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## Constructing The Modern Warrior: The U.S. Army And Gender

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Constructing the Modern Warrior:  
The U.S. Army and Gender

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A Dissertation presented to the Graduate Faculty of The College of William & Mary  
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## APPROVAL PAGE

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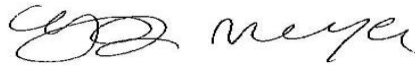
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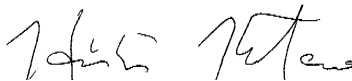
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## ABSTRACT

The concept of “warrior” has become a centerpiece of the twenty-first century US Army identity. The term “warrior” dominates the Army’s various initiatives and programs and is central to the service’s values and ideals. Since the Army deploys the term so liberally, the term has been used in seemingly contrasting ways: sometimes in strict relation to ground combat positions and other times in reference to soldiers in nontraditional domains like cyber- and drone-warfare. In a similar vein, the Army uses the term both as an honorific for exemplary soldiers and as a generic substitute for the term “soldier.” This dissertation traces the historical use of the term both in the military and in general society to delineate the archetypal warrior that the current Army warrior stems from and what it symbolizes. In doing so, this project engages “gender lenses” to reveal how the concept is gendered and has a gendering effect on the overall service branch. This dissertation finds that there are two warrior models that the Army alludes to in relation to today’s Army warrior: the Spartan warriors and the Indigenous warriors. The Army also constructs the warrior in opposition to third-world combatant models such as Japanese soldiers during WWII and insurgents in Iraq and Afghanistan. Close reading of these prototypes and counterexamples reveals that the model US Army warrior persistently remains White and male despite the term’s occasional application to servicemembers in nontraditional positions. The last section of this dissertation follows the transnational journey of the US Army’s warrior concept to South Korea and reveals the enduring cultural influence of the US military in South Korea. It also finds that, in both the US Army and the South Korean Army, the concept symbolizes nostalgia for imaginary past of glorious days.

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# Constructing the Modern Warrior: The U.S. Army and Gender

## Chapter I. Introduction

I first arrived on the topic of “warrior” in 2014 when there was an internal discussion about combining four junior enlisted ranks into one “warrior” rank in the South Korean Army.<sup>1</sup> The year was a difficult one for the service. On June 21, a sergeant opened fire with an assault rifle and threw a hand grenade inside his platoon barracks, killing five and injuring seven.<sup>2</sup> The media later reported that the sergeant had been routinely harassed and bullied by fellow soldiers. This shocking killing spree initiated a military-wide discussion on how to change the culture so that a similar situation would not occur again. One proposal suggested changing the four junior enlisted ranks to a single “warrior” rank. The suggestion was not implemented, and the South Korean Army still has four junior enlisted ranks today. However, the Ministry of National Defense did change the Army’s title for the whole body of troops, eliminating the term “*byeongsa*” and replacing it with the term “*yongsa*.” Neither have exact English translations, but *byeongsa* can be translated as “soldier,” and *yongsa* as “warrior.” *Yongsa* is an unfamiliar term in South Korea, and it took some time and strong enforcement by leadership before South Korean Army servicemembers fully adopted

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<sup>1</sup> Kim Kwangsoo, “병사 계급 ‘용사’로 일원화 추진,” *Hankook Ilbo*, November 14, 2014, <https://news.naver.com/main/read.nhn?mode=LSD&mid=sec&oid=469&aid=0000030493&sid1=001>.

<sup>2</sup> “South Korea Troops in Stand-off with Killer Soldier,” *BBC News*, June 22, 2014, sec. Asia, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-27961688>.

the term. At the time I thought that it was a rather odd decision, because the term *byeongsa* had no apparent negative connotations and was not the cause of the killing spree. It became evident later that *yongsa* was an adoption of the US Army's "warrior" concept. At a time when the term "warrior" was trending in the US Army, the South Korean Army was emulating what it deemed innovative.

"Warrior" is the latest nickname for US Army soldiers. From World War I onward, enlisted men were called many things, including "GIs," "doughboys," and "grunts." The Army introduced the term "warrior" as both nickname and honorific title for its servicemembers. Since the end of the twentieth century, "warrior" has been a buzzword in the US Army. Every veteran who fought in war is a warrior; every new enlistee is a warrior; every wounded soldier is a warrior; any politician with a military background is a warrior; any servicemember in competitive fitness training or online gaming is a warrior. In 2003, the Army adopted the "Warrior Ethos" for its members to embody. The logic of this ethos, according to the Army, is that in the future, the US military will face enemies who are not organized professional military units, but "warriors."<sup>3</sup> Therefore, American troops need to be warriors, too, in order to "fight fire with fire."<sup>4</sup> "Warrior" is unlike past military nicknames. The terms "GI," "doughboy," and "grunt" were popularly used, but Army leadership did not officially endorse them as they have endorsed "warrior" today. Furthermore, the term "warrior" is not just a nickname; it is an ideal. The term merits

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<sup>3</sup> Ian Roxborough, "The New American Warriors," *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, no. 109 (2006): 49–78. 49.

<sup>4</sup> Roxborough. 50.

further investigation because the warrior as an ideal gained sudden significance and popularity at the turn of the twenty-first century. What makes the term so useful for the Army? What warrior is the US Army imagining? What are the desired effects of this concept, “warrior”? More importantly, how does the “warrior” differ from the “soldier”? Is it more gender inclusive? Is it going to change already masculine-dominated military ideals?

To answer these questions, I use what Jill Steans termed “gender lenses” in my approach to the topic.<sup>5</sup> According to Steans, to examine issues through gender lenses is to “focus on gender as a particular kind of power relations, or to trace out the ways in which gender is central to understanding international processes.”<sup>6</sup> The Army is undoubtedly one of the most gendered institutions in the United States. It is where masculine ideals are publicly celebrated, and feminine traits can be punished—literally and figuratively. Moreover, the military greatly influences how society defines what it means to be masculine. American society understands military service as a rite of passage in which boys become men. Since the Spanish-American war, public glorification of the military and the ideology that equates the military with the state has strengthened and the American military masculinity became “a marker of first-class citizenship for any American man who was allowed to embody it.”<sup>7</sup> In this vein, an

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<sup>5</sup> Laura Sjoberg and Sandra Via, *Gender, War, and Militarism: Feminist Perspectives* (ABC-CLIO, 2010). 9.

<sup>6</sup> Sjoberg and Via. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Aaron Belkin, *Bring Me Men: Military Masculinity and the Benign Facade of American Empire, 1898-2001* (Hurst & Company, 2012). 16.

exploration of the U.S. Army's new "warrior" ideal is not just a study of the service itself, but of the United States as a nation.

This dissertation will begin by broadly examining the relationship between the military and the United States. It will explore how both war and the military define and redefine who deserves to be an American citizen, and how those definitions are changing today. It will then discuss different types of warriors that have existed in history and in the collective imagination. Each society has a distinct idea of what constitutes a warrior. A warrior in one society may not be considered a warrior in another. Moreover, a warrior of the past may not be an ideal warrior by today's standards. I examine some of the most frequently discussed warrior models in the US Army—those borrowed from ancient Greek and Indigenous American cultures—and how the Army's views towards "warriors" has changed over time. Then this dissertation will closely examine how the term "warrior" is used and represented in military publications including Field Manuals (FMs) and Army Doctrine Publication (ADPs), as well as in recruiting campaigns such as "Warriors Wanted" and "What's Your Warrior?" Close study of real-life model "warriors" as they emerge from Army discourse illustrates their commonalities and differences. And because the US Army applies the concept of "warrior" to the soldiers of tomorrow as well as today, this project will examine the Army's vision of future warfare and technologies and the role of the "warrior" concept in this discussion. In the last section of this dissertation, I will come back to where I began and examine how the US Army's concept of "warrior" journeys to South Korea, and how the South Korean Army has adopted and adapted the concept. It will illustrate not only the transnational usage

of the term but also how the South Korean Army understands the US Army.

## **Chapter II. The United States and the Military**

From its inception, the military has been central to constructions of citizenship in the United States. When early colonists arrived in America during the seventeenth century, they brought the British military system with them. The resulting colonial militia laws required “every able-bodied male citizen to participate and to provide his own arms.”<sup>8</sup> Joining the state militia in times of conflict was a universal obligation of every citizen. Per colonial militia law, however, early colonists defined a citizen as a free, able-bodied, White man.<sup>9</sup>

The large influx of immigrants in the 1880s frustrated many Americans who viewed them as a distinct race unfit for democracy. John R. Commons, an economist who was considered the foremost authority on US labor at the time, wrote in 1907 that American citizens must be “protestants” who possessed “intelligence, manliness, and public spirit,” and a democracy formed by those citizens was the “only acceptable form”

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<sup>8</sup> Chuck Dougherty, “The Minutemen, the National Guard and the Private Militia Movement: Will the Real Militia Please Stand Up, 28 J. Marshall L. Rev. 959 (1995),” *The John Marshall Law Review* 28, no. 4 (1995): 959–986. 963.

<sup>9</sup> S. T. Ansell, “Legal and Historical Aspects of the Militia,” *The Yale Law Journal* 26, no. 6 (1917): 471–80; Gregory Ablavsky and Sharon Driscoll, “Stanford’s Greg Ablavsky on Law and the History of American Militias,” Stanford Law School, October 12, 2020, <https://law.stanford.edu/2020/10/12/stanfords-greg-ablavsky-on-law-and-the-history-of-american-militias/>; Maxwell G. Wallace, “Legislation in Virginia Regulating the Enrolling and Training of the Militia,” *Virginia Law Review* 5, no. 8 (May 1918): 525–34.

of government.<sup>10</sup> He defined “manliness” as what “the Romans called virility” and excluded women and immigrants from those capable of possessing American citizenship.<sup>11</sup>

US involvement in war necessitated large numbers of soldiers, leading the government to compromise these standards. During WWI, the Navy decided to enlist unmarried women between the ages of 18-35 to fill “feminized jobs” such as clerical duties.<sup>12</sup> The Army employed hundreds of telephone operators whom the Signal Corps referred to as “Hello Girls.”<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, the Army Nurse Corps increased the number of female nurses to 20,000 women who served as part of the American Expeditionary Force.<sup>14</sup> Women’s expanded involvement in World War I provided important momentum toward American women’s suffrage because male politicians found it increasingly difficult to argue that “women were good enough to tend to the infirmed, disabled, and dying, but too feebly minded to cast a well-informed ballot for the presidency.”<sup>15</sup> The United States Congress passed the Nineteenth Amendment shortly after the end of World War I.

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<sup>10</sup> John R. Commons, *Races and Immigrants in America*. (London, UK: The MacMillan Company, 1907), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2141088?origin=crossref>. 10.

<sup>11</sup> Commons. 5.

<sup>12</sup> Paige Whaley Eager, *Waging Gendered Wars: U.S. Military Women in Afghanistan and Iraq* (Routledge, 2016). 19.

<sup>13</sup> Evelyn Monahan and Rosemary Neidel-Greenlee, *A Few Good Women: America’s Military Women from World War I to the Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan* (Anchor Books, 2011). 10.

<sup>14</sup> Eager, *Waging Gendered Wars*. 20.

<sup>15</sup> Eager. 20.



The manpower shortage created by war also changed the view toward immigrants and broadened their gateway to citizenship. Henry Breckinridge, then Assistant Secretary of War, claimed that “Universal military training is the only way to yank the hyphen out of America ... all rubbing elbows in common service to one country out comes the hyphen, up goes the Stars and Stripes and in a generation the melting pot will have melted.”<sup>16</sup> Similarly, during his presidential campaign in 1952 General Dwight D. Eisenhower argued that military service was “an obligation that every citizen owes the nation,” meaning that those who serve in the military are citizens.<sup>17</sup>

Military service fast-tracked access to US citizenship for many immigrants. For instance, Congress passed the Second War Powers Act of 1942 during World War II, which exempted noncitizens serving in the US Armed Forces from many naturalization requirements that were in place at the time. Those requirements included specifications for “age, race, residence ... and enemy alien status.”<sup>18</sup> Two years later, Congress passed another law which allowed noncitizens who had failed to meet requirements for lawful entry into the United States to serve in the military and become naturalized as citizens.<sup>19</sup> Today, immigrants remain an important population in the U.S. military. According to the National Immigration Forum, approximately 80,000 immigrants—

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<sup>16</sup> Dr Ross J. Wilson, *New York and the First World War: Shaping an American City* (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2014). 121.

<sup>17</sup> United States Congress, *Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates of the ... Congress*, vol. 11, 98 (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952), 42.

<sup>18</sup> “Military Naturalization During WORLD WAR II.”

<sup>19</sup> “Military Naturalization During WORLD WAR II.”

foreign nationals and naturalized citizens—served in the military between 1999 and 2010, and 24,000 immigrants were serving on active duty as of 2012.<sup>20</sup>

Wartime demands for more troops also allowed opportunities for racial minorities that were not readily available during peacetime. Until the early in World War II, the US military refused to employ African American soldiers as pilots due to the long-held racist belief that African Americans were not sufficiently intelligent to hold such sophisticated positions. However, political pressure and an increased need for more pilots during World War II led the War Department to reluctantly accept a small number of Black pilots for service in segregated units. All-Black units, such as the Tuskegee Airmen, fought successfully during World War II and proved the racist misconception wrong.<sup>21</sup> Black and other racial minority soldiers' remarkable service during World War II led to the end of official segregation in the military. In 1948, President Harry S. Truman signed Executive Order 9981, which mandated "equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion or national origin."<sup>22</sup> Black veterans, with the experience, confidence, and sense of citizenship gained from their military service, became actively involved in the Civil Rights Movement that

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<sup>20</sup> "New Americans in the U.S. Armed Forces Fact Sheet," National Immigration Forum, November 22, 2016, <https://immigrationforum.org/article/new-americans-u-s-armed-forces-fact-sheet/>.

<sup>21</sup> J. Todd Moye, *Freedom Flyers: The Tuskegee Airmen of World War II*, Oxford Oral History Series (Oxford University Press, 2010).

<sup>22</sup> "Executive Order 9981: Desegregation of the Armed Forces," Government, National Archives, accessed December 6, 2019, <https://www.archives.gov/historical-docs/todays-doc/index.html?dod-date=726>.

challenged Jim Crow and racial discrimination.<sup>23</sup>

The US military is the primary institution defining not only what it means to be American, but what it means to be a man. Though women had long participated in American wars, the U.S. government did not officially recognize their participation, and the US military remained an all-male institution until 1948. This means that the military officially remained an all-male institution much later than other public institutions. Today, the military remains one of few public-service professions in which over 80 percent of personnel are men. R. W. Connell notes the close link between the military and hegemonic masculinity in America: “Violence on the largest possible scale is the purpose of the military; and no arena has been more important for the definition of hegemonic masculinity in European/American culture.”<sup>24</sup> The hegemonic masculinity produced by the military affects not only members of the military, but civilian society as well. Politicians—often in an attempt to emphasize their leadership—evoke militarized masculinity. For instance, when Senator John Kerry appeared on stage at the Democratic National Convention in 2004, he snapped off a salute and declared, “I’m John Kerry and I’m reporting for duty.”<sup>25</sup> In 2003, President George W. Bush landed on the aircraft carrier U.S.S. Abraham Lincoln to deliver the “Mission Accomplished”

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<sup>23</sup> Christopher S. Parker, *Fighting for Democracy: Black Veterans and the Struggle Against White Supremacy in the Postwar South* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2009).

<sup>24</sup> R. W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Polity, 2005). 213.

<sup>25</sup> Associated Press, “I’m John Kerry and I Am Reporting for Duty!,” News, The Michigan Daily, July 29, 2004, <https://www.michigandaily.com/content/im-john-kerry-and-i-am-reporting-duty>.

speech that claimed US victory in the Iraq War.<sup>26</sup> This was an attempt to forge his image as a strong commander-in-chief who had successfully led the nation through war.<sup>27</sup>

Military masculinity,<sup>28</sup> like other forms of masculinity, relies on disavowal of feminine traits in order to sustain cultural authority. In other words, there are no essential traits of masculinity and it can only exist as the polar opposite of femininity.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, the premise of military masculinity is “that in times of crisis those who are feminine need armed protection.”<sup>30</sup> To illustrate this premise, World War II propaganda posters depicted Japanese soldiers attacking White American women with captions such as “Keep This Horror from Your Home” or “This Shall Not Be Your Sister.”<sup>31</sup> Constructions of military masculinity also renounce the feminine.<sup>32</sup> That is why drill

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<sup>26</sup> George W. Bush, “Bush Makes Historic Speech Aboard Warship,” News, CNN.com, May 1, 2003, <https://www.cnn.com/2003/US/05/01/bush.transcript/>.

<sup>27</sup> Despite Bush’s declaration, the Iraq War did not, in fact, end in May 2003.

<sup>28</sup> I rely on Aaron Belkin’s definition of military masculinity which he defines as “a set of beliefs, practices and attributes that can enable individuals—men and women—to claim authority on the basis of affirmative relationships with the military or with military ideas” (Belkin 3). Those who value military masculinity believe one’s military service certifies their power and authority, and some may display physical attributes which include muscles or tattoos to enhance their military masculinity.

<sup>29</sup> Connell, *Masculinities*; Belkin, *Bring Me Men*.

<sup>30</sup> Cynthia Enloe, *The Curious Feminist: Searching for Women in a New Age of Empire* (University of California Press, 2004). 219.

<sup>31</sup> Office for Emergency Management. War Production Board. 1/1942-11/3/1945, *Keep This Horror From Your Home. Invest 10 Percent in War Bonds Back Up Our Battleskies!*, Series: War Production Board, 1918 - 1947, 1942; Robert B. Westbrook, “‘I Want a Girl, Just Like the Girl That Married Harry James’: American Women and the Problem of Political Obligation in World War II,” *American Quarterly* 42, no. 4 (1990): 587–614, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2713166>.

<sup>32</sup> Michael S. Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (Free Press, 1997).

sergeants systematically use homophobic and misogynistic epithets during boot camp to compel recruits to adopt militarized masculinity.<sup>33</sup>

The military's transition to an all-volunteer force (AVF) has presented significant challenge to the notion that military masculinity is inherently tied to male soldiers. At the end of the Vietnam War, the military abandoned the conscription system, and women became an important source of military recruiting. Transition to an AVF also meant that the military had to compete with other industry areas to recruit soldiers. Achieving recruiting goals would become especially challenging in strong economies. And since the end of the Cold War, the United States has lacked serious "peer competitors," making the military seem less relevant in the public eye.<sup>34</sup> Under these circumstances, the 1990s women's movements that focused on equal opportunity for education and employment added pressure on the military to expand roles for female servicemembers. As a result, the military has expanded female soldiers' numbers and opportunities. Today, women can serve in combat positions and make up slightly less than 20 percent of the military.

Twenty-first century US Army soldiers are expected to play the dual role of warfighter and diplomat. Since the Vietnam War, the United States has focused heavily on winning the "hearts and minds" of the people it fights. Ralph Peters, a retired Army officer, argues, in fact, that in Operation Iraqi Freedom the US Army's mistake was

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<sup>33</sup> Belkin, *Bring Me Men*. 29.

<sup>34</sup> Stephen M. Walt, "Is America Addicted to War?," *Foreign Policy* (blog), April 4, 2011, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2011/04/04/is-america-addicted-to-war/>.

being “too worried about their [the enemy] liking us.”<sup>35</sup> Even while inflicting casualties, the United States wants to appear as a force of good with a mission to save lives, not to kill. Such an idealistic goal is impractical in warfighting. Since the United States idealizes itself as a peace-loving nation forced into a mission to save the world, any casualties or destruction damage reputation and public sentiment. On the other hand, enemies of the United States—often nonstate actors—are not subject to the same level of scrutiny because unlike the United States, they never posed as world police. This disparity puts the United States in an unfavorable position when it comes to using military force.

Winning “hearts and minds” and waging war do not always go hand in hand. Waging war commonly involves destruction and death in innocent civilian populations. No matter how much publicity the US military employs, disruption and instability under American occupation is unlikely to win hearts and minds of local people. That is why recent American wars pose as peacekeeping and peacebuilding diplomatic missions rather than traditional state-to-state conflicts. A growing number of scholars are paying attention to this changing trend.<sup>36</sup> They question the contradictory roles that American

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<sup>35</sup> Ralph Peters, “Dealing with Terrorists, Insurgents, and Failed States in 2020,” in *The Changing Nature of Warfare* (The Global Context 2020 Project of the National Intelligence Council, Alexandria, Virginia: Center for Strategic Studies, 2004), 33–34, [https://www.cna.org/CNA\\_files/PDF/D0011005.A1.pdf](https://www.cna.org/CNA_files/PDF/D0011005.A1.pdf). 34.

<sup>36</sup> Kjetil Enstad and Paula Holmes-Eber, eds., *Warriors or Peacekeepers?: Building Military Cultural Competence* (Springer International Publishing, 2020), <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-36766-4>; Dennis A. Vincenzi, Mustapha Mouloua, and Peter A. Hancock, *Human Performance, Situation Awareness, and Automation: Current Research and Trends HPSAA II, Volumes I and II* (Psychology Press, 2005); Wendy A. Broesder et al., “Can Soldiers Combine Swords and Ploughshares?: The Construction of the Warrior–Peacekeeper Role Identity Survey (WPRIS),” *Armed Forces & Society* 41, no. 3 (July 1, 2015): 519–40,

soldiers are expected to perform as warriors and diplomats. American soldiers are asked to be the most lethal force in the world, yet demonstrate compassion for the weak. However, what sounds good in theory is difficult to achieve in practice, especially in today's environment where it is difficult to discern a combatant from a civilian.

As the history shows, the military is constantly changing. Conditions including war and the economy force the military to redefine what it is, who it includes, and whom it allows in. How the US military fights wars today differs from past endeavors. It has different enemies, different soldiers, and different technologies. The different environment requires different goals and ideals. Today's Army idealizes "warriors." In the following chapter, I will explore what people mean when we say "warrior," and how the term has been used outside the US Army.

### **Chapter III. What Do We Mean By "Warrior"?**

#### **1. What Is a "Warrior"?**

The Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines warrior as "a person engaged or experienced in warfare."<sup>37</sup> Originating from the Old North French *werreier*, the term has been in use since the fourteenth century.<sup>38</sup> *Warrior* is synonymous with words like

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<https://doi.org/10.1177/0095327X14539326>.

<sup>37</sup> "Warrior," in *Merriam-Webster*, accessed December 10, 2020, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/warrior?src=search-dict-box>.

<sup>38</sup> "Warrior," in *Online Etymology Dictionary*, accessed December 10, 2020, <https://www.etymonline.com/word/warrior>.

“legionnaire,” “serviceman,” “soldier,” and “trooper.”<sup>39</sup> These synonyms, however, have considerably different meanings in that they imply employment in an organized group as an occupation, whereas the term “warrior” implies an identity that may or may not be a job. Unlike a “soldier” or a “serviceman” who is affiliated in an institution and receives pay for their labor, a “warrior” is a societal status independent from salary. In other words, while soldiers might employ violence to carry out an orders and achieve political goals, for warriors violence is not just what they “do,” but “what they are.”<sup>40</sup> J. Glenn Gray, a philosopher and U.S. Army veteran whose book *The Warriors* describes his experience and observations as a soldier in World War II, agrees that “warrior” is not an occupation, but one’s identity. Gray defines a warrior as a “*Homo furens*,” or a “fighting man.”<sup>41</sup> *Homo furens* does not have the same meaning as “soldier” because it is only a “part of what it means to be a soldier.”<sup>42</sup> “Warrior,” according to Gray, is one of many aspects of personality, but one that is “capable of transforming the whole” and will “subordinate other aspects of the personality, repress civilian habits of mind, and make the soldier as fighter a different kind of creature from the former worker, farmer, or clerk.”<sup>43</sup> In essence, the term “warrior” carries greater existential meaning than “soldier.”

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<sup>39</sup> “Warrior.”

<sup>40</sup> Christopher Coker, *Waging War Without Warriors?: The Changing Culture of Military Conflict* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002). 6.

<sup>41</sup> Jesse Glenn Gray, *The Warriors: Reflections on Men in Battle* (U of Nebraska Press, 1999). 27.

<sup>42</sup> Gray. 27.

<sup>43</sup> Gray. 27-28.



Warrior traditions have existed in most cultures throughout history. Military Historian R. G. Grant provides a list of examples in his book *Warriors* (2007):<sup>44</sup>

Table 1. Historical warriors in R. G. Grant's *Warriors*

Phalanxes and Legions (600 BCE-450 CE)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Greek hoplites</li> <li>- Roman legionary</li> <li>- Enemies of Rome</li> </ul>
Conquest and Chivalry (450-1500)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Viking</li> <li>- Medieval knight</li> <li>- Medieval mounted warriors</li> <li>- English Longbowman</li> <li>- Medieval foot soldiers</li> <li>- Mongol Horseman</li> <li>- Samurai</li> <li>- Pre-Columbian Warriors</li> </ul>
Pikemen and Musketeers (1500-1775)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Landsknecht</li> <li>- Foot soldiers of the Renaissance</li> <li>- Ottoman soldier</li> <li>- Mughal warrior</li> <li>- English musketeer</li> </ul>
Empires and Frontiers (1775-1914)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- American rifleman</li> <li>- American Revolutionary War forces</li> <li>- French Cavalryman</li> <li>- Napoleon's Army</li> <li>- British Redcoat</li> <li>- British sailor</li> <li>- Union infantryman</li> <li>- Maori warrior</li> <li>- Zulu warrior</li> <li>- Sioux warrior</li> <li>- Fighters of the Indian Wars</li> </ul>
Trenches and Dogfights (1914-1945)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- British infantryman</li> <li>- German Stormtrooper</li> <li>- WORLD WAR Infantryman</li> <li>- Fighters of the Spanish Civil War</li> <li>- RAF fighter pilot</li> <li>- Soviet tank crewman</li> <li>- WWII other tankmen</li> <li>- US bomber crewman</li> </ul>

<sup>44</sup> R. G. Grant, *Warrior: A Visual History of the Fighting Man* (Penguin, 2007). 4-5.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- WWII fighter pilots</li> <li>- SOE agent</li> <li>- US paratrooper</li> </ul>
Guerrillas and Commandos (1945-present)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Foreign legionnaire</li> <li>- US Marine</li> <li>- Viet Cong guerrillas</li> <li>- Modern guerrilla fighters</li> <li>- SAS soldier</li> <li>- Special forces</li> <li>- Modern western infantry</li> </ul>

Source: R. G. Grant, *Warriors* (London, UK: DK Adult, 2010), 4-5.

This list includes a wide variety of soldiers and fighters across cultures and throughout history. But because every society has different ideas regarding who deserves the “warrior” title, and sometimes the title is self-claimed by individuals, Grant’s list is neither exhaustive nor accurate. For example, some may not consider guerrilla fighters “warriors” because they employ tactics like surprise and ambush, which do not allow opponents to prepare for a conventional fight. Others may not consider fighter pilots “warriors” because pilots fight remotely and do not engage in close combat. As such, the “warrior” concept can be elusive and difficult to define.

While it is hard to define what a “warrior” is, one can instinctively know what it is not. Shannon E. French, a philosophy professor at the US Naval Academy at Annapolis, taught a military ethics course called “The Code of the Warrior” in which students parsed the definition of “warrior” by comparing it to words with similar meanings. French prompted the class to consider whether or not the term “warrior” is synonymous with words such as “murderer,” “killer,” “fighter,” “victor,” and “conqueror.”<sup>45</sup> Cadets almost

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<sup>45</sup> Shannon E. French, *The Code of the Warrior: Exploring Warrior Values Past and Present*

unanimously reject all five terms for the following representative reasons:

*Murderer*: “This word has connotations of unjust acts, namely killing for no reason. A warrior fights an enemy who fights to kill him.”

*Killer*: “A warrior may be required to kill, but it should be for a purpose or cause greater than his own welfare, for an ideal.”

*Fighter*: “Simply fighting doesn’t make a warrior. There are rules a warrior follows.”

*Victor*: “Warriors will lose, too—and the people who win aren’t always what a warrior should be.”

*Conqueror*: “A conqueror may simply command enough power to overcome opposition. He can be very lacking in the ethical beliefs that should be part of a warrior’s life.”<sup>46</sup>

Based on cadet responses, one might deduce that a warrior is a selfless fighter who uses violence within the bounds of an honor code to defend others and to uphold an ideal. In this sense, a warrior is someone who possesses higher ethical standards than the rest of the society. French contends that “the code of the warrior,” which is an ethical boundary that restrains a warrior’s actions, is the most important factor separating a warrior from murderers, killers, fighters, victors, and conquerors:

“Achilles must seek vengeance for the death of his friend Patroclus, yet when his rage drives him to desecrate the corpse of his arch nemesis, he angers the gods. Under the codes of chivalry, medieval knight has to offer mercy to any knight who yields to him in battle. In feudal Japan, samurai are not permitted to approach their opponents using stealth but rather are required to declare

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(Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005). 1.

<sup>46</sup> French. 1-2.

themselves openly before engaging combat. Muslim warriors engaged in offensive jihad cannot employ certain weapons, such as fire, unless and until their enemies use them first.”<sup>47</sup>

The code invests the warrior identity with nobility, and as a result, morally and psychologically protects the warrior from “becoming a monster” in their own eyes.<sup>48</sup>

Novelist and U.S. Marine Corp veteran Steven Pressfield, whose books *Gates of Fire* and *The Warrior Ethos* are both widely read in the Army, also differentiates warrior values from civilian values. When he was invited to speak about “the warrior ethos” at the US Army Special Operations Command Headquarters in Fort Bragg, North Carolina, in 2011, he introduced “shame,” “honor,” and “love” as three core warrior values.<sup>49</sup> Pressfield explained that the warrior ethos stands in opposition to the civilian society’s values such as freedom and wealth. Instead, “honor” is the psychological wage of being a warrior, and the warrior’s willingness to embrace adversity stems from self-imposed “shame” and “love” toward “his brothers” in arms.<sup>50</sup> In other words, true warrior values—unlike those of civilians—are selfless.

Lastly, warriorhood is often associated with maleness and masculinity. Jungian philosophers Robert Moore and Douglas Gillette, in *King, Warrior, Magician, Lover*,

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<sup>47</sup> French. 3-4.

<sup>48</sup> French. 10.

<sup>49</sup> Steven Pressfield, “The Warrior Ethos,” C-SPAN, June 29, 2011, <https://www.c-span.org/video/?300829-1/the-warrior-ethos>.

<sup>50</sup> Pressfield.

identify “warrior” (along with “king,” “magician,” and “lover”) as one of the four mature male archetypes that exist in myth and literature.<sup>51</sup> They write that the “warrior” is a “primarily masculine energy form” which persists in our culture because it is “a basic building block of masculine psychology, almost certainly rooted in our genes.”<sup>52</sup>

## **2. Different Uses of the “Warrior” Concept**

The term “warrior” is not limited to use within the military or in relation to armed conflict. It also sees wide use as a figurative term. In this section, I will discuss popular examples of warrior’s metaphorical usage in reference to non-combat situations.

### **A. The Happy Warrior**

English Romantic poet William Wordsworth composed the poem “Character of the Happy Warrior” in 1806 in remembrance of a late British war hero Vice-Admiral Horatio Nelson. The poem symbolizes the spirit of the British forces that fought in the Napoleonic War. Beginning with the rhetorical question “Who is the happy warrior?,” the poem details a warrior’s qualities and proposes that a warrior is who “every man in arms should wish to be.”<sup>53</sup> The qualities include “a generous spirit,” “a natural instinct to discern what knowledge can perform,” and the ability to turn “pain, and fear, and

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<sup>51</sup> Robert Moore and Doug Gillette, *King, Warrior, Magician, Lover: Rediscovering the Archetypes of the Mature Masculine* (Harper Collins, 2013).

<sup>52</sup> Moore and Gillette. 77.

<sup>53</sup> William Wordsworth, “Character of the Happy Warrior,” text/html, Poetry Foundation (Poetry Foundation, January 4, 2021), <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/>, <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/45512/character-of-the-happy-warrior>.

bloodshed, miserable train” into “glorious gain.”<sup>54</sup> Twentieth-century American politicians borrowed the term “happy warrior” to describe those with hawkish political views but upbeat personalities. It became widely known when Franklin Roosevelt described Al Smith as “the happy warrior of the political battlefield” in his speech nominating Smith as a Democratic presidential candidate in 1924.<sup>55</sup> Since then, the phrase “happy warrior” has become a popular descriptor for many politicians. For instance, thirty-eighth US Vice President Hubert Humphrey’s colleagues referred to him as the “Happy Warrior” due to his “cheerfulness in the face of adversity.”<sup>56</sup> Humphrey embraced the nickname and named his election campaign plane “The Happy Warrior” as the Vice President.<sup>57</sup> In his speech accepting the 2012 Democratic presidential nomination, President Barack Obama identified vice president Joe Biden as a more recent example of the happy warrior when he described Biden as “America’s happy warrior, the best vice president anybody could ever hope for.”<sup>58</sup> These three examples of publicly known “happy warriors”—Al Smith, Hubert Humphrey, and Joe Biden—

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<sup>54</sup> Wordsworth.

<sup>55</sup> Hugh Rawson and Margaret Miner, *The Oxford Dictionary of American Quotations* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2006). 311.

<sup>56</sup> “U.S. Senate: Hubert H. Humphrey, 38th Vice President (1965-1969),” United States Senate, accessed September 29, 2020, [https://www.senate.gov/about/officers-staff/vice-president/VP\\_Hubert\\_Humphrey.htm](https://www.senate.gov/about/officers-staff/vice-president/VP_Hubert_Humphrey.htm).

<sup>57</sup> Carl Solberg, *Hubert Humphrey: A Biography* (Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2003). 260.

<sup>58</sup> Washington Post Obama, “President Obama’s Acceptance Speech,” *Washington Post*, November 7, 2012, sec. Politics, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/decision2012/president-obamas-acceptance-speech-full-transcript/2012/11/07/ae133e44-28a5-11e2-96b6-8e6a7524553f\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/decision2012/president-obamas-acceptance-speech-full-transcript/2012/11/07/ae133e44-28a5-11e2-96b6-8e6a7524553f_story.html).

describe a happy and cheerful person who maintains strong belief in one's goal despite some hardships.

While the term usually implies positive qualities, "happy warrior" had also been used as a term of criticism. In 2004, Democratic Senator Robert Byrd used it to scornfully refer to President Bush in a Senate speech marking the one-year anniversary of President Bush's "Mission Accomplished" speech. "President Bush," Byrd said, "typified the Happy Warrior when he strutted across the deck of the U.S.S. Abraham Lincoln."<sup>59</sup> In this case, Byrd emphasized Bush's hawkish political views and willingness to prematurely celebrate the end of a war that never ended.

## **B. Cold Warriors**

During the Cold War, use of the term "warrior" increased dramatically. News media referred to strong supporters of the Cold War as "Cold Warriors," which carried a negative connotation that disparaged their hawkish views.<sup>60</sup> The term referred to not just military personnel, but to civilian politicians and scholars who were outspoken in their bellicose opinions about the war. American presidents from Harry S. Truman to George H. W. Bush, secretaries of state including John Foster Dulles, Dean Rusk, and

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<sup>59</sup> Robert C. Byrd, "Mission Not Accomplished," Common Dreams, April 29, 2001, <https://www.commondreams.org/views/2004/04/29/mission-not-accomplished>.

<sup>60</sup> Irvington Kristol, "Memoirs of a 'Cold Warrior,'" The New York Times, February 11, 1968, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1968/02/11/91221084.html?pageNumber=354>; Anthony Lewis, "The Cold Warrior," The New York Times, March 8, 1976, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1976/03/08/96992527.html?pageNumber=24>; John Vinocur, "Is Schmidt Born Again as a Cold Warrior?," The New York Times, April 5, 1981, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1981/04/05/issue.html>.

Henry Kissinger, and elected officials such as William Knowland, Joseph McCarthy, and Hubert H. Humphrey are considered cold warriors by historians.<sup>61</sup> The “Cold Warrior” narrative contextualized the term “warrior” independent from combat and further familiarized the public with the concept.

### **C. The Vietnam War and “Warrior”**

The Vietnam War was another event that brought the concept of “warrior” into political conversation. When the United States finally exited the conflict, anti-military and anti-government sentiments were prevalent at home. The public learned that President Lyndon B. Johnson had lied about the scale of American military and political involvement in Vietnam and witnessed the war’s atrocities through their living room televisions.<sup>62</sup> More troubling to Americans than the president’s lies and the war’s atrocities was the fact that the United State had lost to an army deemed far weaker and less modernized than their own.<sup>63</sup> Many scholars and politicians delved into the reasons why America fumbled in Vietnam, blaming the US government’s bureaucratic management of the war.<sup>64</sup> For instance, sociologist James William Gibson argued that,

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<sup>61</sup> Andrew J. Rotter, “Cold Warriors,” American Foreign Relations, accessed January 5, 2021, <https://www.americanforeignrelations.com/A-D/Cold-Warriors.html>.

<sup>62</sup> “Report of the Office of the Secretary of Defense Vietnam Task Force” (Office of the Secretary of Defense, June 23, 1971), National Archives, <https://www.archives.gov/research/pentagon-papers>.

<sup>63</sup> Matthew Dallek, “How the Tet Offensive Shocked Americans into Questioning If the Vietnam War Could Be Won,” HISTORY, January 25, 2018, <https://www.history.com/news/tet-offensive-1968-vietnam-war-surprise-attack-changed-american-public-opinion>.

<sup>64</sup> R. W. Komer, “Bureaucracy Does Its Thing: Institutional Constraints on U.S.-GVN Performance in Vietnam” (RAND CORP SANTA MONICA CA, August 1972),



because the US government and military leaders had been so obsessed with the enemy's body count, they had failed to see the bigger picture required for victory.<sup>65</sup> After realizing the government's mismanagement of the war, the media shifted the narrative about Vietnam War veterans from one of "failure" to one of "victimhood."<sup>66</sup> Soldiers were no longer seen as the cause of the Army's failure in Vietnam, but as victims of the government's deficient bureaucracy.

In the decade following US withdrawal from Vietnam, the concept of "warrior" emerged as an antidote to and an antithesis of government bureaucrats. News editorials lamented military leadership that consisted of "yes men and military managers" instead of "warriors."<sup>67</sup> A 1984 *Washington Post* op-ed argued that US military failure in Vietnam was caused by the "substitution of managerial and technocratic values for traditional warrior values that has taken place since World War II."<sup>68</sup> Because the military had become another bureaucracy whose members' ultimate goal was career advancement, fighting in war had become nothing more than punching

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<https://apps.dtic.mil/docs/citations/AD0770405>.

<sup>65</sup> James William Gibson, *The Perfect War: Technowar in Vietnam* (New York: The Atlantic Monthly Press, 2007).

<sup>66</sup> Susan Jeffords, *The Remasculinization of America: Gender and the Vietnam War* (Indiana University Press, 1989). 169.

<sup>67</sup> Jeffrey Record, "Why Our High-Priced Military Can't Win Battles: It's Full of Bureaucrats Instead of Warriors," *The Washington Post*, January 29, 1984, sec. Editorials; David H. Hackworth, "Bring Back Blood-and-Guts Patton!: It Time to Replace the Yes-Men and Military Managers with Warriors," *The Washington Post*, June 7, 1987.

<sup>68</sup> Record, "Why Our Military Can't Win Battles." D4.

the “combat ticket.”<sup>69</sup> But a “warrior,” in the editorial’s view, someone who is adept in the art of war and who finds their calling in warfighting, is the antipode of a bureaucrat. A similar argument appeared in *The Washingtonian* in the same year. Titled “Where Have All the Warriors Gone?,” the article bemoaned the Army’s loss of warriors. Discussing the Army’s flawed officer promotion system, the authors argue that an overly bureaucratic promotion system failed to select truly qualified leaders, declaring that “Great military leaders have always had guts, toughness, daring. But now our armed services are led by men who act more like corporate managers than soldiers. Could MacArthur make general today? Could we win a war?”<sup>70</sup> The authors identify the “warrior” in contrast with those officers who perform like “corporate managers,” “smoother operators,” and “manicured managers.”<sup>71</sup> In their assessment, General Creighton Abrams was the last great American warrior.<sup>72</sup> In 1987, former US Army colonel David Hackworth, the most decorated Army officer in Vietnam, wrote a *Washington Post* op-ed with a similar message. Hackworth argues that “The rugged warrior-types who took Saipan and Normandy have been replaced by erudite, urbane corporate generals and admirals who have a minimum of an MBA from one of America’s top business schools, know which dessert spoon to use, and are smooth, cool and

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<sup>69</sup> Record.

<sup>70</sup> Nick Kotz and Nancy B. Nathan, “Where Have All the Warriors Gone?,” *The Washingtonian*, July 1984. 28.

<sup>71</sup> Kotz and Nathan.

<sup>72</sup> Creighton Abrams is a US Army general who commanded operations in the Vietnam War. The Army honored Abrams by naming its M1 main battle tank the “Abrams.”

management-capable.”<sup>73</sup> He then urged President Reagan to send “the corporate generals” to industry and replace those “perfumed princes” with “warriors.”<sup>74</sup> In this vein, post-Vietnam War conceptualization of the warrior was more about mindset than about actual combat experience. The post–Vietnam warrior contrasted with generals and officers who engaged in war with a bureaucratic mindset.

#### **D. James Mattis and “Warrior Monk”**

Former U.S. Secretary of Defense James Mattis, a retired Marine Corps general who served in multiple wars and is highly revered among military personnel, is famously known as the “warrior monk.”<sup>75</sup> By itself, the term “warrior” might suggest more brawn than brains and so does not adequately describe Mattis, a voracious reader with multiple combat experiences during his 44 years in the US Marine Corps; this is why people who know him well call him “warrior monk.”<sup>76</sup> Maximilian Uriarte, an ex-Marine and author of the popular military comic strip *Terminal Lance*, describes meeting Mattis for the first time in person as “[falling] victim to [Mattis’s] Holiness’ aura of unbridled

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<sup>73</sup> Hackworth, “Bring Back Blood-and-Guts Patton!: It Time to Replace the Yes-Men and Military Managers with Warriors.”

<sup>74</sup> Hackworth.

<sup>75</sup> John A. Nagl, “Jim Mattis and I Fought Together. No One Called Him Mad Dog.,” *The New York Times*, December 23, 2018, sec. Opinion, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/23/opinion/jim-mattis-resignation-trump.html>.

<sup>76</sup> Mattis’s another nickname is “Mad Dog” which became well-known when President Trump used the term in announcing Mattis as his nominee for Defense Secretary. However, *The New Yorker* reported that “Mad Dog” is a misnomer as none of his friends or people who know him well use that nickname. Mattis himself is known to not care for that name. (Source: Dexter Filkins, “James Mattis, a Warrior in Washington,” *The New Yorker*, accessed April 6, 2020, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/05/29/james-mattis-a-warrior-in-washington>.)

masculinity,” which made Uriarte “giddy as a school girl.”<sup>77</sup> In 2016, a Facebook page of the Marine Corps Special Operations Command (MARSOC) posted a meme that portrayed James Mattis as a saint holding a grenade in one hand and a Ka-Bar knife in the other.<sup>78</sup> Created by OAF Nation, an online apparel company operated by a military veteran, the picture’s popularity among Marines had resulted in its inclusion on the MARSOC Facebook page, though it was removed shortly thereafter.<sup>79</sup> The MARSOC also posted a parody of the Roman Catholic prayer “Hail Mary,” which read, “Hail Mattis, full of hate. Our troops stand with thee. Blessed art thou among the enlisted. And blessed is the fruit of thy knife hand. Holy Mattis, father of War, pray for us heathens. Now and at the hour of combat. Amen.”<sup>80</sup> The meme combined Mattis’s Catholicism, lifelong bachelorhood, and reputation for his aggressive style of command.

Although the term “warrior” alone does not adequately describe Mattis, it is a key descriptor used to characterize Mattis. *The Marine Corps Times* called him a “consummate warrior” and *The New York Times* called him “a no-nonsense warrior.”<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Maximilian Uriarte, “Terminal Lance ‘Lord Mattis II,’” *Terminal Lance*, April 17, 2015, <https://terminallance.com/2015/04/17/terminal-lance-lord-mattis-ii/>. Maximilian Uriarte is a former US Marine who publishes a satirical comic strip on his website, *TerminalLance.com*. Most of his comics are about the US Marine Corps many of which are published in the *Marine Corps Times*. However, his pieces are also popular in other service branches.

<sup>78</sup> Jeff Schogol, “MARSOC Facebook Page Takes down Meme of ‘Saint Mattis,’” *Marine Corps Times*, August 7, 2017, <https://www.marinecorpstimes.com/news/your-marine-corps/2016/12/02/marsoc-facebook-page-takes-down-meme-of-saint-mattis/>.

<sup>79</sup> Schogol.

<sup>80</sup> Schogol.

<sup>81</sup> Dave Philipps, “Saint Mattis’s Forces in Combat Against Harassment,” *The New York Times*, March 19, 2017, sec. Times Insider, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/19/insider/marine-nude-photo-scandal-jim-mattis.html>; Schogol, “Saint Mattis.”

As his nickname “warrior monk” indicates, *The New York Times* added that he is also “a scholar with an exceptional grasp of history, who is reluctant to fight, but once engaged will go all-in.”<sup>82</sup> In fact, Mattis is quite famous for his blunt descriptions of killing and war, which Marines quote often as “Mattisisms.”<sup>83</sup> For instance, he told Marines deploying to Iraq to “be polite, be professional, but have a plan to kill everybody you meet.”<sup>84</sup> On a separate occasion, he was in a meeting with Iraqi tribal leaders and famously said “I come in peace. I didn’t bring artillery. But I’m pleading with you, with tears in my eyes: If you f\*\*\* with me, I’ll kill you all.”<sup>85</sup> This blunt aggression helped to construct the “warrior” designation in the “warrior monk.” As such, the term “warrior” is used to describe a ferocious fighter who does not give in. The other half of Mattis’s nickname indicates his calm and thoughtful demeanor which the term “warrior” does not convey.

### **E. Trump’s Warriors**

President Trump has a penchant for the term “warrior.” When a reporter asked him about his actions regarding Navy Secretary Richard Spencer in November 2019, he said “I will stick up for the warriors.”<sup>86</sup> In this case, the “warrior” to whom Trump referred

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<sup>82</sup> Philipps, “Saint Mattis.”

<sup>83</sup> Max Fisher, “16 Most Hair-Raising General Mattis Quotes,” *The Atlantic*, July 9, 2010, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2010/07/16-most-hair-raising-general-mattis-quotes/340553/>.

<sup>84</sup> Madeline Conway, “9 Unforgettable Quotes by James Mattis,” *POLITICO*, December 1, 2016, <https://www.politico.com/blogs/donald-trump-administration/2016/12/james-mattis-quotes-232097>.

<sup>85</sup> Reena Flores, “Gen. James ‘Mad Dog’ Mattis: 7 Memorable Quotes,” *CBS News*, December 2, 2016, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/gen-james-mad-dog-mattis-7-memorable-quotes/>.

<sup>86</sup> Dartunorro Clark and Courtney Kube, “Defense Secretary Says Trump Ordered Him to Allow

was Navy SEAL Chief Petty Officer Eddie Gallagher, who had been demoted following charges of war crimes that violated the Uniform Code of Justice; Trump had fired Secretary Spencer over his handling of the case. The charges against Gallagher included shooting civilians—including a minor girl and unarmed man—and stabbing a wounded prisoner who was about 15 years old.<sup>87</sup> Gallagher’s own platoon members found his actions outrageous enough to merit breaking the SEALs’ unwritten code of silence. In speaking out against Gallagher they labeled him “toxic” and “freaking evil.”<sup>88</sup> A jury of seven military members—five Marines, one SEAL team member, and a Navy officer—acquitted Gallagher on six of the seven charges he faced, finding him guilty on the charge of “wrongfully pos[ing] for an unofficial picture with a human casualty.”<sup>89</sup> As a result of the court martial, the Navy demoted Gallagher; Trump who had been intervening in Gallagher’s favor from the beginning, reversed the demotion.<sup>90</sup> When the Commander of Naval Special Warfare, Rear Admiral Collin Green, began the process to

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SEAL in War Crimes Case to Keep Status,” NBC News, November 25, 2019, <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/politics-news/defense-secretary-says-trump-ordered-him-allow-seal-war-crimes-n1090581>.

<sup>87</sup> Dave Philipps, “Navy SEALs Were Warned Against Reporting Their Chief for War Crimes,” *The New York Times*, April 23, 2019, sec. U.S., <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/23/us/navy-seals-crimes-of-war.html>.

<sup>88</sup> Daniel Politi, “Fellow Navy SEAL Calls Edward Gallagher ‘Freaking Evil’ in Leaked Video Interview,” *Slate Magazine*, December 27, 2019, <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2019/12/fellow-navy-seals-edward-gallagher-freaking-evil-leaked-video-interviews.html>.

<sup>89</sup> “Navy Officer Demoted Following Conviction for Taking Photo Beside Dead Prisoner’s Body,” *San Diego Military Defense Attorneys* (blog), July 30, 2019, <https://armycourt martialdefense.info/2019/07/navy-officer-demoted-following-conviction-for-taking-photo-beside-dead-prisoners-body/>.

<sup>90</sup> Dave Philipps, “Trump Clears Three Service Members in War Crimes Cases,” *The New York Times*, November 15, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/15/us/trump-pardons.html>.

strip Gallagher of the Trident pin that signifies one's SEAL membership, Trump intervened again, overruling the formal process with a Twitter post that declared, "The Navy will NOT be taking away Warfighter and navy Seal Eddie Gallagher's Trident Pin. This case was handled very badly from the beginning."<sup>91</sup> Trump affirmed that his continuous intervention in the Navy's due process was his way of "stick[ing] up for the warriors." Gallagher, according to Trump, was a "warrior."

The reporter who asked the question prompting Trump's profession to "stick up for warriors" also asked about Lt. Col. Alexander Vindman. Vindman had become the subject of political debate in September 2019, after reporting concern that President Trump's attempt to predicate military aid on personal political favor from Ukraine's president constituted an abuse of presidential power. Vindman, an immigrant who was still a child when his family fled the Soviet Union, had since joined the Army and served multiple overseas tours, including an Iraq tour in which he was wounded in an IED attack and awarded a Purple Heart.<sup>92</sup> After he testified as a witness during the Trump impeachment inquiry, Vindman retired from the service due to "a campaign of White

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<sup>91</sup> Donald J. Trump, "Donald J. Trump on Twitter: 'The Navy Will NOT Be Taking Away Warfighter and Navy Seal Eddie Gallagher's Trident Pin. This Case Was Handled Very Badly from the Beginning. Get Back to Business!' / Twitter," Twitter, November 21, 2019, [https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1197507542726909952?ref\\_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E1197507542726909952&ref\\_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.nytimes.com%2F2019%2F11%2F21%2Fus%2Ftrump-seals-eddie-gallagher.html](https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1197507542726909952?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E1197507542726909952&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.nytimes.com%2F2019%2F11%2F21%2Fus%2Ftrump-seals-eddie-gallagher.html).

<sup>92</sup> The New York Times, "Read Alexander Vindman's Opening Statement on Trump and Ukraine," *The New York Times*, October 29, 2019, sec. U.S., <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/10/29/us/politics/vindman-statement-impeachment.html>, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/10/29/us/politics/vindman-statement-impeachment.html>.

House intimidation and retaliation.”<sup>93</sup> The Army selected Vindman for promotion to full colonel in 2020, but the White House interfered in the process by “ask[ing] Pentagon officials to find instances of misconduct by Colonel Vindman that would justify blocking his promotion.”<sup>94</sup> As a result, he was forced to choose retirement. A president who forced a decorated veteran out of the service for telling the truth surely does not have any true respect for soldiers who serve. Trump reportedly called American war dead “losers” and “suckers.”<sup>95</sup> Yet he proudly used the term “warrior” to compliment a servicemember charged of multiple war crimes.

Trump used the term “warrior” in another occasion during the COVID-19 pandemic. Calling himself a “wartime president,” he urged American warriors—this time, the American public—to reopen business and return to work despite the virus’s soaring death toll.<sup>96</sup> “The people of our country should think of themselves as warriors... [because] our country has to open,” Trump said in May 2020, comparing the pandemic to military attacks in his assertion that “This is really the worst attack we’ve ever had. This is worse than Pearl Harbor. This is worse than the World Trade Center. There’s

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<sup>93</sup> Eric Schmitt and Helene Cooper, “Army Officer Who Clashed With Trump Over Impeachment Is Set to Retire,” *The New York Times*, July 8, 2020, sec. U.S., <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/08/us/politics/vindman-trump-ukraine-impeachment.html>.

<sup>94</sup> Schmitt and Cooper.

<sup>95</sup> Jeffrey Goldberg, “Trump: Americans Who Died in War Are ‘Losers’ and ‘Suckers,’” *The Atlantic*, September 3, 2020, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2020/09/trump-americans-who-died-at-war-are-losers-and-suckers/615997/>.

<sup>96</sup> Philip Ewing, Ayesha Rascoe, and Bobby Allyn, “Trump Partly Shuts Border With Canada Over Coronavirus,” *NPR*, March 18, 2020, <https://www.npr.org/2020/03/18/817459237/trump-blames-chinese-virus-as-coronavirus-speads-hurting-economy>.



never been an attack like this.”<sup>97</sup> According to Peter Wehner, a speechwriter for President George W. Bush during his War on Terrorism, “Bush never called the general public ‘warriors’ as Trump did.”<sup>98</sup> Trump is neither the first nor only person to use war metaphors to describe the COVID-19 pandemic. New York Governor Andrew M. Cuomo also compared the pandemic response to fighting a war, saying “The frontline battle is in our health-care system” and “The soldiers ... are health-care professionals.”<sup>99</sup> However, Cuomo and Trump identify fighters in different populations. Cuomo’s soldiers are health-care professionals who risk their lives to save the public; Trump’s warriors are the American public who will risk their own lives to reopen businesses.

Trump commonly used the term “warrior” outside of military context and divorced from the concept’s origins in war. As the cases of Gallagher and COVID-19 illustrate, Trump used the term “warrior” liberally to refer to people who supported his own agenda. In his trade war with China, which was important to his political base and for Trump’s own election outcomes, American farmers were warriors because their economic gains aligned with his political gains.<sup>100</sup> During his impeachment trials, he

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<sup>97</sup> Caitlin Oprysko, “Trump Drafts Everyday Americans to Adopt His Battlefield Rhetoric,” POLITICO, May 9, 2020, <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/05/09/donald-trump-coronavirus-wartime-rhetoric-245566>.

<sup>98</sup> David Nakamura, “Trump Labels Americans as ‘Warriors’ in Risky Push to Reopen Amid Pandemic,” The Washington Post, May 7, 2020, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-warriors-coronavirus-pandemic-reopen/2020/05/07/579c631a-9071-11ea-a0bc-4e9ad4866d21\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-warriors-coronavirus-pandemic-reopen/2020/05/07/579c631a-9071-11ea-a0bc-4e9ad4866d21_story.html).

<sup>99</sup> Jennifer Rubin, “Trump Doesn’t Understand What a Wartime President Does,” The Washington Post, March 30, 2020, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/03/30/trump-doesnt-understand-what-wartime-president-does/>.

<sup>100</sup> Charlie Spiering, “Trump: U.S. Farmers Are ‘Warriors’ in Trade War with China,” Breitbart,

called Republican lawmakers who defended him “Republican warriors.”<sup>101</sup> On a separate occasion, Trump again used the term “warrior” in reference to his political ally and former National Security Advisor, Michael Flynn. Flynn had pleaded guilty to “willfully and knowingly make[ing] materially false, fictitious, and fraudulent statements and representations” during an FBI investigation into his conversations with a Russian ambassador.<sup>102</sup> When the Department of Justice and Attorney General William Barr decided to drop the charges against Flynn, Trump told White House reporters that the former cabinet member was “still a great warrior. Now in my book, he’s an even greater warrior.”<sup>103</sup> Trump relied on the idea of the warrior to attain his personal goals. He found utility in the concept because its ideals were marketable to his conservative political base, who are usually pro-military. This conceptualization of the warrior aligns with Trump’s narcissistic personality, hyperbolic oratory, and limited vocabulary. If the warriors in his crusade are those who champion his personal interests, not higher causes, one can deduce who Trump thinks he is.

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September 4, 2019, <https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2019/09/04/donald-trump-u-s-farmers-are-warriors-in-trade-war-with-china/>.

<sup>101</sup> Donald J. Trump, “Donald J. Trump on Twitter During Impeachment Hearings,” Twitter, December 13, 2019, [https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/1205455275953729536?ref\\_url=https%3a%2f%2fthehill.com%2fhomenews%2fadministration%2f474410-trump-cheers-republican-warriors-says-dems-have-no-case-to-impeach](https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/1205455275953729536?ref_url=https%3a%2f%2fthehill.com%2fhomenews%2fadministration%2f474410-trump-cheers-republican-warriors-says-dems-have-no-case-to-impeach).

<sup>102</sup> Charlie Savage, “What Michael Flynn’s Guilty Plea Means in Mueller’s Russia Inquiry,” *The New York Times*, December 1, 2017, sec. U.S., <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/01/us/politics/michael-flynn-guilty-plea-what-it-means.html>.

<sup>103</sup> Reuters, “Trump Calls Flynn an ‘Even Greater Warrior’ After Case Is Dropped,” *The New York Times*, sec. U.S., accessed May 8, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/video/us/politics/100000007128072/trump-flynn.html>.

The American militia movement forms another sector of Trump's warriors. This includes the groups that President Trump ordered to "stand back and stand by" during a 2020 presidential debate with Democratic presidential nominee Joe Biden. In August 2020, German news channel *Welt* premiered a documentary titled *Trump Warriors: Highly Determined and Heavily Armed Militias in the US*.<sup>104</sup> Documenting a Pennsylvania-based militia training for the "D-Day," the film reveals how militias echo Trump's racist conspiracies.<sup>105</sup> Prominent international security scholars Richard Shultz and Andrea Dew call militias and terrorists the "warriors of contemporary combat."<sup>106</sup> In this sense, Trump's warriors have one thing in common: their allegiance is not to the United States as a nation, but to what he represents, White supremacy and White nationalism. On this point, among others, Trump's warriors diverge from American soldiers.

## **Chapter IV. Emergence of the "Warrior" Concept in the US Army**

### **1. The Unruly Warriors**

In the past, and especially during World War II, the term "warrior" had disparaging connotations in the U.S. military. A 1942 US Marine Corps pamphlet titled

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<sup>104</sup> *Welt*, *Trump Warriors - Highly Determined and Heavily Armed Militias in the US*, 2020, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QixZ4Nx\\_tUc](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QixZ4Nx_tUc).

<sup>105</sup> *Welt*.

<sup>106</sup> Richard H. Shultz and Andrea J. Dew, *Insurgents, Terrorists, and Militias: The Warriors of Contemporary Combat* (Columbia University Press, 2009).

“How the Jap Army Fights” includes a study by Robert Leurquin, a Belgian military expert who had the rare chance to stay with the Japanese Army in Northern China during WWII.<sup>107</sup> Leurquin observed that “The Japanese is more of a warrior than a military man, and therein lies his weakness. The difference may be a subtle one, but it does exist: the essential quality of the warrior is bravery; that of the military man, discipline. The Japanese soldier has not have the same feeling for discipline as the European; this is due to the feminine and emotional quality of the race, which makes the Japanese lose the control of their nerves.”<sup>108</sup> Here Leurquin uses the concept of “warrior” to describe a regressive fighter who is undisciplined and overly emotional, and his racist observations were published by the US Marine Corps and widely circulated within the military. This analysis resonated with Samuel P. Huntington, a political scientist, when he published *The Soldier and the State* originally in 1957 and republished in 1981. Huntington contends that warrior virtues are incompatible with the professional military ethic, and that the Japanese Army is a feudal—rather than professional—institution because the Japanese embrace warrior virtues: “For the Japanese... the ideal officer was a warrior—a fighter engaging in violence himself rather than a manager directing the employment of violence by others.”<sup>109</sup> In Huntington’s view, a professional officer should be a manager who sees a war’s bigger picture, not a

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<sup>107</sup> Paul Williams Thompson, Harold Doud, and John Scofield, *How the Japanese Army Fights* (U.S. Marine Corps, 1942). 14.

<sup>108</sup> Robert Leurquin, “Japanese Military Characteristics.,” *Military Review* 24, no. 3–12 (June 1944): 26.

<sup>109</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil–Military Relations* (Harvard University Press, 1981). 126.

fighter on the field.

In 1994, Army Major Ralph Peters published an article titled “The New Warrior Class” in *Parameters*, an academic journal published by the US Army War College. In his article, Peters employs the term “warrior” as the antithesis of “soldier.” He explains that:

Unfortunately, the enemies we are likely to face through the rest of this decade and beyond will not be “soldiers,” with the disciplined modernity that term conveys in Euro-America, but “warriors”—erratic primitives of shifting allegiance, habituated to violence, with no stake in civil order. Unlike soldiers, warriors do not play by our rules, do not respect treaties, and do not obey orders they do not like.

According to Peters, “thugs” and “losers” with little education and no marketable skills comprise this new warrior class.<sup>110</sup> In a March 1999 article, this one in the *Washington Post*, Peters declares that modern warriors are the world’s “Timothy McVeighs,” “Saddams,” “Milosevics,” “Osama bin Ladens,” and “Ho Chi Minhs.”<sup>111</sup> He contends that the soldier and the warrior embody vastly different qualities, as shown below:<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Ralph Peters served in the US Army for 22 years before retiring as a lieutenant colonel in 1998 during which he served in various military intelligence capacities. His area of expertise is in the Russian studies and the Russian language. He became a controversial figure when his internal Fox memo which he wrote to his former colleagues at Fox News upon his resignation from the network was leaked and widely disseminated in 2018. In the memo, he criticized the network for becoming a propagandizing tool for the Trump administration. He has since been a vocal critic of President Trump and Fox News.

<sup>111</sup> Ralph Peters, “Soldier vs. Warrior: The Modern Mismatch,” *Washington Post*, March 7, 1999, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1999/03/07/soldier-vs-warrior-the-modern-mismatch/91434c3c-ea22-4bad-b0cf-583bfa7ee4c3/>.

<sup>112</sup> Ralph Peters, “The New Warrior Class,” *Parameters* 24, no. 2 (Summer 1994): 16–26. 18.

Table 2. Different qualities of a soldier and a warrior

THE SOLDIER	•	THE WARRIOR
Sacrifice	•	Spoils
Disciplined	•	Semi or undisciplined
Organizational orientation	•	Individualist
Skills focus on defeating other soldiers	•	Skills focus directly on violence
Allegiance to state	•	Allegiance to charismatic figure, cause, or paymaster
Recognized legal status	•	Outside the law
“Restore of order”	•	“Destroyer of order”

Source: Ralph Peters, “The New Warrior Class,” *Parameters* 24, no. 2 (1994): 18.

Peters served as an Army major assigned to the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Intelligence at the time of the article’s publication. The fact that one of the Army’s top educational institutions published the article suggests that its argument was not an aberration but reflected the Army’s general attitude on the subject. Peters did not understand the “warrior” to have the same positive connotations that it does today. Civilian scholars in that period shared a similar concept of warriors. In his 1998 book *The Warrior’s Honor*, journalist Michael Ignatieff documents his travels to war zones including Bosnia and Afghanistan, where he came across different ethnic “warrior” groups. He ascribes primitiveness and regression to the term “warrior,” sardonically observing that “At the checkpoints I met the new warriors: the barefoot boys with Kalashnikovs, the paramilitaries in wraparound sunglasses, the turbaned zealots of the Taliban who checked their prayer mats next to their guns.”<sup>113</sup>

While the Army held a negative view of the “warrior,” especially within enemy

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<sup>113</sup> Michael Ignatieff, *The Warrior’s Honor: Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience* (Macmillan, 1998). 3.

forces, the concept must have seen some utility because eventually the military began to integrate the concept and the Army's own values. Since the mid-1980s, there has been growing discussion on how to develop "warrior spirit" within the Army.<sup>114</sup> Early discussion was narrowly confined to the officer corps. Published in February 1985, volume one of the *Professional Development of Officers Study* was the first official Army publication to mention the concept of "warrior spirit."<sup>115</sup> The field manual lists "warrior spirit" as one of fundamental principles of professional leadership for officers, and defines officers with the warrior spirit as:

- a. Physically and mentally tough
- b. Self-confident
- c. Motivated to exceed standards
- d. Skilled in the fundamentals of weapons, tactics and doctrines
- e. Calm and courageous under stress
- f. Eager to accept responsibility for protecting the Nation
- g. Action-oriented<sup>116</sup>

The field manual instructs that the "warrior spirit" applies to "all officers, in all branches and functional areas, at all ranks and during all assignments."<sup>117</sup>

As examined earlier, the Army's stance on the warrior concept was generally

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<sup>114</sup> John C. Bahnsen and Robert W. Cone, "Defining the American Warrior Leader," *Parameters*, December 1990, 24–28.

<sup>115</sup> Army Chief of Staff, "Professional Development of Officers Study" (Department of the Army, February 21, 1985). 74.

<sup>116</sup> Army Chief of Staff.

<sup>117</sup> Army Chief of Staff. 74.

negative before it began to change in the late 1980s. That is why the Army's full mainstreaming of the concept in the early 2000s, approximately a decade later, is noteworthy. The term once reserved for the enemy other became the model for American soldiers in the early 2000s. In 2003 the Army adopted the "Warrior Ethos" as one of its core values, and "warrior" is the Army recruitment campaign's keyword. The following section will examine the events of the 1990s that primed the Army to adopt the term as its centerpiece.

## **2. What Happened in the Last Decade of the Twentieth Century**

The collapse of the Soviet Union introduced the U.S. Army to a new challenge that required new structure, new purpose, and new values. The 1990s were a decade of relative peace and prosperity in America. Journalist Jonathan Freedland called the years between the 1989 fall of the Berlin Wall and the 2001 attack on the World Trade Center a "holiday from history."<sup>118</sup> The decade enjoyed relative peace because the Cold War was resolved and the War on Terrorism was yet to begin. Consequently, the 1990s were a tough decade for American military recruiting. Moreover, the decade that started with a recession and relatively high unemployment saw a dramatic economic improvement and provided steady flow of jobs. On average, over 145,000 new jobs were created every year, dropping the unemployment rate from eight percent in 1992 to four percent by the end of the decade.<sup>119</sup> A strong economy required the Army to

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<sup>118</sup> Jonathan Freedland, "The 'Peaceful' Decade That Set up Our Current Turmoil," *The Guardian*, April 21, 2017, sec. Opinion, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/apr/21/peaceful-decade-turmoil-1990s-brexit-trump>.

<sup>119</sup> Kurt Andersen, "The Best Decade Ever? The 1990s, Obviously," *The New York Times*,



compete with well-paying civilian jobs in order to recruit enlistees. Furthermore, the end of the Cold War meant the Army found itself in a position of uncertainty. The defense budget, which had been about six percent of GDP in the 1980s, dropped to less than three percent at the end of the Cold War.<sup>120</sup> Army personnel, whose number had remained steady between the 1980s to the mid-1990s, dropped by nearly 40 percent at the end of the Cold War due to the changing political situations.<sup>121</sup> Because there was no more “bear in the woods,” as a 1984 reelection ad for Ronald Regan had analogized the Soviet threat, the U.S. Congress ordered a major downsizing of the military. In fact, after a swift victory in the Gulf War, General Colin Powell, then chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, half-jokingly said in an interview that “I’m running out of demons. I’m running out of villains. I’m down to Castro and Kim Il Sung.”<sup>122</sup> The Army without a clear enemy had to legitimize its existence for institutional survival.

Without a major enemy to fight, and prepare to fight, the Army shifted its attention to military operations other than war (MOOTW). First introduced in the Joint

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February 6, 2015, sec. Opinion, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/08/opinion/sunday/the-best-decade-ever-the-1990s-obviously.html>.

<sup>120</sup> Michael E. O’Hanlon, “Is US Defense Spending Too High, Too Low, or Just Right?,” *Brookings* (blog), October 15, 2019, <https://www.brookings.edu/policy2020/votervital/is-us-defense-spending-too-high-too-low-or-just-right/>.

<sup>121</sup> K. K. Rebecca Lai et al., “Is America’s Military Big Enough?,” *The New York Times*, March 22, 2017, sec. U.S., <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/03/22/us/is-americas-military-big-enough.html>, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/03/22/us/is-americas-military-big-enough.html>.

<sup>122</sup> Fred Kaplan, “Powell: The U.S. Is ‘Running Out of Demons’,” *News*, *The Seattle Times*, April 9, 1991, <http://community.seattletimes.nwsourc.com/archive/?date=19910409&slug=1276426>.

Publication 3-0 *Doctrine for Joint Operations* in 1993, MOOTW became a significant function of the military. MOOTW, according to the 1993 version of the Joint Pub 3-0, included arms control, combatting terrorism, support to counterdrug operations, nation assistance, and noncombatant evacuation operation.<sup>123</sup> Former Commander-in-Chief of US Southern Command, General Frederick F. Woerner, Jr., legitimized the Army's involvement in MOOTW, saying that "consolidating [Cold War] victory requires a continuing US role and new strategies to strengthen democratic institutions."<sup>124</sup> The 1993 Army FM 3-0 *Operations* manual also embraced the new role of operations other than war for the first time.<sup>125</sup>

In order to justify its institutional survival in the post-Cold War environment, the Army promoted itself as a "provider of social good," not just a defender of national security.<sup>126</sup> It emphasized its mission not only to train strong soldiers, but to cultivate upright citizens for the broader society. The Army proclaimed that through discipline, education, and training, young men and women could learn sense of purpose and responsibility, returning to society as better citizens. In 1999, General Eric Shinseki, then Chief of Staff of the Army, said in an interview that "What we send back to our

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<sup>123</sup> Nation assistance, according to the 1993 Joint Pub 3-0, is a military action designed "to assist a host nation with internal programs to promote stability, develop sustainability, and establish institutions responsive to the needs of the people" (V-10).

<sup>124</sup> "Joint Pub 3-07 Joint Doctrine for Military Operations Other Than War" (Joint Chiefs of Staff, June 16, 1995). I-1.

<sup>125</sup> Department of Army, *FM 3-0 Operations* (Washington D.C.: Department of the Army, 1993), 3-0.

<sup>126</sup> Beth L. Bailey, *AMERICA'S ARMY: Making the All-Volunteer Force* (Harvard University Press, 2009). 200.

community is a great citizen ... whether they're retired or whether they come back to work force after a few years with us."<sup>127</sup>

At the same time, the United States was striving to rebrand itself as a nation in the post-Cold War environment. In his 1989 Inaugural address, President George H. W. Bush said that "We [Americans] as a people have such a purpose today. It is to make kinder the face of the Nation and gentler the face of the world."<sup>128</sup> President Bush's use of terms like "kinder" and "gentler" was later picked up by the Army when it listed "The Code of the Warrior and the Kinder, Gentler Army" as a suggested research topic at the Army War College.<sup>129</sup> Adoption of the phrase was an attempt to resuscitate the Army brand after a number of incidents tainted the institution in the public eye. These included the 1991 Tailhook scandal of Navy and Marine Corps aviation officers who sexually assaulted over eighty women, the 1996 Aberdeen sex abuse scandal of female soldiers and trainees by male drill instructors, and numerous sexual misconduct allegations leveled at senior officers and NCOs. Additionally, the perpetrators of the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing and the racially motivated 1995 For Bragg murder were all Army soldiers

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<sup>127</sup> Gil High, "Talking with the New Chief of Staff," *Soldiers* 54, no. 8 (August 1999): 2–3. 3.

<sup>128</sup> George H. W. Bush, "Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States : From George Washington 1789 to George Bush 1989," Text, Yale Law School (Washington, D.C. : U.S. G.P.O. : for sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O., 1989, January 20, 1989), [https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/bush.asp](https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/bush.asp).

<sup>129</sup> Frederick R. Kienle, "The Code of the Warrior and the Kinder, Gentler Army" (U.S. Army War College, 2001).

In the study, Kienle examines how and if the perception of "kinder, gentler Army" disrupts and works against the "warrior" code. He finds the origin of the American warrior code in the Spartans.

and veterans. The Army's desperate attempt to make the service "kinder and gentler" was criticized by some as being "too politically correct" and too "female friendly" to the point of threatening its "warrior culture."<sup>130</sup>

In the last decade of the twentieth century, the Army incubated a growing concern that it was losing "warrior ethos."<sup>131</sup> When the Cold War ended, the United States prevailed as a dominant superpower and the status enhanced demands for American involvement in MOOTW globally. The Army's MOOTW engagement meant fewer combat operations and a greater number of peacekeeping and humanitarian roles. Prior to the 9/11 terrorist attack on the World Trade Center, the 1993 Somalian conflict had been the last ground operations in which American forces engaged "kinetic" military action, that is, military operations that employed conventional military weapons such as bombs.<sup>132</sup> As a result, only a small number of soldiers were involved in combat positions. In the American Civil War, 93.2% of all soldiers had fought in combat specialties, a percentage that decreased to 28.8% of American soldiers in the Korean

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<sup>130</sup> Stephanie Gutmann, *The Kinder, Gentler Military: Can America's Gender-Neutral Fighting Force Still Win Wars?* (New York, NY: Scribner, 2000). 14-15.

<sup>131</sup> William C. Moore, "The Military Must Revive Its Warrior Spirit," *Wall Street Journal*, October 27, 1998, sec. Front Section, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB90944359798194500>.; David Hackworth, "Defending America," Hackworth Online, quoted in Donald M. Sando, *Band of Brothers: Warrior Ethos, Unit Effectiveness and the Role of Initial Entry Training*. U.S. Army War College, 2004, 2.

<sup>132</sup> The term "kinetic" is a new retronym coined during the Bush administration to distinguish conventional use of military forces such as bombs from other "soft" or "non-kinetic" methods such as diplomacy, economic sanctions, and cyber warfare (Source: Timothy Noah, "Kinetic Warfare," *Slate Magazine*, November 20, 2002, <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2002/11/kinetic-warfare.html>.)

War and is even smaller today.<sup>133</sup> As a result, military job descriptions have become highly diverse and specified. General Kevin Byrnes, the former head of the Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC)—the Army institution in charge of recruiting and training soldiers—stated in September 2003 that the Army has become too “specialized,” saying “Ask a junior enlisted who they are, and they’ll tell you, ‘I’m a mechanic,’ not a soldier. We need to change that culturally in the Army.”<sup>134</sup> In this specialized environment, the Army found a unifying solution in the “warrior ethos.”

The Army initially benchmarked the Marine Corps credo “every soldier is a rifleman” and applied it to the Army by including TRADOC initiatives that would train a soldier to “think of himself or herself as an infantryman first.”<sup>135</sup> This came about following the ambush of the 507<sup>th</sup> Maintenance Company in Nasiriyah in Iraq, which had been a serious reality check for the US Army and led to the service’s adoption of “every soldier a rifleman” mantra. The ambush took place four days after the coalition allies’ “shock and awe” bombing campaign. On March 23, 2003, the 507<sup>th</sup> Maintenance Company was maneuvering towards Baghdad when it fell behind its division’s column and took a wrong turn into Nasiriyah, where it came under an ambush attack that left eleven soldiers dead and seven captured.<sup>136</sup> One of the captured soldiers was Private

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<sup>133</sup> David W. Buckingham, “The Warrior Ethos” (Naval War College, March 12, 1999), <https://apps.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a366676.pdf>. 12.

<sup>134</sup> Argiris Malapanis, “‘Each Soldier a Rifleman’: Radical Shift in U.S. Army,” *The Militant* 67, no. 32 (September 22, 2003), <https://www.themilitant.com/2003/6732/673204.html>.

<sup>135</sup> Malapanis.

<sup>136</sup> Diana Washington Valdez, “Battle Heroes of Fort Bliss Maintenance Company Remembered,” *Stars and Stripes*, March 23, 2013, <https://www.stripes.com/news/army/battle->

First Class Jessica Lynch, whose retrieval made headlines of its own. A later Army inquiry report revealed that the soldiers were ill-prepared for potential ambush; their weapons malfunctioned due to inadequate individual maintenance, and the troops were fatigued and not properly trained to respond effectively.<sup>137</sup> It had become evident that the high-tech force was too specialized, and that individual soldiers were ill-trained in basic combat skills such as marksmanship. The Nasiriyah ambush and similar incidents that followed exposed the need to prepare all soldiers, regardless of their specialties, for combat.

General Eric Shinseki and Secretary Louis Caldera were two prominent figures behind the Army's endorsement of the "warrior" concept at that time.<sup>138</sup> The two were in Army leadership positions at the end of the twentieth century: Shinseki served as the thirty-fourth Chief of Staff of the Army from June 1999 to June 2003, and Caldera was the seventeenth Secretary of the Army from July 1998 to January 2001. While a fourteen-year age difference separated the two, they have much in common. Both graduated from the United States Military Academy, and they shared similar visions for the Army. Moreover, both were born into families whose national and/or ethnic identities were commonly marginalized in the US: Shinseki is a third-generation Japanese

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heroes-of-fort-bliss-maintenance-company-remembered-1.213200.

<sup>137</sup> Eric Schmitt, "AFTER THE WAR: INQUIRY; Report Says Errors and Fatigue Led to Ambush of Convoy," *The New York Times*, July 10, 2003, sec. World, <https://www.nytimes.com/2003/07/10/world/after-the-war-inquiry-report-says-errors-and-fatigue-led-to-ambush-of-convoy.html>.

<sup>138</sup> Bailey, *AMERICA'S ARMY*. 230.

American, and Caldera a second-generation Mexican American.

When General Shinseki was appointed to the Army Chief of Staff in 1999, he came into the position with a transformative vision for the Army. The US Army's performance during the first Gulf War had a major impact on Shinseki's vision for the new Army. The public commonly praises the first Gulf War, in which the United States declared victory within one hundred hours of the ground campaign's start, as a successful American war. However, it also revealed the Army's structural problems and weaknesses, for which Shinseki was committed to providing solutions. The US Army had engaged in the Cold War for nearly half a century. Since doing so involved an extensive war mobilization of two superpowers, the Army was structured around heavy forces which lacked mobility. By the Cold War's end, six heavy divisions and four light divisions comprised the U.S. Army. Heavy divisions are organized around armored transportations such as the M2 Bradley infantry fighting vehicle. Light infantry divisions, on the other hand, rely on infantry soldiers with small firearms who parachute into warzones in order to swiftly seize and occupy an objective until heavy divisions arrive. As the Iraqi Army advanced on Kuwait in August 2, 1999, the 82<sup>nd</sup> Airborne Divisions sent three light infantry battalions to Saudi Arabia to establish a defense line against Iraqi forces until US armored units could arrive.<sup>139</sup> Though equipped with helicopters, howitzers, and mortars, light infantry battalions were not prepared to fight heavily armed Iraqi forces. The heavy divisions did not arrive until the end of August. If Iraq president

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<sup>139</sup> John Matsumura, *Lightning Over Water: Sharpening America's Light Forces for Rapid-Response Missions* (Huntington, N.Y: RAND Corporation, 2000).

Saddam Hussein had launched an attack, it would have been a slaughter on U.S. troops. Fortunately for the US Army, Saddam held the attack for six months, which allowed enough time for the US heavy forces to arrive. This near-disaster reaffirmed Shinseki's belief that the Army's heavy division-based structure was no longer relevant, and that the Army would need to replace tanks and armored fighting vehicles with "systems so advanced that they couldn't be detected by the enemy, using technology not yet invented."<sup>140</sup>

General Shinseki envisioned building a force that was agile, flexible, and versatile. In his induction speech as Army Chief of Staff, Shinseki revealed his vision, declaring "Our heavy forces are too heavy and our light forces lack the staying power. Heavy forces must be more strategically deployable and more agile with a smaller logistical footprint, and light forces must be more lethal, survivable, and tactically mobile."<sup>141</sup> While he wished to build a modern force enhanced by future combat systems that included C4ISR (internetted command, control, communications, computers, intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance), he rejected the notion that modernized high-tech weapons systems could replace boots on the ground. At the same time, the Army was in the midst of a severe troop shortage as 732,403 active Army servicemembers in 1990 shrank by nearly one-third to 499,301 in 2003.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Peter J. Boyer, "A Different War: Is the Army Becoming Irrelevant?," *The New Yorker*, June 24, 2002, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2002/07/01/a-different-war>.

<sup>141</sup> "Defense Reports 00-3 / Strategic Responsiveness: New Paradigm for a Transformed Army" (Association of the United States, October 2000).

<sup>142</sup> Stuart Millar and Dan Plesch, "Attacks and Storms Stretch 350-Mile Supply Line to Breaking Point," *The Guardian*, March 28, 2003, sec. World news,



Moreover, the US Army's global MOOTW missions in the 2000s required the deployment of more than 140,000 troops.<sup>143</sup> In response to the challenges that fewer troops and an increased number of engagements presented, General Shinseki's built more mobile and deployable forces. He believed that flexibility and strategic responsiveness were the key solutions to the manpower shortage problem. He established the transformation process that would culminate in what is now called the "Objective Force."<sup>144</sup> According to the plan, the service should be able to deploy "a combat-ready brigade anywhere in the world in 96 hours, a division in 120 hours, and five divisions in 30 days."<sup>145</sup>

In order to achieve the "Objective Force," Shinseki proposed a "warrior ethos" as the Army's unifying value that would enable each serviceperson to identify as a soldier first, and as their specialty second. A 2001 white paper subtitled *Concepts for the Objective Force* proposed establishing a "warrior culture."<sup>146</sup> According to the paper, warriors were those soldiers "who will go into harm's way to impose our Nation's will on any adversary."<sup>147</sup> *Concepts for the Objective Force* contends that the Cold War

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<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/mar/29/iraq.stuartmillar>.

<sup>143</sup> Thom Shanker and Michael R. Gordon, "Strained, Army Looks to Guard for More Relief," *The New York Times*, September 22, 2006, sec. World, <https://www.nytimes.com/2006/09/22/world/22army.html>.

<sup>144</sup> US Army, "United States Army White Paper: Concepts for the Objective Force" (Department of the Army, November 2001).

<sup>145</sup> William M. Donnelly, *Transforming an Army at War: Designing the Modular Force, 1991-2005* (Washington D.C.: Center of Military History, United States Army, 2007).

<sup>146</sup> US Army, "United States Army White Paper: Concepts for the Objective Force." 20.

<sup>147</sup> US Army. V.

created three distinct types of troops—heavy forces, light forces, and special forces—each of which developed a unique culture of its own. Because internal division hindered unity and cooperation within the service, according to the paper’s thesis, an “Objective Force” was necessary to erase the distinctions between heavy and light forces, and to train conventional units using special operations techniques.<sup>148</sup> The goal was to create a warrior culture in which the best values of each community transcended the differences among the three. The paper concludes that “Objective Force Soldiers will possess a Warrior Ethos built through high standards and realistic, tough, and demanding training.” *Concepts for the Objective Force* employed the term “warrior ethos” two years before the Army officially adopted it. In a memorandum written just a few days before his retirement, General Shinseki described his vision for the warrior ethos:

Every organization has an internal culture and ethos. A true Warrior Ethos must underpin the Army’s enduring traditions and values. It must drive a personal commitment to excellence and ethical mission accomplishment to make our Soldiers different from all others in the world. This ethos must be a fundamental characteristic of the U.S. Army as Soldiers imbued with an ethically grounded Warrior Ethos who clearly symbolize the Army’s unwavering commitment to the nation we serve. The Army has always embraced this ethos but the demands of Transformation will require a renewed effort to ensure all soldiers truly understand and embody this Warrior Ethos.<sup>149</sup>

General Shinseki commissioned a committee named Task Force Solider in 2003 at the US Army Infantry School and the team wrote the current version of the “Soldier’s Creed”—a set of values that soldiers memorize and recite at public ceremonies—which includes the “Warrior Ethos.” General Peter Shoomaker, Shinseki’s successor, approved

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<sup>148</sup> US Army. 20.

<sup>149</sup> U.S. Army, *Introduction to Leadership: MSL I*. (U.S. Army, 2009). 27.

the “Warrior Ethos” on November 13, 2003.

Within the Department of Defense General Shinseki had a strong ally who shared his vision for the new Army: Secretary of the Army Louis Caldera. A West Point graduate, Caldera completed his required five-year active duty before studying business at Harvard University. What he learned at Harvard heavily influenced his vision for the Army. Upon his appointment as Army Secretary in 1998, he, too, recognized the challenges that the Army was facing; with an MBA and a particular understanding of marketing, he wished to reform the Army in order to better “sell” it to American public and to Congress.<sup>150</sup> In 2000, he hired Chicago-based consulting firm, Jones-Lundian Associates and marketing firm, Leo Burnett to conduct youth market research. Their results found that young people viewed the Army negatively and suggested that the Army needed strong “brand-name” identification.<sup>151</sup> Caldera wanted to rebrand the Army, and Shinseki concurred.

As part of the Army’s rebranding, in 2000 General Shinseki announced at the Association of the US Army that they would introduce black berets as standard headgear for all soldiers. Until this announcement, black berets had been associated with the United States Army Rangers, an elite infantry unit whose specialized uniforms included the headgear; now anyone in the Army, including those in administrative and

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<sup>150</sup> Bailey, *AMERICA’S ARMY*. 232.

<sup>151</sup> James Dao, “Ads Now Seek Recruits for ‘An Army of One,’” *The New York Times*, January 10, 2001, sec. U.S., <https://www.nytimes.com/2001/01/10/us/ads-now-see-recruits-for-an-army-of-one.html>.

supporting specialties, could wear the beret. The change, intended to function as “a symbol of unity, a symbol of excellence, and a symbol of our values,” was viewed as a “slap in the face” by Rangers and veterans who felt that a beret was “something you earn” not “something you buy at a store.”<sup>152</sup> Following the announcement, former Army Rangers, their families, and supporters marched on Capitol Hill to protest the decision. For Shinseki, the change was a necessary step in building an “Objective Force.” He wanted everyone in the Army to internalize the *esprit de corps* of the elite units. Despite fierce backlash from the Ranger community, and especially from the 75<sup>th</sup> Ranger Regiment whose headgear was indeed a black beret, Shinseki’s order came through and all Army soldiers wore black berets until 2011 when the Army switched back to the patrol cap as its official headgear.<sup>153</sup>

### **3. The History of Army Values and the Integration of Warrior Ethos**

Since its inception, the U.S. Army has tried to define ideal character values for soldiers. In July 1776, barely a year after the Army’s official establishment, General George Washington issued General Orders setting the moral and behavioral guidelines for soldiers. “The General recommends to the officers great coolness in time of action, and to the soldiers a strict attention and obedience, with a becoming firmness and

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<sup>152</sup> Roberto Suro; Thomas E. Ricks, “Army’s Heads-Up: Berets All Around,” *Washington Post*, October 18, 2000, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2000/10/18/armys-heads-up-berets-all-around/aceab536-686c-4a8c-9fef-467d19bc5ce4/>; Ricks.

<sup>153</sup> Cursha Pierce-Lunderman, “Bye-Bye, Beret: Switch to Patrol Cap Brings Mixed Feelings,” [www.army.mil](http://www.army.mil), June 23, 2011, [https://www.army.mil/article/60276/bye\\_bye\\_beret\\_switch\\_to\\_patrol\\_cap\\_brings\\_mixed\\_feelings](https://www.army.mil/article/60276/bye_bye_beret_switch_to_patrol_cap_brings_mixed_feelings).

spirit,” read the order, which also promised that “Any officer, or soldier, or any particular Corps, distinguishing themselves by any acts of bravery, and courage, will assuredly meet with notice and rewards; and on the other hand, those who behave ill, will as certainly be exposed and punished.”<sup>154</sup> In 1863 as the Civil War raged, President Abraham Lincoln issued General Orders No. 100: The Lieber Code, which dictated how soldiers should behave in times of war, including directions on how to treat enemy prisoners and the importance of obeying orders.<sup>155</sup> During World War I, the US Army adopted modern concepts of character development.<sup>156</sup> The Great War marked the first time in U.S. history that more than two million people had been mobilized for war efforts, and the military faced many issues regarding leadership, management, and soldier misconduct. Misconduct included the wide spread of venereal diseases and disobedience. To address such problems, the Army assigned additional “character building” duties to the Chaplain Corps that was already tasked with administering religious ministries and workshops.<sup>157</sup>

The Cold War was another event that catalyzed interest in soldiers’ moral

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<sup>154</sup> George Washington, “General Orders, 2 July 1776,” National Archives (University of Virginia Press, July 2, 1776), <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-05-02-0117>.

<sup>155</sup> Francis Lieber, “Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field” (Government Printing Office, 1898), [https://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/Military\\_Law/Lieber\\_Collection/pdf/Instructions-gov-armies.pdf?loclr=bloglaw](https://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/Military_Law/Lieber_Collection/pdf/Instructions-gov-armies.pdf?loclr=bloglaw).

<sup>156</sup> Frank Licameli, “Analysis of Army’s Past Character Development Efforts” (Center for the Army Profession and Ethic, October 17, 2016), 1, <https://caccapl.blob.core.usgovcloudapi.net/web/character-development-project/repository/info-paper-analysis-of-armys-past-character-development-efforts.pdf>.

<sup>157</sup> Licameli, 1.

character. Cold War rhetoric argued that American democracy should triumph over Soviet communism because the American way of life was the morally superior option. During this period, federal legislation added the phrase “under God” to the Pledge of Allegiance.<sup>158</sup> In 1956, President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed a law that declared “In God We Trust” as the nation’s official motto.<sup>159</sup> Florida Congressman Charles Edward Bennett who introduced the bill in the House argued that “In these days when imperialistic and materialistic communism seeks to attack and destroy freedom we should continually look for ways to strengthen the foundations of our freedom.”<sup>160</sup> During the same period that incubated these efforts, Defense Secretary George C. Marshall, who believed that “American military officers, of whatever service, should share common ground ethically and morally,”<sup>161</sup> commissioned the first printing of *The Armed Forces Officer*, a leadership manual for military officers.<sup>162</sup>

In style and structure, contemporary Army values are products of the Vietnam

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<sup>158</sup> Rachel Siegel, “The Gripping Sermon That Got ‘under God’ Added to the Pledge of Allegiance on Flag Day,” *Washington Post*, accessed November 8, 2020, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/retropolis/wp/2018/06/14/the-gripping-sermon-that-got-under-god-added-to-the-pledge-of-allegiance-on-flag-day/>; “History of ‘In God We Trust,’” Government, U.S. Department of the Treasury, March 8, 2011, <https://www.treasury.gov/about/education/pages/in-god-we-trust.aspx>.

<sup>159</sup> “History of ‘In God We Trust.’”

<sup>160</sup> Andrew Glass, “‘In God We Trust’ Becomes Nation’s Motto, July 30, 1956,” POLITICO, July 30, 2018, <https://politi.co/2AIMthG>.

<sup>161</sup> Joseph F. Dunford, “The Armed Forces Officer Foreword,” National Defense University Press, April 17, 2017, <https://ndupress.ndu.edu/Media/News/News-Article-View/Article/1153495/foreword/>.

<sup>162</sup> S. L. A. Marshall, *The Armed Forces Officer* (Potomac Books, Inc., 2011). Since its first publication in 1950, the book remains in print and widely read in the armed services today. The latest version was published in 2017.

War, and the 1968 My Lai massacre—a messy military failure in the eyes of the American public— was particularly influential.<sup>163</sup> People lost trust in the military, which needed to reform in order to ensure that such disaster would not be repeated. In response, Army Chief of Staff General William Westmoreland established the Committee for Evaluation of the Effectiveness of the Administration of Military Justice in March 16, 1971.<sup>164</sup> The committee’s 1971 report initiated a series of dialogues about the role of military justice in maintaining morale and discipline at the small unit level and ways to train junior Army officers to implement the change. As a result of the service-wide discussions about military ethics and professionalism, the Army War College proposed creation and promulgation of an “Officer’s Creed” for officers that emphasizes one’s professionalism, selfless service, and morality.<sup>165</sup> The proposed creed read:

I will give to the selfless performance of my duties and my mission the best that effort, thought, and dedication can provide.

To this end, I will not only seek continually to improve my knowledge and practice of my profession, but also I will exercise the authority entrusted to me by the President and the Congress with fairness, justice, patience, and restraint, respecting the dignity and human rights of others and devoting myself to the welfare of those placed under my command.

In justifying and fulfilling the trust placed in me, I will conduct my private life as

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<sup>163</sup> Frank Licameli, “A Brief History of the Army Values” (Center for the Army Profession and Ethic, October 1, 2018), 1, <https://caccapl.blob.core.usgovcloudapi.net/web/character-development-project/repository/a-brief-history-of-the-army-values.pdf>.

<sup>164</sup> The Committee for Evaluation of the Effectiveness of the Administration of Military Justice, “Report to General William C. Westmoreland, Chief of Staff, U.S. Army,” June 1, 1971, Library of Congress, [https://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/Military\\_Law/pdf/Report\\_General-Westmoreland.pdf](https://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/Military_Law/pdf/Report_General-Westmoreland.pdf).

<sup>165</sup> John M. Zdeb, “Restoring the Shield: Westmoreland and the Recovery of Military Professionalism” (Master of Military Art and Science, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, 2016), 60, <https://apps.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/1020365.pdf>.

well as my public service so as to be free from both impropriety and the appearance of impropriety, acting with candor and integrity to earn the unquestioning trust of my fellow soldiers—juniors, seniors, and associates—and employing my rank and position not to serve myself but to serve my country and my unit.

By practicing physical and moral courage, I will endeavor to inspire these qualities in others by my example. In all my actions I will put loyalty to the highest moral principles and the United States of America above loyalty to organizations, persons, and my personal interest.<sup>166</sup>

Since then, Army publications such as Field Manual (FM) 100-1 *The Army*, FM 22-100 *Leadership* and Army White Papers (DA Pam 600-50, White Paper 1985- Leadership, White Paper 1986- Values) have all addressed the importance of values and ethics.<sup>167</sup>

Below are the excerpts from Army publications that specifically discuss its values and ethos. Before 2009, the Department of the Army classified all Army doctrinal documents as field manuals (FM). However, there had persisted for over a decade the opinion within the service that the vast catalog of field manuals made it difficult for servicemembers to discern essential information. As a result, in 2011 the Combined Arms Center reviewed its catalog and categorized publications in one of three types:<sup>168</sup>

- Army Doctrine Publications (ADP): ADPs contain “the fundamental principles” and provide “the intellectual underpinnings of how the Army operates as a force.”<sup>169</sup>
- Field Manuals (FM): FMs contain information on “how the Army and its

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<sup>166</sup> US Army War College, “Study on Military Professionalism” (US Army War College, June 30, 1970), <https://apps.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a063748.pdf>. 55.

<sup>167</sup> Licameli, “Analysis of Army’s Past Character Development Efforts,” 7.

<sup>168</sup> Clinton J. Ancker and Michael A. Scully, “Army Doctrine Publication 3-0: An Opportunity to Meet the Challenges of the Future,” *Military Review*, February 2013, 39.

<sup>169</sup> Department of the Army, *ADP 1-01 Doctrine Primer* (Department of the Army, 2019), [https://armypubs.army.mil/epubs/DR\\_pubs/DR\\_a/pdf/web/ARN18138\\_ADP%201-01%20FINAL%20WEB.pdf](https://armypubs.army.mil/epubs/DR_pubs/DR_a/pdf/web/ARN18138_ADP%201-01%20FINAL%20WEB.pdf). 2-4.



organizations conduct and train for operations.”<sup>170</sup>

- Army Techniques Publications (ATP): ATPs contain “techniques.”<sup>171</sup>

That is why the categorization of the same publication, for instance, *The Army*, changes from FM to ADP since 2011.

Table 3. Proposed values in Army publications

Year	Proposed Values	Source	Note
1978	“Army professionalism require[s] every Army leader a never-ending process of search, reflection, and development to achieve the Total Army’s human goal of a highly effective and morally responsible military and civilian membership capable of performing reliably in war. In addition, the Army must promote high quality-of-life support for soldiers and their families while requiring reciprocal dedication to service of each member. The Army must create an internal environment in which trust, pride, confidence, commitment to public service, innovation, and candor can flourish.” <sup>172</sup>	FM 100-1 <i>The Army</i> (1978)	The 1978 version does not yet provide a definite set of values as it does today.
1981	<p><b>Four fundamental and enduring values:</b><sup>173</sup></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Loyalty to the institution:</b> “recognition that the Army exists solely to serve and defend the nation”</li> <li>- <b>Loyalty to the Unit:</b> “a two-way obligation between those who lead and those who are led”</li> <li>- <b>Personal Responsibility:</b> “individual obligation to</li> </ul>	FM 100-1 <i>The Army</i> (1981)	The 1981 version is the first time <i>The Army</i> provides a list of desired soldierly qualities.

<sup>170</sup> Department of the Army. 2-4.

<sup>171</sup> Department of the Army. 2-4.

<sup>172</sup> The United States Army, *FM 100-1 The Army* (Department of the Army, 1978), 24.

<sup>173</sup> Department of the Army, *FM 100-1 The Army* (Department of the Army, 1981), 24.

	<p>accomplish all assigned tasks to the fullest of one’s capability, to abide by all commitments, and to seize every opportunity for individual growth and improvement”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Selfless service:</b> “to submerge emotions of self-interest and self-aggrandizement in favor of the larger goals of mission accomplishment, unit esprit, and sacrifice”</li> </ul> <p><b>Four soldierly qualities:</b><sup>174</sup></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Commitment:</b> “a commitment to some purpose larger than himself”</li> <li>- <b>Competence:</b> “finely tuned proficiency”</li> <li>- <b>Candor:</b> “truthfulness and sincerity among soldiers” which “cements the bond of brotherhood between men under fire”</li> <li>- <b>Courage:</b> “simply the absence of fears” and “the further ability to persevere with physical and moral strength, and to prepare and condition oneself to act correctly in the presence of danger and fear”</li> </ul>		
1986	<p><b>Core values:</b><sup>175</sup></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Loyalty:</b> “loyalty to the nation, to the Army, and to the unit”</li> <li>- <b>Duty:</b> “obedience and disciplined performance, despite difficulty or danger” and “a personal act of responsibility manifested by accomplishing all assigned tasks to the fullest of one’s capability, meeting all</li> </ul>	FM 100-1 <i>The Army</i> (1986)	The 1986 version combines two loyalties—one to the institution and the other to the unit—to one “loyalty” and “personal responsibility” is specified into “duty” and “selfless service.”

<sup>174</sup> Department of the Army, 25–26.

<sup>175</sup> Department of the Army, *FM 100-1 The Army* (Department of the Army, 1986), 22.

	<p>commitments, and exploiting opportunities to improve oneself for the good of the group”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Selfless service:</b> “put[ting] the welfare of the nation and the accomplishment of the mission ahead of individual desires”</li> <li>- <b>Integrity:</b> “the thread woven through the fabric of the professional Army ethic. Integrity means honesty, uprightness, and the avoidance of deception. It also means steadfast adherence to standards of behavior”</li> </ul> <p><b>Individual values:</b><sup>176</sup></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Commitment:</b> “people dedicated to serving their nation who are proud members of the Army”</li> <li>- <b>Competence:</b> “finely-tuned proficiency”</li> <li>- <b>Candor:</b> “honesty and fidelity to the truth”</li> <li>- <b>Courage:</b> “the ability to overcome fear and carry one with the mission”</li> </ul>		<p>One noticeable change in the 1986 version is the introduction of “integrity” as a core value. The category of “soldierly qualities” is renamed as “individual values” but the contents—commitment, competence, candor, and courage—remain the same.</p>
1991	<p><b>Army ethic:</b><sup>177</sup></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Duty:</b> “doing what needs to be done at the right time despite difficulty or danger; it is a personal act of responsibility manifested by accomplishing all assigned tasks to the fullest of one’s capability, meeting all commitments, and exploiting opportunities to improve one’s capabilities for the good of the group”</li> <li>- <b>Integrity:</b> “steadfast adherence</li> </ul>	<p>FM 100-1 <i>The Army</i> (1991)</p>	<p>The components of both “core values” and “individual values” have remained the same. However, “core values” is changed to “Army ethic” and “individual values” to “soldier values.” The summary of the FM reiterates the importance of value and morality in the</p>

<sup>176</sup> Department of the Army, 23.

<sup>177</sup> Department of the Army, *FM 100-1 The Army* (Department of the Army, 1991), 16.

	<p>to a standard of honesty, uprightness, and particularly to the avoidance of deception”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Loyalty:</b> “loyalty to the nation, to the Army, to the unit, and its individual soldiers”</li> <li>- <b>Selfless service:</b> “put[ting] the welfare of the nation and the accomplishment of the mission ahead of individual desires”</li> </ul> <p><b>Soldier values:</b><sup>178</sup></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Commitment:</b> “dedication to serving one’s nation. Patriotism and esprit de corps are hallmarks of commitment”</li> <li>- <b>Competence:</b> “finely-tuned proficiency”</li> <li>- <b>Candor:</b> “honesty and fidelity to the truth”</li> <li>- <b>Courage:</b> “the ability to overcome fear and carry on with the mission”</li> </ul>		<p>Army: “The Army must be a value-centered institution with a moral justification rooted in the fundamental principles cherished by all free people, and manifested in the values stated in our Constitution. The Army must be composed of professionals who understand and practice the soldier values and who support individual values of courage, commitment, candor, and competence.”<sup>179</sup></p>
1994	<p><b>Army ethos:</b><sup>180</sup></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Duty:</b> “behavior required by moral obligation, demanded by custom, or enjoined by feelings of rightness. Contained within the concept of duty are the values of integrity and selfless service”</li> <li>- <b>Integrity:</b> “the uncompromising adherence to a code of moral values, utter sincerity, and the avoidance of deception or expediency of any kind”</li> <li>- <b>Selfless service:</b> “the welfare of the nation and the accomplishment of the mission</li> </ul>	FM 100-1 <i>The Army</i> (1994)	<p>The year 1994 is the first time FM 100-1 <i>The Army</i> uses the term “ethos” in its values. It explains that an ethos is “a shared set of values” that equates to “duty.” Although it lists “duty,” “integrity,” and “selfless service” as three components of the “Army ethos,” close reading of the text reveals that “duty” is the overarching</p>

<sup>178</sup> Department of the Army, 17.

<sup>179</sup> Department of the Army, 18.

<sup>180</sup> Department of the Army, *FM 100-1 The Army* (Department of the Army, 1994), 5–6.

	<p>ahead of individual desires”</p> <p><b>Professional qualities:</b><sup>181</sup></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Commitment:</b> “dedication to serving the Nation, the Army, the unit and one’s comrades”</li> <li>- <b>Competence:</b> “finely-tuned proficiency”</li> <li>- <b>Candor:</b> “unreserved, honest or sincere expression; frankness; freedom from bias; prejudice, or malice”</li> <li>- <b>Compassion:</b> “basic respect for the dignity of each individual; treating all with dignity and respect”</li> <li>- <b>Courage:</b> “a perfect sensibility of the measure of danger and a mental willingness to endure it”</li> </ul>		<p>concept that encompasses “integrity” and “selfless service.” “Soldier qualities” is renamed as “professional qualities” but the components remain the same.</p>
1999	<p><b>Values (LDRSHIP):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Loyalty</b></li> <li>- <b>Duty</b></li> <li>- <b>Respect</b></li> <li>- <b>Selfless service</b></li> <li>- <b>Honor</b></li> <li>- <b>Integrity</b></li> <li>- <b>Personal Courage</b></li> </ul> <p>- <b>Warrior ethos:</b> “You are the Army’s leaders, and on your shoulders rests this mission: win our wars. The desire to accomplish that mission despite all adversity is called the <i>warrior ethos</i> and makes the profession of arms different from all other professions. That ethos applies to all soldiers, not just those whose job it is to find, fight, and defeat the enemy.”<sup>182</sup></p>	<p>FM 22-100 <i>Army Leadership: Be, Know, Do</i> (1999)</p>	<p>Written under the leadership of General Eric Shinseki, FM 22-100 proposes a three-tiered leadership framework: Be-Know-Do. “Be” explains character, “know” competence, and “do” action. Among these three, “Be” explains the seven Army values that are still in use today. Moreover, this 1999 version introduces the “Warrior Ethos” for the first time.</p>

<sup>181</sup> Department of the Army, 7–9.

<sup>182</sup> Department of the Army, *FM 22-100 Army Leadership: Be, Know, Do* (Department of the Army, 1999), 1–1.

2001	<p><b>Values (LDRSHIP):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Loyalty</b></li> <li>- <b>Duty</b></li> <li>- <b>Respect</b></li> <li>- <b>Selfless service</b></li> <li>- <b>Honor</b></li> <li>- <b>Integrity</b></li> <li>- <b>Personal Courage</b></li> </ul> <p>* The 2001 version does not give definitions or explanations of the values.</p>	FM 1 <i>The Army</i> (2001)	<p>In the foreword, General Shinseki emphasizes the importance of soldiers' character and values: "American Soldiers remain the centerpiece of our formation. Their character and our values are the threads from which we make whole cloth. Soldiers define our relationship with the American people—loyalty to the Constitution, the Nation, and its citizens; commitment to service; professional excellence; and obedience to civilian authority."<sup>183</sup> FM1 (2001) does not mention "Warrior Ethos."</p>
2005	<p><b>Values (LDRSHIP):</b> "The Army Values are the basic building blocks of a Soldier's character. They help Soldiers judge what is right or wrong in any situation."<sup>184</sup></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Loyalty:</b> "Bear true faith and allegiance to the U.S. Constitution, the Army, your unit, and other Soldiers.</li> <li>- <b>Duty:</b> "Fulfill your obligations"</li> <li>- <b>Respect:</b> Treat people as they should be treated"</li> <li>- <b>Selfless service:</b> "Put the</li> </ul>	FM 1 <i>The Army</i> (2005)	<p>In the foreword, General Peter J. Shoomaker introduces "Soldier's Creed, Warrior Ethos, and Army Values" as "three statements establish[ing] the guiding values and standards of the Army profession."<sup>186</sup> This is the first FM 1 <i>The Army</i> to include</p>

<sup>183</sup> Department of the Army, *FM 1 The Army* (Department of the Army, 2001). ii.

<sup>184</sup> Department of the Army, *FM 1 The Army* (Department of the Army, 2005). 1-15.

<sup>186</sup> Department of the Army. 1.

	<p>welfare of the Nation, the Army, and subordinates before your own”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Honor:</b> “Live up to all the Army Values”</li> <li>- <b>Integrity:</b> “Do what’s right—legally and morally”</li> <li>- <b>Personal Courage:</b> “Face fear, danger, or adversity (physical or moral)”</li> </ul> <p><b>The Soldier’s Creed:</b> “the spirit of being a Soldier and the dedication Soldiers feel to something greater than themselves. In fact, the Soldier’s Creed extends beyond service as a Soldier; it includes commitment to family and society.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- I am an American Soldier. I am a Warrior and a member of a team. I serve the people of the United States and live the Army Values.<sup>185</sup></li> </ul> <p><b>The Warrior Ethos:</b> “the very essence of what it means to be a Soldier”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- I will always place the mission first.</li> <li>- I will never accept defeat.</li> <li>- I will never quit.</li> <li>- I will never leave a fallen comrade.</li> </ul>		<p>“Warrior Ethos” as we know it today.</p>
<p>2012</p>	<p><b>Army Values (LDRSHIP):</b><sup>187</sup></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Loyalty</b></li> <li>- <b>Duty</b></li> <li>- <b>Respect</b></li> <li>- <b>Selfless service</b></li> <li>- <b>Honor</b></li> <li>- <b>Integrity</b></li> <li>- <b>Personal Courage</b></li> </ul> <p>* The 2012 version does not give</p>	<p>ADP 1 <i>The Army</i> (2012)</p>	<p>Since the qualities in “Army Values,” “The Soldier’s Creed,” and “The Warrior Ethos” have remained unchanged since the 2005 FM 1 <i>The Army</i>, the 2012 version does not give detailed</p>

<sup>185</sup> Department of the Army. 1-16.

<sup>187</sup> Department of Army, *ADP 1 The Army* (Washington D.C.: Department of the Army, 2012), <https://api.army.mil/e2/c/downloads/303969.pdf>.

	definitions or explanations of each concepts of values. <b>The Soldier’s Creed</b> - <b>The Warrior Ethos</b> <sup>188</sup>		explanations about what each means. However, one noteworthy change is that ADP 1 <i>The Army</i> (2012) begins with two full pages of “The Soldier’s Creed” and “The Warrior Ethos.” The change of its location within the document and the amount of dedicated page space attest the significance of the two credos.
2019	<b>Army Values</b> <b>The Warrior Ethos</b>	ADP 1 <i>The Army</i> (2019)	There is no mention of “The Soldier’s Creed.” “Army Values” and “The Warrior Ethos” are only mentioned twice. No further explanations offered.

Sources: Department of the Army, FM 100-1 *The Army* (Washington DC: Department of the Army, 1978), 24; Department of the Army, FM 100-1 *The Army* (Washington DC: Department of the Army, 1981), 24-26; Department of the Army, FM 100-1 *The Army* (Washington DC: Department of the Army, 1986), 22-23; Department of the Army, FM 100-1 *The Army* (Washington DC: Department of the Army, 1991), 16-17; Department of the Army, FM 100-1 *The Army* (Washington DC: Department of the Army, 1994), 5-9; Department of the Army, FM 22-100 *Army Leadership: Be, Know, Do* (Washington DC: Department of the Army, 1999), 1-1; Department of the Army, FM 1 *The Army* (Washington DC: Department of the Army, 2001), ii; Department of the Army, FM 1 *The Army* (Washington DC: Department of the Army, 2005), 1; Department of the Army, ADP 1 *The Army* (Washington DC: Department of the Army, 2012), 1; Department of the Army, ADP 1 *The Army* (Washington DC: Department of the Army, 2019).

FM 100-1 *The Army* (1978) was not the first publication in which the Army emphasized moral values and individual character. However, the Army’s earlier efforts to structure personal and collective ethics concentrated on a specific branch—the Army

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<sup>188</sup> Department of Army, 1.



Chaplain Corps—instead of having an Army-wide initiative. In addition, Army leadership proved more concerned with punishing wrongdoing under the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ) than with promoting ethical ideals. Following World War I, the Army leadership indicated that “character building” was the duty and responsibility of the Army Chaplain Corps: “To promote character building and contentment in the United States Army” reads the first edition of Training Manual (TM) War Department Publication 5a.<sup>189</sup> After World War II, the Army again tasked its chaplains with a Character Guidance Program, which stressed the value of “self-discipline, temperance, and reverence.”<sup>190</sup> While Army chaplains educated soldiers about shared values, the Uniform Code of Military Justice regulated behavior and punished—with court martial—ostensible moral offenses such as adultery and sodomy.<sup>191</sup>

Since its 1978 publication, the Field Manual *The Army* series has articulated Army values and the personal qualities endorsed by the service. The Army’s professionalization after 1973 heavily influenced efforts to define collective values. Field Manual 100-1 *The Army*, written in 1978, does not yet quantify desired values and qualities as later editions would. Instead, the publication emphasizes the responsibility that military leaders bear to cultivate Army values and ethics. “Army professionalism require[s] every Army leader ... to achieve the Total Army’s human goal of a highly

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<sup>189</sup> Licameli, “Analysis of Army’s Past Character Development Efforts.” 2.

<sup>190</sup> Licameli. 4.

<sup>191</sup> Licameli. 5.

effective and morally responsible military,” the 1978 FM reads.<sup>192</sup> Its section on leadership declares, “Commanders have both legal and moral responsibility for the mission and people of units they command.” In other words, in the early years of military professionalization, the Army emphasized its leadership’s responsibility to promote ethics and professionalism, rather than urging individual soldiers to embody these values.

In the early 1980s, this emphasis on leadership began to change. As indicated in the table above, the modern Army has provided clear guidelines defining desired values and lists of ideal qualities. But since 1981, the Army has vested individual soldiers with greater responsibility to pursue these values. Leadership roles remain important, but the FMs and ADPs published after 1981 spend substantial effort explaining individual soldiers’ values which was absent in the earlier versions. Though the terminology varies between different versions—“fundamental values” (1981), “core values” (1986), “Army ethic” (1991), “Army ethos” (1994), “Army values” (1999, 2001, 2005, 2012, 2019)—the recurring theme urges soldiers to put the mission and the nation ahead of personal interest. Qualities such as duty, integrity, loyalty, and selfless service have remained consistent despite other changes. As professional group members who have to make necessary sacrifices at various points in their careers—including, potentially, the ultimate sacrifice of one’s own life—duty, loyalty and selfless service are necessary. In addition, because the military uses deadly force, its members need to have strong moral

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<sup>192</sup> The United States Army, *FM 100-1 The Army*. 24.

values like honor and integrity.

Expanding the emphasis on ethics and values from leadership to individual soldiers attended the Army's transition to an all-volunteer-force. In a professional military, people elect to serve for reasons that are both practical and self-serving, for example, the opportunities to earn a stable salary and receive promotions. Therefore, emphasis on duty, loyalty and selfless service is important in a volunteer system because the nature of military service requires various types of sacrifices that civilian jobs rarely demand. Moreover, in an all-volunteer force, individual heroism is equally—and perhaps more—important than collective patriotism because the military relies on recruits who volunteer for the service. Individual soldiers need to feel that their job is rewarding and worthwhile regardless of the reality that it may not always be so. Thus, the Army's decision to adopt the “warrior” concept at the end of the twentieth century makes sense, because the term “warrior” has more individualistic connotation than “soldier.” For instance, historical warriors such as Achilles, Hector, and Agamemnon rarely fought as part of a unit.

The 1990 edition of FM 22-100 *Military Leadership* was the first to include the term “warrior” and provide a comprehensive definition for it.<sup>193</sup> The field manual

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<sup>193</sup> The US Army has published series of FM 22-100 since 1948. The first version was printed as a pamphlet. There have been revisions and updates in 1958, 1961, 1965, 1983, 1985, 1987, 1990, and 1999. FM 22-100 was superseded by FM 6-22 *Leader Development*. The latest edition of FM 6-22 was released in 2015, superseding the 2012 and 2014 versions. The term “warrior” had never been used by field manuals before 1990.

describes the “warrior spirit” as an important leadership quality in battle situations.<sup>194</sup> “Warrior spirit,” it states, is “the ability to forge victory out of the chaos of battle ... to overcome fear, hunger, deprivation, and fatigue.”<sup>195</sup> The subsequent edition of FM 22-100, published in 1999, offered a more detailed explanation of the warrior concept, and was also the first Army publication to use the phrase “Warrior Ethos.” Compared to the 1990 version which mentions the term “warrior” only once, the 1999 version mentions it forty-six times. It is not a coincidence that General Shinseki was Army Chief of Staff at the time, for he wished to situate the warrior concept at the core of Army ideology. The 1999 field manual provides the first official definition of the warrior ethos, which “grounds itself on the refusal to accept failure.”<sup>196</sup> Both the 1990 and 1999 editions argue that the core of the “warrior ethos” demands pursuit of victory despite adversity. Overcoming hardship and chaos of the battlefield such as fear, hunger, deprivation, and fatigue is important when it is in the way to win: “the warrior ethos is about more than persevering under the worst of conditions; it fuels the fire to fight through those conditions to victory.”<sup>197</sup> While the 1990 edition saw “warrior” spirit as a quality needed on the battlefield, the 1999 edition declares that “All soldiers are warriors.”<sup>198</sup> It claims that the “warrior ethos” belongs to all soldiers and civilians officials within the

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<sup>194</sup> The United States Army, *FM 22-100 Military Leadership* (Department of the Army, 1990). 54.

<sup>195</sup> The United States Army, 22–100. 54.

<sup>196</sup> Department of the Army, *FM 22-100 Army Leadership: Be, Know, Do*. 2-21.

<sup>197</sup> The United States Army, *FM 22-100*, 22–199.

<sup>198</sup> Department of the Army, *FM 22-100 Army Leadership: Be, Know, Do*. 3-6.

Department of the Army “not just those whose job it is to find, fight, and defeat the enemy.”<sup>199</sup>

Compared to FM 22-100, FM 1 *The Army* that was published two years later in 2001—General Shinseki was still in authority as the Army Chief of Staff—only mentions “warrior” once. Furthermore, even when it mentions “warriors,” the term is not used in reference to the Army values but to explain the origin of the Army salute: “[The salute] began in ancient times as a signal of trust between armed warriors.”<sup>200</sup> The “warrior ethos” would not emerge as a central concept in published US Army doctrine until the 2005 edition of FM 1 *The Army*. It includes details of what it means and its importance, as explained in the table above, and has the four tenets as we know it today. It is also listed as one of four major dimensions of the Army’s transformations:

- Inculcate a culture of innovation.
- Realize the implications of joint, expeditionary warfare.
- Commit to the ideals of the Warrior Ethos.
- Promote resiliency.<sup>201</sup>

Under the “Commit to the ideals of the Warrior Ethos” dimension, *The Army* explains that the Army should prepare “every Soldier<sup>202</sup> to be a warrior,” acknowledging that being a soldier does not automatically equate to a warrior and the warrior status is

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<sup>199</sup> Department of the Army. 1-1.

<sup>200</sup> Department of the Army, *FM 1 The Army*, 2001. 8.

<sup>201</sup> Department of the Army, *FM 1 The Army*, 2005. 4-9.

<sup>202</sup> In 2003, then Army Chief of Staff Peter Shoomaker ordered the Army to capitalize the word “soldier.”

something a soldier has to train to become.<sup>203</sup>

Later versions of *The Army* published in 2012 and 2019 only briefly mention the Warrior Ethos, but this does not mean that the concept's importance diminished. The purpose of creating a new category of Army Doctrine Publications (ADPs) instead of listing it as another FM was to help readers' understanding by specifying types and purposes of FMs. Another change that took place at the time was to make ADPs more accessible by providing very concise doctrine information, typically ten to fifteen pages in length.<sup>204</sup> Given this new commitment to concision, the decision to devote the first two pages of the 2012 edition of *The Army* to the Soldier's Creed and the Warrior Ethos is remarkable. Previously published Field Manuals did not allocate a similar amount of space to ethics and values. This demonstrates the centrality of "warrior ethos" in the Army in the 21st century.

## **Chapter V. The 21<sup>st</sup> Century US Army Warrior**

In 2003, the Army added the "Warrior Ethos" into "Soldier's Creed." The incorporation of "Warrior Ethos" indicates that the term "warrior" had become a part of the Army's official ideal. Before 2000, no official policies or laws referred to warriors, but in the new millennium, the term's usage increased dramatically. Congressional

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<sup>203</sup> Department of the Army, *FM 1 The Army*, 2005.

<sup>204</sup> U.S. Army Combined Arms Center, "Doctrine 2015 Information Briefing" (U.S. Army Combined Arms Center, November 9, 2011), <https://cgsc.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16040coll2/id/0>.

legislation such as HONOR (Honoring Our Nation's Obligation to Returning) Warriors Act of 2007, the Wounded Warrior Assistance Act of 2007, the Cyber Warrior Act of 2013, and the Warrior Wellness Act of 2019 all used the warrior designation in reference to servicepeople. Furthermore, the US Army has hosted the annual Best Warrior Competition since 2002; has operated the Warrior Transition Unit program since 2007; and has sent new noncommissioned officers to a basic training called the Warrior Leader Course since 2012. In a 2016 *Foreign Policy* article, Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Thomas Ricks noted that, "Just as the 1980s saw a war declared on everything from drugs to poverty, the 2000s now have a warrior for everything."<sup>205</sup> As the concept gained greater significance within the Army, the general public's familiarity with the concept also grew.

### **1. The Integration of "Warrior Ethos" and "The Soldier's Creed"**

The prototype for the Soldier's Creed that enlisted service people recite today emerged in the 1998 "Soldier's Code," which was printed and distributed as a wallet-sized card to all members of the Army. The text of the Soldier's Code read:

- I. I am an American soldier—a protector of our greatest nation on earth—sworn to uphold the Constitution of the United States.
- II. I will treat others with dignity and respect and expect others to do the same.
- III. I will honor my Country, the Army, my unit and my fellow soldiers by living the Army values.
- IV. No matter what situation I am in, I will never do anything for pleasure, profit, or

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<sup>205</sup> Thomas E. Ricks, "What's a Soldier? What's a Warrior? Well, Do You Want to Live in a State or in a Tribe?," *News, Foreign Policy*, September 15, 2016, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/09/15/whats-a-soldier-whats-a-warrior-well-do-you-want-to-live-in-a-state-or-in-a-tribe/>.

personal safety, which will disgrace my uniform, my unit or my Country.

V. Lastly, I am proud of my Country and its flag. I want to look back and say that I am proud to have served my country as a soldier.<sup>206</sup>

“The Soldier’s Code” lacks any mention of warriors, and the values that it does articulate do not directly engage the realities of combat or war. The reverse side of the pocket card listed seven Army values: “loyalty,” “duty,” “respect,” “selfless-service,” “honor,” “integrity,” and “personal courage.”<sup>207</sup> Though these values align with the current conceptualization of warriors, they place greater emphasis on moral qualities, rather than on physical strength or combat skills.

The United States Army Special Forces was the first service branch to adopt the warrior ethos. After eighteen months of discussion, in 1999 the United States Army Special Operations Command (USASOC) announced seven core values of the Special Forces.<sup>208</sup> The seven core values are “warrior ethos,” “professionalism,” “innovation,” “versatility,” “cohesion,” “character,” and “cultural awareness.”<sup>209</sup> Invoking the warrior ethos, USASOC contended that “Special Forces is a fraternity of warriors, the ultimate professionals in conducting special operations when the cause of freedom is challenged. The SF warrior tradition originates from SF’s early roles in unconventional warfare and is exemplified by the SF motto, ‘De Oppresso Liber’” which can be

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<sup>206</sup> Kienle, “The Code of the Warrior and the Kinder, Gentler Army.” 3-4.

<sup>207</sup> Kienle.

<sup>208</sup> William G. Boykin, “From the Commandant,” *Special Warfare: The Professional Bulletin of the John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School*, Spring 2000.

<sup>209</sup> “SF Core Values: The Final Cut,” *Special Warfare: The Professional Bulletin of the John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School*, Spring 2000.



translated as “to liberate the oppressed.”<sup>210</sup> “Unconventional warfare” referred to “support to a resistance movement,” such as US support to the Afghanistan Northern Alliance in 2011.<sup>211</sup> In other words, USASOC’s warrior tradition stems from supporting a resistance movement or insurgency in order to liberate them from the oppressor. According to General William G. Boykin, at the time the Commandant of the US Army Special Warfare Center and School, a warrior ethos was the defining value of the Special Forces and was shared by all members because “they are warriors who are determined not to fail in their mission.”<sup>212</sup> The Army Special Forces incorporated “warrior” into its official values four years prior to adoption of the term across the rest of the Army branch in 2003.

Each service branch of the US military has its own creed. A creed is “an oath or saying that provides a value structure by which to live or work” and sets “the tone of life in each service.”<sup>213</sup> The creed of each service as of 2021 is as follows:

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<sup>210</sup> “SF Core Values: The Final Cut.”

“De Oppresso Liber” which is the Army Special Forces’ motto is a Latin phrase that means “to liberate the oppressed.” (Source: Eric Sof, “US Army Special Forces (SF): De Oppresso Liber,” Spec Ops Magazine, October 23, 2020, <https://special-ops.org/special-forces-green-berets-de-oppo-presso-liber/>.)

<sup>211</sup> “Unconventional Warfare” (US Army Special Operations Command, April 5, 2016), [https://www.soc.mil/ARIS/books/pdf/Unconventional%20Warfare%20Pocket%20Guide\\_v1%20\\_Final\\_6%20April%202016.pdf](https://www.soc.mil/ARIS/books/pdf/Unconventional%20Warfare%20Pocket%20Guide_v1%20_Final_6%20April%202016.pdf). 3.

<sup>212</sup> Boykin, “From the Commandant.” The US Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School (SWCS) is located at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and is the Army’s education and training institution for three special operations branches: Special Forces, Civil Affairs, Psychological Operations.

<sup>213</sup> Military.com, “Military Creeds at a Glance.”

Table 4. Service creeds

<p><b>Army and Army National Guard “The Soldier’s Creed”<sup>214</sup></b></p> <p>I am an American Soldier.  I am a warrior and a member of a team.  I serve the people of the United States, and live the Army Values.  I will always place the mission first.  I will never accept defeat.  I will never quit.  I will never leave a fallen comrade.  I am disciplined, physically and mentally tough, trained and proficient in my warrior tasks and drills.  I always maintain my arms, my equipment and myself.  I am an expert and I am a professional.  I stand ready to deploy, engage, and destroy, the enemies of the United States of America in close combat.  I am a guardian of freedom and the American way of life.  I am an American Soldier.</p>	
<p><b>Air Force “The Airman’s Creed”<sup>215</sup></b></p> <p>I am an American Airman.  I am a Warrior.  I have answered my Nation’s call.  I am an American Airman.  My mission is to Fly, Fight, and Win.  I am faithful to a Proud Heritage,  A Tradition of Honor,  And a Legacy of Valor.  I am an American Airman.  Guardian of Freedom and Justice,  My Nation’s Sword and Shield,  Its Sentry and Avenger.  I defend my Country with my Life.  I am an American Airman.</p>	<p><b>Navy “The Sailor’s Creed”<sup>216</sup></b></p> <p>I am a United States Sailor.  I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States of America and I will obey the orders of those appointed over me.  I represent the fighting spirit of the Navy and those who have gone before me to defend freedom and democracy around the world.  I proudly serve my country’s Navy combat team with Honor, Courage and Commitment.  I am committed to excellence and the fair treatment of all.</p>

<sup>214</sup> “Soldier’s Creed - Army Values,” U.S. Army, accessed October 28, 2020, <https://www.army.mil/values/soldiers.html>.

<sup>215</sup> “Airman’s Creed,” U.S. Air Force, accessed October 28, 2020, <https://www.airforce.com/mission/vision>.

<sup>216</sup> “The Sailor’s Creed,” Naval History and Heritage Command, accessed October 28, 2020, <http://public1.nhhcaws.local/browse-by-topic/heritage/customs-and-traditions0/the-sailor-s-creed.html>.

<p>Wingman, Leader, Warrior. I will never leave an Airman behind, I will never falter, And I will not fail.</p>	
<p><b>Marine Corps “My Rifle—The Creed of a United States Marine”<sup>217</sup></b></p> <p>This is my rifle. There are many like it, but this one is mine. My rifle is my best friend. It is my life. I must master it as I must master my life. My rifle, without me, is useless. Without my rifle, I am useless. I must fire my rifle true. I must shoot straighter than my enemy who is trying to kill me. I must shoot him before he shoots me. I will... My rifle and myself know that what counts in this war is not the rounds we fire, the noise of our burst, nor the smoke we make. We know that it is the hits that count. We will hit... My rifle is human, even as I, because it is my life. Thus, I will learn it as a brother. I will learn its weaknesses, its strength, its parts, its accessories, its sights and its barrel. I will ever guard it against the ravages of weather and damage as I will ever guard my legs, my arms, my eyes and my heart against damage. I will keep my rifle clean and ready. We will become part of each other. We will... Before God, I swear this creed. My rifle and myself are the defenders of my country. We are the masters of our enemy. We are the saviors of my life. So be it, until victory is America’s and</p>	<p><b>Coast Guard “Creed of the United States Coast Guardsman”<sup>218</sup></b></p> <p>I am proud to be a United States Coast Guardsman. I revere that long line of expert seamen who by their devotion to duty and sacrifice of self have made it possible for me to be a member of a service honored and respected, in peace and in war, throughout the world. I never, by word or deed, will bring reproach upon the fair name of my service, nor permit others to do so unchallenged. I will cheerfully and willingly obey all lawful orders. I will always be on time to relieve, and shall endeavor to do more, rather than less, than my share. I will always be at my station, alert and attending to my duties. I shall, so far as I am able, bring to my senior solutions, not problems. I shall live joyously, but always with due regard for the rights and privileges of others. I shall endeavor to be a model citizen in the community in which I live. I shall sell life dearly to an enemy of my country, but give it freely to rescue those in peril.</p>

<sup>217</sup> “Marines’ Rifle Creed,” Marine Corps University, accessed October 28, 2020, <https://www.usmcu.edu/Research/Marine-Corps-History-Division/Frequently-Requested-Topics/Marines-Rifle-Creed/>.

<sup>218</sup> Harry G. Hamlet, “Creed of the United States Coast Guardsman,” United States Coast Guard, accessed October 28, 2020, <https://www.history.uscg.mil/Browse-by-Topic/History-Heritage-Traditions/Creed/>.

there is no enemy, but peace!!	With God's help, I shall endeavor to be one of His noblest Works... A United States Coast Guardsman.
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Sources: "Soldier's Creed," U.S. Army, <https://www.army.mil/values/soldiers.html>; "Airman's Creed," U.S. Air Force, <https://www.airforce.com/mission/vision>; "The Sailor's Creed," Naval History and Heritage Command, <http://public1.nhhcaws.local/browse-by-topic/heritage/customs-and-traditions0/the-sailor-s-creed.html>; "Marines' Rifle Creed," Marine Corps University, <https://www.usmcu.edu/Research/Marine-Corps-History-Division/Frequently-Requested-Topics/Marines-Rifle-Creed>; "Creed of the United States Coast Guardsman," United States Coast Guard, <https://www.history.uscg.mil/Browse-by-Topic/History-Heritage-Traditions/Creed>.

The Army and the Air Force creeds share similar openings. Each begins with "I am an American Soldier/Airman," followed by "I am a Warrior"; each then proceeds to articulate its respective branch's purpose and values. The Marine Corps creed is the most distinctive of the five; unlike other services that explicitly state the duty and value of the service, the Marine Corps "My Rifle" is about the significance of a rifle to a Marine, and the Marine's oath to keep it and treat it well. The piece personifies the firearm and requires that a Marine vow to treat it like "a brother" and protect it as an extension of one's own legs, arms, eyes, and heart.<sup>219</sup> The Rifleman's Creed reinforces the service's belief that "Every Marine is, first and foremost, a rifleman."<sup>220</sup> While the media often relates warriors to the Marine Corps, the creed does not mention warriors at all. In fact, the branch rarely uses the term in official discourse, and most of the examples in which it does relate to the Wounded Warrior program.<sup>221</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> "Marines' Rifle Creed."

<sup>220</sup> Bridget M. Keane, "'Every Marine a Rifleman' Begins at Recruit Training," Marine Corps Training and Education Command, May 11, 2012, <https://www.tecom.marines.mil/News/News-Article-Display/Article/528587/every-marine-a-rifleman-begins-at-recruit-training/>.

<sup>221</sup> Peter D. Fromm, "Warriors, the Army Ethos, and the Sacred Trust of Soldiers," *Military*

The Army employs the term “warrior” most actively in its creed, which not only defines the soldier as a warrior, but vows proficiency in “warrior tasks and drills.” Warrior tasks and battle drills (WTBD) are selected combat skills that the Army requires in all soldiers regardless of rank, component, or military occupational specialty. WTBD is the primary focus of tactical training during initial military training (IMT) for both officers and enlisted soldiers.<sup>222</sup> A training lesson plan by Fort Jackson—an Army IMT center located in Columbia, South Carolina—defines “warrior tasks” and “battle drills” as follows:

**Warrior Tasks** are selected common individual Soldier skills deemed critical to a Soldier’s basic competency. Examples include weapons training, tactical communications, urban operations, and combat lifesaving.

**Battle Drills** are group/collective skills designed to teach a unit to react and accomplish the mission in common combat situations. Examples include react to ambush, react to chemical attack, and evacuate wounded personnel from a vehicle.<sup>223</sup>

These definitions define “warrior tasks” by the same criteria that conventionally referred to tactical skills. The Army’s choice to rename that same skillset “warrior skills” reflects the warrior trend within the Army.

What, then, does the Army mean by warriors? In 2004, shortly after the Army approved the integration of the Warrior Ethos into the Soldier’s Creed, the Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences commissioned consulting firm

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*Review* 90, no. 5 (September 1, 2010): 19–26. 26.

<sup>222</sup> “CRM Lesson Plan Report: Conduct Warrior Taks and Battle Drills” (U.S. Army Training Center & Fort Jackson, January 17, 2017), <https://ssilrc.army.mil/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Warrior-Tasks-and-Battle-Drills.pdf>. 5.

<sup>223</sup> “CRM Lesson Plan Report.” 5.

the Wexford Group International to operationalize the 2003 Warrior Ethos definition and develop trainings that would inculcate it in soldiers.<sup>224</sup> The Army paid for this research, the Army Research Institute provided technical review, and the Army was the eventual recipient of its findings. Therefore, one can assume that research findings are influenced by and also formulated the Army's understanding and implementation of the "Warrior Ethos."

Before officially adopting the Warrior Ethos in 2003, the Army had a set of seven core values it expected soldiers to live by. Collected under the acronym "LDRSHIP" (loyalty, duty, respect, selfless service, honor, integrity, and personal courage), these seven values lay at the core of the Army leadership.<sup>225</sup> The newly adopted Warrior Ethos was not part of the seven Army values, but stood alone as a separate credo. The 2005 edition of *The Army* officially introduced both the Soldier's Creed and Warrior Ethos while Army standards contended that the LDRSHIP values, Soldier's Creed, and Warrior Ethos were distinct, yet mutually dependent, qualities.<sup>226</sup> In other words, a soldier cannot follow one while ignoring the others. The Wexford report differentiates between the LDRSHIP values and Warrior Ethos with the explanation that the former "are not Army or combat specific" and "not unique to the profession of arms," unlike the

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<sup>224</sup> Gary Riccio et al., "Warrior Ethos: Analysis of the Concept and Initial Development of Applications" (U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences, September 2004). 1.

<sup>225</sup> "Army Values," U.S. Army, accessed November 2, 2020, <https://www.army.mil/values/index.html>.

<sup>226</sup> Department of the Army, *FM 1 The Army*, 2005. 1-18.

Warrior Ethos, which is a “unique set of values” that is “peculiar to the needs of an Army.”<sup>227</sup> The report also argues that the purpose of the Warrior Ethos is to “[transform] American Soldiers into Warriors.”<sup>228</sup> In other words, the ultimate goal is to forge a warrior from a citizen-turned-soldier. The purpose of endorsing a Warrior Ethos distinct from the Army Values is to ensure that “all Soldiers, regardless of rank, branch or military occupational specialty, are prepared to engage the enemy in close combat, while serving as a part of a team of flexible, adaptable, well-trained and well-equipped Soldiers.”<sup>229</sup> In order to operationalize the Warrior Ethos, the Wexford report identified seven personal attributes that individual soldiers would need to require: perseverance, ability to set priorities, ability to make tradeoffs, ability to adapt, ability to accept responsibility for others, ability to accept dependence on others, and motivation by a higher calling.<sup>230</sup> Compared to the LDRSHIP values, the Warrior Ethos is more specific to combat engagement, and the Army believes that it can cultivate a Warrior Ethos within the ranks by exercising the Warrior Tasks and Battle Drills mentioned above.

## **2. The US Army’s Ideal Warriors**

In this section, I will examine some of those warriors whom the US Army endorses, and exemplifies as ideals. Army publications relay stories of Spartan warriors, Indigenous American warriors, and select Army soldiers from modern American history

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<sup>227</sup> Riccio et al., “Warrior Ethos.” 1.

<sup>228</sup> Riccio et al. 1.

<sup>229</sup> Riccio et al. 2.

<sup>230</sup> Riccio et al. 10.

as exemplary cases. Other warrior models, such as mythical Greek hero Achilles and the Japanese Samurai tradition, also appear sporadically in Army discourse, though they are featured less prominently and frequently than the aforementioned three.

### **A. Spartan Warriors**

The twenty-first century American Army is in love with ancient Sparta, and Spartan warriors emerge as a favorite model. Evidence of this can be seen in Task Force Sparta, a subunit of US Army Central Command made up of active Army and National Guard units, as well as in a US Army operation in Southwest Asia called Operation Spartan Shield.<sup>231</sup> The Fourth Brigade Combat Team of the 25<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division, known as the Spartan Brigade, boasts the motto “Sparta Lives.”<sup>232</sup> Thomas Ricks expressed his resentment towards the “renewed infatuation with all things Spartan, or rather, all things we conceive to be Spartan” in a 2014 *Foreign Policy* editorial titled “Welcome to Spartanburg!”<sup>233</sup> Again and again, the Army invokes Spartan warriors when it wants to deliver an image of a fierce and selfless fighter who puts one’s

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<sup>231</sup> US Army Central, “Task Force Spartan,” US Army Central, accessed January 13, 2021, <https://www.usarcent.army.mil/About/Units/Task-Force-Spartan/>; Kyle Rempfer, “This Is What Army Central Is Doing in Some of the ‘Most Volatile and Contested’ Parts of the World,” *Army Times*, October 9, 2018, <https://www.armytimes.com/news/your-military/2018/10/09/this-is-what-army-central-is-doing-in-some-of-the-most-volatile-and-contested-parts-of-the-world/>.

<sup>232</sup> Charles R. Bowery, “Headquarters and Headquarters Company, 4th Brigade Combat Team, 25th Infantry Division,” U.S. Army Center of Military History, August 19, 2019, <https://history.army.mil/html/forcestruc/lineages/branches/div/025id4bdect.htm>.

<sup>233</sup> Thomas E. Ricks, “Welcome to Spartanburg!: The Dangers of This Growing American Military Obsession,” *Foreign Policy* (blog), April 22, 2014, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2014/04/22/welcome-to-spartanburg-the-dangers-of-this-growing-american-military-obsession/>.



duty and mission ahead of one's own personal comfort.

In order to understand Spartan warriors, one must first know the history surrounding the ancient Greek city state of Sparta, a warrior society in which all societal functions were oriented toward warfare, war was a way of life, and other cultural values such as science, agriculture, and the arts were considered peripheral.<sup>234</sup> Sparta and Athens were the two most powerful Greek city states of the Classical period, and remain the best known in the contemporary imagination. But while fascination with Sparta proliferates, historical documents on the state are quite scant. Contemporary historians do know that Spartans had an oligarchal political system, *agoge*—the rigorous training program that was mandatory for all male citizens—education system, and a social caste system that recognized only few residents of Sparta as full citizens. It was, in short, a highly undemocratic society. There were three castes in Sparta: *Spartiates*, full citizens who made up the assembly and held political power; *periokoi*, free men with some independence and authority over their own communities but who were subordinate to *spartiates* in important matters; and *helots*, state slaves primarily descended from Messenia, which Sparta conquered at the end of the eighth century.<sup>235</sup> Historians trace Sparta's success in warfare to its employment of subordinated and enslaved populations who provided labor and service to the elite *spartiates*, who could then

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<sup>234</sup> Gabriel Russell, "The Spartans Were Morons," Task & Purpose, January 19, 2018, <https://taskandpurpose.com/history/the-spartans-were-morons/>.

<sup>235</sup> P. J. Rhodes, "Sparta," in *The Greek City States: A Source Book* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 58–100, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511818035.009>.

dedicate their full attention to war.<sup>236</sup> *Helots* worked in agriculture and *periokoi* in skilled craftsmanship. Every *spartiate* warrior went to war with at least one *helot*, who carried his master's equipment and served him on battlefield.<sup>237</sup>

Author and former Marine Steven Pressfield is a frequently quoted source in discussions of Spartan warriors and the US Army. He has provided key cultural and literary resources for the current warrior discourse within the Army. His work is widely read within the service, and Army institutions invite him to speak about the warrior ethos and Spartan warriors. His 1998 historical novel *Gates of Fire*, depicting the Spartan battle at Thermopylae, is one of the most popular books about warriors in the military, particularly in the Army and Marine Corps, and is listed on both the US Army Chief of Staff's Professional Reading List and the US Marine Corps Commandant's Professional Reading List.<sup>238</sup> The book appears on the curriculum at the United States Military Academy, where the USMA Library listed it the most popular book in the 2017–2018 academic year,—nearly two decades after its initial publication.<sup>239</sup> Close reading of

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<sup>236</sup> Rhodes; Ian Macgregor Morris, "Sparta," in *Encyclopedia of Political Theory*, 3 vols. (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2010), 1312–13, <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412958660>.

<sup>237</sup> Steven Pressfield, *Gates of Fire: An Epic Novel of the Battle of Thermopylae* (Random House Publishing Group, 2007). 13.

<sup>238</sup> The US Army's Chief of Staff's Professional Reading List in 2011 consists of twenty-six recommended books. It is divided into three subcategories: history and heritage; leadership and critical analysis; and the global context. The list is intended for self-study to broaden one's understanding about leadership and the Army; M. Maslowski, "USMC Reading List Official," accessed April 28, 2020, <https://grc-usmcu.libguides.com/c.php?g=756750&p=6475651>.

<sup>239</sup> Christopher D Barth, "United States Military Academy Library 2017-2019 Program Review" (U.S. Military Academy Library), accessed April 28, 2020, <https://www.westpoint.edu/sites/default/files/inline->

*Gates of Fire* provides insight into how the US Army imagines its ideal warriors.

As a historical novel that blends fiction with some historical events and people, the book contains details that may not be historically accurate. Moreover, not all members of the military idolize Pressfield's novel. Some military professionals find his construction of the warrior ethos too archaic, even problematic. Retired Marine officer Lt. Col. Edward H. Carpenter argues that the book proposes leadership ideals that are incompatible with modern warfare. Modern war does not require military leaders to fight on the frontline, and the excruciating initiation process that the book describes is unacceptable by today's military standards.<sup>240</sup> The novel remains relevant to the study of the contemporary Army ideals because despite such contentions, it continues to enjoy approval from Army leadership. Endorsed and preferred by the US Army, Pressfield's story elucidates the service's warrior model.

*Gates of Fire* is less the story of one exemplary warrior than many stories of the ordinary warriors who comprised the "men in the line."<sup>241</sup> The plot describes the three hundred Spartan warriors who fought courageously against King Xerxes's formidable forces at Thermopylae, a narrow rocky mountain pass in northern Greece. Xeonos, a *periokoi* who has survived the battle by luck, relates the events of the battle. King Xerxes, though the victor, is awestruck by the courage and skill of his enemy, and

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images/Library/Program%20Review/USMALibraryProgram1719.pdf.

<sup>240</sup> Edward H. Carpenter, *Steven Pressfield's the Warrior Ethos: One Marine Officer's Critique and Counterpoint* (Umbrella Books, 2014).

<sup>241</sup> Pressfield, *Gates of Fire*.

wishes to learn more about Spartan warriors. He spares Xeones's life in exchange for tales of how Sparta's warriors are raised and trained. Three hundred Spartan warriors killed at least twenty thousand of King Xerxes's finest soldiers while demonstrating no signs of fear. The Battle of Thermopylae was virtually a suicide mission for Spartans because they went into the battle knowing that they would fight until the last man falls. All three hundred *Spartiate* warriors died in battle. A combat squire, not a warrior, Xeones survived to tell the story of glorious Spartan warriors.

Because the novel is constructed as a story narrated for King Xerxes, a foreigner, it devotes substantial attention to descriptions of Spartan society, including the educational program of the *agoge* and the broader warrior culture. The *agoge*, as described by Xeones, is "the notorious and pitiless thirteen-year training regimen which turned boys into Spartan warriors."<sup>242</sup> The *agoge* training is famously rigorous; one might think of it as a harsher, thirteen-year-long version of Navy SEAL training. The warriors who train the youth, like modern-day drill sergeants, constantly use profanity and intentionally ridicule them to the level that would be considered outrageous today. They physically and verbally abuse the trainees. For example, boys are trained to hold their shields at high port and withstand warriors' slashes with "the blood beginning to cake dry on their empurpled cheekbones and shattered noses."<sup>243</sup> They are also trained to choose death over compromise:

One of the boys died that night. His name was Hermion; they called him

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<sup>242</sup> Pressfield. 12-13.

<sup>243</sup> Pressfield. 76.

“Mountain.” At fourteen he was as strong as any in his age-class or the class above, but dehydration in combination with exhaustion overcame him. He collapsed near the end of the second watch and fell into that state of convulsive torpor the Spartans call *nekrophaneia*, the Little Death, from which a man may recover if left alone but will die if he tries to rise or exert himself. Mountain understood his extremity but refused to stay down while his mates kept their feet and continued their drill. I tried to make the platoon take water... but the boys refused to accept it. At dawn they carried Mountain in on their shoulders, the way the fallen in battle are borne.<sup>244</sup>

Sparta was a nation that existed for war, and its entire society functioned to support this sole purpose. As a result, boys had no choice but to endure rigorous training and become warriors because if “he could not when he reached manhood be made a warrior; he would lose his citizenship and be left to choose between living on in some lesser state of disgrace or embracing honor and taking his own life.”<sup>245</sup>

*Gates of Fire* provides four representative warrior models: Leonidas, the King of Sparta; Alexandros, a Spartan youth who eventually becomes a warrior through rigorous training of the agoge; Polynikes, the Olympic champion and a pitiless warrior who trains Alexandros brutally at the agoge; and Dienekes, a humble and respected Spartan warrior who provides guidance to Alexandros. Leonidas is a beloved king who trains and fights alongside his warriors. He understands that war is not always a solution, and that diplomacy is also vital to defending a nation. He represents an ideal leader who is level-headed but will go all-in if that is the only way. Polynikes and Dienekes are two warriors of vastly different characters. Polynikes represents an arrogant warrior who fights for his own glory; he appears blood-thirsty and believes that

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<sup>244</sup> Pressfield. 77.

<sup>245</sup> Pressfield. 77-78.

“War, not peace, produces virtue. War, not peace, purges vice.”<sup>246</sup> The war later humbles him, however, and he dies for his nation. Dienekes, on the other hand, is a humble leader whose primary attribute is “self-restraint and self-composure, not for his own sake, but for those whom he led by his example.” Dienekes represents a model for officers:

This, I realized now watching Dienekes rally and tend to his men, was the role of the officer: to prevent those under his command, at all stages of battle—before, during and after—from becoming “possessed.” To fire their valor when it flagged and rein in their fury when it threatened to take them out of hand. That was Dienekes’ job. That was why he wore the transverse-crested helmet of an officer.

Lastly, Alexandros is a young man of Sparta whose gentle spirit and weak fighting skills led him to struggle in *agoge*, during which Polynikes is his tormentor. However, Alexandros becomes a protégé of Dienekes, eventually becoming a warrior through Dienekes’ mentorship. The four characters represent warrior models for modern soldiers: King Leonidas for generals; Polynikes and Dienekes for officers and NCOs; and Alexandros for junior enlisted personnel. Despite their differences, each of these characters share a common trait: they choose to defend Sparta at risk to their own lives.

In Pressfield’s telling, Spartan women are not damsels in distress, but strong women who raise strong boys. These women would willingly lose their beloved sons and husbands to war rather than choose surrender and shame. It was the women “who galvanized the Spartans into action.” When King Leonidas seemed hesitant to take action against the Persians, “A delegation of wives and mothers presented itself to the

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<sup>246</sup> Pressfield. 137.

ephors, insisting that they themselves be sent out next time, armed with hairpins and distaffs, since surely the women of Sparta could disgrace themselves no more egregiously nor accomplish less than the vaunted Ten Thousand.”<sup>247</sup> This prompted Leonidas to send three hundred warriors to Thermopylae. This marked the limit of women’s role in waging war, however; they never went to war themselves, and the idea of women fighting in battle was an insult to Spartan men who believed that women’s place was at home. Xeonos calls the women of Sparta “dams” meaning a female animal used for breeding: “They were dams, these ladies, wives and mothers whose primary calling was to produce boys who would grow to be warriors and heroes, defenders of the city.”<sup>248</sup> Training to be a Spartan warrior was a strictly male endeavor, and women were not even allowed to be present inside the facilities where young male adults trained. When Arete, the future wife of Dienekes, enters the *gymnasion* to look for him, the men inside are outraged and bewildered because “no female, as all know, may intrude upon those grounds.”<sup>249</sup>

Another book written by Steven Pressfield and widely read within the Army is *The Warrior Ethos*.<sup>250</sup> The book began as a digital series on Pressfield’s website, where he wrote about Spartan warriors and the warrior ethos. In his introduction to the concept of a warrior ethos, he acknowledges public aversion toward the term “warrior,” writing,

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<sup>247</sup> Pressfield. 166–167.

<sup>248</sup> Pressfield. 144.

<sup>249</sup> Pressfield. 60.

<sup>250</sup> Steven Pressfield, *The Warrior Ethos* (Black Irish Entertainment LLC, 2011).

“Some people may hate it. We’ve already had one high-profile colleague flee, screaming, from his first sight of it.”<sup>251</sup> For Pressfield, “warrior” is an unchanging concept. He contends that, though wars and the individuals fighting them may change, the warrior ethos is eternal. A digital platform allowed him to interact with readers in the comment section. One commenter with the username “John Terry’s Mum” (JTM) offered the criticism that “The warrior ethos is a recipe for severe mental illness. This project seems to me an empty attempt to valorize and mythologize violence in ways that are largely irrelevant to the experience of modern soldiers. Applying tropes of narrative and fantasy to all areas of life takes us away from reality and prolongs the destructive addiction to murder and destruction that is central in North American culture.”<sup>252</sup> JTM’s comment created a very long thread of angry comments from people who shared Pressfield’s view that the warrior ethos is an essential and timeless quality that today’s soldiers need to embody. Tensions ran so high that Pressfield had to intervene and clarify his argument by saying that “today’s Western soldiers and special operations men are excruciatingly aware of the moral and ethical limits on their actions” and that “self-restraint and ‘purity of the weapon’ is at the heart of the warrior ethos.”<sup>253</sup> In defense of the warrior concept, he argued that current US wars in places like Iraq and Afghanistan required soldiers of the warrior model because the “tribal elders” leading

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<sup>251</sup> Steven Pressfield, “The Warrior Ethos,” *Steven Pressfield* (blog), February 9, 2011, <https://stevenpressfield.com/2011/02/the-warrior-ethos/>.

<sup>252</sup> Steven Pressfield, “Wars Change, Warriors Don’t,” *Steven Pressfield* (blog), February 9, 2011, <https://stevenpressfield.com/2011/02/wars-change-warriors-dont/>.

<sup>253</sup> Pressfield.



Iraqi and Afghani societies were themselves warriors.<sup>254</sup> Because warriors understand each other and share similar world views, in Pressfield's assessment, American warrior-soldiers could better build necessary bonds of trust with those populations in the opposition.

## **B. Indigenous American Warriors**

The phrase "fight like Indians" has a distinct meaning in America and contains a sense of both reverence and disdain in its use to describe US forces fighting a formidable enemy. Though problematic and offensive, the "fight like Indians" analogy has become more frequent and prominent in military discourse since the United States launched military engagements in Iraq and Afghanistan in the early 2000s.<sup>255</sup> In a 2004 *Wall Street Journal* article titled "Indian Country," journalist Robert D. Kaplan declared that "the American military is back to the days of fighting the Indians," and compared the War on Terrorism to nineteenth-century conflicts with Apaches.<sup>256</sup> Here, Indians are the supposed enemies threatening US security. American cultural constructions of the formidable Indigenous warrior date to early colonial times, when early European settlers

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<sup>254</sup> Steven Pressfield, "Afghanistan: A Tale of Two Captains, Part Two," *Steven Pressfield* (blog), July 3, 2009, <https://stevenpressfield.com/2009/07/a-tale-of-two-captains-part-two/>.

<sup>255</sup> Stephen W. Silliman, "The 'Old West' in the Middle East: U.S. Military Metaphors in Real and Imagined Indian Country," *American Anthropologist* 110, no. 2 (2008): 237–47; Robert D. Kaplan, "Indian Country," *Wall Street Journal*, September 21, 2004, sec. Opinion, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB109572689960923141>; Robert D. Kaplan, *Imperial Grunts: On the Ground with the American Military, from Mongolia to the Philippines to Iraq and Beyond* (Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2006); Anna Simons, "Crooked Lessons from the Indian Wars," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 36, no. 8 (July 2013): 685–97.

<sup>256</sup> Kaplan, "Indian Country."

viewed Indigenous American warriors as an obstacle and threat to nation-building. In order to defeat the enemy and win support for their colonization efforts, White settlers developed propaganda that shrouded Indigenous warriors with mystique.<sup>257</sup> Despite numerous military conflicts that destroyed many Indigenous tribes, settler propaganda argued that Indian powers posed a near-superhuman threat that needed to be destroyed.

While “Indian” symbolized a formidable enemy through the nineteenth century, in the contemporary era the U.S. military has adopted “Indianness” for its own purposes. One famous example emerges in a *Stars and Stripes* photography of the 506<sup>th</sup> Parachute Regiment of the 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne Division shortly before WWII’s D-Day. Later known as “The Filthy Thirteen,” the paratroopers undertook a near-suicide mission that included parachuting behind enemy lines in order to destroy infrastructure and conduct a reconnaissance mission.<sup>258</sup>

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<sup>257</sup> Jeffery Boyd MorningStorm, “American Indian Warriors Today” (Ph.D., United States -- Arizona, The University of Arizona, 1998), <http://search.proquest.com/pqdtglobal/docview/304414808/abstract/BBE4A36BA7354834PQ/11>. 12.

<sup>258</sup> Shane, “‘Filthy Thirteen’ Veterans Recount Their Antics during WORLD WAR II.”



Figure 1. U.S. Army Signal Corps, *The Filthy Thirteen*, June 5, 1994, photograph, *Stars and Stripes*, <https://www.stripes.com/news/filthy-thirteen-veterans-recount-their-antics-during-wwii-1.85075>.

In the picture that made the “Filthy Thirteen” famous, soldiers are wearing mohawk hairstyles and putting warpaint on each other’s faces as they prepare for a mission (Figure 1). By styling themselves this way, the soldiers aimed to demonstrate their “American way” as well as their ferocity as soldiers. It is a way to “take on the mental qualities of the Indian warrior—honor, pride, bravery, strength, endurance, and integrity” to boost their morale to carry out the daunting tasks.<sup>259</sup> In this case, the ethnographic or historical accuracy of their warrior dress and decoration is less important than what it

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<sup>259</sup> Patrick Russell LeBeau, “The Codical Warrior: The Codification of American Indian Warrior Experience in American Culture” (Ph.D., United States -- Michigan, University of Michigan, 1993), <http://search.proquest.com/pqdtglobal/docview/304084732/abstract/987FCB1725C34BEAPQ/3>.

symbolizes.

In this vein, Indigenous American warriors are significant symbols in American culture. The real human beings who were Indian warrior are less important than the mythologized “Indian warrior” and the ideals it represents. Patrick R. LeBeau, a professor of American Indian Studies at Michigan State University and a member of Cheyenne River Sioux, argues that White America created their own version of the Indian warrior—which he terms “the Codical Warrior,” a figurehead divorced from actual Indigenous experience—and possessed and appropriated the idea for their own use.<sup>260</sup> LeBeau posits that early American settlers tried to legitimize an American identity that is distinct from English identity, and that the experience of fighting Indians became an important element of American identity. He writes:

The manner in which colonial Americans perceived the Indian warrior’s resistance to American expansion became symbolic of American identity and American resistance to English tyranny. (Why else would some of them dress up like Mohawk Indian warriors and dump tea in the Boston Harbor?)<sup>261</sup>

The Codical Warrior’s counterfeit language and attire construct false ideas about Indigenous American people. The media then reproduces and disseminates these counterfeit ideas as authentic.<sup>262</sup>

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<sup>260</sup> LeBeau.

<sup>261</sup> LeBeau. 2.

<sup>262</sup> Raymond William Stedman, *Shadows of the Indian: Stereotypes in American Culture* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1982).



Figure 2. *Dan Waupoose, a Menominee chief, August 24, 1943*, photograph, U.S. Navy photograph, National Archives, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/520636>

A 1943 photograph of Menominee chief Dan Waupoose (Figure 2) provides another useful example of the Codical Warrior in U.S. military media.<sup>263</sup> A Department of Navy photographer took the picture in Algiers, Louisiana. Many sources which include works by the American Indian Veterans Memorial, National Museum of the American Indian, and Lt. Col. Thomas Morgan have cited the image as evidence that Indigenous Americans served in the American armed forces in various capacities during World War II.<sup>264</sup> While there has been considerable scholarship about the Code Talkers—

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<sup>263</sup> Department of Navy, *Dan Waupoose, a Menominee Chief; Full-Length, Kneeling with a Rifle and Wearing a Feathered Headdress, Algiers, Louisiana, 8/24/1943*, August 24, 1943, Photo, August 24, 1943, National Archives.

<sup>264</sup> NMAI et al., *Why We Serve: Native Americans in the United States Armed Forces* (Washington: Smithsonian Books, 2020); Thomas D. Morgan, “Native Americans in World War

Indigenous Americans the US military employed during World War II to use their tribal languages to communicate confidential messages—that group did not comprise the sum total of American Indian participation in the war effort.<sup>265</sup> Though the Chief Waupoose photo has circulated widely, little is known about the Menominee chief. References to the photo typically fail to provide information other than his identity as a Menominee chief who served during the war, meaning that his participation in World War II cannot be confirmed despite his association with that role. In November 1945 the US Department of the Interior published a pamphlet titled *Indians in the War* detailing contributions made by Indigenous Americans during World War II. It also provides an exhaustive list of those who were wounded or killed in war. In the document, Dan Waupoose again is present only in the photo. As a result, whether he fought in war or what position he served in the Navy is not known. However, a visual analysis of the image reveals a few things. First, the picture appears staged. Compared to other Department of the Navy photographs taken during the same period, this alone contains a close-up of a single soldier; soldiers captured in training photos are usually in motion and in a group. Second, it is unusual, in a training exercise, for a soldier to wear a warbonnet, a headgear only certain tribes' chiefs and spiritual leaders wore for formal occasions, as does Waupoose in the photo. No other Indigenous soldier who served

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II,” *Army History*, no. 35 (1995): 22–27; “World War II Native American,” American Indian Veterans Memorial, accessed March 24, 2021, <https://aivmi.org/world-war-ii-native-american/>.

<sup>265</sup> Lincoln Riddle, “Much More Than Code Talking - The Role of Native Americans in World War II,” *WAR HISTORY ONLINE* (blog), September 11, 2016, <https://www.warhistoryonline.com/world-war-ii/much-more-than-code-talking-the-role-of-native-americans-in-world-war-ii.html>; NMAI et al., *Why We Serve*.

during World War II appears in warbonnet in training pictures, and Indigenous soldiers wore the same uniforms and headgear as non-Indigenous soldiers. Lastly, a Menominee is unlikely to have worn a feather warbonnet because the tribe origins are in the Wisconsin and Michigan Woodlands, whereas only a handful of Great Plains tribes are known to have worn warbonnets.<sup>266</sup> Consequently, it is safe to assume that the photo is staged. Whether or not Waupoose voluntarily made the choice to wear the headdress in the photo cannot be assumed. However, the photo's wide circulation reveals the "Codical Warrior" is in motion to work for White America and the US military.

The US Army's battle cry provides further evidence of the Codical Warrior. Battle cries are as old as war itself, and as diverse as the people who fight. Aimed at invoking one's aggression and *esprit de corps*, the cry also intends to scare away and break down the enemy's will to fight. Ancient Greek troops shouted "Alala" or "Eleleu" during war and Japanese troops famously shouted "Tenno Heika Banzai"—meaning "long live the emperor"—when charging the enemy.<sup>267</sup> Today, the US Army's battle cry is "Hooah," while the US Army airborne divisions have their own cry of "Geronimo." "Hooah" is closer to howling than meaningful communication, and despite its employment at various ceremonies and occasions, the Army cannot provide a definitive meaning or specific origin.<sup>268</sup> The Army explains the jargon's meaning as "anything and everything

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<sup>266</sup> Lawrence Hott, "The Warrior Tradition" (PBS, November 19, 2019).

<sup>267</sup> Evan Andrews, "8 Legendary Battle Cries," HISTORY, accessed November 4, 2020, <https://www.history.com/news/8-legendary-battle-cries>.

<sup>268</sup> Sarah Sicard, "The Mysterious Origins of 'HOOAH,' The Army's Beloved Battle Cry," Task & Purpose, accessed July 8, 2020, <https://taskandpurpose.com/history/mysterious-origins-hooah->

except ‘no’ that function to do “anything from getting a Soldier off the hook to earning him or her pushups.”<sup>269</sup> Nonetheless, for many contemporary Army servicemembers the cry holds great significance because it symbolizes their shared identity as an Army.

Both the Army and Army Airborne Division battle cries boast a variety of origin stories. Though none are verifiably correct, they have one thing in common: all have ties to Indigenous people. According to *Task & Purpose*, an online publication that specializes in the United States armed forces and defense, four viable theories explain how “Hooah” became a battle cry.<sup>270</sup> The first theory identifies the expression’s origins in a meeting between Seminole tribal chief Osceola and Army commanders in Florida in the early 1800s. E. Kelly Taylor, a former paratrooper and author of *America’s Army and the Language of Grunts*, backs this theory and contends that “Hooah” came from Chief Osceola who, when asked to propose a formal toast and unable to speak the language, simply said “Hooah.”<sup>271</sup> This theory constructs “Hooah” as a pidgin vocabulary that tried to mimic English. However, there is no concrete historical evidence to back up the argument, which some historians dismiss on the basis that Osceola was an English-speaking white man whose birth name was Billy Powell.<sup>272</sup> The second theory argues

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armys-beloved-battle-cry.

<sup>269</sup> U.S. Army, “Soldier-Speak: A Brief Guide to Modern Military Jargon,” [www.army.mil](http://www.army.mil), March 9, 2015, [https://www.army.mil/article/144045/soldier\\_speak\\_a\\_brief\\_guide\\_to\\_modern\\_military\\_jargon](https://www.army.mil/article/144045/soldier_speak_a_brief_guide_to_modern_military_jargon).

<sup>270</sup> Sicard, “The Mysterious Origins of ‘HOOAH,’ The Army’s Beloved Battle Cry.”

<sup>271</sup> E. Kelly Taylor, *America’s Army and the Language of Grunts: Understanding the Army Lingo Legacy* (AuthorHouse, 2009). 167.

<sup>272</sup> Patricia Riles Wickman, *Osceola’s Legacy* (University of Alabama Press, 2006). 79-80.



that the expression comes from a Vietnamese word for yes, “Vâng,” which is pronounced “u-ah.”<sup>273</sup> Those who endorse this theory argue that, during the Vietnam War, veterans adopted the word from Vietnamese nationals who would answer “u-ah” instead of “yes.”<sup>274</sup> The third theory declares that “Hooah” is an acronym for “Heard, Understood, Acknowledged (HUA).” The last theory contends that the word may have been a modification of the Union Army battle cry “Hoozah” during the American Civil War. While no one can verify which one of these is the historical truth, Thomas Ricks suggests another origin theory. He rejects the idea that either the Vietnamese word “Vâng” or the acronym “HUA” are likely and presents a different possibility with Indigenous associations. Ricks argues that the expression comes from the term “hous” which was “the universal sign of approbation on the Plains” in the nineteenth century.<sup>275</sup> He sees evidence of this in Paul Magid’s biography of General George Crook, which recounts a story of Crook’s conversation with a group of Indian chiefs who responded to Crook’s suggestion “with enthusiastic ‘hous.’”<sup>276</sup> Ricks contends that that is a “big hooah.”<sup>277</sup>

The Army airborne divisions’ battle cry “Geronimo” has a more obvious

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<sup>273</sup> Sicard, “The Mysterious Origins of ‘HOOAH,’ The Army’s Beloved Battle Cry.”

<sup>274</sup> Sicard.

<sup>275</sup> Thomas E. Ricks, “Army History: What Is the Origin of That All-Important Army Word, ‘Hooah’?,” *Foreign Policy* (blog), June 8, 2016, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/06/08/army-history-what-is-the-origin-of-that-all-important-army-word-hooah/>.

<sup>276</sup> Paul Magid, *The Gray Fox: George Crook and the Indian Wars*, First edition (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015). 358.

<sup>277</sup> Ricks, “Army History.”

indigenous association. Geronimo was a legendary Apache warrior and leader who fought fearlessly to defend Apache lands from invading Mexicans and Americans in the nineteenth century, and his name came to be employed as an exclamation when one does something dangerous or daring since World War II. He was such an intimidating enemy that the United States government sent a full quarter of its standing Army to pursue him before his eventual capture in 1886.<sup>278</sup> The US Army airborne divisions adopted Geronimo's name as a battle cry and employed it in the insignia of the 509<sup>th</sup> "Geronimo" Parachute Team."<sup>279</sup> Two origin stories theorize how this came to pass. The first argues that Geronimo himself used the name as a battle cry as he leaped, on horseback, off of a cliff and into the river below to escape American soldiers chasing him at Fort Sill, Oklahoma.<sup>280</sup> Historians dismiss this story as highly unlikely because the man's real name was Goyahkla ("The One Who Yawns"), and "Geronimo" was either a mispronunciation of "Goyahkla" or derived from the Roman Catholic saint, St. Jerome; in either case, he would not have shouted the name "Geronimo" himself.<sup>281</sup> The second theory contends that the cry comes from a daring game among World War II

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<sup>278</sup> History.com Editors, "Geronimo," HISTORY, October 23, 2019, <https://www.history.com/topics/native-american-history/geronimo>.

<sup>279</sup> Today's official 509<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment (previously the 509<sup>th</sup> Parachute Infantry Regiment) does not have the term "Geronimo" on its insignia. However, the nickname is still "Geronimo" and the National Museum of the US Army calls members of the 509<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment "the Geronimos" and the Association of the 509<sup>th</sup> Parachute Infantry has the "Geronimo" insignia as their official crest. (See <https://armyhistory.org/509th-infantry-regiment/> and <https://509thgeronimo.org/> )

<sup>280</sup> Claire Nowak, "Who Exactly Is Geronimo—and Why Do We Say His Name When We Jump Off Stuff?," *Reader's Digest* (blog), October 30, 2017, <https://www.rd.com/article/geronimo-jump-out-plane-origin/>.

<sup>281</sup> History.com Editors, "Geronimo."

paratroopers, who, after watching a Western film about Geronimo, dared a soldier to shout “Geronimo” while jumping out of an airplane in order to show that he was not afraid. The soldier complied, and others followed suit.<sup>282</sup>

The Apache leader remains a subject of fascination in the American military. In addition to the Airborne units’ battle cry, the name was used as a codename for the 2011 military operation that killed Osama bin Laden, the mastermind behind the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the United States. President Obama sent two Navy SEAL teams and Blackhawk helicopters to kill or capture bin Laden. Once the SEAL teams had identified bin Laden, they sent the coded message “Geronimo” to the White House situation room.<sup>283</sup> Less than an hour later, they sent the message “Geronimo-E KIA,” meaning that the enemy Geronimo had been killed in action.<sup>284</sup> Though “Operation Geronimo” successfully took out an enemy of the United States, the operation’s name attracted criticism. There is an unmistakable analogy between bin Laden and Geronimo, both of whom posed great threats to the US military and escaped its chase on multiple occasions. Geronimo, a figure who symbolizes bravery and audacity for American paratroopers, was also equated with the US’s greatest enemy during the 2011 operation. This illuminates the US military’s ambivalent attitudes toward Indigenous

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<sup>282</sup> Nowak, “Who Exactly Is Geronimo—and Why Do We Say His Name When We Jump Off Stuff?”

<sup>283</sup> Jake Tapper et al., “Osama Bin Laden Operation Ended with Coded Message ‘Geronimo-E KIA,’” ABC News, accessed June 23, 2020, <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/osama-bin-laden-operation-code-geronimo/story?id=13507836>.

<sup>284</sup> Tapper et al.

warriors.

The US Army's fascination with Indigenous warriors is also evident in its helicopter naming system, which invokes Indigenous tribes and their great warriors. "Apache," "Black Hawk," "Kiowa," "Lakota," "Comanche," "Chinook," and "Sioux" are all Indigenous tribal names that are also used as US Army helicopter names. The Department of Defense deliberately adopted this naming practice because it wanted the equipment to be as daunting and stealthy as Indigenous tribal battle tactics. In 1947, General Hamilton Howze of the Army Aviation branch developed aircraft doctrine that could better support ground operations. Howze did not like the names used for the first two Army helicopter models, "Hoverfly" and "Dragonfly,"<sup>285</sup> and argued that helicopter names should be named for "Warrior Tribes" because the way those helicopters operated—attacking enemy flanks and fading away—resembled tactics used by tribes who fought during the American Indian Wars.<sup>286</sup> Howze named the next helicopter "Sioux," and in 1969 Army Regulation (AR) 70-28 mandated that "Indian terms and names of American Indian tribes and chiefs" be given to Army aircrafts.<sup>287</sup> Though AR 70-28 later rescinded this policy regarding naming criteria, the tradition continued.<sup>288</sup>

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<sup>285</sup> Katie Lange, "Why Army Helicopters Have Native American Names," U.S. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE, November 29, 2019, <https://www.defense.gov/Explore/Inside-DOD/Blog/Article/2052989/why-army-helicopters-have-native-american-names/>.

<sup>286</sup> War Is Boring, "Everyone Relax—The Army's Native American Helicopter Names Are Not Racist," Medium, July 1, 2014, <https://medium.com/war-is-boring/everyone-relax-the-armys-native-american-helicopter-names-are-not-racist-d21beb55d782>.

<sup>287</sup> Lange, "Why Army Helicopters Have Native American Names."

<sup>288</sup> Harold C. Hutchison, "The Reason Army Helicopters Are Named after Native Tribes Will Make You Smile," *We Are The Mighty* (blog), August 18, 2020,

The use of Indigenous American names and symbols often invokes criticism. The Washington Redskins<sup>289</sup> football team illustrates one well-known example; though team owner Dan Snyder claims that the name is meant as a “badge of honor,” many people, including Indigenous tribes, find it offensive.<sup>290</sup> Compared to the Redskins, the US military’s practice of employing Indigenous names for aircraft and other equipment is less obviously problematic—if not without criticism; the fact that the Bureau of Indian Affairs provides a list of names to choose from supports this.<sup>291</sup> However, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which claims to have been “a principal player in the relationship between the Federal Government and Indian tribes and Alaska Native villages,” does not represent the whole Indigenous American populations.<sup>292</sup> However, the fact that the Army sought its approval could be a sign that Indigenous naming sources were not intended as an insult.

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<https://www.wearethemighty.com/mighty-history/the-reason-army-helicopters-are-named-after-native-tribes-will-make-you-smile/>.

<sup>289</sup> According to journalist Ian Shapira, the first use of the term “redskin” in America dates back to 1769 when a British colonist translated a letter from an Indian Chief. During the time, the term was used in a neutral tone to refer to the Indigenous populations. However, the term began to have a pejorative connotation since 1862 when the state placed a reward of “\$200 for every red-skin.” In 1898, *West’s Collegiate Dictionary* defined the term as “often contemptuous.” As such, “redskin” is a racial slur not a neutral term. (Source: Ian Shapira, “A Brief History of the Word ‘Redskin’ and How It Became a Source of Controversy,” *Washington Post*, accessed March 25, 2021, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/2020/07/03/redskins-name-change/>.)

<sup>290</sup> Dan Snyder, “Letter from Washington Redskins Owner Dan Snyder to Fans,” *The Washington Post*, October 9, 2013, sec. Local, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/letter-from-washington-redskins-owner-dan-snyder-to-fans/2013/10/09/e7670ba0-30fe-11e3-8627-c5d7de0a046b\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/letter-from-washington-redskins-owner-dan-snyder-to-fans/2013/10/09/e7670ba0-30fe-11e3-8627-c5d7de0a046b_story.html).

<sup>291</sup> Lange, “Why Army Helicopters Have Native American Names.”

<sup>292</sup> “Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) | Indian Affairs,” U.S. Department of the Interior, accessed June 23, 2020, <https://www.bia.gov/bia>.

As examined above, the United States displays a long history of both reverence and contempt for Indigenous warriors. Simon Waxman, an editor at Harvard University Press, contends that the Americans constructed notions of respectful and repulsive Indigenous enemies “because the myth of the worthy native adversary is more palatable than the reality.”<sup>293</sup> The reality was “asymmetric war, compounded by deviousness in the name of imperialist manifest destiny” in which “white America shot, imprisoned, lied, swindled, preached, bought, built and voted its way to domination.”<sup>294</sup> In other words, White America mythologized formidable Indian warriors in order to justify violence against those warriors. In doing so, the United States was also able to elevate its own status as a powerful force defeating a formidable enemy.

Ironically, despite the complicated and often troubling history between Indigenous tribes and the United States, a disproportionately high number of Native Americans currently serve in the country’s military. Native Americans have the highest per-capita service rate among ethnic groups in America.<sup>295</sup> More than 12,000 Native Americans served in World War I, over 44,000 in World War II.<sup>296</sup> 10,000 Native

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<sup>293</sup> Simon Waxman, “The U.S. Military’s Ongoing Slur of Native Americans,” *Washington Post*, June 26, 2014, sec. Opinions, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/simon-waxman-tomahawk-missiles-apache-helicopters-just-as-offensive-as-redskins/2014/06/26/16c18738-fc9a-11e3-932c-0a55b81f48ce\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/simon-waxman-tomahawk-missiles-apache-helicopters-just-as-offensive-as-redskins/2014/06/26/16c18738-fc9a-11e3-932c-0a55b81f48ce_story.html).

<sup>294</sup> Waxman.

<sup>295</sup> Vincent Schilling, “By the Numbers: A Look at Native Enlistment During the Major Wars,” *IndianCountryToday.com*, February 6, 2014, <https://indiancountrytoday.com/archive/by-the-numbers-a-look-at-native-enlistment-during-the-major-wars-s1LOuPsFvESbFWWABfg9Wg>.

<sup>296</sup> Alicia Ault, “The Remarkable and Complex Legacy of Native American Military Service,” *Smithsonian Magazine*, November 11, 2020, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/remarkable-and-complex-legacy-native-american-military-service-180976264/>.

Americans served in the Korean War, and 42,000 in the Vietnam War.<sup>297</sup> Another remarkable fact is that many of them were not drafted but volunteered for the service. During World War I, Indigenous people were not recognized as US citizens and therefore not subject to military conscription, but volunteered to serve nevertheless.<sup>298</sup> During World War II, there were 40 percent more Indigenous soldiers who volunteered than those drafted.<sup>299</sup> Moreover, almost 90 percent of those Indigenous Americans who fought in the Vietnam War were volunteers. High participation of Indigenous Americans in US wars prompt questions regarding why people would support the same state that conquered and oppressed them. Indigenous American veterans say that they serve in order to protect “our land”; even though they are fighting “American” wars, they are fighting in defense of “their” land and heritage.<sup>300</sup> There are at least 574 Indigenous tribes in the United States, and not all have “warrior” cultures, so one cannot assume that Indigenous Americans are naturally inclined to become warriors.<sup>301</sup> In many tribes, however, there is a tradition that values warriorhood—not only fighting in war, but

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<sup>297</sup> Department of Veterans Affairs, “American Indian and Alaska Native Servicemembers and Veterans” (Department of Veterans Affairs, September 2012), [https://www.va.gov/tribalgovernment/docs/aian\\_report\\_final\\_v2\\_7.pdf](https://www.va.gov/tribalgovernment/docs/aian_report_final_v2_7.pdf). 5.

<sup>298</sup> “Native Americans,” The United States World War One Centennial Commission, accessed November 18, 2020, <https://www.worldwar1centennial.org/index.php/edu-home/edu-topics/588-americans-at-war/4994-native-americans.html>.

<sup>299</sup> Morgan, “Native Americans in World War II.” 22.

<sup>300</sup> “What Does It Mean to Be a Warrior?,” The Warrior Tradition, accessed November 17, 2020, <https://www.pbs.org/wned/warrior-tradition/features/what-does-it-mean-to-be-a-warrior/>; NMAI et al., *Why We Serve*.

<sup>301</sup> Martha Saenz, “List of Federal and State Recognized Tribes,” National Conference of State Legislatures, March 2020, <https://www.ncsl.org/research/state-tribal-institute/list-of-federal-and-state-recognized-tribes.aspx>.

service to the community in defense of a homeland.<sup>302</sup> In tribes that greatly respect military service, such as the Comanche and the Kiowa, enlisting is an intergenerational legacy that produces higher rates of service. In these tribes, children who grow up watching family members serve in the military understand military service as a familiar tradition.

One of the most famous examples of Indigenous Americans' military participation is the Navajo code talkers.<sup>303</sup> During World War II, the U.S. Army employed twenty-seven Navajo men to code and decode secret military communications in their tribal languages. The role was critical to many operations in the Pacific theater, including the victory at Iwo Jima. The story of these men, who became known as the "Navajo code talkers," has featured in numerous books and articles, as well as in the 2002 film *Windtalkers*.<sup>304</sup> Various military memorials have honored the Navajo code

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<sup>302</sup> "What Does It Mean to Be a Warrior?"

<sup>303</sup> There were at least 14 other Indigenous nations—including Cherokee and Comanche—that served as code talkers during WORLD WAR II. Code talkers were used in WORLD WAR I as well known as the Choctaw Telephone Squad. However, it was during WORLD WAR II that they were specifically recruited for the purpose. The Army was the first among US military branches to recruit code talkers. (source: <https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/american-indian-code-talkers>)

<sup>304</sup> "1942: Navajo Code Talkers"; Nathan Aaseng, *Navajo Code Talkers* (Bloomsbury Publishing USA, 2009); Adam Adkins, "Secret War: The Navajo Code Talkers in World War II," *New Mexico Historical Review* 72, no. 4 (October 1, 1997): 319–47; Margaret T. Bixler, *Winds of Freedom: The Story of the Navajo Code Talkers of World War II* (Noble House Publishers, 1992); Chester Nez and Judith Schiess Avila, *Code Talker: The First and Only Memoir By One of the Original Navajo Code Talkers of WWII* (Penguin, 2011); Doris Atkinson Paul, *The Navajo Code Talkers* (Dorrance Publishing, 1998); Noah Jed Riseman, "'Regardless of History'?: Re-Assessing the Navajo Codetalkers of World War II," *Australasian Journal of American Studies* 26, no. 2 (2007): 48–73; Andrew Santella, *Navajo Code Talkers* (Capstone, 2004); *Unsung Heroes of World War II: The Story of the Navajo Code Talkers* (U of Nebraska Press, 2009).



talkers, and the U.S. Marine Corps has designated August 14<sup>th</sup> “Code Talkers Day” to commemorate the 1945 date of Japanese surrender in World War II.<sup>305</sup> The military’s efforts to honor and celebrate the Code Talkers pays well-deserved tribute to the veterans. However, these accolades also function to hide and silence another side of the story. The United States has a long history of working to erase tribal cultures and languages. Between the period of the early nineteenth and mid twentieth centuries, the federal government placed Indigenous children in boarding schools and forced them to assimilate into American culture. Forced assimilation at these schools included a prohibition against speaking in tribal languages and mandating English. A Navajo veteran interviewed for the PBS documentary *The Warrior Tradition* shared his experience in one such school, recalling that if school administrators “catch you talking in Navajo, they will punish you. They grab you by your hair and stick that soap down in your mouth and [say] ‘wash that dirty word you just say’ [and I would] spit it out and vomit.”<sup>306</sup>

The Army’s warrior campaign can be viewed as one more form of Indigenous appropriation. The United States government robbed Indigenous American tribes of many things, including their land. It also tried to erase Indigenous history, culture, and language. At the same time, the American military continues to appropriate the Codical warrior and use Indigenous culture to promote its own agenda. Indigenous names grace

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<sup>305</sup> “Navajo Code Talkers Honored in Virtual Ceremony,” Marine Corps Times, August 17, 2020, <https://www.marinecorpstimes.com/news/your-marine-corps/2020/08/17/navajo-code-talkers-honored-in-virtual-ceremony/>.

<sup>306</sup> Hott, “The Warrior Tradition.”

Army choppers and units; Indigenous language supplied essential wartime codes; Indigenous people disproportionately fight in American wars today. Contemporary Indigenous ceremonies offer emotional healing for veterans who are traumatized from combat experiences, a service that the military fails adequately to provide. The Comanche and the Kiowa open Powwows with ceremonies in which veterans are presented and tribal members honor and bless active duty servicemembers preparing for deployment to battlegrounds in places like Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria.<sup>307</sup> In order to help soldiers with transitions, the same tribes hold ceremonies sending off and welcoming back soldiers. One member of the Blackfeet tribe who has hosted those ceremonies explains that “You come back from war with things attached to you, and some of those things may not be good ... Ceremonies help wash those things off, send them back to where they came from and get you back to who you are.”<sup>308</sup> They believe through those “cleansing” ceremonies, veterans transition from “an instrument of war” to “a person of peace.”<sup>309</sup> Veterans’ Administration hospitals now offer a traditional Blackfeet sweat ceremony for returning warriors, who are segregated from the tribe upon return from war. As an alternative to medication, these returning soldiers undergo purification processes in sweat lodges and talk through their war experiences before

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<sup>307</sup> Hott.

<sup>308</sup> Cecily Hilleary, “Veterans With PTSD Find Relief in Native American Rituals,” VOA, March 22, 2018, <https://www.voanews.com/usa/veterans-ptsd-find-relief-native-american-rituals>.

<sup>309</sup> Hott, “The Warrior Tradition”; Steven Clevenger, “Excerpt: ‘America’s First Warriors: Native Americans and Iraq,’” NPR.org, November 11, 2010, <https://www.npr.org/2010/11/11/131249532/excerpt-america-s-first-warriors-native-americans-and-iraq>.

uniting with their families.<sup>310</sup> The Indigenous warrior culture that the United States once tried to erase is now employed to help traumatized soldiers whom the US military calls “warriors.”

### **C. Examples of Model Warriors in Official Army Documents**

This section analyzes those soldiers hailed as model warriors in Army publications in relation to the Warrior Ethos that the Army put into practice in 2003. Exploring specific examples of the Warrior Ethos helps to delineate what a modern-day Army warrior looks like and identify those qualifications that the Army most admires.

#### **i. PFC Melvin L. Brown, MSG Gary I. Gordon, and SFC Randall D. Shughart**

In 2004, Virginia-based consulting firm the Wexford Group International won the U.S. Army contract to assess the Warrior Ethos and determine its application in training. The Wexford Group team defined a warrior as “a Soldier who performs required duties in a harsh and unforgiving environment which directly involves killing and also provides potential for being killed.”<sup>311</sup> The report provides two cases where soldiers demonstrated warrior ethos. The first case is PFC Melvin L. Brown, who displayed the first three tenets of the Warrior Ethos—mission first, never accept defeat, never quit—during the September 1950 Battle of Ka-San in the Korean War. The second case

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<sup>310</sup> Amy Lifson, “Veterans Tackle PTSD with Traditional Indian Healing,” *Humanities: The Magazine of the National Endowment for the Humanities*, February 2015, <https://www.neh.gov/humanities/2015/januaryfebruary/statement/healing-spaces>.

<sup>311</sup> Riccio et al., “Warrior Ethos.” 1.

analyzes an Army sniper team during the 1993 Battle of Mogadishu, Somalia, an operation popularly known as the Black Hawk Down incident; team members also demonstrated the Warrior Ethos's first three tenets, as well as the fourth: never leave a fallen comrade. The second case is also cited in Field Manual 1 *The Army* (2005) as exemplary warriors.

[PFC Melvin L. Brown, US Army, Company D, 8<sup>th</sup> Engineer Combat Battalion]

While his platoon was securing Hill 755 (the Walled City), the enemy, using heavy automatic weapons and small arms, counterattacked. Taking a position on a 50-foot-high wall he delivered heavy rifle fire on the enemy. His ammunition was soon expended and although wounded, he remained at his post and threw his few grenades into the attackers causing many casualties. When his supply of grenades was exhausted his comrades from nearby foxholes tossed others to him and he left his position, braving a hail of fire, to retrieve and throw them at the enemy. The attackers continued to assault his position and Pfc. Brown weaponless, drew his entrenching tool from his pack and calmly waited until they 1 by 1 peered over the wall, delivering each a crushing blow upon the head. Knocking 10 or 12 enemy from the wall, his daring action so inspired his platoon that they repelled the attack and held their position.

[MSG Gary I. Gordon and SFC Randall D. Shughart, Army Special Operations Command Task Force Ranger]

Master Sergeant Gordon's sniper team provided precision fires from the lead helicopter during an assault and at two helicopter crash sites, while subjected to intense automatic weapons and rocket propelled grenade fires. When Master Sergeant Gordon learned that ground forces were not immediately available to secure the second crash site, he and Sergeant First Class Shughart unhesitatingly volunteered to be inserted to protect the four critically wounded personnel, despite being well aware of the growing number of enemy personnel closing in on the site. After their third request to be inserted, they received permission to perform this volunteer mission.

Equipped with only sniper rifles and pistols, Master Sergeant Gordon and Sergeant First Class Shughart, while under intense small arms fire from the enemy, fought their way through a dense maze of shanties and shacks to reach the critically injured crew members. They pulled the pilot and the other crew members from the aircraft, establishing a perimeter which placed them in the

most vulnerable position. They killed an undetermined number of attackers while traveling the perimeter, protecting the downed crew. Their actions saved the pilot's life. Sergeant First Class Shughart continued his protective fire until he depleted his ammunition and was fatally wounded. After his own rifle ammunition was exhausted, Master Sergeant Gordon returned to the wreckage, gave a rifle with the last five rounds of ammunition to the dazed pilot with the words, "good luck." Then, he radioed for help and armed only with his pistol, Master Sergeant Gordon continued to fight until he was fatally wounded.<sup>312</sup>

There are numerous similarities between these cases. Both involve enlisted soldiers, not officers, and portray them as exemplary warriors. PFC Brown's case demonstrates that one's rank and combat experience, or lack thereof, does not dictate one's capacity to be a warrior. Even someone recently drafted for service can be an exemplary warrior if they live by the warrior ethos. War contextualizes both cases. War presents precarious and the perilous situations that expose a soldier's true character when forced to make split-second decisions. Moreover, the Army claims that one with a strong warrior ethos will willingly make the ultimate sacrifice when the time comes. All four tenets of the Warrior Ethos converge on a single ideal: willingly risking one's own life for the success of mission and the survival of comrades. It is not a coincidence that in these cases, PFC Melvin L. Brown, MSG Gordon, and SFC Shughart died as a result of the mission. The next chapter will demonstrate the Army's insistence that all soldiers uphold a warrior ethos" regardless of one's military occupation or combat experience. Exemplary warriors fight in war and willingly make the ultimate sacrifice.

## **ii. Task Force Kingston**

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<sup>312</sup> Department of the Army, *FM 1 The Army*, 2005. 1-17.

*ADP 6-22 Army Leadership and the Profession* officially establishes and describes Army leadership attributes and expected competencies across all levels and cohorts.<sup>313</sup> First published in 2012, the manual has been updated twice, in 2015 and 2019. Because teamwork is key to Army missions, ADP 6-22 suggests that all soldiers should share common attributes including empathy, discipline, humility, and a warrior ethos.<sup>314</sup> The text invokes Second Lieutenant Robert C. Kingston as a model leader who demonstrated “warrior ethos,” and his case appears in all three editions. Lieutenant Kingston was a K Company, 3d Battalion, 32d Infantry platoon leader during the Korean War, and led his troops through mountainous terrain, in temperatures often below zero, near dangerous enemy terrain.

LT Kingston inched his way forward, the battalion gradually adding elements to his force. Soon, he had anti-aircraft jeeps mounted with quad .50 caliber machine guns, a tank, a squad (later a platoon) of engineers, and an artillery forward observer under his control. Lieutenants who outranked him commanded some of the new attachments, as did the tactical air controller—a captain. LT Kingston remained in command; the battalion headquarters began referring to the growing force as “Task Force Kingston.” Bugged down with casualties mounting, Task Force Kingston received reinforcements that brought its strength to nearly 300. LT Kingston’s battalion commander wanted him to remain in command. One of the attached units was a rifle company, commanded by a captain. Nonetheless, the cooperative command arrangement worked because LT Kingston was a very competent leader.

Despite tough fighting, the force advanced. Hit while leading an assault on one enemy stronghold, Kingston managed to toss a grenade, just as a North Korean soldier fired a shot that glanced off his helmet. The lieutenant’s resilience and personal courage inspired every Soldier from the wide array of units under his

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<sup>313</sup> *ADP 6-22 Army Leadership and the Profession* (Washington D.C.: Department of the Army, 2019).

<sup>314</sup> *ADP 6-22 Army Leadership and the Profession*. 2-1.

control.<sup>315</sup>

As a second lieutenant, an entry-level junior rank, Kingston was tasked with leading a force that approached three hundred men, nearly fifty percent larger in size than a company (typically about two hundred soldiers), meaning that “Task Force Kingston” was larger than companies led by captains. More impressive is the fact that his leadership was so effective that a captain was placed under his command. Typically, a captain in charge of the attached unit would assume the leadership position of the force. However, Kingston’s strong warrior ethos enabled his leadership during a strenuous situation, earning the title “Task Force Kingston” after his name.

Unlike the subjects in those *Army* cases that portrayed enlisted soldiers, Kingston was an officer. As a platoon commander, he was in a position to lead other soldiers. The reason for ADP 6-22’s choice of an officer, instead of enlisted personnel, is obvious. ADP 6-22 is about “Army Leadership and the Profession” like the title indicates. While there are many enlisted servicemembers and DoD civilians in leadership positions in the Army, officers lead any unit larger than a platoon. Officers universally fill command positions in the upper echelons, beginning at the company level. But like PFC Brown, LT Kingston was also a junior servicemember with limited military tenure. Both Brown and Kingston joined the military service in 1948, the former as an enlisted and the latter as an officer.<sup>316</sup> It had been less than two years in the service before they

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<sup>315</sup> ADP 6-22 *Army Leadership and the Profession*. 2-10.

<sup>316</sup> Adam Berstein, “Robert C. Kingston, General, United States Army,” Arlington National Cemetery Website, March 2, 2007, <http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/rckingston.htm>; “PFC Melvin L. Brown,” 1st Cavalry Division Association, accessed March 25, 2021,

were deployed to Korea and demonstrate outstanding bravery and leadership as illustrated above. They lacked any previous combat experience. These cases show that anyone can become a warrior if one puts one's mind to it. The message, "If he can do it, so can you," is insinuated in the examples.

The Army's "warrior" discourse, which associates exemplary warriors with combat experience, constructs the warrior concept as male. Until the Department of Defense opened all combat positions to women in 2015, combat was exclusively male soldiers' job. There have been many female servicemembers who serve in combat zones along with male troops and come into direct contact with the enemy. For example, female soldiers in the Lioness program,<sup>317</sup> Female Engagement Teams,<sup>318</sup> and Cultural Support Teams<sup>319</sup> served and fought side by side with male soldiers on

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<https://1cda.org/history/medal-of-honor/moh-brown/>.

<sup>317</sup> The Lioness program is a program in the Army and the Marine Corps during the Iraq War where female troops are attached to all-male combat units to search Muslim women and communicate with them. The program was installed to defuse cultural tensions that may be caused by American male soldiers directly interacting with Iraqi women. Since the female team accompanied male troops, when fighting broke out against insurgents, female soldiers fought back alongside male soldiers. (Source: Felicia R. Lee, "Battleground: Female Soldiers in the Line of Fire," *The New York Times*, November 4, 2008, sec. Arts, <https://www.nytimes.com/2008/11/05/arts/television/05lion.html>.)

<sup>318</sup> The Female Engagement Team is a program in the Army and the Marine Corps during the Afghanistan War where female soldiers engage with and develop "trust-based and enduring relationships with the Afghan women" as part of the American forces' patrol missions. Afghan cultural norms disallow American soldiers looking at or talking to Afghan women. It may come off as disrespecting the culture and offensive if these customs are ignored. The role of Female Engagement Team helps avoid unnecessary conflicts with local populations and ensure patrol troops' safety on missions. (Source: Christopher McCullough, "Female Engagement Teams: Who They Are and Why They Do It," [www.army.mil](http://www.army.mil), February 22, 2013, [https://www.army.mil/article/88366/female\\_engagement\\_teams\\_who\\_they\\_are\\_and\\_why\\_they\\_do\\_it](https://www.army.mil/article/88366/female_engagement_teams_who_they_are_and_why_they_do_it).)

<sup>319</sup> The Cultural Support Team is a program in the Army Special Operations Forces (ARSOF)



patrol missions in the Iraq and Afghanistan wars. However, the military does not officially recognize these experiences as combat positions due to the restrictions then in place regarding women in combat. As a result, when official Army publications like FM 1 *The Army* and ADP 6-22 *Army Leadership and the Profession* associate combat experience with the warrior ethos, they often neglect—though do not purposely erase—female soldiers.

### **3. Who Receives the “Warrior” Label in the Twenty-first Century US Army**

Though Field Manuals and Army Doctrine Publications draw a strong connection between combat and the “warrior” concept, the Army employs the term “warrior” more broadly in general situations, especially when related to public relations efforts. This section examines these general situations, which include the Wounded Warrior Projects, soldiers in public outreach projects, and recent recruiting campaigns. The first case involves soldiers injured in combat, or “wounded warriors.” John Melia, a former Marine, a veteran with no connection to the Army, founded the Wounded Warrior Project in 2003.<sup>320</sup> The project’s popularity introduced the phrase “wounded warrior” to the Army’s working vocabulary, however. Today, the branch uses the phrase to refer to

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where female soldiers engage with the local female populations present at ARSOF objectives. Prior to deployment, CST members receive training in “soldier survivability, operational orientation, general and regional culture, engagement, face-to-face communication, civil reconnaissance and tactical information collection. (Source: “Cultural Support Team,” American Special Ops, accessed January 16, 2021, <https://www.americanspecialops.com/photos/special-operations/cultural-support-team.php>.)

<sup>320</sup> Susan Lisovicz and Andy Serwer, “CNN in the Money,” CNN.com, March 20, 2004, <https://www.webcitation.org/5dsWPvjdE?url=http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0403/20/cnnitm.00.html>.

“severely wounded, ill, and injured” soldiers and veterans, and runs their own Army Wounded Warrior Program.<sup>321</sup> This section explores three initiatives that employ the term “warrior” in relation to marketing and recruitment: the eSports team, the Army fitness team, and Army recruiting campaigns. The Army has used mass media to mobilize popular understanding of the warrior concept and to rebrand the Army as more invincible and exciting.

### **A. Wounded Soldiers**

The founder of the Wounded Warrior Project, John Melia, a wounded veteran himself, realized that the military provided insufficient logistical support for returning veterans who had been wounded in battle. He began a charity organization to address the issue, putting together backpacks filled with essential care and comfort items that wounded soldiers might need but were not given in the hospital, such as clothing, toiletries, playing cards, etc.<sup>322</sup> Despite controversy regarding misappropriation of donation funds, the Wounded Warrior Project remains one of the best known charity organizations for wounded veterans. Under the “Who is a warrior?” section, the project webpage defines a “warrior” as “Veterans and service members who incurred physical or mental injury, illness, or wound while serving in the military on or after September 11, 2001.”<sup>323</sup> According to the definition, one’s combat engagement at the time of injury or

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<sup>321</sup> “Army Wounded Warrior Program (AW2),” Government, My Army Benefits, accessed January 16, 2021, [https://myarmybenefits.us.army.mil/Benefit-Library/Federal-Benefits/Army-Wounded-Warrior-Program-\(AW2\)](https://myarmybenefits.us.army.mil/Benefit-Library/Federal-Benefits/Army-Wounded-Warrior-Program-(AW2)).

<sup>322</sup> Lisovicz and Serwer, “John Melia at CNN.”

<sup>323</sup> Wounded Warrior Project, “Who We Are,” Wounded Warrior Project, accessed October 15,

illness is not relevant to the “warrior” title, and the term applies to any servicemember who suffers physically or mentally as a result of their military service. The only criterion for the designation requires that the injury or illness have taken place “on or after September 11, 2001.”<sup>324</sup> In the case of the Wounded Warrior Project, warriors are connected to the 9/11 terrorist attack.

In 2004, the Army established the Disabled Soldier Support System to provide advocacy and support for “the most severely wounded, injured, or ill Soldiers as a result of wounds, injuries, or illness incurred since September 11, 2001.”<sup>325</sup> In 2005, they renamed the initiative the Army Wounded Warrior Program.<sup>326</sup> As a sub-program of the Army’s Warrior Care and Transition Program operated by the US Army Medical Command, the Army Wounded Warrior Program also provides support to soldiers and veterans competing at the Warrior Games, an annual, multi-sport event for wounded soldiers.<sup>327</sup> There are unmistakable similarities between the Wounded Warrior Project and the Army Wounded Warrior Program, most notably the use of the phrase “wounded warrior” and classification of wounded warriors in relation to the 9/11 terrorist attacks.

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2020, <https://www.woundedwarriorproject.org/mission>.

<sup>324</sup> Wounded Warrior Project.

<sup>325</sup> “AW2 Overview,” Army Recovery Care Program, accessed January 17, 2021, [https://wct.army.mil/wct/aw2\\_overview.html](https://wct.army.mil/wct/aw2_overview.html).

<sup>326</sup> Ronald P. Hudak et al., “The U.S. Army Wounded Warrior Program (AW2): A Case Study in Designing a Nonmedical Case Management Program for Severely Wounded, Injured, and Ill Service Members and Their Families,” *Military Medicine* 174, no. 6 (June 1, 2009): 566–71, <https://doi.org/10.7205/MILMED-D-04-0408>. 566.

<sup>327</sup> “2021 Warrior Games,” Department of Defense Warrior Games, accessed January 17, 2021, <https://dodwarriorgames.com/>.

The projects' popularity led to many legislative bills similarly concerned with the nation's "wounded warriors." Since 2005, when Congress introduced the Wounded Warrior Servicemembers Group Disability Insurance Act, approximately 250 "wounded warrior" bills have been proposed in Congress.<sup>328</sup>

A wounded warrior may be a soldier in any specialty position, including logistics and administrative, and is applicable regardless of how the injury or illness was incurred. This runs contrary to the time when the term was specifically reserved for soldiers in combat positions and who displayed exceptional bravery and martial skills. But in contrast with the designation, which confers respect, wounded veterans often fail to receive proper treatment or care, let alone respect. Even at superior military medical facilities like Washington D.C.'s Walter Reed Army Medical Center, veterans suffer from sub-standard care, and the treatment becomes even less adequate after leaving the facility.<sup>329</sup> Consequently, the term "warrior" has become an empty honorific bestowed on wounded soldiers who are often neglected and forgotten when they demand actual

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<sup>328</sup> This estimate is accurate through December 2020. "Legislative Search Results," legislation, Congress.gov, accessed December 23, 2020, <https://www.congress.gov/search>.

<sup>329</sup> Donovan Slack and Dennis Wagner, "VA Failures Endured through Three Secretaries," *USA Today*, March 29, 2018, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2018/03/29/veterans-affairs-failures-go-beyond-ousted-secoutlive-three-secretaries-soon-four-including-david-sh/470573002/>; Dana Priest and Anne Hull, "Soldiers Face Neglect, Frustration At Army's Top Medical Facility," *Washington Post*, February 18, 2007, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2007/02/18/soldiers-face-neglect-frustration-at-armys-top-medical-facility/c0c4b3e4-fb22-4df6-9ac9-c602d41c5bda/>; Richard F. Mollica, "Humiliating the Wounded Warrior," *The Baltimore Sun*, March 25, 2007, <https://www.baltimoresun.com/news/bs-xpm-2007-03-25-0703250059-story.html>; Steve Cohen, "Disband the Veterans Administration," *City Journal*, May 14, 2019, <https://www.city-journal.org/veterans-administration-benefits>.

help. Furthermore, the term “warrior” in “wounded warrior” is used with no relevance to the warrior ideals as in the Army’s “Warrior Ethos.”

## **B. Esports Video Game Team**

In 1997, the US Army Recruiting Command (USAREC) installed the Marketing and Engagement Brigade (formerly the Army Recruiting Command Area Support Group) with the goal of “influence[ing] the American People to join the Army by enhancing and conducting recruiting operations through direct engagements and demonstrating elite Army skills and exhibits.”<sup>330</sup> The Marketing and Engagement Brigade debuted the US Army eSports team in 2019 as one of these “direct engagements.”<sup>331</sup> Drawn from both the Regular Army and Army Reserves, servicemembers in the eSports game team participate in national video game competitions and events to raise awareness about the Army. By competing in gaming events as Army members, they represent the service to young people—the target recruiting population—in an accessible and familiar manner. General Frank Muth, then commanding general of USAREC, said in an interview, “If we are going to be successful in recruiting, then we need to be where young people are—and they are operating in the digital world.”<sup>332</sup> The Army named the

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<sup>330</sup> “Marketing and Engagement Brigade,” U.S. Army Recruiting Command, accessed January 17, 2021, [https://recruiting.army.mil/about\\_meb/](https://recruiting.army.mil/about_meb/).

<sup>331</sup> US Army Recruiting Command, “U.S. Army Esports Team,” US Army Recruiting Command, accessed October 13, 2020, [https://recruiting.army.mil/army\\_esports/](https://recruiting.army.mil/army_esports/).

<sup>332</sup> Michelle deGuzman-Watson, “ESPORTS Warriors Wanted: Army Seeks Soldiers for Competitive Online Gaming Team,” U.S. Army, accessed March 23, 2020, [https://www.army.mil/article/214760/esports\\_warriors\\_wanted\\_army\\_seeks\\_soldiers\\_for\\_competitive\\_online\\_gaming\\_team](https://www.army.mil/article/214760/esports_warriors_wanted_army_seeks_soldiers_for_competitive_online_gaming_team).

video game players “eSports Warriors” in the internal recruiting advertisement.<sup>333</sup>

The eSports initiative was not the first time that the Army used the term “warrior” in relation to video games. In 2011, Army bases around the country installed computer game centers called “Warrior Zones.”<sup>334</sup> The Family and Morale, Welfare and Recreation Command initiated and ran the Warrior Zones, which were equipped with televisions, gaming systems, home theater units, and computers with which soldiers could play video games during their free time. On platforms including Xbox, PlayStation and Wii, soldiers play popular games like *Call of Duty*, *Army of Two*, *World of Warcraft*, *America’s Army*, and *Street Fighter*.<sup>335</sup>

The American armed forces have a long history with gaming. Since the early years of the video game industry, the military has been one of its crucial sponsors, and has pursued a symbiotic relationship. Digital computers are one example of technology that has emerged out of Department of Defense–funded necessities. During World War II, new weapons systems demanded faster and more accurate calculations. The Department of Defense funded the creation of the Electronic Numerical Integrator and Computer (ENIAC), the world’s first digital computer, which provided calculations for the construction of the hydrogen bomb.<sup>336</sup> Over the course of the two decades that

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<sup>333</sup> deGuzman-Watson.

<sup>334</sup> Tim Hipps, “Warrior Zone: Innovative Recreation Opportunities for Soldiers,” U.S. Army, May 31, 2011, [https://www.army.mil/article/58603/warrior\\_zone\\_innovative\\_recreation\\_opportunities\\_for\\_soldiers](https://www.army.mil/article/58603/warrior_zone_innovative_recreation_opportunities_for_soldiers).

<sup>335</sup> Hipps.

<sup>336</sup> Corey Mead, *War Play: Video Games and the Future of Armed Conflict* (Houghton Mifflin

followed, the military was “the proving ground for initial concepts and prototype machines” for the computer industry, sponsoring agencies like the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA), the Army Research Laboratory, and the Office of Naval Research.<sup>337</sup>

At the end of the Cold War, the *Bradley Trainer* would become the first military-purpose simulator adapted from a recreational video game, illustrating another example of symbiosis between the military and the gaming industry. In 1980, video game company Atari had released *Battlezone*, the first three-dimensional first-person shooter game in which the player maneuvers a tank through a virtual battlefield, and the arcade game was an instant hit.<sup>338</sup> The Army collaborated with Atari to modify *Battlezone* into a similar tank-shooter game featuring an Infantry Fighting Vehicle later renamed the M2 Bradley.<sup>339</sup> Training soldiers to drive the armored vehicles was expensive, therefore, employing an adapted arcade game to do so was a more accessible and economical option. It was also a lucrative opportunity for Atari, which could sell the arcade hardware to the military without any marketing expenses. This collaboration affirmed a mutually

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Harcourt, 2013). 12.

<sup>337</sup> DARPA is a research and development agency of the US Department of Defense that is responsible for developing technologies for military use; Corey Mead, “Shall We Play a Game?: The Rise of the Military-Entertainment Complex,” Salon, September 19, 2013, [https://www.salon.com/2013/09/19/shall\\_we\\_play\\_a\\_game\\_the\\_rise\\_of\\_the\\_military\\_entertainment\\_complex/](https://www.salon.com/2013/09/19/shall_we_play_a_game_the_rise_of_the_military_entertainment_complex/).

<sup>338</sup> Nina B. Huntemann and Matthew Thomas Payne, *Joystick Soldiers: The Politics of Play in Military Video Games* (Routledge, 2009). 5; Tim Lenoir and Luke Caldwell, *The Military-Entertainment Complex*, MetaLABprojects (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2018). 49.

<sup>339</sup> Huntemann and Payne, *Joystick Soldiers*. Xiii.

beneficial partnership between the military and the video game industry. In 1983, DARPA launched the US Army Simulation Technology and Training Center (STTC).<sup>340</sup>

The Cold War's conclusion expedited the birth of the military-entertainment complex, as this sea change forced downsizing and a reduced defense budget. The federal government expected the military to spend its budget efficiently and in ways that benefited the broader society beyond the military. New procurement policies emphasized purchasing already-available commercial technologies and equipment over dedicated military research programs. As a result, the military purchased simulation game programs like *Falcon 4.0* and *Doom* to train soldiers.<sup>341</sup>

*America's Army*, first released in 2002, represents the most recent Army gaming endeavor executed in partnership with the video game industry. A first-person shooter game that the public can download and play for free, it has proved to be an effective recruiting device. Colonel Casey Wardynski, the first person to envision an Army-made video game, aimed to provide the public with "a virtual Soldier experience that was engaging, informative and entertaining."<sup>342</sup> *America's Army: Proving Grounds*, the latest version of the game, features positional tactical training that American soldiers receive at a real Army MOUT (Military Operations on Urban Terrain) site.<sup>343</sup> Players

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<sup>340</sup> Lenoir and Caldwell, *The Military-Entertainment Complex*. 49.

<sup>341</sup> Huntemann and Payne, *Joystick Soldiers*. 42.

<sup>342</sup> Carrie McLeroy, "Improving 'America's Army,'" *Soldiers: Official U.S. Army Magazine*, September 2008. 7.

<sup>343</sup> "America's Army," goarmy.com, accessed December 20, 2020, <https://www.goarmy.com/downloads/americas-army-game.html>.



learn small unit maneuver skills and how to engage with the enemy while playing the video game. The game has two essential functions: First, it stimulates young people's interest in the service, and consequently boosts recruitment. Second, it introduces basic combat skills to recruits who join or are interested in joining the service. In 2007, *America's Army* received a Guinness World Record for enrolling over eight million registered users.<sup>344</sup> At the time there were approximately 520,000 soldiers on active duty, meaning that player population was more than fifteen times greater than the Army population.<sup>345</sup> The Army has actively marketed the game by installing the Virtual Army Experience (VAE) at popular venues including air shows, amusement parks, NASCAR races, and music festivals around the country.<sup>346</sup> The VAE is a 10,000-square foot inflatable dome that contains mock-up military vehicles and several large projection screens with virtual-reality effects. *America's Army* has proved to be a successful recruiting method.<sup>347</sup> However, it has also attracted criticism for falsely equating warfare with video games.<sup>348</sup>

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<sup>344</sup> Lori Mezoff, "America's Army Game Sets Five Guinness World Records," [www.army.mil](http://www.army.mil), February 10, 2009, [https://www.army.mil/article/16678/americas\\_army\\_game\\_sets\\_five\\_guinness\\_world\\_records](https://www.army.mil/article/16678/americas_army_game_sets_five_guinness_world_records).

<sup>345</sup> Mezoff.

<sup>346</sup> Huntemann and Payne, *Joystick Soldiers*. 1.

<sup>347</sup> Peter W. Singer, "Meet the Sims...and Shoot Them," Brookings Institute, February 22, 2010, <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/meet-the-sims-and-shoot-them/>.

<sup>348</sup> Hamza Shaban, "Playing War: How the Military Uses Video Games," *The Atlantic*, October 10, 2013, <https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2013/10/playing-war-how-the-military-uses-video-games/280486/>; Marcus Schulzke, "Rethinking Military Gaming: America's Army and Its Critics," *Games and Culture* 8, no. 2 (March 1, 2013): 59–76, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1555412013478686>; Mike Thompson, "Killing in the Name of: The US Army and Video Games," *Ars Technica*, January 1, 2019, <https://arstechnica.com/gaming/2019/01/army-video-games/>;

Video gaming is a male-dominated media in terms of market audience and character representation in games.<sup>349</sup> Popular stereotypes of video gamers dictate that they are men, usually socially inept, reclusive, with an obsession for gaming.<sup>350</sup> Due to this stereotype, the majority of popular video games portray strong male protagonists. Of fifty-five video games presented at the 2019 Electronic Entertainment Expo, only five percent featured female protagonists, a number that has actually decreased over the years.<sup>351</sup> Moreover, when games do feature female characters, they are typically depicted as either “damsels in distress” or “sexy warriors” with “prominent breasts,

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Margot A. Susca, “Why We Still Fight: Adolescents, America’s Army, and the Government-Gaming Nexus,” *Global Media Journal* 11, no. 21 (2012), <https://www.globalmediajournal.com/peer-reviewed/why-we-still-fight-adolescents-americas-army-and-the-governmentgaming-nexus-35335.html>.

<sup>349</sup> Bradley S. Greenberg et al., “Orientations to Video Games Among Gender and Age Groups,” *Simulation & Gaming* 41, no. 2 (April 1, 2010): 238–59, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1046878108319930>; Dmitri Williams et al., “The Virtual Census: Representations of Gender, Race and Age in Video Games,” *New Media & Society* 11, no. 5 (August 1, 2009): 815–34, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444809105354>; Tracy L. Dietz, “An Examination of Violence and Gender Role Portrayals in Video Games: Implications for Gender Socialization and Aggressive Behavior,” *Sex Roles* 38, no. 5 (March 1, 1998): 425–42, <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1018709905920>; James D. Ivory, “Still a Man’s Game: Gender Representation in Online Reviews of Video Games,” *Mass Communication and Society* 9, no. 1 (February 1, 2006): 103–14, [https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327825mcs0901\\_6](https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327825mcs0901_6); Xeniya Kondrat, “Gender and Video Games: How Is Female Gender Generally Represented in Various Genres of Video Games?,” *Journal of Comparative Research in Anthropology and Sociology* 6, no. 01 (2015): 171–93; Jennifer Malkowski and TreaAndrea M. Russworm, *Gaming Representation: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in Video Games* (Indiana University Press, 2017).

<sup>350</sup> Rachel Kower and Julian Oldmeadow, “The Stereotype of Online Gamers: New Characterization or Recycled Prototype?,” in *Local and Global--Games in Culture and Society* (DiGRA Nordic 2012, DiGRA Nordic, 2012), <http://www.digra.org/wp-content/uploads/digital-library/12168.23066.pdf>. 1.

<sup>351</sup> Anita Sarkeesian and Carolyn Petit, “Female Representation in Videogames Isn’t Getting Any Better,” *Wired*, June 14, 2019, <https://www.wired.com/story/e3-2019-female-representation-videogames/>.

emphasized buttocks, and provocative clothes.”<sup>352</sup> Female representation in video games accommodates the male gaze that views and represents female characters in a sexualized manner.<sup>353</sup> Games designed to target female players commonly engaged stereotypically “female” pastimes like self-care, cooking, dating, and caring for babies or pets. Given these trends, the absence of female characters in *America’s Army* is not surprising; a player can choose a character’s race, military position, and gear, but not a character’s gender. (Figure 3). Though women make up over sixteen percent of the Army personnel, they are largely ignored in the Army video game that constructs the American soldier only as male. A female recruit training through this program must be a man in virtual reality.

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<sup>352</sup> Teresa Lynch et al., “Sexy, Strong, and Secondary: A Content Analysis of Female Characters in Video Games across 31 Years,” *Journal of Communication* 66, no. 4 (August 1, 2016): 564–84, <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12237>; Edward Downs and Stacy L. Smith, “Keeping Abreast of Hypersexuality: A Video Game Character Content Analysis,” *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research* 62, no. 11–12 (2010): 721–33, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-009-9637-1>.

<sup>353</sup> Laura Mulvey, *Visual and Other Pleasures* (Springer, 1989). 22.

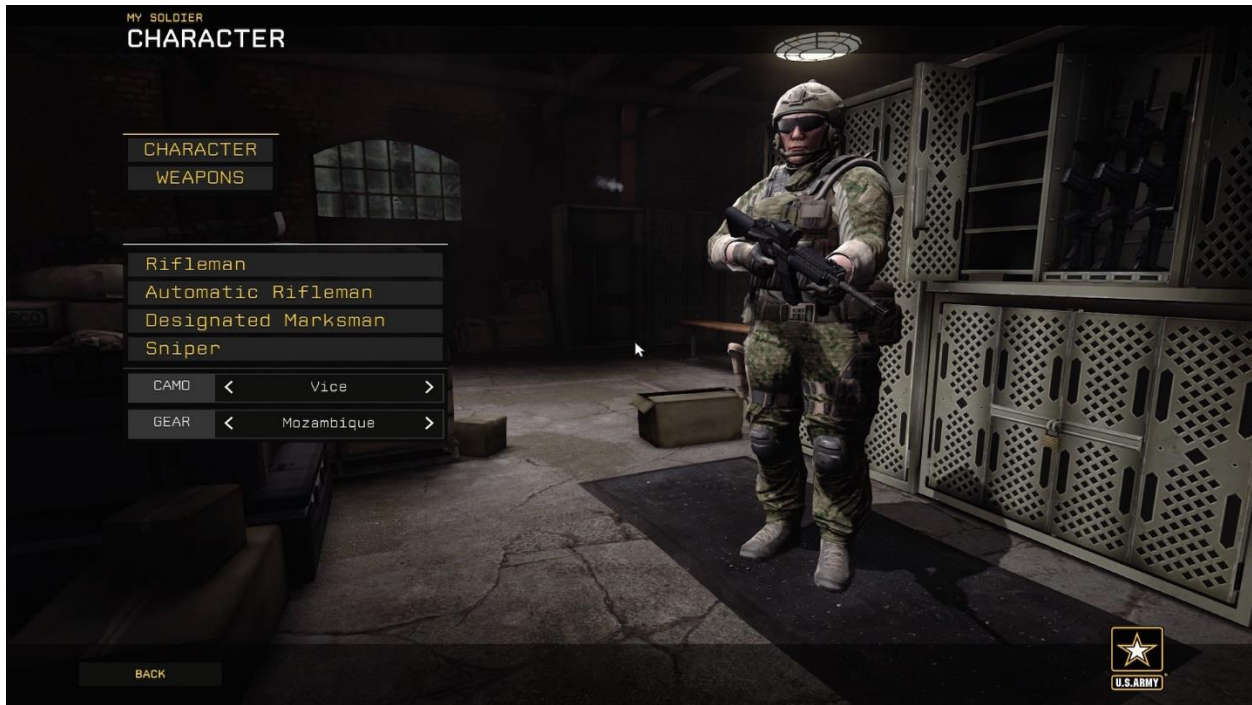


Figure 3. Character Customization Page in *America's Army*, <https://i0.wp.com/news.americasarmy.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Menu-My-Soldier1.jpg>.

### C. Army Fitness Team

In 2019, the Army launched the Warrior Fitness Team as a sister program to the Army eSports team.<sup>354</sup> Over the course of a three-day tryout, the Army assessed servicemembers from a variety of fields before selecting fifteen “fitness warriors.”<sup>355</sup> Though applicants were evaluated for proficiency in weightlifting, rope climbing, and walking on their hands, physical performance was not the only criterion they needed to meet; communication and social skills were also evaluated. An interview component

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<sup>354</sup> Meghann Myers, “Army Selects 15 PT Studs for New Warrior Fitness Team,” *Army Times*, February 13, 2019, <https://www.armytimes.com/news/your-army/2019/02/12/army-selects-15-pt-studs-for-new-warrior-fitness-team/>.

<sup>355</sup> Myers.

required applicants to “present themselves and tell [the interviewer] their Army story as if [the interviewer knew] nothing about the Army.”<sup>356</sup> The interview was designed to assess a competitor’s ability to engage the public, which would in turn facilitate outreach and recruitment. Ultimately, the Army Warrior Fitness Team was not an endeavor to enhance the physical strength of the Army, but a publicity stunt to promote the Army’s public image. An *Army Times* article that noted the team’s desire to “get the show on the road” later that spring emphasizes this point.<sup>357</sup>

The Army launched both the eSports team and the fitness team in response to the service’s failure to meet recruiting goals in 2018.<sup>358</sup> Both teams were public relations and recruiting endeavors organized around the warrior concept. In the Army’s desperate attempt to reach out to eligible young people, however, these teams tapped different segments of the youth population. The eSports program was designed to appeal to Millennials and Gen Z. Millennials are people born between 1981 and 1996, and anyone born after 1997.<sup>359</sup> The majority of Millennials and Gen Z play video games as a hobby: two-thirds of these populations play video games, and nearly three-quarters of them watch gaming content on platforms like YouTube.<sup>360</sup> For Americans between the ages of

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<sup>356</sup> Myers.

<sup>357</sup> Myers.

<sup>358</sup> Corey Dickstein, “Army Misses 2018 Recruiting Goal, Which Hasn’t Happened since 2005,” *Stars and Stripes*, September 21, 2018, <https://www.stripes.com/news/army/army-misses-2018-recruiting-goal-which-hasn-t-happened-since-2005-1.548580>.

<sup>359</sup> Michael Dimock, “Defining Generations: Where Millennials End and Generation Z Begins,” *Pew Research Center* (blog), January 17, 2019, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/01/17/where-millennials-end-and-generation-z-begins/>.

<sup>360</sup> “Two-Thirds of Gen Z Males Say Gaming Is a Core Component of Who They Are,” 4A’s,

12 and 17, video gaming is not an isolated activity, but a social one in which 97% of teens in the age group play computer, web, portable, or console games, and 65% play with others in person.<sup>361</sup> The Army has harnessed gaming's popularity in its marketing to young people, which makes the Army seem as exciting and interesting as *Call of Duty*. The hyperreality of today's video game merges young people's perceptions of what is real and what is not.

The Army fitness team, on the other hand, celebrates the conventional notion that associates muscular development with strong masculinity regardless of women's presence in the team. People who are interested in bodybuilding, and especially in achieving extreme muscularity, tend to value a hypermasculine ideal.<sup>362</sup> The American military functions as the "archetypal expression" of masculinity, and the popular imagination sees affiliation with the service as an amplification of one's masculine status.<sup>363</sup> Consequently, one might assume that people who value muscularity may be easier to recruit into the service. Moreover, the Army can reinforce the Army's idealized masculinity by presenting selected soldiers with muscular physiques. While the eSport

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February 27, 2019, <https://www.aaaa.org/gen-z-males-say-gaming-core-component-who-they-are/>; "When Millennials Aren't Gaming, They're Watching Gaming Content," *Marketing Charts* (blog), July 18, 2019, <https://www.marketingcharts.com/cross-media-and-traditional/videogames-traditional-and-cross-channel-109240>.

<sup>361</sup> "Teens, Video Games and Civics," *Pew Research Center: Internet, Science & Tech* (blog), September 16, 2008, <https://www.pewresearch.org/internet/2008/09/16/teens-video-games-and-civics/>.

<sup>362</sup> Ari Berkowitz, "Muscles and Masculinity," *Psychology Today*, July 11, 2020, <https://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/governing-behavior/202007/muscles-and-masculinity>.

<sup>363</sup> Belkin, *Bring Me Men*. 7.

Team and the Fitness team appeal to two different groups, they both employ those groups' ideas about what constitutes hegemonic masculinity. In this way, the Army identifies the concept of "warrior" as masculine.

#### **D. All New Recruits**

In 2018, the US Army launched a new recruiting campaign titled "Warriors Wanted," which identified all potential recruits as "warriors." They returned to the theme the following year in a campaign that asked potential recruits, "What's Your Warrior?" For the better part of a century the Army has periodically rebranded itself in order to better appeal to the young people whose enlistment builds a volunteer corps. Not until 2018, however, did the Army do so by invoking the warrior archetype in recruiting programs.

The Army recruitment campaign as we know it today that employs mass media advertisement has a long history. The best known advertisement to the contemporaries is James Montgomery Flagg's 1917 painting of Uncle Sam pointing his finger at the viewer over the legend "I Want You for the U.S. Army."<sup>364</sup> It became an iconic image in American visual culture. The Army recycled the poster for recruiting during World War II, further cementing the image in the popular imagination. Though mass media advertising included posters and newspaper ads, the full-scale recruiting campaign that we know

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<sup>364</sup> James Montgomery Flagg, "I Want You for U.S. Army: Nearest Recruiting Station / James Montgomery Flagg," image, Library of Congress, 1917, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/ppmsc.03521/>.

today only began with the end of conscription.<sup>365</sup> President Richard Nixon, who ran his 1968 presidential campaign on the promise to end the draft, successfully eliminated the conscription system and created an all-volunteer Army. Since the unpopular war in Vietnam caused strong antiwar and antimilitary sentiment in the country, the Army that could no longer rely on conscription found the prospect of transitioning to an all-volunteer force challenging. To address this issue, Nixon appointed a commission to conduct the Project Volunteer in Defense of the Nation (PROVIDE) to examine effects the transition to AVF would have on the Army.<sup>366</sup> PROVIDE revealed that, among the four armed services, the Army was the least desirable choice to potential recruits.<sup>367</sup> Moreover, at this time, about seventy percent of Army veterans were advising potential volunteers to join other services.<sup>368</sup> Faced with an urgent need to rebrand itself in anticipation of transition to AVF, the Army increased its advertising and recruiting budget to \$500 million in 1973 which was a huge leap from \$3.2 million in 1931.<sup>369</sup>

The Army hired professional advertising firms to run massive advertising and recruiting campaigns. N. W. Ayer, a Philadelphia-based advertising firm, ran the Army's

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<sup>365</sup> Melissa T. Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity: The Construction of Gender in US Military Recruiting Advertising during the All-Volunteer Force* (Oxford University Press, 2012). 44.

<sup>366</sup> Directorate of Personnel Studies and Research and Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel, *PROVIDE: Project Volunteer in Defense of the Nation* (Directorate of Personnel Studies and Research, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel, 1970).

<sup>367</sup> Robert K. Griffith, *The U.S. Army's Transition to the All-Volunteer Force 1968-1974*, Army Historical Series (Washington DC: Center of Military History, 1997). 219.

<sup>368</sup> Griffith. 22.

<sup>369</sup> Griffith. 221.



first recruiting campaign following the transition to AVF. Titled “Today’s Army Wants to Join You” (and later shortened to “Today’s Army” in 1973–1974), the campaign name offered a twist on the earlier “I Want You” campaigns in order to emphasize a “new Army” that was willing to change and accommodate the soldiers’ needs.<sup>370</sup> In 1974, N. W. Ayer devised another campaign, this one inviting recruits to “Join the People who’ve Joined the Army” (1974-1979); it told real soldiers’ stories instead of hiring professional actors and models.<sup>371</sup> The goal was to make the Army seem more accessible by showing that its personnel were real people who looked and sounded just like civilians, and focused on the benefits of enlisting, such as financial security and educational opportunities.<sup>372</sup> These campaigns did not easily persuade the public, who criticized the ads for painting “distorted” and overly “optimistic” pictures of Army life.<sup>373</sup> The Army’s next campaign “This is the Army” (1979–1980) responded to this criticism by conveying more practical and realistic information about the service branch than the previous campaign.<sup>374</sup> In 1981, Ayer introduced another new Army campaign titled “Be All You Can Be” (1981–2001). Introduced in television ads broadcast during the 1981 New Year’s football bowl games, the “Be All You Can Be” campaign ran for the next twenty years and was selected as the eighteenth most-successful advertisement of the

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<sup>370</sup> Bailey, *AMERICA’S ARMY*. 74.

<sup>371</sup> Jeremy Saucier, “Mobilizing the Imagination: Army Advertising and the Politics of Culture in Post-Vietnam America” (PhD Dissertation, University of Rochester, 2010). 88.

<sup>372</sup> Bailey, *AMERICA’S ARMY*. 123.

<sup>373</sup> Saucier, “Mobilizing the Imagination.” 135.

<sup>374</sup> Bailey, *AMERICA’S ARMY*. 87.

twentieth century by the *Advertising Age*, a trade magazine that covers advertising and marketing.<sup>375</sup> Though “Be All You Can Be” was a success, the Army leadership criticized the campaign for promoting self-serving motives for joining the Army. For instance, then–Secretary of the Army Louis Caldera criticized that the campaign for being “about you personally, as opposed to serving your country.”<sup>376</sup>

The strong economy of the 1990s challenged military recruiting. Desperate, the Army allocated \$150 million to address the issue and hired Chicago advertising firm Leo Burnett, which handled marketing for big corporations like McDonald’s, Nintendo, and Coca-Cola.<sup>377</sup> The Army ordered Leo Burnett to initiate a research project on potential recruits, similar to the PROVIDE study. The Burnett research found that young people held negative views about the Army and had very limited knowledge about the service, but also wanted to be part of something greater than themselves.<sup>378</sup> In an appeal to individualism and independence, the Army and Leo Burnett launched a campaign titled “An Army of One” (2001–2005). The campaign failed to appeal to young people, and in 2005, the Army missed its recruiting target by its widest margin in more than two decades.<sup>379</sup>

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<sup>375</sup> Tom Evans, “All We Could Be: How an Advertising Campaign Helped Remake the Army,” A Campaign for the National Museum of the United States Army, accessed February 10, 2020, <https://armyhistory.org/all-we-could-be-how-an-advertising-campaign-helped-remake-the-army/>.

<sup>376</sup> Matt Labash, “The New Army,” *Washington Examiner*, April 30, 2001, <https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/weekly-standard/the-new-army-12567>.

<sup>377</sup> Dao, “Ads Now Seek Recruits for ‘An Army of One.’”

<sup>378</sup> Dao.

<sup>379</sup> The Associated Press, “‘Army Strong’ Replaces ‘Army of One,’” NBC News, October 9,

In response to the failure of “An Army of One,” the Army again increased the recruiting campaign budget, and granted New York-based advertising agency McCann Worldgroup a five-year contract worth \$1.35 billion.<sup>380</sup> Army officials and defense analysts criticized “An Army of One” for misleading recruits into thinking that they could preserve their individuality within the Army.<sup>381</sup> In 2006, the Army launched its new “Army Strong” campaign (2006–2017) in response to such criticism.<sup>382</sup> “Army Strong” focused on how one could grow mentally and physically in the Army, and though the campaign was not unsuccessful, after more than a decade of use the Army decided to replace it with one that “tells the story, the full story of being a soldier.”<sup>383</sup> In 2018, they introduced their new campaign, “Warriors Wanted.”

**i. “Warriors Wanted”**

Those armed with more than good intentions.

Those ready to put ideas into action.

To take their skills and hone them.

To take their knowledge and apply it.

To make themselves into a modern, ready and unbeatable fighting force.

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2006, <https://www.nbcnews.com/id/wbna15197720>.

<sup>380</sup> The Associated Press.

<sup>381</sup> The Associated Press.

<sup>382</sup> Stuart Elliott, “Army’s New Battle Cry Aims at Potential Recruits,” *The New York Times*, November 9, 2006, sec. Business, <https://www.nytimes.com/2006/11/09/business/media/09adco.html>.

<sup>383</sup> Matthew Cox, “Army Wants New Recruiting Slogan as Powerful as ‘Be All You Can Be,’” *Military.com*, June 26, 2018, <https://www.military.com/daily-news/2018/06/26/army-wants-new-recruiting-slogan-powerful-be-all-you-can-be.html>.

-“Warriors Wanted”<sup>384</sup>-

October 2018 saw the launch of “Warriors Wanted,” the first Army recruiting campaign to incorporate the term “warrior” in the slogan. The campaign targets Gen Z, America’s youngest adult generation and a group comfortable with the internet and social media.<sup>385</sup> That is why the campaign’s initial launch was through social media platforms such as YouTube and Facebook. Since user attention spans tends to be short on those platforms, none of the campaign’s four advertising videos are longer than thirty seconds, and all are similarly formatted. The ads begin by showing soldiers in action—parachuting out of aircraft, maneuvering on top of armored vehicles, shooting fires, and loading mortars—followed by narration ostensibly read by a soldier. The respective script for each video reads as follows:

[Video 1 narration] When freedom is threatened around the world. When flood waters rise. While fires rage. Wherever the fight. Whoever the enemy. When America needs the best, she sends soldiers.

[Video 2 narration] There are those who choose a different path in life. The path of selflessness, service. The path that leads to freedom.

[Video 3 narration] There are those who stand forever ready. Ready to defend a nation. Ready to fight for what matters. No matter what.

[Video 4 narration] There are those who see the challenges facing the nation and say “send me.” They fight for country. They fight for honor. They fight to win.<sup>386</sup>

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<sup>384</sup> <https://www.goarmy.com/army-warriors.html>. Accessed 09/23/2019.

<sup>385</sup> Matthew Cox, “Army Launches New ‘Warriors Wanted’ Campaign Aimed at Generation Z,” Military.com, October 19, 2018, <https://www.military.com/dodbuzz/2018/10/19/army-launches-new-warriors-wanted-campaign-aimed-generation-z.html>.

<sup>386</sup> “Warriors Wanted,” Go Army, accessed September 23, 2019,

After the voiceover, the narrator challenges viewers with the question, “Do you have what it takes?” as the slogan “WARRIORS WANTED” appears in the center of the screen in Army gold.

The emphases of previous Army recruiting campaigns alternated between material benefits and psychological rewards. Some campaigns emphasized more material benefits, such as money and travel, that military service offered recruits; others stressed the Army’s potential to provide emotional gains through serving a higher cause and teamwork. The “Be All You Can Be” and “An Army of One” campaigns are examples of the former. The advertisement for “An Army of One” read “Even though there are 1, 045, 690 soldiers like me, I am my own force. With technology, with training, with support, who I am has become better than who I was.”<sup>387</sup> As such, the campaign focused on an individual’s personal growth and gains. The Army abandoned such “Me. Now” rationale when it launched the “Army Strong” campaign in 2006.<sup>388</sup> With a slogan “There’s Strong. And then there’s Army Strong,” the new campaign emphasized combat as the Army’s essential duty. Already in the fourth year of the Iraq War in 2006, the likelihood of deployment was high for recruits. Therefore, the campaign adopted a narrative of selfless service and emphasized the Army’s strength.

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<https://www.goarmy.com/army-warriors.html>.

<sup>387</sup> Associated Press, “U.S. Army Unfurls New Slogan: ‘An Army of One,’” *Deseret News*, January 10, 2001, <https://www.deseret.com/2001/1/10/19562756/u-s-army-unfurls-new-slogan-an-army-of-one>.

<sup>388</sup> Bailey, *AMERICA’S ARMY*. 252.



Figure 4. "Warriors Wanted" campaign posters, US Army, <https://www.military.com/dodbuzz/2018/10/19/army-launches-new-warriors-wanted-campaign-aimed-generation-z.html>

The Army further focused on combat with its "Warriors Wanted" campaign (Figure 4), which centers four themes: "we do what's right," "we never quit," "we never accept defeat," and "we lead the way." The campaign included four videos, each focused on one of these themes, and made no mention of benefits like scholarships or healthcare. "Warriors Wanted" does not offer personal stories as "Join the People Who've Joined the Army" did.<sup>389</sup> Instead, the new campaign features "door-kicking" soldiers from four elite units: the 101st Airborne Division, the 160th Special Operations Aviation Regiment (SOAR), the 75th Ranger Regiment, and the 5th Special Forces Group. The 101st Airborne Division, or the "Screaming Eagles," is a light infantry division that specializes in air assault.<sup>390</sup> The 160th SOAR, or the "Night Stalkers," is a

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<sup>389</sup> "Join the People Who've Joined the Army" is the slogan of the US Army recruiting campaign during in the mid-1970s. The campaign advertisements featured individual servicemember's stories about why they joined and what they learned from the service.

<sup>390</sup> Light infantry is a designation for those infantry soldier who are armed and equipped lighter than heavy infantry soldiers who are armed to deliver the main attacks. By compromising armor and firepower, light infantry units aim to achieve speed and mobility.

special operations unit trained for nighttime operations. With the motto “Rangers Lead the Way!,” the 75th Ranger Regiment unit is tasked with operations deep inside enemy territories. Finally, the Army Special Forces, or “Green Berets,” are the unit that engages the most dangerous missions. The “Warriors Wanted” campaign describes these units as the “ultimate leaders in combat” whose members are mental, moral, and physical role models.

As the campaign’s featured units illustrate, “Warriors Wanted” narrowly defines the term “warrior.” Four branches comprise the Army: combat arms,<sup>391</sup> combat support,<sup>392</sup> combat service support,<sup>393</sup> and special branches.<sup>394</sup> However, “Warriors Wanted” only depicts units in the combat arms branch, ignoring the other three. While those units featured in the recruiting advertisement are among the armed service’s most elite and lethal forces, these units make up a small portion of the US Army. A large percentage of troops work in noncombat positions that support combat functions. In other words, “Warriors Wanted” defines “warrior” as “boots on the ground” and implicitly excludes soldiers in other functional branches such as transportation, provisioning, or

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<sup>391</sup> Combat arms branches include Infantry, Air Defense Artillery, Armor, Aviation, Corps of Engineers, Field Artillery, and Special Forces.

<sup>392</sup> Combat support branches include Chemical Corps, Signal Corps, Military Intelligence Corps, and Military Police Corps.

<sup>393</sup> Combat service support branches include Adjutant General’s Corps, Finance Corps, Ordnance Corps, Quartermaster Corps, and Transportation Corps.

<sup>394</sup> Special branches include Judge Advocate Generals Corps, Chaplain Corps, Medical Corps, Medical Service Corps, Dental Corps, Veterinary Corps, Army Medical Specialist Corps, and Army Nurse Corps. (Source: Department of the Army Headquarters, “FM 3-90 Tactics” (Department of the Army, July 2001). A-1.)

medical.

“Warrior Wanted” defines warriors as male. The recruiting video features fast-paced action scenes in which no single character leads the action. Between scenes of fire and maneuver, viewers see a collage of different soldiers, not a single example of an ideal warrior. All of the soldiers depicted wear heavy combat gear and remain in motion at all times. Consequently, it is difficult to differentiate one from another, and their gender cues are masked and obscured. Hairstyles provide the only discernible gender cue. Because the Army allows male servicemembers to have only short, tapered haircuts, any soldiers depicted with longer hair must be female. According to this cue, only one visibly female servicemember appears among the approximately forty soldiers the ad portrays. Therefore, the collage of soldiers clearly portrays a male warrior. Moreover, there is one character whose presence is more notable than the rest: the narrator. The narrator is the only individual who is not melded into the collage. He has a deep male voice and speaks about a soldier’s devotion to duty, honor, and country. In the assemblage of soldiers’ action, gear, and movement, the narrator’s voice clearly marks the “warrior” as male.

“Warriors Wanted” employs a recruiting strategy whose emphasis on combat roles and masculinity runs contrary to soldiers’ reality. According to a DoD research conducted in 2017, the top two reasons soldiers consider leaving the military are “Possibility of physical injury/death” (65%) and “Possibility of PTSD or other



emotional/psychological issues” (53%).<sup>395</sup> It is counterintuitive for the Army to focus so heavily on combat operations in the recruiting advertisement. However, the “Warriors Wanted” campaign faces that risk head-on and portrays combat operations, despite the fact that only seventeen percent of its personnel perform combat specialties.<sup>396</sup> The “Warriors Wanted” campaign markets militarized masculinity as an incentive for joining the Army. The disparity between recruiting campaign strategy and reality demonstrates how the Army markets the membership in military masculinity as a reward.

When the US Army launched “Warriors Wanted” in 2018, the British Army adopted a very different path for recruiting. In 2017 and 2018, the British Army had struggled to meet recruiting goals, leaving some units severely undermanned.<sup>397</sup> According to the *Guardian*, there existed a personnel deficit of approximately 8%, with some frontline infantry battalions operating at 34% below their target strength.<sup>398</sup> A desperate need to mitigate these personnel deficits led the British Army to pursue a new recruiting campaign. Titled “This is Belonging,” the new campaign celebrated the service’s openness, diversity, and inclusion—a stark contrast with “Warriors Wanted” in

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<sup>395</sup> “Spring 2017 Propensity Update” (Joint Advertising Market Research & Studies, January 2018).

<sup>396</sup> Jacques S. Gansler and William Lucyshyn, “Improving the DoD’s Tooth-to-Tail Ratio” (Center for Public Policy and Private Enterprise, University of Maryland, 2014), 70.

<sup>397</sup> Rajeev Syal, “£495m Contract Led to Army Recruitment Shortfalls, Auditors Find,” the *Guardian*, December 14, 2018, <http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/dec/14/495m-contract-led-to-army-recruitment-shortfalls-auditors-find>.

<sup>398</sup> Frances Perraudin, “UK Army Combat Units 40% Below Strength as Recruitment Plummet,” *The Guardian*, August 9, 2019, sec. UK news, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/aug/09/uk-army-combat-units-40-below-strength-as-recruitment-plummet>.

the United States. Like “Warriors Wanted,” “This is Belonging” ran a series of short YouTube videos, but instead of centering toughness and combat-focused training, the British Army emphasized inclusivity. They advertised that in the British Army there was a place for everyone regardless of race, gender, sexual orientation, and religion. A series of videos centered questions about inclusivity: “Can I be gay in the army?” “Can I practice my faith in the army?” “What if I get emotional in the army?” “Will I be listened to in the army?” “Do I have to be a superhero to join the army?”<sup>399</sup> Whereas “Warriors Wanted” compelled recruits to fit a single warrior mold, “This is Belonging” portrayed a jigsaw puzzle Army in which many different shapes compose a cohesive whole.



Figure 5. British Army Poster, UK Ministry of Defense, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/jan/03/uk-army-recruitment-ads-target-snowflake-millennials>.

The following year the British Army went a step further with a campaign calling on “snowflakes,” “selfie addicts,” “binge gamers,” “phone zombies,” and “me, me,

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<sup>399</sup> Varasha Saraogi, “UK Army Adverts Tell Recruits They Can Be Gay, Pray and Cry,” *Reuters*, January 10, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-britain-army-lgbt-idUSKBN1EZ2K6>.

millennials” to enlist.<sup>400</sup> This campaign was the newest reimagining of a World War I British Army recruitment poster that had depicted Field Marshal Lord Kitchener under the plea, “Your Country Needs You.” In the 2019 iteration, individual millennial soldiers of various races and genders replace Lord Kitchener under text that references negative stereotypes of millennials. The poster reframes commonly condemned weakness as valuable resources, such “binge gamers” who boast “drive” and “snowflakes” who offer “compassion” but drew criticism from within and outside of the Army (Figure 5). Colonel Richard Kemp, a former commander of British operations in Afghanistan, complained that the campaign was a sign of the Army “being forced down a route of political correctness.”<sup>401</sup> Some activists working against the recruitment of underage soldiers criticized the campaign for falsely attracting vulnerable teens into the service in order to “fill the lowest qualified, least popular and hardest-to-recruit army roles.”<sup>402</sup> Despite criticism, the UK campaign was marked a success, with the UK Army Recruiting and Initial Training Command director of operations stating that “applications to join the Army as a regular soldier are on a rising trend, as a consequence of that campaign.”<sup>403</sup> When

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<sup>400</sup> Aamna Mohdin, “UK Army Recruitment Ads Target ‘Snowflake’ Millennials,” *The Guardian*, January 3, 2019, sec. UK news, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/jan/03/uk-army-recruitment-ads-target-snowflake-millennials>.

<sup>401</sup> Matthew Weaver, “Army Accused of Political Correctness in Recruitment Campaign,” *The Guardian*, January 10, 2018, sec. UK news, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/jan/10/army-accused-of-political-correctness-in-recruitment-campaign>.

<sup>402</sup> Steven Morris, “British Army Ads Targeting ‘stressed and Vulnerable’ Teenagers,” *The Guardian*, June 8, 2018, <http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/jun/08/british-army-criticised-for-exam-results-day-recruitment-ads>.

<sup>403</sup> Meghann Myers, “The British Army Says Its Recruiting Campaign Targeting ‘snowflakes’ Is Working, and the US Army Is Taking Notice,” *Business Insider*, accessed May 22, 2020, <https://www.businessinsider.com/british-army-success-with-snowflakes-millennial-recruiting->

in 2018 the US Army failed to meet its recruiting goal for the first time since 2005, its leadership noted the British Army's recent success, and released a new campaign the following year.

**ii. "What's Your Warrior?"**

On Veteran's Day 2019, the US Army launched its second warrior-themed recruiting campaign. Titled "What's Your Warrior?". the new campaign defined "warrior" more broadly than the previous campaign. While "Warriors Wanted" had casts warriors as soldiers in combat branches, the new campaign suggested that every soldier was a warrior regardless of position. "What's Your Warrior?" strongly recalls the "Be All You Can Be" campaign of the 1980s and 1990s, the most successful recruiting campaign in US Army's history.<sup>404</sup> Those advertisements had promised that there was more than one way to become "all you can be."<sup>405</sup> Combat fighting was just one of many ways to realize one's potential. In a similar vein, the new "What's Your Warrior?" campaign advocates that warriors come in various shapes and sizes. According to the US Army Recruiting Command, the new campaign aims to tie "warrior identities" to the Army's "150 unique careers and eight broad specialty areas."<sup>406</sup> The campaign has a

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campaign-2019-3.

<sup>404</sup> Evans, "All We Could Be."

<sup>405</sup> Bailey, *AMERICA'S ARMY*. 195.

<sup>406</sup> U.S. Army PR Newswire, "U.S. Army Announces New Ad Campaign To Introduce Breadth And Depth Of," U.S. ARMY RECRUITING COMMAND, accessed November 15, 2019, <https://recruiting.army.mil/News/Article-Display/Article/1989864/us-army-announces-new-ad-campaign-to-introduce-breadth-and-depth-of-army-opport/>.

significantly weaker combat focus than “Warriors Wanted.” General Alex Fink, who is in charge of the Army’s recruiting campaign, said that prior combat-focused campaigns “haven’t done the best jobs” and only strengthened “misconceptions of what service is like.”<sup>407</sup>

“What’s Your Warrior?” focuses on the diverse skillsets needed in the Army, telling its target audience that one does not need to be the “boots on the ground” in order to be a warrior. Army personnel can work far from combat and still be warriors, as General Fink said in his remark that one could “be a warrior and work in cyberspace or in signals, or as a logistician.”<sup>408</sup> The advertisement ends with a zoomed-out shot in which a large group of soldiers, each representing the Army’s diverse career fields, stretch into the distance (Figure 6). The new campaign’s message is that one is a warrior as long as one serves in the Army. Furthermore, the new campaign underscores the Army’s noncombat roles. The intended message suggests that there is a lot to the Army, and that “it’s not just war and shooting and blowing things up.”<sup>409</sup>

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<sup>407</sup> Widener Laura, “(Video) Here Is the U.S. Army’s Brand New National Ad Campaign, ‘What’s Your Warrior?’,” *American Military News* (blog), November 11, 2019, <https://americanmilitarynews.com/2019/11/video-here-is-the-u-s-armys-brand-new-national-ad-campaign-whats-your-warrior/>.

<sup>408</sup> Luis Martinez, “Army’s New Recruiting Ads Focus Less on Combat Roles,” *Good Morning America*, November 11, 2019, <https://www.goodmorningamerica.com/news/story/armys-recruiting-ads-focus-combat-roles-66893818>.

<sup>409</sup> Luis Martinez, “Army’s New Recruiting Ads Focus Less on Combat Roles,” *ABC News*, accessed September 16, 2020, <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/armys-recruiting-ads-focus-combat-roles/story?id=66893818>.



Figure 6. "What's Your Warrior?," <https://recruiting.army.mil/News/Article-Display/Article/2012787/us-army-announces-new-ad-campaign-whats-your-warrior-introduces-breadth-and-dep>

"What's Your Warrior?" puts forth a more holistic idea of the warrior and promotes diversity through the depicted variety of career paths available. The advertisement features five soldiers from five different career tracks: an aviator, a microbiologist, a ground combat troop, a signal soldier, and a cyber-operator; the ground combat position as just one of numerous available positions. Moreover, the other featured positions are those that the previous campaign would have considered less than "warriors" because they are positions that do not engage in direct combat.

The ad also illustrates demographic diversity. Its five featured soldiers include one Black man, one Latina woman, one White woman, and two White men (Figure 7). This cast so heavily emphasizes racial and gender diversity that it is hard to miss the point. Though there are two White male soldiers, their faces are covered and viewers only see glimpses of their features. One, an aviator, lowers his helmet's face shield as

soon as the video begins; the other, a ground troop, wears heavy camouflage that masks his bodily features. In contrast, the other three soldiers' faces are uncovered: both female soldiers have their hair in sleek buns, and the Black male soldier wears transparent laboratory safety glasses. An interesting difference between the advertisement's video and poster formats concerns the white aviator, whose complexion is noticeably darker in the poster. This might indicate an attempt to deemphasize Whiteness and appeal to wider populations of color. The racial composition of the figures illuminates the Army's intention to stress diversity.



Figure 7. "What's Your Warrior?", US Army, <https://recruiting.army.mil/News/Article-Display/Article/2012787/us-army-announces-new-ad-campaign-whats-your-warrior-introduces-breadth-and-dep/>

Compared to "Warriors Wanted," which featured depictions of real combat exercises, "What's Your Warrior?" is unrealistically futuristic. The scenes' graphic design and special effects give the impression of a video game or science-fiction movie. In the transitions between characters, both subject and background dissolve into particles and rematerialize to form the next character in a transition technique that brings to mind sci-

fi characters whose bodies liquefy and transform into other objects. Sepia-toned scenes that and electronic music complement the futuristic effect and set the aesthetic tone for the Army's strategy to reach Gen Z. A strong economy, prolonged wars, and shrinking pool of eligible young people have made recruiting more difficult for the Army in recent years, and the earlier, combat-focused campaign has proved ineffective with younger adults. The Army Enterprise Marketing Team, which leads the recruiting campaign, has undertaken a big data survey to determine how to better appeal to Gen Z. The research team concluded that members of Gen Z, who are savvy in internet technology, want to be part of something greater than themselves.<sup>410</sup> The new campaign is the product of this research, and is what led the Army to stop asking, "Do you have what it takes to be a warrior?" and instead ask, "What's your warrior?"

The special effects used to make the "What's Your Warrior?" video resemble a computer game are a product of the Army Enterprise Marketing Team's deliberate calculations. A decreasing pool of qualified applicants has seen the Army struggling to meet recruiting goals. US Army TRADOC explicitly states that it is targeting "17–24 year old Gen Z youth" with "extremely limited knowledge of the Army," and aims to create the Army's image "in step with today's visual and verbal vernacular."<sup>411</sup> The "visual and

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<sup>410</sup> Kyle Rempfer, "Army's New Chicago Team Will Use 'Big Data' to Recruit Gen Z," Army Times, August 23, 2019, <https://www.armytimes.com/news/your-army/2019/08/23/armys-new-chicago-team-will-use-big-data-to-recruit-gen-z/>.

<sup>411</sup> Army Enterprise Marketing, "U.S. Army's Marketing Campaign: 'What's Your Warrior?,'" U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command, November 20, 2019, <https://www.tradoc.army.mil/Publications-and-Resources/Article-Display/Article/2019551/us-armys-marketing-campaign-whats-your-warrior/>.



verbal vernacular” with which Gen Z is familiar is that of computer game. According to the American Association of Advertising Agencies (AAAA), 68% of Gen Z males think gaming is an important component of their personal identity.<sup>412</sup> For Gen Z, gaming is more than a hobby; it is a crucial way to connect with friends. The AAAA study finds that 91% of Gen Z males answered that they regularly play video games.<sup>413</sup> For Gen Z, gaming is the contemporary rendition of going to the mall.

When a potential recruit visits the Army’s recruiting website, the first thing they see are seven character-cards: “wordsmith,” “mechanic,” “techie,” “scientist,” “engineer,” “math whiz,” and “problem solver.” The recruit is asked to choose the card whose character best represents them (Figure 8). Selecting a card connects the website user to another deck of cards with more specific Military Occupational Specialties (MOS); choosing the “engineer” card, for example, leads to a deck of 57 job cards, each with an MOS code and a brief description. The cards’ design and interactive features—users swipe right until they find the one they like—have unmistakable similarities with role-playing games.

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<sup>412</sup> Strauss, “Two-Thirds of Gen Z Males Say Gaming Is a Core Component of Who They Are,” 4A’s, February 27, 2019, <https://www.aaaa.org/gen-z-males-say-gaming-core-component-who-they-are/>.

<sup>413</sup> Strauss.

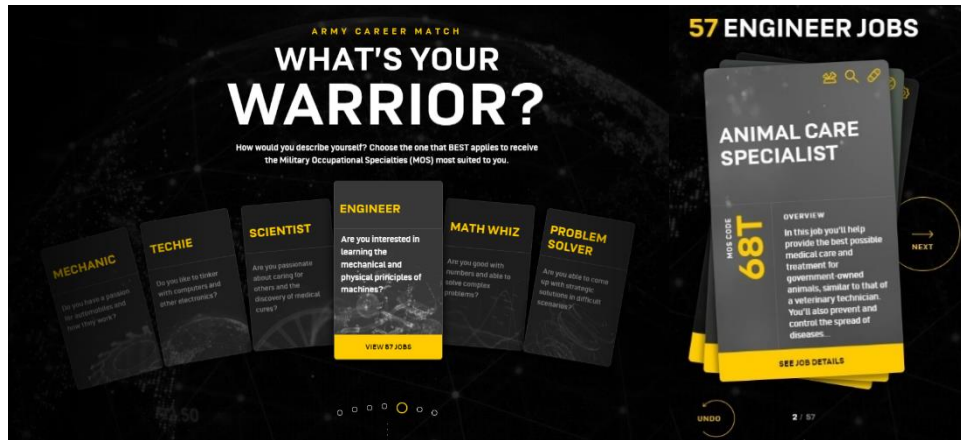


Figure 8. Interactive MOS cards on goarmy.com, <https://www.goarmy.com/careers-and-jobs/career-match/quiz.html>

The campaign's orientation toward the future allows the female soldiers it depicts to hold more meaningful and substantial roles than the previous campaign did. The "What's Your Warrior?" video treats each of its subjects with the same amount of time and degree of importance. The five soldiers represent five different career paths, and no one holds greater significance than the others. General Fink said that the goal in making the commercial was to make a "Marvel-type series" in which "it wasn't any individual that defeated evil [but] the power of the team that defeated evil," as in the popular *Avengers* franchise.<sup>414</sup> The fact that two out of the five soldiers are female is notable because this representation more than doubles the Army's actual ratio of female to male soldiers.

Despite this new inclusivity, the campaign reserves traditional warrior roles for White male soldiers. In the recruiting video, White male soldiers hold both depicted

<sup>414</sup> Jared Keller, "The Army's New Marketing Spot Is Basically 'Avengers Assemble!' for Gen Z," Task & Purpose, accessed September 17, 2020, <https://taskandpurpose.com/joining-the-military/army-whats-your-warrior-commercial>.

combat roles. The remaining soldiers—a Black male, a White female, and a Latina female—depict roles that are conventionally considered outside of warrior status: a microbiologist, a signal soldier, and a cyber-operator. Though these positions are functionally crucial for operational success, the Army does not value them as highly as those who engage in direct combat, and there is pejorative military slang reserved for them: POG (Person Other than Grunt) and fobbits (those personnel who work within the relative safety of a Forward Operating Base, or FOB). NBC News chief foreign correspondent Richard Engel, who embedded in the Iraq War, writes about this tension in *War Journal: My Five Years in Iraq*:

There are two radically different military lives in Iraq. There are troops that live on the mega-FOBs (forward operating bases)... They are the military's "tail," the logisticians who handle payroll, transport, command and control, maintenance, and everything else that makes the military machine run. The other soldiers are "the teeth," the fighters (they prefer to be called "warriors") "in theater" patrolling "outside the wire," kicking down doors on "cordon and knock" operations and searching for IEDs... They call the troops who serve on FOBs... "Fobbits." (Rhymes with "hobbits.")<sup>415</sup>

The "What's Your Warrior?" campaign gestures towards a broadened idea of "warrior" by including figures and positions that were previously not considered warrior-like. However, close examination of the video elucidates that not much has changed about who the Army sees as true "warriors."

The "What's Your Warrior?" campaign's future-oriented setting contrasts starkly with the former campaign's relative realism. Campaign videos are fabricated fictions designed to attract recruits, and viewers fully understand that depicted scenes do not

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<sup>415</sup> Richard Engel, *War Journal: My Five Years in Iraq* (Simon and Schuster, 2012). 122-123.

necessarily reflect reality. That being said, “Warriors Wanted” advertisements have the appearance of real-life combat that “What’s Your Warrior?” lacks. The production values in “What’s Your Warrior?” include cinematic effects that resemble a video game, with graphics designed to simulate popular video games like *Call of Duty* or *Battlefield*. When the YouTube campaign launched in 2019, the viewers comments that garnered the most “likes” included “I keep expecting that deep voice ‘Rated M for Mature, available now on Playstation’ at the end,” and “‘Join the Army, it’s just like a video game!’ Except you only get one life... and you might actually die.”<sup>416</sup> In addition to the fact that advertisements can be misleading, such effects give the Army greater flexibility to expand inclusion in the warrior ranks. In the highly hypothetical conditions that the video depicts could have made the Army more open to applying the “warrior” label to women.

## **Chapter VI. Future Warrior**

What will future war look like? Where will the next war take place, and against whom? Who are the future warriors? These are some of the questions with which military scholars and experts grapple. Carl von Clausewitz, Prussian military thinker who wrote one of the most important classics on military theory *On War*, said “the nature of war is complex and changeable.”<sup>417</sup> In other words, how a society fights and

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<sup>416</sup> Daniel Klebingat, 2019; deaconbluezzz, 2019.

<sup>417</sup> Carl von Clausewitz, *On War* (Oxford University Press, 2007). 31.

understands war is limitlessly diverse and ever changing. War, at least in the Western context, traditionally began with a declaration of war, had a clear ending through established forms of surrender or armistice. In ancient Rome, priests officiated over official ceremonies to begin war.<sup>418</sup> World War II and the Korean War each began when one nation's military forces crossed the border of another nation. Governing institutions, like the United States Congress, formally declared war on an enemy. Wars that began with an official commencement typically ended with an equally official conclusion. World War II ended with German Field-Marshal Wilhelm Keitel and Japanese Emperor Hirohito signing unconditional surrender in Europe and the Pacific, respectively. The Korean War ended with participating nations (excluding South Korea, which refused to accept the terms of the agreement) signing an armistice agreement. Friendly forces and the hostile forces were also easier to define in the past; soldiers typically wore distinctive uniforms and weapons had symbols that both sides recognized. However, the same cannot be said about war today.

In his 2011 speech to the USMA cadets, then–Defense Secretary Robert M. Gates has noted the difficulties in assessing future wars, saying “We can’t know with absolute certainty what the future of warfare will hold, but we do know it will be exceedingly complex, unpredictable, and unstructured... When it comes to predicting the nature and location of our next military engagements, since Vietnam, our record has

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<sup>418</sup> Zachery Tyson Brown, “Unmasking War’s Changing Character,” Modern War Institute, March 12, 2019, /unmasking-wars-changing-character/.

been perfect. We have never once gotten it right.”<sup>419</sup> Future predictions regarding warfare may be futile, but the Army makes assessments and predictions to prepare the service for potential threats.

In 2016, the US Army introduced the concept of “multi-domain battle” to explain the future of warfare.<sup>420</sup> Since the end of Cold War, adversaries including nation-states and nonstate actors have threatened the relative dominance and security that the United States has enjoyed. According to General David G. Perkins, the commanding general of the Army TRADOC when the “multi-domain battle concept” was introduced, there currently exist five battle domains: land, air, space, maritime and cyber arenas.<sup>421</sup> Land has been the only contested domain among these five, as the United States has maintained “an unprecedented level of freedom of action” in the other four areas. Adversaries and rivals have contested the status quo, however, leading the Army to found the Army Futures Command in order to prepare for these threats. In 2018 the Army refined the concept of “multi-domain battle” to “multi-domain operations (MDO)” in an attempt to recognize the reality of the contested environment in which the US will not have dominance across all five domains.<sup>422</sup>

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<sup>419</sup> Robert M. Gates, “Defense.Gov Secretary of Defense Speech: United States Military Academy (West Point, NY),” U.S. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE, accessed June 10, 2020, <https://archive.defense.gov/speeches/speech.aspx?speechid=1539>.

<sup>420</sup> Perkins, “Multi-Domain Battle.”

<sup>421</sup> Perkins, “Multi-Domain Battle.”

<sup>422</sup> Jen Judson, “From Multi-Domain Battle to Multi-Domain Operations: Army Evolves Its Guiding Concept,” Defense News, October 9, 2018, <https://www.defensenews.com/digital-show-dailies/ausa/2018/10/09/from-multi-domain-battle-to-multi-domain-operations-army-evolves-its->

In a 2017 workshop the RAND Corporation, an American global policy think tank, announced a similar prediction, identifying five warfare trends that the US military was likely to encounter in the future:

1. The competition for regional hegemony will increase.
2. Defending ground will become more challenging.
3. The American qualitative and quantitative military edge will decline.
4. The lines between war and peace will continue to blur.
5. The war on terrorism will continue.<sup>423</sup>

The future war will not resemble World War II. In an attempt to spread their authoritarian models to other parts of the world, revisionist powers like Russia and China will challenge the United States. Boundaries will blur between the enemy and the ally, and between the battleground and the homefront. Enemies who do not wear uniforms as they did in World War II and who lack clear leadership structure will prove more difficult to defeat. Moreover, enemy combatants will be difficult to discern because they are unlike conventional soldiers. Due to the ever-present threat of terrorism, peacetime will be wartime and vice versa. The United States' military strength faces challenge from China, whose geopolitical interests are at odds with those of the US, and by Russia, who interferes constantly in American politics. Moreover, future enemies will eschew conventional weapons that require substantial capital and manpower to develop and

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guiding-concept/.

<sup>423</sup> John D. Winkler et al., "Reflections on the Future of Warfare and Implications for Personnel Policies of the U.S. Department of Defense" (RAND Corporation, 2019), [https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/perspectives/PE300/PE324/RAND\\_PE324.pdf](https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/perspectives/PE300/PE324/RAND_PE324.pdf). 3-7.

manufacture, and instead will utilize creative methods that require small numbers of operators, like drones and cyber-attacks. Given these prospects, future warfare poses unprecedented challenges to the US Army.

Future wars will increase demand for elite technology that includes “big data, AI, cognitive modeling, data analytics, robotics, human-machine teaming, connectivity, and biotechnology.”<sup>424</sup> A changing technological landscape implies that the Army, too, needs to change how it recruits and manages its personnel. Recruiting efforts need to target those populations with aptitude for and qualifications in high technology. For positions involving advanced technologies, cognitive performance will be more critical than physical performance. In 2016, the Army devised Soldier 2020, an initiative that reflected these changing conditions.<sup>425</sup> Rather than demand unilateral physical fitness standards regardless of Military Occupational Specialty (MOS), the Army aims to tailor physical fitness standards on the basis of MOS needs, a new approach that could diminish the importance of such standards in certain positions. Soldier 2020 is a move towards a standard-based Army, away from previous gender-based one.<sup>426</sup> Physical fitness standards have long been used to justify privileging male soldiers and limiting female participation in the Army. Demands for new skillsets and physical enhancement technology may decrease the practical needs that privilege men in the Army. The following section will examine the relationship between high-end technology and its

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<sup>424</sup> Winkler et al. 8.

<sup>425</sup> Robert W. Cone, “Soldier 2020,” *Army*, November 2013, 29–32.

<sup>426</sup> Cone.



potential impact on the warrior concept.

## 1. New Technologies and New Warrior

Humans fighting side-by-side with a robot, and physical integration of humans and robots, are two popular science fiction tropes evident in films like *Transformers* (2007) and *Iron Man* (2008). Though the idea seems futuristic, such things have been happening for quite some time. An infantry soldier is not just an organic body but an assemblage of body, battle uniform, body armor, rifle, radio, and other equipment. Furthermore, human soldiers man the armored vehicles and helicopters that commonly reinforce infantry troops. The US military is working to expand the scope of human-machine integration to the point of inventing cyborg soldiers.

The US Army envisions “something out of a science fiction movie” for its soldiers.<sup>427</sup> In 2004, it showcased two prototypes of future infantry soldier equipment to the members of Congress (Figure 9).<sup>428</sup> One is the Future Force Warrior system, later fielded as the Ground Soldier System; the other is the Vision 2020 Future Warrior system, an advanced version of the Future Force Warrior. Army experiences in Afghanistan and Iraq led to the development of these systems.<sup>429</sup> A representative from the systems’ developer, the Soldier Systems Center, introduced the Future Force Warrior system as an “F-16 on legs” because soldiers would be able to communicate

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<sup>427</sup> Phil Copeland, “Future Warrior Exhibits Super Powers,” U.S. Department of Defense, July 27, 2004, <https://archive.defense.gov/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=25636>.

<sup>428</sup> Copeland.

<sup>429</sup> Copeland.

with one another through a wide-area network while maneuvering as an F-16 fighter jet pilot would.<sup>430</sup> The Future Force Warrior uniform includes drop-down eyewear through which soldiers can see a computer screen that shares data with nearby vehicles and other soldiers. The uniform also provides significant personal protection but weighs 60% less than that worn by soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan in 2004.<sup>431</sup>

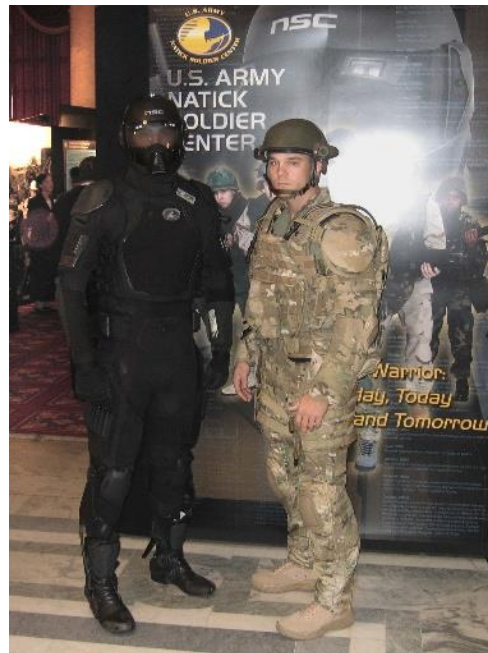


Figure 9. The Future Force Warrior system and the Vision 2020 Future Warrior System, US Army, [https://archive.defense.gov/DODCMSShare/NewsStoryPhoto/2004-07/2004072705b\\_hr.jpg](https://archive.defense.gov/DODCMSShare/NewsStoryPhoto/2004-07/2004072705b_hr.jpg)

In order to educate the public on the Army's vision for future warfare, the Combat Capabilities Development Command Soldier Center (CCDC Soldier Center),<sup>432</sup>

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<sup>430</sup> Copeland.

<sup>431</sup> According to the DoD, an individual soldier often carries 120 pounds or more to be battle-ready. The new Future Force Warrior system weighs about 50 pounds when it was introduced at the Congress in 2004.

<sup>432</sup> The CCDC Soldier Center is a subordinate command of the Army's Combat Capabilities Development Command which provides the Army with "innovative science and technology

formerly known as the US Army NSRDEC (Natick Soldier Research, Development and Engineering Center), released a three-minute video titled “The Soldier of the Future” which demonstrates what the “cyborg” soldier would look like once it is fielded.<sup>433</sup> In the video, a male soldier walks toward the camera as layers of gear attach to him and the background shifts between various combat environments that include an urban area and a wooded jungle. The video’s message echoes that of previous models: Soldiers will have the capability to communicate with not only other soldiers, but with unmanned machines such as UAVs, making the soldier one node in a larger network of technological systems. Moreover, exoskeletons will augment physical capabilities, though gear and equipment will be lighter than ever. Neural-engineering, physiological status monitoring, and nutritional intervention will enable soldiers to perform at maximum capacity. The final goal is for a soldier to become a cyborg.

In 2016, DARPA launched a new research program called “Neural Engineering System Design (NESD)” that will increase brain’s neuron interaction “from tens of thousands to millions at a time.” Simply put, the NESD program aims to create a computer chip that is the size of two nickels and will be implanted in human brain. The initial goal of DARPA’s neurotechnology program was to merge human and machine so

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solutions” to optimize soldiers’ performance. The main goal of CCDC is to improve soldiers’ survivability, sustainability, mobility, and combat effectiveness. Its research areas are Organization Clothing and Individual Equipment (OCIE) and Personal Protective Equipment (PPE). (Source: “U.S. Army Combat Capabilities Development Command,” [www.army.mil](http://www.army.mil), accessed December 5, 2020, <https://www.army.mil/ccdc>.)

<sup>433</sup> U.S. Army CCDC Soldier Center, *The Soldier of the Future*, accessed June 7, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r1m68B53jek>.

that an individual soldier could function as a cyborg. The program had to redirect its research focus from weaponry to healthcare, however, when the media learned of its existence and it became a public relations liability. DARPA currently seeks to protect individual soldiers by enhancing their physical capabilities in order to maximize their survivability. In October 2019, the Department of Defense Biotechnologies for Health and Human Performance Council conducted a year-long study on the feasibility of the “cyborg soldier” and concluded that it may be achievable by the year 2050.<sup>434</sup> The report identified four biotechnology areas that will enhance soldier’s performance “beyond the normal human baseline”:

- Ocular enhancements to imaging, sight, and situational awareness;
- Restoration and programmed muscular control through an optogenetic bodysuit sensor web;
- Auditory enhancement for communication and protection; and
- Direct neural enhancement of the human brain for two-way data transfer.<sup>435</sup>

Moreover, the study also suggests developing “neural enhancements of the human brain” that will enable “direct data exchange between human neural networks and microelectronic systems.”<sup>436</sup> The technology will agglomerate human and unmanned autonomous systems as a single entity that functions as one system. The report stated

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<sup>434</sup> Peter Emanuel et al., “Cyborg Soldier 2050: Human/Machine Fusion and the Implications for the Future of the DoD” (US Army Combat Capabilities Development Command Chemical Biological Center, October 2019), <https://community.apan.org/wg/tradoc-g2/mad-scientist/m/articles-of-interest/300458>.

<sup>435</sup> Emanuel et al. V.

<sup>436</sup> Emanuel et al. V.

that cyborg technology would be “technically feasible by 2050 or earlier.”<sup>437</sup>

## 2. Drone Warfare and Autonomous Weapons

The US military uses UAVs (Unmanned Autonomous Vehicles or Unmanned Aerial Vehicles) for intelligence, surveillance, and to launch drone strikes. First employed during the Bush administration, UAV use expanded and normalized during the Obama administration.<sup>438</sup> Though former president Obama defended the military’s frequent use of drones by saying that the high precision weapon enables “pinpoint” targeting that minimizes unnecessary casualties, later reports reveal that at least 7,500 civilians died as a result of US drone attacks on the Islamic State (a Sunni jihadist group with a violent ideology that is also known as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria or ISIS) as of March 2019.<sup>439</sup> Civilian casualties are one of many controversies that drone warfare invites. Activists and politicians routinely question the ethics of the weapon’s use. Because an aircraft at high altitude launches the missile, targets cannot anticipate the attack. The American state killed numerous people in Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia, Yemen, and Pakistan without exposing a single American drone operator to danger. Since many less industrialized nations lack the technological and financial assets

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<sup>437</sup> Emanuel et al. V.

<sup>438</sup> Micah Zenko, “Obama’s Final Drone Strike Data,” Council on Foreign Relations, January 20, 2017, <https://www.cfr.org/blog/obamas-final-drone-strike-data>.

<sup>439</sup> Mark Landler, “Civilian Deaths Due to Drones Are Not Many, Obama Says (Published 2012),” *The New York Times*, January 31, 2012, sec. World, <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/31/world/middleeast/civilian-deaths-due-to-drones-are-few-obama-says.html>; The Editorial Board, “Opinion | The Secret Death Toll of America’s Drones (Published 2019),” *The New York Times*, March 30, 2019, sec. Opinion, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/30/opinion/drones-civilian-casualties-trump-obama.html>.

necessary to launch similarly scaled drone attacks on the United States, some American attacks have been unilateral. Moreover, the United States uses drone missiles without formally declaring war on targeted nation states, justifying such attacks by claiming that America can use those weapons because it is at war with the target terrorist organizations. This claim makes one wonder if the opposite case can also be justified. David Kilcullen, an Australian counterinsurgency expert, asks this very question in *Out of the Mountains*:

The United States government has repeatedly asserted, and the U.S. Supreme Court has upheld, the legal position that America is in a state of war with al Qaeda and related terrorist groups. If we consider it a legitimate act of war for a Predator to strike a target in, say, a city in Pakistan, killing militants in the houses where they live, but also potentially injuring or killing noncombatant civilians, is it legitimate for those same Pakistani militants to strike the city where that Predator's pilot lives? If it's legitimate to kill a militant attending a wedding in the tribal areas, is it also legitimate to kill a Predator pilot at his kid's soccer game in Indian Springs? The U.S. government considers Predator crews combatants, and awards them medals for their service; are they and their families, then, and the bases and communities where they live, legitimate targets, like the German bomber airbases of World War II?<sup>440</sup>

While a drone can deliver formidable destruction, the weapon's operators receive a mixed reception. Having at one's fingertip the capacity to annihilate life is a powerful position. A Predator pilot described the experience, saying "Sometimes I felt like God hurling thunderbolts from the sky."<sup>441</sup> However, the very condition that makes a pilot godlike also invites criticism. Drone pilots are not on the battle space with enemy

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<sup>440</sup> David Kilcullen, *Out of the Mountains: The Coming Age of the Urban Guerrilla* (Hurst, 2013). 174.

<sup>441</sup> Matt J. Martin and Charles W. Sasser, *Predator: The Remote-Control Air War over Iraq and Afghanistan: A Pilot's Story* (Voyageur Press, 2010). 3.

fighters, but in safe locations close to home, and so do not risk their own safety.

Throughout the history of warfare, armed forces have revered as “warriors” those who demonstrate courage by placing victory ahead of their own lives. Soldiers who fight on the ground do not recognize drone operators in the same class of warriors to which they, themselves, belong, because drone pilots fight remotely.<sup>442</sup> Ironically, however, the Army has opted to title its drone operators “warriors,” Drone operators are rarely called “drone soldiers” but are frequently referred to as “drone warriors.”<sup>443</sup>

### **3. Why Are Future Soldiers Warriors?**

The US Army constantly invokes the warrior concept in discussions on future warfare and future soldier. Its Land Warrior program, launched in 1991, sought to turn the individual soldier into a complete weapons system.<sup>444</sup> In 2002, the army named the technology that bolsters human performance the “Objective Force Warrior.”<sup>445</sup> The 2004 “Air Warrior system” for aircrews aboard rotary-wing aircraft emerged shortly thereafter,

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<sup>442</sup> Caroline Varin, “Flying Without Risk: The Norms on Warriors and Their Application to Drone Pilots,” *St Antony’s International Review* 13, no. 1 (2017): 105–19; Eyal Press, “The Wounds of the Drone Warrior,” *The New York Times Magazine*, June 13, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/13/magazine/veterans-ptsd-drone-warrior-wounds.html>.

<sup>443</sup> T. Mark McCurley, “I Was a Drone Warrior for 11 Years. I Regret Nothing.,” *POLITICO Magazine*, October 18, 2015, <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2015/10/drone-pilot-book-213263>; Press, “The Wounds of the Drone Warrior”; Varin, “FLYING WITHOUT RISK”; Matthew Power, “Confessions of an American Drone Operator,” *GQ*, October 23, 2013, <https://www.gq.com/story/drone-uav-pilot-assassination>; Zenko, “Obama’s Final Drone Strike Data.”

<sup>444</sup> Robert Sherman, “Land Warrior,” *Federation of American Scientists*, accessed December 7, 2020, <https://fas.org/man/dod-101/sys/land/land-warrior.htm>.

<sup>445</sup> AUSA, “The U.S. Army’s Transformation to the Objective Force” (Association of the United States, August 2002), <https://www.ausa.org/sites/default/files/TBNSR-2002-The-US-Arms-Transformation-to-the-Objective-Force-Vol2.pdf>.

followed by the 2006 “Future Force Warrior system” that aimed to integrate network and soldier into a single system.<sup>446</sup> And in 2013, DARPA leaned on the concept yet again to name the “Warrior Web,” a body suit that prevents musculoskeletal injuries and augments physical performance.<sup>447</sup>

Thucydides once defined warfare as “the human thing,” but his definition no longer seems applicable in contemporary American wars.<sup>448</sup> The US Army is pursuing a path toward digitalization and technologization, and working to cyborgize soldiers so that they can work seamlessly as part of the system. Technologies such as exoskeleton and neural engineering augment and enhance an individual soldier’s physical ability to the extent that modern soldiers no longer fight against an enemy human as would an ancient warrior; the modern soldier fights as one component of a network with AI machines and computers. There is no longer a clear boundary between soldier and materiel. Eventually, warfare may exclude humans entirely. Christopher Coker, a professor of International Relations at the London School of Economic and Political Science, predicted that “one day, the autonomous killer machines that we build may simply go on strike and take us out of the war business.”<sup>449</sup> Because technology does

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<sup>446</sup> “Air Warrior (AW),” Government, U.S. Army Sustainment Command, accessed June 4, 2020, <https://asc.army.mil/web/portfolio-item/air-warrior-aw/>.; US Army Soldier Systems Center, “Army’s Future Force Warrior Passes Major Milestone,” [www.army.mil](http://www.army.mil), September 8, 2006, [https://www.army.mil/article/15/armys\\_future\\_force\\_warrior\\_passes\\_major\\_milestone](https://www.army.mil/article/15/armys_future_force_warrior_passes_major_milestone).

<sup>447</sup> “Warrior Web Prototype Takes Its First Steps,” Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency, May 22, 2013, <https://www.darpa.mil/news-events/2013-05-22>.

<sup>448</sup> Marc Cogan, *The Human Thing: The Speeches and Principles of Thucydides’ History*, First printing edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

<sup>449</sup> Christopher Coker, “Still ‘the Human Thing’? Technology, Human Agency and the Future of



not have gender, one could wonder if the future soldier, too, will be agendered, a condition that might promote equality for women and other gender minorities. As Donna Haraway said, a cyborg world may be a “world without gender.”<sup>450</sup> Two contrasting narratives attend the prospective relationship between autonomous robotics and gender politics; political scientist Mary Manjikian declares that either autonomous robotics and gender politics “accentuate and strengthen traditional conceptions of gender by creating a hypermasculine ‘super soldier’” or they “undermine distinctions between the sexes as they create a fuzzy new set of genders and gender relations.”<sup>451</sup>

Those who believe that the robotics revolution will diminish physical differences between male and female argue that gender will be meaningless in the future battlefield because aerobic and anaerobic capabilities can be augmented with technology.<sup>452</sup> Past opponents of gender integration based their argument on physical differences between men and women. Scientific data would support their argument; according to Colonel Linell Letendre, a law professor at the United States Air Force Academy, “men typically have 30 percent more muscle strength and 15–30 percent more aerobic capacity than

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War,” *International Relations* 32, no. 1 (March 1, 2018): 23–38, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0047117818754640>. 36.

<sup>450</sup> Imre Szeman and Timothy Kaposy, eds., *Cultural Theory: An Anthology* (John Wiley & Sons, 2010). 467.

<sup>451</sup> Mary Manjikian, “Becoming Unmanned,” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 16, no. 1 (January 2, 2014): 48–65, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2012.746429>.

<sup>452</sup> John Perry Barlow, “A Declaration of the Independence of Cyberspace,” *Duke Law & Technology Review* 18, no. 1 (2019): 2–7; Linell A. Letendre, “Women Warriors: Why the Robotics Revolution Changes the Combat Equation,” *PRISM* 6, no. 1 (2016): 90–103.

women.”<sup>453</sup> The opponents also argued that gender integration is bad for unit cohesion because men would try to “protect the women soldiers and would therefore be distracted from their professional duties, thereby endangering the mission and, perhaps, the safety of the entire unit.”<sup>454</sup> Such concerns would be irrelevant if exoskeletons and the Warrior Web suiting were routinely available to augment female soldier muscle strength. Other technological developments indicate that human soldiers will have significantly lighter loads to carry. And if programs like DARPA’s Squad X that integrates and synchronizes artificial intelligence and autonomous system with infantry squads succeed, individual soldiers will function as part of a complex system that makes gender difference pointless.<sup>455</sup> Such a future, Letendre contends, is “a question of when... not if.”<sup>456</sup>

Others believe that technology will not destabilize the traditional gender regime and might even strengthen it.<sup>457</sup> They predict a future in which humans use and control

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<sup>453</sup> Letendre, “Women Warriors.” 93.

<sup>454</sup> Rosemarie Skaine, *Women in Combat: A Reference Handbook* (ABC-CLIO, 2011).

<sup>455</sup> p Root, “Squad X,” Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency, accessed December 7, 2020, <https://www.darpa.mil/program/squad-x>.

<sup>456</sup> Letendre, “Women Warriors.” 100.

<sup>457</sup> Coker, “Still ‘the Human Thing’?”; Pedro Costa and Luísa Ribas, “AI Becomes Her: Discussing Gender and Artificial Intelligence,” *Technoetic Arts* 17, no. 1–2 (June 1, 2019): 171–93, [https://doi.org/10.1386/tear\\_00014\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1386/tear_00014_1); Susan Leavy, “Gender Bias in Artificial Intelligence: The Need for Diversity and Gender Theory in Machine Learning,” in *Proceedings of the 1st International Workshop on Gender Equality in Software Engineering, GE ’18* (New York, NY, USA: Association for Computing Machinery, 2018), 14–16, <https://doi.org/10.1145/3195570.3195580>; Francesca Ferrando, “Is the Post-Human a Post-Woman? Cyborgs, Robots, Artificial Intelligence and the Futures of Gender: A Case Study,” *Eur J Futures Res* 43, no. 2 (August 31, 2014): 1–17.

technology, but do not merge with it to become a cyborg. Mary Manjikian summarizes this argument, declaring that robotics “becomes an adjunct of the warfighter, who is coded as male and, instead of eliminating gender differences, technological advances create a new soldier who is a more virile and a more deadly male. In this narrative, technology does not protect the soldier but instead enhances the soldier.”<sup>458</sup> In other words, reliance on new technology becomes an ultimate male enhancement that creates a “super soldier” who is “more male, more lethal, and more dominant than previous human alone soldier, thus reinforcing... the valorization of hypermasculinity.”<sup>459</sup>

Scholars studying technology and digitalization acknowledge that these phenomena are neither genderless nor non-gender-discriminating.<sup>460</sup> Though the world is digitalizing quickly, not everyone is enjoying the benefits at the same pace. Due to lack of education and negative gender stereotypes, women, particularly those living in rural areas, do not have the equal access to digital technologies. Furthermore, neither robots nor AI algorithms are themselves free from racist and sexist bias. Technological

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<sup>458</sup> Manjikian, “Becoming Unmanned.” 56.

<sup>459</sup> Manjikian. 57.

<sup>460</sup> Boran A. Al-Rababah and Emad Abu-Shanab, “E-Government and Gender Digital Divide: The Case of Jordan,” *IJEBM*, 2010; Amy Antonio and David Tuffley, “The Gender Digital Divide in Developing Countries,” *Future Internet* 6, no. 4 (December 2014): 673–87, <https://doi.org/10.3390/fi6040673>; Sophia Huyer and Tatjana Sikoska, “Overcoming the Gender Digital Divide: Understanding ICTs and Their Potential for the Empowerment of Women,” *UNESCO, INSTRAW Research Paper Series*, 1 (April 2003), <http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/SHS/pdf/Overcoming-Gender-Digital-Divide.pdf>; Sonia Liff et al., “An Evolving Gender Digital Divide?,” SSRN Scholarly Paper (Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network, July 1, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1308492>; Dorian Stoilescu and Douglas McDougall, “Gender Digital Divide and Challenges in Undergraduate Computer Science Programs,” *Canadian Journal of Education / Revue Canadienne de l'éducation* 34, no. 1 (2011): 308–33.

outcomes might seem genderless because they are not processed by organic entities, but robotics are human inventions, and inherently reflect creators' biased perceptions and worldviews. Voice assistant programs like Amazon's Alexa, Apple's Siri, and Microsoft's Cortana all have female voices and female names which reinforce the idea that women serve in assistant roles. Critics have accused these companies of designing docile and passive responses to verbal abuse.<sup>461</sup> Before the program was updated in April 2019, Apple's Siri had been programmed to say "I'd blush if I could" in response to the vocal prompt, "Hey Siri, you're a bitch."<sup>462</sup> Until December 2018, Google Translate converted Spanish phrases to include exclusively masculine pronouns.<sup>463</sup> AI algorithms are not only sexist, but racist: a Google algorithm could only recognize "brides" as Caucasian women in white gowns, ignoring Indian brides in colorful saris; Nikon cameras interpreted Asians as "always blinking"; and a popular algorithm that processes natural language data categorized European American names as positive and African American names as negative.<sup>464</sup>

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<sup>461</sup> Sigal Samuel, "Sexist AI: Siri and Alexa Reinforce Gender Stereotypes, Says UN Study," Vox, June 12, 2019, <https://www.vox.com/future-perfect/2019/6/12/18660353/siri-alexasexism-voice-assistants-un-study>.

<sup>462</sup> UNESCO and EQUALS Skills Coalition, "I'd Blush If I Could: Closing Gender Divides in Digital Skills Through Education" (UNESCO, 2019), UNESDOC Digital Library, <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000367416.page=1>.

<sup>463</sup> Chelsea Ritschel, "Google Fixes Translate Tool after Accusations of Sexism," The Independent, December 7, 2018, <https://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/women/google-translate-sexist-masculine-feminine-he-said-she-said-english-spanish-languages-a8672586.html>.

<sup>464</sup> James Zou and Londa Schiebinger, "AI Can Be Sexist and Racist — It's Time to Make It Fair," *Nature* 559, no. 7714 (July 2018): 324–26, <https://doi.org/10.1038/d41586-018-05707-8>.

The Army-envisioned cyborg soldier might be equally biased. When developing new equipment, the Army envisions men as normative soldiers. The soldiers who model new military equipment at military showcases are exclusively male soldiers. The Army designs gear based on a male physical prototype because men make up approximately 80 percent of personnel and it takes money and time to accommodate various body types. In the past, female soldiers were often issued ill-fitting uniforms whose design did not accommodate their bodies.<sup>465</sup> At the National Aeronautics Space Administration (NASA), gender bias has negatively impacted female astronauts as recently as 2019, as one of the major hindrances limiting women's participation in the space program has been unavailability of appropriately fitted spacesuits. Since the 1960s, when the United States began sending astronauts to space, spacesuits have accommodated male sizing standards, and the NASA assumed that women could simply wear extra-small or small versions.<sup>466</sup> In fact, spacesuit design neglected to account for the shape of women's bodies, compromising fit and function. According to an NPR report, one of the reasons only seven women spacewalked while more than 150 men did is because NASA did not have smaller spacesuits. In an interview, veteran spacewalker Mike Fincke observed that "Our spacesuits only come in medium, large and extra-large [...] Anybody who is on the smaller side [...] will not be able to have a chance to go outside."<sup>467</sup> Future Army

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<sup>465</sup> Jeanne Holm, "Logistics Warriors: Women's Uniforms World War II," *Air Force Journal of Logistics* 7 (1983).

<sup>466</sup> Marina Koren, "The Original Sin of NASA Space Suits," *The Atlantic*, March 27, 2019, <https://www.theatlantic.com/science/archive/2019/03/nasa-spacesuit-women-spacewalk/585805/>.

<sup>467</sup> Nell Greenfieldboyce, "When It Comes to the Spacewalk, Size Matters," NPR, accessed

uniforms, like spacesuits, require highly sophisticated technology which makes it costly. Budget constraints are an easy way to justify excluding women from positions that utilize expensive, specialized equipment. This creates a self-fulfilling prophecy in which, because low numbers of women fill combat positions, the army will not justify allocating money and resources to develop equipment specifically for them, and the lack of adequate equipment in turn prohibits women from filling combat positions. In the end, women's limited experience in such position becomes an excuse to question their capability and eligibility to serve in high-tech positions.

The concept of the warrior is an elusive one, as previously explored. In a way, the traditional construction of the warrior stands in opposition to the high-tech "future warrior" that the contemporary Army imagines. Christopher Coker warns that current warfare is increasingly losing touch with humanity and the "future warrior" is closer to a technician than a mythical Greek soldier the today's Army admires.<sup>468</sup> Automation is gradually replacing human labor in many sectors of civilian industry, and similarly threatens the human soldier's role within the military. Paul W. Kahn, a Law Professor at Yale University, contends that employing asymmetrical technology that exposes one side to danger while allowing the other side to reside in safety is not the conduct of a "moral combatant."<sup>469</sup> According to Kahn, three conditions define combatants' moral

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June 18, 2020, <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=6627320>.

<sup>468</sup> Christopher Coker, *Warrior Geeks: How 21st Century Technology Is Changing the Way We Fight and Think About War*, 1st edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

<sup>469</sup> Paul Kahn, "The Paradox of Riskless Warfare," *Philosophy & Public Policy Quarterly* 22, no. 3 (Summer 2002): 2–8. 2.

character: lack of autonomy, the separation of political ends from the morality of combat, and the requirement of reciprocity.<sup>470</sup> Combatants are those who take up the “military burden” under obligating factors like conscription; combatants may have moral disagreements with the political ends; and combatants may inflict injury on each other as long as their relationship is one of mutual risk. Autonomous and cyborg warfare greatly violates the third criterion’s required reciprocity. When an enemy is not in the position to defend itself, it cannot be a legitimate target, and the antagonizing party requires exposure to some level of harm in order for the act of self-defense to be reciprocal. Kahn contends that “Without the imposition of mutual risk, warfare is not war at all.”<sup>471</sup> According to this definition, the robotics warfare that the United States is pursuing is not war at all.

Why, then, does the military insist on calling future soldiers “warriors”? First, the term “soldier” is too realistic and lacks warrior’s mystery. A soldier is someone that we can see in real life, possibly someone we already know. A warrior exists in films and video games. Like warriors in films, the soldier of the future is idealistic, but does not exist in reality; therefore “warrior” better conveys excitement and sensation than does “soldier.” Second, the Army uses warrior as an umbrella term encompassing both Special Forces and “joystick soldiers” in order to minimize the stigma attached to non-infantry combat positions. That is why the Army shows inconsistency in the term’s

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<sup>470</sup> Kahn. 2-3.

<sup>471</sup> Kahn. 4.

usage. Finally, the term warrior imbues in the individual soldier with a sense of honor and personality that is rapidly being lost as technology dehumanizes the troops. With advanced communications systems, soldiers' movements are carefully controlled by higher echelons and commanders can now micromanage the battle space.

Furthermore, integration with computer AI makes a human soldier a single node in a wider network. A future soldier's reality could not be further from that which attended traditional notions of the warrior. But the warrior label rehumanizes a soldier by providing an impression of human virtues.

## **Chapter VII. The US Army Warrior and Gender**

The US Army is a one of the most strongly gendered and gendering American institutions. In this section, I will examine the relationship between masculinity and the Army and consider how it manifests in warrior discourse. How is "warrior" different from and similar to the conventional soldier? What effects does warrior discourse serve in the Army's gendered narrative? In order to better understand these questions, the following section will first examine what "gender" and "masculinity" mean.

### **1. Hegemonic Masculinity and the Army**

The popular understanding of gender and sex is that the former is a social construct while the latter is an anatomical and biological fact. In other words, gender is how one enacts their sex in relation to other social factors such as race, class, ethnicity, or religion. This line of thinking considers being female or male as sex and being a



woman or a man—thereby displaying femininity and masculinity—as gender. However, feminist scholars such as Judith Butler, Sandra Harding, and Donna Haraway argue that biological sex is as much a social construct as social gender.<sup>472</sup>

In order to better define the relationship between gender—more specially masculinity—and the military, one must understand the concepts of gender roles, gender relations, and gender performativity. Gender roles are “those behaviors, which society expects from individuals based on the social reality that they live.”<sup>473</sup> In many societies, men are expected to become breadwinners while women stay home to do domestic and caring work. Such expectations are examples of prescribed gender roles. Gender relations, on the other hand, refer to the way a culture or society defines how men and women perform their gender roles in relation to each other. Conceptualized femininity and masculinity, and gender roles, cannot exist without each other. Men are expected to perform “masculinity” in relation to the societal understanding of what constitutes “femininity,” and vice versa. For instance, a society may expect men to assume aggressive gender roles as soldiers because the same society expects women to be the peaceful gender. This contradictory and complementary relationship between genders comprises gender relations. Finally, “gender performativity” refers to Judith

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<sup>472</sup> Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (Routledge, 2011); Donna Jeanne Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (Free Association Books, 1991); Sandra Harding, *Whose Science? Whose Knowledge?: Thinking from Women's Lives* (Cornell University Press, 2016).

<sup>473</sup> Milena Abrahamyan, “Tough Obedience: How Is Militarized Masculinity Linked with Violence in the Army?,” Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung, accessed July 14, 2020, <http://feminism-boell.org/en/2017/02/08/tough-obedience-how-militarized-masculinity-linked-violence-army>.

Butler's theory that defines such performativity as "a stylized repetition of acts."<sup>474</sup>

Butler further explains that "the act that one does, the act that one performs, is, in a sense, an act that has been going on before one arrived on the scene."<sup>475</sup> For example, there is a certain societal understanding about what makes a "good father" and a "good mother." When most people become parents, they try to act—and receive social pressure to do so—according to that societal script. When people perform the role of "good parents," the "good parents" script survives for future generations to perform. This rehearsed script that "survives the particular actors" is what Butler means by gender performativity.<sup>476</sup>

Gender systems comprised of gender roles, gender relations, and gender performativity is not a neutral web of individuals performing gender, but a network inherently related to power. That is why individuals who reject their perceived gender roles face punitive measures, from humiliation and marginalization, to violence, even death. Joan W. Scott defines gender as a "constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes" that provides a primary way of signifying relationships of power.<sup>477</sup> In other words, the mutually constitutive relationship of femininity and masculinity inherently engenders hierarchy and unequal distribution of

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<sup>474</sup> Butler, *Gender Trouble*. 179.

<sup>475</sup> Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory," *Theatre Journal* 40, no. 4 (1988): 519–31, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3207893>. 526.

<sup>476</sup> Butler. 526.

<sup>477</sup> Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986): 1053–75, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1864376>. 1067.

power. Power relations are not limited to a gender binary; there are multiple forms and shades of femininities and masculinities, some linked to power and authority while others are subject to discrimination and marginalization. Among the various shapes that gender takes, the qualities attributed to men that top a gender hierarchy construct hegemonic masculinity.

R. W. Connell brought the concept of hegemonic masculinity into widespread circulation beginning in the 1980s. Connell defines hegemonic masculinity as “the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women.”<sup>478</sup> Hegemonic masculinity is the masculinity displayed by a small number of men perceived to occupy the top of a patriarchal gender system. Therefore, hegemonic masculinity is not “normal” in a statistical sense.<sup>479</sup> However, it is certainly normative in that it is the most desired and respected way of performing manhood in a given society at a given time. Men who lack the qualifications of hegemonic masculinities position themselves in relation to it. Hegemonic masculinity ideologically legitimates subordination of women to men.<sup>480</sup>

The term “hegemonic masculinity” emphasizes the Gramscian concept of “hegemony” which is neither objective nor settled, but historical and subject to change.

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<sup>478</sup> Connell, *Masculinities*. 77.

<sup>479</sup> R. W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, “Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept,” *Gender and Society* 19, no. 6 (2005): 829–59. 832.

<sup>480</sup> Connell and Messerschmidt. 832.

Connell argues that there the concept of hegemonic masculinity contains an element of optimism because “there could be a struggle for hegemony, and older forms of masculinity might be displaced by new ones.”<sup>481</sup> American hegemonic masculinity today, whether in the form of a super-rich computer scientist or a well-groomed Hollywood celebrity, was unlikely to have been hegemonic by eighteenth-century American standards. In addition, one key point dictates that hegemonic masculinity is not enforced on a subject; the subject itself chooses to adopt it. In other words, such masculinity is “hegemonic” because “men conform to an ideal without anyone ever managing to exactly embody that ideal.”<sup>482</sup> Hegemonic masculinity in the military is associated with characteristics that include “risk-taking, self-disciplining, physical toughness and/or muscular development, aggression, violence, emotional control, and overt heterosexual desire.”<sup>483</sup> Those who wish to be a part of the hegemonic military masculinity would display such attributes.

Connell has pointed to the military as the most important institution defining hegemonic masculinity in Western culture.<sup>484</sup> Since hegemony is more likely to be established if there is “some correspondence between cultural ideals and institutional

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<sup>481</sup> Connell and Messerschmidt. 833.

<sup>482</sup> Margaret Wetherell and Nigel Edley, “Negotiating Hegemonic Masculinity: Imaginary Positions and Psycho-Discursive Practices:,” *Feminism & Psychology* 9, no. 3 (August 1, 1999): 335–56, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353599009003012>. 337.

<sup>483</sup> Ramon Hinojosa, “Doing Hegemony: Military, Men, and Constructing a Hegemonic Masculinity,” *The Journal of Men’s Studies* 18, no. 2 (March 1, 2010): 179–94, <https://doi.org/10.3149/jms.1802.179>.

<sup>484</sup> Connell, *Masculinities*.

power,” the military provides a favorable environment for the cultivation of hegemonic masculinity. As part of an institution less “shaken by feminist women or dissenting men,” each individual soldier is vested with the right to use lethal force and exercise American state domination.<sup>485</sup> However, membership in the military does not automatically give one a hegemonic masculine identity, as social interactions construct gender identities through “psychological, cultural, and social means.”<sup>486</sup> The military does offer “the promise of being able to construct and claim a hegemonic masculine identity by making the necessary resources institutionally available,” as evidenced in military training for physical fitness and the steady paycheck that permits economic security.<sup>487</sup> Connell also contends that bearers of hegemonic masculinity, though not necessarily the most powerful people, might exist as symbolic figures like film actors or fantasy characters.<sup>488</sup> In this sense, the warrior figure is integral to Western cultural imagery of the masculine, whose focal point melds men and the military. Warrior culture is important for “setting standards, claiming popular assent, and discrediting those who fall short.”<sup>489</sup>

The American popular imagination understands the military as a masculine institution. First, because the military is the aggressive protector of a nation

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<sup>485</sup> Connell. 77.

<sup>486</sup> Candace West and Don H. Zimmerman, “Doing Gender,” *Gender & Society* 1, no. 2 (1987): 125–51, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243287001002002>. 125.

<sup>487</sup> Hinojosa, “Doing Hegemony.”

<sup>488</sup> Connell, *Masculinities*. 77.

<sup>489</sup> Connell. 214.

fundamentally constructed as feminine and personified as Lady Columbia.<sup>490</sup>

Historically, the image of Columbia was widely mobilized during wartime, most actively during World War I, to encourage men to enlist in the military (Figure 10 and 11).

Propaganda posters employed the image of a white female body to symbolize America's victimization at the hands of dehumanized and hypersexualized enemies during World War I and World War II (Figure 12 and 13). These posters equate the invasion of American property to the rape of American White women, and clearly aim to provoke American men into enlisting in the military by challenging their masculinity. In this sense, the military becomes the masculine protector that defends the vulnerable and feminine American soil.

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<sup>490</sup> The feminine national personification is more noticeable and popular in the Western society than other part of the world. Like Columbia of the US, there is Britannia in England, Germania in Germany, Hibernia in Ireland, and Helvetia in Switzerland.

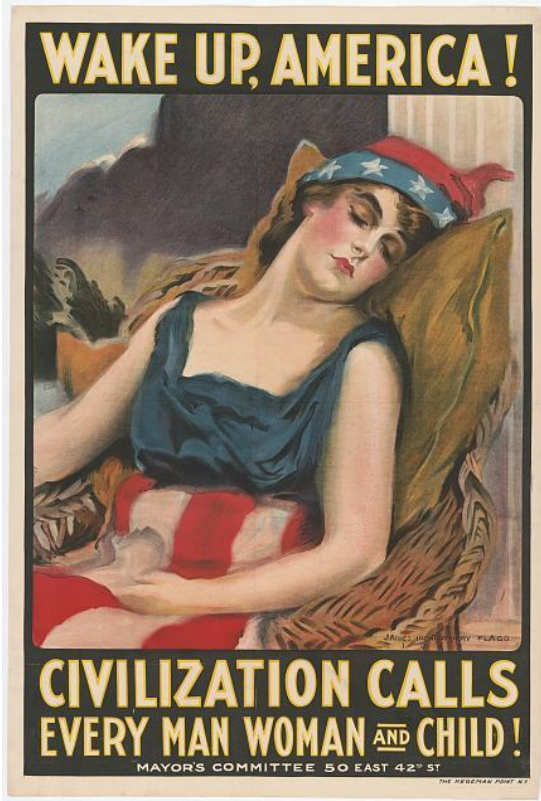


Figure 10. *Wake Up, America, Civilization Calls Every Man, Woman, and Child!* James Montgomery Flagg, 1917, The Hegeman Print, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/ppmsca.40985/#:~:text=Title-,Wake%20up%20America!,%26%20Stripes%2C%20symbolizing%20America%20asleep.&text=N.Y.%20%3A%20The%20Hegeman%20Print%2C%201917.>

Figure 11. *Columbia Calls, Enlist Now*, Frances Adams Halsted, 1916, V. Aderente, <https://www.loc.gov/item/95506508/#:~:text=Title-,Columbia%20calls%2D%2DENlist%20now%20for%20U.S.%20Army%20%2F%20designed%20by,Aderente.&text=Three%20months%20later%2C%20the%20New,of%20American%20soldiers%20and%20sailors.>

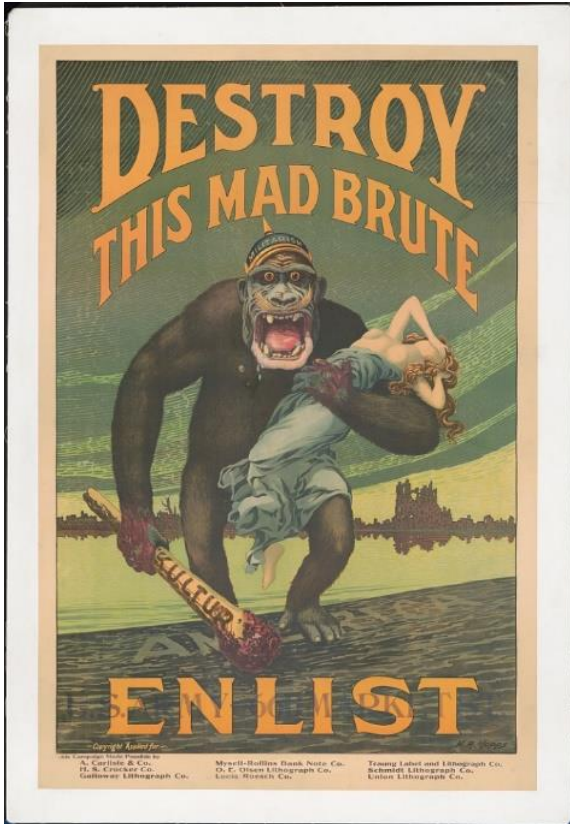


Figure 12. *Destroy This Mad Brute*, Harry R. Hopps, 1917, US Army, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2010652057/>



Figure 13. *Keep This Horror From Your Home*, Office for Emergency Management, War Production Board, c. 1942, US Army, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/534105>

The Army's institutional history reveals how it built a masculine institution by rejecting and marginalizing other gender forms. The US conscription system requires men, but not women, to register for military service, and the Army did not officially integrate women into the service until 1948 despite their prior participation in other capacities. Though twenty-first century women served side-by-side with male soldiers on patrol missions in Iraq and Afghanistan, the Army refused to recognize them in combat roles until 2015. The "blue discharge" or "blue ticket" is another case in point. Blue discharge is an administrative classification for service discharge defined as



“neither honorable nor dishonorable.”<sup>491</sup> Grounds for blue discharge include “protracted absence without leave, fraudulent enlistment, undesirable traits of character, and poor performance.”<sup>492</sup> The Army used it during and shortly after World War II to remove homosexual soldiers from the ranks, and though the discharge was technically not dishonorable, the Veteran’s Administration recognized it as synonymous with “dishonorable” and refused to grant benefits, such as those of the G. I. Bill, to veterans with “blue tickets.”<sup>493</sup> Not surprisingly, homosexual and black soldiers disproportionately received blue ticket discharges, and lost military benefits and faced discrimination in civilian life because employers understood what “blue discharge” implied.<sup>494</sup>

## 2. Warrior vs Soldier

Warrior emerged as a keyword in the US military at the turn of the twenty-first century. A 2007 *New York Times* article reported on the new language trend, explaining that “the word *warrior* is winning its battle against *fighter, soldier, servicemember,*

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<sup>491</sup> Tim MacArthur, “The Blue Ticket Discharge: A Color That Has Stained the Lives of WWII-Era Veterans for Over 75 Years – Mason Veterans and Servicemembers Legal Clinic,” Mason Veterans and Servicemembers Legal Clinic, May 17, 2019, <https://mvets.law.gmu.edu/2019/05/17/the-blue-ticket-discharge-a-color-that-has-stained-the-lives-of-wwii-era-veterans-for-over-75-years/>.

<sup>492</sup> Bradford Adams and Dana Montalto, “With Malice Toward None: Revisiting the Historical and Legal Basis for Excluding Veterans from ‘Veteran’ Services,” *Penn State Law Review* 122, no. 1 (2017): 70–139.

<sup>493</sup> MacArthur, “The Blue Ticket Discharge.”

<sup>494</sup> Melanie Burney, “WWII Vet Wants Army to Upgrade Discriminatory Discharge to ‘Honorable,’ Nearly 75 Years after Expelling Him,” *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 3, 2019, <https://www.inquirer.com/news/pennsylvania/nelson-henry-army-blue-discharge-military-discharge-petition-20190503.html>.

*troops*, even the most belligerent *combatants*.”<sup>495</sup> The article reasoned that “soldier” leaves out sailors, marines, and airmen; “servicemember” sounds too officialese and too long for headlines; “fighter” is too closely associated with the sport of boxing and has been tainted by insurgents and terrorists claiming the title; “troop” usually indicates a group, and therefore is not suitable to refer to one person; and “combatant” also bears association with enemy terrorists because contemporary hybrid warfare blurred the line between state soldiers and civilians. However, Army glorification of the term “warrior” was rooted in more than mere practicality or linguistic accuracy, the *Times* article noted: the current trend invoked such emotional reaction that it is even described as “the cult of the warrior.”<sup>496</sup>

Though all branches of the American armed forces use “warrior,” the Army is the most fervent user of the term. Contrary to the term’s heightened military esteem, particularly within the Army, a number of servicemembers and military scholars express discomfort with its widespread use. For these dissenters, warrior is contradictory to the ideals of a soldier.<sup>497</sup> Historically speaking, warriors rarely fought as a unit, and did not

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<sup>495</sup> William Safire, “Warrior,” *The New York Times Magazine*, accessed October 22, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2007/08/26/magazine/26wwln-safire-t.html?searchResultPosition=1&auth=login-smartlock>.

<sup>496</sup> Angry Staff Officer, “Stop Calling Us Warriors,” *The Angry Staff Officer* (blog), December 14, 2016, <https://angrystaffofficer.com/2016/12/14/stop-calling-us-warriors/>; John T Kuehn, “The Cult of the Warrior - Helpful or...Silly, or...Dangerous?,” *Humanities and Social Sciences Online, H-Net*, May 29, 2018, <https://networks.h-net.org/node/12840/blog/hand-grenade-week/1875375/cult-warrior-helpful-orsilly-ordangerous>; J. Gram Slattery, “The Cult of the Warrior,” *The Harvard Crimson*, February 14, 2013, <https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2013/2/14/warrior-whats-heroic/>; *The Nation*, “The Cult of the Soldier,” *The Nation*, February 15, 2007, <https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/cult-soldier/>.

<sup>497</sup> Fromm, “Warriors, the Army Ethos, and the Sacred Trust of Soldiers”; Angry Staff Officer,

lead squads or platoons. They fought alone and for their own glory. They did not have a shared vision, whereas the US Army emphasizes teamwork, unity, and solidarity. Inclusion on a team and teamwork toward a common goal is a source of great pride for American soldiers. The Soldier's Creed by which all Army members are expected to abide opens with the profession to be a team player: "I am an American Soldier. I am a warrior and a member of a team."<sup>498</sup> Warrior and team member are contradictory concepts at odds with each other because warriors usually fight alone. Moreover, warriors were a separate class of people whose existence required their use of violence and death as warriors. They did not transition to civilian life when their service term was over, as American veterans do. And in volunteer military systems like that of the United States, soldiers make the conscious decision to join the armed forces.

Retired Lt. Col. Peter Fromm calls Army's current reliance on the warrior concept "practically and morally counterproductive" because "the name warrior has connoted an advocate of war, one not only skilled but also bloody-minded and primitive."<sup>499</sup> Fromm provides examples of archetypal warriors whom the US Army idolizes but who in reality are far from what model soldiers ought to be:

Achilles sows destructive rancor among the Greeks because of his rivalry with Agamemnon over the girl Briseis, the sexual spoils of war. He is prone to impulsive rage, and commits the most notorious war crime in all of literature, the desecration of Hector's body. He is a warrior but not a soldier. The Arthurian

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"Stop Calling Us Warriors."

<sup>498</sup> "Soldier's Creed," U.S. Army, accessed March 25, 2020, <https://www.army.mil/values/soldiers.html>.

<sup>499</sup> Fromm, "Warriors, the Army Ethos, and the Sacred Trust of Soldiers." 19-20.

Lancelot goes berserk as a killer—often to the point of fratricide—and indulges his impulse as an illicit lover with the queen. Notorious for his sense of disdain for collateral damage in battle and love, Lancelot views with contempt the inconvenience of having noncombatants in the battlespace. He too is a warrior not a soldier.<sup>500</sup>

In addition to the warrior’s impulsive destruction and self-serving reasons to fight, Fromm finds a more pressing reason to do away with the term, observing that “the imagery of “warrior” can erode a soldier’s respect for other people, both the friendly and the enemy. An Army officer writing under the pseudonym “The Angry Staff Officer” brings up similar argument as Fromm’s in his blog post; he urges against labeling soldiers “warriors” because warriors are “chaotic, tribal, and lawless,” whereas soldiers are “disciplined masters of warfare ... who do not love violence but understand that there are cases where violence is necessary.”<sup>501</sup> For these officers, the warrior label is ill-fitting, and actively harmful to soldiers discipline.

In *Wavell Room*, a United Kingdom–based blog about contemporary British military issues, British Army non-commissioned officer Ryan Noordally published an article rejecting the warrior concept.<sup>502</sup> Noordally contends that warrior brand’s popularity began with the success of Zack Snyder’s 2006 film *300*. Noordally finds the term highly problematic because the warrior culture adopted by the military is both “toxic and dangerous to modern militaries.”<sup>503</sup> He further argues that warriors belong to the “losing

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<sup>500</sup> Fromm. 20-21.

<sup>501</sup> Angry Staff Officer, “Stop Calling Us Warriors.”

<sup>502</sup> Ryan Noordally, “On the Toxicity of the ‘Warrior’ Ethos,” *Wavell Room* (blog), April 28, 2020, <https://wavellroom.com/2020/04/28/on-the-toxicity-of-the-warrior-ethos/>.

<sup>503</sup> Noordally.

side of history,” and were essentially “rapists, murders, and slave owners.”<sup>504</sup>

Noordally’s article prompted a discussion about the validity of the “warrior ethos” among *Wavell Room*’s readers, and prompted a “Wavell Chat” in which military experts discussed the topic.<sup>505</sup> Military professionals from the United States, United Kingdom, and France were among the participants, all of whom agreed on two points. One was that fascination with the warrior ethos was common in their three countries, at least. The other was that warriors gained popularity due to the success of films like *Gladiator* (2000), *Troy* (2004), and *300* (2006), as well as video games like *Assassin’s Creed* that depicted warrior imagery. The huge success of epic films featuring warriors in the first decade of the 2000s demonstrated the concept’s salability to the public. In this sense, the US Army’s selection of the moniker did not reflect operational necessity, but a marketing exercise adopted without serious consideration of the underpinning ideals that developed into an ethos and spread rapidly as an ideology.

Thomas Ricks, another ardent objector to the term, believes that “Soldiers are the guardians of modern civilization, and warriors those of tribes.”<sup>506</sup> He goes on to say that warriors represent “a regression in the direction of the Stone Age” when “male populations are wiped out and women are raped as a form of genetic warfare.”<sup>507</sup> He

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<sup>504</sup> Noordally.

<sup>505</sup> “Wavell Chats: Warrior Ethos,” *Wavell Room* (blog), May 12, 2020, <https://wavellroom.com/2020/05/12/wavell-chats-warrior-ethos/>.

<sup>506</sup> Ricks, “What’s a Soldier? What’s a Warrior? Well, Do You Want to Live in a State or in a Tribe?”

<sup>507</sup> Ricks.

speculates that the Army's choice to adopt the term despite its negative connotations could reflect a growing civil-military gap.<sup>508</sup> He posits that calling oneself a warrior may be a way of identifying oneself not as a defender of a society, but within a caste that is separate from civilian society. Steele Brand, a history professor at The King's College, agrees that the military has devised many ways to separate itself from civilian society: "Antiquated haircuts, peculiar dialects and communal running perform the same function as church liturgies, national pledges of allegiance, fraternity hazing rituals and the secret handshake."<sup>509</sup> By creating a unique culture and practice that separates "adherents" from "non-adherents," the civil-military chasm is widening over time.<sup>510</sup>

Thomas Ricks further contends that the phenomenon may stem from the US military's all-volunteer force.<sup>511</sup> A Pew Research Center study reveals that only 0.4% of the American population serve as active-duty servicemembers.<sup>512</sup> This small number indicates a growing number of people in the younger generations who do not have military ties in their immediate families.<sup>513</sup> As a result, and despite continued US

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<sup>508</sup> Thomas Ricks, email message to author, January 31, 2019.

<sup>509</sup> Steele Brand, "What Ancient Rome and Greece Can Teach Us About the Modern American Military," TIME, September 20, 2019, <https://time.com/5681715/citizen-soldiers-history/>.

<sup>510</sup> Brand.

<sup>511</sup> Thomas Ricks, email message to author, January 31, 2019.

<sup>512</sup> Kim Parker, Anthony Cilluffo, and Renee Stepler, "6 Facts about the U.S. Military's Changing Demographics," Pew Research Center, accessed October 14, 2020, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/04/13/6-facts-about-the-u-s-military-and-its-changing-demographics/>.

<sup>513</sup> Pew Research Center, "The Military-Civilian Gap: Fewer Family Connections," *Pew Research Center's Social & Demographic Trends Project* (blog), November 23, 2011, <https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2011/11/23/the-military-civilian-gap-fewer-family-connections/>.

engagement in prolonged wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the public pays little attention because the military does not affect their everyday welfare and lives. According to a nationwide *New York Times/CBS News* poll conducted in 2010, only three percent of Americans reported the belief that the war in Afghanistan was an important issue for America, even though over 1,300 American soldiers had lost their lives there.<sup>514</sup>

As a consequence, numerous studies and polls contend that there is a “warrior caste” whose members disproportionately bear the responsibility of national defense.<sup>515</sup> Young people from military families are more likely to join the military themselves, and their kids have a greater likelihood of choosing military professions. The generational tendency for certain families to choose military service attests to the “warrior caste” argument. Former Defense Secretary Gates expressed the concern that “for growing number of Americans, service in the military, no matter how laudable, has become something for other people to do.”<sup>516</sup> As the civil-military gap widens, the military becomes an entity of its own, separate from the general public.

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<sup>514</sup> Dalia Sussman and Megan Thee-Brenan, “For Midterm Voters, War Is Off the Radar,” *The New York Times*, accessed April 3, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/16/us/politics/16poll.html?login=smartlock&auth=login-smartlock>.

<sup>515</sup> Charlsy Panzino, “‘Warrior Caste’: Is a Public Disconnect Hurting Military Recruiting Efforts?,” *Military Times*, January 19, 2018, <https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-army/2018/01/19/warrior-caste-is-a-public-disconnect-hurting-military-recruiting-efforts/>; Pew Research Center, “War and Sacrifice in the Post-9/11 Era,” *Pew Research Center’s Social & Demographic Trends Project* (blog), October 5, 2011, <https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2011/10/05/war-and-sacrifice-in-the-post-911-era/>.

<sup>516</sup> Robert M. Gates, “Defense.Gov Secretary of Defense Speech: Lecture at Duke University (All-Volunteer Force),” U.S. Department of Defense, September 29, 2010, <https://archive.defense.gov/Speeches/Speech.aspx?SpeechID=1508>.

Being perceived and self-identified as a separate caste perpetuates problems such as public indifference to military engagement. American apathy toward war and military matters is problematic because it leads to “the citizenry’s oversight of the state’s coercive power.”<sup>517</sup> It also has some dangerous conveniences. Because the military is separate from the civilian society, there exists a social pressure to blindly worship soldiers and a perceived obligation that the public owe service people gratitude. Growing physical and emotional distance between the American people and American overseas military engagements in turn diminishes American knowledge of and interest in the realities of war. This ignorance enables the American public to glorify war because they do not know and do not have to know “its unspeakable horrors or the sacrifice it entails.”<sup>518</sup>

Another explanation for the warrior trend argues that it is a symptom of American militarism. America’s Founding Fathers who feared potential danger in maintaining a standing peacetime Army founded the nation on the ideal of the “citizen-soldier.” At the end of the American Revolutionary War, statesmen toasted “May all our Citizens be Soldiers, and all our Soldiers Citizens.”<sup>519</sup> American soldiers whom

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<sup>517</sup> Steele Brand, “What Happened to the American Citizen-Soldier?,” Literary Hub, September 9, 2019, <https://lithub.com/what-happened-to-the-american-citizen-soldier/>.

<sup>518</sup> Paul M. Renfro, “War Has Been the Governing Metaphor for Decades of American Life. This Pandemic Exposes Its Weaknesses,” Time, April 15, 2020, <https://time.com/5821430/history-war-language/>.

<sup>519</sup> At a ball celebrating the end of the Revolutionary War, Sarah Livingston Jay, the wife of John Jay who was the senior American negotiator in Paris, proposed the toast “May all our Citizens be Soldiers, and all our Soldiers Citizens.” (Source: Linda K. Kerber, *No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship* (Macmillan, 1999), 236.)



Founding Fathers called citizen-soldiers are hailed as warriors today. Academic literature defines the “citizen-soldier” as “compulsory, universal, legitimate service by civilians.”<sup>520</sup> As the term indicates, a citizen-soldier is a citizen first. According to Rafael S. Cohen, a senior political scientist at the RAND Corporation, there are four traits that are generally accepted as the definition of “citizen-soldier” and he argues that the last trait is the most essential among the four: “Military service must be *obligatory* (compulsory service fulfilling part of one’s duties as a citizen), *universal* (reflective of the nation as a whole, not just one segment of the population), having *legitimacy by democratic standards* (or strong popular support), and personnel identify themselves as *civilian first* rather than soldiers.”<sup>521</sup> The end of conscription meant the end of the citizen-soldier, a change that induced the professionalization of the Army.

Contemporary conventions have flipped the components of the citizen-soldier label, today’s warriors are soldier-citizens. In the “soldier-citizen” military, thinking and acting like a civilian is considered problematic behavior. Steele Brand, a former US Army intelligence officer, remembers his experience in the service: “I was not the best soldier because I never fit into the culture. My captain noticed this one day and chastised me, saying ‘you’re still acting like a civilian.’ The problem was that I was still thinking like a citizen who would someday cease to be a soldier.”<sup>522</sup> A soldier is

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<sup>520</sup> Raphael S. Cohen, “Demystifying the Citizen Soldier,” RAND, 2015, [https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR1141.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1141.html).

<sup>521</sup> Cohen. 6.

<sup>522</sup> Brand, “What Happened to the American Citizen-Soldier?”

expected to think like a warrior who will remain a warrior even after their service comes to an end. Jonathan Moon Kupka, a lieutenant colonel in the US Army Special Forces, contends that an Army warrior class exists as a distinct subculture. He defines “warrior class” as follows:

a society’s military population that believes they are more patriotic and have higher moral and ethical values than the rest of the very society they serve. The warrior class is not exclusive to either officer or enlisted ranks. They are military career oriented serving in military occupations that make up the combat arms and those closest to the front lines. The warrior class has seen more combat in Iraq and Afghanistan than the average soldier, and holds close the soldier bonds and brotherhood made in war. They are overtly proud of their war service, while military service is generational to them, meaning military service is a family trade. A distinct warrior class is one that believes these virtues to be exclusive to the military and, therefore, should be held in higher esteem than other populations of the society it serves.<sup>523</sup>

Kupka contends that military warrior-class attitudes negatively impact civil-military relationships by shaping a military that is “losing touch with American society.”<sup>524</sup>

### **3. Is the US Army Warrior Male?**

The Army idealizes the warrior as exclusively male and heterosexual.

Discussions about today’s warriors often invoke examples from an ancient past, who were almost unanimously male. Such inference reinforces a confirmation bias—the tendency to selectively search for and interpret information that fits one’s prior beliefs, and to ignore any contradictory data—that views only a certain type of male warrior as a

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<sup>523</sup> Johnathon Moon Kupka, “Toward a Concept of the ‘Warrior Class’: The Impact of Sub-Cultures in Civil-Military Relations” (Ph.D., United States -- Kansas, University of Kansas, 2015), <http://search.proquest.com/pqdtglobal/docview/1695821026/abstract/987FCB1725C34BEAPQ/5.19>.

<sup>524</sup> Kupka. 43.

true warrior. There are historical records that contradict the notion of the heterosexual male warrior as universal ideal. The Sacred Band of Thebes is one case in point: in the Battle Chaeronea in 338 BCE, a troop comprised of 150 gay couples died fighting against Philip II of Macedonia:

Plutarch describes the Macedonian king, Philip, reviewing their corpses: “He stopped at the spot where the three hundred lay: all slain where they had met the long spears of the Macedonians. The corpses were still in their armor and mixed up with one another, and so he became amazed when he learned that these were the regiments of lovers and beloved. “May all perish,” he said, “who suspect that these men did or suffered anything disgraceful.”<sup>525</sup>

L. Michael Allsep Jr., Professor of History at Air Command and Staff College, explains that “in the remembrance of heroic warriors the memory of heroic gay warriors was not only virtually erased, but the homophobic privileging of heterosexual warriors was actively perpetuated.”<sup>526</sup>

While normative masculinity—that of White, able-bodied, and heterosexual male—is valued as hegemonic within the military, women can be penalized if perceived too masculine. The military culture expects female soldiers to embody the masculine military culture, yet maintain specific degrees of femininity so that they will not threaten the gender hierarchy and gender roles within the military.<sup>527</sup> The military leadership

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<sup>525</sup> Michael Stephenson, *The Last Full Measure: How Soldiers Die in Battle* (Broadway Paperbacks, 2013). 38.

<sup>526</sup> L. Michael Allsep, “The Myth of the Warrior: Martial Masculinity and the End of Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell,” *Journal of Homosexuality* 60, no. 2–3 (February 1, 2013): 381–400, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2013.744928>. 386.

<sup>527</sup> Kacy Crowley and Michelle Sandhoff, “Just a Girl in the Army: U.S. Iraq War Veterans Negotiating Femininity in a Culture of Masculinity,” *Armed Forces & Society* 43, no. 2 (April 1, 2017): 221–37, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095327X16682045>; Micah Ables, “Women Aren’t the Problem. Standards Are.,” Modern War Institute, February 5, 2019, /women-arent-problem-

carefully controls women's military service so that it does not disrupt "both home-front social norms and the appeal to masculinity utilized by recruiters and officers."<sup>528</sup> In July 2015, the US Marine Corps relieved Lt. Col. Kate Germano from her job, citing her "toxic leadership" style as the reason. Germano's firing triggered a military-wide debate on whether gender bias played a role in her dismissal.<sup>529</sup> During her tenure as commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Recruit Training Battalion, she had persistently questioned the Marine Corps' willingness to hold male and female marines to the same standards. Many standards, including fitness and marksmanship, are lower for female marines. On one occasion, Germano noticed a row of chairs placed behind women—but not behind men—standing in formation during a nine-mile hike.<sup>530</sup> The chairs were there in case female marines were too tired to maintain a standing position. Germano found it

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standards/; Sarah Hall, "Women at War: Why Do We Still Struggle with the Idea of Female Soldiers?," *the Guardian*, August 3, 2019, <http://www.theguardian.com/books/2019/aug/03/brave-confrontations-its-time-writers-broke-the-taboo-of-the-female-warrior>; Orna Sasson-Levy, "Gender Performance in a Changing Military: Women Soldiers in 'Masculine' Roles," *Israel Studies Forum* 17, no. 1 (2001): 7–22; Elizabeth M. Trobaugh, "Women, Regardless: Understanding Gender Bias in U.S. Military Integration," *Joint Force Quarterly* 88 (Quarter 2018): 46–53.

<sup>528</sup> Joshua Isbell, "Real Men: Countering A Century of Military Masculinity," *US Army War College War Room* (blog), March 1, 2019, <https://warroom.armywarcollege.edu/articles/century-of-military-masculinity/>.

<sup>529</sup> James Clark, "Lt. Col. Kate Germano On The Problem With Gender Bias In The Marine Corps," *Task & Purpose* (blog), July 30, 2015, <https://taskandpurpose.com/news/lt-col-kate-germano-on-the-problem-with-gender-bias-in-the-marine-corps/>; Hope Hodge Seck, "Controversy Surrounds Firing of Marines' Female Recruit Battalion CO," *Marine Corps Times*, August 7, 2017, <https://www.marinecorpstimes.com/news/your-marine-corps/2015/07/07/controversy-surrounds-firing-of-marines-female-recruit-battalion-co/>.

<sup>530</sup> Jim Michaels, "Voices: Marines Balance Warrior Spirit and Diversity," *USA TODAY*, accessed July 28, 2020, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2015/07/28/quest-inclusiveness-undermining-corps-germano/30463249/>.

troubling because such treatment reinforces the sexist bias that women are less fit to be marines than men. The fact that the Marine Corps permitted lower marksmanship scores from women, a skill in which a shooter's gender is seemingly irrelevant, constructed another arena in which leadership assumed that women boasted lower competency than men in basic military skills. Germano trained her recruits to increase their marksmanship scores to a ninety-one percent qualification rate from historical levels below seventy percent.<sup>531</sup> Germano contends that lowered standards and separate training for female soldiers function to "prevent female marines from competing as equals with their male counterparts, ensuring that even the very best of them are regarded as second-class marines."<sup>532</sup>

While the Army centers warrior models that range from cyber warriors and drone warriors to the Green Berets, one hegemonic warrior model dominates all others. Popular opinion holds "grunts" as more masculine and soldierly than "positions other than grunts (POGs)," and military personnel often ridicule POGs as less than manly.<sup>533</sup> Popular military comic strip author Maximilian Uriarte, discussing a 2014 *Marine Corps Times* article arguing against the usage of the term "POG" within the service, quotes taunting and belittling reactions to the article like "stop being a pussy" and "just own the

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<sup>531</sup> Michaels.

<sup>532</sup> Anthony Sharman, "Does Diversity Dilute the Warrior Ethos?," *Wavell Room* (blog), July 19, 2018, <https://wavellroom.com/2018/07/19/does-diversity-dilute-the-warrior-ethos/>.

<sup>533</sup> David Grove, "6 Ways for a POG to Be Accepted by Grunts," *We Are The Mighty* (blog), November 7, 2018, <https://www.wearethemighty.com/military-life/6-ways-for-a-pog-to-be-accepted-by-grunts/>; Logan Nye, "7 Undeniable Signs You're a Super POG," *Military.com*, July 10, 2020, <https://www.military.com/undertheradar/2017/07/7-undeniable-signs-youre-super-pog>.

fact that your job is lame as sh\*t and that you have a small penis” which demonstrate how POGs do not receive the same level of respect as grunts in the military.<sup>534</sup> Deployment to Iraq or Afghanistan, respected because it implies combat experience, carries its own value system wherein one’s position during deployment correlates with varying degrees of esteem. According to this logic, “Fobbit” is not the same kind of warrior as a grunt. “Fobbit” is a jargon used within the military to derogatorily refer to those who work within the boundaries of the Forward Operating Base (FOB). *Fobbit* novelist David Abrams, a veteran who served in Iraq as a Fobbit himself, writes that Fobbits see war “through a telescope, the bloody snarl of combat remained at a safe, sanitized distance from his air-conditioned cubicle.”<sup>535</sup> That is why soldiers view Fobbits as less manly and less important compared to soldiers in combat positions. Abrams writes about an officer who did not want to be a Fobbit because of the position’s negative reputation: “Once an armor officer, he figured he’d soon be a Fobbit, the crème-center pussies his men constantly despised.”<sup>536</sup> This illustrates how noncombat positions are feminized and disrespected.

The same logic applies to drone operators. The US military launched its first drone strike in 2001, after which the weapons quickly became popular. Drones are both convenient and less risky because they preclude the need for a large number of ground

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<sup>534</sup> Maximilian Uriarte, “Terminal Lance #344 ‘Pogue,’” Terminal Lance, November 18, 2014, <https://terminallance.com/2014/11/18/terminal-lance-344-pogue/>; Hope Hodge Seck, “Don’t Call Me ‘POG,’” *Marine Corps Times*, November 24, 2014, sec. A.

<sup>535</sup> David Abrams, *Fobbit* (Open Road + Grove/Atlantic, 2012).

<sup>536</sup> Abrams.

troops. Hugh Gusterson, a Professor of International Affairs at George Washington University, calls such asymmetric use of drone warfare “pure drone warfare” because the military can annihilate its targets without exposing its own troops to danger.<sup>537</sup> Drone killing is so asymmetrical in favor of the United States that employing the weapons is more akin to a “slaughter” and “putting-to-death” than to combat.<sup>538</sup> Citing the drone program’s convenience, the American military has expanded drone operations; currently, over half of all new Air Force pilots are drone pilots, and nearly half of all new aircrafts are unmanned.<sup>539</sup> Killing through drone attack is an almost god-like exercise because the attack can happen without the targets ever knowing where it came from. Despite the weapons’ lethality, however, enemy combatants often deride drone pilots as cowards, claiming that a true warrior would never hide behind a machine.<sup>540</sup> Enemies of the United States are not the only ones who view drone operations as cowardly; ridicule also surfaces among the American ranks. Fellow soldiers refer to drone operators in derogatory terms, including “cubicle warriors,” “chair force,” and “Dilbert at war.” When the Department of Defense proposed giving a medal equivalent to the Bronze Star to drone operators who demonstrated excellence in their job, many within the military were outraged and tauntingly referred to the award as a “Nintendo medal”; facing fierce internal resistance, Defense officials rescinded the decision.<sup>541</sup> While the warrior ideal

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<sup>537</sup> Hugh Gusterson, *Drone: Remote Control Warfare* (MIT Press, 2016). 16.

<sup>538</sup> Grégoire Chamayou, *A Theory of the Drone* (New Press, The, 2015). 13.

<sup>539</sup> Martin and Sasser, *Predator*, Gusterson, *Drone*.

<sup>540</sup> Manjikian, “Becoming Unmanned.”

<sup>541</sup> Andrew Tilghman, “DoD Rejects ‘Nintendo Medal’ for Drone Pilots and Cyber Warriors,”

remains masculinized, noncombat positions are feminized and considered less warriorlike.

#### **4. Is the “Warrior” Title Psychological Wage for Soldiers Fighting Unpopular War?**

Shortly after Army Chief of Staff Peter Shoomaker approved the “Warrior Ethos” in 2003, he ordered the Army to capitalize the word “soldier” in all command information publications. The reasoning behind the directive was to treat soldiers with “the respect and importance they’ve always deserved, especially now in their fight against global terrorism.”<sup>542</sup> General Shoomaker proceeded to request that the editors of Webster’s dictionary and the Associated Press Stylebook reflect the Army’s change as well. These publications declined to accept the request, responding that while the Army public affairs team could control how certain language was used within the service, it did not wield the same authority over general English usage.<sup>543</sup> Linguist Bill Poser expressed concern about the Army’s directive and argued that capitalization had nothing to do with “respect and importance,” given that “‘Private’ is capitalized as much as ‘General’” and terms like “He” and “Bible” are capitalized not in deference to god, but because those are proper nouns that refer “to one particular being.”<sup>544</sup>

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Military Times, August 8, 2017, <https://www.militarytimes.com/2016/01/06/dod-rejects-nintendo-medal-for-drone-pilots-and-cyber-warriors/>.

<sup>542</sup> Charlie Coon, “Soldier – and That’s with a Capital ‘S,’” Stars and Stripes, accessed July 30, 2020, <https://www.stripes.com/news/soldier-and-that-s-with-a-capital-s-1.14791>.

<sup>543</sup> Coon.

<sup>544</sup> Bill Poser, “Language Log: Military Capitalization,” Language Log, June 4, 2007,



Today's US Army is not a warrior society. Christopher Coker laments "the death of the warrior tradition" in the US military, which he contends is "waging war without warriors."<sup>545</sup> Coker argues that the American conceptualization of war as an instrument to solve problems and manage crises is a recipe for failure when combined with efforts to make war more humane for its soldiers and enemies. As society becomes more complex, brute strength ceases to be the root source of warrior value, and warriors become "instrumental heroes in the service of a larger social good."<sup>546</sup> Furthermore, the development of other civil institutions increasingly curtails freedom of action. For instance, generals cannot focus solely on waging war because they also have to consider "what the market will allow."<sup>547</sup> The rise of democracy blurs boundaries between warriors and the citizenry, which eventually displaced warriors with soldiers. In this sense, the troops who comprise today's Army cannot be called warriors.

Why, then, does the Army continue to insist on invoking the warrior? First of all, contemporary America has ceased to privilege military heroes as it did in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Confederate Civil War generals have received much glorification as heroes despite their racist cause and the fact that they seceded from and bore arms against the United States, and World War I made Sergeant York a war

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<http://itre.cis.upenn.edu/~myl/language/og/archives/004573.html>.

<sup>545</sup> Coker, *Waging War Without Warriors?*

<sup>546</sup> Coker. 78.

<sup>547</sup> Coker. 80.

hero.<sup>548</sup> The twenty first–century Army presents all soldiers as “warriors.” In a 2020 *New York Times* opinion column, Farhad Manjoo argued that “In America, you should always get a little suspicious when politicians suddenly start calling you a hero. It’s a well-worn trick; they’re buttering you up before sacrificing you to the gods of unconstrained capitalism and governmental neglect.”<sup>549</sup> He was referring to healthcare workers who had been asked to put their lives in danger to treating coronavirus patients without adequate personal protective gear. The same logic might apply to the military’s choice to refer to servicemembers as warriors. It is probably not coincidental that when the Army officially incorporated the term warrior in the Soldier’s Creed, many soldiers were being killed or wounded in Iraq; over 4,400 soldiers died and approximately 32,000 were wounded as the result of Operation Iraqi Freedom.<sup>550</sup>

In an environment that is increasingly difficult to control and anticipate, the Army employs the warrior concept to invest each individual soldier’s job with a sense of purpose. The reality remains that most of today’s combat casualties do not result from ground warfare against an enemy, but from remote and unmanned weapons like missiles and IEDs. Machines, not people, kill soldiers. This frustrates soldiers because it means that combat training and related skills cannot protect them from harm. The Army uses warrior discourse to motivate soldiers in deadly and unpredictable environments

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<sup>548</sup> Many Confederate monuments have been removed and are in the process of public debate for removal.

<sup>549</sup> Farhad Manjoo, “Opinion | Please Don’t Call Them Heroes,” *The New York Times*, July 15, 2020, sec. Opinion, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/15/opinion/schools-reopening.html>.

<sup>550</sup> Department of Defense, “Casualty Status” (U.S. Department of Defense, July 13, 2020).

by invoking “the image of the timeless warrior” who slays dragons.<sup>551</sup>

The “warrior” title is also a psychological wage for soldiers expected to carry out unpopular missions in harsh conditions. Hollow platitudes might “Thank you for your service,” but the reality is that most Americans do not really care. In his 1935 book *Black Reconstruction in America*, W. E. B. Du Bois introduced the concept of a “psychological wage” to explain how political and social access from which low-wage Black workers were blocked offered low-wage White laborers psychological compensation for their Whiteness. “They were given public deference and titles of courtesy because they were white. They were admitted freely with all classes of white people to public functions, public parks, and the best schools.”<sup>552</sup> As previously examined, the “warrior” label connotes membership in hegemonic masculinity. The Army broadly applies the label not only to infantry soldiers and Special Operations forces, but to cyber operators and drone pilots previously derided as POGs.<sup>553</sup> In this way, the “warrior” title offers a psychological wage to those soldiers whose roles are important to the mission but outside of hegemonic military masculine norms.

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<sup>551</sup> Allsep, “The Myth of the Warrior.” 384.

<sup>552</sup> W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America 1860-1880* (Simon and Schuster, 1999). 700-701.

<sup>553</sup> Nye, “7 Undeniable Signs You’re a Super POG.”

## Chapter VIII. South Korean Army and Warriors

The US Army warrior concept has traveled across the Pacific Ocean to become part of South Korean Army jargon. In order to understand this transnational journey, one has to understand the unique history and relationship of the Korean-American alliance. The Republic of Korea Army (ROKA) values its relationship with the US Army as *Hyeolmaeng*, “blood-forged alliance.” As an ally in the Korean War, the United States has been the most important nation for the security of the peninsula. After thirty-five years of Japanese occupation, Korea regained its independence in 1945, the national situation remained precarious after decades of colonialism and World War II. To assist in nation-building, the United States government installed the US Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK), operating it until 1948. When South Korea elected its first president, President Syngman Rhee, Rhee signed an agreement with General Hodge, the Commanding General of US Army Forces in Korea (USAFIK), granting Korea’s operational control (OPCON)<sup>554</sup> to the US military.<sup>555</sup> A year later, OPCON was transferred back to Korea when the US forces withdrew from the peninsula, leaving behind 500 military advisers. However, the Korean War broke out on June 25, 1950, and President Rhee delegated “the command authority over all land, sea, and air forces

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<sup>554</sup> According to the Joint Publication (JP) 1, *Doctrine for the Armed Forces of the United States*, OPCON “is the authority to perform those functions of command over subordinate forces involving organizing and employing commands and forces, assigning tasks, designating objectives, and giving authoritative direction necessary to accomplish the mission.” (Source: Charles T. Berry, “Understanding OPCON,” U.S. Army, May 3, 2010, [https://www.army.mil/article/38414/understanding\\_opcon](https://www.army.mil/article/38414/understanding_opcon).)

<sup>555</sup> Clint Work, “The Long History of South Korea’s OPCON Debate,” *The Diplomat*, November 1, 2017, <https://thediplomat.com/2017/11/the-long-history-of-south-koreas-opcon-debate/>.

of the Republic of Korea... during the period of the continuation of the present state of hostilities” to General Douglas MacArthur, who was Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations Command (UNC) at the time.<sup>556</sup> The Korean War ended with an armistice agreement. When the national situation stabilized in the mid-1970s, other nations in the UNC removed combat troops from Korea and the UN General Assembly questioned the UNC’s legal status in the Korean peninsula.<sup>557</sup> As a result, South Korea and the US established Combined Forces Command (CFC) in 1978, and OPCON transferred back to the US military.<sup>558</sup> The US military continues to hold OPCON in the Korean peninsula to this day.

Historically, the US is the single most important influence in the nation-making of the modern South Korean state. South Korea adapted, resisted, and transformed American influence to build the nation it is today.<sup>559</sup> American influence is more visible in the military. The USAMGIK was in charge of establishing a Korean government and a national defense agency. The Korean Constabulary was the first institution founded with the help of USAMGIK, and the Korean Coast Guard, the Department of Internal Security, and Army were founded thereafter.<sup>560</sup> In addition, the Korea Military Academy

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<sup>556</sup> Seoyeon Yoon, “South Korea’s Wartime Operational Control Transfer Debate: From an Organizational Perspective,” *Journal of International and Area Studies* 22, no. 2 (2015): 89–108. 91.

<sup>557</sup> Chong-Ki Choi, “The Korean Question in the United Nations,” *Verfassung Und Recht in Übersee / Law and Politics in Africa, Asia and Latin America* 8, no. 3/4 (1975): 395–406.

<sup>558</sup> Yoon, “South Korea’s Wartime Operational Control Transfer Debate.” 92.

<sup>559</sup> Gregg A. Brazinsky, *Nation Building in South Korea: Koreans, Americans, and the Making of a Democracy* (Univ of North Carolina Press, 2009).

<sup>560</sup> Robert K. Sawyer, *Military Advisors in Korea: KMAG in Peace and War*, ed. Walter G.

(KMA)—the Korean equivalent of the US Military Academy at West Point—was also founded in 1945 under the guidance of USAGIK. From uniforms to curriculum, the Korea Military Academy modeled much of its initial design on West Point.<sup>561</sup> The US remains the most significant provider of overseas education and training for Korean military officers, and 74 percent of South Korean military officers who receive overseas education and military training do so at US institutions.<sup>562</sup> This number is disproportionately high compared to the number of officers who go to other countries like Japan (four percent), Germany (two percent), and Russia (two percent).<sup>563</sup> Overdependence on the United States as a training and education destination is distinctive to the military, as the percentage is about forty-one percent for other Korean civil servants.<sup>564</sup> The American education and military training that Korean officers receive naturally influence their worldview, and officers often introduce American concepts to the Korean military.

The US remains the primary member of South Korea’s defense alliance. As of 2019, about 28,500 US troops are stationed in South Korea, and in 2015 the US and South Korea installed the ROK-US Combined Division—a first-ever combined division

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Hermes (Washington D.C.: Center of Military History, 1988).

<sup>561</sup> Sawyer. 80.

<sup>562</sup> Sun Choi, “국방부 해외유학 헛돈’ 장교 3명 중 1명은 짝 일,” *eDaily*, September 13, 2013, sec. Defense and Diplomacy, <https://www.edaily.co.kr/news/read?newsId=01659686602939792&mediaCodeNo=257&OutLnkChk=Y>.

<sup>563</sup> Choi.

<sup>564</sup> Choi.

between the United States and the Republic of Korea, in which soldiers of the two nations work side by side as one unit—to “enhance cohesion and interoperability of forces.”<sup>565</sup> In the event of military conflict with North Korea, the combined division reacts as one unit with the primary mission to secure North Korean weapons of mass destruction.<sup>566</sup> Both forces annually conduct combined and joint exercises. Until 2019 this included three major combined exercises—the Foal Eagle, Ulchi Freedom Guardian, and Key Resolve—after which the Dongmaeng Alliance exercise replaced them.<sup>567</sup> These combined exercises not only improve interoperability but reaffirm and demonstrate a strong partnership between the two nations.

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<sup>565</sup> ROK-US Combined Division, “2ID/Republic of Korea-U.S. Combined Division,” [www.army.mil](https://www.army.mil/standto/archive/2018/11/20/index.html), November 20, 2018, <https://www.army.mil/standto/archive/2018/11/20/index.html>.

<sup>566</sup> Rowland Ashley, “US, South Korea Activate 1st-Ever Combined Division,” *Stars and Stripes*, June 3, 2015, <https://www.stripes.com/news/pacific/korea/us-south-korea-activate-1st-ever-combined-division-1.350251>.

<sup>567</sup> Foal Eagle is a counter-infiltration exercise that includes large-scale field training exercises (FTX) for US and ROK armed forces. Even though Foal Eagle is a defensive exercise, North Korea has repeatedly made complaints that they are rehearsals for an invasion. In 2018, President Trump, after a summit meeting with North Korean leader Kim Jong-un, unexpectedly announced that the US would halt the combined exercise that is “tremendously expensive” and “very provocative.” Despite Trump’s announcement, the 2018 exercise was carried out at a smaller scale than usual. (Source: Paul Szoldra, “7 Lines Trump Just Gifted To North Korea’s Propaganda Machine,” *Task & Purpose*, June 12, 2018, <https://taskandpurpose.com/code-red-news/trump-lines-north-korea-propaganda>.); Ulchi Freedom Guardian is a computer-simulated defensive exercise “designed to enhance readiness, protect the region and maintain stability on the Korean peninsula.” Tied to the South Korea’s government-wide national defensive exercise *Ulchi*, Ulchi Freedom Guardian exercise tests the strategic, operation, and tactical functions of military operations in the Korean theater. (Source: US Army Pacific, “Ulchi Freedom Guardian,” [www.army.mil](https://www.army.mil/standto/archive/2017/08/28/index.html), August 28, 2017, <https://www.army.mil/standto/archive/2017/08/28/index.html>.); Key Resolve is an annual command post exercise that was previously known as Reception, Staging, Onward Movement, Integration (RSOI). (Source: Zhang Yingqi, “What Is Key Resolve/Foal Eagle?,” *CGTN*, March 4, 2019, <https://news.cgtn.com/news/3d3d774e316b444d33457a6333566d54/index.html>.)

Due to the history and close alliance between the two nations, the Korean Army adopts and adapts trends from the US Army. Ten years after the US Army changed its official headgear to the black beret, in 2011, the ROK Army, too, adopted the black beret for its troops. Announcing the change, the ROK Army explained that the decision to “benchmark the US Army” was one reason for the new headgear.<sup>568</sup> Ironically, just one year later the US Army reverted to the patrol cap as the standard headgear to be worn with combat uniform.<sup>569</sup> As of 2020, the ROK Army is manufacturing patrol caps to be distributed to its troops, the black beret having received negative feedback from its soldiers who complained that it did not provide shade and that the wool material was too hot during the summer.<sup>570</sup> The choice to adopt black beret was impractical from the beginning.

The Republic of Korea’s adoption of the warrior concept in the early 2010s offers another example of how they have benchmarked the US Army. *Kookbang Ilbo* [“*The National Defense Newspaper*”] is the only daily newspaper published by Korea’s Ministry of National Defense. Content analysis between January 2001 and November 2020 reveals that *jeonsa*, a Korean term for “warrior,” is rarely used in reference to its

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<sup>568</sup> Sungjin Park, “육군 전투모, 베레모에서 10년만에 ‘차양형’으로 회귀,” News, Kyunghyang Shinmun, October 6, 2019, [http://news.khan.co.kr/kh\\_news/khan\\_art\\_view.html?artid=201910061030001&code=910302](http://news.khan.co.kr/kh_news/khan_art_view.html?artid=201910061030001&code=910302).

<sup>569</sup> Department of Army, “Guide to the Wear and Appearance of Army Uniforms and Insignia” (Department of the Army, May 25, 2017). 7.

<sup>570</sup> Youjeong Jang, “베레모에 열받은 장병들...육군 ‘챙 있는 전투모 개발 중,’” *Seoul Economy*, August 8, 2018, sec. Diplomacy and Security, <https://www.sedaily.com/NewsView/1S3A5AVE1Q/GE0403>.



soldiers.<sup>571</sup> In the few *jeonsa* references that appear, the term is used as a passing reference to the idea of a warrior, never as a slogan or title for an event. Furthermore, *woriuh* (워리어, a Korean phonetic interpretation of the term “warrior”), is absent from *Kookbang Ilbo* in the years before 2006.<sup>572</sup> Prior to that year, the term’s use appeared only in references to foreign-nation weapons systems and military vehicles such as the UK Warrior armored vehicle (FV 510 Warrior) and US Kiowa Warrior helicopter (Bell OH-58). Because the US Army was using the term widely in the early 2000s, there were US units and training grounds in South Korea that included the designation “warrior,” for example, the Warrior Base in Munsan, South Korea, and the US 2<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Division’s Warrior Readiness Center in Pyeongtaek, South Korea. Korean news articles used *woriuh* in reference to those units and training facilities.

The frequency with which US units in Korea included “Warrior” in their names exposed Korean military members to the term. Moreover, as examined previously, the United States is the most common host country for Korean military personnel pursuing further education and training.<sup>573</sup> Every year, approximately two-hundred military officers and NCOs receive military training at US institutions like the Joint Forces Staff College.

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<sup>571</sup> *Jeonsa* (전사) has three homonyms that are used in relation to the military: 1. Warrior, 2. Military history, 3. Killed in action. In analyzing the article contents, the author used “*jeonsa*” as a keyword and excluded articles that use the term as either “military history” or “killed in action.”

<sup>572</sup> In this dissertation, I use *woriuh* to show that the English term was adopted without translation. When the translated term is used, I will write the Korean term *jeonsa*.

<sup>573</sup> Choi, “국방부 해외유학 헛돈’ 장교 3명 중 1명은 딴 일.”

The Korean Army has gradually adopted American military terms and ideas as a result. Among military service branches—Army, Navy/Marine Corps, and Air Force—the Korean Air Force was the first to adopt the term *woriuh* in official discourse. In April 2006, Air Force Chief of Staff General Sungil Kim began an initiative to innovate and transform the branch under the motto, “Open Door, Open Mind, Open Eyes.”<sup>574</sup> As part of the initiative the Air Force selected “33 Innovation Warriors,” a group that included airmen, NCOs, and officers, all of whom could provide ideas and feedback related to Air Force policy.<sup>575</sup> This was the first instance of the Korean military adopting and internalizing the term “warrior.”

The Korean Army adopted the term later in 2006, and though the Air Force had adopted it first, the Army would use it far more frequently. Since 2006, numerous Army units hosted *woriuh* competitions in which soldiers competed in physical fitness and combat skills. While the format of the competitions differed from unit to unit, all of the units holding them regarded warriors as an ideal.<sup>576</sup> The army’s largest basic training

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<sup>574</sup> Jongwon Kim, “‘변화·혁신’ 강력한 드라이브 걸었다,” News, 국방일보, April 27, 2006, [http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20060427/2/BBSMSTR\\_000000010025/view.do](http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20060427/2/BBSMSTR_000000010025/view.do).

<sup>575</sup> Kim.

<sup>576</sup> Byungno Yoon, “제3회 비호 워리어선발대회... 이정배 상사 등 10명 ‘최정예 특급전사’ 영예,” 국방일보, December 27, 2020, [http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20201228/7/BBSMSTR\\_000000010023/view.do](http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20201228/7/BBSMSTR_000000010023/view.do); Byungno Yoon, “수기사 정보통신대대·7포병여단 최우수 팀 영예,” 국방일보, December 10, 2020, [http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20201211/1/BBSMSTR\\_000000010023/view.do](http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20201211/1/BBSMSTR_000000010023/view.do); Hanyoung Choi, “비호 컴뱃머슬(Combat Muscle) 워리어 콘테스트 건강한 몸 관리 전우들과 즐겁게...,” 국방일보, July 14, 2020, [http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20200715/1/BBSMSTR\\_000000010023/view.do](http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20200715/1/BBSMSTR_000000010023/view.do);

center, the Korean Army Training Center (KATC) in Nonsan, Chungchung Namdo, renamed its graduation ceremony the “*Woriuh* Appointment Ceremony.”<sup>577</sup> The training center also built a “Warrior’s Gate” through which the graduating soldiers walk during the ceremony.<sup>578</sup> At the ceremony’s conclusion, at which point the KATC commander bestows the warrior title, a recruit from the top of the class hits a battle drum three times to wish the new warriors good luck.<sup>579</sup> Basic training centers for other military divisions adopted the KATC graduation ceremony format.<sup>580</sup> Those that adopted *woriuh* appointment ceremony explained that referring to recruits as warriors would heighten

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Hanyoung Choi, “72명 중 충용 최정예 전사는?,” 국방일보, July 19, 2020, [http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20200720/14/BBSMSTR\\_000000010023/view.do](http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20200720/14/BBSMSTR_000000010023/view.do);  
Sangyoon Kim, “전사적 기풍 확산... 천하무적 상승사단 전통 잇는다,” 국방일보, May 25, 2020, [http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20200526/16/BBSMSTR\\_000000010023/view.do](http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20200526/16/BBSMSTR_000000010023/view.do);  
Chaemoo Lim, “[육군51사단] 예비군 ‘최정예 톱 팀’을 가려라,” 국방일보, March 20, 2018, [http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20180321/1/BBSMSTR\\_000000010023/view.do](http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20180321/1/BBSMSTR_000000010023/view.do);  
Chaemoo Lim, “육군, 최정예 사이버 전사 가린다,” 국방일보, August 29, 2019, [http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20190830/5/BBSMSTR\\_000000010023/view.do](http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20190830/5/BBSMSTR_000000010023/view.do).

<sup>577</sup> Ami Cho, “신병교육의 끝없는 진화... 훈련병, 강한 용사되다,” Newspaper, 국방일보, August 18, 2014, [http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20140819/3/BBSMSTR\\_000000010023/view.do](http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20140819/3/BBSMSTR_000000010023/view.do).

<sup>578</sup> Cho.

<sup>579</sup> Cho.

<sup>580</sup> Seunghoi Ahn, “[육군27사단] 이기자! 신병교육 수료 명 받았습시다,” 국방일보, February 22, 2016, [http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20160223/8/BBSMSTR\\_000000010023/view.do](http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20160223/8/BBSMSTR_000000010023/view.do); Ami Cho, “모든 신병을 ‘용사’라 칭한다 카퍼레이드·‘진군고’ 출정식 등 사기 높여,” 국방일보, July 21, 2014, [http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20140722/2/BBSMSTR\\_000000010023/view.do](http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20140722/2/BBSMSTR_000000010023/view.do).

their loyalty and pride as members of the Army.<sup>581</sup>

In 2018, National Defense Minister Youngmoo Song officially incorporated *woriuh* into the military leadership's discourse. Minister Song first introduced the idea of "*woriuh lispekt*" [워리어 리스펙트, warrior respect] in November 2017.<sup>582</sup> He argued that current conditions saw the Ministry of National Defense performing the dual roles of military command and administration, which he viewed as inefficient.<sup>583</sup> The military should focus on the command, and leave administration function to civilian personnel within the ministry, he argued, in order to achieve a "*woriuh lispekt*" in which broader society respected the military.<sup>584</sup> The following month, Minister Song reemphasized the need for a "*woriuh lispekt*" at the 2017 Military-wide Commanders' Conference in Seoul, where upper-echelon commanders gathered to review the year and discuss future visions.<sup>585</sup> Song reaffirmed his earlier belief that the military should focus on command, not administration, so that "all members in uniform can receive *woriuh lispekt* from the

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<sup>581</sup> Cho, "모든 신병을 '용사'라 칭한다 카퍼레이드·'진군고' 출정식 등 사기 높여."

<sup>582</sup> Minister Song used the Korean phonetic interpretation of "warrior respect" which is written as *워리어 리스펙트* [*woriuh lispekt*] instead of the Korean translation of the phrase, *전사 존중*.

<sup>583</sup> Younghye Kim, "송영무, 군의 정치적 중립 확실히 보장해야... '여성대변인'도 예고," 국방일보, November 28, 2017, [http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20171128/86/BBSMSTR\\_000000010026/view.do](http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20171128/86/BBSMSTR_000000010026/view.do).

<sup>584</sup> Kim.

<sup>585</sup> Jieun Kim, "송영무 '2018년 국방개혁 원년으로 군역량 집중,'" Newspaper, Hangyurae, December 8, 2017, <http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/politics/defense/822662.html>.

society.”<sup>586</sup> Minister Song’s decision to employ a phonetic transliteration of the phrase “warrior respect” is noteworthy because he chose it over more easily-understood Korean terms. In doing so, he differentiated *woriuh* and *lispekt* from ideas conventionally associated with the Korean equivalents *jeonsa* and *jongyung*. Using the English phrase suggested a conceptual connection to the American military’s warrior concept and reflected the desire to emulate the US Army.

Korean military personnel share a general understanding that the US military enjoys great respect from American civilian society.<sup>587</sup> In contrast with this construction of military-civilian relationships in the United States (or at least in contrast with what the South Korean military perceives that construction to be), in South Korea, civilians have a more complicated relationship with the military. South Korea’s fifth president, Chung-hee Park, was an Army officer and graduate of the Korean Military Academy who seized office in a 1963 military coup and remained in power until his assassination in 1979. The South Korean public largely remembers his presidency as a military dictatorship during which thousands of activists, protesters and dissidents were unlawfully jailed, tortured and died.<sup>588</sup> Following Park’s assassination, military dictatorship continued under another KMA graduate and Army officer, Doo-hwan Chun, who stole the presidency through violence and corruption and held office for nearly eight years. Consequently,

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<sup>586</sup> Kim.

<sup>587</sup> Suyoun Hwang, “제복 보면 ‘밥값 내주겠다’...미국의 군인 대하는 법,” 중앙일보, September 7, 2018, <https://news.joins.com/article/22950144>.

<sup>588</sup> Steven Denney, “The Mixed Legacy of a South Korean Dictator,” *The Diplomat*, September 17, 2015, <https://thediplomat.com/2015/09/the-mixed-legacy-of-a-south-korean-dictator/>.

there remains widespread anti-military sentiment among the South Korean population. Because the Korean military employs a conscription system, many of the young men who must serve their approximately two-year commitments (the mandatory service period varies across branches) consider the period wasted time because mandatory service disrupts their education and careers.<sup>589</sup> Under the conscription system, the public appreciates the young enlistees who are fulfilling their duty, but harbor varying degrees of unease toward military leadership, and especially toward KMA graduates. Therefore, the South Korean military emulates US military conventions in an attempt to negotiate complicated public relations and gain the people's respect. When Minister Song advocated for *woriuh lispekt*, the concept implied the public respect the US military is presumed to receive—however superficial it may be—from the American public and his wish to amend the South Korean military's ambivalent reputation in Korea.

In 2018, the Korean Army positioned the warrior concept as a central value when military officials announced the goal to create an Invincible *Woriuh* Community in Defense of the Republic of Korea for the year.<sup>590</sup> To reach this goal the Army proposed

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<sup>589</sup> Jake Kwon, "South Korea's Young Men Are Fighting against Feminism," CNN, September 23, 2019, <https://www.cnn.com/2019/09/21/asia/korea-angry-young-men-intl-hnk/index.html>; Stella Kim, "A Dreaded Rite of Passage: South Korea's Mandatory Military Service," Brown Political Review, December 1, 2013, <https://brownpoliticalreview.org/2013/12/a-dreaded-rite-of-passage-koreas-mandatory-military-service/>; Michelle Ye Hee Lee, "South Korea Exempts Women from the Draft. Is That Fair?," *Washington Post*, September 18, 2017, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia\\_pacific/south-korea-exempts-women-from-the-draft-is-that-fair/2017/09/17/e333662e-9896-11e7-af6a-6555caaeb8dc\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/south-korea-exempts-women-from-the-draft-is-that-fair/2017/09/17/e333662e-9896-11e7-af6a-6555caaeb8dc_story.html).

<sup>590</sup> Sukjong Lee, "[육군8군단] 국민과 전우에 헌신하고 존중받는... 우리는 무적전사!," *국방일보*, March 19, 2018,

a two-track approach, one reliant on hard power and the other on soft power. The hard power approach required changing weapons systems and developing new technology to better equip the troops. Soft power, on the other hand, mandated “creating a value-centered community of warriors.”<sup>591</sup> After Army Headquarters announced the goal, the 8<sup>th</sup> Army Corps implemented several *woriuh* programs. The corps produced a pocket card describing “warrior manners,” including the proper way to salute and speak; they installed a Warrior Academy to educate NCOs and officers in fields like culture and the arts; and they hosted a Warrior Camp where soldiers could discuss warrior values.<sup>592</sup>

During this period the ROK Army also hosted the first annual “Best 300 Warfighter” competition, commonly referred to as the “300 *Woriuh*” competition, the goal of which is to “cultivate warrior ethos” among soldiers.<sup>593</sup> An annual event, the contest selects eighty-one soldiers for individual competition and two-hundred-and-nineteen for team competition, which together represent the 300 *woriuh*. Army units hold preliminary qualifying rounds and send only the best to compete in the final competitions. The 300 *Woriuh* event has both practical and symbolic rewards: on a practical level, the warriors receive awards and benefits like traveling. Moreover, competition results impact the personnel performance assessments that affect one’s path for promotion. On a symbolic

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[http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20180319/1/BBSMSTR\\_000000010023/view.do](http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20180319/1/BBSMSTR_000000010023/view.do).

<sup>591</sup> Lee.

<sup>592</sup> Lee.

<sup>593</sup> Yongho Kim, “육군, 최정예 전투원 ‘300 워리어’ 뽑는다,” 국방일보, March 21, 2018, [http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20180321/15/BBSMSTR\\_000000010023/view.do](http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20180321/15/BBSMSTR_000000010023/view.do).

level, the warriors receive gold-colored beret and a personalized badge.<sup>594</sup> Both the badge and the beret feature an image of the Goguryeo dynasty's armored warrior (Figure 14). Goguryeo was an ancient Korean kingdom that existed between 37 BCE and 668 CE.<sup>595</sup> It holds great meaning for Korean people because at its peak, the dynasty's territory included the entire Korean peninsula and considerable parts of what is now China, and that period marked the apex of Korea's geopolitical strength. Consequently, popular Korean sentiment shares a common nostalgia for the era. This gestures at the ways in which the 300 *Woriuh* competition amalgamates American and Korean warrior ideals. The number three-hundred brings to mind the film *300* (2006) and the Spartan warriors whom the US Army endorses as ideal models. The 300 *Woriuh* competition offers a Koreanized version of the three-hundred Spartan warriors who died at the Thermopylae battle by combining images of the film warriors with the ideal rooted in the Goguryeo dynasty that represents what Korea once was. The history of Goguryeo is unlike the history of South Korea because it features neither colonization nor division and is instead a history of unity and expansion. As such, warrior ideals in the United States and South Korea both find models in the ancient past, when soldiers were a separate caste who enjoyed a higher sociopolitical status than common citizens.

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<sup>594</sup> Sangyoon Kim, "[300워리어] 황금빛 베레·휘장 '최강·최고 실력자' 상징," 국방일보, November 23, 2018, [http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20181126/8/BBSMSTR\\_000000010023/view.do](http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20181126/8/BBSMSTR_000000010023/view.do).

<sup>595</sup> "Koguryō | Ancient Kingdom, Korea," Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed November 28, 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Koguryo>.





Figure 14. Goguryeo Warrior Symbol of the "300 Warriors," ROK Army, [https://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20181126/8/BBSMSTR\\_00000010023/view.do](https://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20181126/8/BBSMSTR_00000010023/view.do)

The year 2018 saw a skyrocketing number of initiatives and events under the warrior theme. The Korean Army set a goal for reserve force members to compete to be the “Undefeatable Veteran *Woriuh*”; raised the “*Woriuh* Dedication Memorial” fund for wounded soldiers and their families; designed a rigorous fitness program called “*Woriuh* Fitness”; and instituted an environmental policy called “Green Army” for “Environment *Woriuh*.”<sup>596</sup> Warrior-themed fitness competition programs expanded across units and

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<sup>596</sup> Lim, “[육군51사단] 예비군 ‘최정예 톱 팀’을 가려라”; Sukjong Lee, “[단독] 전사는 지칠줄 모르는 강인한 체력이 생명,” 국방일보, April 2, 2018, [http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20180403/9/BBSMSTR\\_00000010023/view.do](http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20180403/9/BBSMSTR_00000010023/view.do); Sangyoon Kim, “‘푸른 육군’ 맡겨 주세요,” 국방일보, November 19, 2018, [http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20181120/5/BBSMSTR\\_00000010023/view.do](http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20181120/5/BBSMSTR_00000010023/view.do). Yongho Kim, “육군, 희생장병 지원 ‘위국헌신 전우사랑기금’ 조성...내년 시행,” 국방일보, April 2, 2018, [http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20180402/12/BBSMSTR\\_00000010023/view.do](http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20180402/12/BBSMSTR_00000010023/view.do).

echelons.<sup>597</sup> In 2020, the Sergeant Major of the Army—the force’s most senior enlisted member—proposed “*woriuh*,” “leader,” and “connector” as the three keywords to define all noncommissioned officers.<sup>598</sup> This offers yet another example of how the ROK Army has mainstreamed the warrior concept.

As in the US military, the Korean Army also employs the warrior concept in the future soldier system. Inspired by the American military’s Land Warrior program, the ROK Army named its “future warrior system” the “*Woriuh* Platform” and showcased its prototype at the Sixteenth Ground Weapons Systems Conference in November 2008.<sup>599</sup> Its basic idea mirrors that of the US Land Warrior: exoskeletons and lightweight bulletproof equipment augments the individual soldier’s physical ability, and in order to obtain the most accurate combat strength assessment, command monitors physical markers like heartbeat and fatigue levels in real time. Moreover, individual soldiers each have a communication device which connects them to the system in order to enhance

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<sup>597</sup> Sangyoon Kim, “도깨비 같은 전투력, 극한에서 더 강해진다,” 국방일보, January 10, 2019, [http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20190111/14/BBSMSTR\\_000000010023/view.do](http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20190111/14/BBSMSTR_000000010023/view.do); Sangyoon Kim, “‘강한 전사 열풍’ 전군에 우렁찬 함성,” 국방일보, September 16, 2019, [http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20190917/3/BBSMSTR\\_000000010026/view.do](http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20190917/3/BBSMSTR_000000010026/view.do); Choi, “72명 중 충용 최정예 전사는?”; Byungno Yoon, “믿고 따르는 중대장 육성 가속 페달,” 국방일보, November 24, 2020, [http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20201125/16/BBSMSTR\\_000000010023/view.do](http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20201125/16/BBSMSTR_000000010023/view.do); Choi, “비호 컴뱃머슬(Combat Muscle) 워리어 콘테스트 건강한 몸 관리 전우들과 즐겁게...”; Kim, “전사적 기풍 확산... 천하무적 상승사단 전통 잇는다.”

<sup>598</sup> Chaemoo Lim, “‘세계 최정예 특전부사관은 우리가,’” 국방일보, January 14, 2020, [http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20200115/7/BBSMSTR\\_000000010023/view.do](http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20200115/7/BBSMSTR_000000010023/view.do).

<sup>599</sup> Inho Shin, “미래 병사 이렇게 진화한다,” 국방일보, November 12, 2008, [http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20081112/1/BBSMSTR\\_000000010021/view.do](http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20081112/1/BBSMSTR_000000010021/view.do).

organic operation.

The name that both the US and ROK Armies chose for the future soldier system demonstrates the two institutions' conviction that a warrior differs from a soldier. Though the US Land Warrior and Warrior Platform systems negotiate future warfare systems, the term "future" is absent in both names, suggesting that the term "warrior" inherently references future and ideal components. The warrior concept reaffirms this dissertation's determination that the army's use of the term indicates a core body of soldiers who engage in a battle but remain separate from day-to-day Army, and who represent futuristic capabilities as well as mythic ideals from the ancient past.

*Jeonsa* ["warrior"] is not a new term in Korean, but is also not a frequently used term, especially in the military. According to the *Standard Korean Language Dictionary* published by the National Institute of Korean Language, *jeonsa* has two definition: 1. A soldier who engages in battle, 2. A laborer who works in the forefront.<sup>600</sup> The first definition offers a more literal meaning, while the second definition is the more widely used. *Musa* is another Korean word that can be translated as "warrior" in English. In fact, the term *musa* implies a separate caste of people and connotes an honorific more accurately interpreted as an ideal—much the way the U.S. army uses the term warrior. However, *musa* often refers to a specific type of warrior, the Japanese samurai. Due to Korea's history of Japanese colonization, *musa* cannot be used to refer Korean soldiers.

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<sup>600</sup> "전사," in *Standard Korean Language Dictionary* (National Institute of Korean Language), accessed November 30, 2020, <https://ko.dict.naver.com/#/entry/koko/6a12705351904d3fbe405b065e228d2f>.

Consequently, *jeonsa* is a better option between the two.

As aforementioned, *jeonsa* typically appears in non-military and non-combat situations. Two popular usages are “industrial *jeonsa*” and “*taegeuk jeonsa*.” “Industrial *jeonsa*” refers to the laborers who work in harsh industrial areas that most people try to avoid, such as coal mines. Prior to the mid-1980s, coal was the Korean peninsula’s only source of industrial energy, and mine labor was dangerous and undesirable due to accidents like collapses and explosions; despite these safety hazards, the country needed miners. Taebaek, the city in which most of South Korea’s coal mines were located, in November 1975 built an “industrial *jeonsa* memorial” to commemorate miners who had died underground.<sup>601</sup> At the memorial’s dedication, President Chung-hee Park identified its honorees as “industrial *jeonsa*,” a term that evolved to include all workers in undesirable fields.<sup>602</sup> *Taegeuk jeonsa* is a more recent term that originated at the 2002 FIFA World Cup, which South Korea and Japan co-hosted. The tournament saw the South Korean team advance to the quarter-finals for the first time, and an ecstatic South Korea began referring to the national team players as “*taegeuk jeonsa*,” combining the Korean traditional symbol *taegeuk* with the word *jeonsa*. The nickname persisted after the World Cup’s conclusion and has become a term for any national-team athletes. It is reserved for male players, however, whereas female players are

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<sup>601</sup> Younho Bae, “‘전쟁터서 죽은 장병처럼’...산업전사위령탑에 순직광부 4천85명,” 연합뉴스, May 29, 2016, <https://www.yna.co.kr/view/AKR20160527133800062>.

<sup>602</sup> Bae.

“*taegeuk nangja*” meaning “*taegeuk* maidens.”<sup>603</sup> This relatively new convention implies that *jeonsa* is a male term, and that female athletes, even those who play the same sport, require a separate designation. In 2017 the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family issued a media reporting guideline that criticized the practice as discriminatory.<sup>604</sup>

However, the term “*jeonsa*” also contains the potential for gender subversion. In 2014 the Republic of Korea Special Warfare Command (ROK-SWC), under the command of LTG In-bum Chun, announced that it would replace terms featuring strong male associations, like “son” and “manly man,” with the term *jeonsadeul* meaning “warriors.”<sup>605</sup> The change recognized that male-centered language use could discriminate against female ROK-SWC servicemembers. In an interview, Lieutenant General Chun said that “female soldiers have proven to be more capable than male soldiers, especially in fields that require high precision such as marksmanship,” and that lyrics like *sanai* (manly man) and *adeul* (son) discriminate against and marginalize female soldiers.<sup>606</sup> South Korea’s compulsory military service mandates that able-bodied male citizens between the ages of 18 and 35 must serve in the military for 18 to 24 months. Conscripted men fill the junior enlisted ranks from private to sergeant, while

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<sup>603</sup> Hounche Chung, “Painful Lesson Learned by *Taegeuk Nangja*,” FIFA.com, June 15, 2019, <https://www.fifa.com/womensworldcup/news/painful-lesson-learned-by-taegeuk-nangja>.

<sup>604</sup> MOGEF, “양성평등 방송 프로그램 제작 안내서” (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, April 11, 2017), [http://www.mogef.go.kr/mp/pcd/mp\\_pcd\\_s001d.do?mid=plc500&bbtSn=704705](http://www.mogef.go.kr/mp/pcd/mp_pcd_s001d.do?mid=plc500&bbtSn=704705).

<sup>605</sup> Nak-kyu Yang, “특전사 군가에서 ‘사나이’ 퇴출,” *Asia Economy*, November 20, 2014, sec. Military and Diplomacy, <http://view.asiae.co.kr/news/view.htm?idxno=2014112009552248443>.

<sup>606</sup> Yang.

male and female volunteers with longer service obligations staff Army ranks beyond staff sergeant. Because junior enlistees are exclusively male, most military songs are written with male soldiers in mind. The Special Warfare Command's decision to substitute male-gendered language with *jeonsa* establishes "warrior" as a gender-neutral and gender-inclusive term designed to replace explicitly male terms. Because *jeonsa* was rarely used in military terminology prior to the 2000s, it was both less familiar and less gendered.

Employment of the new term received both positive and negative feedback. While some saw the change as long-overdue and well-deserved, others saw it as a political move that would harm unit morale. In a report on the ROK-SWC decision to change the lyric, the national newspaper *Korea JoongAng Daily* ran the headline "Black berets now being worn by gal warriors."<sup>607</sup> Many men who had completed their mandatory military service expressed resentment about the change, which they felt was unnecessary since women were not subject to conscription. A spokesperson for the Ministry of National Defense (MND) said that "in consideration of male servicemembers' preference," MND would reconsider the decision, adding that "female servicemembers were OK with the older male terms' usage."<sup>608</sup> Citing the perspective of these female

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<sup>607</sup> Seong-won Yoo and Jin-kyu Kang, "Black Berets Now Being Worn by Gal Warriors," Newspaper, *Korea JoongAng Daily*, November 21, 2014, <https://koreajoongangdaily.joins.com/2014/11/21/socialAffairs/Black-berets-now-being-worn-by-gal-warriors/2997581.html>.

<sup>608</sup> Moon, "이번엔 군가 개사? 국방부 '빨쨌 퍼레이드,'" *데일리안*, January 27, 2015, sec. 정치, <https://www.dailian.co.kr/news/view/484658>.

soldiers was justification to revoke the change and return to the old practice.

Whether the Korean word *jeonsa* or in the phonetic interpretation *woriuh*, the ROK Army invokes warriors as the “new” ideal that is distinct from the conventional soldier. In June 2020, the Office of Policy at the ROK Army Headquarters carried out a joint research project with the Korea Research Institute for Strategy on the subject of “Army Core Values and Practice.”<sup>609</sup> Based on its findings, the project recommended establishing a manifesto called “I am a proud ROK Army” that bears clear resemblance to the Soldier’s Creed of the U.S. Army.<sup>610</sup> One can interpret the Korean Army’s adoption of the warrior concept as a desire to emulate an American Army that South Korea views as advanced and exemplary. In 2020, the Korea Army Training Center (KATC) adopted the “Warrior’s Resolution”—itself an adaptation of the US Army’s Warrior Ethos—in lieu of the Army-wide “Service Creed.”<sup>611</sup> This clearly demonstrates where the Korean Army sourced its idea of the warrior.

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<sup>609</sup> Jonggun Lee, “육군 핵심가치 실천수칙에 관한 연구,” Government, Prism.go.kr, August 31, 2020, [http://www.prism.go.kr/homepage/progress/retrieveProgressDetail.do?jsessionid=CA0FE66E867DF41E18702830FE757DF0.node02?research\\_id=1290000-202000049&cond\\_research\\_name=&cond\\_organ\\_id=&cond\\_status\\_type=&pageIndex=1&leftMenuLevel=130](http://www.prism.go.kr/homepage/progress/retrieveProgressDetail.do?jsessionid=CA0FE66E867DF41E18702830FE757DF0.node02?research_id=1290000-202000049&cond_research_name=&cond_organ_id=&cond_status_type=&pageIndex=1&leftMenuLevel=130).

<sup>610</sup> Ko, “[고시성 기고] 육군 핵심가치 실천수칙 왜 중요한가?,” 국방일보, November 19, 2020, [http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20201120/1/BBSMSTR\\_000000010052/view.do](http://kookbang.dema.mil.kr/newsWeb/20201120/1/BBSMSTR_000000010052/view.do).

<sup>611</sup> “병영생활 행동강령, 복무신조 (육군, 해군, 공군, 해병대),” nem의 세상만사, November 28, 2020, <https://neminfo.tistory.com/1157>.

## Chapter IX. Conclusion

The men and women who serve in today's US military are undoubtedly soldiers: they follow Army regulations and carry out duty and assignments given by the service. For some, being a soldier is a personal identity, but it is a job for all. A significant proportion of soldiers join the military for practical reasons such as college scholarships and a steady salary. The military understands this and advertises such benefits in recruiting materials. Young men and women join the military and receive a paycheck according to their pay grade. That is the etymological essence of the term "soldier." The word "soldier" comes from three languages circa 1300: the Old French *soudier*, meaning "one who serves in the army for pay"; the Medieval Latin *soldarius*, meaning "one having pay"; and the Late Latin *soldum*, meaning "coin of thick or solid metal."<sup>612</sup> The term implies someone who serves in the military for pay. As people hired to work for pay, soldiers are bound by regulations and assignments. They do not make their own rules as warriors would.

Then why does the US military ask its soldiers to be warriors? For one, the aura of warrior makes the job seem more interesting than it actually is. As the old combat adage says, "war is long periods of boredom punctuated by moments of sheer terror." Anyone who has done military service can attest that the work is quite mundane, with little of the excitement depicted in recruiting videos. Army veteran Randal Lundell who

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<sup>612</sup> "Soldier," Online Etymology Dictionary, accessed July 24, 2020, <https://www.etymonline.com/word/soldier>.



had completed a tour in Afghanistan explains that, contrary to the popular perception, while deployed “the scariest thing for [a soldier] was not having something to do or someone to talk to online or by phone. Most of the time, non-combat soldiers fight boredom.”<sup>613</sup> Unlike its Hollywood depictions, military service is only particularly exciting and dangerous for a small number of soldiers. The warrior concept is an effective tool to promote a sense of urgency and excitement.

In this regard, the warrior concept is an effective marketing tool. As a US Army captain under the pseudonym “Angry Staff Officer” said, “Soldier is faceless. Warrior is Achilles.”<sup>614</sup> Due to the historical warriors featured in popular films like *Gladiator* and *300*, warriors evoke more intriguing images than soldiers. For instance, on *300*’s warriors at Thermopylae the public sees bulging abs that soldiers at Gettysburg lacked. Consequently, the term warrior has more emotional appeal than soldier. That is why the warrior concept caught on so quickly among military personnel. Ancient warriors survive as obscure images rather than actual historical figures which romanticizes them as in popular culture and understanding.

The public tends to associate warriors with heroes, and soldiers with victims. Unlike ancient warriors whom the popular imagination views as heroes even when they were defeated, like the Spartans at Thermopylae, today’s public often view soldiers as

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<sup>613</sup> Randal Lundell, “Life in the Army: Fighting and Warring against Boredom,” *The Pitt News* (blog), December 5, 2005, <https://pittnews.com/article/30911/archives/life-in-the-army-fighting-and-warring-against-boredom/>.

<sup>614</sup> “Wavell Chats.”

victims who suffer traumas. The RAND Corporation conducted a study on the British public understanding of its defense policy and revealed that “Those British service personnel killed or wounded in Iraq and Afghanistan have been characterized as victims, not victors, who have suffered in wars of ‘choice,’ not wars of necessity. In the view of the public and the media those wars have been fought at a considerable distance from home, have not obviously enhanced British security, and have delivered uncertain outcomes.”<sup>615</sup> The tendency to view soldiers as victims may be rooted in practical reasoning—the military needs public support and many charity organizations need public sympathy to draw support for veterans. While the RAND report is a British case, one can safely assume that a similar public sentiment also exists in the US.

The warrior ethos and warrior slogans have replaced difficult conversations about what is required of today’s soldiers. The warrior ideal presents an image but does not offer deeper meaning about what the Army means by warrior. An Army captain argues that the Army’s current Warrior Ethos is “an attempt to build a false sense of history and narrative that doesn’t need to be built, since the American soldier already has that history. Officers of the early US Republic esteemed being a good citizen above being a warrior. I think that’s what gets lost here.”<sup>616</sup>

The US Army leaders celebrate a pantheon of warrior masculinity that is sexually and racially biased. They do not celebrate and revere just any warrior, but a

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<sup>615</sup> Hew Strachan and Ruth Harris, *The Utility of Military Force and Public Understanding in Today’s Britain* (RAND Corporation, 2020), <https://doi.org/10.7249/RRA213-1>. 2.

<sup>616</sup> “Wavell Chats.”

White, Western, male warrior. The US Army commemorates Alexander the Great, Leonidas, and Achilles—all of whom popular media construct and remember as White men—as archetypal warriors. Native Indian warriors are invoked in equipment like helicopter and drones. Japanese soldiers during World War II were irrational warriors blinded by emotion.<sup>617</sup> When used to reference non-Western soldiers, “warriors” means “thugs” and “losers.”<sup>618</sup> This reinforces the ideal Army warrior as clearly male, Western and White. Though the term occasionally encompasses racial and sexual minorities, their membership is contingent on their conformity to existing ideals. In short, the term warrior is neither as different nor as novel as the US Army has made it seem. Ultimately, it still symbolizes the same White masculine American ideals of the past.

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<sup>617</sup> Leurquin, “Japanese Military Characteristics.”

<sup>618</sup> Peters, “The New Warrior Class.” 16-17.

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