Anything Less Than a Man

Race, manhood, and insurgency
in the US Military, 1970-1974

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Introduction

In the early morning of March 15, 1971, two U.S. Army lieutenants were killed by a fragmentation grenade in their Bien Hoa, Vietnam barrack. There were no witnesses to the crime. A few hours later, First Sergeant Willis, the unit commander—jostled from a night-long drinking binge—muttered only one person's name into the ear of the Army investigator assigned to the case: Private Billy Dean Smith.

Billy Smith, a black soldier and resident of Watts, California, was 23 at the time.[1] He loathed the military and the campaign in Vietnam—as illustrated in a letter he wrote home: "they aren't doing anything here except kill, kill, kill."[2] He was considered by his superiors as "unenthusiastic about closing with the enemy," and "unfit for military service;"[3] had received three punishments for minor infractions within his first month in the war; and was being processed for an administrative discharge.[4]

A few hours after the murder, Smith's unit was called to formation, and he was ordered to step forward. Agent Harold, an investigator for the Army, then informed Smith that he was under arrest. An assistant described the apprehension in his testimony before the US Army Court of Military Review:

> At the time of the apprehension, the appellant [Billy Smith] became verbally abusive and was removed from the immediate area of apprehension to the side of a nearby barracks, where he was searched and handcuffed with his hands behind his back. Sergeant Smith believed that the

[1] Billy Dean Smith Defense Council, "Free Billy Smith, Free All of Us" (Unpublished, pamphlet), 3. Smith was born into a family of twelve in 1948 in Bakersfield, California. His family then moved to Texas until 1957. He was a machinist, school bus driver, and car salesman before he was drafted into the army.
[2] Billy Dean Smith, quoted in Mark Allen, "The Case of Billy Dean Smith," *Black Scholar*, 4, no. 2 (Oct. 1972), 15.
[3] Captain Rigby, quoted in Allen, "The Case of Billy Dean Smith," 15.
[4] Ibid., 4.

> appellant's life was in danger from other members of his unit. As the appellant began to move around, Sergeant Smith moved closer because he wanted to make sure the appellant stayed where he was, and did not try to run away. At this point, according to Sergeant Smith, the appellant uttered an obscene remark and spit in his face. As he moved closer, the appellant raised his knee toward Sergeant Smith's groin, but he sidestepped, and his leg was brushed by the appellant's right leg. He then grabbed the appellant around the neck and pulled him against the building in order to keep him from running away. With the assistance of the other investigators, the appellant was subdued and later transported to the Provost Marshal's office.[5]

Smith was charged with two counts of attempted murder, two counts of murder, two counts of assaulting a policeman, and aggravated assault. The case against him consisted of three pieces of evidence: first, eyewitness accounts of his assault on Agent Hindly and Sergeant Smith;[6] second, a grenade pin found in his pocket;[7] and third, the fact that he was African American and consistently questioned instances of racism in the Army.[8] A forensic test later revealed that the pin found on his person was not from the same type of grenade that killed the two lieutenants.[9]

Billy Smith was acquitted in 1973, after two-and-a-half years in the US Army stockade in Fort Ord, California—where there was a long history of beatings and guard

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[5] *United States v. Private (E-2) Billy D. Smith*, No. 429555 (US Army Court of Military Review, Oct. 1974), 2.
[6] Ibid., 1-5.
[7] Billy Dean Smith Defense Council, "Free Billy Smith, Free All of Us." 5; "Stop Racist Frame-Up: Free Billy Smith," (Unpublished, Pamphlet, 1971), 1; and "Free Billy Smith," *Out Now!* 3, no. 2, (1971). These were pamphlets and articles published in underground G.I. newspapers or in other ways made available to soldiers. The pamphlet "Stop Racist Frame-Up" is available from the Peace Collection at Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania, while the underground papers are currently held in the Wisconsin Historical Society's Vietnam War collection. Duplicates are also available at the Fort Ord Historical Documents Project.
[8] *United States v. Private (E-2) Billy D. Smith*, 6; and Billy Dean Smith, "Free Billy Smith," (Unpublished, 197-).
[9] "Stop Racist Frame-Up," 1.

laxity, as in 1969, when twelve guards were discharged for assault and sodomy.[10] According to a Court of Military Review case for two escapees from the prision, "there was a condition at the Stockade which included race riots, prisoners beating other prisoners, [and] guards beating prisoners."[11] A Private Miller testified that he participated in two "race riots" in one month while he was a prisoner there, and another inmate stated that thirty prisoners in the maximum-security section of the stockade beat him while the guards looked the other way.[12]

Although Smith was acquitted of murder, it took another year before the US Army Court of Military Review withdrew the charge of assaulting a policeman. At the same time as his acquittal, he was demoted to the rank of private and dishonorably discharged.[13] While in solitary confinement, he wrote a communiqué to all GIs:

> I've been sitting in pre-trial confinement, maximum security, for a long and lonely period of time. I'm appealing to my comrades for massive support and aid. I was accused, charged and found guilty, and sentenced to death while I was still in Vietnam—by Captain Rigby, my artillery base commander, and his subordinate First Sergeant Willis… simply because I didn't have a puppet mind and I was a candid black, outspoken individual. I had stated time and time again that I realize that the war in Indo-China was unjustly and racially motivated, and most of all that I strictly hated all who had high regard for habitual butchery of the Vietnamese people.[14]

[10] "The Stockade's a Bad Place," *As You Were*, (21 Nov. 1969).
[11] *United States v. Private E-1 Richard S. Peirce and Private E-1 Kenneth R. Edwards*, No. 421133 (US Army Court of Military Review, Feb. 1970), 3.
[12] Ibid., 3-5.
[13] *United States v. Private (E-3) Billy D. Smith*, 1-7.
[14] Billy Dean Smith Defense Council, "Free Billy Smith, Free All of Us." 1-2.

Billy Smith brazenly resisted the authority of his superior officers and Army investigators, and as a result was charged with murder, put into an hostile stockade, and finally discharged. Each of these actions were presented as legal reactions to a murder, but another motive is also apparent. This was an effort to ignore or question Billy Smith's resistance to the military in general, as well as that single moment of resistance where he resisted arrest for a crime he did not commit. Army officers considered him "unfit for military service" not because of any physical difficulties, but because deeming him as such meant that his outspoken resistance to racism in the Army could be disregarded. According to the US Army Judiciary, the transcript and other documents pertaining to his case were destroyed in a fire;[15] however, the physical destruction of documents is not the only way a narrative such as this is broken apart and scattered. Institutions of power, such as the military and white supremacy, either silence people like Billy Smith, or seek to delegitimize their history.[16]

Toward the end of the Vietnam War, a growing number of what the military establishment considered "race relations" insurgencies[17] took place throughout the armed services. While others have done good work documenting these events themselves,[18] this

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[15] Mary Dennis, US Army Judiciary, Letter to author, 14 July 2001.

[16] See Gyanendra Pandey regarding the writing and reading of fragmented historiographies—especially those surrounding instances of uprising or rebellion. I will be using much of his writing as a methodological approach to subaltern studies discussed later in this paper, especially that found in his article "In Defense of the Fragment" in *A Subaltern Studies Reader, 1986-1995* ed. Ranajit Guha (Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 45.

[17] For the purposes of this text, an *insurgency* is used interchangeably with *uprising* or *conflict*, and is meant to signify a time and location where individuals who were effected by oppression collectively resisted their domination in a public act or demonstration. This definition is purposefully inclusive of different methods of resistance—violence, sit-ins, protest—as well as the development of the insurgent event itself. *Insurgents* are individuals who have participated in the planning or carrying-out of these events.

[18] See James Westheider, *Fighting on Two Fronts: African Americans and the Vietnam war* (New York: New York University Press, 1997); Herman O. Graham, III, "Brothers for a year: How African-American GIs became men through combat friendships and black power during the Vietnam War," (Ph.D. diss,

paper is an investigation into a cluster of documents written *in response* to two specific insurgent events. It is more concerned with how the military elite reported on and studied racial insurrections than the specifics of the events themselves, along with different methods these servicemen used to undermine the stigmas generated by such investigations.

Official reports or inquiries tried to invalidate the claims of racial uprisings in a variety of ways. When two "race riots" occurred in 1971 on the Navy vessels *Constellation* and *Kitty Hawk*, the Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the Navy concluded that "black militants" had caused the riots.[19] In spite of numerous testimonies to the existence of racism on both ships, according to the military these were nothing more than the movement of an undisciplined rabble organized by highly trained outsiders, a "direct attack upon the ship and its crew's morale."[20] One frequent and crucial theme in these post-insurgent investigations—and the one this paper will be focusing on—is that of manhood, particularly the emasculation of African American soldiers. Manhood and masculinity, two very fundamental concepts in the military, were constantly invoked to deprive the insurgent servicemen of a voice.

There were so many motives for the uprisings, so many different instances of what the sailors perceived as institutional racism, but each of these reasons were particular to the individual sailors themselves. However, official military documents contained in this paper glossed over their distinctive voice by generating a meta-

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University of Pennsylvania, 1999); Jack Forner, *Blacks and the Military in American History*, (New York: Praeger, 1974), 25-56.

[19] U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Armed Services, Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the U.S. Navy, *Hearings Before the Special Subcommittee on Discipline Problems* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1973), 1-5.

[20] Ibid., 17893.

narrative, a grandiose theory of stupid, vicious, drugged-out, irrational, primitive African American sailors armed with lead pipes and large genitalia[21] running amok against the good discipline of a ship and her crew. These insurgents lacked a military man's sense of duty, respect, loyalty, and *manhood*. Developed in government-sanctioned investigations and reports, this theory was also expanded by the social and behavioral sciences to include every African American male. It was applied by an army of psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, teachers, economists, and social workers; it was turned into scientific rhetoric, passed through peer-review committees, and presented to the African American male as a liberating study of his past, present and future.

In order to distinguish between the different means of domination and resistance, this paper has been divided into three sections.[22] Part I is concerned with direct investigations and reports by the military elite on two specific insurgent events that constitute a counter-insurgent narrative. Part II describes the translation of one of these counter-insurgent documents into codas, or discourse steeped in scientific rhetoric designed to theorize about the attitudes or behaviors of an entire population. Part III is an

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[21] While these themes will be revisited later in this paper, they can be found in the following documents respectively: Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the U.S. Navy, *Hearings Before the Special Subcommittee on Discipline Problems,* 17670; Ibid., 17667; U.S. Marine Corps. Marine Corps Base, Camp Smedly D. Butler. Senior Member Inquiry Team, "Report of Racial Turbulence Inquiry" in Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the U.S. Navy. *Hearings Before the Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the U.S. Navy,* 187; Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the U.S. Navy, *Hearings Before the Special Subcommittee on Discipline Problems,* 30; Robert Blauner, "Black Culture and Ghetto Ethnography" in U.S. Department of Defense. Defense Race Relations Institute, Minority Studies Division. *Afro-American Culture*, ed. Melvin Gillespie. (Patrick Air Force Base, Florida: Defense Race Relations Institute, 1972), 1-8; Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the U.S. Navy, *Hearings Before the Special Subcommittee on Discipline Problems,* 17670; and Blauner, "Black Culture and Ghetto Ethnography," 1-14. Please note that many of these subjects can often times be found in more than one document.

[22] It should be noted that, while there are three distinct sections of this paper, the difference never existed in this particular history. As we shall see, each portion of this essay permeates the others to create an albeit small portion of the network of power relationships specific to this historical time and social/geographic location.

example, out of the innumerable possibilities, of how African American males in the military appropriated manhood as a method to resist racism and *encourage* rebellion against white supremacy in the military. This sense of *oppositional* manhood helped black servicemen to defend their position by turning manhood into a liberating force.

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Writing about race and manhood—especially the different methods at the disposal of the white military elite—means that I have a particular standpoint which has informed my historical research and constructed the framework I have used in this paper. As a white person, I lack access to the 'hidden transcripts' of resistance—my whiteness means that I (either consciously or unconsciously) have control over public discourse, but this position also causes an ignorance of a non-white experience. This is how dominance and resistance works, and I do not wish to denigrate the many hidden forms of fighting oppression that are beyond my understanding. However, this means only that which occurred in the public sphere is open to my investigation: my positionality in relation to race has constructed my knowledge, and therefore what one will find in these pages.

My own relationship to manhood is convoluted by my class position and my lifestyle. Manhood has been presented to me as one's ability to make money, and the enjoyment of physical labor (particularly construction or fixing machines). Like many men, I would imagine, much of this concept of manhood was given to me by my father. I still place value on some components of this construction of manhood, but other activities or intellectual pursuits have meant that I am considered very un-manly by many. There has been a cloud of stipulation about my sexual orientation everywhere I have gone because of my androgyny—my love of crochet, my closeness to male friends, my choice of clothing, and the way I cross my legs when I sit down all seem to automatically negate

my manliness.[23] As such, I both possess a definition of manhood I sometimes enjoy playing out (donning my paint-soaked base-ball hat and greasy Unocal jacket with socket-wrench set in tow), but I dislike the patriarchy which is inherent in manhood—the distance I feel from others because of the power I accept through its performance. In order to prevent myself from merely universalizing my own experience, I have tried while writing and researching to be cognizant of my whiteness and manhood, but alas, such institutions of power are not so easily deconstructed. It is my hope that the critical reader will see how my own whiteness has informed this essay.

This essay was not fully formulated in the beginning of my research. While reading some of the military studies from the time, and excerpts of testimony before the Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the Navy, I found something intuitively and morally wrong. This essay is an attempt by myself to articulate what was at the time an emotional response, and it has taken the combined work of many other cultural, linguistic, legal, and historical theorists to help me conceptualize how these insidious studies and investigations function. It is my hope, while there is a great deal of theoretical structure in this paper, that the evidence I have presented will still illicit some form of outrage, a necessary component of any anti-racist movement.

[23] While it is unfortunately not touched upon in this paper, manhood was perhaps the largest factor in the battle over the integration of women and homosexuals into the armed forces. See Kenneth Karst, "The Pursuit of Manhood and the Desegregation of the Armed Forces," *UCLA Law Review,* 38 (Feb. 1991): 499-581.

I. Counter-Insurgency

The Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the US Navy, of the House Armed Services Committee, spent three months from November 1972 to January 1973 listening to testimony and writing reports about what occurred on the *Kitty Hawk* and *Constellation*. There were 61 testimonies—some of whom dragged on for days—and 114 documents presented as evidence, including three full-length books.[24] And because no member of Congress would read it all, the subcommittee wrote a twenty-four-page brief that described exactly what happened, why it occurred, and what should be done about it. The following are two statements from the subcommittee on what happened on board the *Kitty Hawk* and *Constellation*, respectively:

> Immediately following air operations aboard the *Kitty Hawk* on the evening of October 12, 1972, a series of incidents broke out wherein groups of blacks, armed with chains, wrenches, bars, broomsticks and other dangerous weapons, went marauding through sections of the ship disobeying orders to cease, terrorizing the crew, and seeking out white personnel for senseless beatings with fists and with weapons which resulted in extremely serious injury to three men and the medical treatment of many more, including some blacks. While engaged in this conduct some were heard to shout, "Kill the son-of-a-bitch; kill the white trash; wipe him out!" Others shouted, "They are killing our brothers."
>
> …
>
> Aboard the U.S.S. *Constellation*, during the period of November 3-4, 1972, what has been charitably described as "unrest" and as a "sit-in" took place while the ship was underway for training exercises. The vast majority of the

[24] These numbers are the author's own from reading the index of testimonies and documents. Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the U.S. Navy. *Hearings Before the Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the U.S. Navy*, i-iv.

> dissident sailors were black and were allegedly protesting several grievances they claimed were in need of correction.
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> These sailors were off-loaded as a part of a "beach detachment," given liberty, refused to return to the ship, and were later processed only for this *minor* disciplinary infraction (6 hours of unauthorized absence) at Naval Air Station, North Island, near San Diego.[25]

The report contained not only a summing-up of events and a characterization of the violence that took place, but also a portrayal of the people who took part in the uprisings:

> The subcommittee is of the opinion that the riot on *Kitty Hawk* consisted of unprovoked assaults by a very few men, most of whom were of below average mental capacity, most of whom had been aboard for less than one year, and all of whom were black. This group, as a whole, acted as "thugs" which raises doubt as to whether they should ever have been accepted into military service in the first place.[26]

Instead of investigating instances of racism, the subcommittee questioned the legitimacy of the resisters themselves. It denied the agency of the sailors by defining them as essentially stupid thugs. Labeling the attacks as "unprovoked" meant ignoring efforts by African American soldiers to pursue less confrontational measures for solving of racism on board.

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As we have seen above, the dominant's retort had a rather explicit purpose: it served to delegitimize the modes of resistance used by the insurgent servicemen. By taking a Cartesian[27] approach to rebellion, attribution of causality became an instrument

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[25] Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the U.S. Navy. *Hearings Before the Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the U.S. Navy*, 17667.
[26] Ibid., 17670.
[27] The term Cartesian refers to René Descartes' methodology as outlined in *Discourse on Method*, trans. Desmond Clarke (New York: Penguin Books, 1999). This involves, for the purposes of this paper, a search

of domination, as Gyan Prakash has pointed out: "to identify the cause of the revolt was a step in the direction of control over it and constituted a denial of the insurgent's agency."[28] By denying the power and agency of the sailors, it negated the praxis of revolt, instead placing the blame on an object that the dominant had control over. Ranajit Guha's work on counter-insurgent prose is quite helpful in pointing out how even "radical" historians can perpetuate this cycle of denying the importance of the insurgent's voice by arguing that insurgencies are generated from "factors of economic and political deprivation which do not relate at all to the peasant's consciousness or do so negatively—triggering off rebellion as a sort of reflex action, that is, as an instinctive and almost mindless response to physical suffering of one kind or another (e.g., hunger, torture, forced labor, etc.) or as a passive reaction to some initiative of his superordinate enemy."[29]

The *counter-insurgent code* is a term first used by Ranajit Guha, but I have made it a bit more encompassing than Guha's more linguistic focus.[30] A counter-insurgent *code* is not a particular document, but it is a statement, a phrase, a sentence that has consequent allusions: the people involved are considered deficient in some way, the rebellion itself

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for a singular truth, a dependence on the 'objective' researcher, a focus on taking things apart to understand the whole, and the development of a system of analysis which is primarily concerned with making causal linkages.

[28] Gyan Prakash, "Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism," *The American Historical Review*, 99 (1994): 1479.

[29] Ranajit Guha "The Prose of Counter-Insurgency." in *Culture/Power/History: A reader in contemporary social theory,* ed. Nicholas Dirks, Geof Eley, and Sherry Ortner (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994),337.

[30] I digress from Guha's original concept of counter-insurgent discourse in primarily two ways. First, Guha points out how different "levels" of discourse are formulated to produce a counter-insurgent code: primary, the original formulation in the mind of the state or elite member during the event; secondary, the counter-insurgent document; and tertiary, the historian who is dependent upon the other two to create a narrative. I have found that in the documents contained within this paper, the division is not quite as clear as Guha has found them to be. Also, Guha focuses more of his article on counter-insurgent documents questioning the agency of the people involved in the rebellion, while I am also concerned with the factors that questioned the legitimacy of the insurgent.

was triggered by outsiders, or the general social environment is blamed for "adding fuel to the fire." A counter-insurgent *text* or *document*, however, includes numerous codes as well as indicative statements that supports the codes. The indicative phrase is not an interpretive statement, but instead a claim to truth, for example, "David hit Sally" is indicative. This does not mean that indicative statements are necessarily 'true,' but that they do not carry the weight of interpretation one finds in a counter-insurgent code. To turn the above example into a counter-insurgent code, we would have to add a number of different interpretive modifiers: "David, *a boy with anger-management problems*, hit Sally," or "*Joe coerced* David into hitting Sally," or even "*in a brief flash of rage,* David hit Sally." In each of these cases, a cause is found for David's deed that nullifies the action (hitting Sally), in essence denying that David was in any way the agent of the action. When the actor is an individual or group struggling against oppression, the effect of this denial of agency can constitute a continued sanction of domination.

Because the concerns of this paper are located in post-insurgent activities and discourse, there will be little discussion about structural and institutional forms of racism which sets the stage of these documents and insurgent events. This is not to say that systems of domination are not important or do not exist. As Marx (the bewildered grandfather of so much structuralist scholarship) has said, "men make their own history, but they don not make it just as they please."[31] There were therefore institutions which governed the racism African American sailors faced in the military, as the insurgents themselves labeled their uprisings as resistance against "institutional racism."[32]

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[31] Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1972), 10.
[32] Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the U.S. Navy. *Hearings Before the Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the U.S. Navy*, 201.

However, choices to resist are individual actions, informed by one's history and geo-social location. In regards to insurgencies, as Ranajit Guha has so eloquently pointed out, the subaltern[33] acted "*on their own*, that is, *independently of the elite*," as such, the act of insurgency—while being historically and systemically informed—did not "originate from elite politics."[34] There was no clear distinction between the system of domination and those affected by it, but the division was there, and denying the existence of one does a disservice to the other.

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As a unifying theme within the American military establishment, and one which these documents used to question the validity of black uprisings, the construction of "manhood" is an interesting and telling concept that runs throughout each text. Close readings of military documents can reveal what were considered acceptable characteristics of manhood.[35] The subcommittee's conclusion outlined four specific measures of Navy manhood: "mission performance, morale appearance, responsiveness to command…, and the frequency of disciplinary infractions."[36] One Marine document

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[33] The term "subaltern" has a special meaning in regards to the military because is possesses both literal and theoretical definitions which lend it well to the arena of the armed forces. First the theoretical: drawn from Antonio Gramsci's writings, it "refers to subordination of class, caste, gender, race, language, and culture and was used to signify the centrality of dominant/dominated relationships in history," Ranajit Guha, "Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism," 1477. A subaltern in literal military terms is one who is of low rank; however (while I hate to quote dictionaries,) the term is also defined by the Oxford Dictionary as "not universal." Thus the term, within the confines of this paper, refers to individuals who are effected by their position within systems of race, gender identities or practice, class, and rank (which parallels Gramsci's *class* or *caste*, but to the extreme).

[34] Ranajit Guha, "On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India," quoted in Prakash, Gyan, "Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism," 1478.

[35] My own findings are consistent with that of other authors on Vietnam-era Military constructions of white manhood, e.g. Klein, John, "What's a Man?: Gender discourse and Fort Ord newspapers during the Viet Nam war" (Senior Capstone., California State University Monterey Bay, 2000); Herman O' Graham, "Brothers for a Year;" and Karst, "The Pursuit of Manhood and the Desegregation of the Armed Forces."

[36] Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the U.S. Navy. *Hearings Before the Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the U.S. Navy*, 17681.

attributed the soldiers' manhood to "their cash payment."[37] Students at the Marine Corps Command and Staff College Education Center argued that the military man possessed "leadership," "discipline," "rationality," "effectiveness," and "empathy."[38] Throughout the counter-insurgent documents, those involved in the uprising were marked as being deficient of these qualities.

Manhood was not a fixed social construct that existed only in this time and sociopolitical location, it was a concept with a long history that set up the system of dominant gender roles a man in the early 1970s was expected to perform. While there is a large body of work on the history of American manhood, and a good number of books and articles which pay particular attention to intersections of white manhood and race,[39] there is little critical race analysis of manhood and race in the US military.[40]

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[37] Senior Member Inquiry Team, "Report of racial turbulence inquiry," in Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the U.S. Navy. *Hearings Before the Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the U.S. Navy*, 181.

[38]Lt. Col. Gobat, C.W., Maj. J. M. Chatfield, and Maj. C. T. Huckelbery, "An Analysis of the Attitudes and Opinions of Senior Military Officers on the Report Submitted by the Task Force on the Administration of Military Justice to the Secretary of Defense." (thesis, Marine Corps Command and Staff College, Quantico, Va, 1973), 52.

[39] I suggest Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Robyn Wiegman, *American Anatomies: Theorizing Race and Gender* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995); *Race and the Subject of Masculinities* ed. Harry Stecopoulous and Michael Uebel (Durham, Duke University Press, 1997); and Maurice Wallace, *Constructing the Black Masculine* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002).

[40] There are exceptions, however. Cynthia Enloe's *Ethnic Soldiers* is a look into how certain racialized groups have been affixed with the label of men and manhood to justify their involvement in the military (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980). Ilene Feinman's *Citizenship rites : feminist soldiers and feminist antimilitarists* (New York : New York University Press, 2000) shows how feminist theory is a superb place from which a critique of manhood and the position of people of color within the military can be achieved. An excellent article on how the early Selective Service system during World War I was the battle ground over definitions of white southern manhood is Gerald Shenk, "Race, Manhood, and Manpower: Mobilizing Rural Georgia for World War I," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 81, no. 3 (Fall 1997). Especially pertinent to this paper and an excellent piece of scholarship is Herman O. Graham, "Brothers for a year"; and Karst, "The Pursuit of Manhood and the Desegregation of the Armed Forces," 499. Another article which corresponds with a later section of this paper on oppositional manhood is Herman O'Graham III, "Black, and Navy Too: How Vietnam Era African-American Sailors Asserted Manhood Through Black Power Militancy," *Journal of Men's Studies,* 9, no. 2 (Jan, 2001), 227.

Prior to the Civil War—especially after 1820—a middle class of white managers, industrialists and professionals were the focal point for defining what it meant to possess manhood in America.[41] Man was concerned with markets and science, his "strength and rationality suited him for the rough and violent political world."[42] Manhood and income were tightly correlated, as one's ability to provide for his domesticated wife and children was the ultimate litmus test for manliness.[43] The middle-class man had a patriarchal role over not only his wife and children, but all those considered 'lesser' human beings—African Americans, Native Americans, poor whites, etc. The early 19th century man was expected to be rational and calm in the face of economic pressures and political conflict. Banks would lend to middle-class men based on a credit system which took into account not only prior financial experience, but family life, honor, and consequently manhood.[44]

Many white-generated myths of black male femininity came from a period starting with the Civil War,[45] and developing well into World War II. In a reading of Thomas Higginson's *Army Life in a Black Regiment*, written during the Civil War, Christopher Looby points out that whites had a "complex of projective fantasies, an imputed combination of masculine lack and masculine excess, [which constructed] the

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[41] Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 11.
[42] Paula Baker "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American political society, 1780-1920" *American Historical Review*, 89, no. 3 (1984): 620.
[43] For more discussion on the domestication of 19th century middle class white women, see Paula Baker's article "The Domestication of Politics;" Donald Pickens, "Antebellum Feminism and the Domestication of the American Revolution," *Continuity* 8 (1984): 63-76; Angela Leighton, *Victorian Women Poets: A Critical Reader* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1996); and Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 1-93. There is a huge body of work in this field, and the intrepid reader could probably locate most of them.
[44] Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 108-113; Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 45.
[45] For more information on African Americans and the Civil War, there are hundreds of books, but I recommend *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1863* Series II, "The Black Military Experience," ed. Ira Berlin, Joseph Reidy, and Leslie Rowland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

black man as the contradictory Other of white masculinity."[46] Higginson, when standing naked next to his black regiment, stated "Plotinus was less ashamed of his whole body than I of this inconsiderate and stupid appendage,"[47] referring to the to white myths of black phallic enormity. While Daniel Black in *Dismantling Black Manhood* argues that slaves appropriated virility, phallocentrism, and violence to represent their manhood,[48] much of this depiction was also a projection of the white middle-class to deny the black man's entitlement to manhood.[49]

Twentieth century manhood was marked by white men's struggle to achieve 'masculinity' while at the same time retaining political/financial power. The growing role of eugenics in American society in the first half of the century[50] reveals some of what "normal" concepts of manhood/property were during this time. Eugenics was used to couch discussions of normality and white supremacy in the discourse of science. The American Eugenics Society's "Fitter Families" contests, held throughout the country, featured white families competing with each other to see who was the product of superior breeding,[51] and reading the descriptions of men in these contests is a good sketch of what a 'successful' man was at the time. In 1925, the father of a prospective Fitter Family was ranked in a variety of categories including "education... occupation... church

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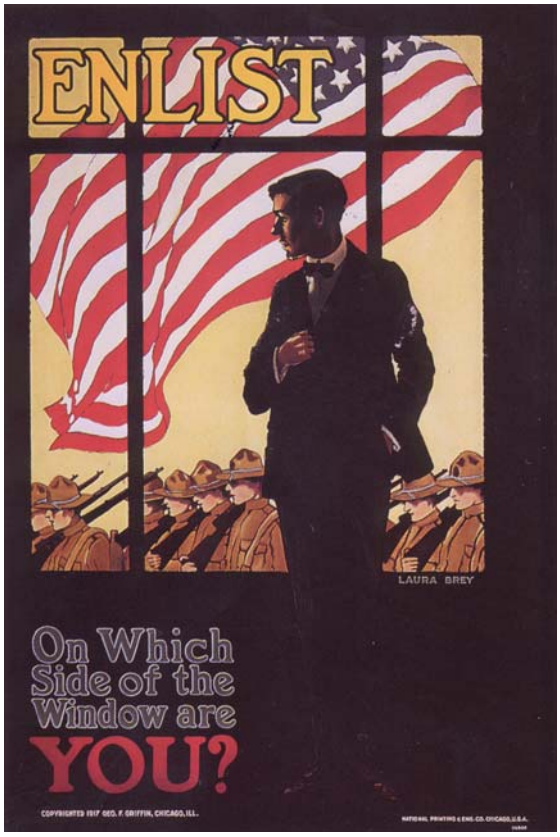
[46] Christopher Looby, "'As Thoroughly Black as the Most Faithful Philanthropist Could Desire:' Erotics of Race in Higginson's Army Life in a Black Regement" in *Race and the Subject of Masculinities* ed. Harry Stecopoulous and Michael Uebel (Durham, Duke University Press, 1997),71.
[47] Thomas Higginson, quoted in Looby, "'As Thoroughly Black as the Most Faithful Philanthropist Could Desire'" 93.
[48] Black, *Dismantling Black Manhood*, 172.
[49] See Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*; Looby, "'As Thoroughly Black…;'" and Booker, *"I Will Wear No Chain! A Social History of African American Males*, (Westport: Praeger, 2000).
[50] *The Lynchburg Story*, dir. Stephen Trombley, 55 min., Worldview Pictures, 1994.
[51] *The Lynchburg Story*..



This British WWI recruitment poster (left) clearly shows the division between the effeminate (women) and the masculine (soldiers) as represented by the window dividing the public and private sphere of life. Laura Brey, artist of the prior posters' American counterpart (right), specifically chose to emulate not only the style of the painting, but also the insinuation that men who do not sign up for military service are devoid of manhood.
Persuasive Images: Poster of war and revolution from the Hoover Insitution archives ed. Peter Paret, Beth Irwin Lewis, and Paul Paret (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992), 52 & 56.

membership... church attendance[52]... political party... political participation... membership in fraternal orders or societies... condition at birth... [and right/left] hand dominance."[53]

Military service was another means of testing and proving manhood, while at the same time excluding others deemed ineligible for the armed forces. Recruitment posters during World War I were quite explicit about appealing to masculinity. Throughout both

[52] Prior to the explosion of eugenics, there was a nation-wide movement from 1911 to 1912 called the "Men and Religion Forward Movement," which is a good example of how manhood was linked to church membership and fraternity. See Gail Bederman, "'The Women Have Had Charge of the Church Work Long Enough:' The Men and Religion Forward Movement of 1911-1912 and the masculinization of middle-class Protestantism," *American Quarterly*, 41, no. 3 (Sep., 1989), 432-465.
[53] "'Large family' winner, Fitter Families Contest, Texas State Fair (1925): individual examinations" (American Philosophical Society, ERO, MSC77,SerVI,Box 3, FF Studies TX #2)

World Wars, African Americans were for the most part barred from combat, or enrolled in degrading jobs. During World War I, many African American men were denied even the right to be involved in legal hearings on their selective service cases because they "were assumed to be incompetent to act either in their own cause or on their own in the interests of the general polity."[54] During World War II, many African American servicemen—who were for the most part retained as laborers—were denied their claim to military service as a sign of their manhood. This was because of a gross disproportion of Section VIII discharges, or "blue discharges" that were not dishonorable, but prevented the collection of veterans benefits or distinction.[55] As Private Marion Hill explained in a letter dated 1943:

> Here in Camp Claiborn, there are two casual co one for white and one for colored. This is the outfit that men who are unable to do duty are placed, and discharged. Now the troubel is that the white boys who are discharged get. AC.D.D. or section 10 those are different type of discharges, while most of the colored soldiers get section eights a type of discharge that robes a man of his citizenship.[56]

This is not to say that white abuse of the military systems was successful in preventing African American males from claiming manhood. Some of those who were able to go to war in either of the World Wars came back demanding recompense for the sacrifices they had made on the battlefield. One veteran of WWI who gave a public speech to the black community in Chicago said, "we have gone to Europe to fight for

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[54] Gerald Shenk, "'The Finest Type of Manhood:' Performing Whiteness/Performing Manhood in Rural Georgia," (Unpublished, 2000), 624.
[55] In fact, while the African American population in the US military was roughly 6.2 percent, 22.2 percent of Section VIII discharges went to black servicemen. Phillip McGuire, *Taps for a Jim Crow Army: Letters from Black Soldiers in World War II* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1993), 145-146.
[56] Pvt. Marion Hill, "Discharge That Robs a Man of His Citizenship," in *Taps for a Jim Crow Army*, ed. Philip McGuire, 22.

justice and democracy, yet we return to find none for ourselves."[57] World War II brought new access to manhood and citizenship through increased involvement in the military; however, the "great migration" of African Americans from the south to urban areas for better wages in wartime industry also helped to bring about the "emergence of the Urban Black Male."[58] As a result, black income doubled between 1959 and 1969, giving greater access to the institution of manhood for African American men.[59]

While the armed services were officially ordered by president Truman to integrate in 1948,[60] the true test of the military system's commitment to racial equality did not come until decades later, during the Vietnam War. The 1962 President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Armed Forces found that many African Americans in the military "are still grouped in assignments which perpetuate the image of the Negro as a menial or servant in respect to the total activities of these services."[61] An Army study published thirteen years later found a gross disproportion in all the armed forces in terms of job assignment, rank, and dangerous assignments along racial lines.[62] The continuing problem with racism in the military, coupled with what the Marines called a general "overall heightened black consciousness"[63] in American society, meant that what the

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[57] *Midnight Ramble: Oscar Micheaux and the story of race movies*, dir. Bestor Cram, PBS Video, 1994, videocassette.
[58] Booker, *"I Will Wear No Chain*," 179.
[59] Ibid., 181.
[60] U.S. Department of the Navy, History and Museums Division Headquarters, Henry I. Shaw and Ralph W. Donnelly, *Blacks in the Marine Corps*, (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), ix.
[61] Ibid., 70.
[62] U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences, Social Processes Technical Area, Peter G. Nordlie, *Measuring Changes in Institutional Racial Discrimination in the Army* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Defense, Dec. 1975), 1-5 and 29.
[63] Shaw and Donnelly, *Blacks in the Marine Corps*, 69.

military commonly referred to as the "race problem" did not evaporate as quickly as they might have hoped.[64]

♦

By using dominant constructions of manhood, congress and military officials acted as counter-insurgents, showing evidence that an insurgent population acted counter to the normal functions of a military man. A common theme in military discourse was rationality, and rational thought was considered crucial to making a manly soldier.[65] Rationality, which was measured by military criteria, was not only considered a *way of thinking*, but also a *way of doing and being*. For example, Mr. Pirne, a member of the subcommittee, argued along with the captain of the *Kitty Hawk* that refusal to follow through with the "procedure" of airing grievances was a sign of a crumbling discipline and rationality:

> MR. PIRNE: … This is an agitation but there wasn't a specific complaint filed, was there?
> CAPTAIN WARD: I have received no specific individual grievance with the exception of some of the young men that did return to the ship whom I have interviewed seeking their specific grievances.
> MR. PIRNE: Yes, but I am speaking about the time this order occurs. You had given them an opportunity to present any specific grievance and none was presented before they engaged in the sit-down?
> CAPTAIN WARD: That is true, sir.
> MR. PIRNE: Therefore it is nothing more than a demonstration against discipline.
> CAPTAIN WARD: I agree, sir.[66]

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[64] For more information on the Vietnam war period, see Westheider, *Fighting on Two Fronts*; Booker, *"I Will Wear No Chains* (especially chapters 9 and 10).
[65] Gobat, Chatfield, and Huckelbery, "An Analysis of the Attitudes and Opinions of Senior Military Officers;" Klein, John, "What's a Man;" and Herman O' Graham, "Brothers for a year ."
[66] Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the U.S. Navy. *Hearings Before the Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the U.S. Navy*, 30. Please note that the italics are my own.

What Mr. Pirne called "the procedure" was the airing of grievances in special minority or Human Relations council, which he and other members of the subcommittee also described as "the correct way to air grievances,"(331) "proper evaluations,"(303) and "the regular channels."(126)

Not using formal military language was also evidence of a lack of rationality or discipline on the part of the insurgents. Captain Ward made the statement that "you will have to remember that when we are dealing with the black man, we frequently run across the problem wherein we are told you can talk to the black man—you or I—and he won't understand what the hell you are saying."(56) It was later argued by Captain Ward that Human Relations Councils were necessary in order to communicate with black servicemen because "you got to get someone who can—to use that term again—relate to this young man."(56) It is here where the discourse of manhood and rationality, which according to feminist writer Carol Cohn "is mobilized and enforced in the armed forces in order to enable men to fight wars,"[67] was defined as so outside black servicemen's awareness to the point that they require an institutionally-prescribed translator.

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[67] Cohn, Carol, "Wars, Wimps, and Women," in *Gendering War Talk* ed. Miriam Cooke and Angela Woollacott (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993), 230. Cohn is especially adept at showing the connection between rationality, manhood, and the military (although her critique covers a more contemporary issue.) I would also suggest her article "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals," *Signs* 12, no. 4 (1987): 681-718. For excellent feminist critiques of gender discourse and war (which incorporate rationality into their argument) see Sandra Harding and Merrill Hintikka, eds., *Discovering Reality: Feminist Perspectives on Epistemology, Metaphysics, Methodology and the Philosophy of Science* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985); and Nancy C. M. Hartsock "The Barracks Community in Western Political Thought: Prolegomena to a Feminist Critique of War and Politics," in *Women and Men's Wars*, ed. Judith Hicks Stiehm (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1983). For a great read on the history of the development of a gendered rationality and philosophy of science, see Lynda Birke, *Feminism, Animals, and Science: the naming of the shrew* (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1994).

During the Vietnam War, it was clear from a statistical standpoint that black servicemen were over-represented in the enlisted ranks of the military, and severely under-represented as officers. This was so apparent that one Army researcher claimed "it is almost as if there were two different grade structures—one for whites… and one for blacks."[68] The navy had the most severe over-representation of blacks in the lowest pay-grades, and the most gross under representation in senior officers.[69] Within the military, rank and manhood were almost synonymous, and systematic inaccessibility to the higher rank and pay grades meant that African American servicemen were institutionally prohibited from achieving the dominant's construction of manhood. Thus, insurgent black servicemen operated under at least three systems of domination that were synergistic: racism, a rigid caste hierarchy, and a class structure directly related to one's rank.

The subcommittee consistently found that those servicemen who were in "low-skill," low ranking positions or job assignments, were of questionable integrity. They argued that units with a high number of black seamen were usually in "low skill billets which require minimal prior education or training,"[70] and that this "saturation of blacks within units [caused] the creation of the sub-culture within the unit, the infrastructure, and the perpetuation of erroneous, destructive, and anti-social ideas."(181) The solution to these "anti-social ideas" was to instigate a rigid adherence to traditional military hierarchy, where they could be "placed under the direct control and supervision of an experienced line officer as their division officer."(17682)

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[68] Nordlie, *Measuring Changes in Institutional Racial Discrimination in the Army*.
[69] Ibid., 29.
[70] Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the U.S. Navy. *Hearings Before the Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the U.S. Navy*, 181.

Issues of rank were so important to the question of a witness's legitimacy that often low-ranking black sailors found their intelligence and manhood questioned. Right after informing the subcommittee that he had graduated high school and had an Associate's Degree, EM3 M.L. Dawson was asked if he had any trouble reading a simple training manual given to him during his first week aboard the *Constellation*.(310) A black shipmate of Dawson, SA C.D. Bowman, was also considered of inferior intelligence by the subcommittee. Bowman was interrupted in his opening statement with a question not put to high-ranking white officers: "Are you familiar with the fact that we are a subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee?" After pointing out that he understood what the committee was, and that it was comprised of congressmen, the chairman still persisted: "And that we are out here as an investigating committee concerning the *Constellation* incident?"(282) The subcommittee treated Bowman as a child several times during his testimony; questions that he had answered were repeated with simpler words. Committee members periodically stopped to ask Bowman "Do I make my point clear?" and "You have understood that, haven't you?"(301 & 305) Although he regularly stated that he understood what the committee members were saying, the last question asked during his testimony was "You didn't have any problem communicating with me?"(309)

♦

One individual who found himself a subject of much discussion in the subcommittee hearings was Commander Benjamin Cloud, the highest-ranking African American on the *Kitty Hawk*. Because of his position as an executive officer and a black man, the subcommittee found his willingness to ignore his rank in a show of racial solidarity a sign of diminished manhood. During the climax of violence between black

and white sailors, Cloud decided to use "unorthodox" means to quell the violence aboard as he spoke to a group of black sailors:

> And I indicated, I think, very dramatically, that if they doubted for one moment my sincerity as a black man who was sympathetic to their problems, but completely military and completely desirous of seeing that their situation be rectified within the legal framework of our society, that if they doubted for one moment that I did not understand...their problem...they could take a weapon and beat me on the spot and kill me on the spot.
>
> At that time I reached down and I took a weapon from one of the men that was there. It was piece of steel about...2 feet long, and held it up. I pulled off my shirt and I said, "The first man in this crowd that for one moment does not believe my sincerity, I hold this weapon and I bare my back for you to take this weapon and beat me into submission right here." And I challenged them to do that.
>
> By this time the crowd was quiet. They laid down their weapons to a man. Weapons went over the side of the ship. The chant went up that, "He is a brother," and I exchanged with them the black unity symbol, which I used for the first time in my life that evening, as earlier in the evening I had done.(584)

While the African American sailors may have believed Cloud was to be trusted, he found his authority deteriorating in the eyes of white servicemen. While checking on the sleeping quarters, Commander Cloud was confronted by some irate white servicemen, who "…weren't as noisy as the group of blacks, but they were certainly loud and boisterous, and initially disrespectful to me, saying of course that I was nothing more than a nigger, just like all the rest of them, and that, you know, why… did I expect to be able to exercise any kind of authority in this situation."(587-588)

The subcommittee, at first receptive to Cloud's story, found his handling of the situation a sign of diminished manhood. They claimed that he was being "too conciliatory" toward the black sailors, and that he encouraged an "environment of

permissiveness" on board the *Kitty Hawk* (593) which ran counter to their concept of a man's "command responsiveness." (17681) By taking off his shirt, he was removing his rank as a Navy officer, which the subcommittee considered "irresponsible" and "divisive and disruptive of good order and discipline," (594) the antithesis of a man's "morale appearance." (17681) In the final report filed by the subcommittee, Cloud's willingness to remove his shirt and ignore his rank was diminished to a unenthusiastic action: "he addressed the group for about two hours, reluctantly ignoring his status as the XO and instead appealing to the men as one black to another."(17669) By turning Cloud's symbolic disregard for his rank into an undesirable action, the subcommittee denied that Cloud had any choice in the matter (thus denying his agency) and then proceeded to label his action as a sign of his lack of manhood and rank.

♦

Throughout the counter-insurgent code of the subcommittee's report, there is a demon summoned from the depths of white myths of African American men as a surrogate for black sailors who had a long praxis of rebellion (as shall be discussed in Part III) supporting their decision to rise up against the Navy. Admiral B. A. Clarey, a white Navy commander, probably best described the features of such a papier-mâché Mephistopheles in his testimony to the subcommittee:

> In each case the antagonists seem to fit into a demographic profile which I feel can be generalized with a high degree of reliability. He is a young black between the ages of 18 and 20, he is new to the Navy and is neither rated nor designated for training in a special professional field.
>
> This later situation is generally a consequence of his deprived cultural background. He is in close dialog with his peers and is essentially out of communication with more mature black petty officers who would traditionally help

> him in his transition from civilian life to the special rigors of duty in the Navy.(854)

Defining the insurgent black serviceman as inferior made it much easier for the military elite to ignore the rebellions on the *Kitty Hawk* and *Constellation*, and problems of racism in the Navy were made more possible to deny.

II. Racial Codas

After a growing number of uprisings in the military—the *Kitty Hawk* and *Constellation* insurgencies being the most prominent in the public's mind—the Department of Defense sought numerous ways to curb racial violence.[71] Social and behavioral researchers were assigned to study not only racism in the military, but also every aspect of African American society within and outside the armed forces. The founding of the Defense Race Relations Institute (DRRI) in 1972 was the culmination of this scientific approach, where academic theories of racial and cultural conflict were applied to pedagogy about race relations. During its first two years, the DRRI had educated 574 military personnel on issues of racism and conflict resolution.[72] Of particular interest to the DRRI was the use of behavioral and group dynamics theories to alleviate racial tension.[73] These race relations instructors were then distributed throughout the military to various forts and navy vessels in order to help prevent rebellions.

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[71] There is much evidence to suggest that the DoD's racial programs were a direct response to the embarrassing events going on throughout the armed forces both in the US and abroad (especially in Germany and Vietnam). See Westheider, *Fighting on Two Fronts*, 131-168; Yvonne Hicks Davis, "The Genesis, Development, and Impact of the United States Defense Department's Race Relations Institute 1940-1975" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1975); Westheider, James, "'My Fear is for you:' African-Americans, Racism, and the Vietnam War" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Cincinnati, 1993); Alvin James Schexnider,"The Development of Nationalism: political socialization among blacks in the U.S. Armed Forces" (Ph.D. Diss., Northwestern University, 1973); Thomas, James A., U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences, *Changes in Black and White Perceptions of the Army's Race Relations/Equal Opportunity Programs—1972-1974* (Monterey, California: ARI Field Unite at Presidio of Monterey, Nov. 1976), 1-9; and Melvin R. Laird, Secretary of Defense, *Final Report of the Congress of Secreatry of Defense Melvin R. Laird Before the House Armed Services Committee*, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, Jan. 8 1973), 1-104. For further information regarding GIs based in Germany, see Westheider, *Fighting on Two Fronts*, 72; and Curtis Daniell, "Germany: Trouble Spot for Black GIs," *Ebony*, (August, 1968).

[72] Davis, "The Genesis, Development, and Impact of the United States Defense Department's Race Relations Institute," 32-35.

[73] Ibid., 33.

Some of the most influential scholarship in military human relations on African American males was produced at this time, especially in the DRRI itself and the Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.[74] However, insurgencies of years past, along with the momentum of the counter-insurgent movement in the military elite, made even the more critical social researchers agents of a continuing counter-insurgent dialogue. Instead of individual events being codified, entire groups of people were constructed as troublemakers: the entirety of the African American male population was deemed unmanly.

Part of the official documentation on race in the DRRI's repertoire was a 148-page book entitled *Afro-American Culture*, which included writings by lawyers, historians, psychologists, cultural ethnographers, and sociologists about different aspects of just what "Afro-American Culture" was.[75] The self-described "Ghetto Ethnographer" and anthropologist Robert Blauner was among the authors of this book with his article "Black Culture: Myth or Reality?"

There are specific concepts found in the counter-insurgent documents that are discussed by Blauner, but are made to include claims not only about African-American military insurgents, but all African-American men. Blauner's argument can be best described as the "Negro Dionysianism" approach, a term he borrowed from Bennett Berger that described the apparently inherent focus in the male African American

[74] Ibid.
[75] U.S. Department of Defense, Defense Race Relations Institute, Minority Studies Division, *Afro-American Culture*, ed. Melvin Gillespie (Patrick Air Force Base, Florida: Defense Race Relations Institute, 1972).

community on "the erotic, the frenetic, and the ecstatic."[76] Blauner described some characteristics of African Americans he claimed to have found in his tenure as a "ghetto ethnographer:"

> Some of these themes are present-oriented and expressive style of life, characterized by minimal planning and organization. Religion is usually a more dominant value and release than politics; crime, hustling, rackets and other forms of "deviance" are commonplace. Economic pressures strain the family, and marginal employment tends to weaken the father's authority. Aggression and violence seem to be more frequent than in middle class neighborhoods. Expressive personal releases that some sociologists label "immediate rather than deferred gratifications"—sex, drinking, drugs, music—are emphasized in the lives of individuals. A sense of fatalism, even apathy or quasi-paranoid outlooks (the "world is against me") pervades the streets…[77]

Blauner made several statements about the position of manhood in the African American community. Supporting previous studies such as the Moynihan Report,[78] Blauner fingered matriarchical family structures as perpetuating a system of diminished manhood. He claimed that "mother-led families" were a product of the "quasi-community" developed by "submission, timidity, fear, and manipulation."[79] Abated manhood was present in "the great mobility, the moving about and restlessness that characterizes the life patterns of an important minority (especially male)."[80] African American males possessed a "supersexuality" that was a symbol of "group identity and

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[76] Robert Blauner, "Black Culture and Ghetto Ethnography" in *Afro-American Culture*, ed. Melvin Gillespie, 1-8.
[77] Ibid.
[78] US Department of Labor. Office of Policy Planning and Reasearch, *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1965).
[79] Blauner, "Black Culture and Ghetto Ethnography," 1-6.
[80] Ibid., 1-7.

cohesiveness."[81] There was a "deviant, paradoxical character of black culture,"[82] onewhich marked African Americans as "unique" in their "deviant cultural experience that to some degree is the reverse of those of the traditional ethnic minorities."[83]

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Documents like Blauner's not only supported the arguments put forward by counter-insurgent documents, but also justified such conclusions through a scientific gaze. These documents are *racial codas*,[84] which are generalized statements that describe a racialized group, yet have some ulterior motive that serves the interest of the authors. The standard definition of a coda also means the closing dance of a ballet, or the final movement of a piece of music that signifies finality, that there is no more to be said.[85] A racial coda fulfills certain criteria: (1) it originates from the dominant (often 'official' institutions of the dominant); (2) it has the air of objective analysis—as in the social sciences; (3) it claims to understand race and racism; and (4) it does so with an impression of finality.[86] These racial codas *problematized* conceptions of race by shifting

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[81] Ibid., 1-8.
[82] Ibid., 1-14.
[83] Ibid., 1-4.
[84] The term *coda* is a culmination of many different works on thee relationship between domination and the human sciences: James Scott, *Seeing Like A State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); Michele Foucualt, *The Order of Things: An archaeology of the human sciences* (New York: Vintage Books, 1973); Burrell, Gibson, *Pandemonium: Towards a Retro-Organization Theory* (London: Sage Publications, 1997), David Arnold, "The Colonial Prison: Power, Knowledge and Penology in nineteenth-Century India," in *Subaltern Studies VIII: Essays in Honour of Ranajit Guha* ed. David Arnold and David Hardiman (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994): 148-187; and Javier Sanjinés, "Outside in and Inside Out: Visualizing Society in Bolivia," in *Latin American Subaltern Studies Reader* ed. Ileana Rodríguez (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001): 288-311.
[85] *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. "coda."
[86] There are many examples of *racial codas*; however, we will be using the following within this paper: US Marine Corps, *Report of Racial Turbulence Inquiry* in Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the U.S. Navy, 179-196; U.S. Department of Defense, Defense Race Relations Institute, Minority Studies Division, Melvin Gillespie, *Afro-American Culture*, (Patrick Air Force Base, FL: Defense Race Relations Institute, 1972); U.S. Department of the Army, Motivation and Training Laboratory, Nordlie, Peter, et. al. *Improving Race Relations in the Army* (Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office, 1972); and Nordlie, *Measuring Changes in Institutional Racial Discrimination in the Army*, 1-65.

it from one context into a new set of truths and falsehoods. Foucault explained this concept in depth in his "The Concern for Truth:"

> Problematization doesn't mean the representation of a pre-existent object, nor the creation through discourse of an object that doesn't exist. It's the set of discursive or non-discursive practices that makes something enter into the play of the true and false, and constitutes it as an object for thought (whether under the form of moral reflection, scientific knowledge, political analysis, etc.).[87]

Racial codas, like counter-insurgent prose, cannot support themselves. They are sometimes based upon the original official counter-insurgent texts, and are by design dependent upon the current academic/professional climate to lend their arguments credence and legitimacy. Each coda also brings to the fore once again the counter-insurgent code, renewing it in a manner that can be used again and again in future analysis of instances of rebellion. Each instance of rebellion, each event, has multiple interpretive layers that grow over time to broaden the scope of the interpretation itself. This is not to say there is a kernel of "truth" which is obscured and we can find by peeling away these layers: the very moment of uprising is fraught with interpretations, which go back to the beginning of the subaltern's decision and praxis of rebellion itself.[88]

♦

One coda that was created in response to a number of insurgent events—only to be cited again by the subcommittee's account—was the Marines' "Report of Racial Turbulence Inquiry." This document was written by an investigative team of Marine officers and social scientists with the Navy Personnel Research and Development Center

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[87] Michele Foucault quoted in Yount, Mark, "The Normalizing Powers of Affirmative Action" in *Foucault and the Critique of Institutions*, ed. John Caputo and Mark Yount (University Park, Penn.: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), 195.
[88] This is discussed more in depth in Pandey, "In Defense of the Fragment," 1-32.

after four outposts in the Pacific were sites of racial uprisings. Not unlike Blauner, the image of the 'overtly masculine' black man was a focus of their research:

> Young blacks were often found to desire relationships with women based upon the appeal of their masculinity rather than their cash payment, and they therefore tended to suffer in the open competition with white troops for the favors of bar girls and prostitutes. A subtle form of discrimination was also practiced by the bar girls themselves in this regard, as girls tended to traffic either entirely with black or white clientele because of the opinion that consorting with blacks alienated whites and *visa versa*. Most often, blacks were those rebuffed, because of their spending habits and their greater propensity for violence, as reflected in the statistics on assaults.[89]

As old as the first military campaigns, prostitution was readily accepted and even encouraged by the US military during the war in Vietnam.[90] This US Marine document not only shows a lack of concern towards soldier's "open competition… for the favors of bar girls and prostitutions," but also a concern that black servicemen do not follow their white comrades' sense of what women find desirable in men. What is most striking here is that this struggle over the attention of women was considered by the Marines as the *only* condition of "voluntary de facto segregation."[91] According to the researchers, the key to "racial equality" in the military, therefore, lay in a mutual exploitation of women to emphasize a universalized sense of manhood.

Other forms of deviance were also used to describe the values of black servicemen. Drug use was cited more than once as having a relationship to racial activism. The report claimed that activists "tended to be drug users" and that "the sale of

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[89] Senior Member Inquiry Team, "Report of Racial Turbulence Inquiry, 181.
[90] Katharine Hyung-Sun Moon, *Sex Among Allies: military prostitution in US-Korea Relations* (New York : Columbia University Press, 1997); Cynthia Enloe, *Maneuvers: The international politics of militarizing women's lives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Tono Haruhi, "Military Occupation and Prostitution Tourism in Asia," *Women in Action* 2, no. 3, 35; among others.
[91] Senior Member Inquiry Team, "Report of Racial Turbulence Inquiry," 181.

drugs appears to serve as a financial bulwark for illicit militant black organizational activities."(182) While the inquiry team was quick to point out, though, that "there was no clear evidence that racial confrontations took place with participants under the influence of drugs, other than alcohol;"(182) it was later suggested that uprisings were not racially motivated at all, but instead "buyer-seller altercations stemming from the sale of sub-standard merchandise or similar other disagreements."(182) Later, while discussing recommendations to curb further violence, the team suggested the following:

> The interrelationship of the drug and racial problem was discussed… the solution to either problem assists in reducing the other. The tendency of drug abuse to parallel other forms of disaffected, alienated behavior renders it a target area for attack by the combined resources of… education, exemption, and counseling. (187)

Signs of racial solidarity were found to be synonymous to trouble making. The report fingered the dap[92] as a "deliberate means of obstructing entrances and creating disorder."(182) Dapping was used "to create chaos in mess lines and crowded areas within cognizance of duty personnel" to generate "doubt in the firm, decision making capability of command authorities."(183) The report concluded that many servicemen were forced to take part in such activities, since there was a "pervasive, heavy social pressure on blacks to participate in ethnic activities such as the 'dap.'"(180) In fact, while the term "ethnic participation" was used extensively throughout the report, shaking hands seemed to be the only example of racial solidarity the investigating team could come up with.

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[92] The dap, considered by the study as a "ritual greeting" (182) refers to the handshakes and hi-fives that originated from the Vietnam War, which many African American servicemen used during the Vietnam war as a sign of racial solidarity. For a brief history of the dap and its role in the lives of black soldiers, see Westheider, *Fighting on Two Fronts*, 88-90.

♦

These studies were not limited to the social or behavioral study of African Americans, they included reports on how black servicemen were mapped in relationship to the rest of the military. Reports on eating habits, rank distribution, job distribution, and copious surveys of hundreds of programs were all included. Between 1972 and 1974, race relations and African Americans became the in vogue subject for social scientists in the military. Forty-eight percent of all documents published from Department of Defense Social and Behavioral Sciences Research Institute were devoted solely to the study of black soldiers.[93] While the content of each report is important, it is also necessary to note that this explosion of studies on race relations represented a white *problematization* of African Americans. This meant not only were white social researchers defining who African American males were, but what racism and institutional racism was—while at the same time reaffirming that white males were the norm that required no special research.

One of these studies attempted to provide a mathematical model for commanders to know when racism was present in their post. Written by four behavioral researchers in the Army, the authors concluded that a "representation index" was the way to "conceptualize and operationally define institutional racial discrimination."[94] The social scientists concluded that "the system of measures appears to be a useful tool in

[93] Seventeen out of the 35 documents published in the Army Research Institute for the Social and Behavioral Sciences were on race relations and black servicemen, and one out of the five books published by the Navy Office of Research in the Social Sciences Division was devoted to the subject..
[94] Nordlie, et. al. *Measuring Changes in Institutional Racial Discrimination in the Army*, 1.

diagnosing institutional discrimination… to monitor changes in institutional racial discrimination in the Army."[95]

This transmutation of social construction into mathematical formulae represents an effort to control or compartmentalize the definition of what constitutes institutional racism. This report was concerned with the following indicators of institutional racism: "distribution of personnel across ranks," "distribution of personnel across occupational specialties," "types of assignments," "school eligibility selection," and "racial composition of accessions and reenlistments."[96] The grounds of what was acceptably considered institutional racism was clearly labeled and outlined, and any claim made by black servicemen which fell outside the realm of these pre-defined fields was ignored by the formula. The temporally frozen version of "institutional racism" was considered universal, and meant that African Americans themselves were not reliable sources of information about their own oppression.

Investigations of race relations had the result of removing the knowledge about racism from those effected by it, and introduced the social researcher as the narrator of racial oppression. As a result of following the scientific method, these conclusions were universalized and made inaccessible to the black serviceman. The social or behavioral

$$\text{Representation Index} = \left[\frac{\text{Actual Number}}{\text{Expected Number}} \times 100 \right] - 100$$

The representation index used by Nordlie and his colleagues in the US Army Research Inistution for the Behavioral and Social Sciences. The "actual number" referrs to "the number of blacks having the particular characteristic under consideration," while "expected number" is "the expected percentage times the number of individuals in the base population (total number of personnel having the particular characteristic under consideration), where the Expected Percentage is the percentage of blacks normally expected to have that characteristic if no association between skin color and that characteristic exists." From Nordlie, et. al., "Measuring Changes in Insitutional Racial Discrimination in the Army," 3.

[95] Ibid., 32.

scientist positioned themselves as a surrogate voice to dictate what racism was, and what should be done about it, often times ignoring those effected by it as a viable source of information.

When military social and behavioral scientists studied African American men, it was with the weight of state sanctions and scientific support that the results of such studies were given the label of truth. Use of scientific methodologies immediately justified the counter-insurgent codes imbedded in their findings. The DRRI and other institutions used this information, these codas of what the African American male is to employ control, as it was thought that once scientific studies were completed showing causal relationships between some facet of the population and insurgent activities, such instances could be prevented. As Guha has pointed out, "finding the cause of the insurgency was one step closer to controlling it."[97]

[96] Ibid., 4.
[97] Guha, "The Prose of Counter-Insurgency," 43.

III. Oppositional Manhood

> MR. DANIELS: What other factors, Chief, in your judgment, led to this incident?
>
> AZC DAVID L. WILSON: I don't think it was just regular system influence. Just the 400 years of oppression. Just the same thing.[98]

It would be irresponsible to write a history such as this one without showing how different methods of resistance to institutions of white supremacy were possible, in spite of work by the military to create a counter-insurgent narrative. The rest of this paper will hopefully show how, as It is important to never let the actions of the dominant fall from view, but the goal of this essay is not to merely reproduce an elite narrative.

A problem does arise, however, since the nature of these forms of resistance—and the efforts by counter-insurgent codes to deny their existence—means these narratives are a fragmented history. Few sources written by black sailors have survived both time and enforced silence, but presenting those available, and by practicing what Guha has called "reclaim[ing] this document for history,"[99] a fragmented historical practice can be presented. It is important to note that the historiography of opposition to racism contained herein is based on a handful of documents. It is sometimes possible and important to present whatever incomplete picture the author may have, rather than to succumb to the "urge of plentitude" that so many historians find difficult to quench.[100]

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[98] Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the U.S. Navy. *Hearings Before the Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the U.S. Navy*, 201

[99] Ranajit Guha, "Chandra's Death," in *A Subaltern Studies Reader, 1986-1995* ed. Ranajit Guha (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 34.

[100] Ibid., 37.

Many methods of resistance used by African American servicemen constituted what James Scott has called a "hidden transcript,"[101] where a history is difficult to discern due to the practice of hiding methodologies of resistance from the dominant—and therefore in many ways, from the historian. However, there were other "public transcripts" which were also used to resist the white construction of military manhood, and which the rest of this essay will discuss. By reading published articles in underground newspapers, the testimony of insurgents, and letters home, the image of an alternative to the military's ideal man can be reconstructed. This is not to say that all African American servicemen used this form of opposition; this was merely one method of resistance that black soldiers perceived as valuable or useful.

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On board the *Kitty Hawk* and *Constellation*, prior to the conflicts, there occurred what Guha calls a "praxis of rebellion." Black servicemen discussed what issues they were facing on the ship, sought different ways to alleviate the situation on board, and made the decision to openly rebel. These conflicts did not spontaneously flare up one day, only to quickly dissipate; they were instead thought-out events, which the subaltern[102] perceived as the only available option after a series of alternatives were sought. A letter written four months before the violence on the *Kitty Hawk* by Terry Avenger, a black sailor, stated that there were "very high racial tensions aboard ship" and that "the captain of the ship called a meeting of what he termed 'all the depressed Blacks'

[101] Scott, James C. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).
[102] Refer to note 33 for a definition of subaltern.

which ended with no results."[103] Another African American sailor from the *Kitty Hawk* claimed that there was no substantial 'official' course of action because he had "never seen [a minority relations council] serve any useful purpose… you never hear of them until something happens."[104]

Aboard the *Constellation* those involved in the sit-down strike also sought more official and accepted means to alleviate their situation before deciding upon a more visible form of resistance. According to SA C.D. Bowman, the black sailors met three times with several committees on board and requested an audience with the Captain before deciding upon a sit-down strike. In the final meeting with African American silors, the Minority Affairs Committee was only prepared to make the response, "Well, we can't do anything about that."[105] A meeting then took place among the concerned black servicemen on board regarding the possibility of rebellion:

> …we all made it clear to one another that there wasn't going to be any violence, anything such as a threat or nothing, et cetera. If we couldn't get it done the right way, we was going to take the next step. We made this clear also… From this we just took it upon ourselves. If that is what they want that this is the way they will understand, that is what they will get because we really wanted to talk.[106]

These uprisings cannot be characterized as wild and impulsive at all, but instead as the product of a history of smaller movements in official channels which went nowhere. They were, as Guha might say, "preceded either by less militant types of mobilization when other means had been tried and found wanting or by parley among its

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[103] Ed Stenson, "Local Black Sailors Among Those Arrested in U.S. Navy Race Riot," *The Philidelphia Tribune*, (11 Nov. 1972): 2.
[104] Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the U.S. Navy. *Hearings Before the Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the U.S. Navy*, 333.
[105] Ibid., 292.
[106] Ibid., 293.

principals seriously to weigh the pros and cons of any recourse to arms."[107] The praxis of rebellion also involved the recruitment or retention of individuals to that movement, a re-definition of manhood could be used both to encourage people to join a resistive action against racism in the military, and to deny the manhood of the military elite.

In another letter to his mother, this time after his arrest, Terry Avenger wrote outlined some aspects of what being a man was to him:

> Mom, I refuse to be anything less than a man. Before I go to jail for six months I'd rather die. No marines or whites were arrested, just Blacks. I'm serious, Mom. I'll fight till my death and on my feet before I live on my knees the way some people have. Please do everything humanly possible to help me and my Black brothers.[108]

The kind of manhood Avenger is referring to does not entail a respect for discipline, nor strict adherence to the rhetoric of science and reason, but instead resisting the racism he saw around him. His refusal to "live on [his] knees" was an important aspect of being a man, and fighting both his arrest and the situation he found on the *Kitty Hawk* were necessary to secure his possession of manhood. In the underground paper *Kitty Litter*, an article entitled "Conscientious Objector" also used manhood to resist militarism: "They asked me if I knew what conscientious objector meant… I told them it was being a true man."[109]

♦

By finding internal inconsistencies within the dominant construction of manhood, black servicemen found that they could emasculate their white superiors for what was considered a facet of normal manhood. Writing about a new captain, the underground

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[107] Guha, "The Prose of Counter-Insurgency," 45.
[108] Stenson, "Locak Black Sailors Among Those Arrested in U.S. Navy Race Riot," 2.
[109] "Conscientious Objector," *Kitty Litter* (July, 1972).

paper *Kitty Litter* argued that Captain Townsend's use of military privilege was a sign of feminine fear, as "he hides in his cabin or on the bridge and is never seen without his Marine lackey."[110] Captain Ward, from the *Constellation*, was also ridiculed for his apparent unwillingness to talk to his crewmen.[111] After his speech to the insurgent crewmembers aboard the *Kitty Hawk*, Commander Cloud found his manhood questioned by the men once he reverted back into his command role. He was called a "boy of the white man,"[112] and Cloud himself recalled that there were "serious doubts as to my credibility"[113] after reestablishing his position as an officer. Because certain modes of the oppositional manhood created by the sailors ran counter to that of the dominant position, Cloud found it impossible to argue that "there need not be a compromise in terms of being an effective naval officer, and being black."[114]

Kitty Hawk and *Constellation* sailors were not the only African American servicemen who were using such an approach to manhood, soldiers of color throughout the military were also reconstructing manhood.[115] By taking control of the social construction of manhood, attempts by the military to emasculate black servicemen lost momentum, and military life could be considered compatible with resisting racism. While

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[110] Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the U.S. Navy. *Hearings Before the Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the U.S. Navy*, 529.
[111] Ibid., 294-296.
[112] Ibid., 573.
[113] Ibid., 575.
[114] Ibid., 573, O'Graham, "Black, and Navy Too," 237.
[115] See Klein, "What's a Man?"; William Arkin and Lynne Dobrofsky, "Military Socialization and Masculinity," *Journal of Social Issues*, 34, no. 1, (1978); and Karst, "The Pursuit of Mnhood and the Desegregation of the Armed Forces:" 499-582. Primary documents include Herbert R. Northrup, et. al. *Black and Other Minority Participation in the All-Volunteer Navy and Marine Corps* (Philidelphia, Pennsylvania, The Wharton School University of Pennsylvania, 1979), 1-235; "Tour Indicates Black Unrest in Military in Far East," *Newsletter on Military Law and Counseling*, 3, no. 5 (Aug. 1971): 7-8; "Drill Sgt. Tell me I'm a Man," *Every G.I. is a POW* (April 1971); and US Congress. Committee on Armed Services. Special Subcommittee to Probe Disturbances on Military Bases, *Inquiry into the disturbances at Marine Corps Base, Camp Lujene, N.C., on July 20, 1968; report* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1969), 5051-5059.

the dominant idea of manhood excluded blacks from its participation, an alternative definition of what was expected of a man was one way to encourage and maintain resistance.

Conclusion

Those few pieces of evidence presented in this paper, scraps from a much more complex struggle, are claims by both the white military elite and the low-ranking African American to the territory of manhood. While the dominant in this relationship believed in the normality of their assertion, black soldiers were able to both theorize about their position in relationship to manhood,[116] and construct an alternative emancipatory version that served as a method of resistance. Manhood was therefore a contested space, a location which was never fully occupied by either group. This essay is a rough sketch of different means available to both sides in order to justify respective positions through constructions of gender roles.

There are a number of points that arise in this paper which I believe must be investigated further. The first is the question of oppositional manhood's role in relation to women. Specifically, in what ways as a gender role did oppositional manhood uphold patriarchal systems, and what was women's relationship to this form of manliness? A racial uprising at Fort McClellan which comprised of black servicemen and WACs (Women's Army Corps) shows signs of cross-gender solidarity, as expressed by the base commander: "if I could have separated the girls from the guys during that demonstration, they would have gone home in a minute."[117] However, I would hardly claim that racial identity was superodinate to gender.

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[116] This is what Chela Sandoval refers to as "cognitive mapping," being aware of one's own position in society. See Chela Sandoval, *Methodology of the Oppressed* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000, 15-20.
[117] "Black Powerlessness," *Time* (29 Nov. 1971): 24-25.

Another issue which I feel was ignored in this paper is how oppositional manhood was just one way African Americans chose to resist racism in the military. It is not my place to judge the legitimacy of different modes of resistance, and I do not wish to insinuate that black soldiers who chose to rise in the ranks of the military and did not participate in uprisings were somehow supporting a racist agenda. The intrepid researcher might also be interested in the organizational structure of counter-insurgent documents. How are such investigatory bodies formed? Where do they receive their legitimacy? With the subcommittee's report, we recognize the power of a sanctioned state apparatus; however, where temporally did it cease to be a "report of fact" and was instead an interpretive document?

♦

In his *Elements of Semiology*, Roland Barthes introduced seven 'figures' or 'poses' of consciousness that allows people to validate their own dominant position in systems of oppression.[118] Chela Sandoval's summary of one of these poses, "neither-norism" is especially pertinent to counter-insurgency: "This apparent neutrality, 'objectivity,' and levelheadedness creates an inflexibility of being that supports the order of the dominant rather than that of some other moral, or political order."[119] Another form of rhetoric discussed by Barthes was the "privation of history," which provides a happy and ignorant existence for the utopian citizen of the state.[120] History is diluted, moved into the university and archive so that it is no longer pertinent to one's current

[118] Roland Barthes, *Elements of Semiology* trans. Annette Lavers and Colin Smith (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).
[119] Chela Sandoval, *Methodology of the Oppressed*, 123.
[120] Barthes, *Elements of Semiology*, 45; Sandoval, *Methodology of the Oppressed*, 120.

existence.[121] Because it lacks presence, the privated history at best prosaically supports the status quo, or at worst colonizes/appropriates the history of others.

"Reclaiming a document from history,"[122] uncovering the "subaltern's myths"[123] are necessary components of an emancipatory historiography, and it is my hope that some uncovering, some revival has taken place in this paper. But that doesn't mean the dominant should fall from view. This project has been an effort to resuscitate a particular history from Barthe's nightmarish historical privation. The insurgencies on the *Kitty Hawk* and *Constellation* are mentioned by historians of the Vietnam war almost in passing, as insignificant events with equally paltry players. This ephemeral reading of history is a privation, as it accepts the "neither-norism" which occurred so many years ago, and therefore the power relationships which were at play.

It is difficult to dig up such instances of insurgency/counter-insurgency, and in the end, most of the damage to those individuals involved has been done. It is in the hands of the historian, then, to not only be concerned with the deprivation of the past, but also the adversity of the present. The historically-informed activist is a powerful force in reckoning with counter-insurgency and other forms of domination because, as Nietzsche has said, history is a force of resistance "so far as he his active and striving, so far as he preserves and admires, and so far as he suffers and is in need of liberation."[124]

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[121] See Burrell, *Pandemonium,* 75-153.
[122] Guha, "Chandra's Death," 34.
[123] Prakash, "Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism," 1479.
[124] Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Advantage and Disadvantage of History for Life* trans. Peter Preuss (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1980), 14.

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