Impressions of a Discontinued Way of Life – American War Resisters in Canada in the 1960s

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Prologue

> *Those who make the conscientious judgment that they must not participate in this war … have my complete sympathy, and indeed our political approach has been to give them access to Canada. Canada should be a refuge from militarism.* Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Prime Minister, 1969

There were profoundly important symbolic shifts in meaning catalyzed by the arrival of the American war resisters in the 1960s and early 1970s. These shifts occurred in the political and cultural ascriptions of and by the war resisters and the Canadians who encountered them. There were important symbolic shifts in how Canadians thought about America and the Americans who had fled to Canada during this period. Memories of the 1960s are often romanticized, always contested and frequently erased; they are deeply implicated in contestations about national identity and sovereignty that persist in current American and Canadian cultural and political discourses. According to John Hagan (2001)[1], the exiles of Toronto's "American ghetto"[2] changed Canada in many

[1] I am deeply indebted to recent work by John Hagan (2001) entitled *Northern Passage*, from which I draw a great deal of the contemporary research data and analysis used in this essay.

[2] This phrase, which is used by John Hagan (2001, Chapter 3), describes the somewhat obscure and affectionate form of self-identification adopted by some of the draft dodgers and war resisters and their social/political circles, who were living in various Toronto enclaves, most famously on Baldwin Street. I use the term, always in quotation marks, to indicate my ambivalence about its usage in relation to this particular population of displaced persons that was comprised predominantly of young, white, relatively well-educated men (Hagan, 2001) who opted for exile in Canada rather than serve in the American military during the Vietnam War. "Ghetto" typically refers to two situations: one is an historical association with the Jewish ghettos in European cities, particularly the Warsaw Ghetto, in which hundreds of thousands of Jews were confined and where they perished from hunger and violence during the Holocaust; the other is a designated area, usually within a city, in which members of a particular minority group (e.g., understood in

positive ways. Not only did they become a distinct force in Canadian social and political life, but their plight spurred Canada to reassert its national sovereignty and resuscitate its national pride.

Throughout American history, marginalized and disenfranchised Americans have been fleeing to Canada in order to escape oppression and persecution. During the American Revolution, thousands of American colonists who wanted to remain loyal to England fled to Canada (BBC News, 2004). After the British Empire abolished slavery in 1833, American slaves escaped to Canada via the Underground Railroad. In 1917, approximately 4,000 Hutterites immigrated to Alberta from South Dakota where they were being persecuted because they were German-speaking and unwilling to fight in World War I. And today, there are approximately 200 American military war resisters in Canada who have refused to fight, or to continue fighting, in Iraq (War Resisters Support Campaign 2005).

In the mid-1960s, the migration of Vietnam-era American draft and military resisters to Canada "began as a trickle and grew into a fast-flowing stream by the end of the decade" (Hagan 2001, 3). In 1964, approximately 100 resisters, including both "draft dodgers" and "deserters", came to Canada; in 1967, over 3,000 came, and between 5,000 and 8,000 came yearly from 1968 through 1973 (*Ibid*.). Many American resisters eventually settled in Toronto, which was English-speaking, less tightly unionized [than Vancouver], and "increasingly cosmopolitan" (Hagan 2001, 3). In the 1960s, Toronto became home to the largest group of American resisters (*Ibid*. 4). Many continued to

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racial, sexual, gendered, ethnic, religious, ethnic or national terms) live in high concentration, whether by choice or by force. It is to this latter usage that the term "American ghetto" alludes, apparently without malice or disrespect, to those living in segregation and poverty and whose lives are often considerably more precarious and in danger than those of American exiles in Toronto.

participate in anti-war activism in Canada. Americans "formed about 20 percent of all immigrants to Canada during the Vietnam era; this was more than any other immigrant group" (*Ibid.;* and Canadian Council for Refugees, 2007). Slightly more women than men came, as partners and as spouses; many came on their own. This migration "had serious social and political consequences or the arriving Americans as well as for Canada as a whole" (Hagan 2001, 3). More than an estimated 50,000 young Americans migrated to Canada in opposition to the US draft and military laws, according to Hagan's research: "If all Americans of all ages are counted, the number is closer to 100,000 … and …it will never be known exactly how many came or eventually stayed" (2001, 3).

American war resisters presented Canadian immigration authorities with somewhat of a challenge. On the one hand the authorities wanted to appease the US. In 1969, Pierre Trudeau told the National Press Club in Ottawa that living next to the U.S. "…is in some ways like sleeping with an elephant. No matter how friendly or temperate the beast, one is affected by every twitch and grunt" (CBC Archives 2007). At the Canadian border, resistance to American selective service and military law intersected with Canadian immigration law, as Canadian border guards functioned, often unsympathetically, to interpret Canadian immigration law and regulations to the disadvantage of draft dodgers and especially of military resisters (deserters).

Turning away war resisters violated Canadian immigration law; nonetheless, Canadian border officials enacted a "covert policy" according to which draft dodgers were allowed to enter the country and the military deserters were turned away (Hagan 2001). When the United Church of Canada, the country's largest and most powerful protestant denomination, and a self-appointed defender of Canada's national integrity,

discovered the end run around Canada's immigration laws, the Church entered the policy arena at the national level (Hagan, 2001). The result was a radical reframing of the immigration of war resisters into a public debate about Canadian values, national identity and primarily about sovereignty. The effects of this discursive shift, catalyzed by the United Church of Canada, are still discernible in Canada-US relations, and in immigration policy discourses.

Motivational Terrain

This essay is an exploration of displacement[3] experienced by American war resisters[4] who came to Toronto during the Vietnam War in the 1960s, thereby constituting what has been called "the largest politically motivated exodus from the United States since the country's beginning" (Hagan 2001, xi). I am interested particularly in juxtaposing various narratives about the 1960s in order to weave together impressions of the period from different perspectives. I do this in order to augment and reorganize some of my own memories of the 1960s, which are oddly fragmented and incomplete, despite my having lived with a draft dodger for nearly eleven years. My

[3] My orientation to displacement, which I take to be both a category of political thinking and a condition of political life, was developed extensively as the subject of my MA thesis, entitled *On Becoming (Un)Acceptable: Displacement and the Politics of Frame* (2006). In that work, I created the paradoxical concept of "becoming (un)acceptable" so as to attempt to articulate the heterogeneous, embodied and material character of being both displaced from *and* tethered in concrete, material ways, to global networks of social relations—i.e., to networks of others' becomings.

[4] I use the terms "war resisters" or "resisters" so as to encompass the spectrum of categories of American migrants who came to Canada to avoid serving in the American military and therefore being sent to Vietnam. War resisters were not necessarily activists; their legal status in the US and Canada varied depending on whether they had failed to report as required for induction, or whether they had deserted their armed forces commission after induction or deployment, and on whether they had obtained landed immigrant status in Canada; most had done so (Hagan 2001).

former partner was a draft dodger who immigrated to Canada from Buffalo via Cleveland in 1969, when he was 25 years of age.

I situate this essay in the era called "the 1960s" and write about war resisters, including those living on Baldwin Street, for several reasons. This was a period of complex and dissonant social, political and cultural forces in Toronto, and in Canada, that continue to resonate within society. For almost twelve years during that period, I lived in the Annex, a few blocks from Baldwin Street, which was central to the arrival and absorption of a great many war resisters. I am also interested in the politics of memory that is reflected in the mass mediations – films, television, and print media from Canada and the US. These mediations are implicated in the ways in which I have remembered, forgotten, and woven together the threads of this part of my life.[5]

In my doctoral dissertation research program, I am pursuing my interest in Canadian social policy and policy discourses, and, although this theme is not developed further here, it is apparent that significant shifts of meaning occurred in Canadian immigration law and administration that were catalyzed by the American exodus of war resisters. Finally, my interest in the exodus of war resisters during the Vietnam era arises in the context of my earlier work on developing a theory of displacement and the paradox of "becoming (un)acceptable" (discussed below).

The aim of this essay is not to develop a sustained and coherent argument for a particular perspective; nor is it to assert a dominant (that is, a sovereigntist) frame of

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[5] I actually "missed" the 1960s because I was a little too young and too naïve to really grasp the significance of what was occurring around me, and in Toronto. Nonetheless, I have vivid, "prosthetic memories" (Landsberg, 2004) of the 1960s youth culture and political resistance movements, for example, that inform my sense of self to this day. I acquired and absorbed these memories in various ways, primarily through the transformative exposure to some 250 – 300 films that I saw each year in the company of my American war resister spouse. These prosthetic memories are very much a part of my sense of self, which includes feeling as though I was actually "part" of the 1960s in significant ways, nonetheless. What is "real" and what is "imagined" is not clear in terms of my own experiences of the 1960s; indeed, memory is always both real and imagined.

reference within which the American exodus during the Vietnam War ought to be situated, or through which we ought to understand these stories. I take no such ethical position. I share with William Connolly (1995) a relationist conception of ethics; that is, ethics is about *how things relate*. Juxtaposition (including the juxtaposition of ideas in an essay, understood as a particular genre) is a mode of relation, whether we are speaking about individuals, collectivities, discourses, narratives, flows, multiplicities, or networks of social relations. As such, juxtaposition is a dynamic concept that does not necessarily require normative claims to be made about how things *ought* to relate. In this essay, I follow various pathways, often divergent but always emanating from the central story of the exodus, in order to juxtapose segments of various narratives. I do this so as to foreground and explore some ambivalent symbolic meanings and relationships that emerge in the stories about the 1960s, the American exodus and the "American ghetto" in Toronto. How are some of these ambivalent symbolic meanings constructed in fictional narratives?

In vividly compelling prose, two of Keith Maillard's novels (2006a and 2006b of his *Quartet*) depict the ambivalence, turmoil and transitions experienced by these young Americans while they struggled with their conflicting emotions about whether or not to report for induction, and to fight in Vietnam. The following passage is emblematic of the power of Maillard's prose to convey this inner turmoil, experienced as much by young men who intended to sign up, as it was by those who opted to flee to Canada. The longing for a meaningful life is heightened by the very real possibility that the life will be cut short. The dissociation of meanings (the ambivalence) emerges in Maillard's characters (2006b), as Revington talks to his friend, John Dupre who is horrified at the

shift in Revington's mental state. John equates this shift with Revington's capitulation to establishment sanity. Paradoxically, resisting the war was both "crazy" and ultimately rational, in John's view.

> He retrieved the pictures, folded them away. "I miss her," he said, a far gaze in his eyes. "Sometimes I think I'd like to get her pregnant before I go …"
>
> "Go where?"
>
> He pointed vaguely toward the bar, conjuring up the jungles of Vietnam. "I think the British fliers must have felt like that," he said in his World War II movie voice. "They knew they weren't going to come back … wanted to leave something of themselves behind for the world … something honorable … a baby."
>
> I was so angry with him I couldn't even laugh. I lit a cigarette. "Get off it, Revington. You're not going anywhere except to law school."
>
> No, Dupre. That's not our destiny any longer. We're all going to be in uniform … the entire generation."
>
> "Revington, what the hell's happened to you? You used to be so crazy." (*Lyndon Johnson and the Majorettes*, p. 21)

The aim of this essay, then, is to continue to weave together elements of different narratives and multiple ways of remembering the Vietnam era (including oral history and fictional accounts) and how the American exodus affected Canadians' sense of selfhood and national identity. These impressions will culminate in some reflections on the Baldwin Street community, how it coalesced in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and how its *discontinued way of life* continues to resonate in Canada. The questions that animate my explorations are these: How do we remember the American immigrant community in Toronto in the 1960s? What was the character of the "temporary community" (Portelli 1991, 174) of war resisters called the "American ghetto" on Baldwin Street in Toronto? How did Baldwin Street contribute to cultural life in Toronto?

Writing Strategy

> *If my mind could gain a firm footing, I would not make essays, I would make decisions; but it is always in apprenticeship and on trial.*
> Michel de Montaigne, 1632

My writing strategy is experimental. It owes its orientation, style and form to a particular understanding of the genre of the essay that is characterized as a "discontinued way of writing" (Panagia 2006, 98)[6]. I adopt this orientation, derived in part from literary theory, in order to push on the limits of my thinking and writing about displacement and becoming (un)acceptable. I do this for two reasons: First, I want to develop attunement to a mode of writing that I believe is most conducive to an impressionistic exploration of what I have characterized as "a discontinued way of life" – Toronto's "American ghetto" on Baldwin Street.

Second, in attempting to engage more explicitly with cultural and aesthetic questions, I want to resist writing in the more familiar and therefore comfortable idiom of poststructuralist political theory. By approaching the writing this way, I hope to sustain a form that is suited to conveying impressions of the discontinuous and ephemeral, yet profoundly enduring, social and cultural formations that comprised the communities of American exiles, the "American ghetto." The point, then, is to deploy a less familiar genre in order to attempt to perform or mimic the tensions and ambivalence felt by so many Canadians and American war resisters in the Vietnam era.

My deployment of the concept of the *genre of the essay* draws on recent work by Davide Panagia (2006), in which he brings together politics and aesthetics in order to

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[6] I am also deeply indebted to the scholarship of Professor Davide Panagia, Canada Research Chair, Cultural Studies, Trent University, whose groundbreaking work, *The Poetics of Political Thinking* (2006) has stimulated new ways to approach the relationship between politics and aesthetics. In particular, I draw extensively on his reading of de Montaigne on the ethics of the essay as a genre of political writing.

foreground the aesthetic dimensions of political thought. In his discussion of how one ought to read and write and become critically engaged citizens (2006, 96), Panagia raises ethical questions about what constitutes good thinking, and good political writing. The essay as a literary genre with political and ethical implications is "oriented toward the ill-formed or the incomplete"; it originates in Michel de Montaigne's *Essais*, a term derived from the French verb *essayer*, meaning *to try*, which "in itself, gives us a good sense of the circumscribed nature of this prosaic form" (Panagia 2006, 97). The essay, Panagia argues, "carries with it an attitude of critical responsiveness – a readerly ethos inviting to anyone who reads – but also an opportunity to challenge the lacunas, omissions, and satirical exaggerations of an author" (*Ibid*.).

Drawing on Montaigne's discussion of the tradition of the "grotesque" (which is linked in genealogical and literary terms by Montaigne to the form and style of the prehistoric cave drawings) to describe the art of the essay, Panagia asserts that Montaigne is being ironic and innovative by coupling the "insight that the playfulness of the grotesque rescues us from a kind of nihilism" (2006, 99). Thus, the essay as a literary genre performs in literary terms both the form and open-endedness that are characteristic of the political – politics and aesthetics are thereby inextricably interwoven.

On Panagia's reading of Montaigne, the essay "comes to possess all the qualities of becoming" … that embody a "phenomenology of perspective" … [and requires] "a centrifugal reading strategy, one that does not look for the kernel of meaning within a closed system, but rather, moves outward and away from the centre" (2006, 99-100). Montaigne insists on the "difficulty of uncertainty" and Panagia reads this as a demand for a "readerly ethos *attuned to the dispersions of a fantastical world of becoming*"

[emphasis added] (Panagia 2006, 99). The essay also has a form, despite its tentative character; it "operates on a principle of composition" and it is a genre "committed to life in that its sources of inspiration are the experiences of living creatures" (Theodor Adorno, cited in Panagia 2006, 100). The essay embodies a "formal commitment to becoming" which "favors an associational logic of cross-connections between disparate and diverse elements" (Panagia 2006, 101).

The essay operates centrifugally; it begins with an idea, and from that place emerge various, often unpredictable, lines of exploration, of inquiry, of reflection, of observation, and of critical perspective (Panagia 2006). In much the same way (as I hope to illustrate in phenomenological terms that parallel the literary characteristics of the genre of the essay) the Baldwin Street "American ghetto" began with an idea and evolved centrifugally, into and out of robust and unpredictable modes of becoming and belonging that had both form and function.

By continuing to challenge the limits of representation in many genres, the "American ghetto's" discontinuity (the embodiment of the displacement of war resisters during the 1960s) continues to open up possibilities for critical engagement, resistance and political action. For example, Pierre Trudeau's famous 1969 declaration that "Canada should be a refuge from militarism" has been redeployed since 2003, when the US invaded Iraq, by present-day war resisters and activists.[7] Trudeau's assertion is no

[7] The US and its allies invaded Iraq in the spring of 2003. By 2005, Vietnam War resisters had mobilized across national boundaries to march together with Iraq War resisters newly in Canada in order to demand that the Martin Government open Canada's doors to US military personnel who cannot in good conscience fight in Iraq (War Resisters Support Campaign, 2005). There are approximately 8,000 deserters registered by the Pentagon since the invasion of Iraq in 2003. Many of them are living underground in the US. A Canadian War Resisters Support Campaign, coordinated by Lee Zaslofsy, has established a network of support and information for deserters who have come to Canada (an estimated 200 military personnel, since 2003). Servicemen refusing to deploy to Iraq have filed claims for political refugee status; two cases have been denied, the others are pending review. Vietnam veterans who were active in the 1960s peace

less contentious or contested than it was in the 1960s; and it was asserted at the convergence of a unique and contingent set of circumstances associated with Canadian-American relations in that period. Yet it continues today to resonate with and be deployed by intergenerational coalitions of resistance to "unjustified militarism" (War Resisters Support Campaign 2005).[8]

In a final move, that links the aesthetic to the political in the context of the genre of the essay, Panagia tells us that "by adhering to a transgressive logic of becoming, the form of the essay repudiates the hierarchical architectonic of power characteristic of the logic of sovereignty … [in the genre of philosophical argumentation] … there is an ethics to this aesthetics of political writing" (*Ibid.*). In my view, Panagia's reading of the literary genre of the essay originating in Montaigne's writings offers an ethical orientation to the process of writing that is well suited to writing about the displacement of forms and symbols during the 1960s American exodus to Canada.

Theoretical Orientation[9]

How do I understand in theoretical terms the displacement experienced by American war resisters who came to Canada in the 1960s? What do I mean by *displacement*? Briefly, displacement engages the ways in which *belonging* and *becoming*

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movement are mentoring this new generation of American war resisters in Canada (Alternet, December 7, 2006).

[8] Michael Foley draws important parallels between the current political environment in the US and the Vietnam era: the "parallels between the calls for unity and patriotism that dominate American life today" are "reminiscent of the early days of the Vietnam War, when self-styled patriots not only shouted down dissent but sometimes beat it out of people … dissent is demonized again … resistance and confrontation are demonized" (2003, x).

[9] This theoretical formulation was developed as part of my MA thesis (2006) entitled "On Becoming (Un)Acceptable: Displacement and the Politics of the Frame" (Trent University, Centre for the Study of Theory, Culture and Politics).

embody sovereigntist urges yet operate together in constitutive tension. "Belonging" is used to characterize a state of relative stability (of identity, of boundaries, of agency) that is bolstered by the assumption of sovereignty, which ironically is itself never a stable stage. I use "belonging" as a proxy for all of those sovereignty-based phenomenological states of being in the world that seek to resist change. Because "belonging" is phenomenological, it is a relational state, whose boundaries are necessarily porous and changing. Belonging/becoming is not a dualistic characterization; I use it to express the simultaneous, sequential and heterogeneous forces that seek to stabilize a state of being while at the same time changing it into something other than itself. Thus, "becoming (un)acceptable" is another way of expressing the push-pull forces of belonging/becoming that incorporate the social situatedness of states of being that seek both to belong and to become *in relation to others*. We, in our plurality, are always simultaneously moving away from and toward, the other, and the new.

Memory is another matter. The chronological, narrative form conflicts with the time shifts and shifting textures and images of my own memories of the era. I do not want to develop impressions of the 1960s and of the communities of American war resisters in Toronto by adopting a sovereigntist, a god's-eye, or rearview-mirror, perspective of the era. On the other hand, it is important to develop some intellectual and critical distance on the questions that these impressions generate, in order both to understand and to convey some of the complexities and the cultural richness of this period in the history of Canada, and of Toronto. In other words, my ethical orientation as the author of *this* essay includes confronting my own displacement in relation to the topic, to the many rich resources upon which I draw, the writerly tasks, my memories,

and the juxtapositions of narratives. The authorial displacement to which I refer also embodies the push/pull forces of *belonging* (e.g., writing something that meets standards, adheres to the required forms, possesses a finitude and stability of position) and *becoming* (e.g., pushing on the limits of knowledge, questioning the sovereigntist urges that the quest for stability embodies, challenging my own recollections of the period, and embracing the uncertainty, open-endedness and a certain non-linearity of writing for discovery). The challenge is to relate to literature, and to narratives more generally in phenomenological terms; in other words, there is more at stake than a merely technological analysis.

Alessandro Portelli (1991) writes of his experiences teaching English literature to Italian university students at the University of Rome in 1980-81. In attempting to help the students relate to English literature, Portelli decided to reposition literature as something other than a "separate type of language and experience, to be subjected to strictly technical analysis" (270). He did this by introducing the students to the nonlinear narratives of William Faulkner which he used in comparison with "nonliterary narratives, by ordinary people in everyday speech" (1991, 270). The key question, with respect to time in narratives, was whether "the shifting temporal plans which so perplexed the students had been malignantly concocted by Faulkner in order to confuse his readers, or whether people just naturally told stories that way" (Portelli 1991, 271).

By studying the time shifts and the ways in which time is manipulated by narrators "not only to reconstruct the past, but to evaluate it" Portelli and his students reached the conclusion that a story "is told 'naturally' not when it adheres to 'objective' chronology but when it departs from it in order to incorporate subjective meanings and

judgment … only a very careful, artificial effort, can keep 'facts' and 'opinions' separate; in ordinary speech, they are likely to mingle, just as genres mix in most oral speech acts" (1991, 272).

Genres mix and mingle in the internal conversations that we have with ourselves; these conversations are proxies for oral speech acts. John Dupre, the narrator of Maillard's *Lyndon Johnson and the Majorettes* (2006a), spends most of his time drinking with his two friends. Fiercely opposed to the Vietnam War, he is eligible for the draft, and expects to receive his notice at any moment. Dupre's life has one purpose: to write an historical novel about the American Civil War; he has been working on it for almost two years. The following internal dialogue illustrates the power of the stories that we tell ourselves about ourselves. These are woven into the stories we tell others and become part of our identities and oral histories:

> Be that as it may, I told myself, in the meantime, while you are laying around Raysburg playing the fat drunken buffoon—longing for Cassandra as you have ever since you've met her, obscurely tantalizing yourself by taking pictures of her beautiful little sister, brooding about the past and musing upon it all in your usual poetic but utterly ineffectual way—your draft board could lower the boom on you at any moment. OK, GET UP TOMORROW BRIGHT AND EARLY AND DRIVE DOWN TO MORGANTOWN AND REGISTER FOR THE FALL SEMESTER. Yeah, I could do that, but somehow going back to Morgantown seemed almost as bad as getting drafted. WRITE A LETTER TO YOUR DRAFT BOARD, A CONFESSION SO MAD THEY'LL KNOW JUST WHAT A RAVING LUNATIC THEY'RE DEALING WITH. TELL THEM YOU LIED AT YOUR PHYSICAL, THAT YOU REALLY DO HAVE YELLOW FEVER, JAUNDICE, AND ACUTE ANEMIA. WHILE YOU'RE AT IT, TELL THEM THAT YOU SUFFER FROM NIGHTMARES, WALK IN YOUR SLEEP, WET THE BED, AND SLEEP WITH BOYS EVERY CHANCE YOU GET. Hey, that's a good suggestion. I'll certainly keep that in mind. GET UP TOMORROW MORNING AND WORK ON YOUR NOVEL. THAT'S THE ONLY THING THAT COUNTS. (p. 84)

Internal always dialogues are always discontinuous; they depart from a chronological telling of a story. These dialogues create the conditions of possibility for engagement with others, and with ideas. The essay, as Panagia (2006) argues, is a discontinued way of writing that leaves open the possibility for political and critical engagement; it is also a genre that also concerns itself with incorporating subjective meaning and judgment, which always entails the making of distinctions, while not being hampered by a rigid adherence to a single genre. To the extent that my own essay departs from an "objective chronology" of the story of Baldwin Street, the 1960s, the Vietnam era, and so on, and that it manages to integrate different genres adapted from oral history, scholarly research, popular media, and literature, then it is a mimetic and perhaps a more "natural" way of writing. Because it is a solitary creative and analytical process, this essay is also a representation of the discontinuous internal dialogues of the author.

The mixing of genres in an essay can be understood as akin to the mixing of genres in most oral speech acts: the essay mimics oral speech acts, and in doing so creates political and ethical openings, in different registers, for readerly engagement and critique (Panagia, 2006). It also mimics the internal conversations that we have as we are working on an idea, unbounded by temporality or form. So my material will ebb and flow and weave together a variety of impressions, observations and reflections, which may offer some different ways to think about the discontinued way of life on Baldwin Street, both as a community-in-itself and as a symbol, or a metaphor for the 1960s in Toronto. How do we understand temporality in relation to this discontinued way of life, in the 1960s and 1970s?

Temporal Frames

In a survey of research on the 1960s over the past two decades, Andrew Hunt asks the pivotal question: "when did the 'the 1960s' happen?" (1999, 147). Drawing on the work of James Miller (1987)[10], Hunt characterizes the 1960s as not simply a decade, but "an impetuous and extreme spirit – youthful and reckless, searching and headstrong, foolhardy and romantic, willing to try almost anything" (1999, 147). The 1960s became synonymous with "the movement" which Hunt characterizes as "a vague yet frequently used expression used to describe a cluster of mass protests, on local and national levels, typically originating from Civil Rights or Black Power struggles, the antiwar movement, the New Left, student power groups, feminism, and other political, cultural or minority activists" (1999, 147). Hunt's position is that the mushrooming literature on protest movements of the 1960s by American scholars depends too much on the history of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) as the dominant frame of reference.

The SDS emerged during the Civil Rights and peace movements, coalesced in 1962 in Port Huron with the publishing of the "Port Huron Statement" which was a "prescient critique of postwar American capitalism" and "quickly became the key focus of New Left Radicalism in the US (Hunt, 1999, 147). SDS is estimated to have grown to a membership of 100,000 nationwide by the late 1960s (*Ibid*.). In the summer of 1969, the organization collapsed "as a result of a devastating political split between two ultra-

[10] In his new Preface to *Democracy is in the Streets*, James Miller puts the 1960s into a context, claiming that something of value did happen: "Most of the large questions raised by that moment of chaotic openness--political questions about the limits of freedom, and cultural questions, too, about the authority of the past and the anarchy of the new--are with us still" (1994, viii).

left sects, Progressive Labor and the Weathermen"[11] (*Ibid*.). The story of SDS is so compelling and vivid that scholars have conflated, Hunt argues, the 1960s with the history of SDS in the US. This conceptual framework is "inadequate … for understanding the breadth and depth of protest activity in the 1960s and 1970s" he argues (1999, 148). This "SDScentric 1960s history" is found in various, extensive bodies of literature in the fields of history, sociology, political science and so on.

Any conceptual framework that centres primarily on 1960s protest movements and the history of protest movements leads many scholars to assert that "the death of the 1960s" occurred in 1969, coinciding with the collapse of SDS. Or scholars expand the frame, while maintaining its orientation, to assert that the 1960s continued past 1969 in the US (politically, culturally, socially) because of the flourishing in the 1970s of so many protest movements and other forms of activism that grew out of the 1960s movement milieu (e.g., feminism, militant Native American political activism, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, counterculture activism that "shunned the New Left's 'grim seriousness' – such as Abbie Hoffman's "unrelenting ethic of playfulness, and the "backyard revolution" that characterized new emerging local citizens' rights groups, environmentalism, and communalism) (Hunt 1999, 152-154). Hunt concludes his survey of two decades of predominately Americanist research on the 1960s by lamenting the fact that "the 1960s will remain contested terrain as long as historians, participant/observers, and journalists continue to disagree about the impact of the a range of political, social and

[11] The creation of the radical, revolutionary Weather Underground, which had called itself the Weathermen (because *they* knew which way the wind blew … a reference to a song by Arlo Guthrie), was in response to the weakening of the SDS. The goal of the SDS was to "assert their rights" on civil rights, Vietnam, social, and political issues (Raynor 1872, 68). The SDS deployed non-violent tactics and believed that "the individual should share in those social decisions determining the quality and direction of his life"; the Weather Underground deployed violent and radical strategies (Gitlin 1987, 391).

cultural movements that emerged during this period": what is needed is to "more systematically explore the [New Left] movement's neglected constituencies as the VVAW" (1999, 156).

It seems to me that Hunt overlooks the great strength of the "blossoming" body of research on the 1960s, which is its very discontinuity and fostering of contestation about meanings. The disagreements that concern Hunt are disagreements about the impact of the social movements of 1960s, and about when the 1960s actually happened, who "owns" them (in the inter-generational academic debates about the impacts), and why we continue to return to the 1960s in our attempts to come to terms with contemporary, post-modern, globalized, societal fragmentation and cultural conflict. These disagreements are productive precisely because they persist; not because a single interpretation has come (or will ever come) to dominate the literature. Such contestations are not destructive; they are enriching. Perhaps, in psychological terms, "the turn toward memory is subliminally energized by the desire to anchor ourselves in a world characterized by an increasing instability of time and the fracturing of lived spaces" (Huyssen 2000, 28).

In my view, this continuing contestation about meanings reflects an enduring and politically productive ambivalence about the 1960s in both the US and Canada. Canadian ambivalence, as Robert Wright (2001) explains, embodies "remarkably sophisticated cultural and political strategies for deriving pleasure, prosperity and peace of mind out of conditions of contradiction, paradox and irony … ambivalence has allowed, and perhaps even fostered, a Canadian propensity for pragmatism, flexibility and adaptability" (16-17). Rather than engaging in contestations that arise about how to periodize the 1960s,

perhaps what is needed is a healthy dose of ambivalent engagement that leaves such questions unanswered, and rightly so.

The 1960s in the US signify discontinuity and contestation; in Canada, they signify ambivalence. The answer is not, as Hunt suggests, to reconstitute the framing of the 1960s within the "broader context of social history" in order to "undermine the excessive periodization" of the era (1999, 157). The debates about the 1960s in American and Canadian media and the academies, for example, are debates about the politics of memory, and of forgetting. The battles about how to position, reposition or to eradicate the 1960s as a conceptual framework are really battles about the effects of the 1960s on Canadian and American identities, citizenship and sovereignty. As parallels are drawn today between the American military actions in Vietnam and Iraq, it seems inevitable that the 1960s, however we choose to characterize the era, will continue to resonate across generations. The 1960s symbolize both a discontinued way of life and an enduring, continuously contested terrain of political and cultural questions – critical questions, which are potent reminders of the symbolic power of the era. Foregrounding, for the moment, a war resister's story makes apparent the ways in which these forces played out in the lives of these young men, their partners, and their families.

One Resister's Story

> *Questioning war is a perfectly valid act of citizenship …*
> James Foley, 2003

In an interview conducted in March 2001 by Stephen Maxner of The Vietnam Archive Oral History Project[12], John Swalby, a deserter, describes how he was able to enter and settle in Canada in March of 1968. Swalby's story is paradigmatic of the stories of deserters who came to Canada. Swalby's experiences paralleled in interesting ways the passage into Canada of American slaves via the Underground Railroad. In the 1960s, there was an extremely well coordinated, cross-border, modern version of the Railroad in operation, involving faith-based groups (the Quakers) and university students and academics on both sides of border, as well as sympathetic associates of these groups, including activist and resistance movements.

What is also remarkable is the clarity with which Swalby is able to recall the particular sequence of events in the days surrounding his life-altering decision to flee to Canada. Reproduced below are some excerpts from that interview, which I present so as to bring us closer to the intensities of the experiences. While the account seems on the surface to be straightforward, made palpable are the confusion and anxiety that were present, notwithstanding Swalby's matter-of-fact recollection of events. At this point in the interview, Swalby is talking about his military training and his return home to El Paso, Texas, for the Christmas break:

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[12] In 1999, the Vietnam Center initiated the Oral History Project. An element of the Vietnam Archive, the mission of the Oral History Project is to create and preserve a more complete record of the wars in Southeast Asia by preserving, through recorded interviews, the recollections and experiences of the men and women who participated in these wars, as well as those military and civilian personnel involved in activities surrounding the wars on the home front. The Archive "believes that the history of the wars in Southeast Asia is not complete without the inclusion of the voices of the men and women who were involved in the wars" http://www.vietnam.ttu.edu/oralhistory/

> **JS:** At that time, I did connect up again with one of my buddies from high school. He took me out to a couple of places and started talking to me and introduces me into a group of his circle of friends, turns out later were SDS, Students for Democratic Society. He was traveling more or less in those kinds of crowds. They got to talking to me and convincing me, what I was doing was really, really wrong.
> **SM:** Do you remember their specific line of reasoning?
> **JS:** Well, it was filled with all the clichés of the '60s. Of the evilness of the military, industrial complex, yadda, yadda, yadda, that sort of thing. Very much a left wing rhetoric that was just starting to flourish at that time. It made a lot of sense to me. …. They sent me to talk to some other people … at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque. They said to me, John, "We can get you out of the country in 48 hours." … I made a couple of mistakes. I had a girlfriend at the time … she panicked and immediately turned me in … well, she told my folks, the three of them basically [turned me in]. So all of a sudden I knew I had to go underground very quickly. I talked to the people in El Paso and the smuggled me up to Albuquerque on a weekend, kept me on ice for a week … they said, "we're thinking Vancouver." As it turns out, the people who were organizing this, they had a very well organize network of information through the university systems. At the last second, they put me on a plane to Buffalo, gave me a fake ID, gave me a fake draft card, put money in my pocket, and put me on a plane to Buffalo.

In Buffalo, John is met by contacts who take him into Canada to have a cup of coffee and "look at the Falls." Once in Canada, John is put onto a bus to Toronto, with information on how to contact the Toronto Anti-Draft Program (TADP). He learns that TADP does not "really handle military cases" and he is referred to a University of Toronto professor who connects him to a group of Quakers, who "pretty much … in Toronto at the time … every one of them had an American living in their basement." John is given a copy of the TADP Manual for Draft-Age Immigrants[13], shelter, and counseling on the next steps to take.

[13] The *Manual* was created by Mark Satin, a former SDS member and American war resister living in the Annex in the late 1960s. It was published under his name by Anansi Press in conjunction with the Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA) and later by the Toronto Anti-Draft Program (TADP). The Anansi edition sold more than 65,000 copies, which was a remarkable accomplishment for a small Canadian publishing house. Many American war resisters still have their copies (Hagan 2001).

Through the network of Quaker connections, John receives a written offer to work on a farm in Ontario, and some money. He travels back to Buffalo and then "around to Cleveland, got on a plane in Cleveland and flew to London, Ontario … they knew the guy who was going to be on duty there. They knew the complete schedules … with their coaching and with their drilling of me, I knew all the forms better than he did." John applies for landed immigrant status, and the London border guard helps him work through the regulations: "I had my paper work in order; I had my job offer and so forth … they let me into the country on a tentative basis until my paperwork gets processed in Ottawa … so within about a month's time of arriving in Canada, I was out milking cows in rural Ontario (laughs)."

More on Maillard's Resister

Taking up Maillard's fictional accounts, we Swalby's account resonates with Dupre's narrative. Maillard's *Lyndon Johnson and the Majorettes* (2006a) is the third book of a quartet, collectively titled *Difficulty at the Beginning,* which evokes the ethos of American youth culture in the mid-1960s. The story is set in the summer of 1965 in a small town in West Virginia. Dupre is drafted. But he has other plans:

> The moist, rank, muddy river smell, as always, told me I was home. Not much ever changed in Raysburg from one year to the next. I could imagine myself growing old in this town, sitting in exactly the same spot year after year, drinking exactly the same illegal bar whiskey and weak West Virginia beer, staring at the same river and wondering what the fuck it all meant. That is, of course, unless I got my ass shot off in Vietnam. ASK NOT WHAT YOUR COUNTRY, ETC. (p. 81)

Dupre is struggling with the anger and angst that characterized the lives of many young American men in the 1960s. His transformation from listless drifter to anti-war activist

to draft dodger echoes the stories told by many who came through the process, such as the story recorded in the preceding interview with John Swalby. Swalby's political awakening seems less dramatic than Dupre's, but no less profound in the impact that it had on his life, culminating with the flight to Toronto.

Dupre's revulsion at what he perceives to be the lies told to Americans by President Lyndon Johnson is eerily prescient; it resonates with the anger that so many feel today as they listen to George W. Bush continue to rationalize the invasion of Iraq and its consequences:

> Then, after an interminable wait, the President of the United States appeared on the screen, staring straight at us, beginning, as he always did: "Mah fellow Americans …" All I had to do was hear that cretinous voice—I RIDE FROM TEXAS ON A BIG WHITE HORSE—to be sickened, once again, with a noxious hatred for the lying son of a bitch. (p. 90)

> I sat there and fumed. Now LBJ was telling us that he was raising the number of men in Vietnam from seventy-five thousand to a hundred and twenty-five thousand. "This will make it necessary to increase our active fighting forces by raising the monthly draft call," he said, from "seventeen thousand … to thirty-five thousand." I felt the deadly impact of that just as though he'd whipped out a hidden six-gun and blasted me with it. (p. 91)

Maillard captures brilliantly the shock of finding the letter from the draft board. Although Swalby did not articulate these feelings in quite so poetic a fashion, through Dupre, we can understand in phenomenological terms with the effects that the letter has on Dupre's body, and on his sense of time and of reality:

> … One morning I found the letter lying innocently on the floor beside the mail slot. I knew what it was before I opened it. I'd been expecting it, yet I felt a shock wave that surged through my entire body and prickled my scalp. Greetings! ASK NOT WHAT YOUR COUNTRY CAN DO FOR YOU.
>
> I called Revington. "Christ, William, I've been drafted."

> There was a long pause. Then he said, "Well, I hope you'll serve with honor."
>
> I hung up on him.
>
> He called me back immediately. "That was the wrong thing to say, huh?"
>
> "Yeah, that was the wrong thing to say." I realized that somewhere along the way I'd lost the ability to tell the difference between Revington serious and Revington kidding. (p. 127)

Finally, the moment arrives when all of Dupre's drifting ceases, and his stories shift into a new temporal register, with a new sense of purpose and futurity. Throughout the second half of the book, Dupre's internal dialogues are interspersed repeatedly with a fragment of John F. Kennedy's call to the youth of America "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country." It occurs not as the youth mantra that it was intended to be, but as an ironic reminder of the loss of hope that Kennedy's assassination a year earlier represented for Dupre and his generation. The Kennedy mantra thus recoded occurs in Dupre's discontinuous internal dialogues as his anger boils about the immorality of the war and about Lyndon Johnson's "lies." Kennedy's youth mantra morphs into metaphoric, ironic peeling of a bell, reminiscent of Hemingway's, "ask not for whom the bell tolls, it tolls for thee …"

> Grinning, Cassandra handed the envelope to her little sister. It took Zoë a moment to get it; then her lips silently said, "cool," and she passed it on to Revington.
>
> He frowned, passed it back to me: my one-way ticket to Toronto. His eyes were as hurt as if I'd done something terrible thing directly to him. ASK NOT WHAT YOUR COUNTRY CAN DO FOR YOU. "You'll be back," he said.
>
> "No, I won't," I said. (p. 150)

In the final installment of *The Quartet*, *Looking Good,* Maillard (2006b) captures the profound shift in the American political and cultural landscape. Set in Boston during the Harvard Square riot, the novel follows draft dodger John Dupre and his friends as

they work for the local underground newspaper and try to deal with the factionalism that is splitting the Left, pitting SDSers against the Weathermen. Dupre is wanted by the FBI for draft evasion. In the melee of riots, demonstrations, bombings, and campus violence that erupt in Boston during this period, John and his feminist friend Pam Zalman find themselves also on the Weatherman hit list (Maillard 2006). The story climaxes as John and his life-long soul-mate, Cassandra, flee to Canada.

In vivid and poetic terms, Maillard captures the temporal compression, spatial disorientation and intense fear that must have characterized the crossing experiences of John Swalby and so many other draft dodgers (and their partners) of this era. John, who had already immigrated to Canada in order to dodge the draft, returns under an assumed name and in the closing moments of the story, rescues his girlfriend from the chaos in Boston. In the following excerpts, we get a sense of the intensity of the transition for both people as John shepherds his emotionally fragile, anorexic Cassandra, garbed in "respectable" middle-class clothing, onto a plane bound for Toronto:

> A girl's voice, cheery as all hell, called for boarding. Wait. Don't get caught up in a crowd of people who might be curious, or friendly, or simply not inclined to mind their own goddam business – but don't be the last ones either. He had to steady her, his arm around her waist, but she walked. …
>
> Take off, he prayed to the invisible pilot …
>
> Cassandra lay back in her seat with her eyes shut …
>
> A voice came over the PA. When it switched from English to French, Cassandra opened her eyes and stared at him. "You asshole," she said.
>
> "Where the fuck are we going?" she said.
> "Toronto," he said. …
>
> With the nail file he'd kept in his shirt for precisely that purpose, he cut the thread around the secret pocket on the inside of his knapsack, took out the Landed Immigrant card, his Ontario driver's license, Social

> Insurance card, York University student card – all the little rectangles of paper that attested to the fact that he was an utterly credible person named John Dupre. …
>
> "Have you been out of the country long, Mr. Dupre?"
> "No. A couple weeks." …
>
> John watched the balding, middle-aged official check [Cassandra] out. No, she wasn't one of those goddammed pain-in-the-ass American radicals; she was exactly what she looked like – a girl in a herringbone suit, a nice girl, a very pretty girl.
> "Welcome to Canada, Miss Markapolous."
>
> Customs didn't bother to open their bags. They walked through the basement of the airport, up the stairs and outside. The sun had set, leaving behind a clear stripe of indigo. …
>
> "You're free and clear, Cassandra. You're vanished. You're gone."…
>
> "Where are we going?"
> "My old place in the Annex."…
>
> She caught his hand and pulled him forward. Walking quickly, she led him toward the cab that would take them into downtown Toronto. (pp. 431-434)

Going to Canada

Draft resistance and war resistance were complex social and cultural phenomena which raised questions about the duties and responsibilities of individual citizens, and their freedoms, in times of war. Resistance openly called into question the war in Vietnam, which represented to many a betrayal of national principles; to participate meant "serving a state that was acting in ways that were fundamentally un-American" (Adams 2005, 410). Maillard captures a sense of this anger, in *Majorettes*, as Dupre reflects on his political awakening:

> I had never felt as strongly about any public issue as I did about Vietnam. There were no shades of gray for me, no complexities. Whether viewed through the lens of simple morality or that of realpolitik, the war was

> stupid and wrong; it ran counter to every American ideal I'd been taught in grade school; the longer it went on, the more deeply I felt about it until it came to represent for me everything that was wrong with America—a tragedy, an obscenity, a national disgrace from which we might never recover. (p. 115)

In every election year since the 1960s, when the candidates of a certain age face questions about their military service (which is code for their service in Vietnam), those who avoided the draft are criticized as having literally "abandoned the nation" (Adams 2005, 409). Bill Clinton was criticized for studying abroad at Oxford while his compatriots faced the draft. In 1986, George Bush senior defended running mate Dan Quayle against allegations that he evaded his duty by noting that Quayle "did not go to Canada"; this strategy was echoed by the younger Bush, who was "not willing to go to Canada" so he "chose to better [himself] by learning how to fly airplanes" (*Ibid.*). The draft dodger who fled to Canada continues to be a maligned figure in the US, whose "going to Canada" is synonymous with bad character (Adams 2005, 410).

Memories are Made of This

> *How are we to negotiate the rapid change and turnover in what Georg Simmel called 'objective culture' while at the same time satisfying what I take to be the fundamental need of modern societies to live in extended forms of temporality and to secure a space, however permeable, from which to speak and to act? Surely there is no one simple answer to such a question, but memory – individual, generational, public, cultural, and, still inevitably, national memory – surely is part of it.* Andreas Huyssen, 2000

Discourses of the 1960s resistance invite "additional questions about whether it is possible to conceive a viable form of American citizenship independent of the state" (Adams 2005, 410). Criticism of the anti-war movement in the 1960s reinforced the view that "genuine protest could take place only on national soil" and it reinforced the view of

the establishment that "all good Americans recognized the value of military service" (Adams 2005, 430). As Adams explains, "going to Canada" once meant more than we now recognize … for draft dodgers themselves, it was about serious struggle with the meaning of citizenship; for the women who followed the draft dodgers, 'going to Canada' represented the realization that US military and economic power extended across national boundaries" (2005, 431). The abjection of the draft dodger and deserter continues to be deployed in order to "elevate the moral standing of those who served" (Adams 2005, 431). Canadians claimed (and may again claim) draft dodgers as evidence of their "national tolerance" and "resistance to US imperialism" (Adams 2005, 431). The draft dodger continues to linger in the rhetoric of US electoral politics as well as that of US-Canadian relations.

The period of the 1960s in Canada was a crucible period in contemporary Canadian culture and in Canadian-American relations; it remains a crucible period in the ways in which we remember, and what we have forgotten, about the era. Some of our memories were forged in the flames of passion and nostalgia, so they are more vivid, surrealistic, and immutable. Others were consumed in the crucible and have long since drifted away in psychedelic wisps of smoke. In Canadian discourses, as much as in the American discourses reviewed briefly above, the phrase "the 1960s" continues to conjure up wide-ranging and often contradictory notions of what the period represented and how it impacted on Canadian culture. In baby boomers' memories, the crucible period was their coming-of-age, in which political, social and cultural identities were forged.

The 1960s was not, as the phrase implies, merely the chronological period 1960 to 1969, in either the US or Canada. I return again to Hunt's question: When did the 1960s

happen in Canada? Also, what are the individual, generational, public, cultural and national memories of the 1960s, and how are they linked to the American exodus during the Vietnam era? If, as Hunt's research indicates, the debate rests on whether or not the 1960s ended with the collapse of SDS in 1969, or continued into the 1970s with the advent of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) and other similar movements, than all we can say about the 1960s in Canada was that it was an echo of the American1960s – an echo or perhaps a less vivid set of images much like the haunting images in doubly exposed film or photograph.

Memories (which are always both "real" and imagined) are contingent and constitute distinct identities and cultures. For example, in his history of the baby boom generation, and his reflections on rock concerts and how we remember them, Doug Owram (1996) draws on a metaphor employed by François Ricard: "Rock was a religion for the baby boom … rock concerts were temples in which people gave witness of their faith and participated in the emotional uplift of a communal spiritual event" (282). Much like the gatherings at public places of worship, the rock concert was a gathering of the faithful "to see and be seen, and most of all, enjoy 'their affiliation with something larger and more powerful than themselves'" (Owram 1996, 282). If the rock concert was the baby boom religion, then, as Owram explains, "none was more holy nor held more reverently as a sacred memory than the one in early August 1969 [on] Yasgur's farm in upstate New York" (1996, 283).

The Woodstock rock festival was appropriated symbolically by the Canadian counterculture youth and "became a mark of the generation or more accurately, of what the generation would like to be" (*Ibid*.). Woodstock symbolized the strength of the youth

movement, generational values, and power; the concert attained an enduring, mythical stature in the memories of those who attended – in person, and in spirit. The mythical and symbolic power of Woodstock became a "prosthetic memory" (Landsberg 2004) for millions of baby boomers[14]. I am no exception. Indeed, as a professor of mine (who is also a baby boomer) remarked recently, if every boomer who thought s/he was at Woodstock had actually attended, the crowd would have numbered in the millions.

For Owram (1996), Woodstock was not the "dawning of the age of Aquarius"; it was, "in retrospect … more of a twilight than a dawn" (284). The optimism of 1967 had evaporated by 1969 as Cold War tensions heightened, the Czechoslovakian uprising of 1968 was crushed by the Russians, SDS had collapsed and the movement to overthrow Lyndon Johnson lost momentum among youth activists in the US, the violence of the US Democratic convention, of the civil rights riots, assassinations of Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King, the Tet Offensive, the Manson murders – "all shook earlier assumptions about the 'age of Aquarius' through 1968 and 1969" (Owram 1996, 284).

The "disastrous" Altamont Rock Concert five months later "mocked the [Woodstock] images of peace and love" and together, these two rock concerts "symbolize the change of mood and mark the beginning and the end of the 1960s" (Owram 1996, 285). The baby boom's "mood darkened" and the "generation lost its sense of unity and optimism" (Owram 1996, 285). Yet, to this day, boomers continue to be swept up in the rosy nostalgia and sense of hope that Woodstock symbolizes; it is as though we were

[14] The standard dictionary definition of "prosthetic" is an "artificial part supplied to remedy a deficiency." Prosthetic devices are typically associated with surgical and mechanical procedures that attach inorganic parts to the organic body, by suturing or other technologies, in order to restore so-called "normal" human functioning and/or appearance. For Alison Landsberg (2004), the burning in of synthetic memories is what she calls "prosthetic memory." It is a corrective memory, not organically based, but one that is nonetheless experienced with one's own body. It is a corrective memory that we incorporate because we have a desire to experience the past as if it were our own.

there, and so these prosthetic memories actually constitute who we are. In the late 1980s, I can still recall feeling awestruck when I discovered that one of my colleagues had really been *there.* I continue to appropriate the symbols, memories and genuinely heightened feelings of nostalgia and camaraderie when Woodstock, and the 1960s, re-emerge in our discourses.

In writing about the "echoes of *The War Measures Act*"[15] Hagan reminds us that Trudeau's "refuge from militarism" was short lived. So part of the answer to the question *when did the 1960s happen in Canada?* is that they ended with Trudeau's declaration of martial law. After the FLQ Crisis in October 1970, American war resisters were compared in public discourses with terrorists and the separatists in Quebec. Political analysts of the day began to scapegoat war resisters as "malcontents, revolutionaries, and criminals" (Hagan 2001, 203). To the war resisters, Canadian militarism was as virulent as that of their homeland. As Hagan (2001) views this conflation of images of the war resisters (how they were recoded as criminals after the FLQ crisis), this was a time of heightened ambivalence about Canada. Canadian youth engaged in war resistance and counterculture movements felt betrayed by Trudeau. This sense of betrayal became an enduring ambivalence about the Trudeau legacy. For many boomers who had been part of the youth counterculture movements, Trudeau's legacy remains deeply problematic, yet undeniably influential, in shaping our discourses about citizenship, national identity,

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[15] The Quebec crisis of October 1970 had a significant impact on the politic of war resistance in Canada. As Hagan (2001, 140-1 explains, "American war resisters who had come to Canada were angry about the assault on civil rights by the Canadian government, which they had taken to be considerable more liberal and non-aggressive than their own. Many who came in 1970 went back to the US at the first opportunity. The climax occurred when members of the Front de Liberation du Quebec (FLQ) kidnapped the British trade commissioner, James Cross, and the Quebec Labour Minister, Pierre Laporte, whom they later killed. The federal Liberal government of Pierre Trudeau responded by invoking the War Measures Act, imposing martial law throughout Canada. This use of the military as a civilian police force was both an assault on the entire separatist movement and then on American war resisters in its net." The mayors of Canada's largest cities used the law in a backlash against war resisters.

and national pride. It is a measure of the power of the Trudeau legacy that the discourses of the *just society* are resurfacing in current anti-war activism, and war resister support networks, in Canada.

Canadians' ambivalence toward the war resisters also increased dramatically during the post-FLQ crisis period, and it became increasingly difficult, for example, for many of the Americans to find jobs once their reason for leaving the US was known by prospective employers. My former partner was resolute in his determination not to hide his draft dodger status, and on every job application, when asked his reason for leaving his last job, he would always answer "I was drafted." After 23 interviews, his first job offer came in early 1970, when he was hired by an American expatriate (one of the many recruited by Canadian universities) who was the director of a program at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, a graduate school in education affiliated with the University of Toronto. The director's brother was a deserter living underground in Texas. We moved together into the Annex area in the early 1970s.

We Were a Noisy Community of Strangers[16]

The Americans living on Baldwin Street in the early 1970s were among more than twenty thousand American war resisters living in Toronto who had taken advantage of Canadian immigration law in order to resist US selective service (Hagan 2001, 66). Baldwin Street was the "emotional heart" of the "American ghetto" in Toronto. This war resisters' community, which emerged during the summer and fall of 1968, included shops and businesses begun by the Americans, in a mixed Chinese and Jewish neighborhood a short distance south of the University of Toronto. These new American

[16] Douglas Fetherling, 1994, 88.

immigrants, who established a "countercultural American ghetto in the heart of the city", became part of the city's transformation (*Ibid.* 67). They created housing cooperatives, community newspapers, voluntary organizations including war resistance organizations, and small business. "More than a few became university professors" (Hagan 2001, 71)[17].

They "stood out, not only because of their youth but probably also because of their American exuberance. They had a tendency toward outspokenness. This, combined with their uprootedness and displacement, created an impression that was often boisterous and sometimes disturbing" (*Ibid*.). The American enclaves clustered around the University of Toronto where they intersected with different student and other support organizations, and student antiwar activist groups. The war resisters' enclaves, including Baldwin Street, became a "residential base of overlapping organizational and social ties" that were a "powerful source of solidarity and commitment" shared by the American immigrants and their Canadian friends and allies (*Ibid*.).

The Baldwin Street war resisters resided in a paradoxical community because it was both that was simultaneously coalescing and centrifugal. This "temporary community" was created in part by "an emotion shared by many people at the same time" (Portelli 1991, 174). As an emotional community it was represented by the relationships, politics and daily life of the American exiles living on and around Baldwin Street that was the community's focal point. The emotional community comprised people, collectives, apartments, houses, stores and street life in this area and included fund-

[17] Among the prominent war resisters that went on to make significant contributions to the cultural and political life of Toronto, and of Canada, Hagan includes: Jay Scott, movie critic; Philip Marchand, literary critic; Jon Caulfield, award-winning author; John Liss, labour lawyer; Charlie Diamond, anti-homelessness activist; Andy Barrie, CBC broadcaster; Allan Kazmer, advertising executive; Jack Calhoun, editor of *Amex* (Americans in Exile); Dennis James, clinical director of addictions treatment; Sandra Foster, urban politics; Jane Jacobs, and her two draft age sons (Jacobs had a major influence on the development of the City of Toronto and the Stop Spadina movement). Many became university professors (Hagan, 2001).

raising rock concerts, street demonstrations, festivals and celebrations of all kinds. Despite the transience of the American war resisters, who rarely stayed in the Baldwin Street area for any length of time, there was a social network that sustained itself because it attracted young Americans to Toronto and then helped draw them into the war resistance efforts (Hagan 2001, 82-88). The emotional bonds among the Americans and between the war resisters and the other residents of the community were strong and vibrant and often endured well past the 1960s (*Ibid.*).

Temporary communities, according to Portelli, are also created in times of war when individuals are thrown together and made to share "dramatic experiences" and "subtler emotions of coming of age" (1991, 175). While the war resisters were not thrown into conventional battle together, they found themselves thrown together and sharing dramatic experiences of political activism and a political coming-of-age as they left behind their own communities and came to Canada. They participated together in demonstrations and peace rallies – forming many other emotional communities. As Portelli explains, a "rally or a march is an emotional community based on an organization, all of whose members are gathered at the same place … it moves and speaks collectively … [it] generates specific oral forms in order to synchronize these actions" (*Ibid*.).

If the Baldwin Street community was a temporary community in Portelli's sense; it was also a "partial community" where identity became an "idiosyncratic combination of factors: age, sex, education, residence, politics, religion, occupation, leisure habits, relationship to the media and many more" (Portelli 1991, 179). The idiosyncratic combination of factors constituting the identities of the America war resisters in Canada

also included their status as new arrivals, their tenuous and tentative legal status and their lack of understanding of Canadian culture and values. War resisters were often confused by their newly forged Canadian sense of confidence and national identity, forged in part and often quite deliberately in contrast with American identity and values.

The plurality of languages and idioms of temporary and emotional communities can also give rise to a "partial community" – which happens through the creation of music that resonates with the identities and aspirations of the members of an emotional community (Portelli 1991, 179). The "American ghetto" in Toronto became integrated into the partial communities of the youth counterculture which coalesced around their experiences of rock and folk music in the 1960s and 1970s. Indeed, as already discussed, the rock and folk music of this period continues to bind together partial communities on an intergenerational basis, as the music of the era is (re)interpreted by contemporary musicians. As Portelli explains, "when a song is born, it reflects the moment of its birth, but also much of the history of its creators … it then continues to live and to react to history" (1991, 192). The anti-war refrain has resurfaced in contemporary musical forms, since the Iraqi invasion of 2003.

Baldwin Street was also a centre for anti-war and other social activism by the war resisters in Canada. The culture of Baldwin Street spawned social movement activism which was catalyzed in this community by the concentration of war resisters coming into contact with university activists (students and faculty) and organizations. Counterculture commerce and politics merged as collectives established stores that sold art, crafts and goods, often on consignment, by local residents and by Canadian Aboriginal peoples (e.g., The Yellow Ford Truck, Ragnarokr, The Cosmic Egg, The Whole Earth Natural

Foods Store and the Baldwin Street Gallery) (Hagan 1991, 82-94). American and Canadian parents on Baldwin Street joined forces to obtain a government grant and open a day-care centre called Snowflake (Hagan 1991, 94). Some of these enterprises continued to operate, in different forms; some moved to other parts of Toronto (Hagan 2001).

Concluding Thoughts

In the late 1960s, Canadians were struggling in the context of a "nationalist surge in both English Canada and Quebec" (Wright 2004, 60). They struggled as well with the forces of a "continuing conflict of cultural symbols" that raised questions about what the war resisters represented "to themselves, and to Canada" (Hagan 2001, 98). The Baldwin Street community had a short life that peaked in the early and middle 1970s. It is a discontinued community in conventionally cultural and temporal senses, in that its Americanness faded by the end of the 1970s as the war resisters disappeared into Canadian society. It is a discontinued community in Panagia's sense (2006) because the Baldwin Street community was created by a central idea, a core of individuals, a collective commitment to war resistance activism, and the symbolic power of a locus of settlement and adjustment for newly arrived war resisters. In its discontinuity, the Baldwin Street war resisters' community simultaneously both fragmented and stabilized its collective identity through the forces of displacement that gave rise to their paradoxical state of both belonging and becoming.

Baldwin Street was a centrifugal social experience and experiment; it was the locus of a way of life that was discontinued almost as quickly as it had taken shape – much like Montaigne's concept of the genre of the essay. Like the essay, which can

provoke and resonate indefinitely, the discontinued (or displaced) way of life that was the "American ghetto" continues to resonate in the cultural and political life of Toronto. Indeed, the futurity that arises out of the discontinuity of the "American ghetto" is in its influences and symbolic power, which continue to intrigue us and to test the limits of representation by scholars and in the popular culture. Baldwin Street was both a uniquely "real" and a profoundly symbolic community in Toronto.

Epilogue

In this essay, I have attempted to explore different lines of enquiry by deploying self-consciously an experimental style of writing that foregrounds aesthetic and ethical questions of juxtaposition, both in its physical presentation, and its movement along divergent, but profoundly connected pathways. All pathways emanated from the same place – the discontinued community of war resisters in Canada in the 1960s. From that place, I moved in a nonlinear fashion, in order to convey contexts and impressions of their displacement. I resisted defining "the 1960s" and the arbitrary periodization that belies the complexities and multiplicities of forces that rippled in every direction upon their arrival. Instead, I tried to convey impressions and narratives, linear and reflective, which mimic in some small way these ripples. To the extent that I have stimulated critical engagement because of *the lacunas, omissions, and satirical exaggerations* (Panagia 2006), then I have succeeded. If the reader finds in this essay some vivid, divergent, nonetheless connected, impressions of the lives of the war resisters in Canada in the 1960s, and their impact on Canadian culture, particularly in Toronto, to that extent I have also succeeded.

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