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Reconstructing Warriors

Myth, Meaning, and Multiculturalism in US Army Advertising after Vietnam

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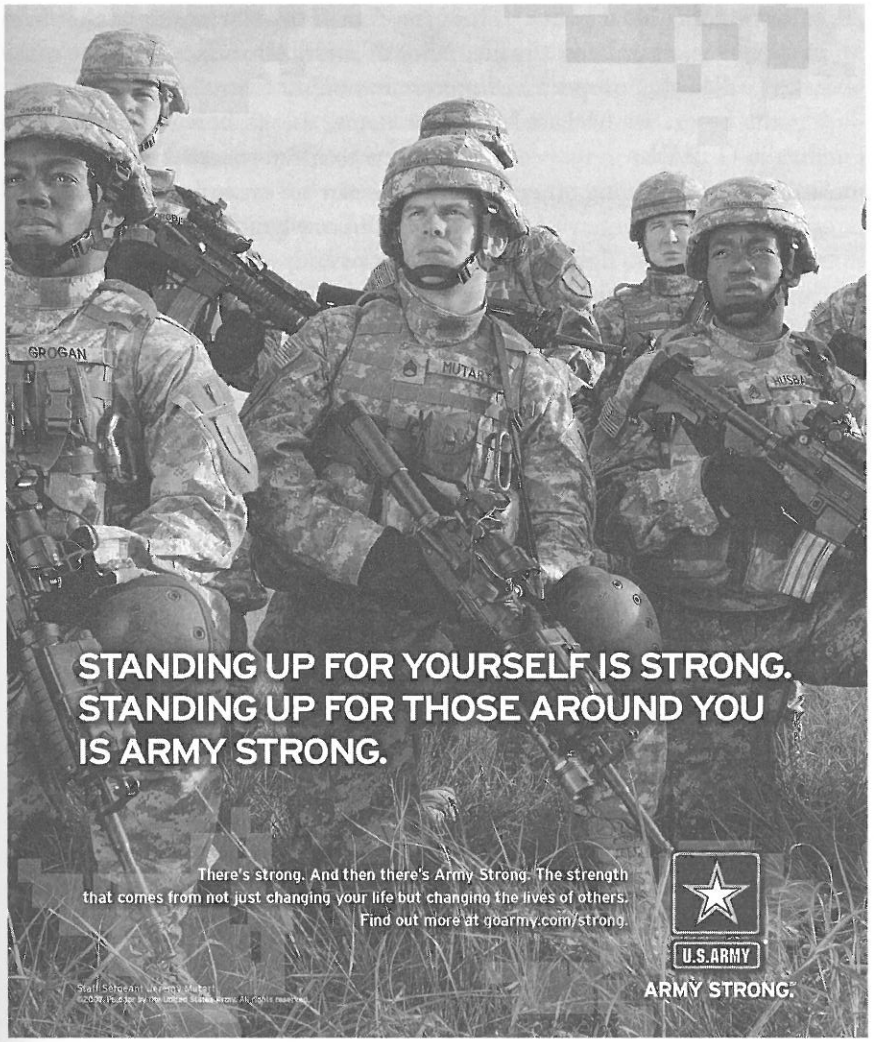
On November 9, 2006, with the United States engaged in wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, the army and its new advertising agency, McCann Worldgroup, flooded television screens, radio stations, and internet websites with a fresh message, "There's strong. And then there's army strong." Anchored by the tagline, "Army Strong," the army claimed its new $200 million-a-year recruiting and branding campaign was meant to communicate, "The unique brand of strength the US Army finds and forges in its soldiers." Projecting a distinct brand image was vital when selling a product or recruiting potential soldiers, but the tagline and the campaign also expressed, as the army believed, "the power and dignity of the US Army Soldier to our nation and the world."[1] The campaign's signature television commercial, "Army Strong"—directed by Samuel Bayer, the award-winning and sought-after artist known for his advertising work for Nike, Coke, and Pepsi, and dozens of music videos, including Nirvana's "Smells Like Teen Spirit" (1991) and Green Day's "Boulevard of Broken Dreams" (2004)—maintained the look of a contemporary Hollywood production.

"Army Strong" combined what were now conventional army advertising themes and images of technological mastery and cultural diversity with increasingly martial imagery and music meant to demonstrate that there was "nothing on this earth stronger than the US Army." The commercial portrayed the army's cultural diversity without directly declaring it. Images of African Americans, Latinos, and women among a sea of soldiers' faces were meant to speak for themselves. Nevertheless, combat soldiers or warriors, as well as martial imagery and music dominated the commercial. There was no theme song or popular music playing in the background. Instead, Emmy award winning artist Mark Isham, who produced musical scores for television and such films as *A River Runs Through It* (1992), *Blade* (1998), and *Crash* (2004), worked with the army's Soldiers' Chorus and Field Band to compose a stirring musical score that sounded like a call to arms. Video of soldiers rais-

ing a US flag was accompanied by legions of combat soldiers. As an "Army Strong" print advertisement (fig. 1) attested, these were not soldiers smiling as they enjoyed the economic incentives or educational opportunities of army life, they were warriors poised, proud, and "standing up for those" around them. Posed formally, with helmets strapped, wearing "digital camouflage" or what the army called the "instantly recognizable pattern and fabric of the greatest landpower [*sic*] force on earth," they held machine guns, and a stare that suggested they were prepared for any battle.[2] As an army presentation of the new campaign demonstrated, the reality of two wars and the threat of future combat deployment had to be communicated. Those who joined the army today, the presenter noted, "understand that they are joining a warrior culture and are willingly accepting the distinct possibility of serving in a combat zone."[3] Nevertheless, "Army Strong" projected more than the possibility of combat, it offered an image of an aggressive, powerful, and dominant army of warriors that should be feared.

Yet the American army had not always appeared this way. More than three decades earlier, at the end of the Vietnam War, the army could hardly claim it was strong. By the summer of 1971, Americans watched and read about the court-martial of Lt. William L. Calley for ordering and participating in the March 1968 murder of nearly an entire village at My Lai, while the *New York Times* published a series of articles based on a leaked 1967 Pentagon study later dubbed the "Pentagon Papers."[4] Press coverage of the Calley trial and the "Pentagon Papers" revealed what some called a "credibility gap" between what Americans were being told and what was really happening in the cities and jungles of Vietnam. For many Americans, that reality had stretched the mythologized images of wilderness-hunters, frontiersmen, cowboys, and even noble doughboys and G.I. Joes to the breaking point. The Vietnam War had discredited the hyper-masculine warrior hero in the American imagination.[5] As a growing number of returning soldiers testified about atrocities they had witnessed or participated in during the war, the heroic image of the American soldier eroded. Although few Americans believed that all soldiers were murderers, the horrors articulated in GI and press accounts and images of American atrocities conveyed these events as common Vietnam War experiences.[6] These accounts, along with military and public concerns about drug abuse, racism, and combat casualties further eroded public confidence in the army at the same time the army had to contend with the social and cultural upheaval of the antiwar, civil rights, and women's liberation movements, as well as the end of the draft in 1973.[7]

The army responded to these changes in a variety of ways, including building new barracks, offering better economic and educational incentives to compete with the civilian job market, and recruiting more women and racial minorities. Another way was to hire advertisers to create a massive



(Fig. 1). These grim-faced soldiers of the twenty-first century offer a contrast to previous US Army advertising campaigns in that they emphasize the American male warrior and the possibility of combat; yet the inclusion of multi-ethnic soldiers reflects the legacy of the pioneering campaigns of the 1970s and 1980s. "Standing up for Yourself Is Strong. Standing up for Those around You Is Army Strong." US Army, c. 2006–2009.

print, radio, and paid national television advertising campaign. As the United States began what author Tom Engelhardt calls a period of "postwar reconstruction" that focused on rebuilding a narrative of victory and triumph in the American public imagination, the army began its own reconstruction project to rebuild its public image as a national institution and as an instrument of

American international policy.[8] This essay focuses on one aspect of that new military project; examining the centrality of multiculturalism, or what some observers called the "proportional representation" of the new volunteer army during the 1970s. As Melani McAlister notes, the all-volunteer army that fought the Gulf War in 1990–1991 had come to mean something different to most Americans. Among other things, it was not "an example of the racism in American life but a potential to counter it."[9] Yet when Americans sent their sons and daughters to fight in the Gulf War, or later in Afghanistan and Iraq, the cultural diversity of that army was as much a product of policy change as it was image-making. Post-Vietnam army advertising, then, played a crucial role in reconstructing the army's image as truly multicultural force that mirrored American society.

In 1971 when the army's advertising agency N.W. Ayer developed its paid advertising test campaign for a new volunteer army, they accepted the monumental task of promoting a "new army" during America's longest war. Indeed, the campaign introduced the "new army" to Americans during the height of the Calley trial, a phenomenon one Ayer executive compared to "running airline advertising after a crash."[10] Ayer also avoided running any of their new television commercials during or adjacent to news reports of war casualties. Such casualties were controversial in themselves, but the perception of disproportionate numbers of working-class and racial minorities serving and dying in combat fed into deep concerns about racial and ethnic makeup of America's army.[11] In their final report recommending an all-volunteer army, the President's Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force, or the Gates Commission, attempted to quell such fears by projecting future racial composition under a volunteer force. Although the commission estimated the percentage of blacks in a volunteer army would rise to 18.8 per cent—slightly higher than the 16.6 percent in a "mixed" or part draft, part volunteer force—they recognized that higher numbers were possible. Nevertheless, the commission treated the possibility as a problem caused by discrimination in other sectors of society, persisting long after policy changes. The commission suggested that citizens who were "concerned with racial imbalance . . . must work to open opportunities for blacks in all occupations. Then and only then, will the question of 'proportionate representation' be fair."[12]

The army's new advertising and recruiting campaign confronted this issue forcefully, yet tentatively. The new slogan, "Today's Army wants to join you," an inversion of the artist James Montgomery Flagg's 1917 Uncle Sam poster "I Want You for US Army," suggested just how far the army was willing to go to reflect social and cultural changes and appeal to potential recruits from a variety of backgrounds. Campaign advertisements portrayed the cultural diversity of a nation that the army wanted to recruit and garner support from, but overall, they were not inducements to fight for one's country. As print

advertisements and television commercials presenting young men and women with long hair or modest Afros, dressed in jeans, cowboy boots, sneakers, or wearing jewelry attested, these were not warriors carrying machine guns, but students, car enthusiasts, or secretaries. Such images represented a commitment to what Secretary of the Army Howard Callaway called an "all-American army" that mirrored the nation.[13]

As Ayer and the army produced a new advertising campaign around the slogan "Join the people who've joined the Army" in 1975, the policy debates of the late 1960s and early 1970s over proportional racial representation in the all-volunteer army continued. In 1970, the Gates Commission had argued that a higher number of black military volunteers than their 18.8 percent estimate was possible, yet the real number of black army enlistments fluctuated around 25 to 30 percent throughout the mid to late 1970s, peaking at 36.7 percent in 1979.[14] Debates about the racial balance of the army were also intertwined with growing concerns about the quality of the volunteer force. Some army leaders feared that while a force built on the backs of racial minorities and the poor might be problematic, the low-quality of such recruits was the bigger issue.[15] Yet Callaway's call for an "all-American Army"—that was a mirror of American racial, ethnic, regional, and economic diversity—reflected the deep concerns of an army and a nation divided by the politics of race and war.

The army had previously been imagined in memoirs, songs, novels, and most recently, Hollywood combat films, as a place where *Pluribus* became *Unum* in the heat of battle, but army advertising before Vietnam never made this case. Even while the "Today's Army wants to join you" campaign integrated racial minorities and women into the army image—in some ways, for the first time—little in the ads suggested that these men and women would truly become one American fighting force. More often than not, the ads communicated the army's equal treatment, appeal to diverse backgrounds, and that ultimately they had made an army "just for you." Yet the "Join the people who've joined the Army" campaign projected an image that reinforced what Richard Slotkin calls the myth of "multicultural American nationality."[16] That is, much like the "melting pot" film narratives of multiethnic platoons joining together to make last stands against America's mono-racial enemies, army advertising forged an image of a multicultural army. The soldier narratives imagined in advertising implicitly referred to the characters and stories more fully articulated in the Hollywood combat film. Yet rather than becoming one in the heat of battle—an image the army could still not convey in its advertising—men and women became "the people" as they joined with, trained with, and as the ads suggested, did "something meaningful" for themselves and their country, with Americans from all walks of life.

The nation and nationality are, as Benedict Anderson and others have argued, abstract or "imagined."[17] They are shaped and sustained by historical

dramas, myths, symbols, and values (among other things) that help unite people from all parts of a much larger community.[18] Mythology is one of the primary constituents of nationality, and as Slotkin tells us, one of its most important functions is to "promote imaginative resolutions of the conflicts that inevitably arise between the constituent ethnicities (or class ideologies) of a culturally diverse folk and the 'fictive ethnicity' of the unified nation-state." Such a process rests on an educational system and a popular or mass media to provide citizens with a common national language, history, and a group of cultural heroes.[19]

Military narratives are particularly vital to national myth because they illustrate the work of individuals actively engaged in establishing and defending the community on behalf of the state. Soldiers thus become stand-ins, or in some ways, ideal representations of the nation.[20] As a result, army advertising—the government-sponsored, public image of the army and its soldiers—had to address or re-imagine the contradictions of the past. That is, earlier images of an all-white force of warriors fighting a "good" war in Vietnam were largely incompatible with a post-Vietnam American sensibility.

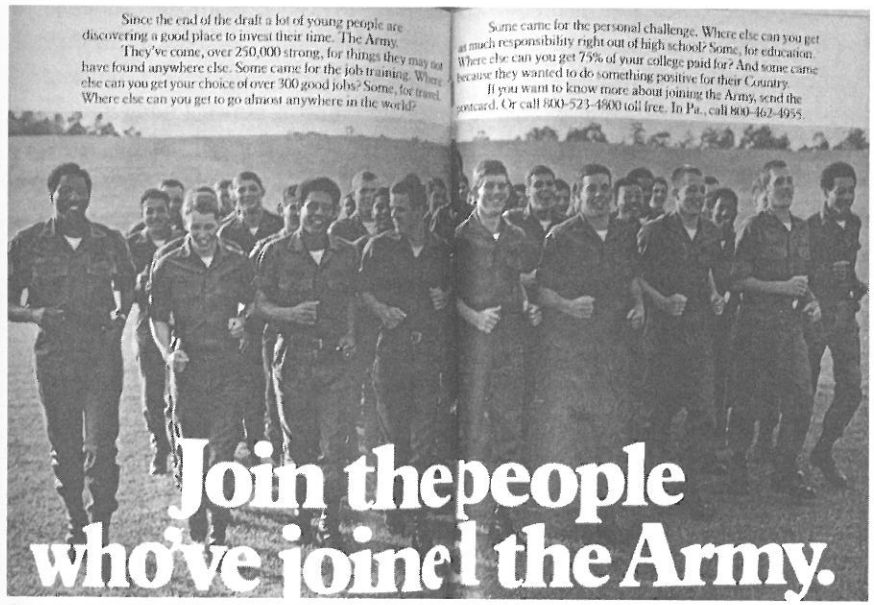
For the post-Vietnam army, the myth of multiethnic unit cohesion responded to the breakdown of unit cohesion during the war abroad and the erosion national cohesion during the war at home. While Ayer and the army adapted to a changing marketplace and culture, they also sought to portray the army as an ideal and harmonious representation of the nation. The ads called on this myth not only to recruit young men and women, but also to illustrate the kind of army that Americans wanted after a period of profound social division and transformation. The "Join the people who've joined the Army" campaign posed the image of a multicultural America coming together again. It suggested a kind of symbolic rebirth—for the army and the nation—from the ashes of the Vietnam era.

The "Join the people who've joined the Army" campaign's award winning "theme ad" appeared in the October 31, 1974 issue of *Senior Scholastic*. The two-page ad (fig. 2) portrayed several dozen smiling soldiers jogging in their boots and fatigues, communicating, as the army saw it, the idea that "the Army is people."[21] The accompanying ad copy explained:

> Since the end of the draft a lot of young people are discovering a good place to invest their time. The Army.
>
> They've come, over 250,000 strong, for things they may not have found anywhere else. Some came for the job training. Where else can you get your choice of over 300 good jobs? Some, for travel. Where else can you get to go almost anywhere in the world?
>
> Some came for the personal challenge. Where else can you get as much responsibility right out of high school? Some, for education. Where else can you get 75% of your college paid for? And some came because they wanted to do something positive for their Country.

The image and copy combined much of the campaign's most important elements. It relied on the image of real soldiers who benefited from "job training," "travel," and "education," as well as "personal challenge," "responsibility," and pride in "doing something positive for their country." It promoted the all-volunteer army as a success—a "good place to invest their time." The image of a multicultural group of white, black, Asian, and Latino male soldiers training together, served several purposes. It illustrated a multicultural army working together at a physical activity that acted as a replacement for combat. By representing the training of a multicultural group of soldiers, the ad depicted the first steps of group bonding, an experience portrayed in such combat films as William Keighley's *The Fighting 69th* (1940) and Allan Dwan's *Sands of Iwo Jima* (1949). Indeed, in the Hollywood constructions of the war story, this diverse group of men would be coming together to forge a new identity as American soldiers prepared for battle.

Another ad depicting a racially diverse group of male soldiers doing jumping jacks crystallized the image of the army as a microcosm of America. The ad copy reinforced the soldiers' racial and ethnic differences, noting that, "In 8 weeks, you'll be keeping up with the Joneses, the DeSantises, the Ryans, the



(Fig. 2). As part of an award-winning campaign, this two-page advertisement portrayed several dozen smiling soldiers jogging in their boots and fatigues, communicating the idea that "the Army is people." "Join the people who've joined the Army." US Army, 1974.

Majeskis, and the Smiths." The statement was as good as the "multiethnic platoon" roll call of so many Hollywood combat films.[22]

Sandwiched between two of the most common American surnames of Jones—a name that suggested either Anglo or African American—and Smith, are DeSantis (Italian or Hispanic), Ryan (Irish), and Majeski (Polish or Jewish). Similarly, the "keeping up with the Joneses" phrase implied that the soldiers would be keeping pace with their peers, at the same time they all became more like each other. Like the "theme ad," this ad invoked the image of basic training as a symbol of unity and challenge. As the copy described, the experience is "8 weeks of physical and mental conditioning that'll push you to limits you never thought you could reach." Keeping with the campaign's "balanced" approach of expressing the benefits to the individual and the nation, the ad reminded recruits that, "the better shape you're in, the better shape our Army's in."

The visuals and themes employed by Ayer in the print ads found fuller explication in a campaign television commercial titled "Physical Challenge." The commercial opened up with a long shot of a morning sunrise over sprawling fields and hills as a group of soldiers ran across the screen chanting the classic ditty, "everywhere we go, people want to know." As it cut to a soldier doing calisthenics, a voiceover stated, "In seven weeks you'll be keeping up with the Joneses, the Ryans, the Majeskis, and the Smiths. Army basic training." Much like the print ads, the commercial portrayed basic training as a bonding experience and challenge that unites everyone from the "Joneses" to the "Majeskis." As the commercial continued, it cut to images of an Asian-American soldier climbing a cargo net, soldiers running with a black drill sergeant—the same scene from the print ad—and a white soldier receiving a trophy at a basic training graduation ceremony. At the same time, a catchy theme song—the first of its kind—played over the scenes. The song utilized the campaign slogan, and played over the moving image and between the voice over. The short version employed in the "theme" commercial, stated, "Join the people who've joined the army, you can go a long, long, way, a long, long, way."[23]

As the scene cuts to a multicultural group of soldiers marching in line, the voice over announced the consumer-driven, tangible benefits of service, stating, "After basic you can learn a good job, travel, and even gain college credit." While a white soldier receives a kiss from his proud mother, and more soldiers engage in calisthenics, the voice over continues, "And you'll have come a long way in seven tough weeks." The commercial concluded with a bookend shot of the soldiers marching off with their backs facing the camera with words "Join the people who've joined the Army" transposed over the scene. In the end, the group has faced the challenge of training together. Yet there was some ambiguity to the conclusion. In the war story, the scene would suggest a

(Fig. 3). Portraying six young women engaged in the male-dominated worlds of welding and mechanical repair, this advertisement suggests that women could easily stand in for men in the army, carrying out traditional male roles. "Some of Our Best Men Are Women." US Army, c.1974–1979.

march off to war, but here many of these soldiers will instead move on to job training and educational opportunities.

While many of the ads represented physical training, preparation, and masculine bonding, other ads championed the role of women as a multicultural, though often, separate, force of their own.[24] Most ads depicted women as active contributors that harkened back to World War II images of "Rosie the Riveter." Much like the Rosie image—although much more racially and ethnically integrated—the ads most often portrayed female soldiers at work in traditional male roles. Unlike the male training ads, female bonding came through mostly in the ad copy, which often appropriated the language of feminism and the satirical humor of women's liberation. As one ad claimed, "If you like Ms., you'll love Pvt." Another quipped, "You don't fix a turbine engine with women's intuition."[25]

Another campaign ad (fig. 3), which presented the portraits of six young women engaged in the male dominated worlds of welding and mechanical repair, assured Americans that "Some of Our Best Men are Women." The statement and photographs suggested that women could easily stand-in for men in the army, carrying out traditional male roles. The ad copy noted that, "With few exceptions (mainly in Combat Specialties) women have the same

skill training programs to choose from as men." For women then, their bond, or uniting force, was thus founded on their shared experience as white, black, Asian, and Latino women working in areas previously closed off to them and not on their experience preparing for combat. The same bond illustrated through male training imagery had to be created through a kind of feminist rhetoric—one that expressed female equality and empowerment—that may have at least appealed to many middle class women hoping to shatter the glass ceiling.

Several of the campaign television commercials that specifically targeted women employed this rhetorical formula while they bombarded viewers with a flurry of female images. One commercial opened up to a hangar filled with helicopters and a male voice asking, "The radio in my chopper is breaking up. Can you fix it for me Robin?" Utilizing the same "best man" rhetoric found in the previous print ad, the voiceover contends, "In today's army, the best man doesn't always get the job." As the man handed something to a white, blond-haired woman (Robin) sitting in a helicopter, she replied, "Sure, no problem. Take care of it right away." A version of the campaign theme song played:

> So much opportunity,
> An equal chance to advance,
> Better jobs and education.
> It's just your ability,
> So you can grow,
> And you can go as far as any man.
>
> Join the people who've joined the army,
> You can go a long, long way.

Juxtaposed with quick cuts to more than twenty different white, black, and Latina women repairing machinery and electronics, working at drafting tables, directing traffic, taking photographs, and steering a massive military truck, the lyrics highlighted the army's special promise to women. The theme song presented an army that was more than a job for women. Army service was a chance to work, "grow," "advance," and be paid and treated as an equal. As the voiceover explained, "Women are getting good jobs in the army because they are being judged on their ability, not their sex. If that is how you want to be judged, see your army representative."

Although many ads separated their appeals to men and women, some attempted to depict the army as a true microcosm of America. A campaign television commercial combined images of black, white, Latino, and Asian men and women training and working together and separately. The commercial opened up to quick clips of scenes meant to represent everyday life in the army: A group of male soldiers—black and white—doing jumping jacks, a tank moving through a field, a white male soldier patting another white male soldier on his helmet, a black female soldier smiling, three male soldiers—one black, two white—laughing, three white male soldiers in dress uniforms smiling, a white male soldier smiling while he operates a television camera, a tank going through mud, four male soldiers rappelling from a helicopter, a white male soldier removing a helicopter pilot's helmet and smiling, a white male soldier in his dress uniform smiling, an Asian American male smiling as he operated electrical equipment, a black male smiling as he worked at a computer, a group of white and black male soldiers running, a white male soldier in fatigues smiling and laughing, a white female soldier in dress uniform taking a photograph, a white male soldier on ladder working on lighting, two white soldiers operating electronic equipment, a white male soldier reading a book in a library, and a white male soldier pulling up a seat in front of a typewriter.

The flashes of multicultural soldiers illustrated an army of Americans from all backgrounds with hundreds of jobs and skills. Moreover, the images suggested that while there was a hierarchy of rank—a right earned rather than inherited—there was no racial or gender hierarchies; army personnel all worked on an equal plane. For instance, both blacks and whites in particular, are shown happily training for combat and operating machinery and electronics. The commercial then, suggested that all races and sexes were well represented in the army. The commercial's final shot of a multiethnic and multiracial group of men and women—including combat soldiers, nurses, a green beret wearing face paint, a pilot, and even a man wearing welding gear—smiling and laughing while they sit posed in stadium stands, expressed the myth of multicultural nationality in a single image of an army of Americans. As the final voiceover drives home, "Young people from all over, doing something positive for themselves and for their country. Take your place with them. Join the people who've joined the army."

Although campaign print ads and ninety-second television commercials could not articulate the narratives conveyed in postwar Hollywood combat films with the same level of depth, they were no less sophisticated. Advertising communicated a vision of the army as a liberal multicultural utopia. During an era in which the *representativeness* of the army became a necessity, advertising imagined an army that not only provided a good job, pay, education, training, housing, and food for those willing to join, but also one that guaranteed individual rights, equality, fair treatment, and the chance to prove oneself by serving one's country. What advertisers called the campaign's "demonstration technique"—which employed the stories, images, and language of real soldiers—was particularly important in establishing the soldiers as racial, ethnic, and social types forming a "melting pot" army.[26] First Sergeant Ronald Ray-

(Fig. 4). The creators of this advertisement specifically selected 1st Sgt. Ronald Raymond because he resembled the legendary National Football League head coach Vince Lombardi, conveying the paternal image of the veteran soldier who develops recruits. "I believe everybody has an obligation to serve their country in some way." US Army, 1975.

mond, whom the army called its "Vince Lombardi look-alike," (fig. 4) resembling the legendary National Football League head coach, was thus the tough sergeant and old soldier who trains and takes care of green recruits, while other print advertisements focusing on individual soldiers played up a soldier's class, ethnic, racial, or cultural background as if they were characters in the army's own combat film. If, as the myth suggests, that Irish, Italians, blacks, Jews, and Latinos become Americans by fighting as one against America's enemies, then in a sense, army advertising revised this myth for a peacetime, post-Vietnam army. The ads, then, suggested that nearly all Americans had a place, and even more importantly, a stake in the army as a social project. More than this, by building an army that closely resembled America in image and reality, the army and its advertisers post-Vietnam image-making project reconstructed the army as "the people"—ordinary Americans from any family, neighborhood, or community—that implicitly asked Americans to support the army and the country, by supporting themselves.

Notes

1. US Army, *There's Strong. Then There's Army Strong: Launch Guide 2006* (2006), 4 (www.usaac.army.mil).

2. Ibid., 5.

3. Quoted in Beth Bailey, *America's Army: Making the All-Volunteer Force* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 252.

4. See for instance, James S. Olson and Randy Roberts, *My Lai: A Brief History with Documents* (New York: Bedford Books, 1998); Daniel Ellsberg, *Secrets: A Memoir of Vietnam and the Pentagon Papers* (New York: Penguin, 2003); Michal R. Belknap, *The My Lai Massacre and the Court-Martial of Lieutenant Calley* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2002); Michael Bilton and Kevin Sim, *Four Hours at My Lai* (New York: Penguin, 1993).

5. On the erosion of the "warrior hero" image see, Edward T. Linenthal, *Changing Images of the Warrior Hero in America: A History of Popular Symbolism* (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1982); Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (1992, reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998); James William Gibson, *Warrior Dreams: Violence and Manhood in Post-Vietnam America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1994).

6. For contemporary overviews of the army's difficulties with race, drug abuse, and discipline see, George Walton, *The Tarnished Shield: A Report on Today's Army* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1973); William H. Hauser, *America's Army in Crisis: A Study in Civil-Military Relations* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).

7. On the inequities of the conscription system and public resistance to the draft see, Christian G. Appy, *Working-Class War: American Combat Soldiers and Vietnam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Michael S. Foley, *Confronting the War Machine: Draft Resistance during the Vietnam War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

8. Tom Engelhardt, *The End of Victory Culture: Cold War America and the Disillusioning of a Generation* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 254–259.

9. Melani McAlister, *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and US Interests in the Middle East since 1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 239.

10. Philip H. Dougherty, "N.W. Ayer's Days are Brighter" *New York Times,* July 7, 1975.

11. For specific examinations of black soldiers, casualty rates, and racism in the military during the Vietnam War, see James E. Westheider, *Fighting on Two Fronts: African Americans and the Vietnam War* (New York: New York University Press, 1997); Herman Graham III, *The Brothers' Vietnam War: Black Power, Manhood, and the Military Experience* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003).

12. President's Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force, *The Report of the President's Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force* (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1970), 149–150.

13. Howard H. Callaway, "Keynote Address," the Association of the United States Army, Washington, DC, October 15, 1973, (transcript), 3, Box 14, Folder 4, All-Volunteer Army Collection, US Army Military History Institute.

14. President's Commission, *All-Volunteer Armed Force,* 149; Martin Binkin, et al., *Blacks and the Military* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1982), 45.

15. Between 1974 and 1978, the number of Non Prior Service (NPS) high school graduate enlistments rose steadily from 50.1 percent (a low point for the post-World War II army) to 73.7 percent before dropping off 54.3 percent by 1980. At the same time, the number of NPS enlistments from categories I-IIIA—generally considered, though to varying degrees, quality applicants—declined from 52.5 percent in 1974 to 26 percent by 1980. Similarly, the number of NPS IV enlistments—generally considered lower-quality recruits—fluctuated throughout the decade with a low of 7.6 percent in 1976. Yet by 1980, the number skyrocketed to 51.9 percent of NPS enlistments. This was due in part to the Army's discovery that the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB) used to classify and select recruits since 1976 had exaggerated the number of quality recruits. "The All Volunteer Army, a decade of success," *All Volunteer,* (December 1983): 6–7; Peggy Flanigan, "Volunteers for 20 Years," *Recruiter Journal,* (July 1993): 8. For a fuller discussion of debates over quality, see Bernard Rostker, *I Want You! The Evolution of the All-Volunteer Force* (Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation), 265–275. For a discussion of army concerns about quality, with particular emphasis on race, see, Robert K. Griffith, *The US Army's Transition to the All-Volunteer Force, 1968–1974* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, US Army), 235–236.

16. Richard Slotkin, "Unit Pride: Ethnic Platoons and the Myths of American Nationality," *American Literary History,* 13 (Autumn 2001). Also see, Slotkin, *Lost Battalions: The Great War and the Crisis of American Nationality* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2005), 551–562; Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible: Race and Nation in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), esp.

14–127, 187–237; Richard Rorty, *Achieving Our Country: Leftist Thought in Twentieth-Century America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 100–101. On the platoon film formula, see Jeanine Basinger, *The World War II Combat Film: Anatomy of a Genre* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2003), 14–75.

17. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1991). On nationality, national identity, and myth, see Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1988), esp. 153–173; Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities,* trans. Chris Turner (New York: Verso, 2002), esp. 71–105; Geoffrey Hosking and George Schopflin, ed., *Myths and Nationhood* (New York: Routledge, 1997). On American nationalism and nationality, see for instance Slotkin, *Lost Battalions;* Susan-Mary Grant, "Making History: Myth and the Construction of American Nationhood" in Hosking and Schopflin, ed., *Myths and Nationhood,* 88–106; Wilbur Zelinsky, *Nation into State: The Shifting Symbolic Foundations of American Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988).

18. See Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations,* 153–208.

19. Slotkin, "Unit Pride," 471. On immigration and public education, see David Nyack, "School for Citizens: The Politics of Civic Education from 1790 to 1990," in Gary Gerstle and John Mollenkopf, ed., *E Pluribus Unum? Contemporary and Historical Perspectives on Immigrant Political Incorporation* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2001), 331–370.

20. Slotkin, "Unit Pride," 471–472.

21. Roger Derby, "'Join the people who've joined the Army,' Army Advertising in FY 75," *US Army Recruiting & Career Counseling Journal,* (July 1974): 5. The print ad and the campaign won recognition in October 1974 when *Reader's Digest* awarded Ayer and the US Army Recruiting Command its "Print Award for Creative Excellence." "Army ad campaign wins 'Print' award," *Ayer News* (November–December 1974): 7, Series 16, Box 15, Folder 4, N.W. Ayer Advertising Records, Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution.

22. "In 8 weeks, you'll be keeping up with the Joneses, the DeSantises, the Ryans, the Majeskis, and the Smiths," *Senior Scholastic* (December 12, 1974). See for example the archetype of the genre *Bataan* (Loew's: 1943). Its roll call includes six Anglo-Saxon Protestants—Bentley, Dane, Hardy, Lassiter, Purkett, and Todd—and seven racial/ethnic characters—Epps, Feingold, Katigbak, Malloy, Matowski, Ramirez, and Salazar.

23. The longer version of the theme song stated, "Join the people who've joined the army. You can start building your tomorrows today. Join the people who've joined the army. You can go a long, long, way, a long, long, way."

24. For a more in-depth treatment of women in the volunteer army, see Beth Bailey, *America's Army,* 130–171.

25. See Ruth Rosen, *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women's Movement Changed America* (New York: Penguin Books, 2000), 220–223. "If you like Ms., you'll love Pvt.," c. middle to late 1970s, Series 4, Box 4, Folder 4, N.W. Ayer Advertising Records; and "You don't fix a turbine engine with women's intuition," c. middle to late 1970s, Series 4, Box 4, Folder 6, N.W. Ayer Advertising Records.

26. Derby, "'Join the people,'" 5.