

# LONG BINH



## GUIDE TO IMPORTANT BUILDINGS AND FEATURES

NUMBER	NAME	BUILDING NUMBER	LOCATION
1	Ampitheatre	--	12D
2	Book, Chase, Messenger	3013	10H
3	Bulldozing Office	4943	10C
4	Book Store	3000A	9I
5	Bowling Alley	--	11E
6	Chapel, Main	912	7I
7	Craft Shop	5406	11F
8	Dental Clinic	701	6J
9	Dental Clinic	2813	9H
10	Dental Clinic	5813	11E
11	Education Center	3027B	11H
12	Electric Power Plant (INACTIVE)	1603C	9M
13	Electric Power Plant	5438	8C
14	EM Club, Misc	5709	10D
15	Finance Office	3014	10H
16	Fire Station	739	6I
17	Headball, Soccer Courts	--	9C
18	Headquarters Area	5000Area	9C, 6C, 7C, 5D, 6D, 7D
19	Heliport, Head Shed Pad	--	5D
20	Hospital, Headquarters	2814	9H
21	Library, Long Binh Post	5801	12E
22	Map Issue Point	5008F	7D
23	NCO Club, Main	5705	9D
24	Officers Club, Main	5809	12F
25	96 Mess	5745A	10C
26	Officers Club, 08	4792	9F
27	Officers Club, 011 (RMK)	3118	10J
28	Original Restaurant	3653	9G
29	Post Exchange Concession, Preston Park	3000H	9I
30	Post Exchange, Preston Park	3000B	9I

## GUIDE TO IMPORTANT BUILDINGS AND FEATURES

BUILDING NUMBER	LOCATION
5747	7C
5714	11E
5810	12C
914	7I
3013	10H
634	9I
5402	11F
5815	11F
4938	9C
3004	9I
163C	8C
6339	7B
--	11E
--	11C
--	10D
--	9E
--	10K
--	7G
--	7B

Where  
is the  
legacy  
of the  
six million?

Bearing Witness to the Insurgent Planning of Vietnam Veterans Against the War



Dylan Peter Metsch-Ampel

U.S. Marine  
8 - SEP 1972  
Library of Congress

Gp24  
11  
1972

Where is the legacy of the six million?  
Bearing Witness to the Insurgent Planning of Vietnam Veterans Against the War

Dylan Peter Metsch-Ampel

B.A., Bates College, 2019

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty of the Department of Urban and Environmental Planning

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Degree  
Master of Urban and Environmental Planning

School of Architecture  
University of Virginia  
May 2024

May 10, 2024

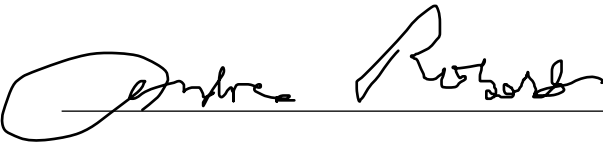
The thesis entitled Where is the legacy of the six million? Bearing Witness to the Insurgent Planning of Vietnam Veterans Against the War

completed by Dylan Peter Metsch-Ampel

is approved:

\_\_\_\_\_  
Committee Chair

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Committee Member

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

School of Architecture  
Department of Urban & Environmental Planning  
University of Virginia  
Charlottesville, Virginia

## *Table of Contents*

Acknowledgments.....	6
Abstract.....	7
Prologue.....	12
Part I: Introduction.....	16
1. Peace! Friendship! Beauty!.....	17
2. It's fine to die in the Spring.....	24
Part II: Notes.....	28
3. Notes Regarding Theories and Methods.....	29
On Bearing Witness, Storytelling, and Reality.....	30
On Qualitative Research.....	34
Methods.....	36
4. A Note Regarding the Jewish Obligation to Bear Witness.....	40
Parashat Vayera.....	43
Lot's Wife as a Witness.....	46
Bearing Witness as Praxis.....	48
Part III: American Planning.....	50
5. American Modernist Planning: War.....	51
A Critical Review of the Constructed Historical Narrative of the Vietnam War.....	53
How War Became a Tool of Modernist Planning.....	55
6. Only We Can Prevent Forests.....	64
Operation Hades Ranch Hand.....	66
7. American Insurgent Planning: Resistance & Protest.....	74
I. What does analyzing war as an act of planning reveal about modernist planning.....	76
II. What does answering this question uncover about the legacy and history of planning that is veiled by the dominant, historical, official/modernist narrative about planning?.....	76
III. Do Veteran-led anti-war movements, particularly Vietnam Veterans Against the War, enact Insurgent Planning?.....	76
Constructivist Codebook.....	78
Normative Codebook.....	85

IV. If they do, (how) can contemporary planning be improved by learning from and incorporating their methodologies? .....	98
Part IV: Conclusion.....	101
8. Live Peace!.....	102
Where is the legacy of the six million? .....	104
Epilogue .....	108
The First Distinction .....	115
The Second Distinction.....	117
The Third Distinction.....	120
Why This Matters .....	120
References.....	128
Appendix A: Limitations .....	137
Appendix B: Epigraph References.....	138
Appendix C: Recommended Resources.....	140
Agent Orange, Herbicides, & Operation Ranch Hand .....	140
The Vietnam War & VVAW .....	142
Appendix D: IRB Materials .....	144
Sample Recruitment Message.....	144
Civilian Interview Outline .....	145
Family Interview Outline.....	147
Veteran Interview Outline.....	149
Informed Consent Agreement:.....	151
Materials Release Form .....	156
Mental Health Resource Form .....	162

For Randi, Debra, Matthew, Carol, Brenda, Mildred, Louis, and Peter.

## *Acknowledgments*

This project is a testament to the fact that I am rarely at a loss for words about the people, places, and topics that I care about deeply. However, trying to find the right words to express my gratitude for the people who contributed to this project and otherwise made it possible is an exception to that rule. Here is a list of people without whom this project would be nothing more than a draft collecting proverbial dust in a folder on my computer.

My advisors, Dr. Jenn Lawrence and Dr. Andrea Roberts.

My partner, Analea Angot.

My family, especially Glenn and Randi Metsch-Ampel, Elana and CJ Anderson, Brenda Valentino, Matthew Stool, Debra Vogel, and Rebekah Harris; and my family members who have passed, but are present in this work, Mildred, Louis, and Peter Stool, Carol and Jim Buchanan, Bernard and Sophie Ampel.

My professors, Dr. Suzanne Moomaw and Dr. Andrew Mondschein.

My academic advisor, Tashana Starks.

My mentor, Dr. MC Forelle.

My A-School, UVA, and Charlottesville support systems, including De'Angelo Stevenson, my MUEP cohort, some new and very dear architecture friends, and the present and past Tilman's team. I wish I had space to list you all by name.

My friends Ellis O'Brien, Josh Caldwell, and Alma Bradley who read early drafts and shared honest feedback.

Rabbi Cat Zavis, Jenny Pacanowski, Ashley Williams.

And, of course, the participants, Matthew Stool, Debra Vogel, Brenda Valentino, Randi Metsch-Ampel, Sue Halpern, Bill Ehrhart, Jan Barry, Paula Rogovin, Ann Hirschman, Dayl Wise, Rebekah Harris, Harry Haines, Basil T. Paquet, Walt Nygard, Erich, and Maria. These final names are pseudonyms for two of the strongest people I have been privileged enough to know. Without you there would not even be a draft.

Given the countless people I spoke and worked with over the past year or so, I am certain that there are other names that should be on this list. I apologize if that is the case. Please know that is simply a reflection of being tired at the end of a long school year.

Thank you all for your time, effort, labor, and support. For now, I will trust that you know how much you and your contributions mean to me and ask that you forgive me for my loss of words.

## *Abstract*

In 1969, Peter Stool returned home to New Jersey after serving in the United States military in Vietnam. By 1975 he was dead from Agent Orange induced esophageal cancer. He spent the few years he had in between returning home and dying working at the post office, writing, and organizing as a peace activist in the veteran-led anti-war movement. This project is influenced and motivated by Peter's activism, essays, poetry, and diary. By interrogating and bearing witness to Peter's experience in Vietnam, I unveil a broader story about the ways in which veteran-led anti-war movements, specifically Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), enact insurgent planning. I also unveil how the Vietnam War fits within America's domestic and global modernist planning ambitions. I establish the Vietnam War, including the use of herbicides during Operation Ranch Hand, as a high-modernist planning project that culminated from the evolution of centuries of Eurocentric conceptions about property, land ownership, and peoples' relationship to land. The modernist, or official narrative of planning, masks this reality. Relying on participant interviews, I establish the veteran-led anti-war movement as an insurgent planning movement that negated assumptions about the Vietnam War and imagined and worked to enact a more just world. Understanding VVAW from this perspective offers a counternarrative to the modernist planning narrative of the Vietnam War. In bearing witness to Peter and his comrades, I make a call to action: planners and the planning discipline can learn from VVAW and infuse their work and the field with insurgent practice. I offer an alternate vision of what planning can be and how we can orient our work to create more just, equitable, and sustainable communities.



They came to towns and cities all across Europe,  
tall, strapping young men, idealistic,  
full of devotion to their duty.  
Their uniforms were black and shiny,  
a badge of supremacy over common mind and morality.  
To the crowded streets of Warsaw they came,  
to the sunlight rooms of Amsterdam,  
to the small shops of Paris,  
to the tailor shops, fish stores, hospitals  
shoe makers, music halls, butcheries,  
universities, and synagogues of an entire continent,  
collecting a people.  
Down cobblestone streets they were herded,  
these chosen people,  
clubbed and starved, herded and prod.  
To falter meant death  
raw and naked on shocked streets.  
To persevere meant death also,  
later, in some other form,  
but sure death just the same.  
For some the frightened march  
led to a train of empty boxcars  
or a convoy of trucks  
with motors racing.  
For these the journey led to new horrors  
accompanied by the ever present echoing  
of marching feet.  
For others, the journey ended in open graves  
yawning obscenely before them.  
No one could comprehend, no one would believe,  
that these fine young men of steel and leather  
would murder them, without remorse  
and honored in the deed.  
Even as the bullets smashed through their chests  
ripping and rending in flight,  
many died unbelieving,  
as if in some monstrous nightmare,  
waiting vainly for the awakening  
on a morning that never came.

Some escaped the nets  
and lived as animals on the edge of society.  
Some were sheltered and hidden  
by men and women of conscience.  
Most were caught and sent to their doom.  
Six of seven.

Those who reached the camps  
(camps named Buchenwald, Dachau, Treblinka,  
names of small towns  
sunny and green in better times)  
they soon died.

Three million died in one camp.  
In another, twenty thousand children  
passed through its gate,  
and one hundred and twenty left alive.  
Scientific disposal of an unwanted tribe,  
spiced with the elegant sadism  
of those charged with the execution of the final solution.  
Human beings became guinea pigs  
in endless experiments in pain.  
Others played out their time  
as lampshades and tobacco pouches,  
or became paperweights for bureaucrats.  
Some salvaged gold fillings from silent mouths  
they formerly kissed,  
until their own time came due  
and they joined the covenant [sic] of their heritage.

No records were kept, save tallies,  
for no one questioned the disappearance  
of the shuffling old man  
in threadbare dark suit and flat brimmed hat,  
who walked daily to the shabby synagogue  
to pray in ecstasy to his lord.  
The strange man  
with the long white beard and piercing eyes,  
with the tattered book and shawl  
clutched lovingly in his pale hands,  
was not seen again.  
Children knew better than to question  
those tall men in the sharp uniforms.  
All over Europe a culture died innocently,  
smashed by iron fist and steel bullet.  
They died on streets, in lonely fields,  
in railroad cars, in gas chambers.  
They died of starvation, of suffocation, of steel knives,  
of bullets, of cold, of gas, of despair.  
They died in old age and in youth.  
They died as entire families,  
and they died alone,  
mother apart from her child.  
They died naked, they died in striped prison uniform,

they died in the patched clothes of their lives.  
They died and their numbers grew.  
And then the tall men in black uniforms were gone.  
Some lived to pass through the gates again,  
a piteous few to be the heir of a vigorous community.  
They exacted their revenge from a guilty world  
by the mere fact of their presence.  
Society healed itself, formed the necessary scars,  
and in the end we forgot.

Once again we watched as the act repeated itself  
in its full unspeakable horror,  
in Africa and Asia, on the fabled subcontinent.  
Once again millions were put to the sword  
in the name of old goals, all part of a final solution.  
the world remained silent and passive,  
refusing to accept that the unacceptable was repeating itself.

Where is the legacy of the six million?  
There are monuments enough,  
books have been written and films have been made.  
Each year tribute is paid  
to those fierce and those gentle who fell in the war.  
Often though we forget.  
But listen! The dead call to you,  
kindly, gently.  
(Remember your grandfather  
and how he begged you to sit in his lap?)  
Their cries still reach us  
tho fainter than our heartbeats.  
Their gaunt and haggard faces  
smile understandingly, nodding in ancient greeting.  
Faces from yellowed photographs leap out at you  
and you understand they were once  
flesh and blood,  
with cares and sorrows, pleasures and joys.  
They were the people who lived across the street  
and the uncle who came to Sunday dinner.  
(They were teachers and scholars,  
butchers and tailors, merchants and laborers.  
They dealt in jewels and in garbage.)  
And they were in no way different from you and me.

Now hear! The marching feet!  
The ranks of black uniforms parade before me,  
their eyes fixed on me as they march by.  
Nailed boots crash in unison against the cobblestones  
in chilling, dread, familiar rhythm.

And these supermen in black  
had cares and sorrows, pleasures and joys.  
They were the people who lived across the street,  
and the uncle who came to Sunday dinner.

So take heed, my friend,  
and all of you left with the strength to dream.  
The future will be ours,  
if we have the will to grasp for it.

- Untitled and undated Poem by Peter Stool

## *Prologue*

What does it mean for us to educate young, privileged, predominantly white students to divest of white supremacy if that work is not coupled with work that seeks to intervene in and change internalized racism that assaults people of color; to share feminist thinking and practice if that work is not coupled with fierce action; to share feminist thought and change sexism in all walks of life? To create a culture where those who could occupy the colonizing location have the freedom to self-interrogate, challenge, and change while the vast majority of the colonized lack such freedom is merely to keep in place existing structures of domination. Politically, we do not live in a postcolonial world, because the mind-set of neo-colonialism shapes the underlying metaphysics of white supremacist capitalist patriarchy. Cultural criticism can be an agent for change, educating for critical consciousness in liberatory ways, only if we start with a mind-set and a progressive politics that is fundamentally anticolonialist, that negates cultural imperialism in all its manifestations.

- bell hooks, *Outlaw Culture*

My path to studying urban planning in graduate school was circuitous and anything but determined. When I arrived for my first semester, I was naïvely surprised to find that some of my new peers had studied planning before, others had worked as planners, and nearly everyone had a set definition for how they viewed and understood planning as a discipline and profession. In turn, they were surprised to learn that I was uncertain about what I wanted to do and where I wanted my planning focus to be.

Midway through that first semester, I received a rejection letter from a dual degree program. The rejection was a genuine gut punch. I had been put on the waitlist the year before, and now that I was at the university, I was confident in my chances. Already struggling with the design components of the program, the gnawing doubt that I had been keeping at bay began to firmly take root. I was kicking myself for choosing a planning program housed in an architecture school. Why had I not chosen a more policy centric program? Why had I not taken more time to consider programs? What were my goals and interests?

There was only one thing to do, I rationalized: keep putting one foot in front of the other. But when it came time to pay my spring semester tuition bill, the doubt spilled over. By this point I understood that my peers and many of my faculty had a particular if not narrow conception of planning. Without the prospect of the dual degree, I was not confident in my interest in planning, especially as it is embodied by the professional degree. Facing the tuition bill, a new question came into the mix: are the student loans worth it? I decided I would finish out the year in the hopes that I would figure something out.

But by midway through the spring semester, I was nearly certain that urban planning and the program were not for me. I was generally interested in my classes and doing well academically, even in my design studio courses. However, I was increasingly frustrated by what I was being told, taught, and shown about what constitutes planning. I was tired of being asked why I was in a planning program when I told people I was interested in advocacy, policy, and environmental justice.

For me, planning is a set of tools for advocacy, policy, and environmental justice. I had come to planning because as an undergraduate environmental studies major, I completed a community-engaged thesis in which I researched how a community-engaged process could be used to inform a community's utilization and implementation of a HUD grant to further foster a healthy and equitable neighborhood for themselves. But I rarely saw this ethos reflected in my courses or in the firms and organizations promoted by the Career Development office; and when it was there, it was presented as if it were an optional component instead of a crucial core. In short, I realized that I was seeing planning taught as a tool to be leveraged within a system and I was interested in the emancipatory power of planning, in using planning to create paradigm shifts and fundamental change.

Feeling like it was time to begin seriously considering dropping out of the program, I decided to schedule a meeting with Professor Jenn Lawrence. At the time, I was enrolled in her course PLAN

5500, Cities & Democracy. Although it was a planning course, Professor Lawrence challenged us to consider planning holistically and to critically evaluate planning itself and the systems in which planners exist and operate. It was exactly what I had been yearning for.

We met at MarieBette, a café and bakery not far from Grounds. During our meeting, I spoke openly and honestly about how I was feeling. We discussed our understanding of planning, and where we fit into the program and discipline. I felt heard and relieved. We also discussed my topic for an upcoming assignment. Professor Lawrence was asking the students in her class to explore a topic of their choice by creating a zine. I shared that I was considering doing my project on my great uncle Peter, the Vietnam War, and Agent Orange. Professor Lawrence recognized the value of the work and encouraged me to pursue the project.

A few weeks later, I submitted the zine. I was proud of the work. Substantively, the content was important; and despite my previous apprehension toward design, I ambitiously used the Adobe Suite and applied my new design skills to elevate it. However, more importantly, the project brought me back to thinking about my great uncle Peter. As his namesake, I have always felt connected to his life story and legacy, and he has been a key motivating factor in my interest in environmental studies, environmental justice, and planning.

Seeing my beliefs and attitudes toward planning reflected in Professor Lawrence inspired me to stay in the program. I began to feel like my approach to planning was not only valid, but necessary and important. In my third semester, Professor Andrea Roberts introduced me to the theory of insurgent planning. At that point, I began to see that not only were my views valid, but there was precedent, existing framework, and language in which to discuss and interrogate my ideas. Looking back, my meeting with Professor Lawrence was the beginning of the process that led to this work.

In *Outlaw Culture*, Bell Hooks writes, “We practice culture criticism and feel the fun and excitement of learning in relation to living regular life, of using everything we already know to know more.”<sup>1</sup> This project is, in part, a piece of cultural criticism. It is also an archive that bears witness to people’s experiences and work, and through it I suggest ways in which planning theory, practices, and tools can be transformed to be more just, equitable, and transformative.

---

<sup>1</sup> Bell Hooks, “Introduction: The Heartbeat of Cultural Revolution,” in *Outlaw Culture: Resisting Representations* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 3.



## *Part I: Introduction*

## 1. *Peace! Friendship! Beauty!*

I have plenty of time,  
all the time you gave me,  
The years of my life,  
The days of my years,  
The hours of my days.  
They are all mine.

- Poem from Peter Stool's second diary entry on December 6, 1974,  
attributed to Michael Quolet

I grow closer to the eternal one. On the other hand, the rest of my energy avoids Thursday in favor of today. For I've learned that the next five minutes is just as unknown as tomorrow. Somehow the two attitudes, the divisions of my mind, are really the same, they arose from the same spiritual development. The only way to live in the present is to actually live, not to exist, not to be conscious of your consciousness. Inner harmony is not the same as awareness, perhaps it springs from awareness, perhaps the unfolding of awareness is a necessary way to stop on the path. All things spring from the disruption of the silent harmony, all the beautiful chords and the horrendous cacophonies are one and the same.

- Excerpt from Peter Stool's last diary entry on January 7, 1975

In 1918, five-year-old Mildred Lasher arrived at Ellis Island. She had journeyed from Horochów, a town in what was then Poland, with her mother, Sarah, and brother, Joseph. Once in the United States, Sarah and Joseph were reunited with their father and husband, David. For Mildred, it was her first time meeting her father. Some years earlier, after Joseph was born, David immigrated to the United States ahead of the rest of his family. He established a home and saved money to finance their immigration and new life. Around 1912, David returned to Horochów, and, during this last visit, they conceived Mildred. Family records are sparse, but it is clear that they came to the United States under duress. Europe was embroiled in World War I, and Jews in Horochów lived under the added threat of pogroms.<sup>2</sup> David must have been relieved when he finally received his family and met his daughter for the first time.<sup>1</sup>

Mildred, her family called her Millie, settled close to where she arrived and never left. First, she lived in the Bronx before moving to New Jersey, where she would spend the rest of her life. Millie married Louis Stool, an American, whose parents were Russian Jews. By the 1950s, Millie and Louis had three girls and two boys: Brenda, Carol, Peter, Matthew, and Debra. Like many first-generation American families, their lives revolved around making ends meet.<sup>3</sup> Feeling the societal expectation to assimilate, they did not teach their children Yiddish and much of the family's history was lost to time. Their assimilation into American culture coincided with the growth of America's international reach and expansion into a world superpower.

The Lasher's and Stool's experiences as persecuted Jews in the old country and working-class immigrants in their new home imbued them with staunch principles. David became a union leader and organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) and Louis, who was a soft-spoken artist, was arrested in Jersey City for distributing "subversive" materials as a member of the Young Communist League. Millie, an intellectual born at a time when educational and academic opportunities for women, especially poor, immigrant women, were practically unheard of, had a nearly 40-year career at the main branch of the New York Public library.<sup>11</sup> Millie and Louis may have been eager to assimilate, but their children inherited their intellect and progressive values.

In 1967, nearly five decades after Millie's arrival in her new country, Peter, her third child and eldest son, was drafted into the United States Army to serve in Vietnam. Carol, his fiery and protective older sister, made it clear that she would help him escape to Canada if he did not want

---

<sup>1</sup> Horochów was later invaded by both the USSR and then the Nazis, who set up a Jewish ghetto before exterminating the Jews who lived there. Mildred's cousin, Shulamit Perlmutter, whose family had stayed in Horochów, was the only member of her family to survive. *See*: "Shulamit Perlmutter (Charlene Schiff)," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, n.d., <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/id-card/shulamit-perlmutter-charlene-schiff>; Charlene Perlmutter Schiff, Oral history interview with Charlene Perlmutter Schiff, interview by Joan Ringelheim, March 23, 1993, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection, <https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn504408>.

<sup>11</sup> Millie commuted to Manhattan until she was 91.

to go. Millie and Louis on the other hand, while devastated, were scared of what such a refusal would mean. Peter ultimately decided to accept this fate and enlist. In one generation, America gave refuge to Millie and her family. In the next, America co-opted her son to be part of its global intervention and governance.

Peter, born in 1946, was a combination of his parents – he was an artist whose medium was writing and poetry, he was an intellectual who thought critically about the world around him, and he was deeply devoted to his family and friends. But Peter was also quite distinct in the family – he was an engineer and mathematician who had earned a degree in mathematics from the Stevens Institute of Technology in 1967, the same year he was drafted. Peter had thus far been spared from the draft because he was student, and for a little while it looked like he would avoid it all together. After graduating, he accepted a job with Grumman Aircraft Engineering Corporation, the corporation that today is Northrop Grumman. However, before he could start, Grumman, who had been hiring for a new project, lost their bid and subsequently canceled his contract. According to Peter’s older sister Brenda:

So [Grumman] let go all these young people they had just hired. And Peter was applying for other jobs, and within two weeks he was drafted. . . he probably would have gotten another job, and maybe he, vaguely I remember maybe he did get another job, and it didn’t start. I mean, he was like swept away and drafted into the army.<sup>4</sup>

Peter spent the rest of 1967 and 1968 in training and arrived in Vietnam on New Year’s Eve in 1968. Peter scored highly on his aptitude tests, so he spent his time in-country as a 71H30, a personnel specialist. He was stationed at Long Binh Post, the United States’ largest base in South Vietnam. By the time he arrived, Long Binh Post was a sprawling, planned development with recreational facilities, post offices, restaurants, banks, and clubs.<sup>III</sup> As a personnel specialist he was largely able to avoid combat. But it was still dangerous, and not just because he was in an active war zone. Long Binh Post and the surrounding area, like many American bases in Vietnam, was infested and infused with Agent Orange and other herbicides used in Operation Ranch Hand. These toxic, life exterminating chemical amalgamations were transported and stored in the area, used to clear perimeters, and the army recycled the storage drums for bathing and drinking water.<sup>5</sup> If a soldier stationed at Long Binh managed to avoid herbicides while out in the jungle or carrying out their duties they were coating the inside and outside of their bodies when they were bathing and drinking – that is to say, when they were taking care of themselves and getting a reprieve from their responsibilities in war.

Peter never exceeded the lowly rank of Specialist 5, it is doubtful that he wanted to, but he exercised a particular type of power. As a personnel specialist, he was one of the people responsible

---

<sup>III</sup> Today, Long Binh Post has been turned into an industrial park. See: Ryan Moore, “Long Binh Post and the Vietnam War,” webpage, *The Library of Congress Blogs: Worlds Revealed - Geography & Maps at the Library of Congress* (blog), August 2, 2017, <https://blogs.loc.gov/maps/2017/08/long-binh/>.

for decisions about who was assigned to what duties. This was a responsibility which he found morally fraught, in no small part because “high-level people” would exploit their position and authority over him to tell him which people close to them should be kept out of combat and dangerous assignments.<sup>6</sup>

While in Vietnam, Peter had infrequent contact with his family. They once won a phone call with him, but otherwise they corresponded by letter. Matthew, Peter’s younger brother, still has one of the letters he received from Peter. Peter addressed the letter to Reba, his affectionate nickname for little brother.<sup>IV</sup> He asks after Matthew and his schooling, says he is planning on taking some courses when he gets home, thanks him for a care package, and expresses his discontent with the mess hall. He also gives Matthew a heads-up about the “many tomes” he is sending home and asks him to begin thinking about where he can keep all the books he has amassed while in Vietnam. Peter writes:

I’m getting short-somewhere under 90 days left, but I’m not sure how many. Takes too much effort on the brain to figure out that trash. Man I just got to get out of here. . . one of these days I’ll come trapping in with my Vietnam tan and then beware cause I’ll be bad, bad, bad.<sup>7</sup>

Although the letter is just two short handwritten pages, it is a rare insight into Peter’s time in Vietnam. The letter captures so much of Peter – his wit and humor, his love and care, his struggle and displeasure with the army and being in Vietnam, and his critical and unique worldview. In the letter Peter details an illness he is just beginning to get over:

I had a pretty rough past week. Here, right here in old Long Binh, I had a case of mean pneumonia. For 2 days I was actually delirious with fever. Man its [sic] a freaky feeling but I’ll try to describe it cause it was trip. Laying [sic] in bed, I was split into 2 parts – the outer me & the inner me. Each of these selves was in turn 2 parts – symmetrical & meshing. To reach peace, it seems, I had to match both inner & outer self. Freaky but it was real at the time. The outer part was easy – just a coiled position sufficed – back to the womb & all that rot, but the inner was a devil. There was actual mental pain involved trying to force my insides into peace. Let me just say it was a bummer. Anyhow right now I just have a cold. My boss had the same thing & he ended up with a bleeding ulcer. in this climate (wet constantly, relatively hot – 80-90°) a cold is easy to get, complications are almost automatic, & health is far in the future. All in all, this country is something unknown.

This excerpt portrays a bit of Peter’s mental, emotional, and physical experience in Vietnam and the army. This idea about the inner and outer self being distinct but also “symmetrical & meshing” is a common theme in Peter’s writing. Matthew told me:

[I]t’s a fascinating letter, because. . . I always thought that Peter had these two different things always going on. . . all this inner stuff, and. . . all this highly, I

---

<sup>IV</sup> Peter called Matthew “Reba,” and Matthew called Peter “Bean.” When I interviewed Matt, he could not recall how these nicknames began.

would call it spiritual, stuff going on. Plus. . . dealing with like the nuts and bolts of the world and how to just get on in. . . everyday life. And I always, I thought that. . . his life was kind of the attempt to get those two together.

One way to understand Peter's desire to match inner and outer selves is as a symptom of his outlook on the people, systems, and places around him. The divide was caused, I believe, by his ability to identify and need to recognize contradictions and inconsistencies. He was a mathematician and engineer whose family had been taken in by the United States one generation prior, but now he was being asked to use the technology and tools he studied and believed in to perpetuate a war for the sake of democracy. He did not accept this premise and was skeptical, to say the least, of his role in it. Peter, during a moment in time when he was processing and working through this internal anguish in an active war, signed the letter, "Peace! Friendship! Beauty!"

In December 1969 Peter did come trapping back to New Jersey with his Vietnam tan. Before being sent to Vietnam Peter was an intellectual and progressive. His time there deepened his commitment to his principles. Upon his return, he taught for a little while at the Newark College of Engineering. But, Peter, wanting to be closer to working-class folks, quit his job and began working at the post office. He became actively involved in Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), Veterans for Peace, and was instrumental in founding the Bayonne Peace Center. He eschewed his bronze star, which he threw onto government steps during a demonstration, in favor of a VVAW pin, peace sign, and a Buddhist medallion. He smoked copious amounts of weed, and while he had forsaken engineering, he was sharp as ever. He wrote essays and poetry, much of which, but not all, were focused on or inspired by his time in the army. His little sister Debra and nieces Rebekah and Randi remember him watching tv, playing guitar, and doing puzzles or helping them with their math homework all at the same time. And he had a vibrant social life that largely revolved around his family and the people he organized and protested with. But his prediction that "health is far in the future" turned out to be wrong.

In December 1974, five years after returning from Vietnam, Peter was diagnosed with cancer. In his diary he wrote:

Yesterday at 10 AM, the doctor told me I had/have cancer. I suppose I was expecting that, but the actual words from the doctor constitute actual recognition. . . The prime question is, of course, has the cancer spread from the esophagus. Cancer of the esophagus is rare in a 28 year [sic] man and that fact might be my ticket into Columbia Presbyterian Hospital in NYC which has better cancer facilities. But I feel deep down that it has spread to my liver and that complicates things. Medically and spiritually.<sup>8</sup>

Peter was right. The cancer had spread, and his condition was terminal. Throughout his diary, he likens his experience battling cancer in the hospital to his time in Vietnam. About 12 days after his diagnosis, he writes, "This whole trip reminds me more and more of Vietnam, except I know that in the end I get it."<sup>9</sup> Over the next few months, the cancer continued to spread and take over Peter's

body.<sup>V</sup> Peter died on the first day of spring, March 21, 1975.<sup>VI</sup> It would be another six weeks before the Vietnam War officially ended with the capture of Saigon on April 30.<sup>10</sup>

Although Peter felt an experiential connection between Vietnam and cancer,<sup>VII</sup> it was several years after his death that the family made the connection between Peter's illness and herbicides. This was quite common. Despite all that the country had learned about the severity of the government's lies and subterfuge against its own people, the idea that the American government would poison its soldiers directly and knowingly was a bridge too far. Peter's family made the connection when Brenda, Peter's older sister, heard a radio report about high rates of rare cancer in young men whose only connection was that they had all served in Vietnam.<sup>11</sup> She told Carol, and together they began to learn more, in part by going to VVAW meetings. Perhaps they felt like a cover had been lifted now that they suddenly had context that explained Peter's abrupt and rapid death, but the damage was done. While they could learn more and try to understand their rights, Peter was dead.

---

<sup>V</sup> Peter's family and friends, many of whom worked and organized with him, visited him in the hospital. These folks included Barbara Wefing, Crystal Greenberg, Bill Hanlon, Butch Grimm, Margot Hammer, Barbara Hammer, Lenny Myron, Marty Hill, Tim Sawetz, Father Jack Egan, and Daniel Berrigan.

<sup>VI</sup> This line is how my family posthumously concluded their reproduction of Peter's diary.

<sup>VII</sup> On December 23, 1974, Peter Wrote:

So I'm lying there staring into nowhere when in comes this doctor and he says they're still waiting for the biopsy of the back lumps so I still had that to worry about and then he said the marrow biopsy had to be redone 'cause the first one was done incorrectly and he'd do another right away. Just like that. Went into the treatment room & he gave me a local but I guess I was on an express Binh I felt the whole thing, from the needle bite into the skin and the grind into the bone and soon I was hanging on to the end of the table knowing if I moved I would twist like a worm cut in half. The pain was incredible, even the nurses felt sorry for me, and when it was over I just lay on the table with my legs vibrating fast, as my body caught up to what had happened, and then I got up and walked back to my room. I lay down on the bed and suddenly tears were pouring from my eyes and breathe just gulped in and out like I had run a mile on one foot. I just was unable to catch my breathe [sic] or think coherently as the shock overwhelmed my body and left my lying there on the bed clutching "Labors Untold Story." The one complete thought present being a unity with those who died believing "an injury to one is an injury to all," I was saying "here's one for you Albert Parson." I must be nuts. Thinking of all the soldiers who have died with legs blown off, before morphine and the life all, who were left to die scattered in heaps on every hill on the face of the earth. All the useless lies, all the ideals, all the honor, somehow none of this matters much when weighed against people dying so stupidly. In those few minutes as shock swept over me and as I waited for the tide to subside I felt rather than thought and I felt the brotherhood of man the great misuse of man. *See:* Peter Stool, "Peter's Diary," December 23, 1974.

---

<sup>2</sup> “History,” Sztetl Virtual Shtetl, n.d., <https://sztetl.org.pl/en/towns/h/182924-horokhiv/99-history/182925-history-of-community>; “Horochoy,” Yad Vashem The World Holocaust Remembrance Center, n.d., <https://collections.yadvashem.org/en/untold-stories/community/14622251-Horochoy>.

<sup>3</sup> Brenda Valentino, Matthew Stool, Debra Vogel, Thesis Interview #1 – D. Vogel, M. Stool, B. Valentino, interview by Dylan Metsch-Ampel, December 17, 2023.

<sup>4</sup> Thesis Interview #1 – B. Valentino, M. Stool, D. Vogel, December 17, 2023.

<sup>5</sup> David Willson “The Pleasures of Showering in Long Binh,” *The VVA Veteran Online* (blog), May/June 2012, [https://vvaveteran.org/32-3/32-3\\_ao-longbinh.html](https://vvaveteran.org/32-3/32-3_ao-longbinh.html); “Maps of Heavily Sprayed Areas and Dioxin Hot Spots,” The Aspen Institute, n.d., <https://www.aspeninstitute.org/programs/agent-orange-in-vietnam-program/maps-of-heavily-sprayed-areas-and-dioxin-hot-spots/>.

<sup>6</sup> Thesis Interview #1 – B. Valentino, M. Stool, D. Vogel, December 17, 2023.

<sup>7</sup> Peter Stool, “Dear Reba,” Letter from Peter Stool in Vietnam to brother Matthew Stool, n.d.

<sup>8</sup> Peter Stool, “Peter’s Diary,” December 5, 1974.

<sup>9</sup> Peter Stool, “Peter’s Diary,” December 16, 1974

<sup>10</sup> “The Fall of Saigon (1975): The Bravery of American Diplomats and Refugees,” The National Museum of American Diplomacy, April 29, 2021, <https://diplomacy.state.gov/stories/fall-ofsaigon-1975-american-diplomats-refugees/>.

<sup>11</sup> Thesis Interview #1 – B. Valentino, M. Stool, D. Vogel, December 17, 2023.



## 2. *It's fine to die in the Spring*

In revisiting planning history we discover an “official story,” which keeps being repeated – the story of the modernist planning project, the representation of planning as the voice of reason in modern society, the carrier of the enlightenment mission of material progress through scientific rationality. This must be the story that we desire to believe about ourselves, as planners. It is a heroic story. But is it a true story? Or is it a myth, a legend? Is there a noir side to the story? **The official, or modernist, version of planning history is the story of planning by and through the state, part of a tradition of city and nation building. But alternative traditions of planning have always existed outside the state and sometimes in opposition to it.**

- Leonie Sandercock, *Making the Invisible Visible*

I refer to various iterations of the concept of planning throughout the rest of this work, primarily modernist and insurgent planning. To frame these discussions, I want to establish a simple and general understanding of what “planning” is which is informed by Dr. Andrea Roberts, one of my advisors and my professor in planning theory. Succinctly put, planning is the management of change in the built environment. This means more than just the physical environment. It also includes the social and political dynamics and decisions that guide and inform spatial intervention.

The winding chain of historical events that led to Operation Ranch Hand and Peter’s death through herbicide poisoning, predates the Vietnam War and Peter himself. Indeed, the Vietnam War itself, and American herbicidal chemical warfare, were exercises in modernist planning; and therefore, a culmination and outgrowth of centuries of ideological and practical evolution leading to physical and social planning that commodifies, racializes, and divides people and land to benefit some and subjugate the rest. From this standpoint, I began to question what analyzing war as an act of planning reveals about modernist planning. What does this question uncover about the legacy and history of planning that is veiled by the dominant historical narrative?

As the United States involvement in Vietnam was uncovered and ramped up, so was the American anti-war movement. Urban planning scholar Leonie Sandercock tells us that official or modernist planning is conducted by the state in pursuit of city and nation building. She also tells us that modernist planning is countered by alternate traditions of planning. She has termed these alternate traditions insurgent planning that “challenge our very definition of what constitutes planning.”<sup>12</sup> In identifying, studying, and proliferating their methodologies, writes Sandercock, “we are challenging the accuracy of the official story and exploring its underlying dynamics – political-economy, social, psychological, and cultural – and the power relations implicit therein.”<sup>13</sup> Studying insurgent planning, I wanted to know whether the veteran-led anti-war movement, particularly VVAW, enacted insurgent planning. If they do, (how) can contemporary planning be improved by learning from and incorporating their methodologies?

In the following pages, I contend that people like Peter and groups like VVAW championed an alternate planning movement through the veteran-led anti-war movement. Veterans fostered (and continue to sustain) an insurgent planning movement that countered the modernist planning project of the Vietnam War. The United States has a rich history of insurgent planning practices and movements as shown by scholars like Sandercock, James Holston, Clyde Woods, and Gail Lee Dubrow. This work shows that VVAW and veteran-led anti-war movements belong among them.

Peter is my maternal great uncle. Even though he died 22 years before I was born, his life has always influenced and motivated me. His voice is alive in the trove of essays and poems he authored and of course in the diary he left behind. Growing up, the family, especially Peter’s siblings and my mom, his niece Randi, were committed to making sure the new generation was educated about him. As his namesake, I feel this responsibility acutely. This project is grounded in Peter as a person. It is inspired by who he was before being drafted and who he was after returning home, altered physically and mentally from his time in the army and Vietnam. In the

poem in the epigraph, Peter, reflecting on the horror of the cycle of war, asks, “Where is the legacy of the six million?” I also attempt to answer that.

It is bad to die when the ground is hard  
And the air is frozen, stripped of its last warmth  
By the greedy hand of winter.  
The vault of cold earth offers no escape  
And our souls may not wander with our kin.

It is better to die in the Autumn  
and mix your body with the decaying forest;  
To reshape from mouldering [sic] death  
A cradle for new life.

It is noble to die in the summer,  
When our father rains down upon us  
His rays of gold,  
As if to prod us, to urge us  
“Grow my children, be strong and healthy;  
Your task awaits you.”

It's fine to die in the Spring  
And force from your useless but still quick body  
The last remnants of your life.  
To transfer that undefinable honey,  
The essences of your soul,  
To the weak shoots of young Spring;  
To add that necessary shove to grow and flower,  
So that when your love  
Presses the fresh bloom to her face  
And breathes deeply, she breathes of you.

- Untitled and undated Poem by Peter Stool

---

<sup>12</sup> Leonie Sandercock, "Introduction: Framing Insurgent Historiographies for Planning," in *Making the Invisible Visible: A Multicultural Planning History*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 2.

<sup>13</sup> Sandercock, "Introduction: Framing Insurgent Historiographies for Planning," 2.

## *Part II: Notes*

### 3. *Notes Regarding Theories and Methods*

And in his face, in his face my friend,  
he carries the signature  
of his many years of wandering.  
Blown rough by the gale  
and burned bronze by the sun,  
his skin is creased and wrinkled  
like an elephant's hide,  
and sprinkled with the collected scars  
of a life spent taunting death.

And his eyes tell the tale of his travels:  
They burn black out of his face,  
like polished ebony on red sand.  
They bore into a soul  
and read the deepest thoughts from within.  
They carry a passion intense  
and pure of the corruption of words.  
They conquer at will,  
with disdain for cautious impulse.

- Excerpt from an untitled and undated poem by Peter Stool

“For pity’s sake,” they’ll shout at you, “you can’t rebel: it’s two times two is four! Nature doesn’t ask your permission; it doesn’t care about your wishes, or whether you like its laws or not. You’re obliged to accept it as it is, and consequently all its results as well.”

- Fyodor Dostoevsky, *Notes from Underground*

## On Bearing Witness, Storytelling, and Reality

At its core, this work is an act of bearing witness. I seek to acknowledge the lives, impacts, and expertise of my uncle Peter, the people I interviewed, and the role that the veteran-led anti-war movement played in shaping American history, culture, and politics. Bearing witness is fundamental to Judaism;<sup>VIII</sup> and Judaism teaches us that to truly bear witness means to do more than to simply see, hear, or experience in the colloquial sense of “witness.” To bear witness is to be transformed and called to action by what you have experienced – either first hand or through someone else.<sup>IX</sup> In bearing witness to movements like VVAW and individuals like Peter, we learn about their vision for the world – one without the violence, ecocide, and sacrifice of military intervention and dominance. It is both a vision of and call for the reordering of the world around us.

Because distance and the passage of time require bearing witness to be more than just first-hand experience and conversations, bearing witness is inextricably connected to stories and storytelling. This project relies on storytelling for both the act of witness and as knowledge creation. For the research, I conducted qualitative participant interviews and collected and analyzed the resulting data from the transcripts. The participants shared their experiences with me through these narrative, oral interviews, and from them I extracted information, insights, and knowledge about how their activism constitutes insurgent planning. The use of storytelling within planning is not new nor is it unique. In fact, I am utilizing and contributing to a planning methodology rooted in marginalized groups and practices.

Although under studied and insufficiently valued, storytelling, Leonie Sandercock argues, is fundamental to planning praxis.<sup>14</sup> According to Sandercock, storytelling as knowledge creation has traditionally been gendered and relegated to the status of women’s, inferior, and unserious knowledge; but feminists and critical race scholars are working to establish story as legitimate epistemology and methodology.<sup>15</sup> On the role of stories within planning, Sandercock writes, “In order to imagine the ultimately unrepresentable space, life and languages of the city, to make them legible, we translate them into narratives.”<sup>16</sup> In other words, narratives can communicate the nature of realities that are illegible because they are subversive. They can also communicate the possibility of potential realities that thus far are inexistant. Conversely, the state also leverages narratives. It relies on foundational stories, what Sandercock refers to as “mythopoetic stor[ies] of

---

<sup>VIII</sup> To be clear, bearing witness holds special import within Judaism, but I am not claiming that it is a uniquely Jewish ideal.

<sup>IX</sup> Elie Wiesel, the Holocaust survivor and prolific author of *Night*, said,

“ . . . whoever listens to a witness becomes a witness, so those who hear us, those who read us must continue to bear witness for us. Until now, they’re doing it with us. At a certain point in time, they will do it for all of us.” See: “The Many Legacies of Elie Wiesel,” United States Holocaust Museum, n.d., <https://www.ushmm.org/learn/holocaust/the-many-legacies-of-elie-wiesel>

origin” that explain their existence and justify their claim to power. Insurgent and subversive narratives counter and check modernist narratives. They are a means of holding truth to power.

In addition to bearing witness, my work relies on other theories and methods, some of which, like storytelling, are either uncommon within the planning discipline or frequently (and erroneously) considered secondary to more traditional approaches to knowledge creation and practice. Therefore, I find it necessary to briefly discuss these supporting theories and methods, including situating them within the planning field.<sup>x</sup>

Ontology and epistemology are terms for interconnected ideas that are at the core of research. Their multiple syllables help veil the fact that they are fancy words for basic concepts. Susan Strega writes, “An ontology is a theory about what the world is like – what the world consists of, and why. Another way of thinking about ontology is to think of it as a world view.” The researcher’s world view, Strega says:

. . . shapes the research project at every level because it shapes a researcher’s epistemological foundation. An epistemology is a philosophy of what counts as knowledge and “truth”; it is a strategy by which beliefs are justified. Epistemologies are theories of knowledge that answer questions about who can be a “knower”; what tests beliefs and information must pass in order to be given the status of “knowledge”; what kinds of things can be known.<sup>17</sup>

In other words, ontology refers to philosophical and theoretical conceptions of the world’s reality. As Strega notes, people’s ontological outlook impacts how they navigate the world. For researchers, this means their ontology inevitably affects their work. On the other hand, epistemology refers to philosophical and theoretical concepts about how to identify and study reality. Strega points out that epistemologies deal with what is considered valid, observable, and measurable or categorizable knowledge about the world and who is considered valid and credible knowers.

Storytelling undergirds all ontologies and epistemologies of planning. The narratives of modernist planning are considered valid because they are constructed and conveyed by the state or an authorized representative of the state. These actors have the means to make modernist narratives quantifiable, measurable, documented, and supported by the legal system. Therefore, they are considered verifiable and true. The narratives of insurgent planning practices are subversive. Insurgent planning comes from below and challenges the narratives of top-down modernist planning. Therefore, the narratives of insurgent planning lack the state’s backing and are considered simple stories that lack veracity and legitimacy. Instead of reflecting inherent reality, these narrative dynamics are reflections of where power lies. Narratives, and the underlying

---

<sup>x</sup> Academic jargon, while sometimes useful for succinctly discussing involved ideas, is just as frequently inaccessible and off putting. Throughout this chapter, I infuse overviews of some key terms that readers can refer to as necessary. These are basic overviews. Much scholarship has been devoted to these ideas, and my discussion here only begins to scratch the surface to help ground my work within existing research frameworks.



ontologies and epistemologies that (in)validate them, shape understandings of history and potential for the future. Modernist narratives buttress the existing systems, while insurgent narratives call them into question and offer perspectives on alternate ways of being.

Ontologies and epistemologies are inextricably linked because they can inform and reinforce each other. Likewise, conflicting ontologies and epistemologies, as embodied by the disparate narratives of modernist and insurgent planning, can challenge ideas about the world and reality. Strega continues, “All research methodologies rest on some ontological and epistemological foundation.”<sup>18</sup> My qualitative research methodologies rest on the critical social science application of post-positivism through standpoint epistemology, which enables me to bear witness to and subsequently center subversive voices and visions advocating for a more just and equitable world.

The ontologies and epistemologies of post-positivism came about in response to their positivist counterparts. Positivism is the traditional scientific framework and is rooted in Eurocentric Enlightenment epistemology.<sup>19</sup> Strega explains:

The Enlightenment is the period in European thought when the demarcation between science and non-science was established, and when “science” and “knowledge” began to have the same meaning. This division between scientific knowledge and all other types of knowledge is hierarchical; science is the “best” kind of knowledge, superior to various forms of unreliable and unverifiable non-scientific knowledge, such as philosophy, folklore, mythology, poetry, old wives’ tales, and oral traditions. Within Enlightenment epistemology, there is only one “true” path to knowledge: the application of rigorous scientific methodology by a rational, neutral, and objective subject to the study of an object clearly positioned outside of himself. Thus, only science is considered capable of producing truth.<sup>20</sup>

Positivist research, therefore, is focused on maintaining objectivity in pursuit of a singular truth – one should not allow their own or subjects’ biases to influence the interpretation of reality. In Part III, I discuss how Enlightenment epistemology and high modernism,<sup>XI</sup> the ideological adherence to science and its power to exert control over the social and natural order of the world, were crucial in shaping Western ideas of simplified, legible, and commodified land as property, which ultimately created the conditions necessary for the Vietnam War and Operation Ranch Hand. Indeed, Strega argues that Enlightenment epistemology and positivism are inherently connected to the capitalist enterprises of white supremacy and colonialism:

The connection between “light” and knowledge lies within the word “Enlightenment” itself, and provided for the explorers and slaveholders of Enlightenment times (and for those in centuries to come) a rationale for conquering and subjugating the “dark peoples of the world.” Today it provides a rationale for the continuing project of colonializing and assimilating people of colour into White, Western ways of knowing, being, and doing. . . . the dominant pattern in Enlightenment epistemology is a hierarchical, gendered, raced, and classed dualism,

---

<sup>XI</sup> High modernism is grounded in the positivist goal of the pursuit of singular truth through scientific knowledge.

an asymmetrical division in which the White and male side is valued over the dark and female side.<sup>21</sup>

Positivist ontologies and epistemologies perpetuate a false duality wherein knowledge is evaluated and accepted as either objectively true or false, which historically and contemporarily favors the dominant perspective of white males.<sup>22</sup> On the other hand, post-positivism is not about simply accepting folklore, mythology, and wives' tales as fact. Instead, like positivism, it acknowledges that there is a reality that can be discovered, studied, and understood, but it diverges in that post-positivism is based on the idea that there are multiple ways to discover and understand reality. A post-positivist might ask what folklore, mythology, and wives' tales tell us about the lived realities of the cultures and people they come from, and how that information can expand our understanding of the world around us. Moreover, post-positivists believe that since researchers and research participants are not objective, not only are their biases and experiences reflected in their work, but this impact is also valuable and contributes to the creation of knowledge.<sup>23</sup> Put another way, while reality exists, peoples' participation and interpretation of it is dependent on their lived experiences. This fact underscores the importance of bearing witness to insurgent movements. If we do not devote attention to these experiences and accounts, then the only narratives that will persist will be the modernist narratives of the state which continue to perpetuate and justify the planned environmental and human violence of conflicts like the Vietnam War.

Anne Ryan asserts, "Post-positivist values in research are not about being either subjective or objective, nor do they prefer subjectivity over objectivity. They emphasize multiplicity and complexity as hallmarks of humanity."<sup>24</sup> To reference Walt Whitman, humanity is large, we contain multitudes.<sup>25</sup> Research must capture that, and bearing witness is one way to do so. I embrace post-positivism in my work, and I also incorporate a bit of interpretivism. I understand interpretivism as existing between positivism and post-positivism, but closer to the former. Strega explains:

The intention of doing interpretive research is to give those who read the research a feel for others' social reality by revealing or illuminating the meanings, values, interpretive systems, and rules of living they apply. For interpretivism, "truth" has been found if the researcher's description and conclusions make sense to those who are being studied (and others like them), and if it allows others to understand this reality. The researcher's theory or description is accurate if the researcher conveys a deep understanding of how those who are being studied think, feel, believe, reason, and see reality. Reality is about the meaning that people create in the course of their social interactions. The world is not about facts but about the meaning attached to facts, and people negotiate and create meaning.<sup>26</sup>

Notice that Strega uses the term "social reality" indicating a distinction between reality for the subject and some objective reality of the world that is detached from personal experience. Interpretivism accepts multiple viewpoints of the world and methodologies for finding and understanding reality (which exists at the intersections of perspectives) but maintains the objective,

singular reality dynamic of positivism. Post-positivism is a form of what Strega refers to as critical social science. She writes:

Critical social scientists. . . critique the value orientation of Enlightenment epistemology, they also generally believe that there is a “reality” that can be discovered. Where they differ from positivists is in believing that reality is shaped or constructed by social, political, cultural, and other forces. Facts are not neutral, and therefore require an interpretation from a value or ideological position. Thus, sites of conflict, contradiction, and paradox are the best places to research because they can reveal what “true” reality is underneath its surface presentation. . . . It rejects positivism and interpretivism as not being about changing the world.<sup>27</sup>

Through post-positivism, I join the practice of co-opting the ideas of reality found in positivism and interpretivism and reorient them to accept a broader array of knowledge, knowers, knowledge creation, and reality. I use post-positivist standpoint epistemology because I am creating knowledge through qualitative research based in my own positionality as well as the positionality of the participants.

### **On Qualitative Research**

When I submitted my project prospectus for approval, my initial, guiding research questions were, as my committee member Dr. Andrea Roberts gently told me, overly broad.<sup>xii</sup> When I dove into the research, began to conduct participant interviews, and read and read and read, I realized that my research questions and focus were evolving both substantively and into a more appropriate scale. This is a feature of post-positivist, qualitative research.<sup>28</sup> As I progressed in the research, I was molding my questions, but it is also accurate to say that my focus was being led by the research. I narrowed my topic to whether and how veteran-led anti-war movements, specifically Vietnam Veterans against the War, constitute insurgent planning; and, if they do, how the planning

---

<sup>xii</sup> My original research questions were:

1. How have planners, specifically those associated with environmental planning and/or environmental justice, historically responded to or engaged with anti-war movements?
2. In what ways do veteran-led anti-war movements enact “bearing witness?” How has this shaped the planning field, and to what effect?
3. How should planners, activists, and policy makers transform engagement processes to better integrate veterans’ witness into public health and environmental planning processes?
4. What tools and strategies can planners use to both bear witness and honor others’ witness to address public health and environmental justice? Do planners need new tools, to rethink old methods, or a combination of these strategies?

I am including these original questions because they shed light on my starting point and because they are questions that may guide worthwhile future research.

discipline and planning professionals can appropriately and considerately learn and benefit from their work and methods.

As the names imply, qualitative research, in contrast to quantitative research, is more of an art than a science. Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln acknowledge the “complex historical field” of ontologies and epistemologies within which qualitative research exists, but they offer a helpful “generic definition”:

Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.<sup>29</sup>

Citing multiple scholars, Isabella Mayer explains that quantitative research “refers to measuring and counting and implies an emphasis on quantification in the area of data collection and analysis.”<sup>30</sup> Positivism and Enlightenment epistemology are grounded in quantitative research because its methodologies can purportedly be leveraged to measure and determine objective truth and reality. Consequently, a frequent and erroneous assumption among researchers is that positivism and quantitative methods are tied together, and post-positivism and qualitative methods are tied together. As Ryan says, “It is not that straightforward.”<sup>31</sup> Both positivist and post-positivist researchers leverage quantitative and qualitative methods; and Strega points out that qualitative research does not inherently counter positivism. In fact, positivism has traditionally informed both qualitative and quantitative research.<sup>XIII</sup> That being said, because qualitative research is dynamic, it lends itself well to my work and post-positivist research-at-large.<sup>32</sup> To be clear, none of this is to say that qualitative research is better than quantitative research. Indeed, quantitative research has been crucial to establishing the devastating effect of herbicides like Agent Orange. Rather, my point is that qualitative research, like quantitative research, is a legitimate form of knowledge creation that adds to the discourse in a way that is disparate but equal to the contributions of quantitative research.

While quantitative research and positivist ontologies and epistemologies have historically been the dominant frameworks, researchers are increasingly embracing post-positivism. Ryan points out, however, that “Positivism, although challenged, is still the dominant public model for research.”<sup>33</sup> Qualitative researcher may be at a disadvantage compared to their quantitative counterparts when it comes to funding and acceptance of their research as legitimate, “The mechanistic view of the

---

<sup>XIII</sup> This is in part so that qualitative researchers and their work were accepted as legitimate. See: Strega, “The View from the Poststructural Margins: Epistemology and Methodology Reconsidered,” 203.

natural sciences continues to dominate the public perception of science, and in turn it affects views of what social research should be.”<sup>34</sup>

The key takeaway from this overview is that I emphatically reject positivism. Put simply, my research is based in post-positivist critical social science. Strega writes:

Critical social science not only acknowledges its value position, it takes the stance that some values are better than others, and makes an explicit commitment to social justice. . . . It accepts that knowledge is power, and challenges researchers to think about whether they want to support or challenge existing power structures.<sup>35</sup>

Through participant interviews, I am embracing post-positivist standpoint epistemology and storytelling as knowledge creation. By recording, analyzing, and preserving the interviews, including interviews with my family and interrogating the materials Peter left behind, my work is also (auto)ethnographic. By approaching my research in this way, I make the work internally consistent. By writing about bearing witness, I am enacting bearing witness. By researching Vietnam Veterans against the War, I am taking part in my own anti-war activism. I accept that my participants and I have varied experiences of the world around us, which influence our positionality and knowledge; and I am explicitly conducting my research to help foster a paradigm shift or shifts within urban planning to promote social and environmental justice.

## **Methods**

Qualitative researchers collect and analyze a broad array of data, including focus group conversations, photographs, audio and video recordings, primary sources like newsletters and other publications, and interviews.<sup>36</sup> To bear witness, I elected to conduct and record semi-structured participant interviews.

My first step was to submit my project protocol to the University of Virginia’s Institutional Review Board (IRB) for approval. During this process, I drafted my recruitment message, interview outlines, put together consent, release, and mental health resource forms, and honed my topic and methodology.<sup>XIV</sup> I decided that I would identify and interview participants that fell within three broad categories:

1. Veterans: folks who had served in the military during the Vietnam War and were involved in VVAW and/or other veteran-led anti-war organizing.
2. Civilian Activists: folks who did not serve in the military during the Vietnam War but were involved in VVAW and/or other veteran-led anti-war organizing.
3. Family: members of my family who knew and loved Peter – some of whom participated in anti-war activism with him.

---

<sup>XIV</sup> Interested readers can access these forms in Appendix D.

Once the IRB approved my protocols, I began reaching out to potential participants with my standard recruitment message.<sup>XV</sup> I relied on a few methods to recruit participants. I reached out to people I already knew, like Jan Barry, and asked them to participate. For others, like Bill Ehrhart, Basil T. Paquet, and Sue Halpern, I cold messaged them because I was familiar with their work and lives from places like the Ken Burns and Lynn Novick documentary *The Vietnam War* and the VVAW poetry anthology *Winning Hearts and Minds*. Once I interviewed the initial group of participants, I employed snowball sampling to find additional potential participants.<sup>XVI</sup> For example, through Jan I was able to interview his partner, Paula Rogovin, and Bill connected me with Harry Haines.

Once folks agreed to participate, I asked them to review and sign both a general consent form and a material release form.<sup>XVII</sup> To guide the interviews, I created three sets of interview questions – one for each of the participant categories. Each set is similar but modified to be more appropriate and effective for each individual participant type. At the outset of each interview, I told the participant(s) that while I did have a series of questions for them, I encouraged them to speak freely and share anything they thought was relevant. I did not want them to be concerned about whether their responses were relevant to my research as I described it to them in the forms or otherwise. That, I told them, was my responsibility. In total, I interviewed 16 people between December 2023 and February 2024 – seven are veterans, five are members of Peter’s family, and four are civilian activists.

Once the interviews were complete, I finalized the transcriptions. I utilized Zoom’s transcription tool, which was useful but required me to edit and format to correct inaccuracies. During this process, I also used the research software Dovetail to finalize the transcripts. Then, I used the qualitative research software NVivo to code the transcripts and facilitate my qualitative data analysis. I coded the transcripts twice – once using normative codes and a second time using constructivist codes. In this context, normative coding refers to the process of categorizing or bucketizing participants’ responses by topic and subject. For example, a few of the normative codes I wrote into my code book are “military family,” “first awareness (of herbicides),” and “VVAW.” Anytime a participant spoke about family members in the military, when they first learned about the use of Agent Orange and herbicides, or VVAW, I would code their testimony to the respective category. Constructivist coding, on the other hand, is a form of close reading the

---

<sup>XV</sup> The recruiting message provided an overview of the project and what their participation would entail. It is available in Appendix D.

<sup>XVI</sup> Snowball sampling refers to the technique of identifying participants through existing participants. During each interview, I asked the participant(s) whether there was anyone in particular they recommended I interview.

<sup>XVII</sup> The general consent form provided additional background on the project, what they could expect for their role in it, and their rights. It also gave the participants an opportunity to elect to waive their right to confidentiality. Through the material release form, participants decided whether to give me permission to take audio and visual recordings, as well as photographs. They were also able to delineate whether they would permit me to use the materials publicly, for research only, or privately. Samples of these forms are available in Appendix D.

transcripts. While completing the constructivist coding process, I analyzed the data looking for deeper meaning in what the participants shared. The three constructivist codes in my codebook are “negation,” “imaginative,” and “enactment.” Anytime participants’ responses about their experiences or work revealed an insight into these topics, I coded them appropriately.

I also utilized NVivo’s cases function to add additional categories like gender identity and participant category. This enabled me to sort through coded responses and look for trends by the case categories. As is probably evident, most, if not all, of the coded portions of the transcripts were coded multiple times across codes and cases. With the coding complete, I conducted my qualitative analysis by combing through the codes to identify trends.

- 
- <sup>14</sup> Leonie Sandercock, "Out of the Closet: The Importance of Stories and Storytelling in Planning Practice," *Planning Theory & Practice* 4, no. 1 (2003): 11.
- <sup>15</sup> Sandercock, "Out of the Closet: The Importance of Stories and Storytelling in Planning Practice," 12.
- <sup>16</sup> Sandercock, "Out of the Closet: The Importance of Stories and Storytelling in Planning Practice," 12.
- <sup>17</sup> Susan Strega, "The View from the Poststructural Margins: Epistemology and Methodology Reconsidered," in *Research as Resistance: Revisiting Critical, Indigenous, and Anti-Oppressive Approaches*, ed. Susan Strega and Leslie Brown (Canadian Scholars Press, 2005), 201.
- <sup>18</sup> Strega, "The View from the Poststructural Margins: Epistemology and Methodology Reconsidered," 201.
- <sup>19</sup> Strega, "The View from the Poststructural Margins: Epistemology and Methodology Reconsidered," 202.
- <sup>20</sup> Strega, "The View from the Poststructural Margins: Epistemology and Methodology Reconsidered," 202.
- <sup>21</sup> Strega, "The View from the Poststructural Margins: Epistemology and Methodology Reconsidered," 204-205.
- <sup>22</sup> Strega, "The View from the Poststructural Margins: Epistemology and Methodology Reconsidered," 203.
- <sup>23</sup> Anne B. Ryan, "Post-Positivist Approaches to Research," in *Researching and Writing Your Thesis: A Guide for Postgraduate Students* (Ireland: MACE: Maynooth Adult and Community Education, 2006), 18.
- <sup>24</sup> Ryan, "Post-Positivist Approaches to Research," 16.
- <sup>25</sup> Walt Whitman, "Song of Myself, 51," poets.org, n.d., <https://poets.org/poem/song-myself-51>.
- <sup>26</sup> Strega, "The View from the Poststructural Margins: Epistemology and Methodology Reconsidered," 206.
- <sup>27</sup> Strega, "The View from the Poststructural Margins: Epistemology and Methodology Reconsidered," 207.
- <sup>28</sup> Ryan, "Post-Positivist Approaches to Research," 19.
- <sup>29</sup> Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, "Introduction: The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research," in *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research* (SAGE, 2005), 4.
- <sup>30</sup> Isabella Mayer, "Qualitative Research with a Focus on Qualitative Data Analysis," *International Journal of Sales, Retailing and Marketing* 4, no. 9 (2015): 56.
- <sup>31</sup> Ryan, "Post-Positivist Approaches to Research," 20.
- <sup>32</sup> Research as resistance 203-207, Mayer, "Qualitative Research with a Focus on Qualitative Data Analysis," 56-57.
- <sup>33</sup> Ryan, "Post-Positivist Approaches to Research," 17-18.
- <sup>34</sup> Ryan, "Post-Positivist Approaches to Research," 17-18.
- <sup>35</sup> Strega, "The View from the Poststructural Margins: Epistemology and Methodology Reconsidered," 207.
- <sup>36</sup> Denzin & Lincoln, "Introduction: The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research," 4.



#### *4. A Note Regarding the Jewish Obligation to Bear Witness*

The sun had just come out over the earth when Lot arrived at Zoar. And the Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord from the heavens. And he overthrew all those cities and all the plain and all the inhabitants of the cities and what grew in the soil. And his wife looked back and she became a pillar of salt.

- Genesis 19:23 – 26

My name is Dylan Peter – Peter, for my great uncle. Some of my earliest memories of self-reflection revolve around reckoning with the truths embedded in my name: I am named after Uncle Peter, someone I never met, and, because I am Jewish, and Jews do not name their children after people who are still alive, Peter must be dead – he is someone I will never know in the way I know my living family, including his siblings and mother. This recognition both built the foundation of my Jewish identity, and it fostered a sense of stewardship, rather than ownership, over the name Peter.

Growing up, I attended Hebrew School, I became Bar Mitzvah, and I even went through Confirmation. My Jewish identity is central to who I am, but I am culturally Jewish and not religiously observant. This phenomenon of cultural but not religious identification, is both particular to and common amongst Jews of my generation. I rarely attend services on Friday evenings or Saturday mornings, I frequently forget to light the Shabbat candles and say the prayers over the bread and wine, if I am not at my parents' house I may forget to light the Chanukah candles, and the last time I was physically present in a Synagogue was over a year ago when my cousin was called to the Torah to become Bat Mitzvah. Nevertheless, I feel a strong connection to my Jewish heritage.

I involuntarily look for Jewish names, sometimes for community and sometimes to know whether I need to temper my criticism of Israel. I strongly identify with my family's migratory origin in the United States. When I am in lower Manhattan, especially the East River and Battery Parks, I like to look at the bridges and squint so that the rest of the city falls away. Looking at the behemoth infrastructure in this way, I can imagine what the river and surrounding metropolis must have looked like when my ancestors, including Peter's mother, my great grandmother Millie, arrived at Ellis Island fleeing pogroms and persecution in eastern Europe. And, after Hamas' attack on Israel in October 2023, I joined Beyt Tikkun, a virtual "synagogue without walls."<sup>37</sup> I needed to be among fellow progressive, anti-Zionist Jews as I worked to amplify calls for a ceasefire while at the same time processing my emotions and thoughts about the paradoxical brutality of Hamas and Israel, and my increasing concern about my (and Judaism's) place in the mainstream progressive movement.

My Jewish cultural identity, which is, of course, deeply informed by and tied to Judaism as a religion, informs my research and work. My Rabbi, Cantor, and teachers at Temple Ner Tamid, the Reform Synagogue I attended while growing up, stressed the obligation of Tikkun Olam through bearing witness. Like my particular brand of Jewish identity, the teaching of and strong association with Tikkun Olam is common among contemporary Jews. An article published in Brandeis University's outlet, *The Jewish Experience*, states:

Today, Tikkun Olam – Hebrew for 'repairing the world' – is ubiquitous. Many American Jews consider it a cornerstone of their Jewish identity, a key reason they're committed to making the world a better place. The world is broken, the thinking goes, so human beings must repair it by committing to social justice, political activism, or, in the broadest sense, ethical behavior."<sup>1</sup>

For readers unfamiliar with the concept, it is sufficient to understand that Tikkun Olam<sup>XVIII</sup> is an ancient and deeply engrained part of Judaism that holds increasing importance in modern Judaism, especially progressive and left-leaning strains of Judaism as championed by Reform leaders like Rabbi Michael Lerner.<sup>38</sup>

Following World War II and the Holocaust, bearing witness became an essential part of Tikkun Olam. The idea, as I was taught, is that by bearing witness to Holocaust survivors' experiences, you become a first-hand witness to the Holocaust yourself. In this way, the history and lessons of the Nazis' atrocities and Jewish and other survivors' and victims' resilience are maintained. It is a core act in the commitment to ensure that "never again" remains a reality.<sup>XIX</sup>

It was common for Jews of my generation to interview Holocaust survivors, especially for students as part of their B'nai Mitzvah work. This was in part because the world was running out of chances to preserve and bear witness to survivors' stories. As we were coming of age, Holocaust survivors

---

<sup>XVIII</sup> For readers interested in learning more about Tikkun Olam, in 2014, Dr. Jonathan Krasner, an Associate Professor and the Mandel Chair of Jewish Education Research at Brandeis University, published "The Place of Tikkun Olam in American Jewish Life" in *Jewish Political Studies Review*. In the article Dr. Krasner traces the history and increasing relevance of Tikkun Olam. It is a thorough and impressive article that is available for free online through the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs. See: Jonathan Krasner, "The Place of Tikkun Olam in American Jewish Life," *Jewish Political Studies Review* 25, no. 3-4 (November 1, 2014), <https://jcpa.org/article/place-tikkun-olam-american-jewish-life/>.

<sup>XIX</sup> But we must interrogate the success of the call for "never again," especially in light of Israel's post-October 7 assault on Gaza. From this perspective, the cooptation of "never again" by Israel and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's government to justify the violence in Gaza in the name of Jewish safety, security, and longevity is perversely ironic and particularly horrific. In the poem included in this project's epigraph, Peter addresses how the world has failed the call of "never again":

They exacted their revenge from a guilty world  
by the mere fact of their presence.  
Society healed itself, formed the necessary scars  
and in the end we forgot.

Once again we watched as the act repeated itself  
in its full unspeakable horror,  
in Africa and Asia, on the fabled subcontinent.  
Once again millions were put to the sword  
in the name of old goals, all part of a final solution.  
the world remained silent and passive,  
refusing to accept that the unacceptable was repeating itself.

The mere existence and persistence of Jews rebukes Nazism, but the lessons of the Holocaust were ephemeral. Perhaps this is partially because the world failed to sufficiently bear witness to the realities of war, genocide, and white supremacy; but it certainly also because we only bear witness to the experiences of certain people. Today, even as people cry out in righteous indignation and protest at the horrors being unleashed by Israel in Gaza and Russia in Ukraine, the world is largely silent on the destructive conflicts in places like Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Haiti. This reflects both which bodies and lands are considered valid, valuable, and victimizable, as well as whose use of force is considered legitimate. Peter's poetry may seem prescient, but really it reflects the evergreen reality that without the proper reckoning through holistic bearing witness, the state will continue to use force to pursue and enforce its goals for modernist planning.

were aging and their numbers dwindling. One becomes a witness by engaging with someone's story, and while it is not always possible, it is ideal to engage with their story and person first-hand. This is not only an opportunity for interpersonal connection, but by bearing first-person witness to others, we can foster and establish new narratives and understandings about the world around us. When I became Bar Mitzvah I interviewed George Greene. Mr. Greene's remarkable life included him witnessing Kristallnacht, fleeing Nazi Germany, and then returning as an American soldier to fight and ultimately defeat the Nazis and their allies. It was a blessing and responsibility to bear witness to his life.

In an incredible confluence of events, my Torah portion was Parashat Vayera.<sup>XX</sup> I want to offer an interpretation of a key moment in Parashat Vayera that roots bearing witness within Judaism and establishes why bearing witness is a global obligation that is central to planning.

### **Parashat Vayera**

Parashat Vayera is a rich and eventful portion from Genesis, the first book of the Torah. For millennia, scholars and religious leaders have devoted much time and attention to Parashat Vayera. It is far beyond the scope of my work to even begin to fully summarize, let alone comment on and analyze Parashat Vayera in totality. However, there is a part of Parashat Vayera that is especially relevant to my work and the idea of bearing witness; and a brief summary of Parashat Vayera provides helpful context.

In Parashat Vayera, we read about Abraham, the first Hebrew patriarch, and his wife Sarah, the first Hebrew matriarch. We learn about the Covenant between Abraham and G-d, in which G-d promises Abraham children and land in return for his moral righteousness and faith in G-d.<sup>XXI</sup> As part of the Covenant, G-d tells Abraham that Sarah will bear him a son despite their advanced age. Their son, Isaac, is born when Abraham is 100 and Sarah is 90. We learn that with Isaac's birth, Sarah commands the banishment of Abraham's mistress, Hagar, and their child, Ishmael.<sup>XXII</sup> However, because of the Covenant, G-d provides Abraham with reassurance, "As for Ishmael, I have heard you. Look, I will bless him and make him fruitful and will multiply him most abundantly, twelve chieftains he shall beget, and I will make him a great nation."<sup>39</sup> Later, G-d

---

<sup>XX</sup> For readers who are unfamiliar, Parashiyot (plural of Parashat) are weekly Torah portions that are studied cyclically throughout the year. They guide Saturday morning Shabbat services. See: "Resources," Temple Ner Tamid, n.d., <https://www.nertamid.org/resources>; and Joan Smith, "Torah Portions – Parsha/Parshat/Parasha," *The Crossover Project* (blog), July 26, 2019, <https://thecrossoverproject.org/judaism-101/torah-portions-parsha-parshat-parasha/>.

<sup>XXI</sup> Robert Alter writes, "The articulation of the covenant in this chapter is organized in three distinct units – first the promise of progeny and land, then the commandment of circumcision as sign of the covenant, then the promise of Sarah's maternity." See: Alter, *The Hebrew Bible: A Translation with Commentary*, 53, 58.

<sup>XXII</sup> As a student at the University of Virginia, it is easy to make the connection between Abraham and Thomas Jefferson. Abraham and Jefferson are both founding patriarchs, both are slave holders, both father children with their slaves and wives and create disparate lineages. The Bible does not contain stories about good and bad, the lessons are more complicated than that.

intervenes as Hagar and Ishmael are on the verge of perishing from thirst in the desert.<sup>40</sup> We learn that G-d commands Abraham to offer Isaac as a burnt offering, and Abraham is willing to do so, but G-d again intervenes at the last minute. Robert Alter expertly draws parallels between Ishmael and Isaac.<sup>XXIII</sup> Abraham's willingness to banish Ishmael and sacrifice Isaac are interpreted as tests of his faith in G-d and the Covenant, which G-d upholds after seeing Abraham's commitment. Because of the events detailed in this Torah portion, particularly the Covenant between G-d and Abraham, Parashat Vayera is foundational to not just Judaism, but Christianity and Islam as well.

The part of Parashat Vayera that I want to discuss in the context of bearing witness comes in the midst of the Parashat, and after Abraham and G-d have entered into the Covenant. Due to the Covenant, G-d decides to divulge information about their plan for the destruction of the cities Sodom and Gomorrah. In response, Abraham begs G-d to spare the cities if there are even 50 innocent people.<sup>XXIV</sup> G-d agrees, and so Abraham continues asking G-d if he will spare the cities if there are 45 innocent people, then 40 innocent people, and so on until G-d says he will spare the cities if there are 10 innocent people.<sup>XXV</sup>

G-d sends two divine messengers to Abraham's nephew, Lot, in order to investigate the realities of Sodom and Gomorrah. Lot insists that the messengers stay with him and his family. When the residents of Sodom discover their presence, an angry mob forms around Lot's family home demanding that the messengers, who they believe are simply human visitors, be turned over to them, "Where are the men who came to you tonight? Bring them out to us so that we may know them!"<sup>41</sup> Instead of acquiescing, Lot offers his own daughters in their place:

---

<sup>XXIII</sup> Alter writes:

In fact, a whole configuration of parallels between the two stories is invoked. Each of Abraham's sons is threatened with death in the wilderness, one in the presence of his mother, the other in the presence (and by the hand) of his father. In each case the angel intervenes at the critical moment, referring to the son fondly as *na'ar*, 'lad.' At the center of the story, Abraham's hand holds the knife, Hagar is enjoined to 'hold her hand' . . . on the lad. In the end, each of the sons is promised to become progenitor of a great people, the threat to Abraham's continuity having been averted. See: Alter, *The Hebrew Bible: A Translation with Commentary*, 73.

<sup>XXIV</sup> This may be familiar to readers who have seen the 2005 film *Batman Begins* in which Bruce Wayne tells Ra's Al Ghul, "Gotham is not beyond Saving. Give me more time. There are good people here." In *Batman Begins*, Gotham is a stand in for Sodom and Gomorrah, Batman is Abraham, and interestingly, the supervillain Ra's Al Ghul, is G-d. See: *Batman Begins* (Warner Bros., MAX, 2005), <https://play.max.com/video/watch/28517d19-4c00-46e0-b139-b506cbcc4b40/ad9dfba7-864a-4104-9054-fa7957d74f40>.

<sup>XXV</sup> Robert Alter points out that ten people is "the minimal administrative unit for communal organization in later Israelite life" See: Alter, *The Hebrew Bible: A Translation with Commentary*, 60. Israel would do well to remember this portion of Parashat Vayera. Their indiscriminate destruction of Gaza and the resulting mass murder of innocent Palestinians (as well as Israeli hostages and soldiers) in retaliation for Hamas' October 7<sup>th</sup> attack conflicts with the lesson that even a small minority of innocent people justifies temperance and patience in retaliation against wickedness.

Please, my brothers, do no harm. Look, I have two daughters who have known no man. Let me bring them out to you and do to them whatever you want. Only to these men do nothing, for have they not come under the shadow of my roof beam?”<sup>42</sup>

The mob does not accept this, and they continue to demand the messengers be sent out:

‘Step aside.’ And they said, ‘This person came as a sojourner and he sets himself up to judge! Now we we’ll do more harm to you than to them,’ and they pressed hard against the man Lot and moved forward to break down the door.”<sup>43</sup>

The Angels intervene to save Lot and his family, pulling Lot back into his home. Ultimately, G-d finds that there are not the requisite number of innocents required to spare Sodom and Gomorrah.<sup>XXVI</sup> The messengers allow Lot, his wife, and two daughters to flee the impending destruction, but instruct them not to look back as they leave. Lot’s wife, who is unnamed, does not obey, and as she looks back and witnesses the destruction she is turned into a pillar of salt.<sup>XXVII</sup>

---

<sup>XXVI</sup> One common interpretation for G-d destroying Sodom and Gomorrah is the homosexuality of the cities’ residents as expressed by their demands to rape the divine messengers. While this is an accepted idea, I, and many others, are not convinced. For example, Robert Alter asserts that their “universal impulse to [commit] homosexual gang-rape” is an expression of the residents’ manliness. In other words, it is a manifestation of their need to violently dominate as opposed to being a purely sexual desire. In this context, their refusal of Lot’s daughters in the messengers’ stead is not seen as a sign of their homosexuality. Instead, they demand to rape the messengers and Lot as well to show their power over them with their power and dominance over the women already implied. *See: Alter, The Hebrew Bible: A Translation with Commentary*, 61.

This interpretation of their demand to rape the men also ties in well with the other common interpretation of the source of Sodom and Gomorrah’s wickedness: their treatment of the other. This is expressed not just in their threats to the messengers, but in their treatment of Lot as well. In particular, their reference to him as a sojourner, an outsider, who is not one of them. In another translation of Parashat Vayera, the townspeople refer to Lot as an Alien; and, Alter writes, “The verb ‘to sojourn’ is the one technically used for resident aliens” *See: Alter, The Hebrew Bible: A Translation with Commentary*, 62. Moreover, Alter explains that this interpretation is underscored by G-d’s own words about Sodom and Gomorrah. G-d tells Abraham, “The outcry of Sodom and Gomorrah, how great! Their offense is very grave.” Alter writes that this use of “outcry,” based on its etymology, is “often associated in the Prophets and Psalms with the shrieks of torment of the oppressed” *See: Alter, The Hebrew Bible: A Translation with Commentary*, 58. So, the people of Sodom and Gomorrah are wicked because of their treatment of the oppressed and the other, which in this instance includes the threat of homosexual gang rape. However, homosexuality is not the source of the wickedness. Rather, the homosexual rape is just one embodiment of it.

<sup>XXVII</sup> Later we learn that, fearing the end of their lineage with their husbands and mother gone, Lot’s daughters each ply Lot with wine and rape him:

And the elder [daughter] said to the young, “Our father is old, and there is no man on earth to come to bed with us like the way of all the earth. Come, let us give our father wine to drink and let us lie with him, so that we may keep alive seed from our father.” *See: Alter, The Hebrew Bible: A Translation with Commentary*, 64 – 65.

Although only Sodom and Gomorrah are destroyed and not the entire world, Robert Alter draws a parallel between the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah and the preceding flood. Alter suggests that their fear of the end of their lineage underscores their sense of cataclysm:

## Lot's Wife as a Witness

Traditionally, Lot's wife's fate as a pillar of salt is interpreted as a literal punishment. She not only disobeys G-d's command, but she also betrays a sense of longing for her destroyed home and thus shows her own wickedness as a Sodomite. There are many theories about why Lot's wife is turned into a pillar of salt, as well as the significance of the salt itself. Some Midrash commentary suggests that she is punished in this way because the residents of Sodom are alerted to the messengers' presence after she asks neighbors for salt for their meal.<sup>44</sup> Robert Alter does not offer much by way of explanation other than referencing "gynemorphic rock formation in the Dead Sea region"<sup>XXVIII</sup> and saying the story incorporates "an old mythic motif (as in the story of Orpheus and Euridyce) of a taboo against looking back in fleeing from a place of doom."<sup>45</sup> However, I want to offer a reinterpretation more in line with the Jewish tradition for bearing witness.

Recall the Jewish lesson that in bearing witness to others' experiences, we become first-hand witnesses to those experiences. Although Lot's wife has left the city of Sodom, in turning around and witnessing the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, she is destroyed too. In my reading, instead of being literally punished, she is a symbol for the impact of bearing witness. Writing about the Israel-Hamas war for *Jewish Currents*, Sarah Aziza, a Palestinian-American who writes with devastating clarity, asserts, "The Witness is the one who holds the line of reality, identifying and

---

. . . the phrase used by the elder sister, "there is no man on earth [or, 'in the land,' *ba'arets*] to come to bed with us" . . . equally reinforces the connection with the global cataclysm of the Flood story: she looks out upon the desolate landscape after the destruction of the cities of the plain and imagines that she, her sister, and their father are the sole survivors of humankind. *See: Alter, The Hebrew Bible: A Translation with Commentary*, 63.

It is easy to be distracted by the incestuous rape described in this portion of Parashat Vayera. However, it provides an important insight: the destruction of the entire world is not required for personal cataclysm. Experiencing the destruction and loss of one's home is paramount to cataclysm. Facing this, they are compelled to do the unthinkable and rape their father. This same sense of devastation is what the Vietnamese experienced, this is what Israelis experienced on October 7, 2023, and what Gazans continue to experience since then, and, in some ways, it is what some participants felt as they awakened to the realities of the Vietnam War and their roles in it.

<sup>XXVIII</sup> A 1995 article from *The New York Times* supports Alter's ideas about Dead Sea rock formations:

"Geologists say they have pinpointed the probable site of the biblical cities of Sodom and Gomorrah and worked out a theory of why Lot's wife was reported to have ended up as a pillar of salt. The Geologists said that Lot's wife did not appear to turn into a pillar of salt because she dared to look back but because of the briny nature of the Dead Sea. But the research shows it was more likely a case of mistaken identity. . . the Dead Sea is full of briny floes that might have been thrown up by surging water to resemble a female outline. Hence legend is created out of what can now be explained as a simple geological phenomenon. . ." *See: Reuters, "Geologists Zero In on Sodom and Lot's Wife," The New York Times*, December 17, 1995, sec. World, <https://www.nytimes.com/1995/12/17/world/geologists-zero-in-on-sodom-and-lot-s-wife.html>.

refusing the lie of normalcy. Broken by what we see, we become rupture incarnate.”<sup>46</sup> Lot’s wife, in witnessing the destruction, becomes rupture incarnate. <sup>XXIX</sup>

That this occurs in the same Parashat as the Covenant is significant. The Covenant, which is a bidirectional agreement between G-d and Abraham (therefore between G-d and all of us) is at the core of Judaism. The Covenant is why G-d informs Abraham of Sodom and Gomorrah’s impending doom. The Covenant is why Lot and his family are allowed to flee. So, in this context and this interpretation, this impact of bearing witness flows from the Covenant and represents yet another place where witness is engrained in Judaism.

---

<sup>XXIX</sup> Rabbinic scholar and expert Dr. Gwynn Kessler, who is an associate professor and the chair of the religion department at Swarthmore College, offers a related analysis in “Looking Back to Look Forward: *Parashat Vayera* (Genesis 18:1 – 22:24).” She writes:

The first word of Genesis 18:1, *vayera*, which connotes both seeing and appearing, alerts the reader to the importance of vision throughout Genesis 18-22. Indeed, Parashat Vayera as a whole presents a virtual feast for the eyes. . . . Obviously, for a tradition and a people that reconceive their texts and themselves in large part through repeated acts of looking back, as Judaism and Jews do, Lot’s wife, who pays dearly for her perhaps uncontrollable, albeit certainly understandable act, represents an anomaly. . . . I am struck by Lot’s wife’s act of looking back, which still calls to my mind the value, the centrality, of such an act in and for Judaism and for Jews. Perhaps the lesson in Lot’s wife’s death is that it reminds us of the risks, the dangers, involved in looking back. *Lives are at stake*. Perhaps what might be considered problematic in Lot’s wife’s looking back is neither the act of looking back itself nor that she does so ostensibly against divine command but the inability to see things differently. We need to see with better eyes. If we do not constantly come up with new interpretations, which require continual looking back *and* seeing anew, the text, and its readers, stand in danger of becoming pillars of salt, calcified remnants, memorials – whether enduring or fleeting – a past long since gone. My point is not to attribute blame to Lot’s wife or to minimize the only act which the Bible enlivens her; to the contrary, I want to use her act of looking back, despite its fateful consequences as a call for contemporary readers both to look back again and again and to be able to see things differently so that we might move forward. *See*: Gwynn Kessler, “Looking Back to Look Forward: Parashat Vayera (Genesis 18:1 – 22:24),” *Torah Queeries: Weekly Commentaries on the Hebrew Bible*, 2009, 29 – 30.

Critically, Dr. Kessler does not use the word witness in this section nor anywhere else in the chapter. Her writing, while related, is focused on the act of retrospection and processing through reflection, as opposed to the importance of bearing witness to the world around us and others’ experiences.



## Bearing Witness as Praxis<sup>XXX</sup>

Parashat Vayera helps contextualize why bearing witness is both a personal motivation as well as an obligation. Historically and contemporarily, the United States is unable to bear honest witness. This manifests itself in many ways, including but not limited to the denial and general inability to take responsibility for the use of Agent Orange as well as the sustained commitment to a capitalist and colonial world view that causes the United States to perpetuate the same harms generation after generation. The life experiences and work of the participants hold the line of reality. They identify and refuse the lie of normalcy of the Vietnam War and the use of Agent Orange. All of the participants were ruptured by their experiences – some through physical wounds, others through post-traumatic stress disorder, and some are still discovering new ways in which they are ruptured by their exposure to Agent Orange. Through my work, I became a witness to the Vietnam War, the veteran-led anti-war movement, and the impact the war continues to exact on people and the land. Reader, by engaging in this work, you have become witness and rupture incarnate too.

That we become ruptured is not a damnation of ourselves. The rupturing is the transformation that witnessing incites. In becoming rupture incarnate, we are obligated to act to address the conditions that have ruptured us. In an October 2023 article in which she reacts to the reignition of violence in Israel and Gaza, Arielle Angel, the Jewish-American editor-in-chief of *Jewish Currents*, asserts, “That question of how we recuperate this humanity is ultimately an organizing question.”<sup>47</sup> Planning can and should be a part of this organizing. In the coming chapters I situate the Vietnam War and the use of herbicides within a modernist planning framework; and I situate VVAW and the veteran-led anti-war movement within an insurgent planning framework which negates implicit assumptions, imagines more just futures, and works to enact those visions. As people ruptured by what we have seen, experienced, and understand others to have experienced, this insurgent planning framework and the legacies of the anti-war activists who have enacted them, are examples of how we can meet our obligations.

---

<sup>XXX</sup> In January 2024, I enjoyed dinner at Jan Barry’s and Paula Rogovin’s home. There, I met Jenny Pacanowski. Jenny, a veteran of the war in Iraq, is the director of the non-profit organization Women Veterans Empowered & Thriving. She is also a poet, combat veteran, facilitator, public speaker, playwright, and curator. See: “Board of Directors,” Women Veterans Empowered & Thriving, <https://www.womenveteransempowered.org/copy-of-board-of-directors-1>. Like most people I spoke with for this work, she is a remarkable person with a remarkable story. I asked her why writing, poetry, and art are such common forms of expression among American veterans. Up to that point, I had asked many people that question, and although I have heard her sentiment echoed by others since, she was the first person who gave me an answer. Ms. Pacanowski told me that warrior cultures of the past practiced ritual storytelling between warriors and civilians. This practice helped facilitate warriors’ mental, physical, and spiritual return and reintegration among the culture they had left. However, contemporarily, the United States has no such practice. In fact, in the case of Vietnam and subsequent wars, Veterans are often actively denied this opportunity. There is little to no acknowledgment of Veterans’ experiences on their own terms. Thus, American veterans denied this traditional method of therapeutic reintegration seek out alternate means for processing their experiences and traumas. There is not only an essential need for people to bear witness to veterans’ experiences, there is also a need for veterans’ to bear witness to their own experiences through their writing and art. To highlight just a few examples, in addition to Jenny and the work she facilitates, I see this through the work my uncle Peter left behind, the poetry anthologies created and published by VVAW, and in Jan Barry’s new book *Waging Art: Tackling Grief and Trauma with Creative Arts*.

---

<sup>37</sup> “Beyt Tikkun: A Synagogue Without Walls,” Bey Tikkun, n.d., <https://www.beyttikkun.org/>.

<sup>38</sup> Jonathan Krasner, “The Place of Tikkun Olam in American Jewish Life,” *Jewish Political Studies Review* 25, no. 3–4 (November 1, 2014), <https://jcpa.org/article/place-tikkun-olam-americanjewish-life1/>.

<sup>39</sup> Robert Alter, *The Hebrew Bible: A Translation with Commentary*, vol. Volume I: The Five Books of Moses – Torah, III vols. (W.W. Norton & Company, 2018), 55.

<sup>40</sup> Alter, *The Hebrew Bible: A Translation with Commentary*, 70.

<sup>41</sup> Alter, *The Hebrew Bible: A Translation with Commentary*, 61.

<sup>42</sup> Alter, *The Hebrew Bible: A Translation with Commentary*, 61.

<sup>43</sup> Alter, *The Hebrew Bible: A Translation with Commentary*, 61-62.

<sup>44</sup> “Genesis 19:26,” Sefaria, n.d., <https://www.sefaria.org/Genesis.19.26?lang=bi&with=Midrash%20ConnectionsList&lang2=en>.

<sup>45</sup> Alter, *The Hebrew Bible: A Translation with Commentary*, 63-64.

<sup>46</sup> Sarah Aziza, “The Work of the Witness,” *Jewish Currents*, January 12, 2024, <https://jewishcurrents.org/the-work-of-the-witness>.

<sup>47</sup> Arielle Angel, “We Cannot Cross Until We Carry Each Other,” *Jewish Currents*, October 12, 2023, <https://jewishcurrents.org/we-cannot-cross-until-we-carry-each-other>.

## *Part III: American Planning*

## 5. *American Modernist Planning: War*

Professions (like nations) keep their shape by molding their members' (citizens') understanding of the past, causing them to forget those events that do not accord with a righteous image, while keeping alive those memories that do.

- Leonie Sandercock, *Making the Invisible Visible*

Saying that A owns B is in fact meaningless until the society in which A lives agrees to allow A a certain bundle of rights over B and to impose sanctions against the violation of those rights by anyone else.

- William Cronon, *Changes in the Land*

Genocide was the vanguard of the empire, and anti-Blackness followed immediately in its wake.

- Walter Johnson, *The Broken Heart of America*

Leonie Sandercock writes that professions, like nation states, construct historical narratives that benefit their purpose and standing.<sup>48</sup> In doing so, she argues, negative and problematic events and histories are ignored in favor of positive portrayals, “Stories about the past have power and bestow power.”<sup>49</sup> Unquestionably accepting such narratives advances the mission(s) and standing of the status quo; but scrutinizing, critiquing, and analyzing these narratives begins the process of unveiling the whole picture and the assumptions implicit and required by the dominant narratives. Sandercock continues, “In choosing to tell some stories rather than others, a professional identity is shaped, invested with meaning, and then defended. But what are the erasures and exclusions implicit in the process of forging a professional identity?”<sup>50</sup> In the context of the planning discipline, the answer, she says, is that the modernist concept of planning portrays planning and planners as heroic with no fatal flaws:

The role of planning and of planners is unproblematic. It is assumed that we know and agree on what planning is and who is and is not a planner. It is assumed that planning is a “good thing” – a progressive practice – and that its opponents are reactionary, irrational, or just plain greedy. It is assumed that planners know or can divine “the public interest” and possesses an expertise that ought to prevail (in a rational society) over politics.<sup>51</sup>

Not only does this reflect a certain amount of circular reasoning (*i.e.*, if planners construct it, then it must be rational and in the public’s interest), but, as a result, destructive and problematic chapters of planning history are erased from the modernist narrative. Subversive and alternate planning theories and methodologies, such as those grounded in feminism, queer theory, blues epistemology, Black placemaking, and beyond, are excluded. Their exclusion not only veils their presence but negates their applicability in favor of bolstering the modernist narrative of what planning is.

With the Vietnam War, the constructed historical narratives of America as a nation state and modernist planning collide. In the United States, the national narrative around the Vietnam War is fraught. The war has an ambiguous end that many chafe at recognizing as an American defeat, and an even more amorphous beginning. The answer to the question of when the United States first became enmeshed in Vietnam depends on the context. There is one answer for when the United States began providing funding and support to the French, another for when the United States began installing and influencing state leadership in the State of Vietnam, another for when the United States became engaged in direct armed conflict with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and so on. These opaque boundaries obscure the reality of America’s military interventions in Vietnam. They are also evidence that while who America is militarily engaged with may change, American domination through global military intervention is a perpetual process that is a feature, not a bug, of the country’s outlook and high-modernist goals for control, order, and simplification – in other words, planning.

Inspired by Sandercock and Carl Abbott and Sy Adler,<sup>xxxI</sup> who underscore the importance of historical analysis to the planning discipline, and given the notoriously murky parameters of the Vietnam War, I find it necessary to provide a brief and critical overview of the official history and dominant discourse of the United States' involvement in the Vietnam during the mid-twentieth century. This is the first step in identifying and understanding the Vietnam War as a modernist planning project.

### **A Critical Review of the Constructed Historical Narrative of the Vietnam War**

At my public high school, I was taught that the conflict known domestically as the Vietnam War was a proxy war of the Cold War. It was a conflict that the United States was invested in to prevent the spread of communism and the domino effect.<sup>52</sup> While this may be accurate, it is only a partial truth. I was in high school in the early 2010s. This was decades after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union. Stories of bomb shelters and drills and living in perpetual fear of the threat of nuclear war were just that: stories from my parents' and grandparents' generation. This was also before the unveiling of the resurgent American far right began in earnest and the rise of Donald Trump. Communism, while far from favored, had yet to reenter the popular zeitgeist as a dirty and damning condemnation. Still, we were not asked or taught to critically investigate the justification for the Vietnam War as a fight against the spread of communism.

This framing not only ignores the preexisting Vietnamese anti-colonial movement by positioning the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as some underling of the Soviet Union, but it also obscures the historical record of communications, conferences, and conflicts that led to the United States becoming involved in Vietnam. Through this frame we see the United States as benevolent if not misguided heroes, and autonomy of the Vietnamese on both sides of the conflict is erased.

The seeds that led to the American War in Vietnam were planted in the nineteenth century, decades before American boots landed on the ground. After centuries of subjugation and colonization by the Chinese, the French colonized and began their rule of Vietnam in the nineteenth century. By

---

<sup>xxxI</sup> Adler and Abbott write:

Since the content of history in the form of narratives of representative lives and events is immediately accessible to all literate citizens, there is a consequent tendency to assume that the uses of history are equally obvious. In reality, of course, the record of events does not speak for itself. The simple record is an undifferentiated list; it is 'chronicle' rather than history, in the classic distinction of Benedetto Croce. The effective use of history has to be taught just as much as the effective use of statistics or cartography. History becomes a valuable analytical approach for urban planners only to the extent that it is applied consciously and consistently. *See*: Carl Abbott and Sy Adler, "Historical Analysis as a Planning Tool," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 55, no. 4 (December 31, 1989): 468.

Adler and Abbott reference Seymour Mandelbaum's 1984 article "Temporal Conventions in Planning Discourse," in which he says that planners use "past observation. . . as a surrogate for present measurement." Historical analysis is crucial for more than just context – by the time planners' work comes to fruition, their ideas, projects, and interventions are based on observations of what has become the past due to the nature of time. *See*: Abbott and Adler, "Historical Analysis as a Planning Tool," 468.

1883, France had divided the country into three separate districts and renamed them Tonkin (in the north), Annam (central region), and Cochin China (in the south).<sup>53</sup> By 1940, Vietnam was under the control of the Vichy government who maintained administrative control while allowing Japan to take full exploitative advantage of Vietnam's people and resources.<sup>54</sup> Following the fall of the Vichy government, Japan instituted their own "puppet regime" in March 1945.<sup>55</sup>

The international dynamics of World War II fostered interesting relationships. Vietnamese Nationalist groups who were concerned with fighting for a free and independent Vietnam became formally aligned with imperial countries like the United States and Great Britain against the Axis powers and Vichy France.<sup>56</sup> Out of this, historian Marilyn B. Young explains, "The most effective nationalist group, by all accounts, was the League for the Independence of Vietnam (Vietnam Doc Lap Dong Minh Hoi), Viet Minh for short, established in May 1941 and led by Ho Chi Minh."<sup>57</sup> In August 1945, shortly after Japan's establishment of their own puppet government in Vietnam, the Japanese surrendered to the Allied powers.<sup>58</sup> Not long after that, in September 1945, Ho Chi Minh, in consult with an American Office of Strategic Services (OSS) agent, declared Vietnam free and independent with an explicit reference to the American Declaration of Independence.<sup>59</sup> However, Young asserts, "By October 1945, it was clear that the only people ready to recognize the freedom and independence of Vietnam were the Vietnamese themselves."<sup>60</sup>

Ultimately, the recently reestablished French government decided they required control over their former colony once again. The United States, with World War II in the rearview mirror, was becoming increasingly concerned about communism and the Soviet Union. So, despite their relationship with the Viet Minh and Ho Chi Minh's citation of the Declaration of Independence as precedent, the United States aligned with France. Young explains:

The United States decided it had little choice but to support the French. America's own plans for a healthy postwar order rested on a stable, prosperous France ready to play its proper role in an economic and military world system dominated by the United States, which saw itself acting in the interest of the entire "free world."<sup>61</sup>

This decision set off a series of events including the First Indochina War between France and Vietnam. Ultimately, it also led to the Geneva Conference in 1954. The parties signed a cease-fire agreement, the Geneva Accords, which, among other things, divided the country along the 17<sup>th</sup> parallel between the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the north and the State of Vietnam in the South. Elections, which theoretically were supposed to lead to reunification, were planned for 1956.<sup>62</sup> In the coming years, the United States was unwilling to allow for free and fair elections that had the potential to benefit the communist Democratic Republic of Vietnam or hurt their own chosen rulers in the south. This stoked the already simmering conflict into becoming the Vietnam War.

In my research, I relied on scholars like Marilyn B. Young who have done an excellent job tracing and analyzing the intricate details of the historical record. This work is essential, but the minutia can also obscure two important facts. First, the United States was enmeshed in Vietnam from at

least the moment the American government decided it had a role to play in dictating how Vietnam, as a former French colony, would be governed following the collapse of the Axis powers and Japan's withdrawal from the country. It is more likely, however, that the United States was enmeshed as soon as OSS agents began collaborating with Vietnamese Nationalists like Ho Chi Minh (who was himself commissioned as OSS Agent 19) in the early 1940s.<sup>63</sup> From then on, each new date marking a change in American involvement was just an alteration, natural evolution, or escalation in the level and dynamics of the United States' involvement.

Second, the decisions being made, especially through the Geneva Conference, were fundamentally planning decisions in that they were managing change in the built environment – both physically through demarcation and socially/politically through governance. However, they were not unique to this moment or conflict. The contemporaneous 1945 agreement that divided Korea and the 1953 armistice upholding the division reflect the same planning process, as do the Oslo Accords of the 1990s which outlined land divisions and governance agreements between Israel and Palestine. If we accept Sandercock's idea that official or modernist planning is conducted by the state in pursuit of city and nation building, then the United States' decision to side with France, the creation of the Geneva Accords, and the subsequent war are all intrinsically modernist planning decisions.<sup>64</sup> As modernist planning decisions, they are the outgrowth of centuries of Eurocentric ideologies that imbue land and people with racialized and commodified values. They are an outgrowth of American settler-colonialism as the physical and political frontiers of American imperialism shifted internationally in the twentieth century.

### **How War Became a Tool of Modernist Planning**

In the early twentieth century, the rise of high-modernist thinkers and planners like Le Corbusier and the Congr s Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) gave shape to modernist planning as a distinct discipline. In the process, modernist planning's history and foundation in settler-colonialism and white supremacy were obscured. Yet, historical analysis reveals that fundamentally, modernist planning is based on European ideas of property and land ownership. To even begin to fully explore these ideas would be a separate project in itself. Indeed, many books and much scholarship have been devoted to the topic.<sup>xxxii</sup> For modernist planning, it is sufficient to understand that modernist planning is ideologically rooted in the enclosure movement that began in the late Middle Ages.

Legal scholar Katharina Pistor explains how the enclosure system commodified open space and land by creating a titling system which allocated rights to land use and in doing so defined not just who could use land, but also who could not use the land. In England, this gave power to landlords

---

<sup>xxxii</sup> For interested readers, I recommend the Ezra Klein Show episode, "A Guide to the 'Legal Fictions' That Create Wealth, inequality and Economic Crises" which features Columbia Law scholar Katharina Pistor. You can access that here: <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/13/opinion/ezra-kleinpodcast-katharina-pistor.html>.



and the aristocracy over commoners. When Europeans began to colonize North America's eastern seaboard, this system gave power to the colonizers and stripped it from the Indians. Pistor says:

So turning land into capital requires a process of legal titling, of recognizing priority rights to the land and vesting these rights with some agent and then the state saying, and I will back that. If you now go onto the land, it's trespassing, and you will be prosecuted.<sup>65</sup>

The backing of this system by the force of the state is key. The power and security of the state enables and enforces the structuring of society around the sectioning and partitioning of land for private ownership, organization, and development, and therefore wealth accumulation. As a function of state building through legibility, simplification, and control, this is one of the earliest forms of modernist planning.

When Europeans began arriving on the Shores of North America, they were coming from the backdrop of this legal titling system and understanding of private ownership and development of the land. In *Changes in the Land*, William Cronon – whose writing on peoples' relationship to the environment has greatly inspired and motivated me<sup>xxxiii</sup> – provides a helpful overview of how these European conceptions of land and property, which buttressed the enclosure movement, were used to justify the early colonization of New England, which subsequently grew into white supremacist westward expansion through indigenous dispossession and genocide across the United States.

Cronon explains that colonial theorists like John Winthrop,<sup>xxxiv</sup> “posited two ways of owning land, one natural and one civil.”<sup>66</sup> Natural ownership is the original ownership where, according to Winthrop, “men held the earth in common every man sowing and feeding where he pleased.”<sup>67</sup> However, natural ownership was “superseded when individuals began to raise crops, keep cattle, and improve the land by enclosing it; from such actions, Winthrop said, came a superior, civil right of ownership.”<sup>68</sup> Cronon points out that because New England Indian communities do not view or use their land in this way, in the eyes of the English colonizers, it left the land open for legitimate taking:

That these notions of land tenure were ideological and inherently Eurocentric was obvious from the way Winthrop used them: “As for the Natives in New England,” he wrote “they inclose noe land, neither have any settled habitation, nor any tame Cattle to improve the Land by, and soe have noe other but a Naturall Right to those Countries.” By this argument, only the fields planted by Indian women could be

---

<sup>xxxiii</sup> I especially recommend “The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature” accessible here: [https://www.williamcronon.net/writing/Trouble\\_with\\_Wilderness\\_Main.html](https://www.williamcronon.net/writing/Trouble_with_Wilderness_Main.html). See: William Cronon, “The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature,” in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1995), 69–90.

<sup>xxxiv</sup> Winthrop was the first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in the seventeenth century. See: “John Winthrop: American Colonial Governor,” Britannica, April 16, 2024, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/John-Winthrop-American-colonial-governor>.

claimed as property, with the happy results, as Winthrop said, that “the rest of the country lay open to any that could and would improve it.” The land was a *vacuum Domicilium* waiting to be inhabited by a more productive people. “In a vacant soyle,” wrote the minister John Cotton, “hee that taketh possession of it, and bestoweth culture and husbandry upon it, his Right it is.”<sup>69</sup>

For the colonizers, civil ownership justified the enclosure (*i.e.*, colonization) of land occupied by Indians. In contrast, the Indian communities<sup>xxxv</sup> that colonizers like Winthrop encountered viewed land and property through a fundamentally different sense of rights:

When lands were traded or sold. . . what were exchanged were usufruct rights, acknowledgments by one group that another might use an area for planting or hunting or gathering. Such rights were limited to the period of use, and they did not include many of the privileges Europeans commonly associated with ownership: a user could not (and saw no need to) prevent other village members from trespassing or gathering nonagricultural food on such lands, and had no conception of deriving rent from them.<sup>70</sup>

Within this system of usufruct rights, land was not owned as a commodity. It was used by individuals in a community and understood as a commons. Cronon goes on to explain that this key difference in conceptions of property enabled colonizers to begin legally justifying their claim to the land. Indians would enter into agreements with the settlers believing they were transferring usufruct rights, meaning access to the land in the way they enjoyed and utilized it. The English believed they were receiving total claim to the land.<sup>71</sup> Cronon writes, “what the Indians perceived as a political negotiation between two sovereign groups the English perceived as an economic transaction wholly within an English jurisdiction.”<sup>xxxvi</sup> The English concept of civil ownership is fundamental to capitalism and white supremacy. It assumes that development, cultivation, and accumulation is “progress” and inherently productive and good. These assumptions provide validity to settler-colonial claims to land, and also underwrite the white supremacist reasoning that

---

<sup>xxxv</sup> I am wary of the dual and related risks of perpetuating the ecological Indian stereotype and discussing American Indian nations as though they were monoliths. In *Changes in the Land*, Cronon is focusing specifically on New England and its colonial and Indigenous inhabitants. I discuss usufruct rights to show how European conceptions of property differed, and the way in which they were exploited to take and settle the land.

<sup>xxxvi</sup> English courts of course recognized the settlers:

As we have seen, Massachusetts recognized that Indians might have limited natural rights to land, and so provided that such rights could be alienated *under the sanctions of Massachusetts law*. No question of an Indian village’s own sanctions could arise, for the simple reason that Indian sovereignty was not recognized. The Massachusetts Bay Company was careful very early to instruct its agents on this point, telling them “to make composition with such of the salvages as did pretend any tittle or lay clayme to any of the land.” Indian rights were not real, but pretended, because the land had already been granted the company by the English crown. Land purchases. . . were thus interpreted under English law, and so were understood as a fuller transfer of rights than Indian communities probably ever intended. *See*: William Cronon, “Bounding the Land,” in *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1983), 68.

Indians are inferior because they have not developed their land and it is the white person's duty to take, develop, and civilize.<sup>xxxvii</sup> Crucially, Cronon asserts that both the European and Indian systems and conceptions of property rights “dealt in bundles of culturally defined rights that determined what could and could not be done with land and personal property.” In other words, despite the colonial assertion to the contrary, there is nothing inherently natural in either system. They are constructs of the cultures in which they were fostered.

In the centuries that followed, what started with the enclosure movement evolved into America's ambition for westward expansion. Through westward expansion, America began to hone its ability to use war as a method of modernist planning. By the nineteenth century, the North American continent had been commodified if not settled by colonists. In 1803, Thomas Jefferson completed the purchase of the Louisiana Territory. In *The Heart Break of America*, Walter Johnson asserts that Napoleon Bonaparte made the sale with complete disregard for the existing Indian nations already occupying the land – a foreshadowing of the way the French would treat their colonies in Southeast Asia some decades later. After all, Indians' claims were natural, not civil, and therefore inferior. Of Jefferson, Johnson writes, “He imagined the Louisiana Purchase an ‘empire for liberty,’ as a huge deposit of landed wealth upon which the future of white freedom might be based, but he did not think of the territory as empty.”<sup>72</sup> Jefferson understood that for the successful westward expansion of the American empire, the state needed to know who and what already lived and existed in the West.<sup>xxxviii</sup>

To “make a survey of the practical challenges and possibilities of empire-building” as well as to catalog the flora, fauna, Indians, and economic potential of the land, Jefferson dispatched a group led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. Johnson points out that their name, Corps of discovery, “paradoxically and ideologically erased the people upon whose land they would be traveling and upon whose hospitality and knowledge they would depend. . . .”<sup>73</sup> Moreover, Johnson correctly argues that the Corps of Discovery was really a “military reconnaissance force”:

More than as explorers, we should see them as special forces – a military reconnaissance operation operating well beyond the line of effective US control,, empowered to make friends among the Indians wherever they could find them, but enjoined always to remember that they were operating in hostile territory.<sup>74</sup>

The Corps of Discovery extended America's own enclosure movement westward through military operation. These operations continued throughout the succeeding decades and were also delegated

---

<sup>xxxvii</sup> Cronon writes:

The Crown derived its own claim to the region from several sources: Cabot's “discovery” of New England in 1497-98; the failure of Indians adequately to subdue the soil as Genesis 1.28 required; and from the King's status – initially a decidedly speculative one – as the first Christian monarch to establish colonies there. *See*: Cronon, “Bounding the Land,” 69.

<sup>xxxviii</sup> This is of course paradoxical: the land can be claimed because it is uncivilized and therefore empty, but once it is the state's, then what was considered “emptiness” is now commodified and therefore must be legible.

to deputized settlers. Through this process, American racialization of space began to be cemented. Johnson writes that by the nineteenth century there was an ideological split between the “settler whitemanism of the free-soil movement” and the “expansionist proslavery position of the Democratic Party.”<sup>75</sup> The former group envisioned a “populist” western empire free of Indians and Black people in which working class white Americans could accumulate wealth, while the latter wanted to extend the existing slavery-based empire to the benefit of elite, wealthy white Americans. Johnson notes that the ideological differences were just “variants on the imperialist theme” that always guided westward expansion.

Eventually the tension boiled over and erupted into the Civil War, and the Free-Soil Republicans prevailed. As the continent was carved up, the same Indian nations that were ignored by Bonaparte and catalogued by Jefferson were killed and removed from the land. In some instances, the federal government purchased the land, enclosed it, and then gave the parcels away to eligible white settlers looking to secure their fortune. In *Killers of the Flower Moon*, David Grann describes the process as it took place on Cherokee land:

After the U.S. government purchased the land from the Cherokee, it had announced that at noon on September 16, 1893, a settler would be able to claim one of the forty-two thousand parcels of land – if he or she got to the spot first! For days before the starting date, tens of thousands of men, women, and children had come, from as far away as California and New York, and gathered along the boundary; the ragged, dirty, desperate mass of humanity stretched across the horizon, like an army pitted against itself. Finally, after several “sooners” who’d tried to sneak across the line early had been shot, the starting gun sounded.

Grann goes on to reference newspaper reporting that describes a chaotic scene of violent fighting and racing to claim land that had recently been home to the Cherokee.<sup>76</sup> In this desperate tableau, is one culmination of the idea of civil ownership of land fostered by people like Winthrop. America had entered the end game of turning the land from a commons into privately owned commodified, and racialized plots. George Lipsitz, who Johnson cites as the intellectual godfather of *The Broken Heart of America*, writes about the ways in which race is imbued in place, and place is imbued in race. Lipsitz writes about the contemporary racialization of space through modernist planning:

People of different races in the United States are relegated to different physical locations by housing and lending discrimination, by school district boundaries, by policing practices, by zoning regulations, and by the design of transit systems.<sup>77</sup>

He recognizes, of course, that this stems from America’s history of slavery and Indian removal and genocide, and informs the perpetuation of racial discrimination through modernist planning:

The association of freedom with pure spaces outlived the frontier. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this ideal coalesced around racial zoning, restrictive covenants, mortgage redlining, blockbusting, steering, and a host of attendant practices responsible for racially segregating residential areas in the United States. . . .<sup>78</sup>

All of this, Lipsitz argues, is done in service of the white spatial imaginary, which “views space primarily as a locus for the generation of exchange value.”<sup>79</sup> This explains the willingness to kill and be killed violently in a dash for land that was being given away after being intentionally cleared of its preexisting inhabitants, but more broadly, the white spatial imaginary is the product of this history dating all the way back to the English enclosure movement. It is foundational to modernist planning in the twentieth century and beyond.

Early European ideology led to the commodification of land. The ensuing imperialist westward expansion became a project of white supremacy through the processes of Indian removal and genocide and the state’s decision that the land was a tool for white wealth accumulation. By the twentieth century, with the land taken and settled, the white spatial imaginary continued to determine how land was used and who was given access to it through planning methods like redlining, racial zoning, and restrictive zoning. By the time such methods were declared unconstitutional and illegal, the white spatial imaginary was deeply embedded in the country’s legal and planning systems that are employed by the state in governing people and their use of the land today.

In their work on Black placemaking, scholars like Dr. Ashley Adams,<sup>XXXIX</sup> Dr. Timothy E. Nelson,<sup>XL</sup> Dr. La Barbara James Wigfall,<sup>XLI</sup> and Dr. Andrea Roberts,<sup>XLII</sup> teach us that frontiers are not just physical, they are also social and political boundaries. Tracing this history highlights the way the frontiers pursued by modernist planning have evolved over centuries. We can draw a winding, but direct line from the English enclosure movement to civil property ownership to early American settler-colonialism to westward expansion to the modernist planning of the twentieth and twenty-first century.

By the late nineteenth century, with the United States’ continental foothold secure and the land conquered and in the state’s control, the frontiers of American modernist planning began to evolve – both physically and politically. Instead of claiming the west for the white man, the United States became concerned with maintaining global conditions favorable to their economic interests. By this point, the United States had developed its practice of using war as a tool of modernist planning. United States military forces were deployed across the globe to places including Mexico, Cuba, the Philippines, Nicaragua, Haiti, Russia, and some still to the remaining Indian territories. Their mission was to violently promote and enforce American interests. With the rise of the USSR in the aftermath of World War II, the United States was prepared for global military intervention to

---

<sup>XXXIX</sup> “Ashley C. Adams,” Mills College at Northeastern University, n.d., <https://mills.northeastern.edu/people/ashley-adams/>.

<sup>XL</sup> “Dr. Timothy Nelson,” California State University Stanislaus, <https://www.csustan.edu/people/dr-timothy-nelson>.

<sup>XLI</sup> “La Barbara James Wigfall, NOMA,” Kansas State University College of Architecture, Planning and Design, n.d., <https://apdesign.k-state.edu/about/faculty-staff/wigfall/>.

<sup>XLII</sup> “Andrea Roberts,” University of Virginia School of Architecture, n.d., <https://www.arch.virginia.edu/people/andrea-roberts>.

protect their preferred world order against communism. In the 1950s, America's modernist planning frontier turned to Southeast Asia, primarily Korea and then Vietnam.

- 
- <sup>48</sup> Sandercock, “Introduction: Framing Insurgent Historiographies for Planning,” 1.
- <sup>49</sup> Sandercock, “Introduction: Framing Insurgent Historiographies for Planning,” 1.
- <sup>50</sup> Sandercock, “Introduction: Framing Insurgent Historiographies for Planning,” 1.
- <sup>51</sup> Sandercock, “Introduction: Framing Insurgent Historiographies for Planning,” 4.
- <sup>52</sup> “209. Memorandum From the Board of National Estimates to the Director of Central Intelligence,” United States of America Department of State Office of the Historian, June 9, 1964, <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v01/d209>.
- <sup>53</sup> Marilyn B. Young, “The Fate of OSS Agent 19 (1945-1946),” in *The Vietnam Wars: 1945-1990* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1991), 2; Marilyn B. Young, “Chronology,” in *The Vietnam Wars: 1945-1990* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1991), 331.
- <sup>54</sup> Young, “The Fate of OSS Agent 19 (1945-1946),” 2.
- <sup>55</sup> Young, “The Fate of OSS Agent 19 (1945-1946),” 9.
- <sup>56</sup> Young, “The Fate of OSS Agent 19 (1945-1946),” 2.
- <sup>57</sup> Young, “The Fate of OSS Agent 19 (1945-1946),” 2.
- <sup>58</sup> Young, “The Fate of OSS Agent 19 (1945-1946),” 10.
- <sup>59</sup> Young, “The Fate of OSS Agent 19 (1945-1946),” 10 -11.
- <sup>60</sup> Young, “The Fate of OSS Agent 19 (1945-1946),” 11.
- <sup>61</sup> Marilyn B. Young, “The Third-Year War Begins (1946-1954),” in *The Vietnam Wars: 1945-1990* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1991), 22.
- <sup>62</sup> Marilyn B. Young, “A Pause Between the Wars (1954-1956),” in *The Vietnam Wars: 1945-1990* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1991), 41-42
- <sup>63</sup> Young, “The Fate of OSS Agent 19 (1945-1946),” 10.
- <sup>64</sup> Sandercock, “Introduction: Framing Insurgent Historiographies for Planning,” 2.
- <sup>65</sup> Rogé Karma, “A Guide to the ‘Legal Fictions’ That Create Wealth, Inequality and Economic Crises,” The Ezra Klein Show, n.d., <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/13/opinion/ezra-kleinpodcast-katharina-pistor.html>.
- <sup>66</sup> William Cronon, “Bounding the Land,” in *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1983), 56.
- <sup>67</sup> Cronon, “Bounding the Land,” 56.
- <sup>68</sup> Cronon, “Bounding the Land,” 56.
- <sup>69</sup> Cronon, “Bounding the Land,” 56–57.

---

<sup>70</sup> Cronon, “Bounding the Land,” 62

<sup>71</sup> Cronon, “Bounding the Land,” 62-70

<sup>72</sup> Walter Johnson, “William Clark’s Map,” in *The Broken Heart of America: St. Louis and the Violent History of the United States* (New York: Basic Books, 2020), 17.

<sup>73</sup> Johnson, “William Clark’s Map,” 17.

<sup>74</sup> Johnson, “William Clark’s Map,” 17-18.

<sup>75</sup> Walter Johnson, “Empire and the Limits of Revolution,” in *The Broken Heart of America: St. Louis and the Violent History of the United States* (New York: Basic Books, 2020), 108.

<sup>76</sup> David Grann, “Underground Reservation,” in *Killers of the Flower Moon: The Osage Murders and the Birth of the FBI* (New York: Vintage Books, 2018), 53-54.

<sup>77</sup> George Lipsitz, “The Racialization of Space and the Spatialization of Race,” *Landscape Journal*, 2007, 12.

<sup>78</sup> Lipsitz, “The Racialization of Space and the Spatialization of Race,” 15.

<sup>79</sup> Lipsitz, “The Racialization of Space and the Spatialization of Race,” 15.



## 6. *Only We Can Prevent Forests*

The state has no monopoly on utilitarian simplifications. **What the state does at least aspire to, though, is a monopoly on the legitimate use of force.** That is surely why, from the seventeenth century until now, the most transformative maps have been those invented and applied by the most powerful institution in society: the state. . . . I believe that many of the most tragic episodes of state development in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries originate in a particularly pernicious combination of three elements. The first is the aspiration to the administrative ordering of nature and society, an aspiration that we have already seen at work in scientific forestry, but one raised to a far more comprehensive and ambitious level. “High modernism” seems an appropriate term for this aspiration. . . . The second element is the unrestrained use of the power of the modern state as an instrument for achieving these designs. The third element is a weakened or prostrate civil society that lacks the capacity to resist these plans. **The ideology of high modernism provides, as it were, the desire; the modern state provides the means of acting on that desire; and the incapacitated civil society provides the leveled terrain on which to build (dis)utopias.**

- James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State*

Agent orange, a mixture of 2,4-D and 2,4,5-T, was the most widely used herbicide in Vietnam. It contained a contaminant, TCDD (2,3,7,8-tetrachlorodibenzo-paradioxin) which is one of the most toxic chemicals known.

- “VA’s Agent Orange Examination Program: Actions Needed to More Effectively Address Veterans’ Health Concerns: Report to the Congress By the Comptroller General of the United States”

The question is whether any civilization can wage relentless war on life without destroying itself, and without losing the right to be called civilized. . . . By acquiescing in an act that can cause such suffering to a living creature, who among us is not diminished as a human being?

- Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring*

A key part of the winding chain that led to Peter's death from herbicide poisoning was the emergence and development of high modernism. In *Seeing Like a State* James C. Scott explains that high modernism is "best conceived as a strong (one might even say muscle-bound) version of the beliefs in scientific and technical progress that were associated with industrialization" in the global north from about 1830 through World War I.<sup>80</sup> According to Scott, the core of high-modernist ideology is "supreme self-confidence about continued linear progress, the development of scientific and technical knowledge, the expansion of production, the rational design of social order, the growing satisfaction of human needs, and, not least, an increasing control over nature. . ."<sup>81</sup> High modernism, Scott writes, "is thus a particularly sweeping vision of how the benefits of technical and scientific progress might be applied – usually through the state – in every field of human activity."<sup>82</sup>

Central to Scott's analysis of high modernism is that it is not distinct to any one political ideology or system. Among high modernism's "main characters and exponents," Scott identifies engineers, planners, architects, scientists, and government officials. In an example of the "pantheon or Hall of Fame of high-modernist figures" he includes the likes of Le Corbusier, Robert Moses, the Shah of Iran, Vladimir I. Lenin, and Robert McNamara – the United States Secretary of Defense from 1961 to 1968 during the genesis and majority of Operation Ranch Hand.<sup>83</sup> In their own contexts and societies, "they envisioned," Scott says, "a sweeping, rational engineering of all aspects of social life in order to improve the human condition."<sup>84</sup>

Scott's analysis is that the combination of three specific elements led to many tragedies of state development in the nineteenth and twentieth century. These elements are 1) high-modernist ambitions from the state, 2) the "unrestrained use of the power of the modern state as an instrument" to achieve the high-modernist ambitions, and 3) a civil society that is sufficiently incapacitated to the point that it lacks the will or ability to resist the high-modernist plans and interventions. "The ideology of high modernism provides, as it were, the desire; the modern state provides the means of acting on that desire; and the incapacitated civil society provides the leveled terrain on which to build (dis)utopias."<sup>85</sup>

At the start of *Seeing Like a State*, Scott makes a clear and important distinction. He writes that he is against imperial high modernism and planned social order, but that he is not against bureaucratic planning or high-modernist ideology,<sup>XLIII</sup> "I am, however, making a case against an imperial or hegemonic planning mentality. . ."<sup>86</sup> Scott opposes the planned social order of high modernism in part because it requires a dangerous level of simplification and legibility of the land and society it is imposing upon. It is dangerous both because it steamrolls the natural and/or preexisting patterns of society and the natural environment. This ordering is hierarchical and is thus always destructive to whichever people and places are deemed inferior or a nuisance. The planned social order of high modernism is "necessarily schematic; it always ignores essential features of any real, functioning

---

<sup>XLIII</sup> In fact, on the next page Scott writes, "The state, as I make abundantly clear, is the vexed institution that is the ground of both our freedoms and our unfreedoms." See: Scott, "Introduction," 7.

social order.”<sup>87</sup> High-modernists believe in the absolute ability of science and technology to replace the existing society and create in its stead the simplified conditions for legibility, catalog the people and places made legible, and sustain the newly imposed order:

The troubling features of high modernism derive, for the most part, from its claim to speak about the improvement of the human condition with the authority of scientific knowledge and its tendency to disallow other competing sources of judgment. . . . The sources of this view are deeply authoritarian. If a planned social order is better than the accidental, irrational deposit of historical practice, two conclusions follow. Only those who have the scientific knowledge to discern and create this superior social order are fit to rule in the new age. Further, those who through retrograde ignorance refuse to yield to the scientific plan need to be educated to its benefits or else swept aside. . . . At its most radical, high modernism imagined wiping the slate utterly clean and beginning from zero. . . . This belief that it was man’s destiny to tame nature to suit his interests and preserve his safety is perhaps the keystone of high modernism. . . .<sup>88</sup>

Scott also makes it clear that high modernism is not just a tool of the state; high modernism and its pursuit of simplification is also a tool of capital, “large-scale capitalism is just as much an agency of homogenization, uniformity, grids, and heroic simplification as the state is, with the difference being that, for capitalists, simplification must pay.”<sup>89</sup>

These ideas are not distinct to high modernism. The modernist planning of western expansion also made the land and the Indians simplified, legible, tame, and sought to wipe the slate of the continent clean to be remade and developed for the white man. What makes high modernism distinct is its unquestioning worship and reliance on science and technology as tools of progress.

By the 1960s, high modernism ideology and practices were embedded within the American state and American corporations. The Vietnam War was not just a project of American modernist planning, it was also an American exercise in high modernism. The military’s hubristic belief that their superior fire power and advanced capabilities would quickly overcome the enemy reflects the war’s high-modernist ambitions. So too did Operation Ranch Hand, which itself was the evolution of decades of high-modernist ideology and practice.

### **Operation Hades Ranch Hand**

Mere months after the spraying began under Operation Ranch Hand, Rachel Carson published *Silent Spring*.<sup>XLIV</sup> In *Silent Spring*, Rachel Carson explains that the “sudden rise and prodigious growth of an industry for the production of man-made or synthetic chemicals” was born out of World War II:

---

<sup>XLIV</sup> The timing may be ironic, but it is far from a coincidence. The timing of *Silent Spring*’s release reflects Carson’s insight and foresight into the proliferation of toxic, lethal chemicals.

In the course of developing agents of chemical warfare, some of the chemicals created in the laboratory were found to be lethal to insects. The discovery did not come by chance: insects were widely used to test chemicals as agents of death for man.<sup>90</sup>

These experiments were being conducted on both sides of the Atlantic. In Germany, the chemist Dr. Gerhard Schrader discovered the nerve agents Tabun, Sarin, Soman, and Cyclosarin while researching insecticides to aid in the fight against world hunger.<sup>XLV</sup> He was working for I.G. Farben at the time, a company that was not only complicit with the Nazis but used World War II and the Holocaust as opportunities for financial enrichment and to advance their research.<sup>91</sup> The Nazis never deployed these nerve agents against Allied forces, but they stockpiled them and made their study and development secret.<sup>XLVI</sup>

Meanwhile, in the United States, Agent Orange was developed in a laboratory by the chairman of the University of Chicago's botany department, Professor E. J. Kraus.<sup>92</sup> Like Dr. Schrader, Professor Kraus had not been intentionally seeking out a chemical weapon. Nonetheless, after finding that 2,4-dichlorophenoxyacetic acid (2,4-D) killed broadleaf vegetation by "causing the plant to experience sudden, uncontrolled growth not unlike that of cancer cells in the human body," he shared his discovery with the United States military.<sup>93</sup>

Like Dr. Schrader's nerve agents, 2,4-D was not used during World War II. However, civilian scientists began using the chemicals for weed control domestically and the United States military began experimentation:

[T]he Army experimented with 2,4-D during the 1950s and after evaluating its efficacy in defoliating the forests of Panama and Malaysia the herbicide quickly found its way into the Army's chemical arsenal. Scientists in the Chemical and Biological Weapons Department found that a mixture of 2,4-D and 2,4,5-trichlorophenoxyacetic acid (2,4,5-T) sprayed on plants would cause an almost immediate negative effect on foliage. What they didn't realise, or possibly chose to ignore was that 2,4,5-T contained a most toxic substance, dioxin, an unintentional by-product of herbicide production. After minimal scientific and industrial evaluation, a variety of chemical agents were shipped to Viet Nam in 1961 to aid in anti-guerrilla efforts.<sup>94</sup>

---

<sup>XLV</sup> For his work, Dr. Schrader is sometimes referred to as "the father of nerve agents." See: "Gerhard Schrader: Father of the Nerve Agents," Collaborative for Health and Environment, n.d., <https://www.healthandenvironment.org/environmental-health/social-context/history/gerhardschrader-father-of-the-nerve-agents.>; Carson, "Elixirs of Death," 28.

<sup>XLVI</sup> Historians have identified a few possible reasons that Hitler did not allow the use of nerve agents: 1) his own experience with chemical warfare in World War I, 2) fear of exposing his own forces during combat, especially Blitzkrieg, and 3) retaliation in kind from the Allied Forces. See: Sarah Everts, "The Nazi Origins of Deadly Nerve Gases," Chemical and Engineering News, October 17, 2016, <https://cen.acs.org/articles/94/i41/Nazi-origins-deadly-nerve-gases.html>; Carson, "Elixirs of Death," 28; Jonathan Tucker, *War of Nerves: Chemical Warfare from World War I to Al-Qaeda* (Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2007).

In January 1962, the United States military kicked off Operation Ranch Hand, originally code-named Operation Hades, and began the aerial spraying of herbicides over Vietnam.<sup>95</sup> Orville Schell and Barry Weisberg explain, “The initial objective was to undermine the economic resources of the national liberation movement. In 1962 defoliants became a ‘central weapon’ in the overall Chemical and Biological Warfare (CBW) strategy of America throughout Southeast Asia.”<sup>96</sup> By defoliating and destroying the forest and crops, the United States hoped to cripple their enemies by destroying their resources. Quickly Operation Ranch Hand also became about eradicating cover, “[Operation Ranch Hand] was soon expanded into a critical aspect of the shift from ground to air power in South Vietnam. Besides destroying crops, defoliants were used to destroy the forest canopy that hid [National Liberation Front] forces from detection by air.”<sup>97</sup> In a malicious play on Smokey Bear’s famous slogan, “Only you can prevent forest fires,” the operation’s motto was “Only We Can Prevent Forests.”<sup>98</sup> This was sometimes painted on the sides of the C-123 cargo planes flown for spraying runs.<sup>99</sup>

The spraying undertaken with these goals in mind are what Scott describes as an “effort to reclaim nonstate space for the state” to “render the forest legible and safe” for government forces. He is absolutely right, save for the end. While defoliating large swaths of Vietnam may have created some immediate form of safety – if not for the physical safety of the soldiers, for the conditions necessary to carry out the state’s mandate of power consolidation – in the long run it increased the danger exponentially in a way that for many was inescapable. Country Joe McDonald’s crooning on “Agent Orange” continues to ring true for many veterans, “They killed me in Vietnam, and I didn’t even know.”<sup>XLVII</sup>

Chemical corporations<sup>XLVIII</sup> received their return on their high-modernist investment by reaping untold profits producing these agents of toxic simplification and death. Aided and abetted by these corporations, the United States military rained poison across Vietnam for nearly 10 years until Operation Ranch Hand ended on Halloween in 1971. During that span, 100 million pounds, around 12 million gallons, of herbicides were sprayed onto jungles, mangroves, villages, and bases covering nearly six million acres.<sup>100</sup> Agent Orange was the predominant herbicide used in Vietnam, but it was far from the only herbicide that was deployed. Agents Purple, Blue, Pink, Green, White, and a second formulation of Agent Orange, Agent Orange II, were enlisted and utilized as well.<sup>101</sup> According to a report from the Institute of Medicine, “After a relatively slow buildup in military herbicide operations from 1962 to 1965, herbicide use increased rapidly during

---

<sup>XLVII</sup> This lyric is based on some of the final words of veteran Paul Reutershan, who told his mother, “I got killed in Vietnam and didn’t know it.” See: Richard Sever, “Vietnam Veteran’s Family Vows to Continue His Fight,” *The New York Times*, December 19, 1978, sec. Archives, <https://www.nytimes.com/1978/12/19/archives/vietnamveterans-family-vows-to-continue-his-fight-friends-pledge.html>; VVAW, “Agent Orange Song,” *Vietnam Veterans Against the War*, 1981, <https://www.vvaw.org/veteran/article/?id=2082%E2%80%9CAgent%20Orange%E2%80%9D%20Country%20Joe%20McDonald>.

<sup>XLVIII</sup> These include Dow, Monsanto, Hercules, Thompson-Hayward, Diamond Alkali, UniRoyal, Thompson, Aggrasit, and Hoffman-Taff. Nearly all these corporations either still exist or were subsumed by larger corporations. See: Alvin Lee Young, *The History, Use, Disposition and Environmental Fate of Agent Orange* (New York: Springer, 2009).

1966 and 1967, was relatively stable in 1968 and 1969, and then dropped sharply in 1970.” They report that 80% of all herbicides spraying during Operation Ranch Hand occurred in 1966 to 1969.<sup>102</sup> Yet, even during the early, relatively light years of spraying, over 2 million gallons of herbicides were dumped on Vietnam; and all of this is to say nothing of the hundreds of thousands if not millions of gallons of herbicides that were dumped on Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand.<sup>103</sup> Photojournalist Philip Jones Griffiths, who documented the ecological and biological aftermath of Operation Ranch Hand, asserts that estimates about the quantity and location of spraying are reflective of only what the United States military and government have admitted to, “the actual totals were probably much higher.”<sup>104</sup>

In 1965, the United States decided to not only ramp up their spraying but to also raise the stakes by implementing Project Pink Rose. The project’s inception came from the Commander in Chief, US Pacific Fleet Admiral Roy L. Johnson who recommended to the Joint Chiefs of Staff that they “develop a capability to destroy by fire large areas of forest and jungle growth in Southeast Asia.” In March of that year, B-52 bombers made runs along defoliated areas at Chu Pong Mountain and found that bombing such stretches was a potentially viable option.<sup>105</sup> Griffith writes:

What both the government and the chemical companies concealed was their acknowledgment that burning defoliated trees significantly increases the toxicity of the dioxins and causes it to be more widely dispersed through the air. Consequently, not only was the government introducing cancer-causing chemicals into the war, it increased their toxicity and distribution by burning them.<sup>106</sup>

Quantifying Operation Ranch Hand’s human impact has always been difficult. This is in no small part because the government and the chemical corporations were, and continue to be, far from upfront about the dangers of herbicides. It took years of fighting and organizing for the US Department of Veterans Affairs and the government-at-large to recognize just some of herbicides’ potential impacts. In his 2003 book, *Agent Orange: “Collateral Damage” in Viet Nam*, Griffiths says 20,000 villages<sup>XLIX</sup> were sprayed and 5,000,000 people were affected.<sup>107</sup> Two decades later, this latter number is certainly outdated and much too small. Herbicides like Agent Orange are nefarious not just because they destroy the people, animals, and environments they come in direct contact with, but also because they embed in genetics. In *Silent Spring*, Carson presciently writes, “Among the herbicides are some that are classified as ‘mutagens,’ or agents capable of modifying the genes, the materials of heredity.”<sup>108</sup> In the 60+ years since the start of Operation Ranch Hand, multiple generations of Vietnamese and American military personnel offspring have paid the price. Furthermore, while many people were like Peter and suffered practically immediately from their exposure, some folks are learning in their later years that they have not escaped Agent Orange’s scourge like they once thought. For example, Jan Barry, one of the participants in this study, and a founder of VVAW, served in Vietnam in the early days of Operation Ranch Hand. In the early

---

<sup>XLIX</sup> Shocking, considering the operation was ostensibly about destroying jungle cover.

2020s he was diagnosed with parkinsonism and other illnesses as a result of exposure to Agent Orange.<sup>109</sup>

In February 1970, the New York Times published the editorial, “. . . and a Plea to Ban ‘Ecocide.’” The author refers to Yale Biologist Arthur Galston’s proposal to “ban ‘Ecocide’ – the willful destruction of the environment.”<sup>110</sup> Both Professor Galston’s proposal and the editorial were part of increasing scrutiny of Operation Ranch Hand. That same year, Barry Weisberg compiled and released *Ecocide in Indochina* in which he and Orville Schell build on the definition of ecocide, “Ecocide is the premeditated assault of a nation and its resources against the individuals, culture, and biological fabric of another country and its environs.”<sup>111</sup> The details, intricacies, and horrendous legacy of American herbicide deployment in Vietnam can feel practically limitless and beyond comprehension. What is abundantly clear and fundamentally important to understand, however, is that it Weisberg and Schell were right: Operation Ranch Hand was ecocide.<sup>L</sup>

Operation Ranch Hand is particular to Vietnam and a few bordering countries. However, herbicides are not. Today, the same companies that supplied the United States military continue to manufacture herbicides, insecticides, and pesticides that are leveraged throughout the world, especially for modern agriculture.<sup>L1</sup> In “Beyond the Dreams of the Borgia,” Rachel Carson writes:

The contamination of our world is not alone a matter of mass spraying. Indeed, for most of us this is of less importance than the innumerable small-scale exposures to which we are subjected day by day, year after year. Like the constant dripping of water that in turn wears away the hardest stone, this birth-to-death contact with dangerous chemicals may in the end prove disastrous.

In some ways, this is Carson’s entire thesis. Our exposure and reactions may not be as acute as Peter’s or even Jan’s, but we are all affected. Carson asks:

Who has made the decision that sets in motion these chains of poisonings, this ever-widening wave of death that spreads out, like ripples when a pebble is dropped into a still pond? Who has placed in one pan of the scales the leaves that might have been eaten by the beetles and in the other the pitiful heaps of many-hued feathers, the lifeless remains of the birds that fell before the unselective bludgeon of insecticidal poisons? Who has decided – who has the *right* to decide – for the countless legions of people who were not consulted that the supreme value is a world without insects, even though it be also a sterile world ungraced by the curving wing of a bird in flight? The decision is that of the authoritarian temporarily entrusted with power; he has made it during a moment of inattention by millions to

---

<sup>L</sup> For readers interested in learning more and becoming involved, I have included a list of additional Agent Orange related resources in Appendix C.

<sup>L1</sup> In 2021, PBS released a documentary about the spraying of dioxin in Oregon. *See*: Jasper Craven, “The People vs. Agent Orange Exposes a Mass Poisoning in Plain Sight,” *The New Republic*, June 28, 2021, <https://blink.net/iframe.html>; Chuck Thompson, “New PBS Documentary Says Agent Orange Alive and Hell in Pacific Northwest,” *Columbia Insight* (blog), June 21, 2021, <https://columbiainsight.org/pbs-doc-thepeople-vs-agent-orange/>.

whom beauty and ordered world of nature still have a meaning that is deep and imperative.

In the context of Operation Rand Hand, I ask who has made the decision that sets in motion these chains of poisonings, this ever-widening wave of death that spreads out, like ripples when a pebble is dropped into a still pond? Who has placed in one pan of the scales the broadleaf, the rice, tuber, and root crops, the jackfruit, papaya, and mango<sup>112</sup> that might have been eaten by the people and fauna of Vietnam and in the other the pitiful heaps of military fatigues, the lifeless remains of American and Vietnamese veterans and their deformed offspring? Who has decided – who has the *right* to decide – for the countless legions of people who were not consulted that the supreme value is a capitalist, imperial world, even though it be also a sterile world proliferated by chemicals? The decision is that of the high-modernist, democratic Western leadership temporarily entrusted with power; he has made it during a moment of communist fear mongering and division amongst millions who have been misguided, coopted into submission, or ignored.

Without close and critical historical analysis, the United States' use of herbicides during the Vietnam War may seem like a tragic anomaly. The legacies of scientists like Dr. Schrader and Professor Kraus along with the ever-relevant revelations of *Silent Spring* make clear that it is anything but an anomaly. For the high-modernist leaders of the 1960s, it was the logical next step in progress and American domination.



- 
- <sup>80</sup> James C. Scott, "Authoritarian High Modernism," in *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 89.
- <sup>81</sup> Scott, "Authoritarian High Modernism," 89-90.
- <sup>82</sup> Scott, "Authoritarian High Modernism," 90.
- <sup>83</sup> Scott, "Authoritarian High Modernism," 88.
- <sup>84</sup> Scott, "Authoritarian High Modernism," 88.
- <sup>85</sup> Scott, "Authoritarian High Modernism," 88-89.
- <sup>86</sup> James C. Scott, "Introduction," in *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 6.
- <sup>87</sup> Scott, "Introduction," 6.
- <sup>88</sup> Scott, "Authoritarian High Modernism," 93-95.
- <sup>89</sup> Scott, "Introduction," 8.
- <sup>90</sup> Rachel Carson, "Elixirs of Death," in *Silent Spring* (New York: First Mariner Books, 1962), 16.
- <sup>91</sup> "History of Bayer: 1925-1945 | Bayer Global," accessed May 4, 2024, <https://www.bayer.com/en/history/1925-1945>; "Bayer," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, n.d., <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/bayer>.
- <sup>92</sup> Philip Jones Griffiths, *Agent Orange: "Collateral Damage" in Viet Nam* (Great Britain: Trolley Ltd., 2003), 164; Ben Quick, "Agent Orange: A Chapter from History That Just Won't End," Orion Magazine, n.d., <https://orionmagazine.org/article/agent-orange-a-chapter-from-history-that-just-wont-end/>.
- <sup>93</sup> Quick, "Agent Orange," <https://www.orionmagazine.org/article/agent-orange-a-chapter-from-history-that-just-wont-end/>; Griffiths, *Agent Orange: "Collateral Damage" in Viet Nam*, 164.
- <sup>94</sup> Griffiths, *Agent Orange: "Collateral Damage" in Viet Nam*, 164.
- <sup>95</sup> Griffiths, *Agent Orange: "Collateral Damage" in Viet Nam*, 164.
- <sup>96</sup> Barry Weisberg and Orville Schell, "Ecocide in Indochina," in *Ecocide in Indochina: The Ecology of War* (San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1970), 18.
- <sup>97</sup> Weisberg and Schell, "Ecocide in Indochina," 19.
- <sup>98</sup> Marilyn B. Young, "The War for the South Begins (1956-1962)," in *The Vietnam Wars, 1945-1990* (New York: HarperCollins, 1991), 82.
- <sup>99</sup> Weisberg and Schell, "Ecocide in Indochina," 19.

---

<sup>100</sup> Young, “The War for the South Begins (1956-1962), 82; Griffiths, *Agent Orange: “Collateral Damage” in Viet Nam*, 164; William A. Buckingham Jr., “Operation Ranch Hand: The Air Force and Herbicides in Southeast Asia, 1961-1971,” 1982, 200-201.

<sup>101</sup> “The US Military and the Herbicide Program in Vietnam,” in *Veterans and Agent Orange: Health Effects of Herbicides Used in Vietnam*, Institute of Medicine (US) Committee to Review the Health Effects in Vietnam Veterans of Exposure to Herbicides. (National Academies Press (US), 1994), <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK236347/>.

<sup>102</sup> “The U.S. Military and the Herbicide Program in Vietnam,” in *Veterans and Agent Orange: Health Effects of Herbicides Used in Vietnam*, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK236347/>.

<sup>103</sup> Griffiths, *Agent Orange: “Collateral Damage” in Viet Nam* 164; Buckingham Jr., “Operation Ranch Hand: The Air Force and Herbicides in Southeast Asia, 1961-1971.”

<sup>104</sup> Griffiths, *Agent Orange: “Collateral Damage” in Viet Nam*, 164.

<sup>105</sup> Griffiths, *Agent Orange: “Collateral Damage” in Viet Nam*, 166.

<sup>106</sup> Griffiths, *Agent Orange: “Collateral Damage” in Viet Nam*, 166.

<sup>107</sup> Griffiths, *Agent Orange: “Collateral Damage” in Viet Nam*, 4.

<sup>108</sup> Carson, “Elixirs of Death,” 36-37.

<sup>109</sup> Jan Barry, “Agent Orange’s Long, Brutal Reach Continues,” northjersey.com, October 7, 2022, <https://www.northjersey.com/story/opinion/2022/10/07/agent-oranges-long-brutal-reach-continues/69543692007/>.

<sup>110</sup> “... And a Plea to Ban ‘Ecocide,’” *The New York Times*, February 26, 1970, sec. Archives, <https://www.nytimes.com/1970/02/26/archives/and-a-plea-to-ban-ecocide.html>.

<sup>111</sup> Weisberg and Schell, “Ecocide in Indochina,” 18.

<sup>112</sup> “The U.S. Military and the Herbicide Program in Vietnam,” in *Veterans and Agent Orange: Health Effects of Herbicides Used in Vietnam*, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK236347/>.

## *7. American Insurgent Planning: Resistance & Protest*

You told me long ago what to do.  
You taught me to kill  
with a clean mind  
and a healthy body.  
You forced me to hate  
with a passion  
religious in nature  
and Catholic in scope.  
You trained me to be alone,  
to feel alone,  
separate from my brothers and sisters,  
You stole from my heart  
The love of comradeship  
you took from my bosom  
the wealth of mankind,  
and left me only hatred and fear.  
You have raped me with the words  
spewing obscenely from flat faces  
smiling at me from newspapers and televisions.  
You have seduced me  
with your lies and empty phrases,  
drained me of my humanity  
by the lusts of your false philosophies.  
Well, at last, I have words for you:  
“I’m not listening anymore.”

- Untitled and undated poem by Peter Stool

Yes my enemy, we are termites  
and shall eat away your strength from within;  
and your heart shall one day  
cease its evil beat  
and man shall reclaim his destiny.

- Untitled and undated poem by Peter Stool

At this point, I want to return to the definition of planning I introduced in Chapter 2: planning is the physical, social, and political management of change in the built environment. With this framework and the context of the preceding chapters, I can succinctly establish the Vietnam war as a project of high-modernist planning. The Vietnam War grew out of the physical demarcation and political and social division of the land along the 17<sup>th</sup> parallel, the land was managed through chemical and physical violence, and the conflicting parties fought for control of the narrative.

First, at the insistence of the French, Vietnam was put on the agenda of the Geneva Conference of 1954. The parties included representatives from the USSR and the People's Republic of China on one side, and the United States, France, and Great Britain on the other. Representatives from Laos, Cambodia, the State of Vietnam, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam were present as well. The parties agreed to the demarcation of Vietnam along the 17<sup>th</sup> parallel with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the north and the State of Vietnam in the south.<sup>113</sup> Ostensibly, the demarcation was about bringing an end to the violent conflict – it was supposed to be a temporary agreement until elections could be held. The decision was about dividing the land to increase control through legibility and simplification. This was true for both sides. The USSR and the People's Republic of China held sway amongst their allies in the north and the United States, France, and Great Britain held significant influence in the south. Out of the Geneva Conference came not only the physical division of the land, but the social and political division as well – divisions which to this day are still evident in the physical and social environment of northern and southern Vietnam, especially Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City. This division was ill-fated, in part because the US acknowledged but refused to endorse the accompanying cease-fire agreement.<sup>114</sup> As discussed in Chapter 5, the Geneva Conference and the resulting agreements, especially the failure of the United States to deliver on the promise of free and fair elections and reunification, led directly to the United States' military intervention in Vietnam.

Second, through this land division and resulting armed conflict, the land was demarcated and commodified; but not in the way of the western United States, where land was turned into individual property and then developed for production and cultivation. Instead, the land was demarcated through the Geneva Convention, and it became the spraying and battleground upon which chemical companies' and defense contractors' products were deployed resulting in huge returns on investment for these organizations.

Third, despite ultimately losing after being chased out of Saigon, the Vietnam War became another avenue through which America was able to propagate its modernist, capitalist agenda for the globe. In his Pulitzer Prize winning novel *The Sympathizer*, Viet Thanh Nguyen writes, "This was the first war where the losers would write history instead of the victors, courtesy of the most efficient propaganda machine ever created (with all due respect to Joseph Goebbels and the Nazis, who never achieved global domination)."<sup>115</sup> The war itself was modernist planning, and the modernist narratives constructed around it furthered its goals.

Vietnam Veterans Against the War and their contemporaries, in actively organizing and mobilizing against the war and the conditions that fostered it, were enacting insurgent planning. With the Vietnam War established as a high-modernist planning project, I return to my research questions.

### **I. What does analyzing war as an act of planning reveal about modernist planning?**

Analyzing war through this lens reveals that modernist planning is fundamentally an outgrowth of Eurocentric conceptions of property, ownership, and relationships to the land that undergird and reinforce white supremacy and capitalism.

### **II. What does answering this question uncover about the legacy and history of planning that is veiled by the dominant, historical, official/modernist narrative about planning?**

The historical analysis I conducted to answer this question challenges and rejects the modernist narrative of planning which says that top-down planning from the state is always righteous and knows best. Recall the epigraph from Chapter 5. Leonie Sandercock writes, “Professions (like nations) keep their shape by molding their members’ (citizens’) understanding of the past, causing them to forget those events that do not accord with a righteous image, while keeping alive those memories that do.”<sup>LII</sup> This is, of course, not about painting planning with an equally broad but negative brush. Rather, this work is about a wholesale accounting and reckoning with power and legacy of top-down, modernist planning, as well as the power and potential of insurgent, bottom-up planning.

### **III. Do veteran-led anti-war movements, particularly Vietnam Veterans Against the War, enact Insurgent Planning?**

Yes, as shown by my qualitative analysis of the participant interview transcripts, veteran-led anti-war movements, as exemplified by VVAW, do practice insurgent planning. In my qualitative coding and analysis, I relied on existing scholarship from Leonie Sandercock as well as Ananya Roy,<sup>LII</sup> Efadul Huq,<sup>LIII</sup> Faranak Miraftab,<sup>LIV</sup> and Simin Davoudi<sup>LV</sup> to establish a framework to identify and categorize insurgent planning practices as expressed by the participants.

---

<sup>LII</sup> Ananya Roy, “The Grassroots of Planning: Poor People’s Movements, Political Society, and the Question of Rights,” in *The Routledge Handbook of Planning Theory* (Routledge, 2017); Ananya Roy, “Informality and the Politics of Planning,” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Planning Theory* (Routledge, 2010); Ananya Roy, “Strangely Familiar: Planning and the Worlds of Insurgence and Informality,” *Planning Theory* 8, no. 1 (2009): 7–11, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1473095208099294>.

<sup>LIII</sup> Efadul Huq, “Seeing the Insurgent in Transformative Planning Practices,” *Planning Theory* 19, no. 4 (November 1, 2020): 371–91, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1473095219901290>.

<sup>LIV</sup> Faranak Miraftab, “Insurgent Planning: Situating Radical Planning in the Global South,” *Planning Theory* 8, no. 1 (February 1, 2009): 32–50, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1473095208099297>.

<sup>LV</sup> Simin Davoudi, “Prefigurative Planning: Performing Concrete Utopias in the Here and Now,” *European Planning Studies* 31, no. 11 (November 2, 2023): 2277–90, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09654313.2023.2217853>.

Davoudi writes about prefigurative planning, which she says has three primary components: the negation of implicit assumptions and the conditions of reality that are accepted as a given, the active imagining of an alternate and better, in other words, more just, equitable, and sustainable, world, and the active enactment of the steps required to bring the alternate and better world to fruition. Insurgent planning is a form of prefigurative planning:

1. Insurgent planners challenge (and reject) implicit assumptions and normative ontologies;
  - a. they are radical and work to uproot business as usual;
  - b. they are counter-hegemonic, transgressive, and subversive.
2. Insurgent planners imagine possible alternate futures;
  - a. they plan from below, historically emerging from the Global South and marginalized populations;
  - b. they are responsive to crises and injustice.
3. Insurgent planners enact alternate futures through contemporary, place-based practice;
  - a. they employ collective action;
  - b. they are imaginative in their practice.

I used the prefigurative and insurgent frameworks of negation, imaginative, and enactment to constructively code the transcripts and identify the concrete and specific ways the participants enacted insurgent planning. Here, I include two charts which detail my constructivist and normative codebooks with examples and supporting analysis.

First, is the constructivist codebook, which, as discussed in the Methods section of Chapter 3, I used to identify the deeper meaning of participants' testimony. The chart includes examples of testimony I identified as exhibiting negation, imagination, and enactment, as well as analysis explaining my reasoning. To clarify, these three prongs are iterative. For the participants to have enacted insurgent planning, they had to first negate implicit assumptions and then imagine possible futures. Likewise, for participants to imagine an alternate future, they had to first negate implicit assumptions. So, testimony coded as imaginative also implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) negates assumptions. Testimony coded as enactment also implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) negates assumptions and is based on imagined alternate futures. Moreover, the entire process is iterative of itself. Once one negates, imagines, and enacts, they are more equipped to critically analyze the world and systems around them, which leads to future negation, imagination, and enactment.

## Constructivist Codebook

Constructivist Codebook		
Code	Example	Analysis
Negation	<p>What kind of a thing is that? You're fighting with someone, and then you're hiring them to do kitchen work because we can't do our own kitchen work. Something was like. . . and then when they came in, they knew where everything was because they were just there in the kitchen. – <b>Brenda Valentino</b></p>	<p>Brenda, Peter's sister, is recounting a story he shared about the disturbing dynamics at Long Binh. The same local Vietnamese folks the army hired to work at the base, were part of the forces they were fighting against. Peter recognized this contradiction, and the military's inability to address even this small issue. For him, it was a symptom of the military's impotency.</p>
	<p>From the very beginning, the amount of gravitas that a veteran led anti-war situation or effort brings to the table. There's so much more gravitas. These are people who are speaking from experience and it's real clear that speaking from experience in my case, I'm speaking from the experience of treating all these crazy people who came home with all these crazy things. . . But anyway, but, but guys who have been in combat, it's hard to argue. You know, people try, I mean, look at Trump, you know, he tries but there is still something about being there, you know, being able to say I was there, and this is how it happened. Yeah, it's truly the. . . I think it was one of the things that ended the war. I really believe that it was one of the strongest things that ended the war. . . I think that the gravitas and the experience level that people brought. It's real hard to argue with somebody who's against the war they just fought in. And that also proved true with the, um [Iraq Veterans Against the War] in Iraq, the Afghan vets and the vets from more current conflicts. – <b>Ann Hirschman</b></p>	<p>Ann argues that the veterans' experience lent them credibility in their fight against the Vietnam War. In their time in Vietnam and the military, they had first-hand experience of the faulty implicit assumptions being made by the country, the government, and the military itself. This argument buttresses the import of the veterans' acts of negation.</p>

The rest of this page is intentionally left blank

<p>I arrived just before Christmas on a commercial airliner wearing civilian clothes. Or maybe, maybe it was the, the lightweight summer uniform, one of one or the other one. Once we were in Vietnam, we were told we should wear civilian clothes when we weren't on duty to go into the, into Saigon or into any town. And the first night I'm . . . in the chow line and there's these couple of guys in front of me who were. . . joking about how they just attacked a village with Napalm and created some more Viet Cong and they're laughing. That was my introduction to we're just there having fun killing people. And that's what it continued to just, you know, in various kinds of ways people were having fun killing people and not really feeling they were under any a threat to themselves. . .</p> <p>And then I had a whole new revelation in terms of, um, I don't know if this is what I want to do for the rest of my life. [At West Point,] one of . . . the training sergeants told the incoming cadets that they better pay attention because when they graduated, which would be four years later, they'd be leading platoons in combat in Vietnam. And I thought that's one hell of a war that's like the length of World War II. That's not what was going on right now. So they're going to expand this thing into some enormous war. Meanwhile, this, this is the summer of 1964. Lyndon Johnson is running for president, um basically to be re-elected and he's telling the public he doesn't want to expand the war in, in Southeast Asia. So if somebody's lying and I didn't think that the army was lying to its own troops, although that would become clear later on that sometimes they do lie to their own troops. But in that particular circumstance, it seemed quite clear, that's what was going to take place. Oh, goodness. Next thing that bothered me was the West Point cadets are all told they cannot lie, cheat, or steal. And, um, we're also told that hazing had now been prohibited after 100 and whatever number of years of gross, you know, treatment of each other. And of course, something like that was still continuing. So, one of the other people who came in from that program that I was in, who was the most honest person I ever knew, reported that he was being hazed and he was thrown out and one of the upper-class men came to me in a morning formation and whispered, "I'm sorry about your friend." Well, why didn't he say something if he knew that he was, had been railroaded out? That was my introduction to the fact that these people are so full of hypocrisy. . . they're not to be trusted. – <b>Jan Barry</b></p>	<p>Jan is sharing one of his first experiences in Vietnam where the glib conversation around the senseless violence woke him to the reality of the situation. It was the first time he began to negate the internal implicit assumptions he had joined the military and arrived in Vietnam with.</p> <p>Jan also talks about his experience at West Point, after returning from Vietnam. Despite what the official discourse was about the war, the way the military leadership was talking and acting, it was clear that there were plans for a broader war. Moreover, his experience with the dishonesty of other cadets opened his eyes further to the reality of the military, despite what he had believed before. It was something he did not want to be a part of because it was not the honorable mission it was made out to be.</p>
<p>I think the major change was to understand my miscalculation that I thought that my principled stance as a C[onscientious] O[bjector] would somehow keep me morally, ethically cleaned. You</p>	<p>Once in Vietnam, Basil realized that being a conscientious objector was largely a myth. While he might not carry a gun, he was still participating in and furthering the modernist mission of the</p>



	<p>know my refusal to bear arms against the Vietnamese. That was naïve and just kind of stupid. The truth of the matter was, I was just like every other soldier, except that I refused to carry a weapon and go on guard duty. . . – <b>Basil T. Paquet</b></p>	<p>government and military. This was a major negation that further radicalized Basil.</p>
<b>Imaginative</b>	<p>I got involved in organizing Vietnam Veterans Against the War because I saw an advertisement in the New York Times Book Review that some organization called Vietnam Veteran Veterans for Peace in Vietnam was going to join a peace demonstration at Central Park. Um, and it had a clever thing about, yeah, we, we'll pursue peace with North Vietnam when they stop bombing America. I thought, well, that's exactly right. [It] was to get you to think about, wait a minute, they're not bombing us. So, why wouldn't we have peace with them? I thought, I got to find these people. – <b>Jan Barry</b></p>	<p>Jan is describing the subversive and creative framing of the initial VVAW gathering in which they called out the reality of who was attacking and bombing who. It spurred him to think more deeply and get involved – he became one of the main founders and organizers in VVAW.</p>

The rest of this page is intentionally left blank

	<p>I mean, to me, it's like critically important that we weave these issues together. I know, um, Veterans for Peace, for example, has a brochure and they've had forums about a webinar or whatever about the connection between militarism and the environment and between wars, and you know, wars over fossil fuels, and military spending in the environment and, it's really important that we find ways to connect these issues. And I think that's happening. I mean, all demonstrations I'm going to, in the last several months, I'm seeing people from each of the movements from environmental movement, from the anti-war movement. And I, and from the you know, civil rights movement. And I think that's absolutely what, what we need to, to connect the movements together. . .</p> <p>And so our job, our job as a movement is to expose what's going on, to educate people about what's about what's going on and, and to get people into action and, and it is happening. And so I guess I was brought up to like, never let this get you down. I mean, I, I listen to democracy now reports in the morning and I sob and I, and I text my friend or call my friend. She's also listening and other friends also and, you know, I sob but I, as I, as I'm listening, I make a, I, I take notes so I can tell other people, I make a list of what I'm going to do during the day since I'm retired. And I have that choice and I, and I spend my time doing between environmental organizing and, and the anti-war work. And so I just, I just feel like we have to have hope, we have to have hope we have to, we have to, we can't get so down about these horrors that we can't organize. – <b>Paula Rogovin</b></p>	<p>Paula, Jan's partner and a lifelong activist, describes how she spends her days educating herself on what is going on around the world. She acknowledges that it is easy to be cynical, but it is critical to maintain hope and focus. So, she brainstorms ways to stay involved, create partnerships among various movements and groups, and imagine alternate futures and ways to create them. This is also enactment.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Enactment</b></p>	<p>Well, historically, I think that many of us learned politics as a result of being involved in the GI movement, and I've seen this play out in my own life, and I've seen it play out in the lives of others who came of age during that particular time. Whatever I do politically is done within the context of my memory of the Vietnam War. Once you figure out how power can operate in this country, you're vigilant. And you're not so trusting as you might have been. So, I think much of that worked its way into the gay liberation movement. There were many Vietnam vets involved in the gay liberation movement as well as in the AIDs act up. We've met, there were vets everywhere involved in that. And I think that, that also had, I'm fairly certain, at impact on the black civil rights movement. Because the black guys had any number of reasons to be pissed off, and to make use of what they learned in Vietnam back here in terms of organizing and coming up with propaganda focusing on race. So I think there's probably connection there. – <b>Harry Haines</b></p>	<p>Harry is describing the way he was politicized within the soldier/veteran-led anti-war movement, and how that informs his work in other spaces, including the gay liberation movement. This also underscores how the enactment of insurgent planning extends beyond the “here and now.” In other words, it is also about changing systems so that the same harms are not repeated across time and space. For Harry, he enacted his negation and imaginative vision for an alternate future by being involved in several protest movements.</p>

	<p>And [Bill Hanlon] became our, he was actually a draft counselor. There used to be courses you could take to become a draft counselor just to, you know, you couldn't tell people avoid the draft you know you. But you could say, well, there's this opportunity. There's that opportunity and you know you could declare yourself a conscientious objector if that was true. And this is what that would mean. And you know, just to, because you know, the draft board didn't want you to think you had any, you know, options except to do what they said. But anyway, Bill Hanlon was a very, I know, he passed away. He was a great, great guy. Peter was very close to him. – <b>Matt Stool</b></p>	<p>Matthew, Peter's brother, is describing the way the veteran-led anti-war movement went beyond protest. They also subverted the system by helping people avoid the draft in a "legitimate" way that would not get them in trouble (as opposed to going to Canada, for example).</p>
	<p>Ok, so the first time I got arrested I called home, other people weren't calling home. It was the sixties. Most people had very conventional parents and getting arrested was, oh my God, you're killing your mother. You're disowned, blah, blah, blah. I get on the phone the first time I'm arrested. I call my mother. I go mom, I've been arrested. First words out of my mother's mouth. "I am so jealous." Not kidding. My grandmother had an arrest record for teaching women how to do birth control before it was legal. I now have an arrest record and my poor little, tiny mother, all four feet eight inches of her had never been able to get arrested. Lord knows she tried. So, so that was my family's kind of original thing. Now as to how they felt about me working with VVAW. Ok. So VVAW would have rap groups and meetings at the New York office and occasionally people would get a little flashback and think they were in Danang. And it's a really bad public health move and I'm a very public health minded person, very bad public health move to put somebody on a subway to try and find the Bronx when they think they're in Vietnam. It might not go well, especially since they were usually armed like to the teeth uh, because of PTSD. So sending them on the subway was out and the nearest apartment happened to be mine and I had enough room for people to sleep in my living room. And why is this germane to the question? Well, usually in the morning, my mother would call me because I worked weird hours. I'm a nurse. And if there was somebody sleeping in my living room, like a veteran or two or three, they would reflexively pick up my telephone, which was in my living room. I was a little off and they would meet my chirpy little mother. Now, most of the vets were raised in very conventional households. There was a large group called the Mother Cabrini Brigade who had all been Catholic. So real conventionally raised people, I'm not conventionally raised. So there's my little chirpy mother on the phone and some guy picks up in my apartment. And not only does she not get upset, what they hear as they pick</p>	<p>This is a long excerpt from Ann, a renowned street medic and VVAW board member. It is important to include it its entirety. She describes the way VVAW worked through collective action (<i>i.e.</i>, in support of each other and relying on family).</p> <p>The action against a neo-Nazi group in Florida shows how VVAW enacted their vision for a better world beyond their focus on the Vietnam War.</p>

up the phone is, "Hi, this is Ann's mom. Are you a lover, veteran? Anyway, is she home?" And inevitably they would drop the phone and I would have to go out and pick up the phone and go, "Mom. Could you stop doing, um, shock therapy on my vets?" And I would have to, and the vets are going, "It's her mother, they're gonna come kill us." And I'm like, no, they're not. I said as a matter of fact, having talked to my mother, you are now obligated to come with me, and we will run off to Staten Island and my dad will cook you breakfast. And that's how my parents felt about VVAW they figured they'd be in my apartment and that they'd be hungry and that we should come for breakfast. So there you go. That's my family . . .

Oh, so the most fun VVAW action in '72 was the Nazis. The Nazis were, were fun. Um, well, they weren't fun, but so we were in South Beach and at the time, there was a park in South Beach that was surrounded by a neighborhood of mostly Northeastern transplants, many of whom were Jewish and all of whom were retirees. So a bunch of these people had actually been Holocaust survivors. And as we were demonstrating, you know, as we were setting up the campgrounds on this, in this park one afternoon, 50 jackbooted Nazis marched in, in uniform chanting Nazi chants and Sieg Heil march through this mostly Jewish neighborhood and people freaked out. They freaked out partly because they had been told for weeks that these, it's crazy people who are gonna be um camping in their neighborhood and that they should board up their windows and not talk to us, especially the veterans who were really dangerous. So they were predisposed to be terrified of us. And now there's Nazis in their neighborhood and they're even more terrified. And we took this simple expedient of assigning four vets to each Nazi. Well, first the Nazis walked in, veterans were on the stage, um, you know, inciting people to demonstrate. And, uh, one of the Nazis picked up a wooden folding chair and hit the veteran that was speaking. He took three stitches to his eyebrow. My friend, Danny picked up the same chair and hit the Nazi with it and the chair exploded. I mean, like, you know, theatrically the Nazi took 57 stitches and then we took, we put four vets to each Nazi. So one to each limb and we decided that we would march them to the police station. And people said, well, what are we gonna do with them there? I said, oh, that's easy. Florida has a law that says if you're suicidal, you should go to a hospital for at least three days involuntarily. And I determined that any 50 jackbooted crazy people who wanted to take on 1,200 combat trained veterans, were probably suicidal. So I made that argument to the police, and

	<p>they carted them all away and put them somewhere and we never saw them again. And when we got back . . ., there were these sweet little old Jewish people saying. . ., “What happened? And you took the Nazis?” And we said, yeah, and we then had enough chicken soup to feed us for 10,000 years. And the next day one of the guys came up to me and he said. . ., “So what would they like if you could want to come in, we could use the bathroom. They were our best friends, right. And, but what do they like?” So I told this man they liked beer. Fortunately, he knew people who were beer distributors. It was the only time we had enough beer in our entire history. I'm just saying. So that's VVAW and the Nazis in Miami.</p> <p>– <b>Ann Hirschman</b></p>	
	<p>I don't care what people think of me, the secret service and the FBI already have everything I owned tapped. You know, I, Dick Gregory said it best in Chicago in '68. And he said, somebody asked him,, “Well, you know, well, what do you think? You know? Do you think your phone's tapped?” He said, “Well, I haven't paid my bill in two years and it's still working. So. Yep. I think that's probably tapped.”</p> <p>– <b>Ann Hirschman</b></p>	<p>Ann’s testimony here underscores the radical nature of VVAW and insurgent planning. They were acting in direct opposition and transgression of the government, and that did not go unnoticed. It came with consequences which, according to Ann, were more than worth the price.</p>

The rest of this page is intentionally left blank

Second, is the normative codebook. As discussed in the Methods section of Chapter 3, these codes are more straightforward than the constructivist codes. Therefore, I did not include an analysis column. These are buckets that helped me categorize participants' testimony and identify trends.

### Normative Codebook

Normative Codebook	
Code	Example
Agent Orange, Herbicides, Chemical Warfare	<p><b>First Awareness</b></p> <p>Oh, boy. I didn't know anything about Agent Orange in Vietnam, not a thing. And I flew around quite a bit. I hopped flights flew around in choppers quite a bit. and I was reading it, you know, just like just about every other guy in in Vietnam Bay was, you know, there's the ocean side right, and the bay, and then on the land side. It's all jungle. Well, what they did was push the jungle all the way back. So we were all breathing Agent Orange. I didn't learn about Agent Orange until the 1980s. When the first reports started coming out. And all these weird health issues began to develop. I myself. . . I'm receiving Agent Orange compensation I came down with cancer. And luckily I beat it and it, and it's assumed . . . that prostate cancer among Vietnam vets is caused by exposure to Agent Orange. Another thing that really pissed me off. – <b>Harry Haines</b></p>
	<p><b>Experience</b></p> <p>I was, I was aware of it. Yes. Yes, I did not work in an area that was where it was used. I was out in the middle of nowhere. And, I did fly over an area that had been, um, previous done and the guy, I was in a helicopter, the guy tapped my shoulder, and he pointed down and I looked down, I don't know, it looked like my mother's, uh, vegetable garden when, when the frost got it or something. It was just one area that maybe a couple of acres, maybe it just looked like someone put their thumb down and just, yeah. – <b>Dayl Wise</b></p>
	<p><b>Purpose</b></p> <p>Well. you know there's been chemical warfare, you know, in medieval warfare. They used to use catapults to vault dead bodies of people who have died of plague into castles or fortifications that they were besieging. So there's been, you know there's the British general, Lord Jeffrey Amherst, who Amherst University is [named after], who distributed I think it was smallpox or typhus exposed blankets to Native Americans and you know, mustard gas and all of the shit that was used in World War I. And so oh, it's insidious, I mean war is just nothing but fucking murder. And it's startling to me and depressing to think that people can be so willing to commit to that. And you have businesses that they know that that's going to happen. . . And then they can make something that will kill people faster and in greater numbers. And then that's and that's their business. And then they get into it. And they, you know, right now we're really living, we're living it just a fucking mess, and in in the Middle East it's every time one of those drones goes off, or those bombs drop, or planes take off from aircraft carriers every round that's fired. It's just like a cash register. You're ringing for some American company. and they don't want that to stop. – <b>Walt Nygard</b></p>
Background	<p><b>Home Life &amp; Politics</b></p> <p>I grew up in Connecticut about an hour outside of New York City. And, you know, sort of typical suburban, liberal Democrat household parents pretty much involved in politics, local politics primarily, but also national politics. In, in terms of, you know, working for candidates and that that sort of thing. I spent a lot of time stuffing envelopes on behalf of various candidates. And I went to public school and when I was in seventh grade, this is during the Vietnam War, I started volunteering at a place. There was a bookstore that sort of fancied itself also a kind of peace center. It's called the World Affairs Center, it was in Westport, Connecticut, and they did a lot of organizing around anti-war activities. So I started doing that very early, and continue doing that, you know, until the war was over. And you know I was pretty much involved in politics, in various kinds of activism then, and probably less so when I got to college, But the war, because it was sort of at this really crucial part of my childhood loomed very large, and I also had an older brother who was, you know, potentially either going to get drafted or go to Canada. So that was always on the table. – <b>Sue Halpern</b></p>

	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Intros</b></p>	<p>Yes, my name is Basil T. Paquet. I put the T in there because my father was a Basil B. Paquet. . . My dad was a marine during World War II. So Basil T. Paquet, and I live in Palmetto Bay, Florida. I was born and raised in Connecticut, born in Hartford, Connecticut, and raised in East Hartford. [I] was drafted into the military in, now I'm going to screw up the dates, 1966, I think it was, and served in Vietnam in 1968 and '69. – <b>Basil T. Paquet</b></p>
	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Military Family</b></p>	<p>Yeah. My father was in the Navy. His brother was in World War II. His brother was also in the Navy. My mother's brother was in the Navy and was killed, uh, in a battle in the Philippines. And, um, for whatever reason I wanted to go in the army. – <b>Jan Barry</b></p> <p>And my dad was a World War II, was in the, in World War II. He was, uh, stationed in, in England where they were taking care of soldiers who'd had eye injuries because my dad was an optometrist. Um, and, um, my youngest son, uh, became a marine and served in Iraq. – <b>Paula Rogovin</b></p>
	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Military Motivation</b></p>	<p>I was born in western Pennsylvania, as an infant, moved to Central Pennsylvania. When I was seven we moved to Perkasio, Pennsylvania in Upper Bucks County, about 30 miles north of Philadelphia. My father was a protestant minister and so he was moving from church to church. Although I guess he liked Perkasio because we came there in 1955 and my parents are both buried there. They stayed there for the rest of their lives. Small town. And my, I said my father was a minister, a very prominent figure in a small town, um very white, very Republican. I think my father and mother were both quietly Roosevelt Democrats, but they didn't talk much about politics. I was the third of four boys. I went to a public high school. I don't know anybody who went to private school from that area. And you know, very, very traditional small-town America. I grew up in the Cold War. I remember standing out in the street uh watching this little white go across the sky every 90 minutes, which was Sputnik. 1957, holy God, the Russians can nuke us now. So I grew up in the middle of all of that. And, um, but, you know, believed that, uh the Russians were out to uh take over the world and America was the finest nation that ever existed. And it was our job to protect the world and our mothers and our refrigerators. Um I would have to describe myself as a, as a kind of those days a Kennedy liberal in that I was all for progressive civil rights, which turns out Kennedy was a little meh on and, but very hawkish on international foreign affairs. And, um I actually campaigned when I was 15 years old for Barry Goldwater because I thought Lyndon Johnson was too soft on the communists. Um, and when, uh Lyndon Johnson said, if we do not stop the communists in Vietnam, we will have to fight them on the sands of Waikiki. That sounded serious to me. And of course, having grown up with, uh, the, the, my first memory of television was watching the Soviet tanks in the streets of Budapest crushing the Hungarian revolt and of course the Berlin Wall and the Cuban missile crisis and, you know, the Soviet Union looked like a serious threat. I had a great deal to learn about the world I lived in. But at that point I didn't know. So I also had these two older brothers who'd done everything I'd done before I ever got there. Well, I could join the Marines. They were both in college. Um, so I was going to do something that my brothers hadn't done. I was going to get that gorgeous, gorgeous marine corps dress, blue uniform. I was going to be a man. No one would ever beat me up again and I would save the world and my mother from communism. – <b>Bill Ehrhart</b></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Contemporary Conflicts &amp; Issues</b></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Related to Vietnam</b></p>	<p>I think a lot of what happened in Iraq that sort of has haunting memories. the beginning of the engagement in Afghanistan. Not at all. By the time we left Afghanistan. Yes. The kind of shadow war activities that take place in Somalia or Sudan. The fact that there's no Congressional oversight. The fact that the Administration engages in wars, in policing activities without any agreement or passage of laws by Congress is deeply troubling at the same time. Going back to something like you know what happened in Bosnia and Herzegovina under Clinton. Clearly there was not going to be any Congressional action, and I think that the motives in the execution of US and UN troops there was, in fact, a good and helpful thing. But all of these things are fraught with the problems of policing actions by major Western democracies and how problematic all of that can be. I saw today that some judge in Kenya had decided that Kenyan troops could not be used in Haiti. Every time, historically, we've ever sent anybody to Haiti it's been a major colossal fuck up of one kind or another, but Haiti needs help. Haiti is our neighbor. They are our brothers and</p>

		<p>sisters. What are we doing? They're doing a freaking thing that is substantially, substantively helpful. How do we do that where it's not involving Americans who will fall into the usual traps of occupying troops. I don't know. I'm not smart enough to have the answers to all of that, but I know that sending troops in is probably not right. At the same time they badly need to control the gangs, and what's occurring, or no civilian government has a chance of helping out the people of Haiti. . .</p> <p>Yes. [From my experience in Vietnam] I understand the way that any occurrences in the world can be misrepresented. That there could be falsification of the government in terms of the way it's reported. There can be disinformation, you know, there's a large number of governments in the world right now that are actively engaged in efforts of disinformation. Russia, China, others. . . I think the United States has actually gotten better in some of those regards around disinformation, but whole parts of our society that are non-governmental, but are political, are totally dedicated to disinformation. And I mean, just take a look at Fox News. The majority of consumers of information in the United States get information from and about and by Fox News. So it's impacted me in terms of wanting to make sure that I read wide enough and broadly enough. Not suck it in by single source. And leery about how active and how real campaigns of disinformation are. And disinformation in Vietnam was rampant, was real, was active, was programmatic. I mean, I remember we would have whatever the, and the US Army station was in Saigon. I don't know if it was called US Army Radio or what the hell or Radio Saigon, or what it was called. But I remember a day where I was taking care of a set of about, I don't know, 10 or a dozen wounded guys coming in off of a dust off. And that battle that they were coming from was literally being reported live on the radio at the time. And the numbers of body count of Viet Cong were falsified. And the number of American wounded and dead was falsified. How do I know? Because I was taking care of the wounded and the dead out of that battle. So whoever who was, whoever was feeding that information to the radio was actively trying to misrepresent what was going on. They would have also been doing that to whatever journalists and stringers were there from the Times or the Los Angeles. The New York Times, Los Angeles Times, Chicago Tribune, etc. So that is, that's not a new story. – <b>Basil T. Paquet</b></p>
	<b>Local Issues</b>	<p>I went to another demonstration with her around the same time because they were trying to build an incinerator in Newark. And that is another, that's something, a better example of the kind of local issue that has its roots in the, you know, national issues like, okay, so we have a problem. We have all this garbage as a country. What do we do with it? Okay, incineration is a good thing. But oh, let's stick it in, you know a poor area where people, you know, look, you know, poor people will suffer from the pollution caused by this. So that's one of the issues. – <b>Randi Metsch-Ampel</b></p>
<b>Military</b>	<b>Draft Reaction</b>	<p>Anger, intense anger. The chip is still on my shoulder because legitimately I never should have been drafted. So yeah. So this gay consciousness thing plays into this, and I hope never to give up that that level of anger. And also, quite frankly, I you know I was scared, you know, everybody was being drafted, because, you know, we had no idea what our fate would be. As it turned out, they made me an army broadcaster. – <b>Harry Haines</b></p>



	<b>Evolving Feelings</b>	Only Kenny and that's still a tough one. Yeah, he was shot in the throat I think about the second week that he was in Vietnam. They made him. They put him on point. You know, the guy who is in front of the squad, and before he was ready for that. . . Kenny was a big guy, big, muscular dude and a Vietnamese South Vietnamese ARVN saved his life and carried him to medical help and then forever more Kenny had serious health issues, post-traumatic stress, and we lost him. He died from all kinds of complications. And that continues to be a very tough one for my family, and it radicalized my mom when Kenny was shot. That is when my mother became anti-war at that point. – <b>Harry Haines</b>
	<b>Location(s)</b>	I was assigned in terms of my papers to go to the Ninth Infantry Division. and when I got in country there's a sorting out process. And I was taken out of my assignment at the Ninth Infantry Division as a combat medic and reassigned to the 24th Evacuation Hospital. I asked why this was occurring and the, I didn't believe he was an officer, I think, was just a clerk. I'm not sure what his rank would have been, [he] said, "We don't take people with an education like yours and waste them as a combat medic. You'd be too valuable." And we were. "We're assigning you to the 24th evac." 24th evac was the main neurosurgical unit in the entire southern half of Vietnam, South Vietnam, and probably the most sophisticated and advanced in all of Vietnam. So all head cases and spinal cases would have gone to the 24th. . . it was the main neurosurgical unit in all of Vietnam. . . it was in the base that later became probably the largest base in Vietnam, a base called Long Binh, which I think may have been where your you said your uncle was. – <b>Basil T. Paquet</b>
	<b>Rank</b>	Yeah. Yeah, you start off usually in the army as a private and private first class and then the next rank, which is called E 4, could either be corporal or specialist. And um I was a cadet at West Point which is not quite in the same sequence as, as the regular army ranks. It has more prestige. – <b>Jan Barry</b>
	<b>Responsibilities &amp; Duties</b>	I hadn't bargained on this, but I had been trained in infantry radios and they assigned me to an aviation unit and I, I meet the guy who I'm replacing, and he basically gives me like one or two days of orientation and he's "Bye, I'm out of here." I had to learn what they call on the job training, looking through various manuals and asking people questions and flying all over the place to get spare parts. Um, and, um, I was like a young sponge. I'm listening to what everybody has to say. Some of the oldest sergeant had been a sergeant, had been a World War II and, or Korea. Um, they generally thought that the whole thing was bizarre that we had no military mission. – <b>Jan Barry</b>
<b>Misc. Info</b>	<b>Participant Suggestions</b>	I think the main person to talk to would be Matthew because, you know, he was best friends with Peter. Peter even said that in his diary. And, you know, Matthew was almost, he narrowly escaped being drafted, so I'm sure the way he was watching what Peter went through, you know, I'm sure he was watching quite closely. He's very smart. And any of the, I wish you could talk to Carol actually, although I think you have in the past before she passed. But Debra too, and you know it would be interesting to get grandma's perspective. She comes from a different political, political perspective so that would be really interesting. – <b>Randi Metsch-Ampel</b>
	<b>Other</b>	I, I don't remember this letter, but I unfortunately, it's not dated. I, and I felt it *inaudible* for whatever reason, which I can't remember, he called me Reba. R – E – B – A. And I called him. . . Bean. B – E – A – N. . . We used to have this thing. Oh, my God! We used to have this thing where we used to talk backwards like the word we used to make the word. So I used to, instead of calling him Bean, I would call him Neab. And sometimes talking sentences backwards. Like I, I can remember like, like. . .you know. Og ot. . . wait what was it? Og ot eht erots. Go to the store. – <b>Matthew Stool</b>

The rest of this page is intentionally left blank

<b>Peter</b>	<b>Family's Evolution</b>	I remember being in my I think it was Seventh grade class, and at the time I don't think people were so against the war at that point. And I remember saying something, you know, to the class and getting a, you know, like that I was anti-war, and then saying, "Well, my brother is over there," and I was very worried. I remember. And I remember when he came back, and we went to the airport. This is going off topic a little, but. . . my father used to, he had all these sayings, you know, and my mother said to him. . . , "When you see him, don't tell him he looks like a million-dollar certified check." – <b>Debra Vogel</b>
	<b>Memories &amp; Stories*</b>	Well, I mean it was, you know, he, he truly hated the army. You know. He once, I couldn't find it. I looked for it, and I couldn't find it, but he once wrote me a letter from Vietnam. I think when I was grad, because I graduated high school in '68, and I think he, he wrote me this letter about you know what I was going to do, you know, in between high school and college, and he wrote me this. He said, get a job. Don't fight with mommy and daddy, even though he fought with my father all the time. Don't fight with mommy and daddy. Get a job. Stay out of the army at all costs. And of course the last thing on the list of about 10 things was, don't take advice. – <b>Matthew Stool</b>
<b>Planning</b>		Well, you know we were engaged. We came into Vietnam. having been very successful in a ground war and an air war in World War II. And so that's kind of how our troops were trained. And then they get to this hot, sticky country with lots of jungles and a fighting force that they're against that is much more wily than they were and understood or had their own sort of understanding of how you prosecute a war which did not square at all with how we thought about, you know wars. and so, and part of the issue was that there were a lot of, because there were a lot of jungles and a lot of overgrowth, and you know it gave the enemy, as it were, an advantage over our troops. And so, so the answer to the question of like, how do you? How do you fight a war when your enemy is sneaking around in these forests that they understand because they grew up there? Versus, you know, our, you know, woe begotten, you know, kids from New Jersey. The way you deal with it is, you just get rid of the forest you get rid of, you know, cover. And the way you do that is, you drop lots and lots of chemicals, or you burn them. You know you either get rid of them. But the goal is the same which is just to make it really hard to fight a guerrilla war in a place that you don't understand and so they just razed as much as they could whether it was through, you know, carpet bombing, or napalm or fires, or you know, herbicides. It was. It was an active part of their mission which was to root out the Viet Cong, and the way to do that was to get rid of their hiding places. – <b>Sue Halpern</b>
<b>Veteran Life, VVAW, Etc.</b>	<b>Distinction(s) Between Veteran- and Civilian- Led</b>	Yeah. So I mean, I think that in some ways that's a lot more powerful from the standpoint. I mean, Peter was a veteran, not by choice, but like just say, like in the Iraq, most recent Iraq War, people volunteered and then sometimes, you know, came home and were like this isn't right. And I think that that's the power of veteran-led is that they had the experience of actually serving and saying, this is not right. You know whether it was by choice or not, to me that is kind of different than, you know, someone who maybe doesn't approve of the policy, or you know, of the war. But all the more so someone who actually served in the war. – <b>Rebekah Harris</b>
	<b>Experiences Returning from Vietnam</b>	Well, I came home different from most people because I came home on a stretcher. I've been, uh, it's funny in this past two years being in a facilitating writing group. I also participated in writing myself and I started writing about this, you know, and, uh, it's interesting what jogs the memory because I think I pushed it so far that it was, and all of a sudden I, I get a prompt and all of a sudden the stuff starts flowing out in which I remember going in and out of consciousness. Well, after, after I got wounded and they picked me up a helicopter at night, I fainted. And I, I remember the, uh they were firing at the helicopter, and I could hear the uh AK rounds hitting the side of the helicopter. We flew, uh I, I guess I was, was in shock and then I, he came in as the helicopter was coming in. There was these lights and uh um but still is night and they brought me into a um receiving area. Uh And I remember I was struggling and this woman nurse with a big round face, put her hand on my chest and then the next thing I know is morning. But um yeah, I, I remember it very, just very vividly as if it was like yesterday now and um and writing about it really helps. – <b>Dayl Wise</b>

	<b>Other Social Movements*</b>	Well, to be perfectly honest with you, I never really, I never really cared what group was in charge, or what even what group of people were in charge. If the word went out that an anti-war demonstration was going to occur I would show up, and sometimes it would be VVAW. Sometimes it would be Veterans for Peace. Sometimes it would be kind of like an ad hoc group that was seemingly put together on the fly for a particular place, particular time. So I was one of those people. And I think I was typical. Really, I was one of those people who were not aware of the organizational structure, but I could always be depended upon to show up. – <b>Harry Haines</b>
	<b>Other Veteran-Led Orgs*</b>	I have no problem with it but just for, you know, full disclosure, um, when I first got out of, uh, the military, I, I was not involved in the, uh, unorganized, um, anti-war movement. It wasn't until, uh, just prior to the Gulf War in 1990 that I became involved, um, with VVAW and Veterans for Peace. – <b>Dayl Wise</b>
	<b>Returning to Vietnam</b>	I've been back three times. I went back in 1985 when there were not many Americans. I think that year there were fewer than 400 Americans who went to Vietnam and that was the 10th anniversary. So most of those Americans were news people who went back to see how the Vietnamese were celebrating their anniversary. I went back with John Balaban and Bruce Weigel who were both poets. We were in Hanoi and in Saigon, we did not get to go anywhere that I had been as a, as a kid. . . Then I went back in 1990 with a delegation of writers uh that included Phil Caputo and Larry Hyneman and Yusuf Komiya and Larry Rottmann was on that trip with me. And that was more official, and we were hosted by the Vietnamese Writers Union. Um What, what an interesting experience that was and we did get, I did get to go to Hue and Danang and some of those places where I had been. And then 20, 21 years later, I went back with a Marine buddy of mine uh as a tourist. And actually, if you've been to my website, have you looked at Ken And Bill's Excellent Adventure? That's so, that was the last trip. Now, if I had contacted people and let them know I was coming, I am sure that I would have, there would have been a few, you know, some newspapers that would have wanted to interview me, maybe a television show or something, but I just decided, screw it. I'm gonna be a tourist and I let Ken set the whole thing up there and uh just was just a tourist. It was, it was a very interesting trip. – <b>Bill Ehrhart</b>
	<b>Veteran-Led Anti-War Movement*</b>	I remember that when I was, I don't know if it was the first time, but I was ironing, by the way, and I had the radio on, and it was an interview show. It's not like I tuned it. It just popped up. And it was an interview show where, this was after he was sick, that was saying that there's a direct result of cancer in young men and the and it was not professional speaking, but it was anyway, and they said that they all of a sudden all these young men were getting cancer of the liver and that, it, that is an old man's disease. And that people, they weren't even being tested for it, because nobody got it when they were young. It was an old man's disease. And that this man was talking and saying that the only connection that all these young men had because they lived all over the country they had different occupations, different eating habit. everything was different. The only thing the same was, they all were in Vietnam. . . Carol and I, so you know I've hooked up with Carol about this, and we went to at least a few of these meetings that were I think I guess they were Vets Against Vietnam. . . – <b>Brenda Valentino</b>
	<b>VVAW</b>	Well, initially, my involvement in VVAW has always been through my writing. My only involvement while the war was still going on was to submit poems to <i>Winning Hearts and Minds</i> . Otherwise, uh and I think I organized some kind of a fundraiser on campus that they showed a movie called <i>The Selling of the Pentagon</i> or something, a documentary that was made. But I, you know, I did not, I was not an active get out in the streets, activist kind of my involvement has always been through the writing and then Jan and I did <i>Demilitarized Zones</i> which was not a VVAW by then what was left of VVAW was run by these, what, what were they called the revolutionary union or some kind of RCP, revolutionary communist part, some bullshit. Anyway, Jan and I were functioning as just Jan and I. – <b>Bill Ehrhart</b>

\* These subcodes included additional subcodes that enabled me to code with increased specificity. For example, under Peter > Memories & Stories there are subcodes for Illness, Returning Home, and Young/Pre-War Peter. For Veteran Life, VVAW, Etc. > Other Social Movements, there are subcodes for Involvement and the Relationship between Anti-War Activism and Other Movements. For Veteran Life, VVAW, Etc. > Other Veteran-Led Organizations there are subcodes including Bayonne Peace Center and Veterans for Peace. For Veteran Life, VVAW, Etc. > Veteran-Led Anti-War Movement there are subcodes including Civilian Experiences, Evolving Feelings, and Nature of Involvement.

The rest of this page is intentionally left blank

Of course, the folks organizing, leading, and constituting VVAW did not set out with the framework of insurgent planning in mind. This is evident in the transcripts, including the selected quotes in the preceding charts. For them, the processes of negation, imagination, and enactment were implicit. For some, the negation of implicit assumptions around the just purpose of America's military intervention in Vietnam occurred while in-country. For example, Jan Barry and Bill Ehrhart both experienced violence they identified as purposeless and senseless. It did not match up with their expectations of America's military actions and reasons for why they were there. This triggered their negation process, and they began critically evaluating the war and their role in it. For others, like Basil T. Paquet, Harry Haines, Paula Rogovin, and Ann Hirschman, their negation of the implicit assumptions were grounded in their education and upbringings. Once Harry and Basil were drafted, they continued to challenge the war and the reasons the state expressed for it, and they acted accordingly. For Harry this meant joining what he calls the GI movement (*i.e.*, soldier and veteran-led anti-war activism) while enlisted. For Basil, this meant successfully applying for conscientious objector status.

When asked what makes veteran-led anti-war movements distinct from civilian led protest, almost every participant responded that veterans, and in some cases active-duty soldiers, who had risked their lives in service to the state carried an immutable and unmatched gravitas while protesting an ongoing war. In other words, that it was these people leading the charge gave undeniable legitimacy to their negations. Below is a chart with some of the participants' responses to this question of whether and how veteran-led anti-war movements are distinct from civilian led-anti-war movements. Their responses highlight not just the credibility and gravitas around VVAW and other veteran-led organizations, but also the responsibility they felt in bringing civilians into the movement and holding the line of the reality of war.

The rest of this page is intentionally left blank

Participant	Response
<b>Matthew Stool</b>	<p>That was, that was always my feeling. I felt that you know, people could say you know anything they wanted to about you know people protesting, the people protesting the war who hadn't been there. But people who've been there could actually tell you how stupid it was. You know the idea, I mean, Peter actually said that the idea that he could take somebody's name off a list and that might save his life is so insane. I mean, that's just insanity and so I think the veterans really had, you know just an immediate legitimacy, and I think. . . the government I think they had a tremendous effect because, you know, there was there was always in. You know, it still is true. Today I think there's an instant respect for veterans. You know. That was my feeling. . .</p> <p>I don't see it. I, I think that. . . VVAW had a tremendous effect on public opinion. I, you know. I think that I think they really did. . . I don't know if you remember famously, Nixon would say, you know, "These people demonstrating against the war. They're bums." Or he would have Spiro Agnew say it, or some, you know, crazy thing like that. But he couldn't say that about veterans. So I think it just had a tremendous effect.</p>
<b>Randi Metsch-Ampel</b>	<p>Well, I think that veterans bring with them a certain credibility, and especially now, when people tend to dismiss ideas or if you know facts that they disagree with so easily as oh, we don't know truth, we don't, we can't tell what's truth. I do think veterans, when information comes from veterans, people are less likely to dismiss that because people on a deep level know that veterans have either sacrificed a lot or put their lives on the line and there is a certain amount of respect. So veteran-led movements, I think have the potential to be very impactful.</p>
<b>Sue Halpern</b>	<p>Yeah, I mean, again. It's either that they've had the experience, and they understand what it is in ways that you know we'll never understand it. Or it's that they have such a strong stake in the outcome, and I think it would be mistaken to just look at those people and say, Well, they're cowards. They don't want to fight. I don't think that's what it is. I think if they were called upon to do the thing that they were asked to do, they would do it, but they understand that the stakes are so high, particularly people who are in positions of leadership. I think because it's not only their lives that they're, you know, responsible for, but it's other people as well. And that's what a lot of the, I did a piece for The New Yorker years ago about PTSD and that was one of the things that was sort of interesting is that a lot of times people's trauma came less from what was happening to them, and more about what they felt was happening to their peers, to their friends, and their responsibility, their sense of responsibility for those people.</p>
<b>Bill Ehrhart</b>	<p>Well, we certainly have a kind of credibility that the civilians don't have. Uh, though I don't know that we're any more persuasive. Obviously, you can look around the world and we haven't made much of a dent in stopping wars. And, uh, but there is certainly something. And when I was at Swarthmore my freshman year when I decided, and it was the killings at Kent State that got me. I went through my whole freshman year of college trying to, like, stay under the radar. But, uh, the murders of Kent State really made me realize this, you know, that I, somehow I brought the war home with me. I got to do something about this. I got involved in the anti-war movement there at college. Um, and I went off to a few places. What an experience that was, leafleted the Westinghouse and Philly and talk to this, this Swarthmore Rotary Club. Anyway. But these, these, all these college kids and professors were just like they all wanted me to, you know, I gave them credibility because I'm the real deal man.</p>
<b>Jan Barry</b>	<p>The peace movement in the late sixties was so focused upon uh students that had what were called spring and fall offensives when the students are around and then very little was going on in the summer or during winter break. That's what I thought we should really focus on what we could do. And when we did the Washington demonstration called Dewey Canyon III, um it revived a flagging peace movement that if the veterans could go out there and do what they were doing more people should [too] . . .</p>

	<p>Something called May Day was coming up, which, which was to close down the streets in downtown Washington. But a march also took place immediately after the events that we were doing. A huge number of people showed up for that Saturday march after we had been there for a week and, and included amongst other things, a retired, he wasn't even retired, an active-duty admiral who he wrote about this later was marching along with a US Senator in the peace demonstration. This helped to galvanize well beyond, you know, simply students being involved and um with a thing called V-Day, which I think there's a documentary about it. So many people are arrested, they, they filled up the RFK stadium.</p>
<p><b>Paula Rogovin</b></p>	<p>I remember there were times when there were the formation of a march and people kind of struggling to see who was gonna be leading the march. And I, I always felt that the, the anti-war veterans should be in the lead, but I wasn't in charge, I wasn't in charge. But, um, I think it's critically important that, that. . . veteran and military families should be part of coalitions and that's, that will be our strength. And we add to the, the perspective if, if we're part of those movements. So for example, this, this art exhibition that's happening. To me, it's really important for veterans and military families and to get together this exhibition. But for me even more important is to make sure that other people who are not connected to the military be there and to hear the stories, to hear the poems, to see the artwork. To me, that's the angle that I have is to get others to be to, to learn and to, to realize that when you have a war, you're gonna have veterans, you're gonna have soldiers coming home who are going to be dealing with PTSD and all the other war, um, injuries and we can't have that we can't have war and, and it's important if people know that they're not just like, oh, that war is not good. It's like that war will kill people, it will harm people and it will last forever. There's no end. . .</p> <p>Like, I, you know, one of the things that, that struck me is that when, when Jan started having strokes just a couple of years ago and getting these other symptoms, peripheral neuropathy and parkinsonism, those are from the war in 1962, '63. So if people hear about that, that's important that they hear that and they tell somebody else, wait a minute, this is not just like they'll come home. I say in, in the current war going on when the soldiers are gonna come home, are coming home in body bags and with more moral injury and with, with trauma, with grief, with PTSD, that's gonna turn the tide. Help turn the tide of public opinion.</p>
<p><b>Ann Hirschman</b></p>	<p>From the very beginning, the amount of gravitas that a veteran led anti-war situation or effort brings to the table. There's so much more gravitas. These are people who are speaking from experience and it's real clear that speaking from experience in my case, I'm speaking from the experience of treating all these crazy people who came home with all these crazy things. . . But anyway, but, but guys who have been in combat, it's hard to argue. You know, people try, I mean, look at Trump, you know, he tries but there is still something about being there, you know, being able to say I was there, and this is how it happened. Yeah, it's truly the. . . I think it was one of the things that ended the war. I really believe that it was one of the strongest things that ended the war. Take for instance, Long Island where Brian Materrese, who I happened to be dating. . . so Brian lives on Long Island, which at one time had the greatest concentration of veterans anywhere. So being a veteran on Long Island got you points. Nowadays, you look at Congress or the Senate and most people have never served in the sixties, many people had in, in the House and Senate had served. So it's, it's a very different climate now. I think that the gravitas and the experience level that people brought. It's real hard to argue with somebody who's against the war they just fought in. And that also proved true with the, um [Iraq Veterans Against the War] in Iraq, the Afghan vets and the vets from more current conflicts. – <b>Ann Hirschman</b></p>
<p><b>Dayl Wise</b></p>	<p>I believe there is a lack of communication between veterans and, and civilians even like-minded. And, um, it's hard to get that conversation. But I believe um, that effectiveness of working together. It works. I was in a group, uh, during the first Gulf War called The Ossining Citizens For Peace. And we had, uh, one of the most honorary guys I've ever met Lincoln Brigade veteran named Al Warren. . . But I truly believe,</p>

	<p>uh, uh, the most effective thing is to work, work together because, uh, because as, as veterans, uh, we've witnessed things, you know, we've witnessed things that people should not wit, uh, should not see. Um, and even those who served in peacetime, you're, you're in the machine. . .</p>
<p><b>Rebekah Harris</b></p>	<p>Yeah. So I mean, I think that in some ways that's a lot more powerful from the standpoint. I mean, Peter was a veteran, not by choice, but like just say, like in the Iraq, most recent Iraq War, people volunteered and then sometimes, you know, came home and were like this isn't right. And I think that that's the power of veteran-led is that they had the experience of actually serving and saying, this is not right. You know whether it was by choice or not, to me that is kind of different than, you know, someone who maybe doesn't approve of the policy, or you know, of the war. But all the more so someone who actually served in the war. – <b>Rebekah Harris</b></p>
<p><b>Harry Haines</b></p>	<p>[O]ur GI movement well, from time to time it overlapped. Initially, the civilian anti-war movement thought that we were all baby killers and heroin addicts, and they really didn't want a whole lot to do with us. . . And then they started figuring it out. Because, that's you know, people recently discharged would start turning up at meetings. And slowly the civilian end of it all began to figure out, no, these guys are okay. You know they're all right. They're stuck in a bad place, but their heads are on straight. From time to time there would be conflict between civilians and soldiers. Active-duty soldiers. I'm not speaking about that, but active-duty soldiers, because the civilians could not imagine what it was like to be in the army when you're in the army. Yeah, the Constitution applies sort of. But there are all kinds of things that they can do to you in in the army, that to even try to explain that to civilians is hard to do. So very often there, and certainly this was true in Colorado Springs, the civilian component of our movement would do things that we knew were counterproductive. If the objective was to turn other GIs against the war, we knew that, and Curt, and Tom understood that even more clearly than I did. Because I had come out of a journalism background. They had been trained in psychological operations. So they were keen on propaganda. They taught me a great deal about propaganda techniques.</p> <p>[Can you think of an example of something that the civilian movement did that, you know, counterproductive?]</p> <p>Oh, yeah, sure. Burning the damned flag. I mean, it's astonishing that people thought that that might be a good propaganda event setting fire to the flag. And you're trying to radicalize some 18-year-old kid from Georgia. Really? You know, I mean, there's no there's no payoff there. Another mistake that the civilians made in in my estimation at Colorado Springs, was trying to trying to get these guys, you know, 18, 19 year old guys on board with what was then called the Women's Lib Movement, because many of the volunteers were feminists and they had a story to tell, you know, and their analysis was right on, I mean, all three of Tom, Curt, and I understood clearly that they had a very, very powerful critique. But if you try to convince some poorly educated kid from the urban area or from the rural area where education is not all that good, you try to convince them that there's a connection between their experience of oppression which they did understand, their experience of oppression and the experience that at that time middle class white women were experiencing. You're trying to convince these guys that there's somehow a connection between that, and Dylan, certainly there is, you know, there is that connection. But that is a hard sell when it comes to motivating political action. So we had a difficult time talking with them about that issue. There was another instance in the production of the newspaper. Where I think it was Kurt who discovered one of the civilian volunteers on the newspaper making up stories about massacres in Vietnam. He discovered them just making up stuff. And of course we went ballistic, you know. First of all, there is so many, so many massacres going on. You really don't need to make them up. All you need to do is make contact with some of the guys who have already come back from Vietnam. That's the that's the effort there. And the civilians had this attitude. Well, we know it's going on. So you know, we just wanna</p>



	<p>you know, we need to write this up. And our attitude was all that it takes is for one military intelligence operative to figure this out, and all credibility is lost on this newspaper, all of it, it goes down the tubes. So it was this this constant give and take. and that, that kind of conflict was not unusual in in these groups. It was not unusual at all. Because we're, you know, we're talking about the coming together of two entirely different worlds, the military world and the civilian world. And sometimes it worked. And you know, then sometimes it didn't.</p>
<p><b>Basil T. Paquet</b></p>	<p>The distinction is, I think, the reality based out of which the veterans groups are working. They understand in a more intimate way what the war is, what a war does how it involves civilians. They also understand more directly about the misrepresentations that the Government and the military all too often make about what has actually occurred. And that is quite frequent, so that at any given time an incident, a friendly fire, can be misrepresentative and misrepresented, as you know, some horrible act by the enemy. And I think there's a more concentrated effort out of the veterans groups to try to focus on what the main purpose is and not get distracted.</p>
<p><b>Walt Nygard</b></p>	<p>Well, just in in general, I feel like we know what we're talking about. But that's not necessarily the deciding factor. There's way more civilians than there are veterans, and if they come out just because they don't like the idea of young Americans being killed, that's fine. If they can be rallied to do that, and they are, I mean we marched in some pretty frigging, huge demonstrations in New York and in Washington, D.C. And we were the thin little majority, I mean minority. But we had our banners and all of that. And people, they respected us. And so a lot of them wanted to be around us.</p>

The rest of this page is intentionally left blank

For all of the participants, their negations and understanding of their unique role in the broader anti-war movement helped them imagine and foster philosophies about how the world should be and how the state should act in it. In joining VVAW, other veteran-led organizations like Veterans for Peace, and other social movements, like the fight for gay liberation, racial justice, and environmental justice, they actively worked to enact their visions for more just, equitable, and sustainable communities and worlds. Their enactments took, and to this day, continue to take the form of more than just the prolific protests and marches, like Operation RAW and Dewey Canyon III.<sup>LVI</sup> They released books and poetry anthologies like *Winning Hearts and Minds: War Poems by Vietnam Veterans*, *Demilitarized Zones: Veterans after Vietnam*, and *Peace is Our Profession: Poems and Passages of War Protest*,<sup>LVII</sup> they created formal and informal support systems;<sup>LVIII</sup> they testified before Congress to bring light to abuse and war crimes in Vietnam;<sup>LIX</sup> and they were fundamental in exposing and expanding understanding around post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and the impact of herbicides.<sup>LX</sup>

For readers who are interested in learning more about the history of VVAW and the broader veteran-led anti-war movement, there is a robust record of historic accounting of VVAW's work. I recommend *Home to War: a History of the Vietnam Veterans' Movement* by Gerald Nicosia and *The Turning: A History of Vietnam Veterans Against the War* by Andrew Hunt.<sup>LXI</sup>

---

<sup>LVI</sup> Read accounts of Dewey Canyon III and Operation RAW published in *The Veteran*, the VVAW newspaper, here: <https://www.vvaw.org/veteran/article/?id=1656> and here: <https://www.vvaw.org/veteran/article/?id=3829>. See also: Gerald Nicosia, "A Limited Incursion Into the Country of Congress: Dewey Canyon III," in *Home to War: A History of the Vietnam Veterans' Movement* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2001), 98–157; and Gerald Nicosia, "Shared Nightmares: From Operation Raw to the Winter Soldier Investigation," in *Home to War: A History of the Vietnam Veterans' Movement* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2001), 56–97.

<sup>LVII</sup> All of these titles are plays on military slogans and terminology. One of Peter's poems and some of his diary were included posthumously in *Peace is our Profession*. Many veteran activists continue to write, including Jan Barry who recently released *Waging Art: Tackling Grief and Trauma with Creative Arts* and Curt Stocker, who recently released *Steel Pot: A Vietnam Memoir*.

<sup>LVIII</sup> For example, the informal support from Ann Hirschman and her family and formal organizations like Frontline Arts. Frontline Arts was founded decades after the Vietnam War, but its leaders and participants include VVAW members like Walt Nygard. See: "Frontline Arts," Frontline Arts, 2024, <https://www.frontlinearts.org>.

<sup>LIX</sup> See: Nicosia, "Shared Nightmares: From Operation Raw to the Winter Soldier Investigation," 56–97.

<sup>LX</sup> For VVAW's work on PTSD see: Gerald Nicosia, "Invisible Wounds: Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder," in *Home to War: A History of the Vietnam Veterans' Movement* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2001), 158–209; and for their role in bringing light to fighting back against the use of herbicides see: Gerald Nicosia, "The Specter of Chemical Warfare: Agent Orange," in *Home to War: A History of the Vietnam Veterans' Movement* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2001), 434–505; and Gerald Nicosia, "The Price of War: Settlement of the Class Action Lawsuit and 'One Small Step Toward Resolution,'" in *Home to War: A History of the Vietnam Veterans' Movement* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2001), 556–619.

<sup>LXI</sup> During our interview, Walt Nygard strongly encouraged me to read *The Turning* as an excellent historical account of VVAW.

#### **IV. If they do, (how) can contemporary planning be improved by learning from and incorporating their methodologies?**

While VVAW was working implicitly within an insurgent planning framework, their history, legacy, and present offer insights into how we, as planners, can explicitly organize around insurgent planning. At a broad level, planners, and everyone for that matter, can and should incorporate negation, imaginative thinking, and enactment into their daily practice. For planners, whose job is to shepherd and manage change in the physical environment, we have a unique opportunity to employ this framework. What are our individual and cultural implicit assumptions about the built environment, the natural world, and our relationship to them? Interrogating them help us to understand what purpose they serve. If they do not further a just, equitable, and sustainable world, we should negate them. How can we be imaginative about breaking out of detrimental, destructive, and discriminatory paradigms; and what tools and avenues do we have at our disposal to enact the necessary change?

To illustrate this, I want to think briefly about a universal planning tool: zoning. The implicit assumption about zoning is that separating disparate land uses is beneficial for the common good. While this is frequently the case, there are some additional baked in assumptions that are not so benevolent. The landmark 1926 Supreme Court decision in *Village of Euclid v. Ambler Realty Co.*, which declared zoning as constitutional, expresses some of these assumptions explicitly. The Court states that unless it can be shown that a zoning ordinance is “arbitrary and unreasonable, having no substantial relation to the public health, safety, morals or general wealthy,” then said ordinance is within the government’s police powers.<sup>117</sup>

Clearly, one underlying assumption is that zoning protects the public health, safety, morals, or general welfare of communities. In instances of separating toxic industrial land use from residential plots this is the case. However, since these four terms, known as the orthodox quartet,<sup>118</sup> are quite vague, what counts as protecting the public health, safety, morals, and general welfare of the public is often based on faulty or biased assumptions. Frequently, protecting the orthodox quartet is construed as protecting the economic interests of property owners over others. In *Euclid*, this is embodied by the Court’s opinion that multi-family residences and apartments are harmful. The opinion asserts:

. . . very often the apartment house is a mere parasite, constructed in order to take advantage of the open spaces and attractive surroundings created by the residential character of the district. Moreover, the coming of one apartment house is followed by others, interfering by their height and bulk with the free circulation of air and monopolizing the rays of the sun which otherwise would fall upon the smaller homes, and bringing, as their necessary accompaniments, the disturbing noises incident to increased traffic and business, and the occupation, by means of moving and parked automobiles, of larger portions of the streets, thus detracting from their safety and depriving children of the privilege of quiet and open spaces for play, enjoyed by those in more favored localities, — until, finally, the residential character of the neighborhood and its desirability as a place of detached residences

are utterly destroyed. Under these circumstances, apartment houses, which in a different environment would be not only entirely unobjectionable but highly desirable, come very near to being nuisances.<sup>119</sup>

In purely economic terms, single-family zoning does protect the value of single-family homes by excluding other residence types. However, we can negate the assumption that this is the highest value by considering zoning from a perspective that values increased housing stock, affordable housing, and socially and culturally diverse neighborhoods.

To be clear, I am not advocating for the abolition of zoning. It is clearly hugely important in many respects. However, as planners, we should interrogate individual zoning codes through a lens that considers the code's origin, evolution, as well as who it serves and who it harms. Of course, this is already happening. Zoning and other land use tools and policies are being reconsidered – especially in light of publications like Richard Rothstein's *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America* and projects like *Mapping Inequality*, which highlights the disparate impacts of redlining. Cities like Minneapolis<sup>LXII</sup> and Charlottesville<sup>LXIII</sup> are tackling the challenge of rewriting their codes with this in mind. Such work is done by planners who have a vision for more just homes and neighborhoods and are actively working to enact them. Zoning is, of course, just one example. Planners can apply this kind of thinking and work through all facets of their jobs, from site reviews to comprehensive plans to community-engaged coalition building.

---

<sup>LXII</sup> See: Owen Minott, "Comprehensive Zoning Reform in Minneapolis, MN," Bipartisan Policy Center, October 3, 2023, <https://bipartisanpolicy.org/blog/comprehensive-zoning-reform-in-minneapolismn/>; and; April Towery, "Minneapolis Abolished Single-Family Zoning But Is That The Answer to More Affordable Housing?," *Candys Dirt.Com* (blog), January 1, 2024, <https://candysdirt.com/2024/01/01/minneapolis-abolished-single-family-zoning-but-is-that-the-answer-to-more-affordablehousing/>.

<sup>LXIII</sup> See: Morgan Meyer, "Charlottesville's Solution to the Housing Crisis: For the First Time since 2003, Charlottesville's City Council Has Adopted a New Zoning Code.," *The Jefferson Independent*, January 26, 2024, <https://jeffersonindependent.com/charlottesvilles-solution-to-the-housing-crisisfor-the-first-time-since-2003-charlottesvilles-city-council-has-adopted-a-new-zoning-code/>.

---

<sup>113</sup> Young, “A Pause Between the Wars (1954-1956),” 37-39.

<sup>114</sup> Young, “A Pause Between the Wars (1954-1956),” 41.

<sup>115</sup> Viet Thanh Nguyen, *The Sympathizer*, (Grove Atlantic, 2015), 134.

<sup>116</sup> Sandercock, “Introduction,” 1.

<sup>117</sup> Robert C. Ellickson et al., “Zoning and the Rights of Landowners and Developers,” in *Land Use Controls: Cases and Materials*, Fifth Edition (New York: Wolters Kluwer, 2021), 106.

<sup>118</sup> Robert C. Ellickson et al., “Zoning and the Rights of Landowners and Developers,” 130.

<sup>119</sup> Robert C. Ellickson et al., “Zoning and the Rights of Landowners and Developers,” 105.

## *Part IV: Conclusion*

## 8. *Live Peace!*

And we cry "Peace Now"  
as we march once again  
down some boulevard  
in some city of Babylon.  
What mad strength causes us to continue  
to fight the tides of an irresistible war?  
I can find no peace  
as long as a distant war rages.  
All my life I have known war,  
not in its destructive form of devastation,  
but clothed and hidden in the wraps of atrocities  
committed far away in my name.  
For me there is no rest in sleep,  
For the new day is an image  
of all the recent months and years;  
my past blurs and merges  
into one long lost campaign.  
No easy path remains for me to walk,  
my steps have been decided  
in the cast of the cards of my past:  
I have no choice but to wake tomorrow  
And win the battle I lost today.

- Untitled and undated poem by Peter Stool

In the weeks before submitting this project, student-led protests began to proliferate on campuses across the United States, including here on the University of Virginia's Grounds, in opposition to Israel's actions in Gaza and in support of Palestinian lives. Immediately people began drawing comparisons between the student protests during the Vietnam War; and the protest I attended at UVA happened on May 4, 2024, the 54<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Kent State massacre in which the National Guard killed four students protesting the Vietnam War. University of Virginia Police, Charlottesville Police, and Virginia State Police showed up in force, and threatened students who were peacefully protesting with rubber bullets, tear gassed those at the front, and arrested dozens of individuals. I witnessed the ways the state continues to deploy violence to stifle organizing and work aimed at enacting a vision for a more just world.

Since May 4, much of the attention has been focused on the administration's response and decision to call in state forces who responded so violently to peaceful students. However, while I am surprised by President Jim Ryan's actions, I am appalled, but not shocked at the actions of the militarized police. What did shatter part of my understanding of the community around me was watching as students, many arriving with drinks from parties, tried to form a wall to block in their protesting peers. They thanked the police, chanted "USA!," and cheered "Lock them up!" as some of their classmates were dragged away in handcuffs. Ironically, considering that Joe Biden is president, they cheered for Donald Trump; and I could hear some of them murmuring that they hoped a protestor would confront them so they could respond violently. None did.

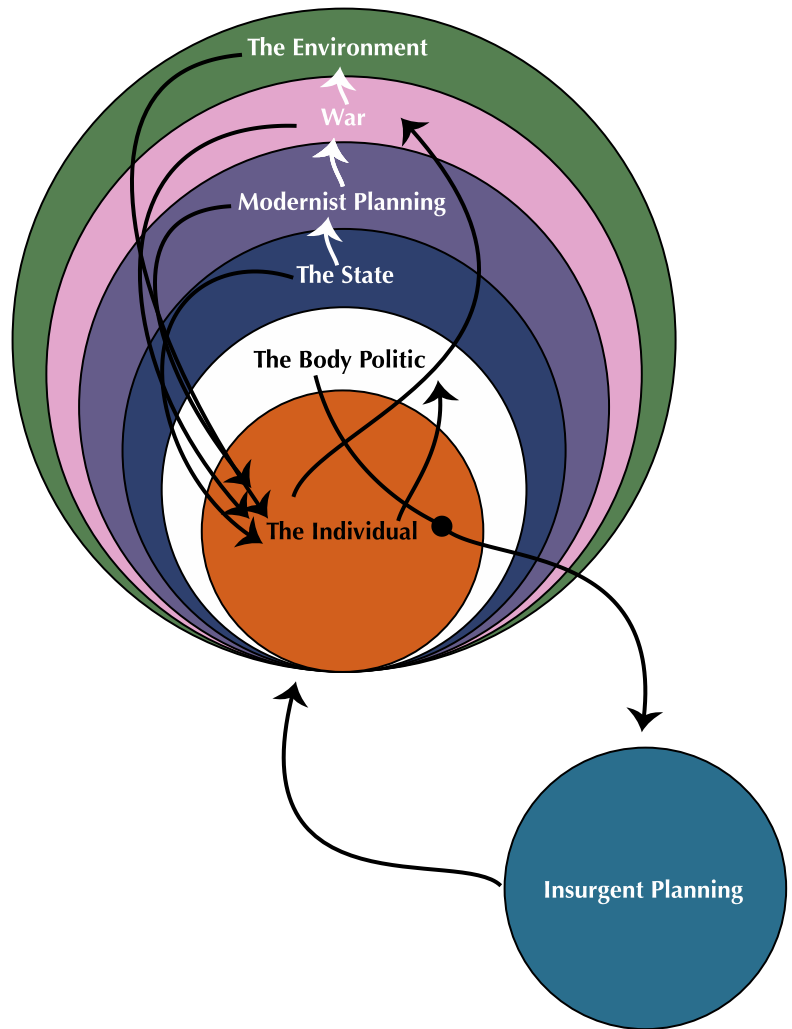
It strikes me that the students who showed up as impromptu counter protests were not there in support of Israel, they were not present because they were legitimately concerned about antisemitism, nor were they there to actually rebuff the protestor's demands for disclosure, divestment, ceasefire, and peace. Rather, they showed up because these students protesting against injustice were a spectacle, and further, they felt an allegiance to the state. The protesters were expressing their desire to change the world because they identify its current state as insufficient and unsustainable, both environmentally and for humanity. The counterprotests were expressing their support for the current system and its reinforcement through violence, because thus far, it has been beneficial to them. In that moment, some of the divisions etched into our country came into stark relief.



I do not think there is a simple answer for how we reach across the divide – indeed, even the rhetoric of “the divide” implies that there is a binary. The truth is that the divisions, allegiances, and political reality are much more complicated than two opposing sides. However, experiencing and processing the protest and the broader cultural and political national moment, underscored the importance of bearing witness, interrogating narratives, negating assumptions, thinking imaginatively, and acting for justice was underscored.

I share this story because it highlights the relevancy of bearing witness, the legacy of VVAW, and insurgent planning contemporarily. It also highlights the way the state’s relationships to land and people continues to evolve through white supremacy, capitalism, and top-down modernist planning.

To the right, is a graphic that sums up the systems and institutions I have been exploring throughout this entire project. At the base, there is the individual and together we form the body politic, or the collective body and consciousness of society. As shown by the disparate groups involved in the campus protests, perhaps body politics is more apt. The state coopts the body politic, both physically through institutions like the military and socially through narrative. The state uses that cooptation through modernist planning, including war, to shape the world and environment around us. In Vietnam through the herbicides, the military industrial complex, and the destructive nature of war, this had profound impacts on the natural world. In turn, the state, through these means, has direct impact on individuals. Insurgent planning is separate because it offers a methodology for breaking out of this cycle through the individual and the body politic, which can then reorient the state’s relationship to planning, war, and the environment.



**Where is the legacy of the six million?**

If Peter had lived long enough to catalog and publish his writing, the poem that serves as this project’s epigraph might have been titled, “Where is the legacy of the six million?” In the poem, Peter heartbreakingly describes the social and political conditions that enabled the Holocaust, and then he deftly draws parallels between World War II and the Vietnam War. Of course the

Holocaust and the Vietnam War are disparate in many ways. Unlike the Holocaust, the Vietnam War was not a systematic genocide carried out in pursuit of a final solution. However, they both were modernist planning projects that pursued goals of order, simplicity, legibility, and control through war, chemicals, and violence committed at the hand of the state. The parallels that Peter highlights counter the modernist narrative framing of the Vietnam War as the protection of democracy.

Peter powerfully underscores how normal, everyday people are swept up and made complicit or active participants in the state's modernist planning project through war.

But listen! The dead call to you,  
kindly, gently.  
(Remember your grandfather  
and how he begged you to sit in his lap?)  
Their cries still reach us  
tho fainter than our heartbeats.  
Their gaunt and haggard faces  
smile understandingly, nodding in ancient greeting.  
Faces from yellowed photographs leap out at you  
and you understand they were once  
flesh and blood,  
with cares and sorrows, pleasures and joys.  
They were the people who lived across the street  
and the uncle who came to Sunday dinner.  
(They were teachers and scholars,  
butchers and tailors, merchants and laborers.  
They dealt in jewels and in garbage.)  
And they were in no way different from you and me.

Now hear! The marching feet!  
The ranks of black uniforms parade before me,  
their eyes fixed on me as they march by.  
Nailed boots crash in unison against the cobblestones  
in chilling, dread, familiar rhythm.  
And these supermen in black  
had cares and sorrows, pleasures and joys.  
They were the people who lived across the street,  
and the uncle who came to Sunday dinner.

Peter is not excusing our neighbors, uncles who came to Sunday dinner, nor ourselves. Rather, he is showing that if we are not careful to interrogate, and when necessary, negate the state's narrative, people become divided in ways that only serve to support the state's goals. He was intimately familiar with the state's cooptation of individual bodies for its own means. He also knew that this is all too often accompanied by indoctrination that coopts individuals' minds and politics to support the state too. Although he was only further awakened by his own experiences to the state's

actions and narrative. he is writing from his own remorse, guilt, and trauma from having been a part of the Vietnam War.

In light of the world's continuation and reembrace of war and conflict in the decades following World War II and the Holocaust, Peter asks, "Where is the legacy of the six million?" He is posing the question rhetorically. It is lost, he would argue.

Society healed itself, formed the necessary scars,  
and in the end we forgot.

Given the vast domestic and global state of horrific conflict since the 1970s, and our current moment is no exception, I am hard pressed to argue against this. However, there is another side to the coin too. Peter's legacy, the legacy of this project's participants, and the legacy of VVAW and the broader veteran-led anti-war movement, are also a legacy of the six million. We must bear witness not just to the atrocities, but also to their activism, advocacy, and insurgent planning. It shines a light on paths forward that lead to more just, equitable, and sustainable worlds. It is our responsibility, as planners and people, to take them.

So take heed, my friend,  
and all of you left with the strength to dream.  
The future will be ours,  
if we have the will to grasp for it.

Since most of us have been born, the world has known almost no peace. Is this life?

Life has more to offer than freezing men lying in the mud of Korea, than young men fighting in rice fields of Indochina, than tanks rumbling through the streets of Budapest and Prague.

Life has happiness and laughter. Yet when a mother looks into the eyes of her baby she must wonder upon what foreign field he may bleed away his life.

Life is golden fields of plenty. Yet many know nothing else but hunger and starvation as we pour our energies into war.

Life is green grass and blue sky. Yet war has turned lands into sterile reflections of death.

Only by celebrating life may we conquer death. Work to enjoy life. Do not take life from anyone else, for in that act you lose your own. Struggle to end the institutions of war, for they serve only to kill. The greatest of all the Commandments is Thou Shalt Not Kill.

LIVE PEACE!

The Bayonne Peace Center  
409A Avenue C  
Bayonne, N.J. 07002  
437-2985

## *Epilogue*

a man set himself on fire  
because he felt what I feel  
desperate  
desperate to save something precious

we have heard the screams  
seen the torture, the rubble masses  
the babies shivering, then sniped  
and now faces starved to the bone

and the man who could say stop  
the one with power we gave him  
is tonguing cold cream  
saying soon, soon – any monday now

hush, think first  
don't tell me the burning man is mad  
tell me no one else must blaze  
to be heard

- *Hush* by adrienne maree brown

The word for Martyr in Arabic, “shaheed,” translates to “witness,” or one whose final moment in life is as a witness to injustice. Aaron Bushnell is a martyr, whose final moment was spent in the heat of one naked, unflinching truth: the moral conscience of every human being, from the belly of the beast to the farthest reaches of the Earth, demands immediate attention and action to end the horrors before us.

- Excerpt from a Palestinian Youth Movement Instagram post

On February 25, United States airman Aaron Bushnell self-immolated in front of the Israeli embassy in Washington, D.C. I first read about Aaron and his “extreme act of protest” while surrounded by my classmates on a bus ride home from a trip to Philadelphia for our capstone course.<sup>LXIV</sup> The day before, we explored Philadelphia’s Center City neighborhood, and that evening we enjoyed a night out. We spent that morning hustling around the city to meet with civic and city leaders at various organizations. The aura on the bus was fun but subdued – the way groups feel after a satisfyingly busy weekend and late night with people with whom you feel close and comfortable. Absentmindedly scrolling Instagram, I was jarred out of my sense of calm.<sup>LXV</sup> Suddenly, I was trying to process the social media graphics depicting a man engulfed in flame and shadow. I switched from reading the captions to scouring the internet for reputable reports about what happened. I maintained my relaxed visage, but I felt distressed, anguished, and confused.

Of course, invoking this response was part of Bushnell’s intentions. In that moment on the bus, I was working on this project on anti-war activism and concerned about Israel’s murderous actions in Gaza – both for the Palestinians being subjected to mass murder and for the collateral damage Israel was inflicting upon the safety of Jews across the globe in the process. Yet, not being in any immediate physical danger, I was also at peace. The news about Bushnell’s death shook me out of that state.

The connection between this project and Bushnell’s self-immolation, especially given that he was a US servicemember acting in protest of American foreign policy and military action, is almost too on the nose. Like countless others, the first place my mind went after learning about Bushnell was to Thích Quảng Đức.<sup>LXVI</sup> Đức was a Vietnamese monk who set himself on fire in 1963 in protest of Buddhist persecution by Ngô Đình Diệm’s American backed regime in South Vietnam.<sup>120</sup> Đức created global shock waves with his actions.<sup>LXVII</sup> At the time, President John F.

---

<sup>LXIV</sup> “Extreme act of protest” were Aaron’s own words. *See*: Nicholas Bogel-Burroughs and Colbi Edmonds, “U.S. Airman’s Winding Path Ended in Self-Immolation to Protest Israel,” *The New York Times*, February 28, 2024, sec. U.S., <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/28/us/aaron-bushnell-israel-embassy-fire.html>.

<sup>LXV</sup> The cliché of doom scrolling feels particularly apt here.

<sup>LXVI</sup> As evidenced by the countless news articles and social media posts that also made the connection. Indeed, my advisor, as well as friends who knew that I was working on this project, reached out to me about the connection to Đức.

<sup>LXVII</sup> In *The Vietnam Wars: 1945 – 1990*, historian Marilyn B. Young provides a helpful and concise overview:

On the morning of June 11 the struggle [between Buddhists and Diệm’s regime, with America caught in between,] reached a new stage. Quảng Đức, a sixty-six-year-old Buddhist monk, sat peacefully in the back of a 1960 Austin sedan. When the car reached the intersection of Le Van Duyet and Phan Dinh Phung Streets, the driver stopped. Thích (reverend) Quảng Đức got out, sat in the middle of the street, and assumed the lotus posture. A chanting crowd of monks many rows deep observed as two helpers slowly doused the seated figure with gasoline. Quảng Đức lit the match himself and sat motionless and silent as the flames consumed him. As he burned, a young acolyte with a microphone repeated in Vietnamese and English, “A Buddhist priest burns himself to death.

Kennedy was still alive, and the Vietnam War was relatively nascent. It would be another two years before the domestic anti-war movement began to escalate and four before Vietnam Veterans Against the War was founded. Đức's impact was amplified by comments from Ngô Đình Diệm's sister-in-law and South Vietnam's de facto first lady, Madame Nhu.<sup>121</sup> In response to Đức's self-immolation she said, "Let them burn and we shall clap our hands. . . if the Buddhists wish to have another barbecue, I will be glad to supply the gasoline and a match."<sup>122</sup>

The image of Đức, captured by American photographer and journalist Malcom Browne, sitting calmly and maintaining his composure while burning alive is one of the enduring images of both the Vietnam War and the protests against America's presence in Vietnam, and rightfully so; like the "Napalm Girl" and pictures of helicopters deploying their toxic cargo over Vietnam's dense jungles, the scene of Đức engulfed in flame is shocking.<sup>LXVIII</sup> Other than talking to veterans, looking at these images is the closest I feel to actually being in the presence of the atrocities and pain.

Đức not only created an irrefutably association with self-immolation and the Vietnam War, but Đức's actions are also the definitive modern reference point to self-immolation. There are other high-profile examples, including other self-immolations in the Vietnam era such as Norman Morrison. However, Đức is cemented in global consciousness not just because of the iconic image, but also because his was the first modern self-immolation in a protest that implicated America and Western interests more broadly.

In the past, when I read and learned about Đức I was deeply moved. In fact, one of the most impactful and informative parts of my time in Vietnam was in Huế when I traveled to a Pagoda and witnessed the car that Đức took enroute to his self-immolation. In learning about Bushnell's actions, I felt distressed, anguished, and confused for many of the reasons being articulated by

---

A Buddhist priest becomes a martyr." Only Quảng Đức's heart did not burn, a phenomenon not much commented on in the west but of considerable import to his followers, who placed it reverently in a container to be displayed as a relic. Today, the Austin occupies a position of honor in the garden of a pagoda in Hue, Malcolm Browne's photograph of the priest engulfed in flames propped against the windshield.

In America, this image of self-immolation had an enormous impact. It cut across the political debates over Diệm with its demonstration of just how much the Ngô Đình family was hated, how passionate was the Buddhist opposition. The sympathy that poured out to the martyred monk was culturally specific, however; it was understood as the sort of thing that was done in the Orient. When an American, Norman Morrison, immolated himself in protest against the war some years later, the Vietnamese honored him, but his compatriots thought him simply mad. Madam Nhu, misjudging the American public, mocked the event, calling it a "barbecue." Protests spread beyond the Buddhist religious community to high school and university students throughout South Vietnam, creating the potential for a massive urban anti-government movement. See: Marilyn B. Young, "The Fall of Diem (1963)," in *The Vietnam Wars, 1945-1990* (New York: HarperCollins, 1991), 95-96.

<sup>LXVIII</sup> Đức flooded the American consciousness. For example, he is a main inspiration for the radicalization of the daughter in Philip Roth's classic novel *American Pastoral* and is on the cover of the eponymous Rage Against the Machine album. See: Philip Roth, *American Pastoral* (Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 152.

other progressive folks: I was in shock at the self-sacrifice, awed at the will power necessary to commit so fully to one's views, dismayed at my loss of innocence, and struggling to process this new frame of reference for the violence being inflicted upon Palestinians. However, I felt distressed, anguished, and confused for other reasons too. Reasons that did not resonate with the reverence I feel towards Đức and were frankly at odds with what I was seeing amongst progressive voices online.

During a discussion with close confidants, one friend made a point about the role of time and distance:

I think a monk in his 60s who [sits] perfectly still in Vietnam seems [a] little more abstract than someone our age, in our time, in our area, with a contemporary issue. It's like [Đức] feels like a fact of history, and Aaron Bushnell feels like [he] was just a man/boy who made a wild decision.

While I think this is a fair point, I felt in my gut that there were substantive reasons for my disconnect. While Bushnell does feel more visceral, personally, Đức has never felt like an abstract fact of history. As I often do when I am struggling to process and comprehend the world around me, I reached out to my older sister, Elana, to talk about Bushnell and the response we were seeing from progressive voices. In a text, I said to her:

[I am trying to figure out] why I don't want to celebrate [Bushnell's self-immolation]. Well, I am enamored with it, but I'm not compelled by it in the sense that it radicalizes me further. . . I think that in this moment, it's a deeply divisive move that centers this man, and I am struggling with whether I would potentially have felt that way witnessing Đức.

In response, she sent back:

“But, I think the subtext of that — what you are ACTUALLY wrestling with — is something about how the nature of time and distance and memory create a frame through which we can tell ourselves certain stories about how we would have acted or felt in a given circumstance that happened long ago. And then there are certain moments in which an echo of that circumstance recurs in real time, and our actual reaction or feelings are in tension with the narrative we have about what our reaction would have been, and thus this warrants a questioning of that original narrative about who we are in a way that's uncomfortable and provocative.<sup>LXIX</sup>

Elana's message not only accurately diagnosed what I was feeling, but it simultaneously echoed the sentiment of Bushnell's final social media post in which he points out that the answer to the question of what one would do in a historical time of injustice is whatever they are doing in

---

<sup>LXIX</sup> I wish everyone had an older sibling so attuned to them, and able to ask difficult questions.



contemporary moments of injustice.<sup>LXX</sup> My sister was right. Bushnell had succeeded in making me uncomfortably confront whether I was doing enough. But her question and our broader conversation also helped underscore why Bushnell’s self-immolation feels distinct, why I was not compelled to embrace it, and why I believe portions of the cultural response are misguided.

Before elaborating, I feel that it is necessary to explicitly clarify two things. First, by placing Bushnell in context and conversation with Đức it is not my intention to delineate between “good” or “bad” self-immolation. At the risk of sounding glib, no two self-immolations are the same. As shown by Đức and Norman Morrison, an American who self-immolated in protest of the Vietnam War years after Đức, even self-immolations conducted in protest of the same event are disparate in their circumstances, impact, and intent.<sup>LXXI</sup> Second, I am interested only in the lessons learned from the impact of and the collective and cultural responses to self-immolation. Again, I have no interest in “good” or “bad.” In writing this, I am not seeking to pass moral judgement on Bushnell. Unlike many outlets, including bad-faith actors, I am not interested in interrogating his mental health. No matter what his mental status was, Bushnell’s self-immolation was unequivocally brave. Like much of the domestic cultural response, however, it was also incredibly fraught and deserves close analysis and critique.

In the aftermath of Bushnell’s self-immolation, people and outlets were quick to reference Thích Nhất Hạnh’s 1965 letter to Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. Hạnh, who knew Đức, explains Đức’s actions in the context of the moment and Buddhist principles. He writes:

To burn oneself by fire is to prove that what one is saying is of the utmost importance. There is nothing more painful than burning oneself. To say something while experiencing this kind of pain is to say it with the utmost of courage, frankness, determination and sincerity.

During the ceremony of ordination, as practiced in the Mahayana tradition, the monk-candidate is required to burn one, or more, small spots on his body in taking the vow to observe the 250 rules of a bhikshu, to live the life of a monk, to attain enlightenment and to devote his life to the salvation of all beings. One can, of course, say these things while sitting in a comfortable armchair; but when the words are uttered while kneeling before the community of sangha and experiencing this kind of pain, they will express all the seriousness of one’s heart and mind, and carry much greater weight.

---

<sup>LXX</sup> “Many of us like to ask ourselves, ‘What would I do if I was alive during slavery? Or the Jim Crow South? Or apartheid? What would I do if my country was committing genocide?’ The answer is, you’re doing it. Right now.” See: Lex McMenamin, “Aaron Bushnell Set Himself on Fire Over the US’s Role in Palestine. Who Was He?,” *Teen Vogue*, March 5, 2024, <https://www.teenvogue.com/story/aaron-bushnellpalestine-who-was-he>.

<sup>LXXI</sup> Morrison also had an impact that reverberated. Unintentionally, he self-immolated outside of Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara’s office, and McNamara later wrote that it had a profound influence on him. However, it did not cause him to end the war. See: <https://www.commondreams.org/opinion/kill-selves-to-stop-war>. On Morrison, Young writes, “. . . the Vietnamese honored him, but his compatriots thought him simply mad.” See: Young, “The Fall of Diem (1963),” 96.

The Vietnamese monk, by burning himself, say with all his strength [sic] and determination that he can endure the greatest of sufferings to protect his people. But why does he have to burn himself to death? The difference between burning oneself and burning oneself to death is only a difference in degree, not in nature. A man who burns himself too much must die. The importance is not to take one's life, but to burn. What he really aims at is the expression of his will and determination, not death.

In the Buddhist belief, life is not confined to a period of 60 or 80 or 100 years: life is eternal. Life is not confined to this body: life is universal. To express will by burning oneself, therefore, is not to commit an act of destruction but to perform an act of construction, i.e., to suffer and to die for the sake of one's people. This is not suicide. Suicide is an act of self-destruction, having as causes the following:

- lack of courage to live and to cope with difficulties
- defeat by life and loss of all hope
- desire for non-existence (abhava)

This self-destruction is considered by Buddhism as one of the most serious crimes. The monk who burns himself has lost neither courage nor hope; nor does he desire non-existence. On the contrary, he is very courageous and hopeful and aspires for something good in the future. He does not think that he is destroying himself; he believes in the good fruition of his act of self-sacrifice for the sake of others . . .<sup>123</sup>

I believe with all my heart that the monks who burned themselves did not aim at the death of the oppressors but only at a change in their policy. Their enemies are not man. They are intolerance, fanaticism, dictatorship, cupidity, hatred and discrimination which lie within the heart of man. . .

Now in the confrontation of the big powers occurring in our country, hundreds and perhaps thousands of Vietnamese peasants and children lose their lives every day, and our land is unmercifully and tragically torn by a war which is already twenty years old I am sure that since you have been engaged in one of the hardest struggles for equality and human rights, you are among those who understand fully, and who share with all their hearts, the indescribable suffering of the Vietnamese people. The world's greatest humanists would not remain silent. You yourself can not remain silent. . .<sup>124</sup>

Hạnh writes with what, from my western perspective, feels like absolute clarity about self-immolation. His words ground what is almost a completely incomprehensible act in both historical and then-contemporaneous context. Hạnh's articulation of Đức's motivating principles and beliefs helps me understand, internalize, and believe them. I find them inspiring and powerful.

It is likely if not certain that Bushnell studied Đức and read Hạnh's letter. While Bushnell was not Buddhist, he grew up in a strict and conservative Christian community, much of what Hạnh writes maps onto his actions.<sup>125</sup> In particular, the idea that Bushnell was compelled to immolate himself to underscore the "utmost importance" of his message in support of Palestine; and I recognize that

Bushnell was attempting an act of construction, not for his own people like Đức, but to identify and expose injustice in defiance of his government.<sup>LXXII</sup> Moreover, the parallels between Israel's assault on Gaza and Hạnh's description of the "confrontation of the big powers occurring in [Vietnam]" where "hundreds and perhaps thousands of Vietnamese peasants and children lose their lives every day, and our land is unmercifully and tragically torn by a [historic] war. . ." are clear.

It also strikes me that there is an inherent contradiction in Hạnh's letter on self-immolation. He writes, "To express will by burning oneself, therefore, is not to commit an act of destruction but to perform an act of construction, i.e., to suffer and to die for the sake of one's people."<sup>126</sup> Hạnh distinguishes between suicide, which results from a "lack of courage," "defeat," and the "desire for non-existence."<sup>127</sup> While I recognize the important distinction Hạnh is making, it is one of degree not form. I disagree with the assertion that self-immolation is not suicide.<sup>LXXIII</sup> In this context, suicide can be both constructive and self-destruction. In fact, it is precisely through this contradiction that the self-destruction of self-immolation can have a constructive impact. While discussing Bushnell over email, one of the participants in this study captured this idea particularly well. They wrote to me:

Well, for one, I think calling self-immolation an act of non-violence is a semantic dodge. It is obviously a public facing act of self-harm – indeed, its utter violence is the point. It's meant to shock us. It's meant to shock us out of our collective stupor because it is so obviously violent.

Later, they added, "I think, too, these acts 'read' differently in different cultures. Is there a Buddhist/religious tradition of self-immolation?" The short answer to their question is that there is. As Hạnh indicates, burning and self-immolation are precedented acts in Mahayana Buddhism.<sup>LXXIV</sup> This question of whether self-immolation "reads" differently depending on culture is important. It is not just a question of whether western actors can appropriately and

---

<sup>LXXII</sup> In the days following Bushnell's self-immolation, news outlets reported that he had told a friend he had top secret reports about US forces fighting on the ground in Hamas tunnels in Gaza. Whether or not this is true, Bushnell believed it to be the case and it is eerily similar to the veiling of the true status of US forces in Vietnam at the start of and throughout the Vietnam War. *See*: Will Potter, "Disturbed Air Force Serviceman Aaron Bushnell Told Friends He Had 'classified' Knowledge of Gaza Tunnels the Night before He Set Himself on Fire," DailyMail.com, February 28, 2024, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-13135741/Aaron-Bushnell-Gaza-tunnelsfire.html>.; Jack Morphet, Andy Tillet, and Kate Sheehy, "US Airman Aaron Bushnell Claimed to Have Classified Knowledge of US Forces Fighting in Gaza Tunnels on Night before Setting Himself on Fire: Pal," New York Post, February 27, 2024, <https://nypost.com/2024/02/27/us-news/aaronbushnell-claimed-secret-knowledge-of-us-forces-in-gaza/>.; "Aaron Bushnell Had Secret Intel That US Troops Are Fighting in GAZA, Friend Claims: NY Post," The Hill, February 28, 2024, <https://thehill.com/video/aaron-bushnell-had-secret-intel-that-us-troops-are-fighting-in-gaza-friend-claims-ny-post/9471670/>.

<sup>LXXIII</sup> Perhaps this is a result of my western perspective and because I am not Buddhist.

<sup>LXXIV</sup> Those interested in learning more can read about the Buddhist history here: <https://users.ox.ac.uk/~sfos0060/immolation.pdf> and here: [https://time.com/6835364/self-immolation-history-israel-hamaswar/?utm\\_source=twitter&utm\\_medium=social&utm\\_campaign=editorial&utm\\_term=history\\_&linkId=338460213](https://time.com/6835364/self-immolation-history-israel-hamaswar/?utm_source=twitter&utm_medium=social&utm_campaign=editorial&utm_term=history_&linkId=338460213).

effectively co-opt Buddhist practices. As I have already said, I believe that much of Hạnh’s writing maps onto Bushnell’s actions and motivations. The question is also whether the society in which those practices are presented are culturally, spiritually, and politically able to engage with and interpret them. There are three significant distinctions between Bushnell and Đức that I believe warrant discussion.<sup>LXXXV</sup>

### **The First Distinction**

First, as Marilyn B. Young’s description (see footnote LXVII) makes clear, Đức did not act alone. Đức was accompanied and assisted by fellow monks. Their presence, as well as the physical roles they carried out (*e.g.*, chanting, surrounding and witnessing, and dousing Đức in gasoline), helped to contextualize and emphasize his actions. The “communal effort” that enabled Đức’s self-immolation exemplifies Hạnh’s words that:

the monk who burns himself has lost neither courage nor hope; nor does he desire non-existence. On the contrary, he is very courageous and hopeful and aspires for something good in the future. He does not think that he is destroying himself; he believes in the good fruition of his act of self-sacrifice for the sake of others . . . .<sup>128</sup>

For western audiences and others foreign to or unfamiliar with Mahayana Buddhism and what was happening in Vietnam, Đức’s actions could not be easily brushed aside as the lone actions of a troubled person. On the other hand, by acting alone and coopting a shocking form of protest, Bushnell left a vacuum in which people, some in good and others in bad faith, are picking apart his background, social media accounts, and life to contextualize and coopt his self-immolation for their own arguments.<sup>LXXXVI</sup>

Those who reference Hạnh’s letter are placing Bushnell within the Buddhist context. His friend, Levi Pierpont, who met Bushnell through the military and later became a conscientious objector, was interviewed on *Democracy Now!* He made this point explicitly:

I want people to remember that his death is not in vain, that he died to spotlight this message. I don’t want anybody else to die this way. If he had asked me about this, I would have begged him not to. I would have done anything I could to stop him. But, obviously, we can’t get him back. And we have to honor the message that he left. I would have told him that this wasn’t necessary to get the message out. I would have told him that there were other ways. But seeing the way that the media responds now, now that this has happened, it’s hard not to feel like he was right, that this was exactly what was necessary to get people’s attention about the genocide that’s happening in Palestine. And so, I just — I want people to remember

---

<sup>LXXXV</sup> There are, of course, many differences. However, most differences are, in my opinion, irrelevant. These three are at the core of why I struggled to embrace Bushnell the way I embraced Đức and highlight why our collective response requires a closer look.

<sup>LXXXVI</sup> While I have no doubt people will struggle and disagree with me, I count myself among those acting in good faith.

his message. . . . **It was — he didn't have thoughts of suicide. He had thoughts of justice. That's what this was about. It wasn't about his life. It was about using his life to send a message.**<sup>129</sup>

Pierpont's interview is powerful, important, and heartbreaking. While I am disinclined to speculate on Bushnell's mental health and desire to live, I am not convinced that he did not have thoughts of suicide. Bushnell's childhood growing up in a strict religious community is commonly cited as implicit or explicit proof of his instability and as a possible cause for his pre-disposition to fanaticism. I do not necessarily find this fair, but I do think his background is relevant. After leaving the conservative and highly structured religious enclave of his youth and perhaps in search of another structured community, Bushnell joined the military.<sup>LXXVII</sup> *On Democracy Now!* Pierpont explained their shared motivations and politicization while in the military:

We wanted to sort of get out of our bubble, to explore the United States, to explore the world, to meet people from other backgrounds. . . . And I know that over the years, both of us shifted, of course, in our beliefs regarding war, largely because of what we saw in the military, largely because of the things that we learned because we were a part of it. And I know that he and I both were encouraged by people on YouTube that were writing video essays about social justice movements in the United States.<sup>130</sup>

Over the course of his life, Bushnell swung between two political extremes while in highly structured and regimented environments. Like many members of VVAW and Vietnam War veterans more broadly, Bushnell was awakened to the injustice of American imperialism while within the system. I can imagine that Bushnell felt let down and perhaps rudderless as he was failed by the two structures he had tried to live within. It is possible, if not likely, that he also felt guilt in addition to fervent zeal about speaking and acting out against injustice. In an article for *The New Yorker*, Masha Gessen contextualizes self-immolation within America and offers an interpretation of Bushnell's self-immolation as a non-violent act of despair that I find more realistic:

Under conditions of democracy, people act politically because they think that their actions can lead to change. They cannot effect change alone, and change is never immediate, but their experience tells them that change is possible and that it is brought about by the actions of citizens. When people do not believe that change is possible, most do not act. . . . But a small minority can't stand it. Dissidents are people who would rather pay the psychic cost of becoming outcasts because what Václav Havel called "living within the lie" is even worse. Within this minority, there seems to be an even smaller group of people who find their individual

---

<sup>LXXVII</sup> New York Times article describes the "The Rule of Life." See: Bogel-Burroughs and Edmonds, "U.S. Airman's Winding Path Ended in Self-Immolation to Protest Israel," <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/28/us/aaron-bushnell-israel-embassy-fire.html>.

helplessness so unbearable that they are willing to do something as desperate as self-immolate.

What does it mean for an American to self-immolate? . . .

We know very little about Aaron Bushnell. His Facebook page shows that he had been following the war in Gaza and admired Rashida Tlaib, a Democratic congresswoman from Michigan, who is Palestinian American. . . . He probably watched as, in November, twenty-two Democrats joined House Republicans in censuring Tlaib for alleged antisemitic remarks, though Tlaib herself, who has family in the occupied West Bank, had taken pains to stress that her issues are with Israel's government, not its people. He had been watching a Presidential race between two elderly men who seem to differ little on what for Bushnell was the most pressing issue in the world today: the slaughter of Palestinians in Gaza. What did it matter that Bushnell had the right to vote if he had no real choice? That he was a member of the military surely made matters worse. . . .

In 2013, the Dalai Lama, long under pressure to call for an end to the practice of self-immolation, called it a form of nonviolence. Nonviolence should not be confused with passivity: as a form of protest, nonviolence is a practice that exposes violence. The philosopher Judith Butler has argued that nonviolence cannot be undertaken by a person acting alone. That would be true for nonviolence as a political act—an act aimed at effecting change, an act founded in hope. **Self-immolation is a nonviolent act of despair.**<sup>LXXVIII</sup>

The world is currently dominated by people that want to operate in binaries: democracy or communism, Israel or Gaza, hope or despair. However, I think it can be simultaneously true that Bushnell's self-immolation was both brave and forward looking, as well as an act of ultimate despair. To be clear, the magnitude and importance of Bushnell's message is not diminished depending on whether he acted out of hope, despair, or, as I believe is the case, a combination of hope, despair, and many other emotions and beliefs. His message of "Free Palestine," shouted while burning alive, is brave, urgent, and critical.<sup>LXXVIII</sup>

### **The Second Distinction**

The second significant distinction is that Đúc was a part of the persecuted class, Bushnell was not. As my sister pointed out, in some ways this fact makes "Bushnell's sacrifice even more poignant: he isn't leaving it to those directly impacted to speak out." I agree, but I also think it raises the

---

<sup>LXXVIII</sup> Zeeshan Aleem poignantly shared a similar sentiment:

Bushnell's act made me feel deeply, deeply sad. I wish that he — a seemingly bright and ambitious and well-liked young man — had not done what he did. I wish instead that he had continued to use his life to fight against oppression. I desperately hope nobody else follows in his footsteps. That doesn't make his call for us to bear witness and to act to avert extraordinary human tragedy any less meaningful. *See:* Zeeshan Aleem, "Opinion | Why We Can't Dismiss the Act of Protest in Aaron Bushnell's Tragic Death," MSNBC, February 28, 2024, <https://www.msnbc.com/opinion/msnbc-opinion/aaronbushnell-immolation-israel-protest-rcna140722>.

crucial question of what the others' role is in instances of injustice. Some argue that in self-immolating, Bushnell's sacrifice of his body was the ultimate manifestation of resistance and solidarity for someone outside the persecuted class, especially an American white man.<sup>LXXIX</sup> While I recognize the power of Bushnell's act, I disagree that it is the ultimate manifestation. As I discuss in depth later in the chapter, I think this view is too dismissive of others fighting for justice. I do not want to pretend that there are simple answers to this question. I am, however, cognizant that as much as Bushnell's self-immolation drew attention to Gaza, it also ironically centered himself. As evidenced by this chapter, the discourse after Bushnell self-immolated was inundated with conversations, debates, and arguments about him. This is having tangible impacts outside of just chatter online.

In March, Ken Klippenstein reported in *The Intercept* that Republican Senator Tom Cotton from Arkansas, who is a "former Army Officer and a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, sent a letter to Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin asking why and how the Pentagon could tolerate an airman like Bushnell in its ranks."<sup>132</sup> Klippenstein notes that Senator Cotton's letter is unprecedented. Previously, Republican Senator Chuck Grassley of Iowa had urged the military to seek out enlisted members of the military with progressive views.<sup>133</sup> In other words, Senator Cotton is exploiting Bushnell to try to root out potential people of conscience and justice from the military.

Shortly after Bushnell's self-immolation, an acquaintance expressed that he was swayed by Bushnell because he finally was seeing Israel and Gaza from a white man's perspective. In other words, he was beginning to recognize that what Israel was doing was wrong because a white man had said so in a striking, public display. I hesitate to extrapolate from this anecdote that is more an individual reflection of this person, but it does echo sentiments I have read elsewhere: that Bushnell's whiteness can aid in swaying folks, especially white folks, who until then had been supportive of Israel. My personal anecdote aside, I am dubious that this assertion is true on a broad scale.

A component of this second distinction is the context of the conflicts and governments Đúc and Bushnell were respectively protesting. As I mentioned, Đúc self-immolated before opposition to the Vietnam War was widespread, especially in the United States. On the other hand, Bushnell was protesting the recent albeit dramatic uptick of a decades old conflict. Writing about Aaron Bushnell for *The Atlantic*, Graeme Wood posits the following question, "[D]oes anyone think determination and sincerity are the missing ingredients in the current war? In this conflict, these qualities are cheap, and everyone knows it."<sup>LXXX</sup> Whereas Đúc helped awaken people to the realities on the ground in Vietnam, people are already deeply divided and entrenched in their views

---

<sup>LXXIX</sup> More on this later.

<sup>LXXX</sup> Outside of this point, I find Wood's article to be glib, offensive, and written in poor faith, but this is a key question. See: Graeme Wood, "Stop Glorifying Self-Immolation," *The Atlantic* (blog), February 28, 2024, <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2024/02/self-immolation-aaron-bushnell-israel/palestine/677584/>.

on Israel and Palestine. In this context, I am concerned that self-immolation is not the way to sway your ideological and political opponents – certainly not large swaths of them. In part, this is because such an extreme and shocking form of protest is not likely to convince people to reevaluate long held, personal positions.<sup>LXXXI</sup> It is also because it is possible that we have grown numb to self-immolation. One friend wrote to me, “I don’t think self-immolation has grown in popularity to the point where [it] cheapens the statement.” I certainly agree, but it may be the case that we now live in a world, in contrast to the world of the 1960s when Đúc self-immolated, where people have become used to the spectacle of horror and violence, thereby rendering self-immolation impotent or at least less effective.

In a podcast episode released months before Bushnell self-immolated and just after Hamas’s October 7 attack, Ezra Klein expertly makes the broader argument for nuanced discourse and discussion:

The brutal facts of the occupation, the architecture of control, and humiliation, and checkpoints and work permits and blockades that Palestinians live under, it does not justify Hamas’s murders. But it helps explain Hamas’s strength, its persistent appeal to at least some of the Palestinian people. Hamas is built on Palestinian despair. And if you radically increase Palestinian fury and despair, if you create a new wave, a new generation of fathers who lost their sons, and brothers who lost their sisters, and people now dedicated to revenge, have you actually made Israel safer, or have you made Hamas or something like it stronger?

**Hardliners feed on each other. Hamas’s political strength has been an excellent excuse for Netanyahu’s government to abandon even the pretense of a real peace process.** If Hamas is on the other side of the table, then there can be no peace process because there is no partner for peace. Israel is right that it cannot make peace with Hamas, that Hamas’s actual aim is Israel’s eradication.

That helped justify the path Israel has chosen in recent years, a policy that tried to achieve safety through subjugation. This vast architecture of walls, and missile defense systems, and intelligence operations, and checkpoints, and imprisonments. The promise of all this was not justice. It was security.

In the months since Klein released this episode, Israel has expanded its assault on Gaza. It is no longer debatable, and it has not been for some time, that Israel’s response to Hamas’s attack is not just disproportionate, but it is coopting antisemitism and the Holocaust to justify mass murder against Palestinians. Israel has descended into increasingly barbaric attacks which Israeli forces proudly display publicly online for the world to witness. Unfortunately, Klein was proven right that hardliners drive hardliners and Netanyahu’s government continues to play into Hamas’s hands. Still, I fear that by self-immolating, and despite his intention to bring attention to Israel’s genocidal actions and Gazans’ suffering, Bushnell enters the discourse alongside the hardliners.

---

<sup>LXXXI</sup> The participant I quoted earlier told me that individual protests have a better chance of succeeding if they are not “so horrific. . . that the instinctive reaction is to look away.”



## The Third Distinction

This brings me to the third and final significant distinction, which is that there is evidence that Bushnell’s motivations differed drastically in a key way from those articulated by Hạng. In the middle of the letter, Hạng adds this crucial piece:

I believe with all my heart that the monks who burned themselves did not aim at the death of the oppressors but only at a change in their policy. Their enemies are not man. They are intolerance, fanaticism, dictatorship, cupidity, hatred and discrimination which lie within the heart of man. . .<sup>134</sup>

In contrast, in a reddit post attributed to Bushnell’s account, he posted:

Hey so I am not Palestinian an [sic] am in no position to endorse or condemn Hamas’ actions. That being said, neither are most people, and there are a lot of very confidently ignorant opinions being thrown around.

There are no Israeli “civilians” or tourists who have no part in the oppression of Palestine. That idea doesn’t make any sense and betrays a lack of understanding of what the oppression of Palestine even is. Israel is a *settler colonialist apartheid state*. All of its residents or their immediate forebears have moved there specifically to settle on stolen land. Land whose people are being cornered and cleansed just a few miles away, or right next door in the case of the West Bank. There are no Israelis without the genocide of the Palestinian people. . .<sup>LXXXII</sup>

Here he expressly supports violence perpetuated against non-combatant civilians. To decree that violence against folks living on land that formerly was home to now-displaced people, is to go down a dark and endless road that can never lead to peace. Reasonable minds can debate the use of violence in resistance. Indeed, I believe that there are moments and circumstances that necessitate armed resistance, including armed resistance against the IDF in this moment, but never against civilians. Bushnell’s writing, to use his word, betrays his lack of understanding of the historical and social dynamics of the region as well as exposes an extreme outlook that ultimately cannot bring peace to the region.

## Why This Matters

Reading and watching reputable sources to stay informed about the reality on the ground in Gaza while researching and writing this chapter was a charged experience.<sup>LXXXIII</sup> I frequently questioned

---

<sup>LXXXII</sup> This post is obviously fraught. For instance, he begins by saying that since he is not Palestinian he cannot endorse or condemn Hamas. By this standard, people outside of the United States cannot evaluate far-right groups, for example. Moreover, he then contradicts himself by condemning “Israeli ‘civilians’” despite not being Israeli himself. See: lil\_sakamadaV2, “Post by Aaron Bushnell,” Reddit Post, *R/Palestine*, February 28, 2024, [www.reddit.com/r/Palestine/comments/1b1ztd1/post\\_by\\_aaron\\_bushnell/](https://www.reddit.com/r/Palestine/comments/1b1ztd1/post_by_aaron_bushnell/).

<sup>LXXXIII</sup> To identify just a couple formative moments, while writing, Israel massacred Palestinian civilians waiting for aid and Nicholas Kristof published a harrowing column, titled, “‘People Are Hoping That Israel Nukes Us So We Get Rid of This Pain,’” that details, through his own messages, the experience of Mohammed Alshannat and his family. See: Al Jazeera Staff, “‘Massacre’: Dozens Killed by Israeli Fire in Gaza While Collecting Food Aid,” Al Jazeera,

whether it was worth the effort, and I made countless updates as more information about Bushnell and news about Israel's unending assaults continued to come out. I decided that I had to continue writing for two reasons. First, because of the example set by Đúc and the fact that Bushnell was an airman, Bushnell's self-immolation is directly and intimately connected to my work on veteran-led anti-war movements in the Vietnam era. Given this, it would have been irresponsible to not address Bushnell. Second, as I discuss in depth at the beginning of the chapter, Bushnell's actions did make me reevaluate my role in the current moment as a white, American, and Jewish man with the privilege to think and write about this moment.

In my moments of doubt, I would return to an interview Ta-Nehisi Coates gave on *Democracy Now!* in November 2023, less than a month after Hamas's October 7<sup>th</sup> attack. In response to being asked about visiting the West Bank, Israeli settlements, and Israel the previous summer, Coates said:

I think what shocked me the most was, in any sort of opinion piece or reported piece, or whatever you want to call it, that I've read about Israel and about the conflict with the Palestinians, there's a word that comes up all the time, and it is "complexity," that and its closely related adjective, "complicated." And so, while I had my skepticisms and I had my suspicions of the Israeli government, of the occupation, what I expected was that I would find a situation in which it was hard to discern right from wrong, it was hard to understand the morality at play, it was hard to understand the conflict. And perhaps the most shocking thing was I immediately understood what was going on over there. . . .

I have to say [the discrimination and repression perpetuated through the Apartheid state] was quite familiar. Again, I was in a territory where your mobility is inhibited, where your voting rights are inhibited, where your right to the water is inhibited, where your right to housing is inhibited. And it's all inhibited based on ethnicity. And that sounded extremely, extremely familiar to me.

And so, **the most shocking thing about my time over there was how uncomplicated it actually is. Now, I'm not saying the details of it are not complicated. History is always complicated. Present events are always complicated. But the way this is reported in the Western media is as though one needs a Ph.D. in Middle Eastern studies to understand the basic morality of holding a people in a situation in which they don't have basic rights, including the right that we treasure most, the franchise, the right to vote, and then declaring that state a democracy.** It's actually not that hard to understand. It's actually quite familiar to those of us with a familiarity to African American history.<sup>135</sup>

---

February 29, 2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/2/29/dozens-killed-injured-by-israeli-fire-in-gaza-while-collecting-food-aid>; Nicholas Kristof, "People Are Hoping That Israel Nukes Us So We Get Rid of This Pain," *The New York Times*, March 9, 2024, sec. Opinion, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/09/opinion/gaza-israel-war.html>.

Coates' point applies beyond the apartheid apparatus Palestinians live under. To use Coates' words, the details, history, and events are complicated, but one does not need a Ph.D. to understand the basic morality of committing mass murder against civilians in retaliation for the actions of Hamas. In other words, in a certain sense, this moment can and should be distilled to "Cease Fire Now!" and "Free Palestine." However, it is also true, that lasting peace and understanding will require nuance and honest conversation and engagement from those of us fortunate enough to have the privilege to make such a commitment.

Responses from progressives to Bushnell, and, truthfully, the broader conflict at large, reveal either their unwillingness or a lack of the understanding necessary to engage with the requisite nuance and honesty. Before elaborating, I need to clarify two things. First, this is definitely also true of conservative voices and responses, but I am not responding to them because it is expected. Instead, I am reacting to and identifying this amongst leftist and progressive voices in the hope that I can contribute to bridging gaps in order to foster nuance and honesty among people who recognize that what Israel is doing is wrong but may be otherwise divided. Second, I have been hesitant to make this point to anyone other than those closest to me. Right now, the messaging in the streets and to our leaders must be clear and unequivocally cease fire now. However, the conversation amongst progressive voices – the discussions that I hope can lead to a better future – have to be nuanced and honest.<sup>LXXXIV</sup>

During a text conversation with two trusted friends about Aaron Bushnell, one of them wrote to me that self-immolation is "the most an individual can do to protest a situation that is far beyond an individual's ability to intervene." I appreciate the sentiment, but it is profoundly misguided. Not only does it overestimate the impact of self-immolation, but this argument also subverts the contemporary and historical work of people who have lived their lives actively fighting and working for peace and justice.

I saw people express similar views online. Some were strikingly hopeless. For example, one person on Reddit, perhaps caught in a cycle of despair similar to that which seems to have trapped Bushnell, shared a post titled, "why shouldn't more people self-immolate?" They write:

I currently lost my home and I have no family. I am effectively homeless and have zero prospects. I am genuinely incapable of spreading any form of political awareness in anyway [sic] that is meaningful other than in extreme protest and after Seeing Aarons [sic] brave protest I have decided to follow his example not just for the Palestinian people but also in the name of trans rights and civil rights for every race affected by colonizer values.

. . . I am trying to . . . start the conversation around the idea of other disabled, unhappy, and politically minded homeless and impoverished folks to start thinking

---

<sup>LXXXIV</sup> For example, progressives have to be able to realistically discuss the future for Israel and Palestine. The push to completely delegitimize and eradicate Israel, even if all parties agree that Israel is a settler-colonial, apartheid state, are short sighted and risk repeating the harms of displacement perpetuated in the creation of Israel in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

about how their death could mean something important to the millions of people currently fighting for their lives against American genocide.<sup>136</sup>

Reading this post for the first time felt like a full circle moment. Behind the post was someone who had become so numb to the spectacle of violence that they were unironically suggesting that “disabled, unhappy, and politically minded homeless and impoverished folks” use their self-imposed mass deaths to create change. Of course, this also underscores the sheer helplessness and lack of agency they must have felt while writing the post. I was certainly not offended by this person. I was heartbroken and devastated that they were so failed by our society and institutions, as well as our progressive political leadership and organizing.

Other people expressed views I identify as problematic. One person I was particularly shaken by and disappointed with was Fariha Róisín.<sup>LXXXV</sup> I became aware of Róisín and her work after October 7. Although I disagree with portions of her writing, I am frequently moved and inspired by her. But, in her essay, “On Self Immolation: Aaron Bushnell, death & beginning,” which she shared to her paid Substack, she writes:

It is no small thing that [Bushnell] did what he did, where he did it, and the fact that he was an active-duty U.S. soldier... well he chose his life to be a symbol for something greater. This is how you transmute your guilt, your shame, you use ritualistic ways of channeling that energy into something useful. I don't think Aaron had to die, but I admit, I am proud that he did. It instilled a kind of hope and belief in white men that I have not felt in a long time. Aaron may not be the norm, but he is an example. I think of all the young white boys who will hear this story and it will change them.<sup>137</sup>

I have already expressed my concern with the idea that Bushnell's self-immolation will sway white folks, men or not, who are not already opposed to Israel's actions in Gaza. What I find shocking and upsetting is the implicit erasure of groups like Jewish Voices for Peace (JVP) and If Not Now whose membership consists of many white, Jewish men and have been on the frontlines of American, Jewish-led anti-Zionist, pro-Palestinian efforts for years.<sup>LXXXVI</sup> And I admit that I am shaken because it raises the personal question – one many progressive, anti-Zionist Jews are asking in this moment – of where is my place is, as a white, Jewish person is in the progressive struggle.<sup>LXXXVII</sup>

Earlier in the essay, Róisín asserts that Israeli and diaspora Jews are “uncomfortable” and concerned with Hamas because they misinterpret Hamas's message. She writes, “When they see Hamas members say they want to end the Zionist regime, what they're saying is clearly: they want

---

<sup>LXXXV</sup> Róisín is a multidisciplinary artist and writer. She identifies as Muslim and queer Bangladeshi. See: “FARIHA RÓISÍN,” FARIHA RÓISÍN, accessed May 4, 2024, <https://1.www.fariharoisin.com>.

<sup>LXXXVI</sup> JVP was founded in 1996 and If Not Now was founded in 2014.

<sup>LXXXVII</sup> See: Michelle Goldberg, “Where Antisemitism and Anti-Zionism Collide,” *The New York Times*, March 12, 2024, sec. Opinion, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/11/opinion/antisemitism-vsanti-zionism.html>.

an end to the Zionist regime, *not that they're going to kill everyone.*" This, she argues, is because Israeli and Diaspora Jews' frame of reference is the violence "not so surreptitiously" enacted by Israel.<sup>138</sup> This is also deeply fraught and misguided, and makes it difficult for me, and I imagine other anti-Zionist Jews, to engage with her work. While I recognize Israel's violence, I do not recognize Hamas as its counterpart. Hamas's original charter calls not just for the end of Zionism, but identifies Jews, not Israel, as their enemy and calls the destruction of all Jews.<sup>LXXXVIII</sup> Hamas updated their charter in 2017. Among the three major changes was the distinction between Zionism and Jews:

Hamas affirms that its conflict is with the Zionist project not with the Jews because of their religion. Hamas does not wage a struggle against the Jews because they are Jewish but wages a struggle against the Zionists who occupy Palestine. Yet, it is the Zionists who constantly identify Judaism and the Jews with their own colonial project and illegal entity.<sup>139</sup>

However, the October 7 attack calls into question how much Hamas has actually changed. I understand the inclination to view Hamas's October 7 attack as a decolonial, armed uprising against Israel as a settler-colonial apartheid state. However, to view Hamas and their goals as decolonial is a mistake. Reading Róisín's essay, I am reminded of Rabbi Sharon Brous, whose words both underscore why Róisín's points fail and bolster what we must do:

And so how can we, who desperately cry out for the world to take Jewish suffering seriously, not also have our own hearts break when Palestinians are suffering? It makes no sense. And so we must also make sure that we extend our circle of care and concern to include the innocence on the other side of that border, who really have nothing to do with this conflict and whose lives are in absolute misery right now.

And I know how hard it is to do that at the same time because there are very few people who are actually shedding tears when both Israeli Jews and Palestinians are dying. There are very few people who are doing that. And it feels to me, that is the essential struggle of this time, because I don't frankly want to hear from the people who are in the streets, who are shouting about decolonizing Palestine, who do not shed a tear when Vivian Silver, a 74-year-old warrior for peace, who dedicated her

---

<sup>LXXXVIII</sup> Here are two quotes from the original charter highlighting this. First, "Our battle with the Jews is long and dangerous, requiring all dedicated efforts." And second:

Even though the Islamic Resistance Movement looks forward to fulfill the promise of Allah no matter how long it takes because the Prophet of Allah (saas) says: "The Last Hour would not come until the Muslims fight against the Jews and the Muslims would kill them, and until the Jews would hide themselves behind a stone or a tree and a stone or a tree would say. Muslim or Servant of Allah there is a Jew behind me; come and kill him; but the tree of Gharqad would not say it, for it is the tree of the Jews." See: Muhammad Maqdsi, "Charter of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) of Palestine," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 22, no. 4 (1993): 122–34, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2538093>; "The Avalon Project: Hamas Covenant 1988," 1988, [https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/hamas.asp](https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp).

life to peace, is murdered by Hamas. If your heart doesn't break for Vivian Silver, then don't tell me what you think my heart should be breaking for.

And the same is true on the other side, for the people who are absolutely devastated by losses to Jews, but then feel it's offensive to even report on the Palestinian children who are dying in Gaza. I'm sorry, but we have lost our moral center. What we have to do is expand our scope of moral concern to find the humanity in one another again. That is the call of our time.<sup>140</sup>

In contrast to the various views expressed by my friend, the Redditor, and Róisín, in the same message from which I quoted earlier, the participant shared with me their thoughts which represent a different view on Bushnell's self-immolation:

Quite honestly, when I read about Bushnell, I just felt sad for the pointlessness of his action and the pain he inflicted on himself. Pointless because his death won't change anything, just as, so far, the deaths of thousands of Gazans has not changed anything--in part because Israel claims that it has the right to defend its borders, in part because Hamas leadership is deeply cynical and is using Palestinian lives and deaths to advance their cause, in part because the American leadership is too scared to do anything meaningful. In the end, it wasn't self-immolating Buddhist monks that stopped the Vietnam war. It was massive and consistent public protest and political pressure in this country that eventually made it untenable for the war to continue.

I think the characterization of Bushnell's self-immolation as pointless is a bridge too far, and they are too quick to dismiss the impact of the Buddhist monks. However, they are right that it was the "massive and consistent" work by people across the country and world that ultimately halted the Vietnam War. Although Bushnell's actions have reverberated across the globe, it remains to be seen whether his legacy and impact will be similar to Đức's. However, it is clear that a similar "massive and consistent" coalition that bridges ideological gaps is necessary now to force a ceasefire and establish conditions for lasting peace.

We live in capitalism, its power seems inescapable — but then, so did the divine right of kings. Any human power can be resisted and changed by human beings.

- Ursula K. Le Guin<sup>141</sup>

---

<sup>120</sup> Solcyré Burga and Simone Shah, “The History of Self-Immolation as Political Protest,” *TIME*, February 26, 2024, <https://time.com/6835364/self-immolation-history-israel-hamas-war/>.

<sup>121</sup> Amy Davidson Sorkin, “Madame Nhu’s Match,” *The New Yorker*, April 26, 2011, <https://www.newyorker.com/news/amy-davidson/madame-nhus-match>.

<sup>122</sup> Sorkin, “Madame Nhu’s Match,” <https://www.newyorker.com/news/amy-davidson/madame-nhus-match>.

<sup>123</sup> Nhat Hanh, “In Search of the Enemy of Man,” Plum Village, June 1, 1965, <https://plumvillage.org/about/thich-nhat-hanh/letters/in-search-of-the-enemy-of-man>.

<sup>124</sup> Hanh, “In Search of the Enemy of Man,” <https://plumvillage.org/about/thich-nhat-hanh/letters/in-search-of-the-enemy-of-man>.

<sup>125</sup> Nicholas Bogel-Burroughs and Colbi Edmonds, “U.S. Airman’s Winding Path Ended in Self-Immolation to Protest Israel,” *The New York Times*, February 28, 2024, sec. U.S., <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/28/us/aaron-bushnell-israel-embassy-fire.html>.

<sup>126</sup> Hanh, “In Search of the Enemy of Man,” <https://plumvillage.org/about/thich-nhat-hanh/letters/in-search-of-the-enemy-of-man>.

<sup>127</sup> Hanh, “In Search of the Enemy of Man,” <https://plumvillage.org/about/thich-nhat-hanh/letters/in-search-of-the-enemy-of-man>.

<sup>128</sup> Hanh, “In Search of the Enemy of Man,” <https://plumvillage.org/about/thich-nhat-hanh/letters/in-search-of-the-enemy-of-man>.

<sup>129</sup> “The Life and Death of Aaron Bushnell: Friend Says Self-Immolation Was a Demand for Justice,” *Democracy Now!*, February 28, 2024, [https://www.democracynow.org/2024/2/28/aaron\\_bushnell\\_self\\_immolation\\_gaza\\_protest](https://www.democracynow.org/2024/2/28/aaron_bushnell_self_immolation_gaza_protest).

<sup>130</sup> “The Life and Death of Aaron Bushnell: Friend Says Self-Immolation Was a Demand for Justice,” *Democracy Now!*, [https://www.democracynow.org/2024/2/28/aaron\\_bushnell\\_self\\_immolation\\_gaza\\_protest](https://www.democracynow.org/2024/2/28/aaron_bushnell_self_immolation_gaza_protest).

<sup>131</sup> Masha Gessen, “Aaron Bushnell’s Act of Political Despair,” *The New Yorker*, February 28, 2024, <https://www.newyorker.com/news/our-columnists/aaron-bushnells-act-of-political-despair>.

<sup>132</sup> Ken Klippenstein, “Will Aaron Bushnell’s Death Trigger Anarchism Witch Hunt?,” *The Intercept*, March 7, 2024, <https://theintercept.com/2024/03/07/aaron-bushnell-fbi-anarchism-extremist/>.

<sup>133</sup> Klippenstein, “Will Aaron Bushnell’s Death Trigger Anarchism Witch Hunt?” <https://theintercept.com/2024/03/07/aaron-bushnell-fbi-anarchism-extremist/>.

<sup>134</sup> Hanh, “In Search of the Enemy of Man,” <https://plumvillage.org/about/thich-nhat-hanh/letters/in-search-of-the-enemy-of-man>.

<sup>135</sup> “Ta-Nehisi Coates Speaks Out Against Israel’s ‘Segregationist Apartheid Regime’ After West Bank Visit,” *Democracy Now!*, November 2, 2023, [https://www.democracynow.org/2023/11/2/ta\\_nehisi\\_coates](https://www.democracynow.org/2023/11/2/ta_nehisi_coates).

<sup>136</sup> Successful\_Beat8580, “Why Shouldn’t More People Self Immolate?,” *Reddit Post*, *R/Anarchy4Everyone*, March 5, 2024, [www.reddit.com/r/Anarchy4Everyone/comments/1b6szaf/why\\_shouldnt\\_more\\_people\\_self\\_immolate/](https://www.reddit.com/r/Anarchy4Everyone/comments/1b6szaf/why_shouldnt_more_people_self_immolate/).

<sup>137</sup> Fariha Róisín, “On Self Immolation: Aaron Bushnell, Death and the Beginning,” *Substack newsletter*, *How To Cure A Ghost* (blog), March 2, 2024, <https://fariharoisin.substack.com/p/onself-immolation>.

---

<sup>138</sup> Róisín, “On Self Immolation: Aaron Bushnell, Death and the Beginning,” <https://fariharoisin.substack.com/p/onself-immolation>.

<sup>139</sup> “ Hamas in 2017: The Document in Full,” Middle East Eye, May 2, 2017, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/hamas-2017-document-full>; “Doctrine of Hamas | Wilson Center,” Wilson Center, October 20, 2023, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/doctrine-hamas>.

<sup>140</sup> Ezra Klein, “The Sermons I Needed to Hear Right Now,” The Ezra Klein Show, n.d., <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/11/17/opinion/ezra-klein-podcast-sharonbrous.html?showTranscript=1>.

<sup>141</sup> “Ursula K. Le Guin — National Book Foundation Medal: Ursula’s Acceptance Speech,” Ursula K. Le Guin, November 19, 2014, <https://www.ursulakleguin.com/nbf-medal>.



## References

- Abbott, Carl, and Sy Adler. "Historical Analysis as a Planning Tool." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 55, no. 4 (December 31, 1989): 467–73.
- Aleem, Zeeshan. "Opinion | Why We Can't Dismiss the Act of Protest in Aaron Bushnell's Tragic Death." MSNBC, February 28, 2024. <https://www.msnbc.com/opinion/msnbc-opinion/aaron-bushnell-immolation-israel-protest-rcna140722>.
- Alter, Robert. *The Hebrew Bible: A Translation with Commentary*. Vol. Volume I: The Five Books of Moses Torah. III vols. W.W. Norton & Company, 2018.
- Andrew E. Hunt, *The Turning: A History of Vietnam Veterans Against the War* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1999).
- Angel, Arielle. "We Cannot Cross Until We Carry Each Other." Jewish Currents, October 12, 2023. <https://jewishcurrents.org/we-cannot-cross-until-we-carry-each-other>.
- Aziza, Sarah. "The Work of the Witness." Jewish Currents, January 12, 2024. <https://jewishcurrents.org/the-work-of-the-witness>.
- Barry, Jan. "Agent Orange's Long, Brutal Reach Continues." northjersey.com, October 7, 2022. <https://www.northjersey.com/story/opinion/2022/10/07/agent-oranges-long-brutal-reach-continues/69543692007/>.
- Batman Begins*. Warner Bros., MAX, 2005. <https://play.max.com/video/watch/28517d19-4c00-46e0-b139-b506cbcc4b40/ad9dfba7-864a-4104-9054-fa7957d74f40>.
- Beyt Tikkun. "Beyt Tikkun: A Synagogue Without Walls," n.d. <https://www.beyttikkun.org/>.
- Biggs, Michael. "5 Dying Without Killing: Self-Immolations, 1963–2002." In *Making Sense of Suicide Missions*, edited by Diego Gambetta, 0. Oxford University Press, 2005. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199276998.003.0005>.
- Bogel-Burroughs, Nicholas, and Colbi Edmonds. "U.S. Airman's Winding Path Ended in Self-Immolation to Protest Israel." *The New York Times*, February 28, 2024, sec. U.S. <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/28/us/aaron-bushnell-israel-embassy-fire.html>.
- Britannica. "John Winthrop: American Colonial Governor," April 16, 2024. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/John-Winthrop-American-colonial-governor>.
- brown, adrienne maree. "Hush." Instagram, February 28, 2024. <https://www.instagram.com/p/C35H7WTgBGU/>.
- Buckingham Jr., William A. "Operation Ranch Hand: The Air Force and Herbicides in Southeast Asia, 1961-1971," 1982. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112105065244&seq=4>.
- Burga, Solcyré, and Simmone Shah. "The History of Self-Immolation as Political Protest." TIME, February 26, 2024. <https://time.com/6835364/self-immolation-history-israel-hamas-war/>.

- California State University Stanislaus. "Dr. Timothy Nelson." Accessed May 5, 2024.  
<https://www.csustan.edu/people/dr-timothy-nelson>.
- Carson, Rachel. "Elixirs of Death." In *Silent Spring*, 15–37. New York: First Mariner Books, 1962.
- Collaborative for Health and Environment. "Gerhard Schrader: Father of the Nerve Agents," n.d.  
<https://www.healthandenvironment.org/environmental-health/socialcontext/history/gerhard-schrader-father-of-the-nerve-agents>.
- Corlette, Naomi. "Facing Violence with Compassion: In Memory of Aaron Bushnell." *Harvard Political Review* (blog), March 1, 2024. <https://harvardpolitics.com/facing-violence-with-compassion-in-memory-of-aaron-bushnell/>.
- Craven, Jasper. "The People vs. Agent Orange Exposes a Mass Poisoning in Plain Sight." *The New Republic*, June 28, 2021. <https://blink.net/iframe.html>.
- Cronon, William. "Bounding the Land." In *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*, 54–81. New York: Hill & Wang, 1983.
- . "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature." In *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, 69–90. New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1995.
- Davoudi, Simin. "Prefigurative Planning: Performing Concrete Utopias in the Here and Now." *European Planning Studies* 31, no. 11 (November 2, 2023): 2277–90.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09654313.2023.2217853>.
- Democracy Now! "Ta-Nehisi Coates Speaks Out Against Israel's 'Segregationist Apartheid Regime' After West Bank Visit," November 2, 2023.  
[https://www.democracynow.org/2023/11/2/ta\\_nehisi\\_coates](https://www.democracynow.org/2023/11/2/ta_nehisi_coates).
- Democracy Now! "The Life and Death of Aaron Bushnell: Friend Says Self-Immolation Was a Demand for Justice," February 28, 2024.  
[https://www.democracynow.org/2024/2/28/aaron\\_bushnell\\_self\\_immolation\\_gaza\\_protest](https://www.democracynow.org/2024/2/28/aaron_bushnell_self_immolation_gaza_protest).
- Denzin, Norman K., and Yvonna S. Lincoln. "Introduction: The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research." In *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 1–44. SAGE, 2005.
- Dostoevsky, Fyodor. *Notes from Underground*. Translated by Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky. Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2011.
- Ellickson, Robert C., Vicki Been, Roderick M. Hills, Jr., and Christopher Serkin. *Land Use Controls: Cases and Materials*. Fifth Edition. New York: Wolters Kluwer, 2021.
- . "Zoning and the Rights of Landowners and Developers." In *Land Use Controls: Cases and Materials*, Fifth Edition., 99–323. New York: Wolters Kluwer, 2021.

- Everts, Sarah. "The Nazi Origins of Deadly Nerve Gases." *Chemical and Engineering News*, October 17, 2016. <https://cen.acs.org/articles/94/i41/Nazi-origins-deadly-nerve-gases.html>.
- FARIHA RÓISÍN. "FARIHA RÓISÍN." Accessed May 4, 2024. <https://www.fariharoisin.com>.
- Fields, Weston W. *Sodom and Gomorrah: History and Motif in Biblical Narrative*. London, North York: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, University of Toronto Press, 2009. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uva/detail.action?docID=436440>.
- "Frontline Arts," Frontline Arts, 2024, <https://1.www.frontlinearts.org>.
- Nicosia, Gerald. "A Limited Incursion Into the Country of Congress: Dewey Canyon III." In *Home to War: A History of the Vietnam Veterans' Movement*, 98–157. New York: Crown Publishers, 2001.
- . *Home to War: A History of the Vietnam Veterans' Movement*. New York: Crown Publishers, 2001.
- . "Invisible Wounds: Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder." In *Home to War: A History of the Vietnam Veterans' Movement*, 158–209. New York: Crown Publishers, 2001.
- . "Shared Nightmares: From Operation Raw to the Winter Soldier Investigation." In *Home to War: A History of the Vietnam Veterans' Movement*, 56–97. New York: Crown Publishers, 2001.
- . "The Price of War: Settlement of the Class Action Lawsuit and 'One Small Step Toward Resolution.'" In *Home to War: A History of the Vietnam Veterans' Movement*, 556–619. New York: Crown Publishers, 2001.
- . "The Specter of Chemical Warfare: Agent Orange." In *Home to War: A History of the Vietnam Veterans' Movement*, 434–505. New York: Crown Publishers, 2001.
- Gessen, Masha. "Aaron Bushnell's Act of Political Despair." *The New Yorker*, February 28, 2024. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/our-columnists/aaron-bushnells-act-of-political-despair>.
- Goldberg, Emma. "She's Building a Little Jewish Magazine on Big Ideas." *The New York Times*, December 30, 2022. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/30/style/arielle-angel-jewish-currents-magazine.html>.
- Goldberg, Michelle. "Where Antisemitism and Anti-Zionism Collide." *The New York Times*, March 12, 2024, sec. Opinion. <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/11/opinion/antisemitism-vs-anti-zionism.html>.
- Grann, David. "Underground Reservation." In *Killers of the Flower Moon: The Osage Murders and the Birth of the FBI*, 40–60. New York: Vintage Books, 2018.
- Griffiths, Philip Jones. *Agent Orange: "Collateral Damage" in Viet Nam*. Great Britain: Trolley Ltd, 2003.
- Hanh, Nhat. "In Search of the Enemy of Man." Plum Village, June 1, 1965. <https://plumvillage.org/about/thich-nhat-hanh/letters/in-search-of-the-enemy-of-man>.

- “History of Bayer: 1925-1945 | Bayer Global.” Accessed May 4, 2024.  
<https://www.bayer.com/en/history/1925-1945>.
- Hooks, Bell. “Introduction: The Heartbeat of Cultural Revolution.” In *Outlaw Culture: Resisting Representations*, 1–8. New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Huq, Efadul. “Seeing the Insurgent in Transformative Planning Practices.” *Planning Theory* 19, no. 4 (November 1, 2020): 371–91. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1473095219901290>.
- Instagram. “Palestinian Youth Movement Instagram Post,” February 26, 2024.  
<https://www.instagram.com/p/C30TkgEgY16/>.
- “Ishmael | Meaning, Facts, & Significance | Britannica.” Accessed January 24, 2024.  
<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Ishmael-son-of-Abraham>.
- Jewish Currents. “Arielle Angel.” Accessed February 1, 2024.  
<https://jewishcurrents.org/author/arielle-angel>.
- Johnson, Walter. “Empire and the Limits of Revolution.” In *The Broken Heart of America: St. Louis and the Violent History of the United States*, 107–39. New York: Basic Books, 2020.
- . “William Clark’s Map.” In *The Broken Heart of America: St. Louis and the Violent History of the United States*, 13–39. New York: Basic Books, 2020.
- Kansas State University College of Architecture, Planning and Design. “La Barbara James Wigfall, NOMA,” n.d. <https://apdesign.k-state.edu/about/faculty-staff/wigfall/>.
- Karma, Rogé. “A Guide to the ‘Legal Fictions’ That Create Wealth, Inequality and Economic Crises.” The Ezra Klein Show, n.d. <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/13/opinion/ezra-klein-podcast-katharina-pistor.html>.
- Kavi, Aishvarya. “Man Dies After Setting Himself on Fire Outside Israeli Embassy in Washington, Air Force Says.” *The New York Times*, February 25, 2024, sec. World.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/25/world/middleeast/israel-embassy-man-on-fire.html>.
- Kessler, Gwynn. “Looking Back to Look Forward: Parashat Vayera (Genesis 18:1 - 22:24).” *Torah Queeries: Weekly Commentaries on the Hebrew Bible*, 2009, 29–33.
- Klein, Ezra. “The Sermons I Needed to Hear Right Now.” The Ezra Klein Show, n.d.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2023/11/17/opinion/ezra-klein-podcast-sharon-brous.html?showTranscript=1>.
- Klippenstein, Ken. “Will Aaron Bushnell’s Death Trigger Anarchism Witch Hunt?” The Intercept, March 7, 2024. <https://theintercept.com/2024/03/07/aaron-bushnell-fbi-anarchism-extremist/>.
- Krasner, Jonathan. “The Place of Tikkun Olam in American Jewish Life.” *Jewish Political Studies Review* 25, no. 3–4 (November 1, 2014). <https://jcpa.org/article/place-tikkun-olam-american-jewish-life1/>.

- Kristof, Nicholas. “People Are Hoping That Israel Nukes Us So We Get Rid of This Pain.” *The New York Times*, March 9, 2024, sec. Opinion. <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/09/opinion/gaza-israel-war.html>.
- lil\_sakamadaV2. “Post by Aaron Bushnell.” Reddit Post. *R/Palestine*, February 28, 2024. [www.reddit.com/r/Palestine/comments/1b1ztd1/post\\_by\\_aaron\\_bushnell/](http://www.reddit.com/r/Palestine/comments/1b1ztd1/post_by_aaron_bushnell/).
- Lipsitz, George. “The Racialization of Space and the Spatialization of Race.” *Landscape Journal*, 2007, 10–23.
- Maqdsi, Muhammad. “Charter of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) of Palestine.” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 22, no. 4 (1993): 122–34. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2538093>.
- Mayer, Isabella. “Qualitative Research with a Focus on Qualitative Data Analysis.” *International Journal of Sales, Retailing and Marketing* 4, no. 9 (2015): 53–63.
- Mazurov, Nikita. “Aaron Bushnell, Who Self-Immolated for Palestine, Had Grown Deeply Disillusioned With the Military.” *The Intercept*, February 28, 2024. <https://theintercept.com/2024/02/28/aaron-bushnell-reddit-fire-protest-israel-palestine/>.
- McMenamin, Lex. “Aaron Bushnell Set Himself on Fire Over the US’s Role in Palestine. Who Was He?” *Teen Vogue*, March 5, 2024. <https://www.teenvogue.com/story/aaron-bushnell-palestine-who-was-he>.
- Meyer, Morgan. “Charlottesville’s Solution to the Housing Crisis: For the First Time since 2003, Charlottesville’s City Council Has Adopted a New Zoning Code.” *The Jefferson Independent*, January 26, 2024. <https://jeffersonindependent.com/charlottesvilles-solution-to-the-housing-crisis-for-the-first-time-since-2003-charlottesvilles-city-council-has-adopted-a-new-zoning-code/>.
- Middle East Eye. “Hamas in 2017: The Document in Full,” May 2, 2017. <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/hamas-2017-document-full>.
- Mills College at Northeastern University. “Ashley C. Adams,” n.d. <https://mills.northeastern.edu/people/ashley-adams/>.
- Minott, Owen. “Comprehensive Zoning Reform in Minneapolis, MN.” *Bipartisan Policy Center*, October 3, 2023. <https://bipartisanpolicy.org/blog/comprehensive-zoning-reform-in-minneapolis-mn/>.
- Miraftab, Faranak. “Insurgent Planning: Situating Radical Planning in the Global South.” *Planning Theory* 8, no. 1 (February 1, 2009): 32–50. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1473095208099297>.
- Moore, Ryan. “Long Binh Post and the Vietnam War.” Webpage. *The Library of Congress Blogs: Worlds Revealed Geography & Maps at the Library of Congress* (blog), August 2, 2017. <https://blogs.loc.gov/maps/2017/08/long-binh>.

- Morphet, Jack, Andy Tillet, and Kate Sheehy. "US Airman Aaron Bushnell Claimed to Have Classified Knowledge of US Forces Fighting in Gaza Tunnels on Night before Setting Himself on Fire: Pal." *New York Post*, February 27, 2024. <https://nypost.com/2024/02/27/us-news/aaron-bushnell-claimed-secret-knowledge-of-us-forces-in-gaza/>.
- Nast, Condé. "Who Was Aaron Bushnell Before He Set Himself on Fire for Palestine?" *Teen Vogue*, March 5, 2024. <https://www.teenvogue.com/story/aaron-bushnell-palestine-who-was-he>.
- Nguyen, Viet Thanh. *The Sympathizer*. Grove Atlantic, 2015.
- Perlmutter Schiff, Charlene. Oral history interview with Charlene Perlmutter Schiff. Interview by Joan Ringelheim, March 23, 1993. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection. <https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn504408>.
- Potter, Will. "Disturbed Air Force Serviceman Aaron Bushnell Told Friends He Had 'classified' Knowledge of Gaza Tunnels the Night before He Set Himself on Fire." *DailyMail.com*, February 28, 2024. <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-13135741/Aaron-Bushnell-Gaza-tunnels-fire.html>.
- Quick, Ben. "A Chapter from History That Just Won't End." *Orion Magazine*, n.d. <https://orionmagazine.org/article/agent-orange-a-chapter-from-history-that-just-wont-end/>.
- Reuters. "Geologists Zero In on Sodom and Lot's Wife." *The New York Times*, December 17, 1995, sec. World. <https://www.nytimes.com/1995/12/17/world/geologists-zero-in-on-sodom-and-lot-s-wife.html>.
- Róisín, Fariha. "On Self Immolation: Aaron Bushnell, Death and the Beginning." Substack newsletter. *How To Cure A Ghost* (blog), March 2, 2024. <https://fariharoisin.substack.com/p/on-self-immolation>.
- Roth, Philip. *American Pastoral*. Houghton Mifflin, 1997.
- Roy, Ananya. "Informality and the Politics of Planning." In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Planning Theory*. Routledge, 2010.
- . "Strangely Familiar: Planning and the Worlds of Insurgency and Informality." *Planning Theory* 8, no. 1 (2009): 7–11. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1473095208099294>.
- . "The Grassroots of Planning: Poor People's Movements, Political Society, and the Question of Rights." In *The Routledge Handbook of Planning Theory*. Routledge, 2017.
- Ryan, Anne B. "Post-Positivist Approaches to Research." In *Researching and Writing Your Thesis: A Guide for Postgraduate Students*, 12–26. Ireland: MACE: Maynooth Adult and Community Education, 2006.
- Sandercock, Leonie. "Introduction: Framing Insurgent Historiographies for Planning." In *Making the Invisible Visible: A Multicultural Planning History*, 1–33. University of California Press, 1998.

- . “Out of the Closet: The Importance of Stories and Storytelling in Planning Practice.” *Planning Theory & Practice* 4, no. 1 (2003): 11–28.
- Scott, James C. “Authoritarian High Modernism.” In *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, 87–102. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998.
- . “Introduction.” In *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, 1–8. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Sefaria. “Genesis 19:26,” n.d. <https://www.sefaria.org/Genesis.18.1?lang=bi&aliyot=0>.
- Sever, Richard. “Vietnam Veteran’s Family Vows to Continue His Fight.” *The New York Times*, December 19, 1978, sec. Archives. <https://www.nytimes.com/1978/12/19/archives/vietnam-veterans-family-vows-to-continue-his-fight-friends-pledge.html>.
- Smith, Joan. “Torah Portions – Parsha/Parshat/Parasha.” *The Crossover Project* (blog), July 26, 2019. <https://thecrossoverproject.org/judaism-101/torah-portions-parsha-parshat-parasha/>.
- Sorkin, Amy Davidson. “Madame Nhu’s Match.” *The New Yorker*, April 26, 2011. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/amy-davidson/madame-nhus-match>.
- Staff, Al Jazeera. “‘Massacre’: Dozens Killed by Israeli Fire in Gaza While Collecting Food Aid.” Al Jazeera, February 29, 2024. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/2/29/dozens-killed-injured-by-israeli-fire-in-gaza-while-collecting-food-aid>.
- Stool, Peter. Letter from Peter Stool in Vietnam to brother Matthew Stool. “Dear Reba.” Letter from Peter Stool in Vietnam to brother Matthew Stool, n.d.
- . “Peter’s Diary,” n.d.
- Strega, Susan. “The View from the Poststructural Margins: Epistemology and Methodology Reconsidered.” In *Research as Resistance: Revisiting Critical, Indigenous, and Anti-Oppressive Approaches*, edited by Susan Strega and Leslie Brown, 199–235. Canadian Scholars Press, 2005.
- Successful\_Beat8580. “Why Shouldn’t More People Self Immolate?” Reddit Post. *R/Anarchy4Everyone*, March 5, 2024. [www.reddit.com/r/Anarchy4Everyone/comments/1b6szaf/why\\_shouldnt\\_more\\_people\\_self\\_immolate/](https://www.reddit.com/r/Anarchy4Everyone/comments/1b6szaf/why_shouldnt_more_people_self_immolate/).
- Sullivan, Fran. “College of Saint Elizabeth Hosts 20<sup>th</sup> Annual Week of Holocaust Remembrance.” *nj.com*, November 2, 2009. [https://www.nj.com/morristown/cse/2009/11/college\\_of\\_saint\\_elizabeth\\_hos\\_1.html](https://www.nj.com/morristown/cse/2009/11/college_of_saint_elizabeth_hos_1.html).
- Sztetl Virtual Shtetl. “History,” n.d. <https://sztetl.org.pl/en/towns/h/182924-horokhiv/99-history/182925-history-of-community>.
- Temple Ner Tamid. “Resources,” n.d. <https://www.nertamid.org/resources>.

- The Aspen Institute. "Maps of Heavily Sprayed Areas and Dioxin Hot Spots," n.d. <https://www.aspeninstitute.org/programs/agent-orange-in-vietnam-program/maps-of-heavily-sprayed-areas-and-dioxin-hot-spots/>.
- "The Avalon Project: Hamas Covenant 1988," 1988. [https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/hamas.asp](https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp).
- The Hill. "Aaron Bushnell Had Secret Intel That US Troops Are Fighting in GAZA, Friend Claims: NY Post," February 28, 2024. <https://thehill.com/video/aaron-bushnell-had-secret-intel-that-us-troops-are-fighting-in-gaza-friend-claims-ny-post/9471670/>.
- The Jewish Experience. "The World Is Broken, So Humans Must Repair It: The History and Evolution of Tikkun Olam," n.d. <https://www.brandeis.edu/jewish-experience/history-culture/2023/may/tikkun-olam-history.html>.
- The National Museum of American Diplomacy. "The Fall of Saigon (1975): The Bravery of American Diplomats and Refugees," April 29, 2021. <https://diplomacy.state.gov/stories/fall-of-saigon-1975-american-diplomats-refugees/>.
- The New York Times*. ... "... And a Plea to Ban 'Ecocide.'" February 26, 1970, sec. Archives. <https://www.nytimes.com/1970/02/26/archives/and-a-plea-to-ban-ecocide.html>.
- "The U.S. Military and the Herbicide Program in Vietnam." In *Veterans and Agent Orange: Health Effects of Herbicides Used in Vietnam*. Institute of Medicine (US) Committee to Review the Health Effects in Vietnam Veterans of Exposure to Herbicides. National Academies Press (US), 1994. <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK236347/>.
- Thompson, Chuck. "New PBS Documentary Says Agent Orange Alive and Hell in Pacific Northwest." *Columbia Insight* (blog), June 21, 2021. <https://columbiainsight.org/pbs-doc-the-people-vs-agent-orange/>.
- Towery, April. "Minneapolis Abolished Single-Family Zoning But Is That The Answer to More Affordable Housing?" *CandysDirt.Com* (blog), January 1, 2024. <https://candysdirt.com/2024/01/01/minneapolis-abolished-single-family-zoning-but-is-that-the-answer-to-more-affordablehousing/>.
- Tucker, Jonathan. *War of Nerves: Chemical Warfare from World War I to Al-Qaeda*. Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2007.
- United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. "Bayer," n.d. <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/bayer>.
- United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. "Shulamit Perlmutter (Charlene Schiff)," n.d. <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/id-card/shulamit-perlmutter-charlene-schiff>.
- United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. "The Many Legacies of Elie Wiesel," n.d. <https://www.ushmm.org/learn/holocaust/the-many-legacies-of-elie-wiesel>.
- United States of America Department of State Office of the Historian. "209. Memorandum From the Board of National Estimates to the Director of Central Intelligence," June 9, 1964. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v01/d209>.



University of Virginia School of Architecture. “Andrea Roberts,” n.d.  
<https://www.arch.virginia.edu/people/andrea-roberts>.

Ursula K. Le Guin. “Ursula K. Le Guin — National Book Foundation Medal: Ursula’s Acceptance Speech,” November 19, 2014. <https://www.ursulakleguin.com/nbf-medal>.

Valentino, Brenda, Matthew Stool, and Debra Vogel. Thesis Interview

“Vietnam Veterans Against the War: THE VETERAN: Memories of Operation RAW,”  
<https://www.vvaw.org/veteran/article/?id=3829>.

“Vietnam Veterans Against the War: THE VETERAN: Vets’ History: Operation ‘Dewey Canyon III,’” <https://www.vvaw.org/veteran/article/?id=1656>.

Wright, Ann. “Why Would Anyone Kill Themselves to Stop a War? On Aaron Bushnell and Others.” Common Dreams, February 26, 2024.  
<https://www.commondreams.org/opinion/kill-selves-to-stop-war>.

## *Appendix A: Limitations*

Due to time constraints and project limitations, I have a few suggestions for further research:

1. The group of participants in this study were diverse in terms of experience, gender, and cultural background. However, future research must include a more racially diverse group of participants. One of my significant short comings is the lack of people of color as well as Vietnamese perspectives.
2. With more time, I would have used my coding framework to analyze VVAW publications like *The Veterans*, *Winning Hearts and Minds*, *Demilitarized Zones*, and *Peace is our Profession*. This would be a productive avenue for further research.
3. Similarly, historical analysis of VVAW actions like Operation Winter Solider, Dewey Canyon III, and Operation RAW within an insurgent planning framework would be productive and worthwhile.

## *Appendix B: Epigraph References*

### ***Prologue***

Bell Hooks, "Introduction: The Heartbeat of Cultural Revolution," in *Outlaw Culture: Resisting Representations* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 6-7.

### ***Chapter I. Peace! Friendship! Beauty!***

Peter Stool, "Peter's Diary," December 6, 1974.

Peter Stool, "Peter's Diary," January 7, 1975.

### ***Chapter II. It's fine to die in the Spring***

Leonie Sandercock, "Introduction: Framing Insurgent Historiographies for Planning," in *Making the Invisible Visible: A Multicultural Planning History* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 1 – 2.

### ***Chapter III. Notes Regarding Theories and Methods***

Excerpt from an untitled and undated poem by Peter Stool

Fyodor Dostoevsky, *Notes from Underground*, trans. Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky (Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2011), 13.

### ***Chapter IV. A Note Regarding the Jewish Obligation to Bear Witness***

Robert Alter, *The Hebrew Bible: A Translation with Commentary*, vol. I: The Five Books of Moses – Torah, III vols. (W.W. Norton & Company) 2018, 63.

### ***Chapter V. American Modernist Planning: War***

Leonie Sandercock, "Introduction: Framing Insurgent Historiographies for Planning," in *Making the Invisible Visible: A Multicultural Planning History* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 1.

William Cronon, "Bounding the Land," in *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1983), 58.

Walter Johnson, "War to the Rope," in *The Broken Heart of America: St. Louis and the Violent History of the United States* (New York: Basic Books, 2020), 71

### ***Chapter VI. Only We Can Prevent Forests***

James C. Scott, "Authoritarian High Modernism," in *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 89.

“VA’s Agent Orange Examination Program: Actions Needed to More Effectively Address Veterans’ Health Concerns: Report to Congress By the Comptroller General of the United States” (Washington, D.C.: United States General Accounting Office, October 25, 1982).

Rachel Carson, “Needless Havoc,” in *Silent Spring* (New York: First Mariner Books, 1962), 99-100

## **Chapter VII. *American Insurgent Planning: Resistance & Protest***

Untitled and undated poem by Peter Stool

Untitled and undated poem by Peter Stool

## **Chapter VIII. *Live Peace!***

Untitled and undated poem by Peter Stool

## **Epilogue**

adrienne maree brown, “Hush,” Instagram, February 28, 2024,  
<https://www.instagram.com/p/C35H7WTgBGU/>.

“Palestinian Youth Movement Instagram Post,” Instagram, February 26, 2024,  
<https://www.instagram.com/p/C30TkgEgY16/>.

## *Appendix C: Recommended Resources*

### **Agent Orange, Herbicides, & Operation Ranch Hand**

- Arsenault, Chris. *Blowback: A Canadian History of Agent Orange and the War at Home*. Fernwood Publishing, 2009.
- Bergen, John D. “**Military Communications: A Test for Technology.**” *The United States Army in Vietnam*. Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History United States Army, 1986.
- Buckingham Jr., William A. “**Operation Ranch Hand: The Air Force and Herbicides in Southeast Asia, 1961-1971,**” 1982.  
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112105065244&seq=4>.
- Carson, Rachel. *Silent Spring*. United States of America: Mariner Books Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1962.
- Chi, Vu Le Thao. *Agent Orange and Rural Development in Post-War Vietnam*. Routledge Contemporary Southeast Asia Series. Taylor & Francis, 2020.
- Druker, Steven M. *Altered Genes, Twisted Truth: How the Venture to Genetically Engineer Our Food Has Subverted Science, Corrupted Government, and Systematically Deceived the Public*. Salt Lake City: Clear River Press, 2015.
- Ellison, D. Hank. *Chemical Warfare During the Vietnam War: Riot Control Agents in Combat*. Taylor & Francis, 2011.
- Elmore, Bartow J. *Seed Money: Monsanto's Past and Our Food Future*. W.W. Norton & Company, 2021.
- Fox, Diane Niblack. *Living with Agent Orange: Conversations in Postwar Vietnam*. Culture and Politics in the Cold War and Beyond. University of Massachusetts Press, 2024.
- Griffiths, Philip Jones. *Agent Orange: “Collateral Damage” in Viet Nam*. London: Trolley Ltd, 2003.
- Hay, Alastair. “**Vietnam and 2,4,5-T.**” In *The Chemical Scythe*. Disaster Research in Practice. Boston: Springer, 1982.
- Martini, Edwin A. *Agent Orange: History, Science, and the Politics of Uncertainty*. Edited by Christian G. Appy. Culture, Politics, and the Cold War. Amherst & Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012.
- Quick, Ben. “**Agent Orange: A Chapter from History That Just Won’t End.**” Orion Magazine, n.d. <https://orionmagazine.org/article/agent-orange-a-chapter-from-history-that-just-wont-end/>.
- Schmaltz, Florian. “**Neurosciences and Research on Chemical Weapons of Mass Destruction in Nazi Germany.**” *Journal of the History of the Neurosciences* 15 (2006).  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09647040600658229>.

- Scull, Lt. Sandy, and Cpl. Brent MacKinnon. *Agent Orange Roundup: Living with a Foot In Two Worlds*. Bookstand Publishing, 2020.
- Sills, Peter. *Toxic War: The Story of Agent Orange*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2014.
- Son, Le Ke, and Charles R. Bailey. *From Enemies to Partners: Vietnam, the U.S. and Agent Orange*. G. Anton Publishing, 2017.
- Swanson, Carl Addison. *Agent Orange*. Outskirts Press, 2023.
- “The U.S. Military and the Herbicide Program in Vietnam.” In *Veterans and Agent Orange: Health Effects of Herbicides Used in Vietnam*. Institute of Medicine (US) Committee to Review the Health Effects in Vietnam Veterans of Exposure to Herbicides. National Academies Press (US), 1994.  
<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK236347/>.
- Tripodi, Christian. *The Unknown Enemy: Counterinsurgency and the Illusion of Control*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021.
- Tu, Thuy Linh Nguyen. *Experiments in Skin: Race and Beauty in the Shadows of Vietnam*. Duke University Press, 2021.
- Tucker, Jonathan B. *War of Nerves: Chemical Warfare from World War I to Al-Qaeda*. New York: Pantheon Books, 2006.
- “VA’s Agent Orange Examination Program: Actions Needed to More Effectively Address Veterans’ Health Concerns: Report to Congress By the Comptroller General of the United States.” Washington, D.C.: United States General Accounting Office, October 25, 1982.
- War Legacies Project.** “Home,” n.d. <https://www.warlegacies.org>.
- War Legacies Project.** “Why Agent Orange?,” n.d. <https://www.warlegacies.org/post/why-agent-orange>.
- Weisberg, Barry. *Ecocide in Indochina: The Ecology of War*. San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1970.
- Wilcox, Fred A. *Waiting For An Army To Die: The Tragedy of Agent Orange*. New York: Random House, 1983.
- Young, Alvin Lee. *The History, Use, Disposition and Environmental Fate of Agent Orange*. New York: Springer, 2009.
- Young, Marilyn B. *The Vietnam Wars: 1945 - 1990*. HarperPerennial, 1991.
- Zierler, David. *The Invention of Ecocide: Agent Orange, Vietnam, and the Scientists Who Changed the Way We Think About the Environment*. University of Georgia Press, 2011. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt46n5dg>.

## **The Vietnam War & VVAW**

- Barry, Jan, ed. *Peace Is Our Profession: Poems and Passages of War Protest*. Montclair, New Jersey: East River Anthology, 1981.
- . *Waging Art: Tackling Grief and Trauma with Creative Arts*. Jan Barry Books, 2023.
- Barry, Jan, and W.D. Ehrhart, eds. *Demilitarized Zones: Veterans after Vietnam*. Perkasie, Pennsylvania: East River Anthology, 1976.
- Black, George. *The Long Reckoning: A Story of War, Peace, and Redemption in Vietnam*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2023.
- Boyle, Richard. *The Flower of the Dragon: The Breakdown of the U.S. Army in Vietnam*. San Francisco: Ramparts Press, 1972.
- Curry, G. David. *Sunshine Patriots: Punishment and the Vietnam Offender*. Notre Dame: University of Indiana Press, 1985.
- Draper, Theodore. *Abuse of Power*. New York: The Viking Press, 1968.
- Hixson, Walter L., ed. *Historical Memory and Representations of the Vietnam War*. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 2000.
- Hunt, Andrew E. *The Turning: A History of Vietnam Veterans Against the War*. New York and London: New York University Press, 1999.
- Hynes, Samuel. *The Soldiers' Tale: Bearing Witness to Modern War*. New York: Viking Penguin, 1997.
- Jan Barry. "Home,"** n.d. <https://www.janbarry.net/index.htm>.
- Kirby, Ryan J. **"Men against Power: Antistatistism, Grassroots Organizing, and the Vietnam Veterans Against the War."** University of Waterloo, 2014. <https://uwspace.uwaterloo.ca/handle/10012/8697>.
- Lembcke, Jerry. *The Spitting Image: Myth, Memory, and the Legacy of Vietnam*. Edited by Harvey J. Kaye. New York and London: New York University Press, 1998.
- Lifton, Robert Jay. *Home From the War: Learning from Vietnam Veterans*. 2005 Edition. New York: Other Press, 2005.
- Moser, Richard. *The New Winter Soldiers: GI and Veteran Dissent During the Vietnam Era*. Perspectives on the Sixties. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1996.
- Nicosia, Gerald. *Home to War: A History of the Vietnam Veterans' Movement*. New York: Crown Publishers, 2001.
- Rottmann, Larry, Jan Barry, and Basil T. Paquet, eds. *Winning Hearts & Minds: War Poems by Vietnam Veterans*. Brooklyn: 1st Casualty Press, 1972.
- Sir! No Sir! The Hidden History of the GI Movement Against the Vietnam War*. Documentary. Balcony Releasing, 2005.

Stacewicz, Richard. *Winder Soldiers: An Oral History of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War*. Twayne's Oral History Series 26. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1997.

Stocker, Curt. *Steel Pot*, 2023.

**"The Vietnam War: A Film by Ken Burns & Lynn Novick."** Documentary Series. PBS, September 2017.

Vietnam Veterans Against the War. *The Winter Soldier Investigation: An Inquiry into American War Crimes*. Beacon Press, 1972.

**Warrior Writers | Veteran Artists. "Home,"** n.d. <https://www.warriorwriters.org/>.

**W.D. Ehrhart. "Home,"** n.d. <https://wdehrhart.com/>.

Weiss, Daniel H. *In That Time: Michael O'Donnell and the Tragic Era of Vietnam*. New York: Public Affairs, 2019.

Wells, Tom. *The War Within: America's Battle over Vietnam*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994.

Westheider, James E. *Fighting on Two Fronts: African Americans and the Vietnam War*. New York and London: New York University Press, 1997.

**Women Veterans Empowered & Thriving. "Home,"** n.d. [https://www.womenveteranempowered.org.](https://www.womenveteranempowered.org/)



## *Appendix D: IRB Materials*

### **Sample Recruitment Message**

Dear [insert name],

Good [time of day]. My name is Dylan Metsch-Ampel – I am a graduate student studying urban and environmental planning at the University of Virginia. I first [found your work/learned about you] through [person/media]. I hope you do not mind me taking the liberty of reaching out to you.

For my thesis, I am researching how veteran-led anti-war movements can inform planning and environmental justice movements. To accomplish this, I am conducting a series of interviews with folks who were involved with Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) and other veteran-led anti-war movements. Would you be interested and willing to share your experiences as a participant in this study?

My motivation for this work is partially personal. The project is inspired by my great uncle, Peter Stool. He served in Vietnam and was stationed in Long Binh. He passed away in 1975 from cancer likely caused by exposure to Agent Orange. Peter was a poet and an active member of VVAW. Through this work, I will bear witness to your experience and stories. With your consent, I will document and preserve the interview and include it in an archive.

The interview will be semi-structured and last no longer than 90 minutes, with the option for an additional follow up interview. You will have the opportunity to respond to my questions and offer any information or stories you would like to have documented.

The interviews will be confidential, and references to you in reproduced and published material will utilize a pseudonym. However, participants will have the opportunity to waive their right to confidentiality and consent to the use of their name and identifying information in the reproduction and publication of the interview. All participants who consent to reproduction and publication will have the opportunity to review the work before it is publicly published. The interview can be held in person at a location of your choice, through a secure online communication platform (*e.g.*, Zoom), over the phone, or by email.

My study has been reviewed and approved by UVA's Institutions Review Board (IRB), under Protocol #6183. **If you are interested in learning more and/or participating in my research, please reply to this email.** I am happy to connect further to discuss the research and coordinate interview logistics. If you have any questions, please contact me at [wkq5ss@virginia.edu](mailto:wkq5ss@virginia.edu) or (973) 902-6572. You may also contact my faculty advisor, Dr. Jenn Lawrence, at [kmd5xf@virginia.edu](mailto:kmd5xf@virginia.edu) or (757) 784-6148.

Thank you.

Best,

Dylan Metsch-Ampel

## Civilian Interview Outline

### Part I – Pre-interview

- Introduce myself, and ask the participant to introduce themselves
- Thank you so much for agreeing to be interviewed and participating in this project. Before we begin, there are a few things I want to go over:
  - This interview will be no longer than 1.5 hours (90 minutes). If we both agree that it is necessary, we can set up a follow-up conversation/interview. The interview will be recorded and transcribed. You do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to answer.
  - I just want to reiterate a few key points you have already read in the general consent form: you can pause the interview as needed, you can skip any questions that you do not want to answer, and you can end the interview at any point. I also have a list of mental health resources that I can provide you with.
  - While I do have a set of questions that I am going to ask you, I encourage you to talk freely and share any information/stories/experiences that you want included – do not worry about whether it is directly related to my research as I have described it to you.

### Part II – Interview

1. Can you tell me a bit about your childhood and background?
  - a. Where did you grow up?
  - b. Tell me about your family:
    - i. What was the political attitude of your family?
    - ii. Military family?
      1. Who in your family was in the military?
      2. Were they involved in any wars or conflicts?
      3. Were you aware of this growing up?
      4. How did this impact your childhood and your family?
2. Anti-War Activism/VVAW
  - a. When did you hear about VVAW for the first time?
  - b. Can you tell me about what influenced you to join VVAW?
  - c. What type of organizing or support did you get involved with in VVAW?
  - d. Since you were not a serviceperson or veteran yourself, how did you feel when you were in VVAW spaces?
  - e. Were you involved with any other anti-war or social justice movements?
    - i. Are you still involved with VVAW or any other activist groups?
  - f. How did your family and friends react to your involvement in the anti-war movement?
    - i. If anyone in their family or chosen family was a serviceperson, how did they feel in particular?
  - g. How do you see veteran-led anti-war movements as distinct from general/civilian-led anti-war movements?
  - h. How do you understand the impact of anti-war activism in relation to the broader environmentalism and human rights movements?
  - i. How do you see contemporary conflicts, wars, and events in light of your experience protesting the Vietnam War?
    - i. In your view, how is the Vietnam War mirrored in contemporary issues?
  - j. What are some local issues, conflicts, and/or matters that you care about? These can be contemporary, or examples from the past.

- k. Much of what we are talking about is related to national and global matters. Do you see all of this – the Vietnam War, Agent Orange, VVAW, and your activism – reflected in or related to local issues? How so?
- l. Were you involved in helping found/consult IVAW?
  - i. Please tell me about that experience. What was your involvement? How does that work, and experience compare to your time working with VVAW?
3. Agent Orange:
  - a. Do you recall the first time you heard about Agent Orange/herbicides/Operation Ranch Hand?
  - b. How did you understand the purpose of the use of herbicides and the stated goals and underlying motivations for the war?
  - c. How has your understanding of the impacts of chemical warfare changed over time?
4. Clarifying questions to make sure to cover if they do not come up naturally:
  - a. Who else should I talk to?
    - i. I want to talk to the following people. . . do you have their contact information, and would you be willing to share it with me? Do you think they would mind you sharing their information with me?
  - b. Is there anything else that you would like to share, particularly something you would like preserved? This can be anything.

### **Part III – Review**

- Thank you so much. This was wonderful, and I so appreciate you taking the time to share your experiences, stories, and insights with me.
- I will be following up with you to:
  - Set up another time to talk (if necessary);
  - give you a chance to review the recordings, transcripts, and work in order to clarify the record and/or anything you have shared;
  - and keep you updated on the status and progress of my work and the archive.
- Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any concerns, questions, and/or want to continue the discussion. You have my contact information, but as a reminder my email is [wkq5ss@virginia.edu](mailto:wkq5ss@virginia.edu) and my phone number is (973) 902-6572. You can also contact my faculty advisor, Dr. Jenn Lawrence, at [kmd5xf@virginia.edu](mailto:kmd5xf@virginia.edu) or (757) 784-6148.

## Family Interview Outline

### Part I – Pre-interview

- Introduce myself, and ask the participant to introduce themselves
- Thank you so much for agreeing to be interviewed and participating in this project. Before we begin, there are a few things I want to go over:
  - This interview will be no longer than 1.5 hours (90 minutes). If we both agree that it is necessary, we can set up a follow-up conversation/interview. The interview will be recorded and transcribed. You do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to answer.
  - I just want to reiterate a few key points you have already read in the general consent form: you can pause the interview as needed, you can skip any questions that you do not want to answer, and you can end the interview at any point. I also have a list of mental health resources that I can provide you with.
  - While I do have a set of questions that I am going to ask you, I encourage you to talk freely and share any information/stories/experiences that you want included – do not worry about whether it is directly related to my research as I have described it to you.

### Part II – Interview

1. Can you tell me your name and your relationship to Peter Stool?
2. What is the earliest memory you have of Peter?
3. Tell me about the family at the time.
  - a. What was the political attitude of the family?
  - b. What was your reaction to Peter being drafted?
  - c. How do you remember the family reacting to Peter being drafted?
  - d. How did the family's view on the Vietnam War evolve as you understood more from Peter's experiences?
  - e. Did the family's attitude toward the Vietnam War change after Peter was drafted/deployed?
4. While Peter was in Vietnam, did the family have contact with him?
  - a. If yes, do you have any correspondence saved?
  - b. Looking back, what do you remember about the contact? What feelings come up for you?
  - c. What did Peter share with you and the family about his experiences in Vietnam
5. VVAW:
  - a. What was it like when Peter came home?
  - b. When did you hear about VVAW for the first time?
  - c. Do you remember him joining VVAW?
  - d. Do you remember him being actively involved with VVAW?
  - e. Did you ever considering getting involved with VVAW or any anti-war movements?
    - i. Was Peter open to you being involved in anti-war activities? Did he actively try to get you to join?
    - ii. If yes, why? How did you get involved? What did you do?
    - iii. If no, why?
  - f. Do you remember any of the people he was involved with?
  - g. How do you see veteran-led anti-war movements as distinct from general/civilian-led anti-war movements?
  - h. How do you understand the impact of anti-war activism in relation to the broader movements for environmentalism and human rights?
  - i. How do you see contemporary conflicts, wars, and events in light of your experience protesting the Vietnam War?
    - i. How is the Vietnam War mirrored in contemporary issues?

- j. What are some local issues, conflicts, and/or matters that you care about? These can be contemporary, or examples from the past.
  - k. Much of what we are talking about is related to national and global matters. Do you see all of this – the Vietnam War, Agent Orange, VVAW, and your activism – reflected in or related to local issues? How so?
6. Agent Orange:
- a. Do you recall the first time you heard about Agent Orange/herbicides/Operation Ranch Hand?
  - b. How did you understand the purpose of the use of herbicides and the stated goals and underlying motivations for the war?
  - c. How did your understanding of the impacts of chemical warfare change over time?
  - d. When did the family first link Peter's illness with exposure to Agent Orange?
7. Clarifying questions to make sure to cover if they do not come up naturally:
- a. Who else should I talk to?
    - i. I want to talk to the following people. . . do you have their contact information, and would you be willing to share it with me? Do you think they would mind you sharing their information with me?
  - b. Is there anything else that you would like to share, particularly something you would like preserved? This can be anything.

### **Part III – Review**

- Thank you so much. This was wonderful, and I so appreciate you taking the time to share your experiences, stories, and insights with me.
- I will be following up with you to:
  - Set up another time to talk (if necessary);
  - give you a chance to review the recordings, transcripts, and work in order to clarify the record and/or anything you have shared;
  - and keep you updated on the status and progress of my work and the archive.
- Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any concerns, questions, and/or want to continue the discussion. You have my contact information, but as a reminder my email is [wkq5ss@virginia.edu](mailto:wkq5ss@virginia.edu) and my phone number is (973) 902-6572. You can also contact my faculty advisor, Dr. Jenn Lawrence, at [kmd5xf@virginia.edu](mailto:kmd5xf@virginia.edu) or (757) 784-6148.

## Veteran Interview Outline

### Part I – Pre-interview

- Introduce myself, and ask the participant to introduce themselves
- Thank you so much for agreeing to be interviewed and participating in this project. Before we begin, there are a few things I want to go over:
  - This interview will be no longer than 1.5 hours (90 minutes). If we both agree that it is necessary, we can set up a follow-up conversation/interview. The interview will be recorded and transcribed. You do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to answer.
  - I just want to reiterate a few key points you have already read in the general consent form: you can pause the interview as needed, you can skip any questions that you do not want to answer, and you can end the interview at any point. I also have a list of mental health resources that I can provide you with.
  - While I do have a set of questions that I am going to ask you, I encourage you to talk freely and share any information/stories/experiences that you want included – do not worry about whether it is directly related to my research as I have described it to you.

### Part II – Interview

5. Can you tell me a bit about your childhood and background?
  - a. Where did you grow up?
  - b. Tell me about your family:
    - i. What was the political attitude of your family?
    - ii. Military family?
6. Can you tell me about what influenced you to join the military (*e.g.*, did you enlist/were you drafted)?
  - a. Do you recall how you felt leading up to your deployment?
7. Let's go to your time in-country;
  - a. Where were you deployed?
  - b. How did your feelings towards the war shift during your time in-country?
8. Agent Orange:
  - a. Do you recall the first time you heard about Agent Orange/herbicides/Operation Ranch Hand?
  - b. When you were in Vietnam, how did you understand/experience the use of herbicides?
  - c. How did you understand the purpose of the use of herbicides and the stated goals and underlying motivations for the war?
  - d. How has your understanding of the impacts of chemical warfare changed over time?
9. Veteran Life/VVAW
  - a. When did you return home and under what circumstances?
  - b. What were your experiences like upon returning home?
  - c. Can you tell me about what influenced you to join/found VVAW?
    - i. What type of organizing or support did you get involved with in VVAW?
    - ii. Are you still involved with VVAW or any other activist groups?
  - d. How do you see veteran-led anti-war movements as distinct from general/civilian-led anti-war movements?
  - e. How do you understand the impact of anti-war activism in relation to the broader environmentalism and human rights movements?
  - f. Have you been back to Vietnam/would you go back to Vietnam/would you like to go back to Vietnam?

- g. In your view, how do you see contemporary conflicts, wars, and events in light of your experience in Vietnam?
    - i. In your view, how is the Vietnam War mirrored in contemporary issues?
  - h. What are some local issues, conflicts, and/or matters that you care about? These can be contemporary, or examples from the past.
  - i. Much of what we are talking about is related to national and global matters. Do you see all of this – the Vietnam War, Agent Orange, VVAW, and your activism – reflected in or related to local issues? How so?
  - j. Were you involved in helping found/consult IVAW?
    - i. Please tell me about that experience. What was your involvement? How does that work, and experience compare to your time working with VVAW?
10. Clarifying questions to make sure to cover if they do not come up naturally:
- a. What was your rank and role in the military?
  - b. Who else should I talk to?
    - i. I want to talk to the following people. . . do you have their contact information, and would you be willing to share it with me? Do you think they would mind you sharing their information with me?
  - c. Is there anything else that you would like to share, particularly something you would like preserved? This can be anything.

### **Part III – Review**

- Thank you so much. This was wonderful, and I so appreciate you taking the time to share your experiences, stories, and insights with me.
- I will be following up with you to:
  - Set up another time to talk (if necessary);
  - give you a chance to review the recordings, transcripts, and work in order to clarify the record and/or anything you have shared;
  - and keep you updated on the status and progress of my work and the archive.
- Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any concerns, questions, and/or want to continue the discussion. You have my contact information, but as a reminder my email is [wkq5ss@virginia.edu](mailto:wkq5ss@virginia.edu) and my phone number is (973) 902-6572. You can also contact my faculty advisor, Dr. Jenn Lawrence, at [kmd5xf@virginia.edu](mailto:kmd5xf@virginia.edu) or (757) 784-6148.

**Informed Consent Agreement:**

The rest of this page is intentionally left blank



### **Informed Consent Agreement**

**Study Title:** ‘What happened to the six million?’ Veteran-Led Anti-War Movements as Environmental Justice Planning

**Protocol #:** 6183

**Please read this consent agreement carefully before you decide to participate in the study.**

**Purpose of the research study:** The purpose of the study is to learn more about veteran-led anti-war movements to understand how they have informed planning and environmental justice. This research will contribute to the literature on planning history and identify tools and strategies to add to the planner’s toolkit so the profession can better address environmental justice. I am a graduate student, and this research is part of my master’s thesis research.

**What you will do in the study:** You will respond to a set of questions posed through a semi-structured interview. You will also have the opportunity to talk openly about your experiences as an activist, soldier, and/or close relation of an activist or soldier. With your consent, I will take audio and/or video recordings of the interview and photographs. Interviews will take place in person at a mutually agreed upon location when possible. If this is not feasible, interviews will be held remotely via video conference (*e.g.*, Zoom), over the phone, or, if it is necessary or your preference, the interview can also be conducted via written correspondence (*i.e.*, via email).

**Time required:** The study will require up to 90 minutes of your time during the initial conversation. If necessary, there will be an option for follow up conversations.

**Risks:** If you are a veteran, I will be asking you questions about potentially traumatic events during your time in the military and exposure to Agent Orange. For all participants, I will be asking you questions that may recall traumatic events and periods in time. You can pause the interview as needed, you can skip any questions that you do not want to answer, and you can end the interview at any point. The interviewer also has a list of mental health resources that he can provide.

**Benefits:** There are no direct benefits to participating in this research study. However, if you consent, your interview(s) will be documented and preserved, and you will be able to access them. The research may shed light on how veteran-led anti-war movement practices can inform contemporary environmental justice and more just and equitable planning practices.

**Confidentiality:** The interview will be confidential and rely on the use of pseudonyms. By signing this consent agreement, you are giving me permission to analyze the interview, and reproduce and publish the information conveyed therein. You also have the opportunity to waive confidentiality. If you sign the confidentiality waiver, you are waiving your right to confidentiality and giving me permission to reproduce and publicly publish the interview(s) and the information contained therein without altering any identifying information. Reproduction may take a few forms, including but not limited to a transcript and/or audio/video recording. I plan to use these in the written text of my work, in appendices, and in a physical/digital archive that bears witness to your experiences. You will have the opportunity to review the work before it goes public so that you can clarify your positions, statements, and/or offer comments, suggestions, and edits.

---

**Protocol #6183: ‘What happened to the six million?’ Veteran-Led Anti-War Movements as  
Environmental Justice Planning**

---

The transcripts and recordings will be securely stored on my password protected phone and/or computer. Your personal contact information will be kept confidential, and I will not share that publicly.

If you would like the study to be kept confidential, you may sign the consent agreement and forgo the confidentiality waiver. In this case, the information that you give in the study will be handled confidentially. Your information will be assigned a code number. The list connecting your name to this code will be kept in a locked file and in a password secure app. Your name, picture, or any identifying information will not be used in any report. Audio/video recordings will be digitally altered so that you are not identifiable.

**Voluntary participation:** Your participation in the study is completely voluntary.

**Right to withdraw from the study:** You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty. Should you decide to withdraw, the audio/video recording, transcripts of the interview, and photographs will be destroyed. You will have two weeks from the date of the interview to withdraw.

**How to withdraw from the study:** If you want to withdraw from the study, tell the interviewer (me) to stop the interview. There is no penalty for withdrawing. If you would like to withdraw after your materials have been submitted, please contact me, Dylan Metsch-Ampel, by phone number (973-902-6572) or email ([wkq5ss@virginia.edu](mailto:wkq5ss@virginia.edu)). You will have two weeks from the date of the interview to withdraw.

**Payment:** You will receive no payment for participating in the study.

**Using data beyond this study:** I would like to use the information collected to curate a digital and/or physical archive that bears witness to your experiences. To do so, I need your consent. You will have the opportunity to give your consent through the material release form. If you do not consent to this, then the information collected during your interview will not be included in the archive or any future work. The raw data you provide in this study will be retained in a secure manner by the researcher indefinitely.

**Please contact the researchers on the study team listed below to:**

- **Obtain more information or ask a question about the study.**
- **Report an illness, injury, or other problem.**
- **Leave the study before it is finished.**

Dylan Metsch-Ampel, Principal Investigator  
Department of Urban + Environmental Planning  
University of Virginia School of Architecture, Campbell Hall  
110 Bayly Drive, Charlottesville, VA 22903  
Telephone: (973) 902-6572  
[wkq5ss@virginia.edu](mailto:wkq5ss@virginia.edu)

---

**Protocol #6183: 'What happened to the six million?' Veteran-Led Anti-War Movements as  
Environmental Justice Planning**

---

Dr. Jenn Lawrence, Faculty Advisor  
Department of Urban + Environmental Planning, Campbell Hall 409  
University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA 22903.  
Telephone: (757) 784-6148  
[kmd5xf@virginia.edu](mailto:kmd5xf@virginia.edu)

**You may also report a concern about a study or ask questions about your rights as a research subject by contacting the Institutional Review Board listed below.**

Tonya R. Moon, Ph.D.  
Chair, Institutional Review Board for the Social and Behavioral Sciences  
One Morton Dr Suite 400  
University of Virginia, P.O. Box 800392  
Charlottesville, VA 22908-0392  
Telephone: (434) 924-5999  
Email: [irbsbshelp@virginia.edu](mailto:irbsbshelp@virginia.edu)  
Website: <https://research.virginia.edu/irb-sbs>  
Website for Research Participants: <https://research.virginia.edu/research-participants>  
  
UVA IRB-SBS #6183

---

**Protocol #6183: 'What happened to the six million?' Veteran-Led Anti-War Movements as  
Environmental Justice Planning**

---

**Electronic Consent Agreement** (only sign this if you are signing this form electronically):

I agree to provide an electronic signature to document my consent.

Print Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

**Consent Agreement:**

I agree to participate in the research study described above.

Print Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

**Confidentiality Waiver:**

I agree to participate in the research study described above, and I waive my right to confidentiality. I consent to having my interview reproduced and published publicly.

Print Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

**You will receive a copy of this form for your records.**

---

## **Materials Release Form**

The rest of this page is intentionally left blank

## **Materials Release Form**

### **Materials Release Form for Audio Recordings, Video Recordings, and/or Photography from the Oral History Interview**

#### **Protocol #6183: ‘What happened to the six million?’ Veteran-Led Anti-War Movements as Environmental Justice Planning**

During the interview(s), you were recorded on audio and/or video recording devices so that your information may be used in my research and preserved as an historical record for archival and presentation purposes. Photographs may also have been taken. Upon completion of the interview, the interviewer compiled the recording into a written transcript. Having read the transcript of the interview, reviewed the recordings, and reviewed the photographs, you have three choices regarding the audio and/or video recording(s), transcript of the interview, and/or photographs. The materials may be designated either “**public,**” “**for research only,**” or “**private.**”

If you designate the materials “**public,**” the recording(s), transcript(s), and/or photographs will be accessible to members of the community through Dylan Metsch-Ampel. Dylan Metsch-Ampel may use the materials from the interview(s) for future exhibits and the materials will remain part of his permanent collection.

If you designate the materials “**for research only,**” the recording(s), transcript(s), and/or photographs will be analyzed by the researcher and your information will be used to complete the research study. Your information will be reported in a way that does not identify you.

If you designate the materials “**private,**” the recording(s), transcript(s), and/or photographs will be given to you. The only records of the interview will belong solely to you.

If in the future you wish to change the status of your recording(s), transcript(s), and/or photographs you may contact Dylan Metsch-Ampel. You will have two weeks from the date of the interview to change the status of the materials:

Dylan Metsch-Ampel, Principal Investigator  
Department of Urban + Environmental Planning  
University of Virginia School of Architecture, Campbell Hall, 110 Bayly Drive,  
Charlottesville, VA 22903  
Telephone: (973) 902-6572  
wkq5ss@virginia.edu

**Protocol #6183: ‘What happened to the six million?’ Veteran-Led Anti-War Movements as  
Environmental Justice Planning**

---

**Video Recording**

\_\_\_ I hereby designate the materials as **public** and give permission for my recording(s), and/or transcript(s) to be used by Dylan Metsch-Ampel.

I, \_\_\_\_\_, am a participant in Dylan Metsch-Ampel’s research project. I understand that part of the purpose of the project is to collect audio- and videorecorded oral histories, as well as selected related documentary materials such as photographs and manuscripts that I choose to share, for inclusion in Dylan Metsch-Ampel’s permanent collection that bears witness to the veterans and civilians involved in anti-war movements, with specific focus on Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW). These oral histories and related materials serve as a record and a scholarly and educational resource for the general public.

I understand that Dylan Metsch-Ampel plans to retain the product of my participation in the project, including but not limited to my interview, presentation, video, photographs, statements, name, images or likeness, voice, and written materials (“My Collection”) as part of his permanent collections.

I hereby grant to Dylan Metsch-Ampel ownership of the physical property comprising My Collection. Additionally, I hereby grant to Dylan Metsch-Ampel, at no cost, the perpetual, nonexclusive, transferable, worldwide right to use, reproduce, transmit, display, perform, prepare derivative works from, distribute, and authorize the redistribution of the materials in My Collection in any medium. By giving this permission, I understand that I retain any copyright and related rights that I may hold.

I hereby release Dylan Metsch-Ampel, and its assignees and designees, from any and all claims and demands arising out of or in connection with the use of My Collection, including but not limited to any claims for copyright infringement, defamation, invasion of privacy, or right of publicity.

\_\_\_ I hereby designate the recording(s), and/or transcript(s) **for research only** and give my permission for the researcher to use my materials as part of the research study. I want my materials to be reported so that they will not identify me.

\_\_\_ I hereby designate these materials as **private** and do NOT give my permission for my recording(s), and/or transcript(s) to be. The materials will be given to you for your own private use.

---

**Protocol #6183: ‘What happened to the six million?’ Veteran-Led Anti-War Movements as  
Environmental Justice Planning**

---

**Audio Recording**

\_\_\_ I hereby designate the materials as **public** and give permission for my recording(s), and/or transcript(s) to be used by Dylan Metsch-Ampel.

I, \_\_\_\_\_, am a participant in Dylan Metsch-Ampel’s research project. I understand that part of the purpose of the project is to collect audio- and videorecorded oral histories, as well as selected related documentary materials such as photographs and manuscripts that I choose to share, for inclusion in Dylan Metsch-Ampel’s permanent collection that bears witness to the veterans and civilians involved in anti-war movements, with specific focus on Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW). These oral histories and related materials serve as a record and a scholarly and educational resource for the general public.

I understand that Dylan Metsch-Ampel plans to retain the product of my participation in the project, including but not limited to my interview, presentation, video, photographs, statements, name, images or likeness, voice, and written materials (“My Collection”) as part of his permanent collections.

I hereby grant to Dylan Metsch-Ampel ownership of the physical property comprising My Collection. Additionally, I hereby grant to Dylan Metsch-Ampel, at no cost, the perpetual, nonexclusive, transferable, worldwide right to use, reproduce, transmit, display, perform, prepare derivative works from, distribute, and authorize the redistribution of the materials in My Collection in any medium. By giving this permission, I understand that I retain any copyright and related rights that I may hold.

I hereby release Dylan Metsch-Ampel, and its assignees and designees, from any and all claims and demands arising out of or in connection with the use of My Collection, including but not limited to any claims for copyright infringement, defamation, invasion of privacy, or right of publicity.

\_\_\_ I hereby designate the recording(s), and/or transcript(s) **for research only** and give my permission for the researcher to use my materials as part of the research study. I want my materials to be reported so that they will not identify me.

\_\_\_ I hereby designate these materials as **private** and do NOT give my permission for my recording(s), and/or transcript(s) to be. The materials will be given to you for your own private use.



**Protocol #6183: ‘What happened to the six million?’ Veteran-Led Anti-War Movements as  
Environmental Justice Planning**

---

**Photographs**

\_\_\_ I hereby designate the materials as **public** and give permission for my recording(s), and/or transcript(s) to be used by Dylan Metsch-Ampel.

I, \_\_\_\_\_, am a participant in Dylan Metsch-Ampel’s research project. I understand that part of the purpose of the project is to collect audio- and videorecorded oral histories, as well as selected related documentary materials such as photographs and manuscripts that I choose to share, for inclusion in Dylan Metsch-Ampel’s permanent collection that bears witness to the veterans and civilians involved in anti-war movements, with specific focus on Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW). These oral histories and related materials serve as a record and a scholarly and educational resource for the general public.

I understand that Dylan Metsch-Ampel plans to retain the product of my participation in the project, including but not limited to my interview, presentation, video, photographs, statements, name, images or likeness, voice, and written materials (“My Collection”) as part of his permanent collections.

I hereby grant to Dylan Metsch-Ampel ownership of the physical property comprising My Collection. Additionally, I hereby grant to Dylan Metsch-Ampel, at no cost, the perpetual, nonexclusive, transferable, worldwide right to use, reproduce, transmit, display, perform, prepare derivative works from, distribute, and authorize the redistribution of the materials in My Collection in any medium. By giving this permission, I understand that I retain any copyright and related rights that I may hold.

I hereby release Dylan Metsch-Ampel, and its assignees and designees, from any and all claims and demands arising out of or in connection with the use of My Collection, including but not limited to any claims for copyright infringement, defamation, invasion of privacy, or right of publicity.

\_\_\_ I hereby designate the recording(s), and/or transcript(s) **for research only** and give my permission for the researcher to use my materials as part of the research study. I want my materials to be reported so that they will not identify me.

\_\_\_ I hereby designate these materials as **private** and do NOT give my permission for my recording(s), and/or transcript(s) to be. The materials will be given to you for your own private use.

**Protocol #6183: 'What happened to the six million?' Veteran-Led Anti-War Movements as  
Environmental Justice Planning**

---

**Electronic Consent Agreement** (only sign this if you are signing the consent electronically):  
I agree to provide an electronic signature to document my consent.

Print Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

**Consent Agreement:**

I agree to participate in the research study described above.

Print Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

**You will receive a copy of this form for your records.**

---

## **Mental Health Resource Form**

The rest of this page is intentionally left blank

## Protocol #6183: ‘What happened to the six million?’ Veteran-Led Anti-War Movements as Environmental Justice Planning

### Mental Health Resources

- Veteran Specific:
  - Vet Centers (Readjustment Counseling) Call Center: 1-877-927-8387
  - Veteran Crisis Line:
    - Dial 988 then press 1
    - Text 838255
    - Chat online here: [https://www.veteranscrisisline.net/US Department of Veterans Affairs](https://www.veteranscrisisline.net/US%20Department%20of%20Veterans%20Affairs)
  - PTSD Program Locator: <https://www.va.gov/directory/guide/PTSD.asp>
  - Wounded Warrior Project’s PTSD Resources: <https://www.woundedwarriorproject.org/programs/mental-wellness/veteran-ptsd-treatment-support-resources>
- General:
  - Crisis Text Line: Text HOME to 741741
  - Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) National Helpline: 1-900-662-HELP (4357)
  - Project Healthy Minds’ Helplines List: [https://app.projecthealthyminds.com/tactics/helplines?psafe\\_param=1&gad=1&gclid=Cj0KCQjw4vKpBhCZARIsAOKHoWT4BbGnyK7QbkBDUUQOie\\_sNQv4tjdh3rj4KNTpZWTLgL40ia4vJH4aAtY4EALw\\_wcB](https://app.projecthealthyminds.com/tactics/helplines?psafe_param=1&gad=1&gclid=Cj0KCQjw4vKpBhCZARIsAOKHoWT4BbGnyK7QbkBDUUQOie_sNQv4tjdh3rj4KNTpZWTLgL40ia4vJH4aAtY4EALw_wcB)

# LONG BINH POST



## GUIDE TO IMPORTANT BUILDINGS AND FEATURES

NUMBER	NAME	BUILDING NUMBER	LOCATION
1	Amphitheatre	---	12D
2	Bank, Chase Manhattan	3013	10H
3	Billing Office	4943	10G
4	Book Store	3000A	9I
5	Smoking Alley	---	11E
6	Chapel, Main	912	7I
7	Craft Shop	5406	11F
8	Dental Clinic	701	6I
9	Dental Clinic	2813	9H
10	Dental Clinic	5813	11E
11	Educator Center	3027B	11H
12	Electric Power Plant (INACTIVE)	1601C	9M
13	Electric Power Plant	5636	8G
14	EM Club, Main	5709	10D
15	Finance Office	3014	10H
16	Fire Station	739	6I
17	Headball, Squash Courts	---	9G
18	Headquarters Area	5000Area	5C, 6C, 7C, 5D, 6D, 7D
19	Hatport, Head Shed Pod	---	---
20	Hospital, Headquarters	2814	9H
21	Library, Long Binh Post	3801	12E
22	Map Issue Point	5008F	7D
23	MOG Club, Main	5706	9D
24	Officers Club, Main	3809	12F
25	Os Mess	5745A	10C
26	Officers Club, 86	4791	9F
27	Officers Club, 811 (RMC)	3118	10J
28	Oriental Restaurant	3553	9G
29	Post Exchange, Concession, Preston Park	3000H	9I
30	Post Exchange, Preston Park	3000D	9I

## GUIDE TO IMPORTANT BUILDINGS AND FEATURES

NUMBER	NAME	BUILDING NUMBER	LOCATION
31	Post Exchange, Shop and Shop	5747	9C
32	Post Exchange, USARV, Main	5714	11E
33	Post Office, APO 96388	5810	12G
34	Post Office, APO 96481	914	7I
35	Post Office, APO 96384	3013	10H
36	Private/Marinal Office	634	9I
37	Service Club (Facilities)	5407	11F
38	Steam Bath	3415	11F
39	Steam Bath, SOG Arms	4918	9C
40	Swimming Pool, Main	3004	9C
41	Swimming Pool	143C	2E
42	Swimming Pool	6339	7B
43	Swimming Pool	---	11E
44	Theatre	---	11E
45	Tennis, Volleyball, Basketball Courts	---	10D
46	Tennis, Volleyball, Basketball Courts	---	9E
47	Tennis, Volleyball, Basketball Courts	---	10K
48	Tennis, Volleyball, Basketball Courts	---	7G
49	Tennis, Volleyball, Basketball Courts	---	7B

### LEGEND

- HELIPAD
- PAVED ROAD
- DIRT ROAD
- TRAIL
- STREAM
- INTERMITTENT STREAM
- HIGH POWER WIRE
- FENCE LINE
- BUILDING SERIES NUMBER
- IMPORTANT BUILDINGS AND FEATURES

P6-679910

G & M Division  
2 - SEP 1972  
Library of Congress

G7024  
L6  
1972  
L6