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(Theme music)

Voiceover: The following is a production of the Pritzker Military Museum and Library. Bringing citizens and citizen soldiers together through the exploration of military history, topics, and current affairs, this is *Pritzker Military Presents*.

Williams: Welcome to *Pritzker Military Presents* with author Lieutenant Colonel Joel Bius discussing his book *Smoke 'Em If You Got 'Em: The Rise and Fall of the Military Cigarette Ration*. I'm your host Jay Williams, and this program is coming to you from the Pritzker Military Museum and Library in downtown Chicago. It's sponsored by the United States Naval Institute. This program and hundreds more are available on demand at PritzkerMilitary.org. In his 1961 farewell address President Dwight Eisenhower warned Americans of a growing military industrial complex that sought to gain political and social power in his 1961 farewell address President Dwight Eisenhower warned of a growing military industrial complex that sought to gain political and social power. While this term is most often associated with issues of privatization, weapons programs, and advanced technologies, another more subtle instance of the economic and cultural power of this complex was the simple cigarette. From 1918 until 1986 the military encouraged a tight soldier/cigarette relationship. It did this through the use of cigarette rations, subsidies to manufacturers, and its own internal health policy. In this way the US military underpinned one of the most prolific social, cultural, economic, and health developments of the 20th century, the rise of the powerful cigarette industry. Finally, twenty-two years after the groundbreaking 1963 Surgeon General report that characterized smoking as a grave health risk, the department of defense and fiscally minded legislators faced formidable political, cultural, and economic challenges to break apart the cigarette bond that had forged over the past seven decades. In *Smoke 'Em If You Got 'Em*, Bius describes the origins and eventual collapse of the comfortable and controversial relationship between the military, big tobacco, the cigarette industry, and politicians during the 20th century. With thorough research and sensitivity, Joel Bius brings together a rich blend of military, political, economic and cultural history to explore the complex relationship between political economy, the military, and the broader American society through the cigarette. Lieutenant Colonel Joel R. Bius is an assistant professor of national security studies and the director of instruction in the Joint War Fighting Department at the Air Command and Staff College of Air University. His military experience includes ten years in strategic deterrence as an intercontinental ballistic missile combat crew commander, instructor, and 20th Air Force command evaluator. He also has operational counterinsurgency experience as deputy J5 for police planning and security sector reform while serving with the US Army in Kandahar, Afghanistan. In addition to teaching the joint war fighting and war theory core course at Air Command and Staff College, Lieutenant Colonel Bius also teaches elective courses on American military culture, the American Civil War, and the history of vice in military culture. He received his commission through Air Force ROTC at Valdosta State University and his Ph.D. in history from the University of Southern Mississippi. He has an MA in military studies with emphasis in the American Civil War and is a graduate of the Air Command and Staff College. Please join me in welcoming Lieutenant Colonel Joel Bius to the Pritzker Military Museum and Library.

(Applause)

Bius: Thank you all for being here. Let me thank the Pritzker Center for inviting me out and for all you coming out, and thanks to Megan for being such a fine host. And these views are my own views, not necessarily the views of the Department of Defense or the

United States Air Force. So I wanted to start out talking to you about this book with a picture. I know the Pritzker Center is dedicated to the idea of many things, but the citizen soldier being one. But this is a group of citizen soldiers, and I enjoy the Ken Burns documentaries, "The Civil War", how he uses a picture and kind of zooms in on a picture to tell the story. So go with me here to 1917 just outside of Montgomery, Alabama. I live--we live about four miles from this picture. I come to you from Montgomery, Alabama tonight. This is Camp Sheridan in Montgomery, Alabama. It was 1917. It was a training camp for WWI soldiers, and specifically these are Ohio National Guard soldiers training down in Montgomery, Alabama. And this is a picture I had in my files. Being from Montgomery I found it in the archives, and I always passed over it. It was from the War Food Administration, and it said, hey, soldiers picking cotton, and I just assumed that was what it was. And eventually I looked at it a little closer one day, and I said, you know, I like when Ken Burns does that, where he zooms in on a picture. Let's zoom in on this picture and see what we find. So as we zoom in on this picture we find some stuff emerge. Number one, the provenance of the picture, that you see up here in the corner from the archives, and it says, hey, it's soldiers picking cotton. You've got the familiar picture right there in the middle of the scene there on the horse. You have the proud commander. He's got captain's bars, and he's proud of his unit. Let me say that as I look at this picture I also think of, I took a picture like this in Afghanistan in 2008 standing in a marijuana field, eight-foot tall marijuana plants. And so that's part of what you're seeing here is, you've got the commander. But as you look a little closer you notice a soldier, and he's decorated with cotton here. He's made a tie out of cotton, he's--in the background there you see a soldier with cotton in his hat. And what starts to emerge is this is actually not soldiers picking cotton at all. It's a staged picture. Like I said, soldier's when we go into combat we often take pictures of us with the surrounding that we're in. And a hundred years ago, they were no different than the soldiers today. They're taking a picture. These are Ohio National Guardsmen. I mean, I live down in Alabama right now, and the cotton's in full bloom. And you see people, tourists passing through taking pictures with the cotton. And that's what these soldiers are doing. They're taking a picture with something that they heard about from their fathers or grandfathers if they had fought there in the Civil War in the South, about this cotton. Alright, so some things start to emerge. You see some regional themes there. You see a soldier with, this is a watermelon husk. So obviously they had grown up hearing about the South and cotton and watermelon. You see some racial themes here. Right in the middle of the picture, I've walked by this picture many times and I never noticed there's a young black boy there with a watermelon. So there's a racial theme in this picture that emerges. There's a great story in this picture that I walked by many times and I didn't know. So it's not just soldiers, they're not picking cotton as part of the War Foods Administration. So what does that have to do with cigarette smoking as you sit and listen to the story, other than being just a neat description to the picture that I could tell--I could probably write a book just on this picture alone. Do you notice there's a soldier in this picture that's not looking at the camera? There's always one or two soldiers not looking at the camera as you're trying to take a picture. Right in the bottom of the picture you see an NCO. He's got stripes on his arms. Anybody who's been in the military knows he's probably frustrated with all these young soldiers. He's a kind of grizzled NCO. And he's sitting in the bottom of the picture, and what's he doing? He's smoking a cigarette. Okay, and if you look closely it's probably not a manufactured cigarette. It's a hand-rolled cigarette. And so the point of this deep description of this picture is that, it addresses one of the themes in the book. If you took this picture in 1950 you would have seventy percent of these soldiers would have a cigarette or a pack of cigarettes in their pocket, okay. And this picture, I've studied with a magnifying glass, and I can really only find one soldier, and he's smoking

a hand-rolled cigarette. And so, like this picture, *Smoke 'Em If You Got 'Em*, the book that I'm here to talk to you tonight about, is a well-known slogan. Anybody who's served in the military back in the past or has talked to their grandfather or their grandmother or their great uncle or even their father, knows that "smoke 'em if you got 'em" is a well-worn slogan that we walk past all the time and we go, oh yeah, I remember everybody used to smoke. I came in in the ROTC in 1993, so I remember everybody smoking. And until I kind of discovered the story, I'm like, but wait a minute, no one smokes now. When I say no one, nowhere near the amount--and I'll address that towards the end of the presentation--but it's a well-known slogan that we walk past. The purpose of this book is to pause and consider the dramatic rise of smoking in the military and how it influenced a national cigarette-smoking obsession, and then the dramatic fall and the fascinating political economy involved with both this rise and this fall. That's the purpose of the book, kind of a classic change over time. And I'll kind of march you through that now. So what I want to do with you tonight is walk you through some things that I found most interesting. I mean, the whole book is interesting to me; I hope you'll find it interesting. But I want to just hover over a couple things that I found really fascinating, either surprised me or interested me as I researched and wrote this book. And I'll try to tell the story with some pictures here. So the first thing that I found interesting as I started researching this is the status of manufactured cigarette smoking before WWI. Okay, Americans didn't smoke manufactured cigarettes to any large degree before WWI. And let me make sure you understand what I'm saying when I say manufactured cigarettes. I'm saying a pack of pre-bought cigarettes. There were the makings before WWI where you would roll your own cigarettes to smoke. But largely the numbers say that in the turn of the century only about two million manufactured cigarettes, and a slow creeping up as we approached WWI. Americans smoked--males smoked pipes and cigars and chewing tobacco before WWI to the large extent. The percentages play that out. And one thing that I found was, it was very much contented to masculinity, and things like smoking clubs and things like that. That it was considered a masculine thing to smoke cigarettes--I mean, smoke pipes or a cigar. Cigarettes were seen as perverse and a morally--I'm quoting here--"a morally cultural offense." I discovered a lot of the neat stories, but one of the things I found was a memoir from a young student, I think it was at the University of Sewanee in Tennessee in the early 1920s. And he was writing about nothing--he didn't know I was gonna write this book one day. He was writing to his parents about what it was like, and he said, "Let me tell ya, this school, you can have cigars, and you can have pipes, but if you get caught with a cigarette you're on the first train out of--you're kicked out. You're done." And so that was kind of the pervasive culture during this time period. Cigarettes were considered effeminate. So cigarette is the feminine version of the word cigar. And so Bert Moses, a journalist from this period, he writes and comments, "Somehow or other every good, decent, and manly American instinct protests against cigarettes. The man with a cigar or a pipe loses none of his manly attributes because of the cigar or pipe habit." And he says cigarettes are, quote, "for dandies or sissies." So I was surprised to find that, 'cause I had kind of grown up with the idea of the Marlboro Man and the cool kid smoking the cigarette. And as I really started diving into this well-worn story, I was interested to find that it wasn't so before 1918 or so. After the war in 1920, responding to the increase in cigarette smoking, one observer concluded that WWI had changed the way Americans saw cigarettes. Quote, "Ten or fifteen years ago cigarettes did not have much of a standing in the community. There was a neat distinction between the man who smoked cigarettes and the man who smoked cigars or a pipe. That distinction seems to have disappeared today." So a good question is, why. So in this picture you have here--you're familiar with the picture I just showed you of the Ohio National Guardsmen just outside of Montgomery, Alabama, Camp Sheridan. You don't really see

cigarettes there. This is a picture of WWI soldiers mustering on the right. You can see hundreds, probably division-sized movements as they're marching probably through New York City or Boston to get on a ship to go overseas, and I doubt you'll find many, certainly not seventy percent of them as you would in 1950, with a pack of cigarettes in their pocket or smoking a cigarette. I just, you know, was interested to find in the archives all kinds of stories about sergeants getting on soldiers for having a pipe in their mouth. You can stand in a formation with a cigar, but you really didn't see a lot about a cigarette. And those of you who have been in the military know what it was like if you're standing in formation with a cigar in your mouth. But I did give this presentation a while back, and a guy, a chaplain who had served in the early '80s, he said, "I remember at basic training in 1984 at Lackland Air Force Base, they had two red stripes painted on the drill deck there, and that was for, if you smoked cigarettes there in basic training, you got to go inside that area so that you didn't have to stand up for any rest for attention. You could just stand there and smoke cigarettes, and then you were released out of that area. And I went through basic in the early '90s, and I always wondered what those red stripes were about. And now I know. I didn't know that's why they were still there. No one knew why they were still there, they just kept repainting them I suppose. But the question is why. So as we march forward we'll discuss that. The second thing that I found was just so interesting was the central role and ironic role that the YMCA, the Young Man's Christian Association, played in driving the army to issue a cigarette ration. I did not expect to find that. So as I'm doing my research and looking at books in WWI trying to familiarize myself with culture in the WWI era, I ran across this book *The Damn "Y" [Man]*. And I'm like, I like going to the YMCA. I know the guy that runs the YMCA in my hometown. I think he's a great guy. Why this book *The Damn "Y" [Man]*? The saga of the damn Y-man is one of the most fascinating in the research. I started out my project with an inquiry into what damn Y-man label meant, and strangely I ended up finding the true genesis of the manufactured cigarette in WWI. Let me explain that. So this is a picture here on the screen of Y-man in training at Camp Servier, South Carolina, 1918. They're training to be Y-men. Y-men were, as I kind of talk about some pictures, here you always have the guys that not looking at the camera. So a hundred years ago it was the same thing. But look at this picture here. You notice at the far right what looks like an older gentleman. In the left-hand side of the picture you see what looks to be a pretty grizzled young man. He looks like a soldier to me. And then you see a young face right in the middle of the screen there of a young Y-man. So notice that. Notice the lapel rank, okay. So they're dressed in army uniforms. Well--some of these guys have army uniforms but they eventually—and there's a picture in the book, they eventually all get issued army uniforms. Now they have lapel rank. When I say lapel, I mean right here it says YMCA. That is a big deal because marines, any marines, former marines in the audience? But marines that served in WWI, at least initially at the start, they served with the AEF with General Pershing's and the army. They were not allowed to wear their globe and anchor lapel rank. The Y-men from the very beginning were allowed to wear YMCA lapel rank. So what that does is that creates kind of a hate and angst about these Y-guys that wore an army uniform, wore their own lapel rank, but they didn't serve in combat. Look at the bottom of the picture here. You see they're all wearing soldiers' leggings, the leather leggings that denote a soldier in WWI. So, you know, this picture tells a story about who the Y-men were. They were old, they were young, they were pastors. They were involved with what's called the social gospel during the progressive movement, putting hands and feet to your faith. They were into the health and wellness movement, clean living. And so you're asking yourself, why are we talking about YMCA and cigarettes? Well, the soldiers grew to have an insatiable demand for cigarettes during WWI. It caught the army by surprise. At the beginning of WWI the army did not

have a cigarette ration. They didn't have an alcohol ration like the Allies did, and they did not regulate prostitution like the Allies did. And so the progressive movement in America was about clean living, and soldiers when they got downrange as we call it with the AEF, they were looking for things to do. And they were not allowed to engage in, they didn't want them engaging in drinking in the homeland or overseas, prostitution. But they started getting involved with cigarette smoking. The European soldiers fighting in WWI were smoking cigarettes earlier, and they were--I described it in the book, but if you read any book about combat in WWI you read about a very dirty, smelly, dangerous existence on the frontline. Nerves, lonely, bored. You go from movement of sheer terror--fifteen, sixteen hour artillery barrage--to moments and days of boredom. All that stuff means smoking cigarettes. One soldier said they were relaxing. Relaxation and serenity in a clean, sanitary, disposable stick. And he said, quote, "Dream sticks that helped you pass away many a dreary and homesick hour." One Canadian soldier remembered being bombarded at the Battle of Ypres, and he said, "Today I smoked eighty cigarettes. I don't know what I should have done without them," without these cigarettes. So they grew to have an insatiable demand for the cigarettes, but they didn't have a ration. They're having to buy them, and they were expensive. And the YMCA was eventually tagged, these men in this picture who were trained to operate Y-huts, to do bible studies, to hand out hot chocolate, to teach soldiers how to sing songs. General Leonard Wood said an army that sings together fights together. So there's a picture in the book of song leaders training. And these guys would put a thousand men in a room, and they would sing songs together. They would read books. They had great libraries. Right there at Camp Sheridan they had a huge library for the soldiers, and downrange in Europe they had a library. But they found themselves strapped by General Pershing with the morale mission, meaning that General Pershing said, "Listen, we're in a war here. My army officers are dealing with strategy, tactics, maps, fire support plans. We don't have time for all this morale stuff. Hey, we can subcontract that out to these YMCA guys that we had in America. Let's bring them overseas." So they brought 12,500 or so overseas, and they--he said, "I want them running the morale mission. I want them running the post exchanges. They stood down the post exchanges to stand up these Y-huts. And they wanted them as far to the front as possible as well. Picture here I found in the archives is a picture of a YMCA man in the middle of the screen there that's, in the caption in the archives it says he's at the front just after a long artillery barrage, and he's giving soldiers cigarettes. You can see if you look closely, the soldier's lying down, bandages, and he's got a cigarette in his mouth. So Pershing pushed them as far to the front as possible. He wanted them in the trenches doing this morale mission. They were literally walking around in the trenches like at a Cubs baseball game with chocolate and cigarettes, giving morale to the soldiers. This next picture is a picture of a Y-guy handing out cigarettes to what's called a wiring crew. Now they're standing above ground, so they're further back in the rear, but what they're doing is laying telegraph wires. And notice they all have cigarettes in their mouth. So it's a strange thing I found that these Y-men who were against a lot of things including, really alcohol and prostitution, but they nominally thought maybe cigarettes was not something that was good for a young man to do. They found themselves really the sole purveyor of cigarettes in WWI. One Y-man, I found his memoirs, he said, quote, "Swearing seems to go with army life. The American soldiers soon became adept at the ancient art of cursing in uniform. Ferguson added that the boys curse so much he soon found himself swearing in his dreams. He also wondered at the irony of the whole scene. An ordained pastor, screened for smoking and drinking alcoholic beverages as a condition of employment selling cigarettes on Sundays to cursing soldiers." So he writes about that in his memoir. And so it put them in a paradox. I love that irony is a tool of history, of paradoxical situations. The Y-man found himself as

not only the sole purveyor of cigarettes in WWI, but increasingly also someone who was hated during WWI. Because they're wearing the uniform. And that picture that I showed you, they look very healthy. A lot of them were young men. Some of them were too old for the draft. Some of them might have had a conscientious objection or maybe they had a physical disability that didn't allow them to be drafted, but to soldiers, what they saw was a person who looked just like them in uniform, alright, working mainly in the rear and selling them cigarettes at exorbitant prices. So I was just interested to find that there was a lot in WWI, after WWI when the YMCA was called on the carpet, because they got labeled as shirkers and money grubbers, people that avoided their service by selling cigarettes and making money. The reason why they had to sell them, they had to pay for their own shipping, so they had to sell them to make a little bit of a profit to pay for the shipping. So there's all kinds of reasons, and I get into it in the book, but you had people sending--just like today when I was downrange you had people sending over stuff. Well, people were sending over cigarettes. Well some of the cigarettes got mixed in with the cigarettes for sale. So you can imagine a soldier pays hard-earned money for a carton of cigarettes, and he opens it up, and there's notes in it saying, "Hey, these are free cigarettes that we're giving to you." So they just grew to hate the YMCA man. So that was an interesting part of the story. I found the story of one Y-man who was in an aid station, never smoked a cigarette in his life, and he saw these soldiers coming in wounded and worried and in fear, and they wanted cigarettes, so he learned how to smoke. He smoked a cigarette, 'cause he didn't have a lighter, and he learned how to light a cigarette off another one and give it to the soldiers. And in the memoir it says he did that all day long. Lit hundreds of cigarettes by doing that kind of chain-smoking thing. Very interesting aspect of the story. So these perceptions eventually placed them in the sights of the army's top general, which is the next thing I found very interesting in the story. But let me tell you about this picture real quick. I love guitar, and so I found this picture in the archives, I thought it was very interesting. You see the young man with a guitar. He's in a recovery station. He's been wounded, and he's smoking cigarettes. So this is particularly interesting because in the archives I found that when the army changed its policy to start giving out cigarette rations, I found the records of the hospital in France in 1918 that was scrambling to figure how to engage with this policy in the summer of 1918, and they had to figure out how to get cigarettes to their wounded soldiers. And so there was lots of stuff in the records about hospitals supplying copious amounts of cigarettes to their soldiers, which is represented by this picture here. And the guy on the far right here looks a lot like Kevin Spacey to me, so I just wanted to point that out. But the thing I found, another thing I found interesting like I said is the roll of the Army General Chief of Staff Peyton March in ordering the first manufactured cigarette ration. So you find General March here after the war here getting the Distinguished Service Medal from Secretary of War Newton Baker, who had explicitly ordered that there not be a cigarette ration before General March took command in February of 1918. You see a picture here that I talk about in the book. That's General March on the left, General Pershing in the middle, and Secretary of War Newton Baker. This is on a war ship returning home after the war. There's a lot to unpack in this picture, but read the book and I'll unpack it for you. But General March is there, and who is this? I had heard of General Pershing, but I had never heard of General March. I had heard of March Air Force Base, but that's actually named after his son, who was in pilot training and was killed during WWI. Didn't really know much about General March; now I feel like he's my--I know him very well. But in the midst of the complaining that I just told you about, soldiers complaining about cigarettes and not having access to cigarettes. And these Y-men, these do-gooders who are wearing army uniforms but they're not serving and carrying a rifle. And they're marking up prices, and they're taking my money, and all

those things. In the midst of all that General March stepped into the trench for his final inspection tour in February 1918. He took command of--so what he was doing was is, he was the chief of artillery for the AEF, American Expeditionary Force, and he was being recalled by General Baker because the war department was in a mess, and he was known to be this ramrod stickler that could get things done. And Baker was recalling him. And so before he left he went down to do a final inspection tour. And he must have heard, or he did hear, 'cause he writes about it, this clamoring about cigarettes. So when he took command one of the first things he did was address soldier morale. And he writes about it in his memoirs, and he says that he wanted all civilian morale agencies off the battlefield. He was pretty hardcore about that. He didn't want anybody serving in uniform that could be carrying a rifle. It was driving the morale down of his soldiers. He said no man should be permitted to enter or become a member of any noncombat organization who is capable of carrying arms. Now Pershing and March were noticeably incongruent about this. They were not in agreement. Like I said, Pershing was happy to subcontract morale so his officers could fight the war, and he saw cigarettes as the main connection between morale and civilian agencies, and he wanted to basically sever that connection. So he contradicted a specific order by Secretary of War Baker, and I got the picture of the quote from the archives there. Basically he said that tobacco was obtainable to soldiers only by buying it, and many tried or were deprived of the use of the solace because they had no money while more fortunate comrades of means were getting all the tobacco. Therefore I directed that an order be issued making tobacco a part of the ration to soldiers. So with that the ration of five cigarettes a day or four cigarettes a day was ensconced in the United States in the army. Five billion total in the war. So we started the beginning of entrenchment. So it takes off from there. I recounted the statistics show this, the numbers just take off. So I'm gonna have to skip forward to WWII and talk to you about—one of the other things I found so interesting was all the cigarette ads in WWII. I mean, go out on Google Images and type in cigarette ads from WWII, and you'll find a bunch. One of them ended up being the cover of the book here. All of these are collected by Stanford University in their impact of tobacco advertising collection. But this picture here, this is, "Our fighting men rate the best. See that they get milder, cooler smoking Chesterfields. Everybody who smokes them likes them." I really like this picture. I teach air power and war theory. And this is a picture of B-29s. They're all drab, so that's unusual. They're flying in the China theater. They're metallic. But it says, "The cigarette that is winning the war." So I argue in this book that cigarettes became a strategic issue in WWII. Anybody who served in combat or served with soldiers, if they don't have hot chow, if they don't have things that they need, today it's possibly video games and satellite phones and things like that—that in WWII, and in some degrees still today--we'll talk about that--it's cigarettes. If you don't have that, if a soldier is smoking a pack a day and he doesn't get that pack a day, you've got problems on your hands in terms of war fighting. But he says--but I say in the book by WWII the cigarette was not just a minor issue of supplying convenience, it was now a vital war fighting issue of strategic consequence. Another thing that I found so interesting was the Truman Committee hearings on the cigarette shortage crisis. So the Truman hearings--if you look at the picture you see Truman in the middle of the screen. He's a senator at this point. He's having a hearing. The Time Magazine cover, if you look at the light, it's shining down on the capitol and industry. So the point of the Truman Committee was to make sure there was no graft during WWII, because that's left of the Y-men and along with big business in WWI. There was this fear that, hey, businessmen are driving us to war possibly. So they said we'll establish a committee to look over this. And so by 1944 the cigarette, with so many cigarettes, which I'll go through, then provided for soldiers, there's a shortage in America. So what you have is a congressman getting letters from

their constituents saying, "I don't get my cigarettes." So there's a hearing about this. And the notes of the hearing, it takes place over three months in 1944, fall. And they dig into this. Some of you have seen hearings on TV recently, but this was on cigarettes. Some things I found incredibly interesting. During these hearings, the transcript of these hearings, the army's planning assumption was that every soldier in uniform smoked. So at one point an army colonel, Colonel Foy, is giving testimony. He just, like a good army colonel, they're like, go, and he starts reading off his statistics and data, and a congressman interrupts him and says, "Wait, wait, hold on a minute. Do you just assume that every single soldier in the United States Army smokes?" And he says, "Yes." And then they press on with the hearing. So I thought that was really interesting. So before WWI, cigarettes, manufactured cigarettes, we're not worried about that. WWII, assume every soldier smokes. Cigarette industry reps testified that they saw no ceiling for cigarette demand in sight. To quote one of them, he said, "The production and consumption of cigarettes has leaped to astronomical heights in recent years, yet the saturation point is not yet in sight. As a matter of fact no one is capable of forecasting when a point of saturation will be reached. It is rather silly to even contemplate any limit to cigarette consumption." He testified to that. Another thing that was interesting, the RJR chairman testified that soldiers were great customers and even better smokers as a result of the war. He said, "according to our observations soldiers were good smokers, but they became very much better smokers when they went into the army. And the folks left at home became very much better smokers when the war broke out." Of course they did, and I talk about it in the book. Norms and nerves. It was a nervous time, the WWII generation, the greatest generation. The army and the committee's main focus was to make sure that the soldiers were getting all the cigarette rations that they needed. So the committee said—the army said, "we are committed to buying whatever the demand is in theater." And then senators on the panel said, "Listen, if this theater commanders, if the boys are getting all the cigarettes that they require, then were' off to a good start. But we want to make sure that we're getting the cigarettes first and in sufficient supply to meet their demands." Okay? Next thing, interesting little tidbit. The WWI ration ended up being about twelve to twenty-eight manufactured cigarettes a day. Interesting because American males only smoked on average about five per day before WWII. And I go into the calculations on this, but soldiers were getting about three or four packs a day, and then a sixteen-pack was sent over for the soldiers, and the army testified the commanders were taking those, stripping the cigarettes out, and placing them in the soldiers' rations. So they were getting generally twenty-eight a day. And it still wasn't enough. The army as a lead agency I calculate procured about 350 billion manufactured cigarettes during WWII. Another interesting fact, the army supplied about fifty million condoms a month during WWII. That's a lot of cigarettes. The cigarette procurement effort touched on lingering issues from the New Deal. So one thing that emerged during research in writing this book, we can't divorce the fact that there was a New Deal, there was the Great Depression, there was politics in the 1930s. Well guess what, there was politics in the 1940s. And so as you read through these hearings, you find about critiques of Roosevelt, and the managed economy come into play because they want to make more cigarettes. Why can't we make more cigarettes? Well, they run into New Deal restrictions, which is an interesting thing that I found. The cigarette industry saw the cigarette ration as a vital aspect of WWII economic recovery in Europe. It saw soldiers as cigarette missionaries. So what do I mean by that? Well, let me read you a quote. So an American leaf tobacco cigarettes will enjoy a larger and more active demand among foreign nations after the war than in any other time in history. This is a cigarette representative from the industry. "The men in the armed forces striding audaciously across the global map with their omnipresent cigarette are doing a super job on selling

the rest of the world on American tobacco. Linley's exports of leaf tobacco likewise contribute towards the buildup of a vastly expanding postwar market. All this missionary work would go for naught if the production of leaf tobacco was not stepped up sufficiently to allow for the large exportable surplus after the war." So the Marshall Plan ended up having a billion dollars in American cigarette aid and represented a third of all monies earmarked for food and 7.7 percent of the plan's total aid package after WWII. Let me show you a couple pictures. This is a marine smoking a cigarette. I mean, look at the picture. He's dirty, sweaty, the cameraman caught him breathing smoke out his nose. He's got the beard. He's probably been in there for two weeks, and it makes me want to smoke a cigarette looking at that picture. This is if you're familiar with uni-cultural stuff here, if you're familiar with Don Draper and "Mad Men", this is the first episode. And the question he's asking the gentleman there is, "Why do you smoke those Old Gold cigarettes?" If you remember the response was, he says, "Hey, that's what they gave me in the service." It affected my smoking and my choice. All these demobilization camps at the end of WWII were named after cigarette brands. Camp Lucky Strike, Camp Old Gold, all the different brands. This one it says, a soldier, I found in the archives, he says, "Camp Lucky Strike." It's in Le Havre France. It says, "The tent city where the men outnumber the women 100,000 to 1." So they were given cigarettes as they left the service. Cartons and cartons of cigarettes as they pressed on to their civilian life. Okay, a few intervening things here before--the story is about the rise and the fall, so I bridge it with just a few things you need to know as we move on. 1950, sixty-seven percent of American males are smoking cigarettes. Smoke 'em if you got 'em is entrenched. So if you don't know what that means, in the 1940s and '50s and '60s, if you were serving in a training or in your basic training or on the rifle range, you would stop, and the sergeant would say, "Smoke 'em if you got 'em, boys." And then you would go over and smoke. And if you didn't smoke, you would clean up shell casings or you would sweep the floor. So many people started smoking because they wanted to be able to take a break. 1950-52, smoking is proving deadly. They didn't know this necessarily before 1950, but it's proven by science, '54, the cigarette industry unites and creates a very powerful lobby and issues what's called the Frank Statement, which says, hey, we've got your best interest in mind. We're gonna get to the bottom of this. I talk about that. '64 you get the first sergeant general's report about the dangers of smoking, and in '66 you get the first cigarette warning labels. And then we get to '73, and this is the next thing I found very interesting. 1973, June, two things happen. John Travolta gets a TV ad. So that's young John Travolta in his very first TV appearance as a young soldier making a commercial for the all-volunteer force. So 1973, June you get the end of the draft, the start of the all-volunteer force, and the end of the cigarette ration. The picture on the right there is Congressman Charles Bennett from Florida. And I just found it very interesting. I found his records in the archive at the University of Florida, and he was a fascinating guy. He was a WWII veteran, served in Papua New Guinea, contracted polio, was paralyzed from the waist down. He was a democrat, a fiscal conservative, he refused his pay for his first few years in office, and he froze pay raises later, and he donated access campaign funds to the forest services. He never missed a roll call. Won twenty-one straight elections. I mean, the guy's a superhero. In the middle of all the politics today, it was fascinating to find this guy who was just this superman. He's like Andy Griffith in Congress. You know so, fascinating gentleman, but he also introduced legislation in 1973 to end the cigarette ration. And I found this in the archives, and it was a sealed envelope. And it said, "Tobacco." And I'm like, here we go. Pull it up, and he had recorded everything to do with why he introduced that legislation down to the minute, the second, the hour, his thought process. And I was interested to find that it was for fiscal reasons first and foremost and physical reasons secondary. He was a fiscal

conservative, and he thought that it was--taxpayers shouldn't have to pay for soldiers to get cigarettes. If they want cigarettes, they have the money, they have access to PXs, the war is over. They can buy them. And he didn't think that American taxpayers should still have to pay for putting cigarettes in packs or in the rations. And then secondary, he says, "And also, by the way, twenty years ago it was proven deadly, so we probably should stop issuing these cigarettes to soldiers." So '73 with not a lot of fanfare the legislation goes on the floor of Congress, and the cigarette ration ends. And it takes a few years for it to come out. But that doesn't end the story there. There's still a massive cigarette smoking culture in the military, and there is subsidized cigarette rations. Half off cigarette rations on all military bases. Or half off cigarette purchase. You can buy them for half off at the PX and the BX. So that leads me to the next thing I found so fascinating, the interaction between big tobacco, big business, and big-time politics and how it spilled over into the Department of Defense, so you know, no surprise here. And the second half of the book really gets into the political economy, but to trace out the power of America's modern political economy and some of the strange things that happen. So big tobacco represented here by Horace Kornegay. He was the president of the Tobacco Institute, and they engaged in a pretty big denial campaign. It's been written about, it's been litigated, saying we don't know if cigarettes cause lung cancer. It could be your air conditioning. It could be--and then it spills over into the rolling discussion about the nanny-state federal government. Who's telling you to--what to do whenever you earn these rights, and veterans and soldiers. So a lot of that stuff I document in the book. It's very interesting. And the messaging supplied to Congress and tobacco state congressional boosters, so you can trace that out through the online tobacco archives. You can find the actual, see it go from a thought to a strategic message to a speech on the floor of Congress. But then big business--why is Lee Iacocca up there with his ever present cigar? Well Lee Iacocca in 1978 inherits Chrysler that's falling apart, and he realizes as he's trying to figure it out what's going on and why Chrysler is falling apart is that healthcare costs are driving them into the ground. He says, quote, "Healthcare benefits are costing me a million dollars a day." Okay, and he's gotta get to the bottom of it. And interestingly he hires kind of an acquaintance, Joe Califano, to be a member of his board. Joe Califano was the secretary of health education and welfare in the Carter Administration, hires him because he's been fired by Jimmy Carter because of his strong stance against cigarette smoking. Carter's from Georgia, he gets a lot of pressure from tobacco state politicians about his HEW, and Carter has to let him go. Well, Lee Iacocca picks him up, says I need you to be part of my board. Califano gets in there and finds out that healthcare costs were costing them, like I said, a million dollars a day. And he also says but also healthcare costs were seventy-five percent higher for smokers than nonsmokers. And then Chrysler instigates the great smoke out, the largest smoking cessation campaign in American history. And this development spilled over into the Department of Defense. So that's the next thing I found so very interesting. The powerful political economy on display at the 1981 secretary of defense confirmation hearings. So let's back up to 1975. Jesse Helms, a major character in the book, is a newly elected--well a senator in '72-'73. He has a quick ascent to power. So he's basically a popular news radio person in North Carolina. Like Rush Limbaugh maybe or somebody like that. Just a conservative firebrand. He gets elected to Senate, and within a year he is making waves on the Senate floor. And one of the things he does is he goes after Casper Weinberger who at the time was the HEW, the health and welfare secretary, about his annual smoking report. And he says, "Financed by taxpayers, Weinberger's done it again. Exposing the rest of the world to his annual tizzy over smoking and providing Congress with unproven debatable science regarding the supposed dangers of cigarette smoking," he says in 1975. Well, that's a shot across the bow. Weinberger leaves, goes

into civilian work for a while, then he's nominated by President Reagan to be his secretary of defense in 1980. And we've seen confirmation hearings on TV recently, very contentious. This wasn't supposed to be contentious. You've got a republican landslide by Regan. He nominates a republican from California with republican credentials. He's supposed to go before Congress, answer some question, for before the Senate, and a slam-dunk, he's secretary of defense. And it's pretty much a slam-dunk except for two votes. So who do you think voted against Weinberger who had a long track record with being anti-smoking and anti-cigarettes? These two senators from North Carolina, one of them being Jesse Helms. They vote against Weinberger in the confirmation hearings, and--'cause they don't want an anti-cigarette person at the helm of the Department of Defense 'cause they fear the removal of cigarette benefits and the cigarette culture and there being a cigarette cessation like there is at Chrysler and going on American business in the military. And that's exactly what happens, as we kind of move to the end of the story here. In 1986 there's a contentious war that goes on, but eventually in '86 Secretary Weinberger issues DOD 1010.10 on 11 March 1986, which makes smoking cessation official Department of Defense policy. At that time soldiers are smoking at about fifty-two percent when American society's smoking from twenty to twenty-five percent. So they wanted to get it down to match American society. And one of the reasons being it's unhealthy, but another one, this is an all-volunteer force that you have now. They stay for a career. If you issue them cigarettes for their entire career and then try to pay for their healthcare, it's incredibly expensive, which I document in the book. So smoking cessation becomes official policy. The army follows up one month later with its US Army tobacco cessation plan, which was way more restrictive than the DOD policy and started the military with the army towards a path of smoking being the non-norm in the United States Military. It doesn't happen overnight. But I love this quote from Casper Weinberger here. He says, on political economy in America, he says, "Listen, the tobacco issue has presented the government, federal, state, and local, with a paradoxical situation attempting to balance the negative health impacts against the positive economic impacts." So it's something we're always faced with. Something that's incredibly profitable often is incredibly unhealthy. And the tax addiction grows, the governments have to deal with, especially overseas now. It's rampant. So I'll finish up here. Currently in the American military, which I served in. I can't speak for--I serve at Air Command and Staff College in the air force. I call it the lonely cigarette can where English is not spoken. So at my university where I teach at, if you look out there, way out there, you'll see a cigarette can, and you'll see a grouping of ten to twenty foreign officers smoking cigarettes, 'cause it's unauthorized to smoke as an officer in uniform in the air force at Air Command and Staff College. So the culture's been completely transformed. The last week before I even came here, this email came out, and it's our physical fitness questionnaire sheet. And buried in there it has this question. It says, "If you have smoked a cigarette in the last thirty days, stop the test and go notify your unit physical fitness program monitor." So you go in at 5:30 in the morning to take this test, you fill this thing out, and I'm like, well, I don't smoke cigarettes, but let's say twenty-nine days ago I smoked a cigarette. I gotta stop, call him up, I can't take the test. I've smoked a cigarette. So there's many stories like that I can share, but it's just a different culture now. So that's the story. I go from before WWI where we didn't really smoke much manufactured cigarettes in America, to WWI and the influence, to WWII 350 billion cigarettes, the assumption that every cigarette--soldier smokes, sixty-seven percent are smoking in 1950 of American males. '73 we start to kind of have a downfall to '86, to where we are today where it's not normal to see American military personnel smoking cigarettes in uniform. So, I enjoyed the chance to tell you about the book, and I'd love to answer questions that you might have.

(Applause)

1: Couldn't the sergeant who did basic training find out very fast that the people on the red line, the nonsmokers were much more efficient in running and swimming and marching than the others?

Bius: Well, I didn't find anything--you know, I found in the records in WWI, the only official statement the army makes about cigarettes at all, it says something like, hey, if you do smoke cigarettes don't smoke while you're doing physical training. Wait to do that when you take a break. Enjoy a good cigarette after a good run, and stuff. So no, they--and it comes out in the '80s whenever the Department of Defense tries to roll back cigarette smoking. You have congressmen who were those old sergeants, who served with those old sergeant, and they say, they're testifying in Congress "How can you be a soldier and not smoke cigarettes? Isn't that a requirement?" And I get into the physical, the pharmacology of it in the book, where they find what cigarette smoking does for you. It's called pulmonary eroticism. It calms the hands, but yet heightens the alert. It assuages boredom. But no, I mean, in 1940 there was no weight standard to be in the army. There was not a weight standard to be in the army until the 1970s. And so they just, people weren't overweight, and they didn't really--there was no--I didn't find any documented difference in that group of soldiers that smokes a lot versus another one. You know, so, but I'm sure a lot of soldiers if you've been there, become more religious there in basic training, because on Sundays you get to go to the chapel, so you have all kinds of soldiers going to chapel so they get to get away from the barracks. And I suspect in the--well I know in the '40s, '50s, '60s, '70s, you have folks starting to smoke cigarettes 'cause they kind of get a break. So, can I take any more questions?

2: How about smoking giving away a position in the war field. And also how about any evidence of a fighting unit not getting their rations going through cigarette withdrawal and going crazy or anything like that?

Bius: (Chuckles) Yeah. So number one, smoking giving away position. I talk about it in the book. Largely in WWI you'd be surprised to find out the number of soldier deaths that were due to sniper fire. Alright, and largely soldiers were below ground, and a lot of time that sniper fire would come through peepholes and stuff like that. But yeah, there are instances where soldiers were--they had to, as all soldiers do, they learned there's times you can smoke and times you can't. Yes, there's a quote I have in the book where the Y-man is frantic saying they will go nuts if they don't have their cigarettes. And he's like, he says, what are we gonna do? He's writing to the YMCA headquarters, and they're like, what, you got cigarettes, and he goes, yeah, these soldiers, they want cigarettes. And they're gonna-- it's called smoke or go nuts. If they don't smoke they're gonna go nuts. That starts in WWI. Thank you all for coming.

(Applause)

Williams: Thank you to Lieutenant Colonel Joel Bius for an outstanding discussion and to the United States Naval Institute for sponsoring this program. The book is *Smoke 'Em If you Got 'Em: The Rise and Fall of the Military Cigarette Ration*, published by Naval Institute Press. To learn more about the Pritzker Military Museum and Library, visit us in person or online at PritzkerMilitary.org. Thank you, and please join us next time on *Pritzker Military Presents*.

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(Theme music)

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(Theme music)

Voiceover: The preceding program was produced by the Pritzker Military Museum and Library.