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Kalí Tal

For years I have been both a student of feminist critical theory, and a reader of Vietnam War literature by combat veterans. The two pursuits seem to have little in common, and, although I believe that I always read as a feminist, I could not connect my interest in Vietnam War literature to my interest in feminist criticism. In fact, I often puzzled over my seemingly paradoxical fascination with the malest of male literature; I am rarely attracted to other fictions by white men, but there was always something about literature by veterans that captured my interest and imagination.

The first clue to the mystery appeared when I began to read critical interpretations of Vietnam War literature, and to use the tools of feminist theory to understand the strengths and weaknesses of those interpretations. Critical preoccupation with "reality" was immediately apparent: reviews and articles and major critical studies often stressed the "gritty realism," "authenticity," and "power" of these books; their ability to portray "Nam—the way it really was."¹ There seemed to be a symbiotic relationship between author and reviewer (man-to-man) which was predicated on the reviewer's acceptance of the author's objectivity or "knowledge". The only way the reviewer could know whether the author's tale was authentic was if the reviewer had, even vicariously, experienced war. By confirming the "truth" of the tale, the reviewer places himself in the club of men who have survived war. The few women who review Vietnam War literature are placed in an awkward position. They can choose to work within the framework generated by writers and the male reviewing establishment; however, they are, by gender, excluded from the club though they may speak admiringly of "realistic characters," "gruesome descriptions of combat, moving dialogue, and...effective recounting of the tension and the moral dilemmas of facing men in combat."²

An alternative to working within the masculine framework has been generated by some feminist scholars, among them Jean Elshtain, whose Women and War contains a striking analysis of the audience for Vietnam narratives, and in which she suggests that "the Vietnam vets' struggle for self definition emerges as a form of individual and collective therapy, a public and private discourse."³ Also working outside the
traditional critical framework is Jacqueline Lawson, whose paper, "She's a Pretty Woman... for a Good: The Misogyny of the Vietnam War"\(^4\) offered a radical critique of military and social attitudes toward women. But, for the most part, feminist scholars do not seem interested in working with Vietnam War literature. This may be due, in part, to the fact that few genres apart from violent pornography offer such negative images of women.\(^5\) It may also result from their belief that work with Vietnam War literature does not offer any great opportunities to further develop their critical techniques and strategies.

I would, however, like to make a case for intensive feminist study of Vietnam War literature based on the assumption that its primary interest is as literature of trauma.

An author has a special psychological involvement in the creation of a narrative born out of traumatic experience. This involvement has been well documented in studies such as Eric Leed's *No Man's Land: Combat and Identity in World War I*, Paul Fussell's *The Great War and Modern Memory*, Gerald Lindeman's *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War*, Arthur Egendorf's *Healing from the War* (Vietnam), Robert J. Lifton's *Death in Life: Survivors of Hiroshima*, and Victor Frankl's *From Death Camp to Existentialism*.\(^6\) Each of these works points to the intimate relation between the traumatic experience and the symbols generated by that experience. An understanding of the psychological effects of trauma can serve as a tool for interpreting literature by combat veterans. Recent analyses have incorporated many of the issues discussed in the psychiatric literature describing Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD).

In 1980, the American Psychiatric Association formally acknowledged the existence of the disorder by including it in the new edition of *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders III*. According to the APA, PTSD is a series of symptoms which follows a trauma "generally outside the range of usual human experience".\(^7\)

The characteristic symptoms include autonomic arousal, which is often manifest in panic attacks or startle reactions; a preoccupation with the traumatic event in the form of nightmares, flashbacks, or persistent thoughts about the trauma that intrude into everyday affairs; and a general dysphoria, a numbness that takes the meaning out of life and makes it hard to relate to other people. In [some] cases...the symptoms manifest themselves after a latency period of several years or...alternate with apparently asymptomatic periods that, on closer inspection, turned out to be periods of denial.\(^8\)

Official recognition of PTSD was granted by the (mainly male) APA in response to public outcry about the disorder in Vietnam veterans (most of whom are also male). But the "unveiling" of PTSD may prove useful to feminist critics, who have searched for new ways to understand and interpret women's experience, and the inscription of that experience
in women's literature. Along with combat, violent crime, natural and man-made disasters, and industrial accidents, rape and incest are considered to be causes of PTSD. The claims of a large number of American women to diffuse sets of anxiety-related symptoms have often been treated in an offhand manner by establishment psychiatrists. Women complaining of symptoms which are now recognizably signs of PTSD have historically been treated with tranquilizers (laudanum, valium, atavan), dismissed as neurotics, or hysterics, and frequently ordered by members of the medical establishment to come to terms with their femininity (i.e., get married, have children, be a better mother, etc.). The naming of PTSD as an illness with a specific cause may provide us with a new analytic tool for the study of women's psychology and history, and give us insight into the nature and purpose of women's writing.

There is a striking similarity between Audre Lorde's explanation for why she writes, and John Ketwig's inscription in the prologue of his narrative, ...And a Hard Rain Fell, though Lorde is a black, lesbian feminist and Ketwig is a white, male Vietnam combat veteran. “I write,” says Lorde,

for myself and my children and for as many people as possible who can read me, who need to hear what I have to say—who need to use what I know....I write for these women for whom a voice has not yet existed, or whose voices have been silenced. I don't have the only voice or all of their voices, but they are a part of my voice, and I am a part of theirs.11

Ketwig's words are an uncanny echo:

I wanted my wife to know all I was feeling. I hoped someday my kids would read it and understand....This story became a book simply because so many Vietnam vets pleaded with me to make it public. Many are still searching for words. Our families and loved ones have waited so long for an explanation of the enormous changes the war crafted into our personalities....I don't want my children to see the world I have known.12

Critic Alice Jardine, characterizing feminist texts, asserts that “struggle” necessarily differentiates the feminist text from all others: “The inscription of struggle....whether written by a man or a woman—it was this that was found to be necessary. The inscription of struggle—even of pain.”13 Jardine suggests that the struggle itself marks a feminist endeavor—though a struggle's result might certainly be an antifeminist text.

The inscription of struggle and pain is essential in feminist literature, and there are strong indications that feminist literature may also be examined as literature of trauma. The struggle and its painful nature are necessary precursors for the new knowledge that makes
feminism possible—all feminist writers, in Jardine’s estimation, have suffered, and then have struggled to express, trauma.

Trauma has played a formative role in the lives of many, if not most American women. Though the APA states that the trauma which causes PTSD is “generally outside the range of usual human experience,” it is clear, in this case, that “usual human experience” means usual white male experience. Based on 1973 figures, the FBI estimated that in the U.S., a forcible rape occurs every 10 minutes. But it is generally acknowledged that official statistics are low, and authorities estimate that between 70 and 95 percent of all rapes go unreported. Thus, actual numbers of sexual assault on females of all ages may reach half a million or more a year, or at least one every two minutes. It is quite clear that the number of women who have undergone traumatic experiences far exceeds the number of men who have survived combat.

Ntozake Shange has explained that her writing is based on her personal attempts to deal with a particular problem or issue; catharsis, she claims, is at the heart of her writing:

Obviously, I think it’s important not to abort an emotional breakthrough....Aborting emotional breakthroughs allows one to keep one’s decorum at all moments. Our society allows people to be absolutely neurotic and totally out of touch with their feelings and everyone else’s feelings, and yet be totally respectable. This, to me, is a travesty. So I write to get at the part of people’s emotional lives that they don’t have control over, the part that can and will respond. If I have to write about blood and babies dying, then fine, I’ll write about that.

Catharsis is also crucial to the healing of veterans with PTSD. Egendorf, Lifton, and others insist on the importance of the reclamation of emotion in the process of overcoming the alienation characteristic in the disorder.

Based on impressions from our research, a significant minority of Vietnam veterans have had moments of enlightenment, conversions, and other crucial points at which they turned traumatic experiences into sources of renewal. A review of veterans’ writings yields a similar impression. Most memoirs and novels deal with the war experience or with unsettling, if not traumatic, homecomings. A few accounts, however, focus on the struggles of healing, demonstrating that some portion of the veteran population knows what it means to turn suffering to joy.

“I write,” said Adrienne Rich, “for the still-fragmented parts in me, trying to bring them together. Whoever can read and use any of this, I write for them as well.” The theme of drawing together fragments into a whole is found again and again in the literature of trauma; re-piecing a shattered self. Vietnam veteran Stephen Wright’s award-winning
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novel, Meditations in Green, turns on the metaphor of (literal) fragmentation: "I had an amber vial then (50 DIAZEPAM Take As Required) in which I kept my fragments, my therapy....I gathered lost cinders of shrapnel that rose surfacing in the milky pool of my thigh like broken bits of sea coral." Each piece of shrapnel represents the surfacing of some repressed memory or idea; this is the true therapy, and it is fitting that Wright's protagonist places the fragments in a vial which once held anxiety-suppressants.

Do not be taken in entirely by the similarity of theme in feminist literature and literature by Vietnam veterans. There is a crucial difference between the trauma of warriors and the trauma of rape and incest victims—the peculiar position of power of the warrior before, during and after his traumatic wartime experience. Though subordinate to his military superiors, and frequently at the mercy of his enemies, the soldier still maintains a life-or-death power over other people's lives.

While victims of rape and incest experience violent injury, they are rarely in a position to do violence themselves. The soldier in combat, however, is both victim and victimizer; dealing pain as well as receiving and experiencing it. Much recent literature—popular, clinical and academic—places the soldier simply in the victim's role; helpless in the face of war, and then helpless to readjust from the war experience upon his return home. Feminist critics should be quick to voice their disapproval of an interpretation so drastically at odds with reality: soldiers carry guns; they point them at people and shoot to kill.

"Soldier as victim" representations depend upon the invisibility of the soldiers' own victims (Vietnamese soldiers and civilians), and create for the soldiers a convincing victimizer (in this case, inept or evil commanding officers, back-stabbing politicians, a traitorous Fourth Estate, and a callous and hostile American public). The purveyors of this myth have successfully peddled their wares to the moviegoing public in the form of violent retribution films (Rambo, MIA, and the like), and sensitive coming-of-age stories (Platoon). Many of the most popular Vietnam novels also reflect this attitude. James Webb's Fields of Fire blames the victimization of soldiers upon the antiwar movement, personified by effeminate intellectuals and faithless women. John Del Vecchio's The Thirteenth Valley describes soldiers as mere pawns in the games of nations, fighting for their lives against nameless "enemies." The general acceptance of this revision is apparent in public praise for the "healing" effect of the Vietnam War Memorial wall in Washington, DC—which includes the names of the American soldiers killed in Vietnam and excludes the names of any Vietnamese soldiers—and the proliferation of "homecoming parades" in the months following the dedication of the DC memorial.

A crucial aspect of the soldier's reality in Vietnam was the knowledge of the power he wielded: firepower, the power to bring death raining down in the form of bullets from his gun, fragments of his hand grenades, explosions from the mines he had set, and airstrikes called in
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to drop napalm, white phosphorus, and conventional bombs. Many personal narratives and novels feature a moment of epiphany, when the protagonist describes his realization of, and glories in, his godlike power over life and death:

He felt like Jehovah Himself, sitting on the bluff, calling down fear, death, and destruction on the poor dudes in the valley....Between explosions he could hear the poor dumb fuckers on the other side going nuts, calling for their mothers, pleading for medics, cursing and shouting and trying to get their shit together...."I love it!" he half-shouted over the crash of incoming shells. "Artillery is a beautiful thing once you learn to appreciate it."23

Women, by contrast, almost never control the tools of violence. Their traumatic experience—rape, incest, battering—is the most extreme form of the oppression visited on them by a society designed to reduce them to perpetual victims. And herein lies the most important difference between the trauma of the warrior and the trauma of the woman victim: the woman must view her trauma as a natural extension of her powerlessness, while war forces the warrior to realize the uselessness of everything he has ever considered power.

The Western male consensus seems to be that power does, indeed, come from the barrel of a gun. One of the vital American myths is that good guys with guns can defeat bad guys with guns. But in Vietnam, surrounded by his weapons, the soldier came to realize that the combination of guns and conviction was not enough. Again and again in Vietnam novels, the protagonist/narrator emphasizes the impossibility of detecting the enemy. His desire to survive forces him to identify all Vietnamese as the enemy, and, for the first time, the soldier is confronted with the reality that violence is a useless tool when everyone is your enemy; when the structure of the world you inhabit leaves you no place to hold and defend. Notions of power are reversed: although Americans still have technology and firepower at their disposal, real power lies in the Vietnamese Communist's ability to pick the time and place of a battle, to hold the territory, and to blend back into the landscape of which they are a part, but in which the Americans are an alien and unwelcome intrusion. Individual soldiers react to this shock to expectation not with the self-condemnation and resignation of the victim, or with the anger of the oppressed person fighting against victimization, but with a profound sense of betrayal. This was not the way it was supposed to be. Narratives and novels by combat veterans emphasize the profound shock of the soldier's realization that expectations about "war" had failed to prepare him for the reality.

Ron Kovic, a marine who was paralyzed from the chest down in Vietnam, described the trauma of shattered expectations in his memoir, Born on the Fourth of July. Kovic frequently used the third person to tell his own story, perhaps because the revelations were less painful when
distanced in that manner. In one instance, he writes about the accidental murder of one of his own men:

I killed him, he kept thinking, and when I wake up tomorrow, he thought, when I wake up tomorrow it will still be the same. He wanted to run and hide....He would wake up with the rest of them the next day. He would get up and wash outside the tent in his tin dish, he would shave and go to chow. But everything would not be all right, he thought, nothing would be all right at all. It was starting to be very different now, very different from what he had ever thought possible.

“What we call traumatic responses,” asserts Egendorf, “are the new strategies we concoct after being shocked into realizing that life doesn’t play by our rules. When we can no longer pretend that life confirms our favored identity, we take on a negative version of our old self.” Feminist theorists have posited similar constructions. Many early feminist texts focused on women’s need to overcome negative self-images generated by the inability of the individual woman to live up to an impossible social standard. Much of the work in the women’s movement of the 1960s was directed at overcoming our culturally inculcated negative self-image, reclaiming anger and proclaiming our self-worth. We learned that even if we bought the myth of the “good girl,” our favored identity would be betrayed at every turn.

Powerlessness, in Western culture, is most often equated with the feminine. Women are subject(ive); men are object(ive). The universal “he” is exactly that: a universal he. God is unquestionably male, as are all figures of authority (except mothers, whose authority is outgrown, and always superseded by that of the father). To be a man is to be strong, in control of one’s destiny; to be a woman is to be weak, to need guidance, to need protection. These gender roles, though based on sex, are not finally determined by it. A man can lose his “manhood” if he can be forced into submission, as black men were oppressed under slavery. The soldier loses his manhood in boot camp, where he is disempowered, thrust into a subordinate role, until he completes the rites which win him a place in the masculine community of soldiers, purged, apparently, of the last vestige of womanliness.

But the soldier in Vietnam was thrust into a traditionally “feminine” role, powerless against an enemy who could strike when and where he wished. Masculinity once more under attack, most combat soldiers reacted by retreating even further from any indications of “femininity” in their own characters—repressing emotions other than anger, avoiding close relationships which required caring or nurturing, cultivating a callous attitude toward the feelings and humanity of others. The threat to male identity combined with the natural tendency of trauma victims to distance themselves from their emotions, resulting in extreme alienation from self and others. This alienation was further encouraged by the military system, which had established a training
program geared to enhance combat effectiveness by reducing intimacy and grief of soldiers: “Both anti-grief and anti-intimacy were expressed by calling men who cried, or showed other signs of mourning, ‘girls’, ‘women’, ‘ladies’, or ‘hogs’. Men who showed intimacy to each other were often called ‘fags’.”

Soldiers valorized the trappings of masculinity which they had learned to equate with their pre-war position of power, prided themselves on how “hard” they were, and articulated their alienation in the repetition of the phrases “it don’t mean nothin’” and “there it is.” Corporal Joker, in Gustav Hasford’s powerful novel *The Short-Timers*, reveals the depths of his alienation, self-hatred and pain:

Doing my John Wayne voice, I tell the squad a joke: “Stop me if you’ve heard this. There was a Marine of nuts and bolts, half robot—weird but true—whose every move was cut from pain as though from stone. His stoney little hide had been crushed and broken. But he just laughed and said, ‘I’ve been crushed and broken before.’ And, sure enough, he had the heart of a bear. His heart weighed half a pound....The world would not waste the heart of a bear, he said. On his clean blue pajamas many medals hung. He was a walking word of history, in the shop for a few repairs. He took it on the chin and was good. One night in Japan his life came out of his body—black—like a question mark. If you can keep your head while others are losing theirs perhaps you have misjudged the situation. Stop me if you’ve heard this....”

As feminist critics we must certainly not make the mistake of simplifying the soldiers’ response to trauma. Women, after all, react to pain and oppression on many levels (and some of our reactions are contradictory); there is no reason to think that soldiers are less complex. It seems safe to assume that at the same time that the repression of the feminine was a denial of the soldiers’ disempowered position, the bonding of soldier to soldier (“brotherhood”) served as a method of creating community in a hostile world. Philip Caputo wrote of the “intimacy of life in infantry battalion, where the communion between men” is more profound than any between lovers and asserted that:

It does not demand for its sustenance the reciprocity, the pledges of affection, the endless reassurances required by the love of men and women....[i]t was a tenderness that would have been impossible if the war had been significantly less brutal. The battlefields of Vietnam were a crucible in which a generation of American soldiers were fused together by a common confrontation with death and a sharing of hardships, dangers, and fears. The very ugliness of the war, the sordidness of our daily lives, the degradation of having to take part in body counts made us draw still closer to one another. It was as if in comradeship we found an affirmation of life and the means to preserve at least a vestige of our humanity.
The brotherhood of which almost all vets speak, the bond which holds the men who served in war together, is an uncanny reflection of the feelings of sisterhood often described by feminists. For soldiers, and later for veterans, this bonding was a way of coping, of creating a safe place in a hostile world; turning to each other for understanding and support. For Caputo to profess that the relationship he had with his men in wartime was more profound than any relationship he has ever had with a woman is unsurprising, given the state of gender relations in Western culture. What is fascinating about Caputo’s claim is his description of men sharing tenderness and intimacy. Degradation and powerlessness seem to be the forces active in generating and shaping the relationships between soldiers. The act of caring functions as “the means to preserve...a vestige of our humanity.”

Not only did veterans face some of the same problems of poor self-image and perceived powerlessness as women traditionally face; they also recognized that healing, for them, would involve some new understanding of masculinity and femininity. It is no accident that the self-therapy rap groups started by Vietnam veterans in the late 1960s and after were modelled on the consciousness raising groups of the women’s movement. Egendorf comments:

We had come home weary, wanting to be taken care of, and women were no longer waiting as they had before. Many of the women we met—on campuses, in demonstrations, and through friends—were locked in battles of their own, campaigning for new rights, against exclusive male prerogatives....Although we needed women more than ever, and feared them more as well, we looked to them for leadership in a way that would have been unthinkable a short time before. We had the women’s movement as a constant example, with their use of consciousness-raising groups as a major organizing tool. In the way we described them, the veteran rap groups were clearly inspired by women’s group....

While women were working on reclaiming anger and learning to assert themselves, Vietnam veterans were working hard at discovering within themselves the capacity to be gentle, supportive, and caring.

I do not mean to suggest that Vietnam veterans were intent on revising gender roles; nor do I intend to make any case that these veterans are or were feminists. One need only read the literature of the Vietnam War to be convinced that veterans are no more likely to have enlightened attitudes about women than are any other class of men. I do want to point out, however, that the process which these men were going through on the way toward healing and reintegration is a similar process to feminist consciousness-raising, and that the similarity is born, I would assert, out of the commonality of trauma.

Teresa De Lauretis insists that the redefinition of the boundaries of the political is at the heart of the difference between feminism and
other modes of critical thinking. Feminism "defines itself as a political instance...a politics of experience, of everyday life, which later then in turn enters the public sphere of expression and creative practice, displacing aesthetic hierarchies and generic categories, and which thus establishes the semiotic ground for a different production of reference and meaning." The mixing of personal and political is also a crucial aspect of the narratives of Vietnam veterans. But for the veterans who write these narratives (white males, for the most part) the trick is in mixing the personal with the political, rather than the other way around. Unlike women, American men have never been herded out of the political sphere; it is, in fact, their natural environment; they are used to maintaining an authoritative relationship to the political. Vietnam War trauma was exacerbated, for soldiers, by their sudden, uncomfortable realization of just how personal politics could get, as their own politics (or some other white man's) sent them off to fight and die for their country. The radical nature of this new understanding was apparent as Vietnam veterans began organizing to protest the war.

Using personal experience as political condemnation, some veterans began displaying their wounded bodies at antiwar rallies, rejecting the medals and commendations of the military, and publicly testifying to atrocities they had witnessed or committed in Vietnam. These men were attempting to retell the past, "to inscribe into the picture of reality characters and events and resolutions that were previously invisible, untold, unspoken (and so unthinkable, unimaginable, 'impossible')."

Integration of the personal and political for men requires the displacement of the locus of power. Through bitter experience many Vietnam veterans now know that the man with a gun can be painfully weak. And some veterans, in their journey toward healing from the war, have begun to understand the drawbacks of a society based upon the use of violent, coercive power.

"Healing," states Arthur Egendorf, "occurs through an alternative expression of power, one that creates empowerment."

To empower means to enhance another's power, something that happens as others come to see themselves as competent, as not missing anything essential, as already intact. Bringing people to this view is possible only if we already see them that way. Empowerment begins and ends with seeing others as already able and whole.

As a feminist, I am fascinated by the decision of some veterans to renounce their inherited white male power, and to embrace a strategy of empowering others. And in this study I have discovered the connection to feminist theory which I was seeking. We search for, always, new ways to empower women, and at the same time we seek to redefine power. We struggle for power, not over others, but over ourselves. Those who
already have power must take a different path to wholeness; one which begins with the realization of the limits of power, and the consequent decision to relinquish it. We mirror each other, twin efforts, moving in opposite directions, and headed right for each other.

1 See Chapter 2 for an outline of the critical strategies of the four major Vietnam War literature critics: James Wilson, Philip Beidler, John Hellman and Thomas Myers.
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17 Tate: 156.
18 Egendorf: 193.
25 Egendorf: 159.
26 See Shulamith Firestone The Dialectics of Sex (New York: Morrow) 1970; Simone de Beauvoir, The Second Sex (New York: Vintage) 1974; and self-help texts such as The Assertive Woman. Other excellent examples of this kind of writing can be found in some of the early collections of essays by women of color, including Moraga and Anzaldua, eds. This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color (New York: Kitchen Table) 1981.
31 Egendorf: 130.
34 DeLauretis: 11.
35 Egendorf: 224-225.