder and others, the engrained whiteness of American belonging continued to plague veterans of colour despite their service and black veterans still struggled to perform and obtain traditional markers of citizenship. Richard Ford expressed his disillusionment, declaring, 'Uncle Sam, he didn't give me no justice. You had a job to do, you did it, you home. Back where you started.'[128] Thus rather than returning home to a preferred place in society, these veterans returned to the same or worsened circumstances.

There are likely larger numbers of veterans of colour who wanted to engage in activism at home than were able to. Graham suggests that many veterans 'went their separate ways when they returned to the States, and most veterans – preoccupied with the challenges of repatriation and family responsibilities – had neither the interest nor the liberty to join black nationalist paramilitary groups.'[129] Contemporary accounts suggest a similar trend. A 1969 article in *Time Magazine* noted many black soldiers 'will become busy with their own affairs that their militance will fade somewhat.'[130] Indeed, veterans faced a variety of struggles that superseded any activism. Veterans, particularly veterans of colour, faced mental and physical strain of adjusting to civilian life with little or no support, a struggle further compounded if the soldier was marked with an OTH discharge. As the National Association of Black Veterans noted, black veterans experienced all the issues that came with being black in America. Yet veterans faced further complications and barriers, 'perhaps the loss of an appendage and too often the loss of employment opportunity because of a less than honorable discharge.'[131] These very real struggles for daily survival precluded the ability or desire of black veterans to participate in the moments of mass activism that their more privileged counterparts were able to create.

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[127] Hollis Crowder, interview by Matthew Robbins (10 November 2003), Veterans' History Project, Library of Congress.
[128] Richard Ford quoted in Terry, 34.
[129] Graham, *The Brothers' War*, 138.
[130] Wallace Terry, "Black Power in Vietnam," *Time Magazine* (19 September 1969), George Sewell Papers, Atlanta University Center.
[131] "Black Veterans Conference To Be Held in Milwaukee," *The Black Panther*, vol. 11, no. 19 (4 May 1974), Reel 6, microfilm.

'To Love and Serve the Community': Intersections of Race and Gender

The inequitable experience of American belonging is even further exacerbated when we consider the intersections of race and gender. As noted previously, the traditional markers of manhood had long been denied to black men: they could not vote, they rarely had access to employment that was self-affirming, or that could support a family, nor could they perform hegemonic masculinity's emphasis on physical strength.[132] Service in the nation's first fully integrated military brought the promise of upward mobility and social belonging through economic benefits of that service and the potential for black veterans to fully participate in the American society. Indeed, by emphasising entry into the boundaries of American belonging, the citizen-soldier implicitly promised an avenue of entry into the American Dream. While black World War II veterans faced discrimination and inequities in the distribution of and access to GI Bill benefits, many did receive tangible economic benefits. The same could not be said of black Vietnam veterans. Whereas previously the status of veteran meant preferred access to employment, in the Vietnam War era black veterans in particular suffered discrimination based on their race and gender.

Upon returning home from the soldiering experience that was meant to transform 'boys into men', black veterans still struggled to find employment and provide for their families. The lack of employment opportunities and economic gain after their service particularly belied the promises of prestige and belonging owed to the citizen-soldier. As Saunders recalled, 'many black veterans initially viewed their time in the nation's military as paid-up due that would pave the way to better jobs...Of all ex-servicemen, black veterans have the highest rates of homelessness, joblessness, health problems and drug use.'[133] He notes that black veterans were three times as likely as their white counterparts to be unemployed, leaving 22% of black veterans jobless. Similarly, 17% suffered from PTSD and the lack of support for this condition meant that many who had a job struggled to keep it. Finally, Saunders points out that 30% of homeless veterans in major cities were black. Thus, the promises of upward mobility that the citizen-soldier ideal promised to men in exchange for their patriotic service, also failed to materialise. This further precluded black veterans from asserting hegemonic performances of masculinity rooted in protecting and providing

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[132] Self, *All in the Family*, 20, 46.
[133] Saunders, "Black Vets," War Goes On," David Cline Papers.

for their dependents. Thus, the promises of the citizen-soldier did not materialise for black veterans in terms of citizenship or manhood.

Even more detrimental, reports of violent atrocities in Vietnam served to reinforce existing stereotypes; social perceptions of black men as being fundamentally violent were confirmed by their military service – which, in turn, meant that their masculine performances were further marginalised upon their return. Consequently, employers often shied away from hiring black veterans, influenced by stereotypes of black men as being inherently militant coupled with gendered understandings of the machismo of the Vietnam veteran. Reflecting this intersectionality, Charles Talliferro recalled, 'We didn't have respect too much when we got back, because of all these rumors that we're all mentally unbalanced because we did go in, right?...If anything else we came back darker.'[134] Thus, far from being viewed as democratic heroes, veterans were either transformed into violent murders or symbols of a tragic narrative in which good boys became seasoned killers.[135] As black Vietnam vet Arthur Woodley recalled, 'we can't find jobs because nobody trusts us. Because we killers. We crazy. We went away intelligent young men to do the job of American citizens. And once we did, we came back victims.'[136] William Light also recounted how he was denied three of four employment opportunities. After acknowledging that white GIs experienced the same discrimination, Light concluded, '[Employers] figure that and GI especially in the infantry, is either crazy or militant.'[137] Similarly, Steven Howard recalled, 'I'm a highly skilled photographer, but I can't get a job…I know that if I go someplace and I tell this employer I'm a Vietnam vet, it don't mean shit.'[138] Thus, far from affirming their manly *virtù*, the intersections of race and gender stereotypes in American society made the label of 'veteran' even more detrimental to veterans of colour upon their return. Not only did military service not bear out the promises of the citizen-soldier ideal, it actually moved men of colour further from the rhetoric of American belonging.

While black activists had long recognised the contradictions of dying for a country that did not respect their rights, the Vietnam War brought these to the forefront of black freedom activism. As veteran Walter Collins noted:

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[134] Charles Talliferro, interview by Dr Clark Smith (1979), Columbia Oral History Collection.
[135] Huebner, *The Warrior Image*, 221.
[136] Arthur E. 'Gene' Woodley Jr., quoted in Terry, 256.
[137] "GIs Bare Racist Tactics in Vietnam," *The Black Panther*, vol. 6, no. 7 (13 March 1971), Reel 2, microfilm.
[138] Steven A. Howard, quoted in Terry, 127

> The Korean veteran came back as an exemplary figure in the black community, sort of like the American father image painted in black. I think he was very much looked up to. The Vietnam veteran comes back to America, to the black community, as a traitor, as someone who has betrayed black people, almost as an enemy…his image is not that of a hero. His image is one of someone who killed another revolutionary people fighting against his enemy.[139]

For Collins, as for other black veterans, their service was no longer a performance of patriotism, but an action directly against the black community. Seeking an outlet for their discontent, many black veterans joined local chapters of the Black Panther Party, or affiliated local groups.[140] Veteran Leon Hobbs recalled that after his discharge:

> I was looking for a vehicle to actually vent my anger. I never thought that by me joining the Black Panther Party, would be a vehicle which I could actually do good things in the community…once I did join the Party with the political education and things of that nature, I was able to start doing some positive things for this country. Being that I am a United States citizen and we did believe in the Constitution of the United States, because that's where we grew up at.[141]

Significantly, Hobbs simultaneously invoked his identity as a US citizen and his duty to improve his community. Therefore Hobbs, and the Panthers more broadly, both utilised the idea that citizens have a duty to serve while redefining the entity that should be the focus of that service.

The exact numbers of veterans in the Party is perhaps impossible to determine, but veterans were prominent in the Party's membership. Given the group's emphasis on militancy and guerrilla tactics, the organisation was considered a natural home for radicalised veterans. In a 1968 issue of *The Black Panther*, Brother Rodney Barnette declared, 'amongst us we have 120,000 Black guerrilla warfare fighters (veterans of Vietnam). They have great interest in the survival of our people.'[142] Frank "Parky" Grace similarly remembered substantial veteran participation in the organisation. He recalled that when he attempted to form a local off-shoot of the Panthers, 'just about everybody' was a Vietnam veteran.[143] Veteran Michael Reese recalled joining the Panthers because it was 'the only thing he could relate to.'[144] Numerous issues of the *Black Panther* discuss members that who were Vietnam veterans, while a black vet

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[139] "On the Military: Interview with Walter Collins," *Amnesty for Vets Too!: Publication for the National Council for Universal and Unconditional Amnesty* (ca. 1973), Subseries 1.9: Military, Box 77, Folder 1: Amnesty, Contemporary Culture Collection.

[140] Widell,'"The Power Belongs to Us and We Belong to the Revolutionary Age," in Williams and Lazerow (2008), 152; Michael Simmons, interview.

[141] Leon Hobbs, interview by Janet Jones and Trevor Griffey (9 May 2005), http://depts.washington.edu/civilr/BPP_interviews.htm (accessed 11 November 2017)

[142] Rodney Barnette, "Pigs Plotted Murder of L.A. Panthers," *The Black Panther* (7 September 1968), microfilm.

[143] Lazerow, '"A Rebel All His Life," in Lazerow and Williams, 120.

[144] Reese quoted in Widell, '"The Power Belongs to Us and We Belong to the Revolutionary Age,'" in Williams and Lazerow, 15.

identified as Private Edwards also recalled, 'most of the Panthers then were veterans. We figured if we had been over in Vietnam fighting our country, which at that point wasn't serving us properly, it was only proper that we had to go out and fight our own cause.'[145]

While the Panthers and affiliated groups did not necessarily tackle veterans' issues specifically, they provided an essential redefinition of belonging while affirming a performance of masculinity that confirmed with familiar expectations. These groups severed the traditional relationship between national citizenship and soldiering by instead asserting a belonging and masculinity rooted in service to, defence of and provision for the black community.   The Black Servicemen's Caucus, for example encouraged these veterans to 'return to the people, to their communities…to love and serve the community.'[146] Campus-based Black Power organisations made similar arguments. In May 1969, after a protest at a neighbouring high school in Greensboro, North Carolina, local authorities tried to 'restore order' and violence spilled onto the campus of North Carolina Agricultural and Technical University campus, resulting in the death of a student.[147] In the aftermath of this attack, the campus' Black Power activists connected the violence to the hypocrisy of the US' promises of freedom and equality in Vietnam and emphasised the importance of black community organizing, a sense of black pride, and a rejection of the white dominated American political system, in both domestic and foreign affairs. In this endeavor, the voices of Vietnam veterans led the way. Speaking at that the campus' 1969 Moratorium, A&T Senior and Vietnam vet Jack Douglas proclaimed, 'when the National Guardsmen and police forces unnecessarily wrecked our campus, I then realized that I had fought the wrong war. On May 22, 1969, I fought again; but this time I was fighting in the right country.'[148] Significantly, like VVAW's amnesty organising, the rhetoric of Black Power groups simultaneously used and repositioned the relationship between 'citizenship' and duty. Young black men were encouraged to serve their community, and it was through this service that the prestige and economic gain suggested by the citizen-soldier ideal would come to fruition.

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[145] Reginald Edwards quoted in Terry, 11-12.

[146] "GIs and Revolution," pamphlet, Box 11, Folder: Black Servicemen's Caucus – San Diego, Records of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

[147] For a full description of these events see William Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Right: Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Struggle for Freedom*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 185-202.

[148] Jennifer Davis, "Veterans Say Vietnam Is Everybody's Concern," *The A & T Register* (October 24, 1969), NCAT Digitized Student Newspapers, Bluford Library, North Carolina Agricultural and Technical University.

This rhetoric around defending the community invokes not only a new conception of the relationship between belonging and duty, but also reflects reformulated assertions of masculinity. Unlike the predominately white membership of VVAW who rejected military-style masculinity, Black Power groups emphasised the need to redirect and repurpose hegemonic masculine performances by providing new performances of masculinity and citizenship. In particular, black veterans also sought repurpose the virile masculinity and disconnect it from valour on the battlefield. By encouraging men to prove their manhood by serving and actively defending the black community, groups like the Black Panthers provided veterans with the promises embodied by the citizen-soldier ideal and provided an outlet for familiar performances of manhood and citizenship, albeit in alternative contexts.

Black activist masculinity became rooted instead in the particular struggles of the black experience in America rather than reflecting a hegemonic (white) manhood. In doing so, this activism repurposed a 'protect, procreate, provide' model of manhood. While predominately white veterans' groups challenged what performances should constitute male behaviours of protection, particularly around the question of defending the nation, black veterans asserted performances of protection and provision through serving their communities. By applying their military skills and their emerging anti-imperialist consciousness to their local and broader racial communities, men of colour could, activists suggested, find fulfilment as men. As avenues of employment remained, or were increasingly, closed off to black veterans, Black Power groups asserted that men could simultaneously protect and provide for their communities by engaging with local activism and strengthening those communities against an oppressive, imperialist America.

Thus, just as American belonging reflected the particular racial history of the United States, so too did the reconfiguration of the citizen-soldier ideal. As such, black veterans primarily gravitated towards groups that sought to improve the black community and the black experience in America, rather than groups that specifically tackled veterans' issues. This is perhaps why an examination of veterans of colour is often left out of studies of veterans' activism. However, through the lens of the citizen-soldier, we can see that black veterans were making similarly focused critiques of the ways in which military service did not allow them to perform a useable citizenship or masculinity. For these men, their status as veterans served to intensify

existing inequities and further emphasised the discrepancies of the citizen-soldier ideal and the whiteness of American belonging.

Conclusion

While the citizen-soldier ideal had never been enough in and of itself to raise an army, the benefits it promised had long been tangible, particularly with the inception of the GI Bill in 1944. For generations the military provided an avenue for men to assert both their loyalty to America and their desire to be defined as American. It had also provided an unquestioned avenue to 'turn boys into men' by conferring the mantle of mature manhood upon soldiers. However, the Vietnam experience highlighted significant discrepancies between these promises and the experiences of veterans. The citizen-soldier sought to instil cohesiveness within the democratic system. Indeed, this had been the case in the Civil War and World War II. Both conflicts had, to some extent relied on mass conscription. Returning soldiers were celebrated as manly heroes who had affirmed their Americanness through their service. The realities of the Vietnam War however, created a very different experience for veterans. The indiscriminate violence of the warzone belied official rhetoric that American soldiers were fighting in defence of democracy. The obvious poverty and technological inferiority of the Vietnamese people further called into question that assertion that this nation posed a risk to the American nation.

While the war was still on-going, anti-war veterans sought to highlight and illuminate these discrepancies between rhetoric and reality for the American public. Despite the citizen-soldier being described as a bulwark against a tyrannical government, the activism of veterans demonstrated the ways in which the US itself was acting as that tyrannical, imperialist power. By calling into question the necessity and democratic nature of the war, veterans implicitly argued that the nation had no right to compel a young man to shed his identity as a citizen and take up the duties of the soldier. As a result, their protest began their most patriotic duty in defence of the American ideals that the citizen-soldier was meant to protect. By participating in guerrilla theatre performances and agitating for a universal amnesty, veterans' activism demonstrated that the citizen-soldier ideal could not continue to suggest that military service should be equated with patriotic citizenship.

Moreover, veterans challenged the inequities of the discharge system, and its role in continuing institutional racism and the idea that a reliance on citizen-soldiers

would create a military that served both as a fighting force and a societal equaliser. Despite rooting itself in a universal burden of service, veterans pointed out that institutional racism and sexism meant that military service created anything but social equity. Activists highlighted how OTH discharges often reflected embedded racism, sexism or the denial of a soldiers' Constitutional rights, rather than an honest assessment of his service. These injustices could follow a veteran throughout his life. Military service did not provide an entry into the American Dream as it had in other conflicts as veterans struggled to find employment as a direct result of their service. Thus, military service did not act as a societal equaliser, but only further exacerbated existing inequities.

Activist veterans also highlighted the performances of military masculinity required for the maintenance of an imperialist American system. In doing so, they illuminated another discrepancy of the citizen-soldier ideal. Far from affirming the manhood of its soldiers, service in Vietnam rested upon a virile masculinity that, in the civilian world, put veterans outside the bounds of hegemonic masculine performances. As a result, veterans looked elsewhere to define their masculinity. For VVAW's predominately white constituency, one's manhood was affirmed not through military service, but through the bravery of activism and the independence of thought required for this participation. Conversely, many veterans of colour took this powerful masculinity back to their communities to participate in racial freedom struggles. In both iterations however, it was not military service, but service to ideals or to communities that provided meaningful performances of masculinity.

Veterans, particularly veterans of colour, challenged the institutional racism within the American system both at home and abroad by highlighting the role of racism and class inequities in American national identity and American imperialism. The activism of black veterans in particular diverges from that of predominately white organisations like VVAW and the CCCO. Where predominately white organisations often critiqued American imperialism from an intellectual perspective and sought to bear witness both to its existence and its impact, black veterans focused their activism on the tangible improvement of the daily life of black communities. Reflecting intersections of oppressions, their critique focused on the ways that military service exacerbated existing inequities in American society. Far from affirming one's republican citizenship or manhood, military service further removed returning black veterans from the promises of the citizen-soldier.

Thus the activism of veterans highlighted the contradictions within the citizen-soldier ideal and put these contradictions on display for the American public. Despite seeking to follow in the footsteps of their fathers as citizens turned soldiers, who came home from the Second World War with their patriotism and manhood affirmed, the activism of Vietnam veterans exposed the untenable nature of this ideal. As Karner notes, 'the implicit social covenant that their country made with them to honor their sacrifice remained uncompleted.'[149] Thus veterans, through their activism, sought meaningful performances of citizenship and tangible social improvement in ways that demanded the American public reconsider the broader relationship between citizenship, soldiering, manhood and duty.

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[149] Karner, "Fathers, Sons, and Vietnam," 73.

Conclusions

In 1969 the practical and rhetorical utility of the citizen-soldier ideal was dealt a fatal blow. Faced with an increasingly unpopular war and crumbling military morale, Richard Nixon promised in his 1968 campaign to bring an end to the draft and the war. While his efforts to do the latter were questioned by large swaths of the anti-war movement, including Vietnam veterans, Nixon quickly took concrete steps to end the draft. In March 1969, just three months into his term, the new president created the Commission on an All-Volunteer Force. The Gates Commission, as it came to be known, rejected the 'traditional belief that each citizen has a moral responsibility to serve his country.' Instead, the report claimed that conscription 'undermines the respect for government by forcing an individual to serve when and in the manner the government decides, regardless of his own values and talents.'[1] The only solution, the Commission concluded, was a voluntary model of service.

On the recommendation of the Gates Commission, the Army began Project Volunteer Army (VOLAR) which aimed to improve the service experience of soldiers. Programmes including Enlisted Men's Councils and Racial Harmony Committees were piloted on four bases, providing soldiers with a direct line of contact to the post commander and offering officers more flexibility in responding to issues on base as they arose. VOLAR also piloted a variety of 'lifestyle experiments,' which allowed individual soldiers more freedom to express their individuality through changing policies regarding maintenance and appearance of personal quarters and haircuts.[2] However, activists noted that simply offering more 'perks' did not alleviate the issues that anti-war soldiers had raised throughout the Vietnam War. They charged that VOLAR did not meaningfully engage with activists' criticisms around race and class inequities and the suppression of soldiers' Constitutional rights within the military. Instead, they claimed it provided an opportunity to minimise public attention on the military by making service a less immediate concern for American men and their friends and relatives. As GIs and veterans at the 1971 GI Conference

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[1] The Gates Commission, *The President's Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force* (Washington D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1970) <https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/MG265/images/webS0243.pdf> [accessed 7 May 2018]; Bailey, *America's Army*, 32.

[2] Bailey, *America's Army*, 53-57.

noted, VOLAR's 'gimmicks' were for 'civilian consumption only…the Army is trying to head off criticisms of the liberal establishment by putting up enough window dressing in middle class units to keep the pressure down.'[3] Rather than confronting the roots of the problems that had fostered dissent within the military, activists accused the military of seeking to obscure these issues.

Both the military and activists recognised that VOLAR was a response to rampant dissatisfaction with life in the military.[4] As Waterhouse suggests, 'it is clear that the strategy behind these shifts in policies is to undercut the base of the GI movement by making army life generally more tolerable, to isolate GIs from the opinions of civilian supporters and other movements and from the comparatively free life styles of those on the outside, and to influence public opinion to greater support for military needs.'[5] A paper entitled 'On GI-Civilian Solidarity' agreed declaring, 'the Pentagon's frantic efforts to move to the idea of a volunteer army are in large part a desperate attempt to maintain a large military force without the current "morale" problem.'[6] Despite these criticisms, it is clear that VOLAR was successful to some extent. As the Oakland, CA based GI paper, *SOS News* noted, efforts to make military life more appealing was succeeding in improving the lives of GIs.[7]

Ultimately, Congress let the draft law expire in July 1973 and in doing so made the military reliant on volunteers rather than conscripts. For anti-war soldiers, this shift to the AVF did not resolve the issues surrounding military life, or tensions around relationship between democratic citizenship and soldiering that had underpinned the activism of the Vietnam War era. If anything, activists charged that the adoption of this employee-soldier model made the military an even greater threat to democracy. By removing the threat of the draft for the majority of the service-eligible population, activists asserted that the use of the military as a tool of American elites for imperialist conquests would only worsen.   Significantly, these critiques tended to indirectly engage with the concerns originally raised by Enlightenment philosophers.

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[3] "GI News and Discussion Bulletin: Conference '71," SNS.
[4] Bailey, *America's Army*, 53.
[5] Waterhouse and Wizard, *Turning the Guns Around*, 168.
[6] "On GI-Civilian Solidarity," David Cortright Papers.
[7] "VOLAR," *SOS News* (ca. 1971), Folder 13: SOS News (Oakland, CA), Underground Press Collection, Hoover Institutional Supplement, microfilm, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

Vitally, the employee-soldier was seen as an untrustworthy defender of democracy.[8] In severing military service from an obligation of citizenship, the soldier's role as a protector of democracy could be subverted for undemocratic means. Activists argued an AVF allowed the military to employ only those who would conform to military life, and would be able to threaten dismissal like any employer. A *Black Panther* contributor declared in a December 1973 issue that the AVF meant that the military could 'set up its own criteria on what kind of man makes a good soldier [and]…move towards a more professionalized military.' This Army, the author warned, would be 'isolated and highly selective' and 'could be much more easily used by the military and political establishment as a tool of its own policies both at home and abroad.'[9] As the employee soldier's allegiances could be bought, volunteer soldiers would be disinclined to challenge the actions of the institution responsible for their well-being. [10]

A 1972 pamphlet entitled 'GI Revolts' reflects these concerns, arguing that soldier dissent had been central to the government's decision to withdraw from Vietnam. This dissent forced the government to 'hesitate to send massive numbers of US troops into the next conflict.'[11] However, rather than having a duty to defend American ideals, as anti-war soldiers suggested, the 'volunteer' 'employee-soldier's' first duty would be to fulfil the contract with made with their employer. Moreover, as the professional soldier relied on war to earn his living, he would be less likely advocate for and support long-term peace. Indeed, GI activists expressed concern that the AVF model 'envisions the creation of a liberalized, "professional," highly paid Army which will fulfil its mission of destruction without the kind of unrest prevalent now.'[12] Alleviating these fears was precisely the perceived role of the ideal citizen-soldier. His primary identity as a citizen would keep the government accountable to the citizenry at large and reluctant to risk the lives of its citizens unless it was mutually understood as necessary for the good of the nation. However, this professional, 'volunteer' army could be used to 'police' the world and continue to be used as a tool of the ruling class. In this way, concerns about the AVF reflected long-held American fears around a too-powerful central government. Although the US has

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[8] Krebs, "The Citizen-Soldier Tradition," 162; Snyder, *Citizen-Soldiers and Manly Warriors*, 21.
[9] "New Army Program Weeds Out Likely Dissenters," *The Black Panther* 10, no.32 (December 22, 1973), Reel 5, microfilm.
[10] Krebs, "The Citizen-Soldier Tradition,"162; Snyder, *Citizen-Soldiers and Manly Warriors*, 21.
[11] Richard Boyle, *GI Revolts* (1972), Floor 4, SNS (accessed 22 January 2018)
[12] "On GI-Civilian Solidarity," David Cortright Papers.

yet to succumb to the dangers of an employee-soldier model foretold by Enlightenment and American philosophers, the questions raised by anti-war soldiers, and the questions left unanswered by the AVF around the appropriate relationship between American society and the military continue to have vital implications.

In their shift to an AVF, the military effectively discarded the rhetorical usefulness of the citizen-soldier and policymakers abandoned any pretext that military service should be considered an obligation of male citizenship. 'Instead of framing the debate about the AVF around notions of citizenship and obligation or concerns about the shared burden of service and social equality,' notes Bailey, policymakers 'offered plans based on conservative or libertarian doctrines of market economies…they mean to replace the logic of citizenship with the logic of the market.'[13] In doing so, the nation embraced an 'employee-soldier' model which trumpeted not democratic duty, but the financial, educational and individual benefits of enlisting in the Armed Forces. Notions of service and duty never fully disappeared from military recruiting campaigns; however, they were subordinated to personal interest and self-fulfilment.[14] In other words, 'the Army was no longer about obligation, but opportunity' and the military became one of the largest employers in the nation.[15] Whereas democratic philosophies suggested that the citizen-soldier provided a necessary and essential bulwark against tyranny and a vital engagement with republican citizenship, present day policymakers and theorists argue that the current all-volunteer model is producing a more effective, qualified, proficient and professional Armed Forces.[16] As Bailey notes, 'it was the Vietnam War that made the transformation to an all-volunteer force possible.'[17]

Anti-War Soldiering and New Obligations of Citizenship

As we have seen, at the crux of this shift was the activism of anti-war soldiers. While opposition has accompanied every conflict in American history, the activism of soldiers and veterans during the Vietnam War was unprecedented. In challenging the war, this activism raised vital questions about the relationship between military service, and the obligations of republican citizenship. For most of the nation's history,

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[13] Bailey, *America's Army*, 4.
[14] Ibid., 80.
[15] Ibid., 87.
[16] Bernard Rostker, *The Evolution of the All-Volunteer Force* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2006) https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_briefs/RB9195.html (accessed 30 June 2018)
[17] Bailey, *America's Army*, 3.

these concepts were intertwined in the citizen-soldier ideal. Solidified in the twentieth century by World War II, the citizen temporarily taking on the duty of the soldier to preserve American democracy carried significant rhetorical currency. The generation of World War II veterans had returned home to a hero's welcome and, having fulfilled their duty to preserve democracy at home and abroad, received tangible benefits for this service. It was this generation of men that raised the Vietnam generation. While this previous generation of soldiers had participated in conflicts against a clear and undemocratic enemy and seen their sacrifice applauded by a grateful nation, those who served in Vietnam experienced neither.

In reconsidering the relationships embodied by the citizen-soldier ideal, anti-war soldiers asserted that American intervention in Vietnam and the military experience did not reflect the democratic ideals that the nation purported to stand for. Inverting the rhetoric of Cold War patriotism, activists argued that citizens had a paramount duty to defend these ideals, rather than to blindly support the foreign policy of a particular administration. By engaging in protest and dissent, activists proclaimed that they were performing the true patriotic duty of the citizen, defending American democratic ideals, even if it meant rejecting the silent, obedient loyalty that had characterised the soldiering experience through the twentieth century.

For draft resisters, the inequities of the SSS demonstrated the fallacy of the ideal's emphasis on the universal duty of the citizen to serve their nation. Through a system of deferments, legal avenues of resistance and avoidance were open to white, middle class American men that were unobtainable by men of colour or working class men. Some privileged men and activists highlighted these inequities, arguing that even though they had options to escape the draft, its mere existence posed a threat to American democracy as the SSS unacceptably laid the burden of the draft on poor communities and communities of colour and took away key American rights: freedom of choice and the promise of life and liberty. Similarly, anti-draft activists of colour claimed that the call to duty should not apply to them because they did not have equal access to the rights and privileges of citizenship. Instead, they rejected continuing to 'fight for the right to fight' and asserted that they had a paramount duty to work for the improvement of their own communities that were the source of the protection of their rights to life and liberty. In doing so, this activism further revealed the inherent whiteness of American belonging.

Soldiers also insisted that they were fulfilling a crucial duty of citizenship through their activism. Within in the GI underground press, GIs rejected previous generations' equation of soldiering with silent obedience. Their service, they argued, belied their oath to defend the Constitution of the United States, and contradicted their duty to defend American democratic ideals. Instead, they argued that US intervention in Vietnam, and the military's treatment of its soldiers, placed US policymakers in the role of tyrannical oppressor. Faced with this tyranny, GIs contended it was their patriotic duty to protest and asserted that the obligation to defend American ideals trumped any duty required of them as a soldier. Using the familiar imagery of American national mythology, activist GIs considered themselves soldiers of a second American Revolution serving to defend the nation against tyranny. Drawing on this language of citizenship, duty and patriotism, GIs foregrounded their identity as soldiers and citizens to cultivate a broader movement of GI dissent.

Veterans echoed these sentiments in their activism. Having returned from Vietnam, they utilised their authority as soldiers and bore witness to the many ways that the war was being conducted counter to American ideals. Through their activism, veterans highlighted the discrepancies between the nation's Cold War mission of preserving global democracy and the military's actions in Vietnam. Many asserted that they had an obligation to serve a 'second tour of duty' upon their return home to demand an end to the war. Like activist GIs, they argued that American policymakers posed the greatest threat to American democratic ideals. Using guerrilla theatre to display the realities of the Vietnam War, they proclaimed that they were fulfilling the principal duty of the citizen by bearing witness. Whereas previously the citizen-soldier ideal embodied a duty to serve in the Armed Forces and quietly carry out what the military asked of American men, activist soldiers asserted that the real obligation of the citizen was the defence of American ideals, whether or not one wore a uniform. After the Vietnam War, this defence of ideals embodied another form of patriotic performance.

Raising A 'Quality Force': Race, the AVF and Obligations of Citizenship

While activist soldiers were concerned that the transition to the AVF left many of the issues of the Vietnam War era unresolved, both veterans and policymakers were acutely aware that an AVF could exacerbate issues around race and class imbalances in the Armed Forces. Activist GIs argued that those with wider economic and

educational opportunities, few of which would include a risk of death as a serious job consideration, would pursue those options. Just as the draft had conscripted men without the resources to pursue legal dissent, military volunteers would still predominately be drawn from the working class communities and communities of colour, motivated to volunteer by potential economic opportunities rather than a genuine desire to join the military.

In a November 1973 issue of the *Black Panther*, a contributor noted that the AVF model 'has raised the specter of an army of the poor, with a vast majority of Black enlistees resulting from the high level of unemployment of Black youth.'[18] The article noted that while black Americans constituted only 13.5% of those eligible to serve, they constituted 18.6% of the new enlisted ranks. 'To really stop the desperate rush of young Blacks into the military', this author argued, 'American Whites would have to halt their deeply entrenched policies of discrimination of civilian employment.'[19] Activists of colour also charged that the military was still failing to live up to its promise to defend democratic ideals by replicating or taking advantage of structures of economic oppression. In a 1975 issue of the *Black Panther*, a contributor deemed enlistment in the AVF a 'myth of equal opportunity', noting that enlisted black Americans still endured discrimination and racial abuses as they had in civilian life. 'Far from being an opportunity for advancement', as recruitment materials were now suggesting, the AVF 'becomes another form of exploitation – "economic conscription" in a way – in which Black people are again forced to serve in a system which denies us the basic dignity and freedom we are supposedly defending.'[20]

The military and policymakers expressed similar concerns. Echoing criticisms made by anti-war soldiers, Representative Charles Rangel, an African American Democrat from New York, argued that 'a volunteer force would depend most heavily on America's poor, black citizens [and] those who had the fewest opportunities would find themselves conscripted, in essences if not in fact, by economic factors.'[21] Thus considerations of race were central to early conceptions and recruiting strategies for the AVF.[22] These concerns were not explicitly discussed in terms of race; rather,

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[18] "Fears of a Black Army," *The Black Panther* 10, no. 28 (November 24, 1973), Reel 5, microfilm.
[19] Ibid.
[20] "Blacks in the Military: The Myth of Equal Opportunity," *The Black Panther* 13, no. 20 (July 7, 1970), Reel 7, microfilm.
[21] Bailey, *America's Army*, 109; See also Robert K. Griffith, *US Army's Transition to the All-Volunteer Force, 1868-1974* (Washington DC: US Government Printing Office, 1997), 183.
[22] Griffith, *US Army's Transition to the All-Volunteer Force*, 236.

policymakers discussed broader concerns about recruiting a 'quality' force. However, as Bailey suggests, 'every discussion of "quality" and the Army was shadowed by assumptions about race.'[23] Discussions over the AVF raised tensions between depictions of military service as an opportunity for personal advancement or as exploitation of less privileged citizens. Vitally, these discussions remained rooted in questions of American belonging and race.[24]

For draft resisters, GIs and activist veterans the inherent whiteness of American belonging was central to their critique of the war. Despite purporting to be a beacon of freedom and equality, American national identity is in part defined by a close association between American identity and whiteness. The racial inequities intrinsic to American society were reflected in who could claim the privileges due to the citizen-soldier. A central component of this ideal suggested that citizens had a universal duty to serve in exchange for the protection of their democratic rights and freedoms. However, for the majority of the nation's history, access to those rights and privileges, and eligibility for military service itself, was explicitly and implicitly defined by race. With the conclusion of World War II, and the legal gains of the Civil Rights Movement, it appeared that there was a possibility for change. Indeed, the Vietnam War era military was considered the first fully-integrated armed force in the nation's history. However, men of colour's experience of military service and with military bureaucracy demonstrated that the promises of the citizen-soldier remained defined by whiteness.

Rejecting the call to serve, anti-draft activists noted that soldiers of colour were not just over-represented in the military but, more significantly, over-represented in the most dangerous occupations and positions. Reflecting the oppression faced by people of colour throughout American society, anti-war soldiers emphasised the ways in which the military recreated this systematic oppression both stateside and overseas. These activists built on critiques that placed the US in the role of a tyrannical oppressor by highlighting the denial of citizenship rights and privileges to all soldiers. In doing so, activists linked the struggle of soldiers to the larger struggle for black freedom.

The broader decolonisation struggles of the Global South also provided an essential backdrop for this activism. Throughout the Vietnam War era, activists

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[23] Bailey, *America's Army*, 89.
[24] Ibid., 128

linked their struggle against the draft to the global struggle of international Third World community struggling against American imperialism. Rhetorically or actually, they highlighted an alliance with the Vietnamese as another non-white race fighting against American oppression for their rights and freedoms. Drawing on their experiences in the military, these anti-war soldiers argued that they had more in common with the beleaguered Vietnamese than with their supposed patriotic duty as American soldiers. In this iteration, black men's primary duty was not to defeat another people struggling for freedom, but to serve for the improvement of their communities and their freedom in the United States. In doing so, activists of colour posited a performance of citizenship that emphasised the primacy of their racial identity and highlighted their lack of belonging in notions of American citizenship.

Thus black anti-war soldiers rooted their dissent in the inequities of American belonging and argued that the demands of the citizen-soldier should not and could not apply to them. Highlighting the endurance of racial discrimination and economic inequities in the military and in American life more broadly, these activists argued that despite a long history of military service by black Americans, the promises of the citizen-soldier went unrealised. Emphasising a long history of exclusion from the privileges of citizenship, members of the black community argued they were not bound to defend a nation that did not protect their basic rights.

By arguing that military service was not a duty for citizens of colour, activists inverted longstanding assumptions that the military was a path of opportunities to securing the rights of black Americans. Instead, their primary obligation lay in battling the dual oppression of American racism and imperialism in their communities. In this iteration, military service was depicted as another moment in which white America took advantage of black bodies. Supported by the rise of racial power movements, particularly Black Power, activists of colour elevated their racial identity over their national identity in their activism. In other words, activists of colour invoked a colonial rhetoric based on racial subordination and highlighted the whiteness of American citizenship. While anti-draft activists encouraged young men to resist the draft so that they could stay home and protect their communities from police violence and economic injustice, some soldiers and veterans of colour encouraged men to resist within the army and to apply their newly acquired military skills to racial power struggles when they returned to civilian life.

Given this focus, black activists from all movements criticised their white counterparts for not engaging specifically enough with the lived experiences of soldiers of colour. Broadly, anti-war black freedom activists argued that while white GIs, draft resisters and veterans made an essential contribution by highlighting the centrality of race to the oppression they faced through their experience with the SSS and the military, they failed to engage meaningfully with the tangible realities of being an oppressed person of colour in America or the interconnectedness of these issues on a practical level. Activists of colour further charged that the white anti-war movement focused on ending the war at the expense of activism that acknowledged the intertwined nature of race and the war in Vietnam. By exploring the ways activists of colour critiqued the citizen-soldier ideal, we explicitly reveal the assumed whiteness of American citizenship. Moreover, by highlighting the reconsideration the relationship between racial and national identity and its intersections with notions of black masculinity, we can more fully understand present-day activisms around the enduring inequities of American belonging.

Masculinity and *Virtù*: New Relationship Between Gender And Service

Not only did the shift to the AVF reconfigure the relationship between the obligations of citizenship and military service, it also reconsidered long-standing connections between masculinity and military service. Women or explicit references to gender rarely appeared in discussions surrounding the creation of the AVF. However, the longstanding depiction of the military as a maker of men was inextricably intertwined within these discussions. Enlightenment and American philosophers believed military service was essential for the maintenance of a society's *virtù*, or performances of active citizenship and virile masculinity were central to the health of a republic. From its earliest incarnations, the citizen-soldier protected against an increasing 'softness of character' amongst its citizens that could lead a man to abandon his republican citizenship.[25] For most of American history, then, conceptions of military service were inseparable from ideas about American manhood

In an effort to meet its manpower quotas for the AVF, military and political leaders increasingly discussed how they might make military service appealing to

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[25] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "First Discourse," in *The Discourses and Other Early Political Writings*, ed. and trans. by Victor Gourevitch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 7; Snyder, *Citizen-Soldiers and Manly Warriors*, 19, 30, 54, 64.

recruit more women. As early as 1969, General Westmoreland conducted Project Volunteer in Defense of the Nation, otherwise known as PROVIDE. This study sought to determine how the army might achieve the transition to an AVF.[26] One of their conclusions lay in re-packaging military service to show women that 'their true value to the service is not that they are capable of replacing men, an unfeminine connotation, but that they are women and the feminine touch is required to do the job better.'[27] While military service had long been considered an institution that turned 'boys into men', these efforts to recruit more women required a reconsideration of the relationship between gender and military service. As Stur argues, 'even as the Army redefined its image from emphasizing male citizenship to a promise of educational and professional advancement for both men and women, debates about proper gender roles continued to influence it.'[28] Indeed, the transition to the AVF irrevocably altered the assumed relationship between military service and affirmations of hegemonic masculinity.

As Kimmel argues, during the Vietnam War era 'one of the most reliable refuges for beleaguered masculinity, the soldier/protector, fell into such disrepute as the news about Vietnam filtered in that even today Vietnam veterans are seen by some as having acted out of an excessive and false hypermasculinity.'[29] Indeed, anti-war soldiers had already begun a rejection of traditional assumptions surrounding martial masculinity. Drawing on reconsiderations of the relationship between the obligations of citizenship and military service, activists asserted new performances of hegemonic masculinity, which privileged independence and rejected violence. Simultaneously utilising and reconfiguring the gendered assumptions of the citizen-soldier ideal, anti-war soldiers emphasised different aspects of masculine performativity to argue that anti-war activism, and not military service, could 'make men'.

Drawing on traditional definitions of masculinity which emphasised a confident and independent manhood, predominately white draft resisters, GIs and veterans asserted that standing up for one's conscience required just as much bravery (if not more) than a willingness to sacrifice one's life in combat, and that standing firmly with one's conscience, in spite of pressure to do otherwise, affirmed the

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[26] Bailey, *America's Army*, 39.
[27] Directorate of Personnel Studies and Research, *PROVIDE: Project Volunteer in Defense of the Nation* (1970), quoted in Bailey, *America's Army*, 142.
[28] Stur, *Beyond Combat*, 14.
[29] Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 174.

manhood of the individual. This activism, then, asserted a new performance of masculine bravery. Moreover, in rejecting the war, these activists challenged the association between soldiering, the affirmation of manhood and the virile physical domination of others.

Activists of colour also posited new performances of manhood rooted in a traditional but repurposed understanding of masculinity. Black anti-war soldiers in particular argued that young men confirmed their masculinity by protecting their communities and fighting for black freedom. For some activists, black manhood and racial belonging was affirmed and displayed by a rejection of the demands of whites and participation in the struggle for black liberation. The duty of a black citizen-soldier, then, was not to confirm his 'fitness' for citizenship through military service, but to battle for his rights and freedoms at home and to protect his community from worsening oppression and racism at the hands of powerful whites.

Importantly, anti-war soldiers of all backgrounds decried the violent dominance that front-line combat traditionally demanded. In particular, activists rejected the violent nature of the American occupation of Vietnam, noting that such indiscriminate violence ran counter to both America's promise of protecting the democratic freedoms of the Vietnamese and the moral imperatives of humanity. Activists declared that there was nothing patriotic or democratic about training its citizens to commit this violence. Moreover, they highlighted the dehumanising rhetoric required to train men to commit this violence and its relationship to an institutional racism inherent within the American way. In this way, the gendered assumptions of the citizen-soldier ideal were confronted and reconfigured.

In The Words of Soldiers: The Demise of the Citizen-Soldier Ideal

This study has demonstrated that the activism of anti-war soldiers dramatically reconsidered and reconfigured long-held conceptions about military service, the obligations of citizenship, and manhood. It has also considered changing relationships between American belonging and race by revealing the assumed whiteness of the citizen-soldier in the American context. Perhaps most importantly, it has argued the activism of anti-war soldiers irrevocably altered the relationship between military service and obligations of republican citizenship. In the post-Vietnam War era it is no longer widely assumed that all male citizens have a duty to serve their nation.

As this study has sought to foreground the rhetoric of the activists themselves, the words of two Vietnam veterans, David Cline and William Goforth, encapsulate the profound change of the relationship between soldiering and citizenship. While Cline was active in the GI movement, Goforth claims no such history of activism. Yet both men articulate a rejection of the traditional relationship between citizenship and service embodied by the citizen-soldier ideal. For Cline, the 'blind patriotism' central to early Cold War rhetoric had no place in the post-Vietnam War America. Indeed, Cline suggests this is the most significant result of the activism of soldiers and veterans during the Vietnam War. He recalled:

> from now on I don't think anybody should go to war without asking the question "why?" I think one of the lessons of Vietnam, another lesson, this is a third one [interviewer laughs], and probably the most important…is that blind patriotism is obsel…is out the door, now it still exists out there…but I don't think that's the way it is among young people at all, I think blind patriotism should be rejected, that like um, Daniel Webster said "my country right or wrong, when its right I'll support it, if it's wrong I'll make it right."…I think that that's one thing that we should learn from Vietnam is that don't believe what the government tells you, ask the question why, as informed and intelligent people and citizens we uh have a responsibility to but we tend to let the government do it, but Vietnam taught us and should teach us that you can't afford to just believe the government.[30]

Cline's words demonstrate the relationship between citizenship and the patriotic duty of holding America to its democratic ideals. By quoting Daniel Webster in full, he links obligations of citizenship to the patriotism of protest when the government strays from its duty to uphold the Constitution.

The recollections of William Goforth perhaps most clearly encapsulate a rejection of the citizen-soldier ideal. His words demonstrate that the ideal's rhetorical importance did not survive the activism of anti-war soldiers during the Vietnam War era. Goforth recalled the enduring traditional associations between manhood, soldiering and patriotic duty, noting that he was doing what he felt was expected of him by his family and by his country. He remembered:

> I went in it with the attitude that…I was gonna do it no matter what, because my…my relatives and my, uh, Kentucky upbringing, you know, was, was a thing that was embedded in me as a young child to protect our country and do whatever we have to do as Americans to, to fight for freedom and I had a lot in my background, over the years, I even had a Civil War uncle who came back from the Civil War.[31]

However, Goforth's experiences in Vietnam eradicated any meaningfulness or usefulness he found in this American tradition. All he wanted to do upon his return

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[30] David Cline, interview by Richard Moser (1 March 1988), transcript, Richard Moser Collection.
[31] William Goforth, interview by Adrian Hill, 27 October 2014, Veterans History Project, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

home was 'run away from the war.'[32] While Goforth could be considered only one of many veterans who returned home disillusioned with their experiences in Vietnam, his concluding words embody the profound shift occurring within American national mythology. While Goforth was in some ways motivated to serve by the military heritage of his family, and the demands of his nation upon his duty as a citizen, he noted that the mythology and rhetoric surrounding military service no longer held sway. With clear emotion in his voice, Goforth recalled the run up to the Gulf War and a conversation with his eldest son, explaining:

> I didn't want them to take him, I wasn't gonna give up my son. And I told him, I said, uh, your Dad's [sic] already pulled his time in the service and fulfilled the obligation that this family needs to fulfil at the time at the moment. I said don't worry about being obligated thinking you gotta go in and do what your dad did, because it's not that kind of an America now. I said we were lied to, and fought a war for reasons that we thought were straight up, and we were obligated, I felt like that I uh I wanted to go fight for my country to keep the countries from coming to America and killing my family and fightin' on our soil. And my step-father, he felt the same way, he felt obligated, you know, it was our job, it was our duty.   See but nowadays there's enough volunteers that we don't have to run around feelin' like it's our obligation, and everybody has to go in. And I don't think I would have signed up, I know I wouldn't have signed up back in 1969 when I was drafted if they hadn't drafted me…And so I, I really, I told all my kids that they didn't worry about fulfilling any obligation.[33]

Goforth demonstrates an awareness of the profound change brought on by the Vietnam War. For Goforth and countless other men who served in Vietnam, their experience severed the assumed relationship between patriotism, duty and military service. He recalls the initial desire to do his patriotic duty but simultaneously concludes that his son should not feel obligated to serve as his father had. Vitally, for Goforth, his son would not be any less manly or any less patriotic for declining an opportunity to serve, even if called to do so. A son going to war, in this articulation, is not the fulfilment of his ultimate patriotic duty, but a potentially unnecessary sacrifice that no one should be compelled to endure.

    With the shift from a military populated primarily from conscription to one based solely on volunteers, military service was no longer a patriotic duty, but a potential career path. Moreover, with the growing calls to 'support the troops' even if you disagree with a war, protest became another accepted avenue of patriotic duty. While young men still have to sign up with Selective Service, few seriously consider the possibility of being drafted. Indeed, the majority of Americans continue to define military service as a choice or a career with opportunities, rather than an obligation of

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[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.

republican citizenship.[34] The military has also fully embraced the AVF and current recruiting materials continue to emphasise the economic benefits of service, foregrounding conceptions of individual liberty rather than collective duty.[35] With slogans such as 'Serve Your Way' and the persistent use of phrasing such as 'what's best for you', 'plan for your future' and 'your career' on the Army recruitment website, raising a fighting force for the nation is now reflective of individualism and self-advancement rather than an obligation of citizenship.[36] Today, of course, the soldier is still seen as a patriotic citizen for their willingness to make the 'ultimate sacrifice' for their nation, but this is no longer conceptualised in the popular memory as a duty that all citizens must be willing to fulfil.

Beyond Vietnam: Broader Implications

While this study specifically focuses on the activism of anti-war soldiers during the Vietnam War, it also has implications for our understanding of the Sixties as a historical moment and the contradictory nature of American national identity more broadly. By tracing the activism of anti-war soldiers, this research demonstrates that the activists' demands for an America that lived up to its democratic promises and rhetoric endured well into the 1970s. It further broadens the portrait of youth activism by expanding the thematic focuses of the New Left to the movements fostered by those in uniform. In doing so, it illuminates the extent to which the spirit of the Sixties penetrated and influenced all corners of American society, geographic, social and political, including the typically conservative military.

More generally, however, this study explores a moment when the contradictions inherent to, and embedded within, American national identity were put on display. The activism of anti-war soldiers illuminates the inherent whiteness of American belonging. In draft resistance, GI activism and veteran protest the differing experiences of citizenship shaped the ways in which activists critiqued the Vietnam War and the assumption of the relationship between duty and citizenship. Broadly speaking, white activists critiqued the war for running counter to American ideals and postulated an understanding of civic duty that demanded policymakers uphold these

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[34] Bailey, *America's Army*, 260.

[35] Upon this writing, the two of the first three 'featured' stories on goarmy.com, the official website of the US Army, emphasised financial bonuses for enlistment.

[36] "Army Careers – Ways To Serve in the Army," United States Army, https://www.goarmy.com/ (accessed 8 May 2018)

ideals. In turn, they asserted an understanding of masculinity that could exist independently of soldiering, but still emphasised the masculine ideals of bravery and independence. Conversely, activists of colour proclaimed that having not enjoyed the privileges of citizenship they subsequently did not have a civic duty to serve. Instead, their duty lay in defending their communities from oppression and their manhood was defined by asserting the traits required to protect those communities. In expanding their activism beyond a specific critique of the war, these activists also revealed the inequities of American belonging throughout society. Many of these inequities endure today, and embracing the critiques of the past can help us better understand the conversations around race and American belonging going on in the present.

This activism forces us to question the very nature of American democracy and what it means to be American. The critique raised by anti-war soldiers during the Vietnam War era about the relationship between American foreign policy and economic benefits to the most elite Americans, echoed with military and civilian circles as recently as the Iraq War in 2003. Moreover, questions surrounding the relationship between democratic ideals, American security and the conduct of war resurfaced in debates over 'enhanced interrogation' in the wars of the new millennium. This activism also illuminates considerations of the relationship between military and civilian society that echo today in conversations around funding defence and military spending, or funding social welfare programmes. Perhaps most significantly, a study of this activism illuminates critiques that are still being made by people of colour across American society. Movements such as No DAPL, Black Lives Matter and others that draw attention to the continued oppression faced by citizens of colour seek to highlight that despite legal equality, institutional racism is embedded in the very nature of American national identity. Current policy and debates around immigration also continue to reflect the assumed whiteness of American belonging.

By understanding the critiques made by anti-war soldiers about American citizenship, manhood and the practical application of the rhetoric of democracy, we can illuminate present-day debates. Understanding this activism helps answer questions about why and what people choose to protest and how they justify and ground their protest in their personal sense of identity, their larger understanding what it means to be an American citizen, and the role of that citizen in a democracy. Anyone looking back on the Vietnam War, popular or scholarly, remembers it as a turbulent time. The war raised vital issues around the appropriate American role in

international affairs, how the nation wanted to define itself, and the very nature of Americanness. The recent upheavals in American politics have brought these questions to the fore as citizens again wonder what and who should be accepted as American. By exploring the understudied activism of soldiers, veterans and draft resisters, we can more deeply explore the schisms and impact of the Vietnam War on present-day American society, and better understand the impact of the Sixties and its enduring influence, implications and legacy on the present.

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Appendix A

Selective Service Classifications during the Vietnam War

Classification	
I-A	Available for military service
I-A-0	Conscientious objector available for noncombatant military service only
1-C	Member of the armed forces of the U.S., the Coast and Geodetic Survey, or the Public Health Service
I-D	Member of reserve component or student taking military training
1-H	Registrant not currently subject to processing for induction
1-0	Conscientious objector available for civilian work contributing to the maintenance of the national health, safety, or interest
I-S	Student deferred by statute (High School)
I-Y	Registrant available for military service, but qualified for military only in the event of war or national emergency
I-W	Conscientious objector performing civilian work contributing to the maintenance of the national health, safety, or interest
II-A	Registrant deferred because of civilian occupation (except agriculture or activity in study)
II-C	Registrant deferred because of agricultural occupation
II-D	Registrant deferred because of study preparing for the ministry
II-S	Registrant deferred because of activity in study
III-A	Registrant with a child or children; registrant deferred by reason of extreme hardship to dependents
IV-A	Registrant who has completed service; sole surviving son
IV-B	Official deferred by law
IV-C	Alien
IV-D	Minister of religion or divinity student
IV-F	Registrant not qualified for any military service
IV-G	Registrant exempt from service during peace (surviving son or brother)
IV-W	Conscientious objector who has completed alternate service contributing to the maintenance of the national health, safety, or interest in lieu of induction into the Armed Forces of the United States
V-A	Registrant over the age of liability for military service

Appendix B
Military Rankings by Branch of the Armed Services

Army	Marine Corps	Navy	Air Force
General	General	Admiral	General
Lt. General	Lt. General	Vice Admiral	Lt. General
Major General	Major General	Rear Admiral (upper half)	Major General
Brigadier General	Brigadier General	Rear Admiral (lower half)	Brigadier General
Officers			
Colonel	Colonel	Captain	Colonel
Lt. Colonel	Lt. Colonel	Commander	Lt. Colonel
Major	Major	Lt. Commander	Major
Captain	Captain	Lieutenant	Captain
1st Lieutenant	1st Lieutenant	Lieutenant, junior grade	1st Lieutenant
2nd Lieutenant	2nd Lieutenant	Ensign	2nd Lieutenant

Pay Grade	**Enlisted**			
E-9 (Special)	Sergeant Major	Sergeant Major	Master Chief Petty Officer	Chief Master Sergeant of the Air Force
E-9	Command Sergeant Major Sergeant Major	Sergeant Major Master Gunnery Sergeant	Command Master Chief Petty Officer/ Master Chief Petty Officer	Command Chief Master Sergeant/ Chief Master Sergeant (E-9)
E-8	First Sergeant/ Master Sergeant	First Sergeant/Master Sergeant	Senior Chief Petty Officer	Senior Master Sergeant
E-7	Sergeant First Class	Gunnery Sergeant	Chief Petty Officer	Master Sergeant
E-6	Staff Sergeant	Staff Sergeant	Petty Officer First Class	Technical Sergeant
E-5	Sergeant	Sergeant	Petty Officer Second Class	Staff Sergeant
E-4	Specialist/ Corporal	Corporal	Petty Officer Third Class	Senior Airman
E-3	Private First Class	Lance Corporal	Seaman	Airman First Class
E-2	Private	Private First Class	Seaman Apprentice	Airman
E-1	Private	Private	Seaman Recruit	Airman Basic

Appendix C

Participation in Armed Farces Day 1970

Military Base	Approximate Numbers of Civilians	Approximate Numbers of GIs
Fort Bragg, North Carolina^	2250	750
Fort Benning, Georgia*^	500	150
Fort McClellan*^	Unknown	Unknown
Charleston Naval Base, South Carolina^	750	250
Fort Riley, Kansas	900	400
Fort Hood, Texas^	600	700
Barksdale AFB, Louisiana^	600-700	150-175
Fort Bliss, Texas^	Unknown	1000
Fort Devens, Massachusetts*	70-80	20
Fort Dix, New Jersey	3-4000	"a few GIs"
Fort Meade, Maryland	500-600	100
Grissom AFB, Indiana	Unknown	Unknown
Camp Pendleton, California	5000	200
Fort Lewis, Washington	200	50-60
Grand Forks AFB, North Dakota	100	50
Fort Carson, Colorado	500	30
Chanute AFB, Illinois	Unknown	800 attendees "many of whom" came from local bases
Fort Ord, California	4000	100

* = GI press coverage noted that this was the first protest in this base town

^ = Base in the US South