

# Notes

## INTRODUCTION

- 1 On Wayne as a “god” from popular culture, see Katherine Kinney, *Friendly Fire: American Images of the Vietnam War* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2000), 12. See also Antony Easthope, *What a Man’s Gotta Do: The Masculine Myth in Popular Culture* (Boston, MA: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 20. On Wayne’s relation to the Cold War, see Bernard F. Dick, *The Screen Is Red: Hollywood, Communism, and the Cold War* (Jackson, MI: University Press of Mississippi, 2016), 210–216. On Wayne’s characters as “cool-under-pressure,” see Melinda L. Pash, *In the Shadow of the Greatest Generation: The Americans Who Fought the Korean War* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2012), 11.
- 2 Clear-cut hero in Michael Anderegg, “Hollywood and Vietnam: John Wayne and Jane Fonda as Discourse,” in *Inventing Vietnam: The War in Film and Television*, ed. Michael Anderegg (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1991), 25. On *Sands*, see John Bodnar, *The “Good War” in American Memory* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 139. Wayne in relation to Vietnam in Lloyd B. Lewis, *The Tainted War: Culture and Identity in Vietnam War Narratives* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 25. Self-doubt in Lewis B. Puller, Jr., *Fortunate Son* (New York, NY: Grove Weidenfeld, 1991), 63.
- 3 Macho pulps in Bill Osgerby, “Muscular Manhood and Salacious Sleaze: The Singular World of the 1950s Macho Pulps,” in *Containing America: Cultural Production and Consumption in Fifties America*, eds. Nathan Abrams and Julie Hughes (Birmingham: The University of Birmingham Press, 2000), 125. On the production and representation of popular culture, see Katie Milestone and Anneke Meyer, *Gender and Popular Culture* (Cambridge: Polity, 2012), 5–9; and Henry Jenkins, *The Wow Climax: Tracing the Emotional Impact of Popular Culture* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2007), 15, 57. Of note, the term “pulp” is a contested one. Hardcore fans of pre-World War II pulp magazines, for example, chafe when the term “pulp” is applied to anything else. Because men’s adventure magazines share thematic and artistic DNA with the classic pulps, I use “pulp” as a shorthand, an adjective to describe a style of media that involved action and adventure and was more gritty than cerebral. My thanks to Robert Deis for helping me navigate this terrain.

- 4 Walter Kaylin, "The Yank Who Led a Legion of Russian Convict Women," *Male*, January 1964, 13. For a discussion on warrior hero characteristics, see Nyameka Mankayi, "Male Soldiers' Constructions of Masculinity, Sexuality and Sexual Violence," *Journal of Psychology in Africa* Vol. 20, No. 4 (2010): 592.
- 5 Philip Atlee, "Nude Tribe Caper," *Stag*, February 1967, 28, 92, 101. Kurt Mengel clearly was a nod to Josef Mengele, the Auschwitz Angel of Death. "Sin Captive Compound" by Erik Broske contains a similar storyline of an ex-GI seeking revenge against his fiancé's killers. *Male*, February 1968, 14–17, 94–101.
- 6 Lee Server has described the pulps as "publishing's poor, ill-bred stepchild." *Danger Is My Business: An Illustrated History of the Fabulous Pulp Magazines* (San Francisco, CA: Chronicle Books, 1993), 15. Low-brow in David M. Earle, *All Man! Hemingway, 1950s Men's Magazines, and the Masculine Persona* (Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 2009), 2; and Kathryn Weibel, *Mirror Mirror: Images of Women Reflected in Popular Culture* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1977), 28–29. Disposability and hard-boiled in Woody Haut, *Pulp Culture: Hardboiled Fiction and the Cold War* (London: Serpent's Tail, 1995), 3, 6. On kitsch, see Clement Greenberg, *Art and Culture: Critical Essays* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1961), 10. James Gilbert argues that the "majority of Americans, when given the choice, seemed to prefer the commercialized culture of Hollywood, radio, comic books, and the Book-of-the-Month Club." *A Cycle of Outrage: America's Reaction to the Juvenile Delinquent in the 1950s* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1986), 6. Sen. Jacob K. Javits, Letter to the Editor, *Man's Magazine*, April 1960, 6. Tom Cole, Special Asst. to Sen. John G. Tower, *Man's Magazine*, December 1963, 6. Circulation in Osgerby, 133. Net sales revenue reached \$1,500,000.
- 7 Insecurity and paranoia in Jonathan Mitchell, *Revisions of the American Adam: Innocence, Identity and Masculinity in Twentieth-Century America* (New York, NY: Continuum, 2011), 2. Change in Myron Brenton, *The American Male* (New York, NY: Coward-McCann, 1966), 33. Joseph H. Wherry, "How Stalin Stole Our B-29," *Male*, September 1952, 12–13. Shailer Upton Lawton, "Sex Life and the Average American Male," *Male*, September 1952, 14–15. Perhaps unsurprisingly, when readers turned the page after Dr. Lawton's gloomy article, they could share in the exploits of Capt. Harry K. Copey's "Cowboy in Korea," a heroic tale of the Third Rescue Squadron operating behind communist lines to save surrounded GIs. Lawton, who wrote on the sexual behavior of teenagers, bachelors, and married couples, also published a piece in the October 1960 issue of *Man's Magazine* on the average man needing to understand the "true nature" of the "seducer." "Study of a Sex Braggart: The Seducer," 26. Sexual anxieties were still present in the late 1960s, as evidenced by one article on men who had an "abnormal fear of women" and were dealing with the consequences of "faulty childhood conditioning toward sex." Thorp McClusky, "How 'Tranquilizers' Can Affect Your Sex-Life," *Man's Epic*, March 1968, 16–17. On the relationship between struggling and being a man, see Elisabeth Badinter, *XY: On Masculine Identity* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1995), 129.
- 8 Savages in Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 11. Michael Kimmel argues

- that in tales like these, men were rewarded with “large-breasted women as a kind of masculine payoff.” *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1996), 254. On popularity of men’s magazines, see Theodore Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1964), 310–311. Maureen Honey discusses the “power of the media to reinforce” certain portrayals of men and women and how magazines are a worthy model of analysis in *Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class, Gender, and Propaganda during World War II* (Amherst, NY: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1984), 13–15. Unlike Henry Jenkins, I use “popular culture” rather than “popular art” in describing men’s adventure magazines, since these texts very much were integrated into the lives of ordinary Americans in their roles as consumers. Jenkins, 11. Erin A. Smith sees similar texts as “social processes,” rather than just “linguistic artifacts.” *Hard-Boiled: Working-Class Readers and Pulp Magazines* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2000), 5. Finally, Gary Cross claims the pulps played to a “downmarket crowd” in *Men to Boys: The Making of Modern Immaturity* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2008), 97. For a short overview of this medium, see James Boylan, “Survey Sample: Men’s Magazines,” *Columbia Journalism Review* Vol. 3, No. 3 (Fall 1964): 30–31. Objectification in Arthur Brittan, *Masculinity and Power* (New York, NY: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 66. George L. Mosse suggests that “distinct images of masculinity” are “the way men assert what they believe to be their manhood.” *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1996), 1. Susan Brownmiller moves the argument further still, discussing the myth of the “heroic rapist” in *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape* (New York, NY: Fawcett Books, 1975), 289.
- 9 On pulp audiences, see Smith, 23–26. On the links between working-class and masculinity, see: Megan Vokey, Bruce Tefft, and Chris Tyiaczny, “An Analysis of Hyper-masculinity in Magazine Advertisements,” *Sex Roles* Vol. 68 (2013): 565, 572; Gina Marie Weaver, *Ideologies of Forgetting: Rape in the Vietnam War* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2010), 85; Barbara Ehrenreich, *Fear of Falling: The Inner Life of the Middle Class* (New York, NY: Pantheon, 1989), 108–110; and, more broadly, David Morgan, “Class and Masculinity,” in *Handbook of Studies on Men & Masculinities*, eds. Michael S. Kimmel, Jeff Hearn, and R. W. Connell (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2005), 168–172. Draft inequalities in Gary L. Long, “A Sociology for Special Circumstances: Using the Vietnam War in the Classroom,” *Teaching Sociology* Vol. 21, No. 3 (July 1993): 261–266. Christian G. Appy found that “Roughly 80 percent came from working-class and poor backgrounds.” *Working-Class War: American Combat Soldiers and Vietnam* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 6.
- 10 According to Peter Haining, the “pulp were not just intended to entertain the reader – they were also meant to make him feel better about himself, his prospects, and especially his sex life.” *The Classic Era of American Pulp Magazines* (Chicago, IL: Chicago Review Press, 2000), 21. Bradd Shore, “Cultural Knowledge,” in *Encyclopedia of Semiotics*, ed. Paul Bouissac (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998), 157–161. Rebelliousness and inadequacy in Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 244–245. On differences with middle-class masculinity, see R. W. Connell, *Masculinities*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005), 36.

- 11 Gold in Ron Milam, “Missing Home: How Popular Culture Was Used to Remind Us of What We Were Missing,” in *The Vietnam War in Popular Culture, Vol. 1: During the War*, ed. Ron Milam (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2017), 61. Widely read literature in Tom Engelhardt, “An Air-Force Hospital: The War-Wounded Come Home,” *Dispatch News Service International*, 21 June 1971, 6. Other veterans noted the role of magazines in their own writings, to include John M. Del Vecchio, *The 13th Valley* (New York, NY: Bantam, 1982), 145; and W. D. Ehrhart, *Vietnam—Perkasie: A Combat Marine Memoir* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1983), 51.
- 12 PX data in “Minutes of Meeting of Joint Vietnam Regional Exchange Council,” 29 April 1969, Folder 301-05, Box 3, USARV, Non-Appr. Funds Div, RG 472, NARA. See also Madeline Morris, “By Force of Arms: Rape, War, and Military Culture,” *Duke Law Journal* Vol. 45, No. 4 (February 1996): 713–714 on military personnel consuming soft-core pornography. Text and phenomenon in Bethan Benwell, “Introduction,” in *Masculinity and Men’s Lifestyle Magazines*, ed. Bethan Benwell (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003), 8.
- 13 Letters to the Editor, *Man’s Illustrated*, May 1968, 10. The three letters, from two privates and one corporal serving in Vietnam, suggest that young men were clearly engaging with these magazines. *Stag* even shared a photograph of San Francisco’s “topless queen” Carol Doda, holding her official “Girl Most Desirable Plaque” awarded by the 1st Marine Air Wing in Da Nang. According to *Stag*, “Even the Vietcong would agree – she’s the greatest.” September 1966, 23. Moreover, soldiers stationed in Germany, Alaska, and Iceland all wrote approving letters. Letters to the Editor, *Man’s Magazine*, January 1960, 6. Letters, *Saga*, February 1961, 8. Letters to the Editor, *Man’s Magazine*, July 1961, 6. This Funny Life, *True*, July 1968, 64.
- 14 On links between violence and virility, see Mark Gerzon, *A Choice of Heroes: The Changing Faces of American Manhood* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1992), 38; and Martin Barron and Michael Kimmel, “Sexual Violence in Three Pornographic Media: Toward a Sociological Explanation,” *The Journal of Sex Research* Vol. 37, No. 2 (May 2000): 161–168. In “Sergeant Mulligan’s Private Belly Girl,” for example, a supposedly autobiographical account in *Battle Cry* from July 1959, a Marine Corps veteran brags how he killed his first man on Guadalcanal in World War II, had “been in more invasions than most guys have been in classrooms,” and “chased women of more races, creeds and colors than you’d believe existed.” John “Deucey” Mulligan, “Sergeant Mulligan’s Private Belly Girl,” *Battle Cry*, July 1959, 34.
- 15 Dominant set and paradigm in Chris Blazina, *The Cultural Myth of Masculinity* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), xiv–xv. Violence and sexuality in Lee Ellis, *Theories of Rape: Inquiries into the Causes of Sexual Aggression* (New York, NY: Hemisphere, 1989), 33. Not even the violent Mickey Spillane pulps concentrated so heavily on wartime exploits, even if the fictional hard-boiled detective Mike Hammer himself was a World War II veteran. On violence in the Mike Hammer genre, see Haut, 96–98; Server, 73; and David Glover, “The Stuff That Dreams Are Made of: Masculinity, Femininity and the Thriller,” in *Gender, Genre and Narrative Pleasure*, ed. Derek Longhurst (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 69, 77. On contemporary criticisms of violence and sexuality in comics, see Carol L. Tilley, “Seducing the Innocent: Fredric Wertham and the Falsifications That Helped

- Condemn Comics,” *Information & Culture* Vol. 47, No. 4 (2012): 393. Jonathan Mitchell argues the popular representation of the cowboy is sexless, “the man who becomes the phallus but has no phallus.” p. 36.
- 16 Cultural definitions and socialization in Lori L. Heise, “Violence against Women: An Integrated, Ecological Framework,” *Violence against Women* Vol. 4, No. 3 (June 1998): 277–278. Producing, representing, and consuming in Milestone and Meyer, 1. On the evolution of stereotypes becoming normative, see Mosse, 4–5. On the links between fantasy and the legitimate, see Laura Kipnis, *Bound and Gagged: Pornography and the Politics of Fantasy in America* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 163. It is important to note that definitions of masculinity are not fixed, are understood differently by race, class, and culture, and can change over time. Jonathan Rutherford, “Who’s That Man,” in *Male Order: Unwrapping Masculinity*, eds. Rowena Chapman and Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1988), 22.
- 17 On the sexual rewards of military conquest, see Elizabeth L. Hillman, “Rape, Reform, and Reaction: Gender and Sexual Violence in the U.S. Military,” in *The Routledge History of Gender, War, and the U.S. Military*, ed. Kara Dixon Vuic (London: Routledge, 2018), 291; Beverly Allen, *Rape Warfare: The Hidden Genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 89; and Cynthia Grguric, “War Rape: Unveiling the Complexities of Motivation and Reparation in Order to Create Lines of Peace and Empowerment,” in *Terrorism, Political Violence, and Extremism: New Psychology to Understand, Face, and Defuse the Threat*, ed. Chris E. Stout (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2017), 131–132. Joanna Bourke notes the role of socially constructed definitions of masculinity, and their relation to power networks, in *Dismembering the Male: Men’s Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 14.
- 18 Susan Sontag highlights the “omnipresence of sexist stereotypes in the language, behavior, and imagery” of American society in *A Susan Sontag Reader* (New York, NY: Farrar/Straus/Giroux, 1982), 332. If discourses can indeed become “enshrined in practices,” as Brittan suggests, we might think of the ways in which pulp magazines portrayed manhood – tied to combat yet embedded in sexual anxieties – and how closely those portrayals were reflected in the perceptions and actions of American soldiers serving in Vietnam. Brittan, 149. On links between cultural activity and gender, see Roger Horrocks, *Male Myths and Icons: Masculinity in Popular Culture* (New York, NY: St. Martin’s Press, 1995), 16.
- 19 Relationships between basic training and aggressive heterosexuality in Heather Marie Stur, *Beyond Combat: Women and Gender in the Vietnam War Era* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 169; and R. Wayne Eisenhart, “You Can’t Hack It Little Girl: A Discussion of the Covert Psychological Agenda of Modern Combat Training,” *Journal of Social Issues* Vol. 31, No. 4 (1975): 16. Preexisting sociocultural dynamics in Nancy Farwell, “War Rape: New Conceptualizations and Responses,” *Affilia* Vol. 19, No. 4 (Winter 2004): 394. See also Weaver, 16; and Morris, “By Force of Arms,” 703. James Gilbert has called this process “spectatorship masculinity,” in which “identity was formed (or imagined at least) around observation and emulation of masculine heroes in sport

- and public life, within the literary imagination, or through mass culture.” *Men in the Middle: Searching for Masculinity in the 1950s* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 23–24.
- 20 Masculinity based on exaggerated beliefs in Vokey, Tefft, and Tysiaczny, 562. For a scholarly treatment of popular media’s role on behavior, see Albert Bandura, “Social Cognitive Theory of Mass Communication,” *Media Psychology* Vol. 3, No. 3 (2001): 265–299.
- 21 Male Call, *Male* September 1966, 86. Mary Louise Roberts notes that in World War II there was a “sexual double standard” at play: “male, but not female, sexual infidelity was encouraged.” *What Soldiers Do: Sex and the American GI in World War II France* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2013), 73. See also D’Ann Campbell, *Women at War with America: Private Lives in a Patriotic Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 209. On stereotypes and masculinity, see Andrew Kimbrell, *The Masculine Mystique: The Politics of Masculinity* (New York, NY: Ballantine, 1995), 16.
- 22 On combat being deadly and impersonal, see Peter S. Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers: Ground Combat in the World Wars, Korea, and Vietnam* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2003), 6. Tangible reality in Rachel Woodward, “Warrior Heroes and Little Green Men: Soldiers, Military Training, and the Construction of Rural Masculinities,” *Rural Sociology* Vol. 65, No. 4 (December 2000): 644.
- 23 Sharon Marcus has argued that the “violence of rape is enabled by narratives.” In Wendy S. Hesford, “Defining Moments,” in *Haunting Violations: Feminist Criticism and the Crisis of the “Real,”* eds. Wendy S. Hesford and Wendy Kozol (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 19. Alternatively, Christopher W. Mullins highlights the “Routine Activities Theory,” which essentially says “soldiers rape women because they can.” “Sexual Violence during Armed Conflict,” in *The Palgrave Handbook of Criminology and War*, eds. Ross McGarry and Sandra Walklate (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 123.
- 24 Micheal Clodfelter, *Mad Minutes and Vietnam Months: A Soldier’s Memoir* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1988), 3–4. “Man Triumphant” in Adam Parfrey, *It’s a Man’s World: Men’s Adventure Magazines, The Postwar Pulps* (Los Angeles, CA: Feral House, 2003), 411.
- 25 Heroic deeds versus brutal acts in Carol Burke, *Camp All-American, Hanoi Jane, and the High-and-Tight* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2004), 48. On the problems of perceived reality in popular media and the process of meaning production, see L. J. Shrum, “Assessing the Social Influence of Television: A Social Cognition Perspective on Cultural Effects,” *Communication Research* Vol. 22, No. 4 (August 1995): 410–411; and Milestone and Meyer, 151–154.
- 26 Carnal conquest in Robin Gerster, “A Bit of the Other: Touring Vietnam,” in *Gender and War: Australians at War in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Joy Damousi and Marilyn Lake (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 231. John V. H. Dippel argues that “Having their way with prostitutes or other Vietnamese women enabled some GIs to compensate for the powerlessness and fear they faced daily in the jungles of Vietnam.” *War and Sex: A Brief History of Men’s Urge for Battle* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus, 2010), 263. See also Roland Littlewood, “Military Rape,” *Anthropology Today* Vol. 13, No. 2 (April 1997): 13. For an example of frustrated GIs, see Bernard Edelman, “On the Ground: The US

- Experience,” in *Rolling Thunder in a Gentle Land: The Vietnam War Revisited*, ed. Andrew Wiest (New York, NY: Osprey Publishing, 2006), 198. The counter, of course, is that if combat didn’t match magazines’ descriptions, that might have made readers more suspicious of portrayals of sex and conquest, too. Yet the popularity of magazines throughout most of the American war in Vietnam suggests otherwise.
- 27 Promiscuousness in Kimmel, Hearn, and Connell, 406. Redirecting hostility and dehumanization in Kyle Longley, *Grunts: The American Combat Soldier in Vietnam* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2008), 150. See also Kathy J. Phillips, *Manipulating Masculinity: War and Gender in Modern British and American Literature* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 14; and Weaver, 28. Weaver argues that “misogyny provided a starting point for other forms of domination.” p. 64.
- 28 Veteran quoted in Arlene Eisen, *Women and Revolution in Viet Nam* (London: Zed, 1984), 44. On women in war as “spoils,” see Carol Lynn Mithers, “Missing in Action: Women Warriors in Vietnam,” in *The Vietnam War and American Culture*, eds. John Carlos Rowe and Rick Berg (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1991), 83. In such ways, the rape of Vietnamese women could be seen as a “triumph,” ameliorating the frustrations of combat. Timothy Beneke, *Men on Rape* (New York, NY: St. Martin’s Press, 1982), 13.
- 29 On links between aggression and eroticism, see Camille Paglia, *Sex, Art, and American Culture* (New York, NY: Vintage, 1992), 51. On the impacts of warrior ideals being threatened, see Suzanne Clark, *Cold Warriors: Manliness on Trial in the Rhetoric of the West* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), 204.
- 30 Perceptual norms in Grguric, 126–127. Brenton argued in 1966 that the “notion of male aggression-independence” persisted in “men’s magazines.” *The American Male*, 47.
- 31 Since gender, and thus masculinity, are social constructions, it seems likely that sociocultural factors were significant variables in deciding to commit sexual violence in war. On the theory of social constructivism, see Janie L. Leatherman, *Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2011), 17–20. Jonathan Gottschall lays out a number of competing theories, to include sociocultural ones, in “Explaining Wartime Rape,” *The Journal of Sex Research* Vol. 41, No. 2 (May 2004): Variables on p. 133.
- 32 Affirming masculinity in Dippel, 264. On the disconnects between fantasy and reality, see James R. Ebert, *A Life in a Year: The American Infantryman in Vietnam, 1965–1972* (Novato, CA: Presidio, 1993), 88. In “War and Rape: A Preliminary Analysis,” Ruth Siefert considers the connections between soldier rapes and sociocultural influences. In *Mass Rape: The War against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, ed. Alexandra Stiglmayer (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 61. See also Jennifer Turpin, “Many Faces: Women Confronting War,” in *The Women and War Reader*, eds. Lois Ann Lorentzen and Jennifer Turpin (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1998), 16.
- 33 Cultural fantasy in Christopher Breu, *Hard-Boiled Masculinities* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 1. One marine called it “World dreaming.” In Ebert, 177. Mary A. Renda argues that “Culture, embedded in individual experience, gives rise to physical violence and other material practices.” *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915–1940* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 9.

- 34 Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 1963), 9, 16, 36, 50–51, 72. See also Nancy Walker, ed., *Women's Magazines, 1940–1960: Gender Roles and the Popular Press* (Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1998), 1–15; and Covert, 23. On magazine culture more generally, see Cross, 89. Steven Dillon argues that “many of the large-scale magazines can also be seen as men’s magazines.” *Wolf-Women and Phantom Ladies: Female Desire in 1940s US Culture* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2015), 210. Even in the first season of *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, viewers watched sitcom writer Buddy Sorrell, who has just read a magazine article, lamenting that “we’re living in the decline of the American male.” The story could be trusted, Buddy quips, because “It’s a high-class magazine. It cost sixty cents. There wasn’t one girly picture in it.” *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, “The Bad Old Days,” directed by John Rich, originally aired 4 April 1962.
- 35 *The Saturday Evening Post* first appeared in 1821. On this and *Harper's*, see James Playsted Wood, *Magazines in the United States* (New York, NY: The Ronald Press Company, 1949), 38, 76. Prices in R. D. Mullen, “From Standard Magazines to Pulps and Big Slicks: A Note on the History of US General and Fiction Magazines,” *Science Fiction Studies* Vol. 22, No. 1 (March 1995): 145; and Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*, 13. Technological advances in David M. Earle, *Re-covering Modernism: Pulps, Paperbacks, and the Prejudice of Form* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 60. On the roles of mass production and distribution, see Tom Pendergast, *Creating the Modern Man: American Magazines and Consumer Culture, 1900–1950* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2000), 17.
- 36 Crudely written in Richard Bleiler, “Forgotten Giant: A Brief History of *Adventure Magazine*,” *Exploration* Vol. 30, No. 4 (December 1989): 309. Erin A. Smith argues such magazines were “cheaply produced escape literature designed to be thrown away once read.” “How the Other Half Read: Advertising, Working-Class Readers, and Pulp Magazines,” *Book History* Vol. 3 (2000): 204. Mullen argues that magazines could be classified as “those designed to be read and discarded and those designed to be read and preserved.” p. 144. Wood-fiber in Bill Blackbeard, “The Pulps,” in *Handbook of American Popular Culture*, Vol. 1, ed. M. Thomas Inge (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978), 195. On pulp formatting, see Ron Goulart, *Cheap Thrills: An Informal History of the Pulp Magazines* (New Rochelle, NY: Arlington House, 1972), 14.
- 37 *The Argosy* circulation in Inge, 200. See also Tony Goodstone, *The Pulps: Fifty Years of American Pop Culture* (New York, NY: Chelsea House, 1970), xii. Advertising in Wood, 224. Formulaic in Don D’Amassa, *Encyclopedia of Adventure Fiction* (New York, NY: Facts on File, 2009), 147.
- 38 Sensational in Inge, 203; and Frank M. Robinson and Lawrence Davidson, *Pulp Culture: The Art of Fiction Magazines* (Portland, ME: Collectors Press, 1998), 9. Of note, many of these pulps were sold off the newsstands. p. 10.
- 39 Tarzan in Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 219–221. Frontier heroes and social and economic conditions in Breu, *Hard-Boiled Masculinities*, 59–60. According to Elizabeth Fraterrigo, these magazine readers were packaged as “modern, sexually virile, masculine consumer[s] who paid no heed to traditional virtues like civic duty or manly self-restraint.” In *Playboy and the Making of*

- the Good Life in Modern America* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009), 24. See also Bill Osgerby, “A Pedigree of the Consuming Male: Masculinity, Consumption and the American ‘Leisure Class,’” in Benwell, 66–75.
- 40 Kimberly J. Lamay Licursi argues that unlike later first-hand accounts from World War II and Korean veterans, these earlier pulps were distinct for their “lack of patriotic jingoism.” *Remembering World War I in America* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2018), 136, 141. One *War Stories* contributor confessed to readers his tales were “based on all the brave things I would have done in this war if I had just thought of them at the time.” In fact, the popularity of aviation pulps like *Air Adventures* and *Sky Aces* suggests that the trenches of World War I may not have been the best locales for young boys to test their mettle in battle en route to manhood. As one editor recalled, “In the aviation magazine, the machine is the hero.” Contributor quoted in Licursi, *Ibid.* Aviation pulps in E. L. Adams, “Between the Devil and a Dime World,” in *Pulpwood Days, Vol. 2: Lives of the Pulp Writers*, ed. John Locke (Elkhorn, CA: Off-Trail Publishers, 2013), 50–51; and Robinson and Davidson, 134, 139. Editor quoted in Douglas Ellis, Ed Hulse, and Robert Weinberg, *The Art of the Pulps: An Illustrated History* (San Diego, TX: IDW Publishing, 2017), 74.
- 41 Soldiers and veterans constituted a large portion of the “pulpwood population.” See Harold B. Hersey, *Pulpwood Editor* (New York, NY: Frederick A. Stokes, 1937), 8. Comics following overseas in Goodstone, xv. Flying tigers and Japanese in Zou Yizheng, “Flying Tigers and Chinese Sidekicks in World War II American Comics,” in *The 10 Cent War: Comic Books, Propaganda, and World War II*, eds. Trischa Goodnow and James J. Kimble (Jackson, MI: University Press of Mississippi, 2016), 55–56. On the stimulation of an expanded wartime readership, see Richard Ellis, “Disseminating Desire: Grove Press and ‘The End[s] of Obscenity,’” in *Perspectives on Pornography: Sexuality in Film and Literature*, eds. Gary Day and Clive Bloom (New York, NY: St. Martin’s Press, 1988), 32.
- 42 *Esquire* in Bill Osgerby, *Playboys in Paradise: Masculinity, Youth and Leisure-Style in Modern America* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2001), 53. Of note, nearly fifty percent of the 1943 “Varga Girl Calendar” (300,000 copies total) was shipped overseas to servicemen. p. 54. On the government’s wartime role in these linkages, mainly via the Magazine Bureau, see Tawnya J. Adkins Covert, *Manipulating Images: World War II Mobilization of Women through Magazine Advertising* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2011), 55–58; and Honey, *Creating Rosie the Riveter*, 36–43.
- 43 Paper quotas in Goodstone, xv. On the general reading market in the armed forces, see Thomas Brusolino, *A Nation Forged in War: How World War II Taught Americans to Get Along* (Knoxville, TN: The University Press of Tennessee, 2010), 101. Rugged machismo and pulp titles in Bill Osgerby, “Two-Fisted Tales of Brutality and Belligerence: Masculinity and Meaning in the American ‘True Adventure’ Pulps of the 1950s and 1960s,” in *Masculinity and the Other: Historical Perspectives*, eds. Heather Ellis and Jessica Meyer (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 164. Though individual titles circulated monthly at around 100,000–200,000 copies, the high volume of titles, according to one source, ensured a total circulation of 12,000,000 a month. See Osgerby, “Muscular Manhood and Salacious Sleaze,” 133.

- 44 World War I veterans reading pulps in Earle, *All Man!*, 37. Sweats and armpit magazines in Lynn Munroe, “The Art of Charles Copeland,” *Illustration* Vol. 9, No. 33 (Spring 2011): 32. Magazines in postwar society in Osgerby, *Ibid.*, 127–128.
- 45 Bruce Jay Friedman, *Even the Rhinos Were Nymphs: Best Nonfiction* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 2000), 18. See also Pendergast, 208; and Richard Combs, “Pleasing the Man with a Magazine,” *American Libraries* Vol. 3, No. 9 (October 1972): 1001–1005. Goodman’s in Osgerby, “Two-Fisted Tales of Brutality and Belligerence,” 173; and Bill Devine, *Devine’s Guide to Men’s Adventure Magazines* (self-published, 1997), 3. For a comparison with women’s magazines, see Adkins Covert, 24–28.
- 46 Misogyny in Kenon Breazale, “In Spite of Women: *Esquire* Magazine and the Construction of the Male Consumer,” *Signs* Vol. 20, No. 1 (Autumn 1994): 20. Active imagination in Amy Sueyoshi, *Discriminating Sex: White Leisure and the Making of the “Oriental”* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2018), 3. It is important that these magazines came out of New York, as opposed to the west coast where Asian Americans were more part of the cultural landscape. On the “big action” there, see Henry Kuttner, “New York ... Should I Come?,” in *Pulp Fictioneers: Adventures in the Storytelling Business*, ed. John Locke (Silver Spring, MD: Adventure House, 2004), 99.
- 47 On speaking to veterans, see Max Allan Collins and George Hagenauer, *Men’s Adventure Magazines in Postwar America* (London: Taschen, 2004), 8. Usurping and effete in Osgerby, *Playboys in Paradise*, 78. On feminism and the “crisis of masculinity,” see Peter G. Filene, *Him/Her/Self: Gender Identities in Modern America*, 3rd ed. (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 74; Brittan, 183; and James Penner, *Pinks, Pansies, and Punks: The Rhetoric of Masculinity in American Literary Culture* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2011), 15. Astrid Fellner and Marta Fernández-Morales argue “masculinity is not *in* crisis, it *is* crisis.” “Introduction” to *Rethinking Gender in Popular Culture in the 21st Century: Marlboro Men and California Girls*, eds. Astrid Fellner, Marta Fernández-Morales, and Martina Martausová (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), 5. Finally, on anti-communist “rage,” see Masuda Hajimu, *Cold War Crucible: The Korean Conflict and the Postwar World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 24.
- 48 Dissatisfied man in Archer Jones, “The Pulps – A Mirror to Yearning,” *The North American Review* Vol. 246, No. 1 (Autumn 1968): 36. On typical pulp readers, see Smith, *Hard-Boiled*, 28. On “nagging doubts and uncertainties” of this period, see Osgerby, “Muscular manhood and salacious sleaze,” 126. A similar theme could be seen in contemporary westerns. See Andrew Ross, “Cowboys, Cadillacs, and Cosmonauts: Families, Film Genres, and Technocultures,” in Boone and Cadden, 87.
- 49 Allan K. Echols, “The Waning Woodpile,” in Locke, *Pulp Fictioneers*, 205–206.
- 50 This power to shape attitudes in young minds stood at the heart of Wertham’s attacks on the comic book industry. Though the psychiatrist distorted, if not fabricated, his clinical evidence, such falsifications should not diminish the fact that adventure magazines could exhibit real influence over their young readers. See Tilley, 386. Tawdry in Osgerby, “Two-Fisted Tales of Brutality and Belligerence,” 164. On thinking about identity, see Pendergast, 13. For a discussion on influences on attitude function, see

- Daniel J. O’Keefe, *Persuasion: Theory & Research*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2002), 35–37.
- 51 Scribblers in Lee Server, *Danger Is My Business*, 18. Natural parts in Allan R. Bosworth, “Take to the Hills Men,” in Locke, *Pulp Fictioneers*, 176. One writer listed eleven elements of a “foolproof” plot formula, including colorful hero, trick, action, climax, and emotion. Frank Gruber, *The Pulp Jungle* (Los Angeles, CA: Sherbourne Press, 1967), 179. Another argued that the “pulp writer must portray life as the reader would like it to be and not as it is.” Jones, 44. Puzo wrote under the pen name Mario Cleri.
- 52 Andrew A. Rooney, “D-Day – The Greatest Battle Ever Fought,” *Man’s World*, June 1963, 20. Raymond Chandler, “Bay City Blues,” *Saga*, March 1965, 68. Mickey Spillane, “The Bastard Bannerman,” *Saga*, June 1964, 27. Raymond Chandler, “Killer in the Rain,” *Saga*, August 1965, 28. On Dorr, see Robert Deis and Wyatt Doyle, *A Handful of Hell: Classic War and Adventure Stories by Robert F. Dorr* (Philadelphia, PA: New Texture, 2016), 11–38.
- 53 Hotsie-totsies from John Bowers of Magazine Management, in Parfrey, *It’s a Man’s World*, 34. On *Stag Party*, see Russell Miller, *Bunny: The Real Story of Playboy* (New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984), 37–38.
- 54 Hairy-chested quoted in Helen Damon-Moore, “Gender as an Organizing Force in the World of Mass-Circulation Magazines,” report (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Center for Education Research, April 1986), 17. Picasso in Cross, *Men to Boys*, 73. Gender hostility in Carrie Pitzulo, *Bachelors and Bunnies: The Sexual Politics of Playboy* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 2. Middle-class in Earle, *All Man!*, 20.
- 55 Girl next door in Amber Batura, “How Hugh Hefner Invented the Modern Man,” *New York Times*, 28 September 2017. Security from Burt Zollo, quoted in Barbara Ehrenreich, *The Hearts of Men: American Dreams and the Flight from Commitment* (New York, NY: Anchor Books, 1983), 47. Beth Bailey has noted that Hefner saw his naked women as “a symbol of disobedience, a triumph of sexuality, an end of Puritanism.” In “Sexual Revolution(s),” *the Sixties: From Memory to History*, ed. David Farber (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 247. Fraterrigo discusses *Playboy’s* depiction of the single man versus married ones in *Playboy and the Making of the Good Life in Modern America*, 4–5, 32.
- 56 *Cavalcade*, November 1959, 4. A story on Burt Mossman, a “one-man army of the Arizona Rangers,” told the tale of a “skinny, sleepy runt whose Colt spit six bullets as soon as a man thought about drawing on him.” (Even men of average physique could become epic heroes.) Jack Pearl, “Burt Mossman: One-Man Army of the Arizona Rangers,” *Male*, August 1960, 32. Magazines like *Stag* also offered up “ribald and rowdy” accounts of “bedroom-bouncing” protagonists who not only could spot a “man-hungry woman,” but knew what to do with them when the time came. Christopher Frey, “How to Spot a Man-Hungry Woman,” *Stag*, January 1967, 40. See also, Don Calhoun, “The Love Master,” *Male*, November 1967, 24.
- 57 Mack Reynolds, “Are You Yellow?” *Battle Cry*, March 1960, 34. On femininity and passivity, see Badinter, *XY*, 54. Capitalism in Robert J. Corber, *Homosexuality in Cold War America: Resistance and the Crisis of Masculinity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 34; and Breu, 4.

- 58 Russell Lynes, “High-Brow, Low-Brow, Middle-Brow,” *Life*, 11 April 1949, 100–101.
- 59 Work clothes in *Male*, September 1952, 86; and *Man’s World*, February 1967, 87. Education barrier in *Epic*, March 1957, 3. “How to Pass a Genius” in *Male*, January 1952, 7. “You don’t need a college diploma” in *Sir!*, July 1962, 2.
- 60 Clodfelter, *Mad Minutes and Vietnam Months*, 37. Exciting in John C. Shoemaker, “My Story: Personal Reflections on the Impact of the Vietnam Era,” in Milam, 44. Dippel argues that many “males from low socioeconomic backgrounds grasp that volunteering offers them a good chance to fulfill their biological destiny.” *War and Sex*, 12.
- 61 “Stag Confidential,” *Stag*, July 1966, 8. On military service as an “ideal form of masculinity,” especially among working-class men, see Sarah Parry Myers, “‘The Women behind the Men behind the Gun’: Gendered Identities and Militarization in the Second World War,” in Vuic, 94. Of note, college graduates like Orville Freeman could still act heroically by courageously leading a combat patrol while wounded. Glenn Infield, “Jap Bait at Bougainville,” *Guy*, April 1965, 16. Freeman went on to become the governor of Minnesota and the US Secretary of Agriculture.
- 62 Rabid patriotism in Parfrey, 215. Ray Lunt, “Hot War in the Skies of East Germany,” *Men*, July 1964, 32. Of note, an essay in *Battle Cry* from October 1957 lauded German Field Marshal Erwin Rommel as a chivalrous warrior who “paid no attention to politics and fought only for national honor.” Geza Andrassy, “Knight of the Desert,” 24.
- 63 A. W. Jackson, “Peace Corps Be Damned! It’s Time for America to Get Tough!,” *Real*, February 1964, 22, 47. One article in support of the CIA disparaged “college ‘Peaceniks’ whose closest contact with espionage has been stealing exams.” Joseph Disher, “Let’s Stop Rapping the CIA,” *Male*, July 1966, 16. Military masculinities embedded into discourses of nationalism in Paul R. Higate, *Military Masculinities: Identity and the State* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), 209. See also Mary Sheila McMahon, “The American State and the Vietnam War,” in Farber, 46.
- 64 As Carol Cohn has argued, “gender is, at its heart, a structural power relation.” See “Women in Wars: Toward a Conceptual Framework,” in *Women and Wars*, ed. Carol Cohn (Malden, MA: Polity, 2013), 4. Gender as power in Maryam Khalid, *Gender, Orientalism, and the “War on Terror”: Representation, Discourse, and Intervention in Global Politics* (London: Routledge, 2017), 32. Social domination in Brittan, 5; and Randal Johnson, “Introduction,” in Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1993), 2. Symbolism in Sara Meger, *Rape Loot Pillage: The Political Economy of Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016), 39; and Horrocks, *Male Myths and Icons*, 20.
- 65 Judith Butler discusses the “ritualized repetition” of masculinity in “Melancholy Gender/Refused Identification,” in *Constructing Masculinity*, eds. Maurice Berger, Brian Wallis, and Simon Watson (New York, NY: Routledge, 1995), 31. Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1988), 42. Performing and enacting masculinity in John Beynon, *Masculinities and Culture* (Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press, 2002), 11; and Bethan Benwell, “Ambiguous Masculinities: Heroism and Anti-heroism in the Men’s Lifestyle Magazine,” in Benwell, 152. On gender as a social practice and construct, see Connell, *Masculinities*, 71; and

- Margaret R. Higgonet and Patrice L.-R. Higgonet, "The Double Helix," in *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*, eds. Margaret Randolph Higgonet, Sonya Michel, Jane Jenson, and Margaret Collins Weitz (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987), 41.
- 66 Nineteen million in Halberstam, 195. Westerns in Cross, 25–27. On diversity of masculine images, see Osgerby, "Two-Fisted Tales of Brutality and Belligerence," 179; and Steven Watts, *JFK and the Masculine Mystique: Sex and Power on the New Frontier* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 2016), 15.
- 67 Circulation data from Peterson, 24. Bloodstream in Halberstam, *Ibid.*
- 68 On manhood as a cultural process, see Bederman, 7. Boys internalizing models of manhood in T. Walter Herbert, *Sexual Violence and American Manhood* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 3. Susan Jeffords maintains that "it is the crystallized formations of masculinity in warfare that enable gender relations in society to survive." *The Remasculinization of America: Gender and the Vietnam War* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989), xv.
- 69 Philip Caputo, *A Rumor of War* (New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1977), 6. Stereotypes and socialization in R. W. Connell, *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987), 34; and Brittan, 23. Pulp influencing public opinion in Joseph T. Shaw, "Letters to the Editor," in Locke, *Pulp Fictioneers*, 33. B. Mark Schoenberg argues that adolescent males are "under great pressure to conform to societal expectations of what a male should or should not be." *Growing Up Male: The Psychology of Masculinity* (Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey, 1993), 100.
- 70 Rejecting elders in Osgerby, *Playboys in Paradise*, 79. Rite of passage in Longley, *Grunts*, 28. On disdain for military service in the late 1960s, see David Cortright, *Soldiers in Revolt: The American Military Today* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, 1975), 4.
- 71 Correspondent Jim G. Lucas quoted in Phillip Knightley, "Vietnam 1954–1975," in *The American Experience in Vietnam: A Reader*, ed. Grace Sevy (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 120. Joshua S. Goldstein has argued that "Gender roles adapt individuals for war roles, and war roles provide the context within which individuals are socialized into gender roles." *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 6.
- 72 Pechan quoted in Philip Jenkins, *The Cold War at Home: The Red Scare in Pennsylvania, 1945–1960* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 69.
- 73 As H. W. Brands observes, most Americans "generally subscribed to the view that a communist victory anywhere would endanger peace everywhere." *The Devil We Knew: Americans and the Cold War* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1993), 86. Crises in J. Fred MacDonald, *Television and the Red Menace: The Video Road to Vietnam* (New York, NY: Praeger, 1985), 19. Empire in Sidney Lens, *Permanent War: The Militarization of America* (New York, NY: Schocken Books, 1987), 22. Clandestine forces in Jenkins, 8. I. F. Stone believed there was an "almost hysterical fear of peace" during the Korean War. *The Hidden History of the Korean War* (New York, NY: Monthly Review Press, 1952), 346. For an overview of the conflict's links to the Cold War, see David R. Segal, *Recruiting for Uncle*

- Sam: Citizenship and Military Manpower Policy* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1989), 31–38; and Hajimu, 2.
- 74 Defense spending numbers in John Lamberton Harper, *The Cold War* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011), 107. Continuous war mobilization in Andrew D. Grossman, *Neither Red nor Dead: Civilian Defense and American Political Development during the Early Cold War* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2001), 30. Outbreak of Korean fighting in Richard M. Fried, *Nightmare in Red: The McCarthy Era in Perspective* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1990), 113. On the idea of citizen-soldiers at this time, see R. Claire Snyder, *Citizen-Soldiers and Manly Warriors: Military Service and Gender in the Civic Republic Tradition* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999).
- 75 Martin Caidin, “So . . . You’re Being Drafted,” *American Manhood*, February 1953, 38–39. Josh Greenfield, “SAC Never Sleeps,” *Saga*, July 1957, 8. The story lauded LeMay and his “ever-ready airmen.” Laura McEnaney discusses how the government “asked ordinary citizens to become partners in the nation’s defense.” *Civil Defense Begins at Home: Militarization Meets Everyday Life in the Fifties* (Princeton, MA: Princeton University Press, 2000), 5. As this related to identity, see Clark, *Cold Warriors*, 2.
- 76 Martin Caidin, “So You Want to Be a Marine!,” *American Manhood*, May 1953, 46, 59. “It’s Tough to Be a Marine,” *Real War*, December 1957, 38. Civilian businesses in Linn, 163. Politicians using masculinity in Paul Higate and John Hopton, “War, Militarism, and Masculinities,” in Kimmel, Hearn, and Connell, 434. For a counter arguing for an “ambivalence toward military service,” see Amy Rutenberg, “Service by Other Means: Changing Perceptions of Military Service and Masculinity in the United States, 1040–1973,” in *Gender and the Long Postwar: The United States and the Two Germanys, 1945–1989*, eds. Karen Hagemann and Sonya Michel (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), 165–169.
- 77 “Inside for Men,” *Male*, March 1967, 8. Of note, in the aftermath of the Korean War, *Battle Cry* called for tougher training regimens. “Our GIs were murdered in Korea because of inadequate training!” The answer? More realistic training that might result in peacetime casualties. As the author implored, the “public must be made to realize that the new GIs who might ‘get it’ in training, will be worth sacrificing for the many who will live to tell about it if there’s a war.” Bob Markel, “Ya Gotta Kill ‘Em to Train ‘Em,” *Battle Cry*, December 1955, 32, 52.
- 78 Amram Scheinfeld, “Are American Moms a Menace?” in Walker, 108. Devouring in Brenton, *The American Male*, 170. Homosexual children in Craig M. Loftin, *Masked Voices: Gay Men and Lesbians in Cold War America* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2012), 155. “Mama’s boys” in Henry Jenkins, *The Wow Climax: Tracing the Emotional Impact of Popular Culture* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2007), 192. Overinvolved in Wini Breines, “Domineering Mothers in the 1950s: Image and Reality,” *Women’s Studies International Forum* Vol. 8, No. 6 (1985): 604. On Hugh Hefner’s concerns of a “female-oriented society,” see Fraterrigo, 33.
- 79 “Stag Confidential,” *Stag*, March 1966, 43. On mothers not teaching sons to be men, see Heather Marie Stur, “Men’s and Women’s Liberation: Challenging Military Culture after the Vietnam War,” in *Integrating the US Military: Race, Gender, and Sexual Orientation*

- since *World War II*, eds. Douglas Walter Bristol, Jr. and Heather Marie Stur (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017), 147. Child rearing in Cross, 58.
- 80 Myth-making in Thomas Myers, *Walking Point: American Narratives of Vietnam* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1988), 7. Martin Caidin, “So . . . You’re Being Drafted,” *American Manhood*, March–April 1953, 34. Sexual attraction to servicemen in Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, 156. Dividends in Paul Kirby, “Masculinities in International Relations,” in *Handbook on Gender in World Politics*, eds. Jill Steans and Daniela Tepe-Belfrage (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2016), 53. Lyla Hoffman has argued that “Patriarchy, militarism and sexism are all interwoven.” In “Militarism and Sexism Control in America,” in *The American Military: Opposing Viewpoints*, ed. David L. Bender (St. Paul, MN: Greenhaven Press, 1983), 81.
- 81 Clarence Doore, cover illustration, *Battle Cry*, October 1957. Harland P. Flourie, “The Street Where Sex Is King,” *Big Adventure*, June 1961, 18. For a similar story, see Harland P. Flourie, “Pig Alley: Paradise with a Capital S.E.X.,” *Real War*, February 1958, 36. Roberts, *What Soldiers Do*, 59. On the militarization of masculinity, see Higate, *Military Masculinities*, 29.
- 82 Psychiatrist quoted in Madeline Morris, “By Force of Arms,” 708. Boomers in Lawrence A. Tritle, *From Melos to My Lai: War and Survival* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2000), 48. Concept of manliness in Mosse, *The Image of Man*, 107.
- 83 Asserting masculinity in Mitchell, *Revisions of the American Adam*, 117.
- 84 On good versus evil, see Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1985), 88; and Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1987), 256. Nazis in Vernon McKenzie, “Treatment of War Themes in Magazine Fiction,” *The Public Opinion Quarterly* Vol. 5, No. 2 (June 1941): 232; and Robert B. Westbrook, *Why We Fought: Forging American Obligations in World War II* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2004), 15. Worthy of hate in Paul Hirsch, “‘This Is Our Enemy’: The Writers’ War Board and Representations of Race in Comic Books, 1942–1945,” *Pacific Historical Review* Vol. 83, No. 3 (August 2014): 460.
- 85 Hal DuBose, “Nazi Payoff for Mass Murder,” *Cavalcade*, November 1959, 9. On contemporary views of communism, see Ellen Schrecker, *The Age of McCarthyism: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2002), 132; and MacDonald, 53. The comics followed suit, as Red agents administered Captain America a “virus of evil” to turn him against his country. Stevens, 64.
- 86 Unattainable in Lewis, *The Tainted War*, 26. Manipulative in Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins, *Reading National Geographic* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 6.
- 87 Appy, *Working-Class War*, 60. Representations of America pushing the nation to war in MacDonald, vii, 12.
- 88 Perseverance in Michael E. Ruane, “‘Killed’ in Vietnam and Buried with Comrades, One Marine Returned from the Dead,” *The Washington Post*, 8 July 2017. National will and security in Guy Oakes, *The Imaginary War: Civil Defense and American Cold War Culture* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1994), 30. Futile in Edelman, “On the Ground,”

205. Meaning in Annica Kronsell and Erika Svedberg “Introduction,” in *Making Gender, Making War: Violence, Military and Peacekeeping Practices*, eds. Annica Kronsell and Erika Svedberg (New York, NY: Routledge, 2012), 4.
- 89 Richard Holmes properly noted in the mid 1980s that “the soldier’s behaviour in battle is accounted for by events which occurred long before he joined the army.” *Acts of War: The Behavior of Men in Battle* (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1985), 58. On the social aspects of masculinity, see David D. Gilmore, *Manhood in the Making: Cultural Concepts of Masculinity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 4. Medical Corps officer Peter G. Bourne, “Sex and war are linked . . .” in David V. Forrest, “The American Soldier and Vietnamese Women,” *Sexual Behavior* (May 1972): 12. Adopting gender models in Rada Iveković, “Women, Nationalism and War: ‘Make Love Not War,’” *Hypatia* Vol. 8, No. 4 (Autumn 1993): 115. On the “imaginative life” of sexual violence, see Herbert, 6.
- 90 Manly man in Harvey C. Mansfield, *Manliness* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 17–18. In *Sands of Iwo Jima*, Wayne’s Sergeant Stryker retains his sense of propriety. When he hits a Hawaii bar after the fighting on Tarawa and heads back to a woman’s place for a drink – it’s implied Mary is a prostitute – he finds instead she is a single mother who needs money to feed her baby. Stryker doesn’t even consider taking advantage of Mary and departs after tossing the child all of his money. “I can’t spend it on a coral reef.” “You’re a very good man,” says Mary, hugging the sergeant. “You can get odds on that in the marine corps,” Stryker replies as he departs. Stanley W. Rogouski, “The Sands of Iwo Jima,” *Writers without Money*, 14 March 2016.
- 91 Officer quoted in Roberts, 160. Deprivation in Samuel Stouffer *et al.*, *The American Soldier: Combat and Its Aftermath* (Princeton, MA: Princeton University Press, 1949), 80. On soldiers needing a “sexual relief,” see John Ellis, *The Sharp End: The Fighting Man in World War II* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1980), 270.
- 92 Appetite and soldier quoted in Peter Schrijvers, *The Crash of Ruin: American Combat Soldiers in Europe during World War II* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1998), 178.
- 93 Stan Borack, cover illustration, *Man’s World*, September 1957. Cover illustration, *Battle Cry*, July 1959. For another example of the machine gun as phallus, see Mort Künstler, cover illustration, *Male*, February 1964.
- 94 A. Joseph Bursteln, “A Doctor Describes How You Can Make Every Woman Your Slave” *All Man*, October 1966, 32.
- 95 J. Glenn Gray, *The Warriors: Reflections on Men in Battle* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1959, 1970), 69. On links between gender subordination and violence, see Laura Sjoberg, “The gender of violence in war and conflict,” in Steans and Tepe-Belfrage, 198. Renda links empire and military action to affirming the nation’s virility in *Taking Haiti*, 64.
- 96 Women as objects in Susan Griffin, *Pornography and Silence: Culture’s Revenge against Nature* (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1981), 36. Prescriptive versus descriptive in Sontag, 337. Of note, FBI director J. Edgar Hoover believed a large number of “sex

- crime” cases was associated with pornography. In Joanna Bourke, *Rape: Sex, Violence, History* (Berkeley, CA: Shoemaker Hoard, 2007), 142.
- 97 “Inside for Men,” *Male*, September 1966, 6. See also *Stag*, March 1966. Within Alan M. Young’s story “Summer Shack Up,” we read this on the female lead: “‘Hurt me,’ she moaned, ‘hurt me.’” p. 52. Larry Baron and Murray A. Strauss discuss violence in terms of a “cultural spillover” in *Four Theories of Rape in American Society* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 9. On the media creating as well as reflecting reality, see Carolyn Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover: The Origins of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 3.
- 98 Widely read in Robert Jay Lifton, *Home from the War: Vietnam Veterans: Neither Victims nor Executioners* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 1973), 204. Unanticipated in Lutz and Collins, 11. Militarization of masculinity in Meger, 45.
- 99 Aggression priming and resonating in Vincent Price and Lauren Feldman, “News and Politics” and David R. Roskos-Ewoldsen and Beverly Roskos-Ewoldsen, “Current Research in Media Priming,” in *The Sage Handbook of Media Processes and Effects*, eds. Robin L. Nabi and Mary Beth Oliver (Los Angeles, CA: Sage, 2009), 116, 181–182. On causal connections between media violence and aggressive behavior, see Brad J. Bushman and Craig A. Anderson “Media Violence and the American Public: Scientific Facts versus Media Misinformation,” *American Psychologist* Vol. 56, No. 6/7 (June/July 2001): 480–481. Individuals and texts in Smith, *Hard-Boiled*, 8. On confusing images with reality, see Griffin, 67.
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- 101 Wish fulfillment in Andrea Dworkin, *Woman Hating* (New York, NY: E. P. Dutton, 1974), 93. Theory and practice in Linda Williams, *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure, and the “Frenzy of the Visible”* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 275. Permission in Vietnam Veterans against the War, *The Winter Soldier Investigation: An Inquiry into American War Crimes* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1972), xiii. Classes of people in Philip D. Beidler, *Late Thoughts on an Old War: The Legacy of Vietnam* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 2004), 15.
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## CHAPTER 1

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- 40 He-Man Voice ad in *Battle Cry*, February 1956, 50. George Laycock, “Your Screw Idea Can Make You a Million,” *Real*, March 1958, 24. On fiscal concerns in the 1950s, see Coontz, *The Way We Never Were*, 31. If the American consumer-based society represented a repression of true masculinity, and a growing domination of femininity in society, then it seems ironic that men still wanted to reap the full rewards of a system they viewed as contrary to masculine beliefs.
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- 44 Mills, *White Collar*, 229. Surveys in George Lipsitz, *Class and Culture in Cold War America: “A Rainbow at Midnight”* (South Hadley, MA: J. F. Bergin, 1981), 98. Self-made man in Ava Baron, “Masculinity, the Embodied Male Worker, and the Historian’s Gaze,” *International Labor and Working-Class History* No. 69 (Spring 2006): 145.
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- 48 James Bender, “College Men Are Sexually Inferior,” *Male*, July 1954, 16–17, 54, 56. On ridiculing “high culture” in pulp writing, see Erin A. Smith, *Hard-Boiled: Working-Class Readers and Pulp Magazines* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2000), 131.
- 49 On cultural concepts differentiating hardness and softness, see James Penner, *Pinks, Pansies, and Punks: The Rhetoric of Masculinity in American Literary Culture* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2011), 16, 67. Collectively, magazines commanded nine percent of all US advertising dollars in 1950. Young, *The 1950s*, 147. Linking consumption to status in Tracy Penny Light, “‘Healthy’ Men Make Good Fathers: Masculine Health and the Family in 20th Century America,” in Heinemann, 112; and Theodore Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1964), 27.
- 50 Dominance in Pendergast, *Creating the Modern Man*, 235. See also Erin A. Smith, “How the Other Half Read: Advertising, Working-Class Readers, and Pulp Magazines,” *Book History* Vol. 3 (2000): 206–207. Validating manhood in David D. Gilmore, *Manhood in the Making: Cultural Concepts of Masculinity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 201. For a comparison with advertising in *Playboy*, see Fraterrigo, 62, 83.
- 51 On Atlas, see Kimmel, 210–211; and F. Valentine Hooven III, *Beefcake: The Muscle Magazines of America 1950–1970* (Cologne: Benedikt Taschen, 1995), 22. On physical culture, see John Beynon, *Masculinities and Culture* (Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press, 2002), 43–44. Atlas ads in *Male*, November 1957, 5; *Stag*, March 1966, 75; and *For Men Only*, December 1959, 9.
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- 53 Editorial policy, *American Manhood*, January 1953, 3. *American Manhood*, February 1953, 29, 49, 53. Links between the male body and masculinity in Kenneth MacKinnon, *Representing Men: Maleness and Masculinity in the Media* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2003), 5; and Theodore P. Greene, *America's Heroes: The Changing Models of Success in American Magazines* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1970), 127. In the case of Maurice LeBlanc, the reader is told that LeBlanc was “sick and puny” growing up, his “frail body couldn’t stand even . . . slight strain.” Since he had enrolled with Weider, though, the thirty-year-old had “gained 15 pounds of muscle, health and energy” and

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- 54 Harold B. Hersey, *Pulpwood Editor* (New York, NY: Frederick A. Stokes, 1937), 76. Ideal versions in Antony Easthope, *What a Man’s Gotta Do: The Masculine Myth in Popular Culture* (Boston, MA: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 53. Assuaging insecurities in Kathryn Weibel, *Mirror: Images of Women Reflected in Popular Culture* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1977), 155. On imperfections and deficiencies, see Bill Osgerby, “Muscular Manhood and Salacious Sleaze: The Singular World of the 1950s Macho Pulps,” in Abrams and Hughes, 139. Transforming and remaking in Smith, *Hard-Boiled*, 61.
- 55 Martin Haver, “Quick Pill Addict,” *Challenge*, November 1958, 15. Hair ad on p. 67. *Adventure Life*, March 1959, 55. *Bluebook*, May 1965, 59.
- 56 Mind control in Matthew W. Dunne, *A Cold War State of Mind: Brainwashing and Postwar American Society* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2013), 17, 51. Brainwashing in *Ibid.*, 14–51. See also Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 237.
- 57 John F. Kennedy, “The Soft American,” *Sports Illustrated*, 26 December 1960, 15. See also Rachel Louise Moran, *Governing Bodies: American Politics and the Shaping of the Modern Physique* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 98–100. Watts calls JFK’s plans a “crusade to regenerate masculinity.” *JFK and the Masculine Mystique*, 6. Kones quoted in Robert L. Griswold, “The ‘Flabby American,’ the Body, and the Cold War,” in *A Shared Experience: Men, Women, and the History of Gender*, ed. Laura McCall and Donald Yacovone (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1998), 335.
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- 60 Banish sex ignorance in *American Manhood*, January 1953, 15. Sex and exercise in *American Manhood*, March 1953, 14. A. Michaels, “Sex Knowledge for Young Men,” *Ibid.*, 26. A. Michaels, “Should Teenagers Pet? *American Manhood*, May 1953, 36, 64–65. On petting as a “code of sexual conduct,” see Coontz, 45. *Challenge*, November 1958, included an ad selling a book *Modern Love Letters* which came with “complete instructions on writing letters of love, courtship, and marriage,” p. 47.
- 61 How syphilis spreads chart in Libasci, 30. In the diagram, one woman ends up infecting seventeen people. Well-hidden on p. 31. Alan Efler, “Will Your Marriage Be Fertile?,” *Action*, March 1953, 14. The article noted that “Husband’s love often turns to hate if

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- and Richard Gallagher, "Find the Kremlin's Blonde Nympho Hostage," *Male*, November 1966, 32.
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- 117 Jules Archer, "Sex and the Armed Forces," *Man's Magazine*, April 1960, 11, 13, 72. On VD near military bases, see Carol Harrington, *Politicization of Sexual Violence: From Abolitionism to Peacekeeping* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 61. Of course, it was "promiscuous women" and not men who carried venereal diseases. See Elaine Tyler May, "Rosie the Riveter Gets Married," in *The War in American Culture: Society and Consciousness during World War II*, eds. Lewis A. Erenberg and Susan E. Hirsch (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 134.
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- 120 Charles Towne, "U.S.O Girls: Bawds for the Brass?," *Real War*, October 1957, 38, 65. Carol Burke compares "donut dollies" to local Vietnamese women in *Camp All-American*, 111.
- 121 Wylie, *Generation of Vipers*, 67. Stabilities in Jonathan Rutherford, "Who's That Man," in *Male Order: Unwrapping Masculinity*, eds. Rowena Chapman and Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1988), 52; and Elaine Tyler May, "Explosive Issues: Sex, Women, and the Bomb," in May, *Recasting America*, 163. Doll hunter in Arnold Paulus, "Not-So Virgin Islands," *Man's Illustrated*, November 1963, 42. Victoria Morhaim, "The 'Sexually Reckless' Female," *Men*, July 1964, 42. See also Hyman Spotnitz, "Tragedy of the Sex Addict," *Male*, March 1965, 35.
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- 123 Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*, 43–44, 71–72, 77. On this “feminist revival,” see Ehrenreich, *The Hearts of Men*, 100. Articulating in Susan Gubar, “‘The Blank Page’ and the Issues of Female Creativity,” in *Writing and Sexual Difference*, ed. Elizabeth Abel (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 76. Sexual reconceptualization in Sharon R. Ullman, *Sex Seen: The Emergence of Modern Sexuality in America* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), 101.
- 124 Social freedom in May, “Rosie the Riveter Gets Married,” 133. On contraceptives, see: Elizabeth Siegel Watkins, *On the Pill: A Social History of Oral Contraceptives, 1950–1970* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998); and Lara V. Marks, *Sexual Chemistry: A History of the Contraceptive Pill* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001). Noel Kraft, “How to Know Sexually Aggressive Women,” *Stag*, July 1966, 40.
- 125 Dominant role in “Man’s Talk,” *Man’s Magazine*, September 1968, 6. Andrew Comfort, “Those Bachelor Girls Who Prey on Married Men,” *Male*, July 1966, 19. Andrew Comfort, “‘Quickie Love Affair’ Girls,” *True Action*, March 1967, 12. Myron Brenton argued in 1966 that masculinity was “no longer assured solely by virtue of female dependency” thanks to the pill. *The American Male*, 24.
- 126 Mailer quoted in Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 256. Kathy J. Phillips discusses the Apollo Syndrome linking sexual performance to battlefield performance in *Manipulating Masculinity: War and Gender in Modern British and American Literature* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 86–88.
- 127 Alison Flood, “Ian Fleming: Pussy Galore Was a Lesbian . . . and Bond Cured Her,” *The Guardian*, 4 November 2015. See also Watts, 140–144. On conceptions of the dominating American woman, from as early as World War II, see Pitzulo, 16.
- 128 Joe and Angela C., “We Almost Abandoned Wife Swapping,” *Man’s Life*, September 1966, 18. Catherine L., “How I Discovered Wife-Swapping,” *All Man*, October 1966, 20. J. Lewis Nelson, “Outrageous Sex Demands,” *Man’s Magazine*, February 1967, 30, 95.
- 129 Dr. Efreim Schoenhild, “How to Handle Those New Free Love Girls,” *Men*, December 1968, 40.
- 130 Liberation in Watts, 167. Glenn Infield, “Airborne Vice Girls,” *Action for Men*, May 1964, 20. On how the rich profited, see also Arthur Scott, “Uncensored Memoirs of a Park Avenue Call Girl,” *Male*, November 1967, 18.
- 131 Sexual tourism in Osgerby, “Two-Fisted Tales,” 171. Jim McDonald, “The Inside Story on Orgy Cruises,” *Man’s Illustrated*, March 1967, 12. Mod-affluents in Jim Walters, “Sea Going Call Girls,” *Bluebook*, June 1968, 41. Of note, not all servicemen benefited sexually from their travels abroad. One disillusioned sailor who served in and out of Pearl Harbor throughout World War II wrote to *Battle Attack* of his frustrations about not locating that “certain kind of female” who, according to the magazine, was “easy to find.” As the Miami veteran shared, “I am a normal, red-blooded American who likes women. So, whenever I got leave in Pearl, I searched for same. But, I couldn’t find any. So, how come I couldn’t find any?” No doubt, the editor’s response proved unsatisfying. “Some guys got it. Some guys were meant to be frustrated.” “Mail Call,” *Battle Attack*, May 1957, 6.

- 132 On sexual anxieties, see: Linda Williams, *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure, and the "Frenzy of the Visible"* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 41–42; Cuordileone, 121; Hays, 123. Asserting virility in Haut, 35. Gratifying partners in Brenton, 29. Cartoon in *Stag*, August 1966, 46. Inside front cover ad, *Challenge*, November 1958.
- 133 Robert H. K. Walter, "The Failure," *Man's Magazine*, December 1963, 14.
- 134 On Kinsey, see Beth Bailey, "Sexual Revolution(s)," in *The Sixties: From Memory to History*, ed. David Farber (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 236. Elisabeth Badinter argues that homophobia is an "integral part of heterosexual masculinity." XY, 115.
- 135 Ehrenreich, *The Hearts of Men*, 26. Statistics in David Allyn, "Private Acts/Public Policy: Alfred Kinsey, the American Law Institute and the Privatization of American Sexual Morality," *Journal of American Studies* Vol. 30, No. 3 (December 1996): 411; and Miller, *Bunny*, 23. Variations in Gilbert, *Men in the Middle*, 86; and Craig M. Loftin, *Masked Voices: Gay Men and Lesbians in Cold War America* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2012), 34. On repudiation of homosexual attachments, see Judith Butler, "Melancholy Gender/Refused Identification," in Berger, Wallis, and Watson, 25.
- 136 A. Michaels, "Sex Knowledge for Young Men," *American Manhood*, March 1953, 26. Robert Burg, "New York's Homosexual Underground," *Man's Magazine*, December 1963, 46. See also Eldon Bearden, "Don't Call Us 'Queer City,'" *Men*, April 1955, 12 on the San Francisco Sex Crimes Squad.
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- 139 Clyde Bunsen, "How Homosexuals Ruined Hitler's Air Force," *True War*, September 1957, 26, 57. John W. Carroll, "Lawrence of Arabia: Desert Fighter and Woman Hater," *Sir!*, July 1962, 22. Sissies in Robert D. Dean, *Imperial Brotherhood: Gender and the Making of Cold War Foreign Policy* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 81. Emotional instability and panic in Jarvis, *The Male Body at War*, 74. On military comradeship attracting homosexual men, see Costello, *Virtue under Fire*, 105.
- 140 On induction centers, see Loftin, 108; and "Stag Confidential," *Stag*, March 1968, 43. See also *Man's World*, February 1967, on draftees who "buck for 4F by coming on with the fairy bit." Apparently, one doctor threatened to "classify them homosexuals if they'll just give him a demonstration to prove it," p. 8. On gays stigmatizing the armed forces, see Margot Canaday, *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 68–69. Anthony Scaduto, "The Phony Cops Who Blackmail Leading Americans," *Male*, September 1966, 16.

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- 145 Scissors in Hays, *The Dangerous Sex*, 60. Fragility in Beynon, *Masculinities and Culture*, 57. David Gilmore argues that “sexual vigor is critical but insufficient to prove manhood.” *Manhood in the Making*, 84. For Aaron Belkin's take on military masculinity, see *Bring Me Men: Military Masculinity and the Benign Façade of American Empire, 1898–2001* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2012), 33–34.

CHAPTER 2

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- 40 Richard Charles, “I Was a Filing Tiger,” *Battle Cry*, December 1955, 20. Jules Archer, “The Bloody Butchers of Milne,” *Ibid.*, 22. On working deals, see Cincinnatus, 148. On the narrative of “soft clerks,” see Higate, *Military Masculinities*, 31. *Coward* magazine in David Cort, “Down With the Other Sex,” *The Nation*, 15 February 1958, 137.
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## CHAPTER 3

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  - 4 Kent Addison, “Women – Which Nationality Is Best?” *Man's Illustrated*, March 1962, 27, 29. Russians in “Stag Confidential,” *Stag*, March 1966, 42. Topless dancer in “Men in Action,” *Male*, November 1967, 36. On links between discourse and power, see Stuart Hall, “Foucault: Power, Knowledge, and Discourse,” in *Discourse Theory and Practice: A Reader*, eds. Margaret Wetherell, Stephanie Taylor, and Simeon J. Yates (London: Sage, 2001), 75–78. On representations being productive, see Annette Kuhn, *The Power of the Image: Essays on Representation and Sexuality* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), 19. Conflict in Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949, 2010), 10.
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  - 6 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1979, 1994), 187–188. Racialized sexuality in Linda Williams, “Skin Flicks on the Racial Border: Pornography, Exploitation, and Interracial Lust,” in *Porn Studies*, ed. Linda Williams (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 272; and Steven Dillon, *Wolf-Women and Phantom Ladies: Female Desire in 1940s US Culture* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2015), 139. Racial temptation and conquest in John Cawelti, “Pornography, Catastrophe, and Vengeance: Shifting Narrative Structures in a Changing American Culture,” in *The American Self: Myth, Ideology, and Popular Culture*, ed. Sam B. Girgus (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1981), 186. On white women’s appeal to GIs, see Robert B. Westbrook, *Why We Fought: Forging American Obligations in World War II* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2004), 78.
  - 7 Sexual subservience in Mari Yoshihara, *Embracing the East: White Women and American Orientalism* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2003), 91. On soldiers seeking sex devoid of emotion, see Peter Schrijvers, *The Crash of Ruin: American Combat Soldiers in Europe during World War II* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1998), 183.
  - 8 Farrell W. Hoaglund, “Sex Is Their Secret Weapon,” *Battle Cry*, February 1962, 20, 52. Jones Milward, “Inside a Sex-School for Spies,” *Man's Illustrated*, November 1963, 26–28, 29. We might ask if the fear of weaponized sexuality was so acute because of man’s

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  - 10 Judas joy girl in Mario Cleri, "Track Down the Nude Double Agent on Passion Boulevard," *Male*, January 1967, 12. Cleri (Puzo) noted how women used "their silken-fleshed bodies" to work as undercover spy-girls, p. 15. There seemed a timeless aspect to this construction. *Fury* featured a story on a woman in the American Civil War who was the Union's best secret weapon "because the gallant Confederate officers simply couldn't resist her charms." Mike Doyle, "The Incredible Exploits of Major Pauline Cushman," *Fury*, April 1959, 15.
  - 11 Walter Baker, "Prostitute-Spy Invasion of the U.S." *Stag*, September 1966, 12–14. Philip Marnais, *Saigon after Dark* (New York, NY: McFadden, 1967), 56. Heather Marie Stur notes the "pervasiveness of the untrustworthy Vietnamese women in the wartime culture" in *Beyond Combat: Women and Gender in the Vietnam War Era* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 44. On prostitution, see Donald S. Bradley, Jacqueline Boles, and Christopher Jones, "From Mistress to Hooker: 40 Years of Cartoon Humor in Men's Magazines," *Qualitative Sociology* Vol. 2, No. 2 (June 1979): 44. Women as symbols in Vesna Kesic, "From Reverence to Rape: An Anthropology of Ethnic and Gendered Violence," in *Frontline Feminisms: Women, War, and Resistance*, eds. Marguerite R. Waller and Jennifer Rycenga (New York, NY: Garland Publishing, 2000), 25.
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  - 13 T. V. Neville, "The Passionate Widow Who Seduced a B-17 Pilot," *Brigade*, March 1963, 12–15, 60, 70. The article's tagline read "Outside there was the London Blitz, but she was more dangerous." On Tokyo Rose, see Emily Yellin, *Our Mothers' War: American Women at Home and at the Front during World War II* (New York, NY: The Free Press, 2004), 256–261.
  - 14 Bedroom espionage in "The Red Scene," *Men*, July 1964, 46. On a "beautiful Hungarian" trying to steal allied invasion plans, see Bill Wharton, "They Sent a B-Girl to Booby Trap D-Day," *For Men Only*, March 1959, 21. John Robles, "The Joy Girl Who Fingered Hitler's Master Killer," *Fury*, March 1961, 22.
  - 15 David J. Hager, "The Nordic Nymphs Who Almost Killed Hitler," *Man's Conquest*, December 1968, 12. Gender-acceptable narrative from Cameron Carlomagno, feedback to author, 10 June 2019.

- 16 Cage of domesticity and women as lures in E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1993), 105. Clarke Grant, "Kill-Crazy Pirate Girls of Red China," *Valor*, June 1959, 28–30. Shanghai Road in Clifford Coxe, "The Passionate Lady Spies Who Held Down a Japanese Regiment," *Men*, January 1962, 28. Wendell O'Dell, "The Nympho Spy Who Helped to Lose the War," *Man's Adventure*, September 1964, 28.
- 17 Bernard B. Fall, *Street without Joy* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1961, 1994), 135, 141. Trap and betray in Kelly Oliver, *Women as Weapons of War: Iraq, Sex, and the Media* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2007), 20.
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- 22 Bodies as weapons in Oliver, xi. Albert Hendricks, "Europe's Most Dangerous Spy Nymph," *Man's Conquest*, February 1968, 41–42.
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- 25 Kurt Vaughn, "Kill the Viet Cong in Zone D!" *Man's Illustrated*, March 1966, 44.
- 26 Leland Gardner, *Vietnam Underside* (San Diego, CA: Publishers Export, 1966), 18, 25, 32, 93–94, 96, 114, 137.
- 27 Inferior other in Tarak Barkawi and Keith Stanski, "Introduction," in *Orientalism and War*, eds. Tarak Barkawi and Keith Stanski (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2012), 4. Paternalistic discourse in Mary A. Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915–1940* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 13. Feminized in Naoko Shibusawa, *America's Geisha Ally: Reimagining the Japanese Enemy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 21. Compliant body from John Dower quoted in Sheridan Prasso, *The Asian Mystique: Dragon Ladies*,

- Geisha Girls, and Our Fantasies of the Exotic Orient* (New York, NY: Public Affairs, 2005), 53. On Asians as children, see Donna Alvah, *Unofficial Ambassadors: American Military Families Overseas and the Cold War, 1946–1965* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2007), 168.
- 28 Amy Sueyoshi, *Discriminating Sex: White Leisure and the Making of the American “Oriental”* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2018), 135. Servile in Shibusawa, 39.
- 29 Consumption in Yoshihara, *Embracing the East*, 18. Geishas in Sueyoshi, 59. On how this discourse has led to Asian Americans being seen as the “model minority,” see Audrea Lim, “The Alt-Right’s Asian Fetish,” *New York Times*, 6 January 2018.
- 30 Luzon in Thomas Brusino, *A Nation Forged in War: How World War II Taught Americans to Get Along* (Knoxville, TN: The University Press of Tennessee, 2010), 114. William Manchester, *Goodbye, Darkness: A Memoir of the Pacific War* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1979), 49. On World War II bringing “unprecedented opportunities” for premarital sex, see Steven Cohan, *Masked Men: Masculinity and the Movies in the Fifties* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1997), 85.
- 31 Brian Walsh, “Sexual Violence during the Occupation of Japan,” *The Journal of Military History* Vol. 82, No. 4 (October 2018): 1225. Walsh argues that “heinous crimes such as rape and murder, though not unheard of, were decidedly uncommon,” p. 1203. Bangkok in Peter Goldman and Tony Fuller, *Charlie Company: What Vietnam Did to Us* (New York, NY: Ballantine Books, 1983), 114; and Robert Jay Lifton, *Home from the War: Vietnam Veterans: Neither Victims nor Executioners* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 1973), 207–208. Brothel of the world in Chung Hyun-Kyung, “‘Your Comfort versus My Death’: Korean Comfort Women,” in *War’s Dirty Secret: Rape, Prostitution, and Other Crimes against Women*, ed. Anne Llewellyn Barstow (Cleveland, OH: The Pilgrim Press, 2000), 21. Lure of prostitutes in Myron Brenton, *The American Male* (New York, NY: Coward-McCann, 1966), 189. Of note, Brenton was not just referring to Asian prostitutes, but speaking more generally.
- 32 “Male Paradise,” *Man’s Day*, March 1953, 60. Thorp McClusky, “The Island of Lonely Girls,” *Adventure*, October 1957, 18–19. “Stag Confidential,” *Stag*, February 1967, 44. See also Bryan Peters, “The Girl from Hong Kong’s ‘Hot Street,’” *Male*, August 1964, on an “Oriental Venus with a wild sweet tooth for men,” p. 25.
- 33 Don Davis, “Where the American Army Learned about Sex,” *Battle Cry*, October 1957, 20. See also Alex Austin, “The Day They Outlawed Geishas,” *Man’s World*, June 1959, 26. No topping in “Inside for Men,” *Male*, November 1957, 6.
- 34 Robert F. Dorr, “Inside the Oriental Sin Town Where Passion’s the Name of the Game,” *Man’s Illustrated*, August 1971, 14, 50.
- 35 Japan International advertisement, *Sir!*, July 1962, 62. This idea of the “submissive” may have been aided by the lack of interaction between Japanese women and American soldiers during World War II. Most contact occurred during the years of US occupation, thus Japanese women did not have the opportunity to challenge this perception in a wartime setting.
- 36 *The Manchurian Candidate*, directed by John Frankenheimer, United Artists, 1962. On Hollywood World War II films “filled with strange landscapes and exotic women,” see

- John Bodnar, *The “Good War” in American Memory* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 27. James Webb mentions “groin-grinding bar girls” in his Vietnam novel *Fields of Fire* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1978), 38.
- 37 Difficult and smothering in Shibusawa, 43. On the deep roots of the allure of darker, “dusky” skinned women, see Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 116–118.
- 38 Polynesian women in Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins, *Reading National Geographic* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 136–139. Polygamous harems in Reina Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 96. On the relationship between fetishization and sexual violence, see Sara Meger, *Rape Loot Pillage: The Political Economy of Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016), 17. Licentiousness and Jezebel in Candice M. Jenkins, *Private Lives, Proper Relations: Regulating Black Intimacy* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 8–11. For a discussion on African American soldiers’ perceptions of Korean and Japanese women, see Christine Knauer, *Let Us Fight as Free Men: Black Soldiers and Civil Rights* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 153–157, 170–171. Taboo from Charissa Threat, conversation with author, 4 July 2019. One rare exception was an ad for “Gentlemen Prefer Bronze,” a photo collection of women with “dusky loveliness,” offered by Matt Books in Los Angeles. *Man’s Epic*, March 1968, 12.
- 39 Harry Roskolenko, “The Nude in the Blue Lagoon,” *Valor*, June 1959, 34. Xosa tribe in Jack Sholimir, “Beachcombers of the African Jungle,” *Valor*, June 1959, 8, 10.
- 40 Martin Henderson, “Sgt. Hogan’s Heavenly Harem,” *Sensation*, April 1959, 32. Glenn Infield, “The Harem HQ of WWII’s Missing-in-Action Major,” *Stag*, July 1961, 26. Harland P. Flourie, “Holy Harlots of India,” *Cavalcade*, May 1959, 17–18. On the “representational effect” of stories like these, see Julia Kuehn, “Exotic Harem Paintings: Gender, Documentation, and Imagination,” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women’s Studies* Vol. 32, No. 2 (2011): 32.
- 41 Stereotypes in Prasso, 87. James Collier, “The Nymph Decoys of Asia’s Comfort Houses,” *Stag*, July 1961, 12–13. Eugene Anthony, “Sleep Around Girl Who Lured Red China’s Top Defector,” *Male*, July 1966, 12. Vietnam vet quoted in Susan Zeiger, *Entangling Alliances: Foreign War Brides and American Soldiers in the Twentieth Century* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2010), 215.
- 42 Ray Bourgeois Zimmerman notes how these women were “discursively obliterated.” In “Gruntspeak: Masculinity, Monstrosity and Discourse in Hasford’s *The Short-Timers*,” *American Studies* Vol. 40, No. 1 (Spring 1999): 71. Unnamed girl being raped in Joanna Bourke, *Rape: Sex, Violence, History* (Berkeley, CA: Shoemaker Hoard, 2007), 5. On Vietnamese women lacking a presence in many war narratives, see Martha Raye in Keith Walker, *A Piece of My Heart: The Stories of 26 American Women Who Served in Vietnam* (Novato, CA: Presidio, 1985), 2. Barkawi and Stanski argue that orientalism is about “who is empowered to represent with authority, who is seen to speak knowledgably.” *Orientalism and War*, 5.
- 43 Said, *Orientalism*, 6. Silencing as a decision in Susan Sontag, *A Susan Sontag Reader* (New York, NY: Farrar/Straus/Groux, 1982), 185. On questioning whether women were even human, see Carol Ritner, “Are Women Human?,” in *Rape: Weapon of War and Genocide*,

- eds. Carol Rittner and John K. Roth (St. Paul, MN: Paragon House, 2012), 1–2. Otherness in Mary V. Dearborn, *Pocahontas's Daughters: Gender and Ethnicity in American Culture* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1986), 5.
- 44 Study results in M. Venkatesan and Jean Losco, “Women in Magazine Ads: 1959–71,” *Journal of Advertising Research* Vol. 15, No. 5 (October 1975): 52. Slave girl outfit in Originals, Inc. advertisement, *Male*, August 1964, 47. Harem Jamas in Smoothee Co. advertisement, *Valor*, June 1959, 92. On Egyptian-inspired pin-ups, see Maria Elena Buszek, *Pin-Up Grrrls: Feminism, Sexuality, Popular Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 69–72.
- 45 Felix Muntsaarts, “Buy a Slave Girl!” *Man's Conquest*, February 1968, 12. Such storylines also reasserted ideals of American men being the benevolent “rescuer” of women.
- 46 Andrew McCoy, “You Can Take Your Pay in Women,” *All Man*, April 1960, 19, 71. Arnold Chesterton, “The Love Slave of Hadramut,” *Battle Cry*, March 1964, 18, 52. Eroticization in Alison Assiter, “Romance Fiction: Porn for Women?,” in *Perspectives on Pornography: Sexuality in Film and Literature*, eds. Gary Day and Clive Bloom (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 103.
- 47 White masculinity in Jarvis, *The Male Body at War*, 141–143. Carl Sherman, “Stone-Age Island Headhunters,” *Stag*, September 1966, 31, 33. On the sexually decadent other, see Patricia Owens, “The Pleasures of Imperialism and the Pink Elephant: Torture, Sex, Orientalism,” in Barkawi and Stanski, 255. On how these notions relate to wartime sexual violence, see Pascale R. Bos, “Feminists Interpreting the Politics of Wartime Rape: Berlin, 1945; Yugoslavia, 1992–1993,” *Signs*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (Summer 2006): 997–998.
- 48 On these storylines, see Lee Server, *Danger Is My Business: An Illustrated History of the Fabulous Pulp Magazines* (San Francisco, CA: Chronicle Books, 1993), 49–50. On the frontier as “geomythical space,” see Jonathan Mitchell, *Revisions of the American Adam: Innocence, Identity and Masculinity in Twentieth-Century America* (New York, NY: Continuum, 2011), 19. On sexual availability, see Chris Finley, “Decolonizing the Queer Native Body (and Recovering the Native Bull Dyke): Bringing ‘Sexy Back’ and Out of Native Studies’ Closet,” in *Queer Indigenous Studies: Critical Interventions in Theory, Politics, and Literature*, eds. Qwo-Li Driskill, Chris Finley, Brian Joseph Gilley, and Scott Lauria Morgensen (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 2011), 34. Colonialism in Charlotte Hooper, *Manly States: Masculinities, International Relations, and Gender Politics* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2001), 84.
- 49 Dave Heinkel, “My Six-Year South Sea Adventure,” *Stag*, April 1956, 40–41, 50. In August 1958, *Battlefield* reprinted the article as “My Fantastic Six Years as a South Sea Castaway,” with far more appealing artwork by Rudy Nappi, p. 18. Ansel Cooker, “Seaman Cooker and the After-Dark Girls of Borneo Bay,” *Male*, August 1960, 12, 82, 86. These castaway stories represented a spatial separation from the constraints of “modernization” and consumerism, recalling days of “pure” masculinity, when men were providers and, supposedly, unchallenged by femininity.
- 50 Sgt. James W. Coffin, “I Crashed on an Island of Castaway Geishas,” *Battlefield*, May 1959, 12. Louis B. Hutton, “To Kidnap the Joy Girls of the Malabar Coast,” *Real Men*, December 1960, 19.

- 51 Alec Rantzen, "10 Castaway Years on Lost Harem Island," *Action for Men*, May 1964, 32, 64. Bruscinio notes how American soldiers overseas confronted a much less pleasing reality. *A Nation Forged in War*, 120. These ideas highlighted how "traditional" societies often were deemed inferior, whereas "modern" (white) ones inherently were judged as superior.
- 52 On expansionism and martial manhood, see Greenberg, 92. Survival in Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600–1860* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973), 55. On frontier stories in the Cold War, see Suzanne Clark, *Cold Warriors: Manliness on Trial in the Rhetoric of the West* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), 40.
- 53 Bill Wharton, "The Amazing GI Who Took Three Head-Hunting Brides," *Stag*, January 1961, 12, 52, 54. Of note in this story, female sexuality is the primary identity of the local women – women first, warriors second. Shari M. Huhndorf notes the conquering culture's need to "reimagine the objects of its conquest" in *Going Native: Indians in the American Cultural Imagination* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001), 20.
- 54 Winthrop D. Jordan, *The White Man's Burden: Historical Origins of Racism in the United States* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1974), 81–82. On African Americans' sexual character being stigmatized as "uncivilized" in the United States, see Jenkins, 4. On the paradoxes between civilization and manhood in *Tarzan of the Apes*, see Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 222.
- 55 Cultural stereotypes of inferior cultures, see Joe Snader, *Caught between Worlds: British Captivity Narratives in Fact and Fiction* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2000), 79. Kimloan Hill discusses earlier sexual relationships between French and Vietnamese in "Sacrifices, Sex, Race: Vietnamese Experiences in the First World War," in *Race, Empire, and First World War Writing*, ed. Santanu Das (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 58–61.
- 56 Unintended consequence in Zeiger, 163. On antebellum anxieties over "hybridism," see Dearborn, 150. *Ebony* and *U.S. Lady* in Alvah, 59. *U.S. Lady* was a magazine aimed at military wives.
- 57 A. V. Loring, "Forbidden Amazon Female Compound," *Stag*, April 1968, 32. June Namias discusses earlier fears that "Indian men could indeed serve as attractive and compassionate sexual partners" in *White Captives: Gender and Ethnicity on the American Frontier* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 99. For an alternative view, where the "beats" of the 1950s were seeking out interracial sex, see Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York, NY: Bantam Books, 1993), 47.
- 58 On Puritan captivity narratives, see: Tara Fitzpatrick, "The Figure of Captivity: The Cultural Work of the Puritan Captivity Narrative," *American Literary History* Vol. 3, No. 1 (Spring 1991): 1–26; and Robert C. Doyle, *Voices from Captivity: Interpreting the American POW Narrative* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1994). On the sexuality of white–Indian contact, see Louise K. Barnett, *The Ignoble Savage: American Literary Racism, 1790–1890* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1975), 113–119.
- 59 Eric Pleasants, "Russia's Camps of Banished Wives," *True Action*, June 1961, 12. Alex Austin, "The Yank P.O.W. in 'Comfort Girl' Stockade," *Stag*, May 1960, 21, 89. Richard Gallagher, "Inside a Communist All-Woman Penal Camp," *Stag*, January 1964, 32, 62–63.

- 60 Martin Fass, “Stockade of Captive Blondes,” *True Action*, March 1967, 28. For a similar story on a Geisha compound in Burma, see George Mandel, “The P.O.W.’s Who Took Over a Geisha Compound,” *For Men Only*, July 1959, 12.
- 61 Neil Turnbull, “The Lost Blondes of Penal Plantation 9,” *Male*, July 1966, p. 28, 87, 90. *Male* included one story, ostensibly from the female perspective, in Janet Lyons, “My Two Years in the ‘Barracks of the Caged Young Girls,’” *Male*, September 1966, 20, 23. The author noted how “‘straight’ girls fought to get work assignment on [the] prison farm where they could party with male guards.”
- 62 1,000 rapes in Alvah, 27. Susan Brownmiller has a slightly different, though no less disturbing, set of figures in *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape* (New York, NY: Fawcett Books, 1975), 76–77. Comparison with civilian rates in Madeline Morris, “In War and Peace: Rape, War, and Military Culture,” in *War’s Dirty Secret: Rape, Prostitution, and Other Crimes against Women*, ed. Anne Llewellyn Barstow (Cleveland, OH: The Pilgrim Press, 2000), 170. Destruction and looting in Miriam Gebhardt, *Crimes Unspoken: The Rape of German Women at the End of the Second World War* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2017), 84. On occupation, see Atina Grossman, “A Question of Silence: The Rape of German Women by Occupation Soldiers,” *October Magazine* Vol. 72 (Spring 1995): 42–63; and Atina Grossman, “The ‘Big Rape’: Sex and Sexual Violence, War, and Occupation in Post-World War II Memory and Imagination,” in *Sexual Violence in Conflict Zones: From the Ancient World to the Era of Human Rights*, ed. Elizabeth D. Heineman (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 137–151.
- 63 On desire for female companionship, see, Petra Goedde, *GIs and Germans: Culture, Gender, and Foreign Relations, 1945–1949* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 83. On rape being seen as routine, see Grossman, “The ‘Big Rape,’” 138. Peter Conolly-Smith argues that World War II films rarely showed white victims of rape, suggesting an element of Orientalism at play. “Race-ing Rape: Representations of Sexual Violence in American Combat Films,” *War and Society* Vol. 32, No. 3 (October 2013): 246.
- 64 Rape fantasy from “Mark,” quoted in Timothy Beneke, *Men on Rape* (New York, NY: St. Martin’s Press, 1982), 64. Burlesque in Adam Parfrey, *It’s a Man’s World: Men’s Adventure Magazines, the Postwar Pulps* (Los Angeles, CA: Feral House, 2003), 177. On links to postwar sexual anxieties, see Amit Pinchevski and Roy Brand, “Holocaust Perversions: The Stalags Pulp Fiction and the Eichmann Trial,” *Critical Studies in Media Communications* Vol. 24, No. 5 (December 2007): 391. Downplaying GI violence in Bourke, *Rape*, 360. See also Collins and Hagenauer, 267–268.
- 65 Charles V. Nemo, “The Blonde 30,000 POWs Called ‘BITCH,’” *Battlefield*, May 1959, 26, 42, 44. On Koch and the Nazi camps, see Laura Sjoberg, *Women as Wartime Rapists: Beyond Sensation and Stereotyping* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2016), 2–3, 102–108.
- 66 Tony Sorrentino, “The Lady with the Whip,” *Real Men*, December 1960, 6, 56, 58. For similar stories, see: James Collier, “Mistress of the Mediterranean’s Infamous Penal Hole,” *Male*, July 1961, 21; and Drake Hansen, “The Sex-Mad Harlots Who Fought for Hitler,” *Battle Cry*, August 1962, 30. The tagline read “An army of women, crazed with lust, screamed for our blood.” This theme also could be seen in 1970s “sexploitation” films like *Ilsa: She Wolf of the SS*, directed by Don Edmonds, Cambist Films, 1975.

- 67 Sgt. Rusty Miller, “Lusty Ludwig’s Love Lager,” *Battle Cry*, July 1959, 6, 53. The story was reprinted as “The Best Damn POW Camp in History,” *Battle Cry*, August 1962, 18. Mistresses in Grant Freeling, “U.S. Agent Who Invaded Hitler’s House of Hostage Frauleins,” *Male*, June 1966, 28. Other nationalities could suffice in wartime fantasies. In Tereska Torrès’s “French Girls’ Barracks,” members of a French WAC company are “willing to do anything for the war effort,” the story’s tagline promising “violent love and strange desires.” *Male*, February 1965, 34. Of note, Torrès’s *Women Barracks* (1950) was the first lesbian pulp novel in the United States.
- 68 Martin Fass, “Hitler’s Man-Hungry ‘Lost Women’ Brigade,” *Male*, December 1962, 21. Henri Mortain, “The Day That Paris Fell,” *Battle Cry*, October 1957, 40. Peter Gusdanovich, “I Was Sold to the Love-Hungry Women of Madagascar,” *True Men*, October 1958, 14. See also Geoffrey Randall, “One Man in a Woman’s Army,” *Battle Cry*, July 1959, 18, 45, on members of a Bolshevik Women’s Battalion who, in essence, rape their captive Englishman. Margalit Fox, “Tereska Torrès, 92, Writer of Lesbian Fiction, Dies,” *New York Times*, 24 September 2012.
- 69 Donald Honig, “Yank Explorer Who Ruled Guatemala’s ‘Taboo Tribe,’” *For Men Only*, August 1966, 36, 78. Violating cultural prescriptions in Snader, 82. On gendered differences in captivity narratives, see Namias, 79–81.
- 70 Norton McVickers, “The Girls Who Beg to Be Mastered,” *Man’s Life*, September 1966, 28, 68. On prisoners seeing torture as a test of will rather than something to be avoided, see Jerry Lembcke, *Hanoi Jane: War, Sex & Fantasies of History* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010), 52–54. Apparently, the pulps’ depiction of sexual violence far exceeded what was shown in *Playboy*. On this, see Joseph E. Scott and Steven J. Cuvelier, “Sexual Violence in *Playboy* Magazine: A Longitudinal Content Analysis,” *The Journal of Sex Research* Vol. 23, No. 4 (November 1987): 536.
- 71 Larry Heinemann, *Paco’s Story* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1986, 2005), 55–56. On the sexual aspects of *Paco’s Story*, see Susan Jeffords, “Tattoos, Scars, Diaries, and Writing Masculinity,” in *The Vietnam War and American Culture*, eds. John Carlos Rowe and Rick Berg (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1991), 210; and Keith Beattie, *The Scar That Binds: American Culture and the Vietnam War* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1998), 55–56.
- 72 Webb, *Fields of Fire*, 246. Mario Cleri, “The Seduction of Private Nurse Griffith,” *Men*, July 1964, 16, 88.
- 73 Dynamic in Stan Goff, *Borderline: Reflections on War, Sex, and Church* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2015), 21–22. On sexually available Fräuleins, see Grossman, “The ‘Big Rape,’” 150. Morphing and sheer manliness from Eugenia C. Kiesling, email to author, 8 July 2019. Not surprisingly, the pulps avoided the obvious possibility of male rape, anal penetration of the male victim.
- 74 Avoiding controversy in Robert Genter, “‘With Great Power Comes Great Responsibility’: Cold War Culture and the Birth of Marvel Comics,” *The Journal of Popular Culture* Vol. 40, No. 6 (2007): 953. On Sergeant Rock, see Cord A. Scott, *Comics and Conflict: Patriotism and Propaganda from WWII through Operation Iraqi Freedom* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2014), 53; and Christopher J. Hayton and Sheila Hayton, “The

- Girls in White: Nurse Images in Early Cold War Era Romance and War Comics,” in *Comic Books and the Cold War, 1946–1962*, eds. Chris York and Rafiel York (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2012), 135.
- 75 *Phantom Lady*, No. 21, December 1948, 14–15. Fredric Wertham, *Seduction of the Innocent* (New York, NY: Rinehart, 1953), 185.
- 76 Headlights in Friedman, 167. Wertham, 201, 361.
- 77 Girl commandos in Christina M. Knopf, “‘Hey Soldier! – Your Slip Is Showing!’: Militarism vs. Femininity in World War II Comics and Books,” in *The 10 Cent War: Comic Books, Propaganda, and World War II*, eds. Trischa Goodnow and James J. Kimble (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2016), 39–40. On Justice League, see Jill Lepore, *The Secret History of Wonder Woman* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014), 209–211. On not being passive objects, see Carol L. Tilley, “A Regressive Formula of Perversity: Wertham and the Women of Comics,” *Journal of Lesbian Studies* Vol. 22, No. 4 (2018): 5. Roles of “female fighters” in Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1987), 176–180.
- 78 Granville in Ben Macintyre, “Through Enemy Lines,” *New York Times*, 19 July 2013; and Clare Mulley, *The Spy Who Loved: The Secrets and Lives of Christine Granville* (New York, NY: St. Martin’s Press, 2012), 342. Hierarchical power structures in Francine D’Amico, “Feminist Perspectives on Women Warriors,” in *The Women and War Reader*, eds. Lois Ann Lorentzen and Jennifer Turpin (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1998), 120.
- 79 Glenn Infield, “The Amazing U.S. Flyer Who Wrecked Hitler’s Bid for Atomic Weapons,” *Men*, May 1962, 37. Philippe de Vomécourt, “Major ‘Mayhem’ and His Magnificent Dirty Fighters,” *Men*, December 1961, 32. On Americans’ construction of the French male, in which only World War II resistance fighters merited admiration, see Mary Louise Roberts, *What Soldiers Do: Sex and the American GI in World War II France* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2013), 95.
- 80 Walter Kaylin, “Yank C.O. of WWII’s Strangest Co-ed Commando Battalion,” *Stag*, March 1966, 32, 72. See also Cyrus W. Bell, “Hell-Raising Guerrilla Queen Who Saved Marshall Tito,” *Man’s Epic*, November 1967, 32.
- 81 Ormond MacArthur, “The Girl in Pvt. Devereux’ Combat Boots,” *Man’s World*, June 1959, 20, 23, 54. On how women were similarly viewed as unsuited for war, see Jeanne Holm, *Women in the Military: An Unfinished Revolution*, rev. ed. (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1992), 179. Those who did serve in uniform were expected to maintain their femininity and be attractive to men. Maureen Honey, *Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class, Gender, and Propaganda during World War II* (Amherst, MA: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1984), 114.
- 82 Edwin Johnson, “Kidnapped by Russia’s Female Aces,” *Stag*, May 1964, 24. Art by Samson Pollen. Voyeuristic fascination in Juliette Pattinson, *Behind Enemy Lines: Gender, Passing and the Special Operations Executive in the Second World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 9. On women taking up arms being perceived as “sexually unconventional,” see David E. Jones, *Women Warriors: A History* (Washington, DC: Brassey’s, 1997), xii.

- 83 Kyra Petrovskaya, "Combat Diary of a Russian Woman Soldier," *Battlefield*, November 1959, 18, 21. See also Norman Dash, "Glamorous Santa Monica Looks Like Anything but Russian Hero," *Los Angeles Times*, 6 November 1960. Lyn Webster Wilde argues that "occasional masculinity, along with its privileges, is awarded to women to keep them quiet in their customarily subservient role." *On the Trail of the Women Warriors: The Amazons in Myth and Memory* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 183.
- 84 William Ballinger, "Battalion of Nymphs," *Action for Men*, November 1968, 33, 76. Ballinger's excerpted story came from his 1967 *Women's Battalion* (New York, NY: Lancer Books, 1967), according to the cover a "raw, savage novel of WWII's amazing all-female fighting unit . . . who used guns, knives – and sex – to destroy the Third Reich."
- 85 Sexualization of war in Kestic, "From Reverence to Rape," 24. Gregory Johnson, "We Were Captured by New Guinea's Nude Amazons," *Battlefield*, January 1959, 13, 46.
- 86 Ivan Cameron, "Timothy Briggs: Captive Sailor of Tasmania's Amazon Women," *Adventure Life*, March 1959, 12, 66. Neil Turnbull, "U.S. Commando Force and the Greek Nude Girl Divers Who Broke Up Germany's 'Underwater Arsenal,'" *Male*, January 1964, 36, 45. On challenges, see Cynthia Enloe, *Does Khaki Become You? The Militarisation of Women's Lives* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1983), 117. Amazonian sexual practices in Wilde, 27.
- 87 Femme sauvage in Miriam Cooke, *Women and the War Story* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), 132. Mike Doyle, "The Invincible Colonel and His 1,000 Congo Queens," *Fury*, March 1961, 15. Leicester Harrison, "I Fought the Amazon's 'Blood Feast' Headhunters," *True Action*, July 1967, 22, 42. For a similar tale, see Robert Martel, "I Lived with the Axe Women of the Amazon," *True Action*, November 1968, which includes a "mock battle of the sexes followed by a shocking orgy," p. 29.
- 88 Emile C. Schurmacher, "The Yank Pilot Who Lived with Indochina's Amazon Women," *For Men Only*, March 1959, 12, 44.
- 89 W. J. Saber, "Vengeance Platoon from the Village of Violated Women," *Stag*, January 1961, 29–31, 64–78.
- 90 "Flashes for Men," *Man's Illustrated*, September 1965, 6.
- 91 Soldier quoted in Enloe, 33–34. Legitimizing violence and exorcising fears in Jacqueline A. Lawson, "'She's a Pretty Woman . . . for a Gook': The Misogyny of the Vietnam War," *The Journal of American Culture* Vol. 12, No. 3 (Fall 1989): 56.
- 92 The Queen of Caper advertisement, *Brigade*, March 1963, 64. Domineering sexual behavior in Susan Griffin, "Rape: The All-American Crime," *Ramparts*, September 1971, 30. Consensual sex in Bourke, *Rape*, 53.
- 93 Bill Harrell, "Korea's 800,000 Give-Give Girls," *Male*, March 1965, 18, 80. On how other cultural venues portrayed the Korean War, see Hye Seung Chung, "From Saviors to Rapists: G.I.s, Women, and Children in Korean War Films," in *Heroism and Gender in War Films*, eds. Karen A. Ritzenhoff and Jakub Kazecki (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 115–130; Yuming Piao, "The Construction of Korean Female Images in the Korean War Novels from an Orientalist Perspective," *Comparative Literature Studies* Vol. 54, No. 1 (2017): 201–204; and Prasso, 88–92.
- 94 Charlton W. Killgore, Jr., "Ten Best Drafted Deals in the Armed Forces," *For Men Only*, September 1966, 20, 44, 48.

- 95 On the problems of young soldiers achieving their sexual fantasies, see Lynne Segal, “Look Back in Anger: Men in the 50s,” in *Male Order: Unwrapping Masculinity*, eds. Rowena Chapman and Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1988), 86.

## CHAPTER 4

- 1 Mort Künstler, cover art, *Stag*, December 1966. W. J. Saber, “Yank GI–Viet Doll Escape Team,” *Ibid.*, 26. “Stag Confidential,” *Ibid.*, 42.
- 2 HQ, USMACV, Command History, 1966, Volume I, Entry MACJ03, RG 472, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD, pp. 1, 3. (Hereafter cited as NARA.)
- 3 Kurt Vaughn, “Riding Shotgun in Helicopter Hell,” *Man’s Illustrated*, September 1965, 40. Westmoreland in Blair Clark, “Westmoreland Appraised: Questions and Answers,” *Harper’s*, November 1970, 96. One colonel, Lewis Goad, noted how Vietnam was “not a military war: it’s a political war.” In Robert Sherrod, “Notes on a Monstrous War,” *Life*, 27 January 1967, 22B. For a less complimentary version of US military leaders’ outlook, see Jeffrey Race, *War Comes to Long An: Revolutionary Conflict in a Vietnamese Province* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1972), 226, 263. Proving oneself in Kathy J. Phillips, *Manipulating Masculinity: War and Gender in Modern British and American Literature* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 131.
- 4 On *National Geographic* war photography also avoiding the more brutal aspects of the fighting, see Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins, *Reading National Geographic* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 99–100.
- 5 Veteran Bobby Muller quoted in Kim Willenson, *The Bad War: An Oral History of the Vietnam War* (New York, NY: New American Library, 1987), 112. On lies from the World War II generation, see Tracy Karner, “Fathers, Sons, and Vietnam: Masculinity and Betrayal in the Life Narratives of Vietnam Veterans with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder,” *American Studies* Vol. 37, No. 1 (Spring 1996): 63.
- 6 Warrior teenagers in Thomas Myers, *Walking Point: American Narratives of Vietnam* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1988), 30. Unmet expectations in Miriam Cooke, *Women and the War Story* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), 81.
- 7 William Jayne, “Immigrants from a Combat Zone,” in *The Wounded Generation: America after Vietnam*, ed. A. D. Horne (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1981), 161. Fiction in Don Ringnald, *Fighting and Writing the Vietnam War* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1994), 95.
- 8 Consul Leland L. Smith quoted in Mark Bradley, “Slouching toward Bethlehem: Culture, Diplomacy, and the Origins of the Cold War in Vietnam,” in *Cold War Constructions: The Political Culture of United States Imperialism, 1945–1966*, ed. Christian G. Appy (Amherst, MA: The University of Massachusetts Press, 2000), 14. On Western notions, see pp. 13–14, 22. Occidental versus Orient in Arjun Chowdhury, “Shocked by War: The Non-politics of Orientalism,” in *Orientalism and War*, eds. Tarak Barkawi and Keith Stanski (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2012), 20–22.

- 9 For a pithy overview of the post-1945 period, see Fredrik Logevall, “The Indochina Wars and the Cold War, 1945–1975,” in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, Volume II, Crises and Détente*, eds. Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 281–304. For a more complete telling, see Fredrik Logevall, *Embers of War: The Fall of an Empire and the Making of America’s Vietnam* (New York, NY: Random House, 2012). For an alternate perspective, see Pierre Asselin, *Hanoi’s Road to the Vietnam War, 1954–1965* (Berkeley, NY: University of California Press, 2013).
- 10 On Diem’s relationship with the United States, see Edward Miller, *Misalliance: Ngo Dinh Diem, the United States, and the Fate of South Vietnam* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013). For insights on the rise of the NLF, see David W. P. Elliott, *The Vietnamese War: Revolution and Social Change in the Mekong Delta, 1930–1975*, concise ed. (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2007).
- 11 David Kaiser takes on US escalation in *American Tragedy: Kennedy, Johnson, and the Origins of the Vietnam War* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000); as does Gary R. Hess in “South Vietnam under Siege, 1961–1965: Kennedy, Johnson, and the Question of Escalation or Disengagement,” in *The Columbia History of the Vietnam War*, ed. David L. Anderson (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2011), 143–167. For a short review of how the American Joint Chiefs of Staff saw the problem, see Richard K. Betts, *Soldiers, Statesmen, and Cold War Crises* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), 23–26.
- 12 Brian St. Pierre, “Viet Nam Comes to the Bijou,” *True*, July 1968, 59. Renata Adler, *A Year in the Dark: Journal of a Film Critic, 1968–69* (New York, NY: Random House, 1969), 177–178. Michael Anderegg, “Hollywood and Vietnam: John Wayne and Jane Fonda as Discourse,” in *Inventing Vietnam: The War in Film and Television*, ed. Michael Anderegg (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1991), 24–26.
- 13 Erik Broske, “Green Beret Commando Who Blasted ‘1,000-Cong Forest,’” *Male*, April 1967, 16. For insights into GIs’ reactions to the film, see Gustav Hasford, *The Short-Timers* (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1979), 31–32, 135. Propaganda in Bernard F. Dick, *The Screen Is Red: Hollywood, Communism, and the Cold War* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2016), 221. Gary Cross recalls mocking the “cardboard cowboy John Wayne” and the film in *Men to Boys: The Making of Modern Immaturity* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2008), 121.
- 14 Stocking priorities and categories in Minutes of Meeting of Joint Vietnam Regional Exchange Council, 29 April 1969, Entry P1691, Box 3, RG472, NARA. Sea-vans and distribution points in Joint Vietnam Regional Exchange Council Agenda, 18 May 1970, Entry 1691, Box 9, RG472, NARA. Good taste in Enclosure, Minutes of Meeting of Joint Vietnam Regional Exchange Council, 23 November 1970, *Ibid*.
- 15 Copies in Minutes of Meeting of Joint Vietnam Regional Exchange Council, 29 April 1969, NARA. In April 1969, the monthly copies sold included *Cavalier*, 17,970; *Climax*, 13,782; *All Man*, 13,489; *Stag*, 12,219; and *For Men Only*, 12,035. The Star Far East Corporation ordered 1,250,000 copies of periodicals monthly. VRE Council Minutes, 20 February 1970, Entry 1691, Box 9, RG472, NARA. Star Far East ultimately lost its contract for abusing its privileges. See Report of Investigation Concerning Star Far East

- Corporation, MACV IG Investigating Division, Reports of Investigation, Box 48, RG472, NARA; and Meredith H. Lair, *Armed with Abundance: Consumerism & Soldiering in the Vietnam War* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 171–172. On *Playboy* being coveted by soldiers, see Amber Batura, “The Cult of Playboy: Exploring *Playboy* Magazine’s Popularity in the Vietnam War,” in *The Vietnam War in Popular Culture, Volume 1, During the War*, ed. Ron Milam (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2017), 246.
- 16 Trash in memo cover note, USARV DCG, Collection of Magazines in Post Exchanges file, Entry P1691, Box 32, RG472, NARA. Survey in Minutes of Meeting of Joint Vietnam Regional Exchange Council, 15 June 1972, Entry P1691, Box 33, RG472, NARA. Of note, memoirists themselves used the term “girlie magazine” as well. See James R. McDonough, *Platoon Leader* (Novato, CA: Presidio, 1985), 69.
- 17 Low quality in Report of Investigation Concerning Allegations against the Star Far East Corporation, 3 April 1970, MACVJ14 Administrative Branch General Records, NND 957718, Box 3, RG472, NARA; and Computation of Percentage of Girlie and Low Quality Magazines, 24 March 1970, *Ibid.* KRE data in ILT A. M. Shiffert, Request for Assistance, 5 December 1969, *Ibid.* Clearly, the magazines were ubiquitous. Arlene Eisen’s *Women and Revolution in Viet Nam* (London: Zed Books, 1984) includes a photograph of Vietnamese children, en route to a “strategic hamlet,” poring over American magazines showcasing liquor ads and blonde models, p. 48.
- 18 “Out of This World,” *Stag*, December 1961, 48. Steven Hughes, “Copter War on the Phantom Vietcong Guerrillas,” *Brigade*, March 1963, 19, 21, 49.
- 19 Browne quoted in Andrew J. Huebner, *The Warrior Image: Soldiers in American Culture from the Second World War to the Vietnam Era* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 179. Dave R. Palmer seemed to agree, suggesting the “very nature of the war” in Vietnam was different than the past. *Summons of the Trumpet: U.S.–Vietnam in Perspective* (San Rafael, CA: Presidio Press, 1978), xxi. Richard Gallagher, “Our Secret Win-the-War Weapons for Vietnam,” *Stag*, August 1966, 38.
- 20 Erik Broske, “King of Our Heroic Cong-Busting ‘Tunnel Rats,’” *Male*, July 1966, 36. Richard Gallagher, “Newest Miracle Weapons,” *Stag*, March 1968, 39, 41. On tigers, see “Out of This World,” *Stag*, April 1968, 50.
- 21 Disorienting in Julian Smith, *Looking Away: Hollywood and Vietnam* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1975), 22; and Loren Baritz, *Backfire: A History of How American Culture Led Us into Vietnam and Made Us Fight the Way We Did* (New York, NY: William Morrow and Company, 1985), 19. James Webb, *Fields of Fire* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1978), 167. On soldiers not understanding why they were fighting, see Christian G. Appy, *Working-Class War: American Combat Soldiers and Vietnam* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 209.
- 22 Colin Brady, “My Six Months with the Guerrilla Women of Viet Nam,” *Complete Man’s Magazine*, August 1957, 26. Philippe de Pirey, “Combat Diary of a Paratroop Commando,” *For Men Only*, November 1958, 16. Bud Riley, “We Sold Them Out,” *Battle Cry*, October 1957, 14.
- 23 “Inside for Men,” *Male*, February 1965, 8, 44. On the inner workings of the Hanoi Politburo during this time period, see Lien-Hang T. Nguyen, *Hanoi’s War: An*

- International History of the War for Peace in Vietnam* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012). Daniel Ellsberg believed the United States persisted in Vietnam not because victory seemed possible but because the situation was so bleak that all US leaders could do was hang on in the hope that the war might be ended on favorable terms. See “The Quagmire Myth and the Stalemate Machine,” *Public Policy* (Spring 1971): 217–274.
- 24 Gung ho in Mark Bowden, *Huế 1968: A Turning Point of the American War in Vietnam* (New York, NY: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2017), 72. Ridicule in Ray Bourgeois Zimmerman, “Gruntspeak: Masculinity, Monstrosity and Discourse in Hasford’s *The Short-Timers*,” *American Studies* Vol. 40, No. 1 (Spring 1999): 77; and Christian G. Appy, *American Reckoning: The Vietnam War and Our National Identity* (New York, NY: Viking, 2015), 144. On earlier accounts, where Wayne was a hero, see Ron Kovic, *Born on the Fourth of July* (New York, NY: Akashic, 1976, 2005), 65.
- 25 Popcorn in Micheal Clodfelter, *Mad Minutes and Vietnam Months: A Soldier’s Memoir* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1988), 78. Out the window from Josh Cruze, quoted in Willenson, 61.
- 26 W. D. Ehrhart, *Vietnam–Perkasie: A Combat Marine Memoir* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1983), 27. Department of Defense study in Thomas C. Thayer, *War without Fronts: The American Experience in Vietnam* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1985, 2016), 45.
- 27 Veteran Gerry Schooler quoted in Eric M. Bergerud, *Red Thunder, Tropic Lightning: The World of a Combat Division in Vietnam* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993), 104. Infantry schools in “Inside for Men,” *Male*, February 1965, 44. On some policymakers, like Roger Hillsman, advocating for Americans to “adopt the tactics of the guerrilla,” see Robert D. Dean, *Imperial Brotherhood: Gender and the Making of Cold War Foreign Policy* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 58–59. VC regaining influence in Kevin M. Boylan, *Losing Binh Dinh: The Failure of Pacification and Vietnamization, 1969–1971* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2016), 232; and John Prados, *The Hidden History of the Vietnam War* (Chicago, IL: Ivan R. Dee, 1995), 120.
- 28 “Stag Confidential,” *Stag*, December 1966, 42.
- 29 H. R. Adams, “Banzai at Tay Ninh,” *Saga*, April 1967, 14. Emile C. Schurmacher, “Vietnam’s Hero from Hell,” *Stag*, June 1967, 30. Operation results from George L. MacGarrigle, *Taking the Offensive: October 1966 to October 1967* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1998), 55–59. See also Larry Cable, *Unholy Grail: The US and the Wars in Vietnam, 1965–8* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1991), 67–68; and Shelby L. Stanton, *The Rise and Fall of an American Army: U.S. Ground Forces in Vietnam, 1965–1973* (Novato, CA: Presidio, 1985), 107–109. Even when the war in Vietnam was locked in stalemate, magazines highlighted World War II, sharing the “truth” about the Battle of the Bulge and how 1,100 green American paratroopers “smashed Hitler’s last bid for victory.” Sylvester Fourre, “The Truth about the Battle of the Bulge,” *Man’s Conquest*, December 1968, 20.
- 30 Malcolm W. Browne, “Hell in the Highlands,” *True*, January 1966, 54. Serpents from Charles M. Purcell in *Winning Hearts and Minds: War Poems by Vietnam Veterans*, eds. Larry Rottman, Jan Barry, and Basil T. Paquet (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 1972), 17. Types

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- 31 "For Your Information," *Stag*, November 1967, 38. On twenty-five percent, see Lawrence A. Tritle, *From Melos to My Lai: War and Survival* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2000), 140. 1st Infantry Division soldier David Ross quoted in Al Santoli, *Everything We Had: An Oral History of the Vietnam War by Thirty-Three American Soldiers Who Fought It* (New York, NY: Random House, 1981), 49. Of note, William Calley's company sustained twenty-eight casualties, all from mines and booby traps, in the three months before the My Lai massacre. Michael Bilton and Kevin Sim, *Four Hours in My Lai* (New York, NY: Viking, 1992), 93. No sense of triumph in Appy, *Working-Class War*, 189.
- 32 On "gooks" in Korea, see Bill Coscarelli, "Bloody Hill 676!," *True War Stories*, January–February 1953, 10; and Alonzo Norrbom, "We Kissed the Gooks Good-By!," *Ibid.*, 16. Cut to pieces in Bryce Walton, "You Don't Count for a Damn!," *Battle Cry*, December 1955, 31, 46. Lt. Wade C. Young, "I Flew the Suicide Run in Gook Alley," *Real Combat Stories*, April 1964, 14. On racism during the Korean War, see Bobby A. Wintermute and David J. Ulbrich, *Race and Gender in Modern Western Warfare* (Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 2019), 279; and Melinda L. Pash, *In the Shadow of the Greatest Generation: The Americans Who Fought the Korean War* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2012), 112. In S. L. A. Marshall's tale of the Korean War, Chinese attackers yell "Banzai!" as they attack American positions. *The River and the Gauntlet: Defeat of the Eighth Army by the Chinese Communist Forces, November, 1950, in the Battle of the Chongchon River, Korea* (New York, NY: Time Incorporated, 1953), 71, 153.
- 33 Bill Donovan, "A Commie Scalp for Injun Joe," *Battle Cry*, August 1962, 32. See also Mickey Fredericks, "Scalps for Uncle Sam," *Battle Attack*, May 1957, 12. The tagline read when "Injuns went on the warpath, the Axis bit the dust!" Stevens, 37. Mythic race-enemies in Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 319. See also Richard Drinnon, *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire-Building* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1980), 75. On racist perceptions of Japanese, see John W. Dower, "Race, Language, and War in Two Cultures: World War II in Asia," in *The War in American Culture: Society and Consciousness during World War II*, eds. Lewis A. Erenberg and Susan E. Hirsch (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 173–184.
- 34 On combat-to-support ratios and post amenities, see Lair, *Armed with Abundance*, 6, 33, 90. In World War II, twenty-five percent of the sixteen million called to serve never left the United States, and less than fifty percent overseas were ever in a battle zone. Michael C. C. Adams, *The Best War Ever: America and World War II* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 70. "Indian country" in Michael Stephenson, *The Last Full Measure: How Soldiers Die in Battle* (New York, NY: Crown Publishers, 2012), 360.
- 35 Chuck McCarthy, "What Are Your Chances of Fighting in Vietnam?," *Bluebook*, August 1967, 17–19.
- 36 On REMFs, see George C. Herring, "Vietnam Remembered," *The Journal of American History* Vol. 73, No. 1 (June 1986): 157. Officer Tom Lynch quoted in Yvonne Honeycutt

- Baldwin and John Ernst, "In the Valley: The Combat Infantryman and the Vietnam War," in *The War That Never Ends: New Perspectives on the Vietnam War*, eds. David L. Anderson and John Ernst (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2007), 319.
- 37 Leon Lazarus, "Our Rugged Vietnam Combat Construction Boss," *For Men Only*, September 1966, 17. George Powers, "Fourth Cong Ambush Ahead. Am Crashing Through," *Male*, March 1967, 22. On problems finding meaning, see Lair, 44.
- 38 General quoted in Cincinnatus, *Self-Destruction: The Disintegration and Decay of the United States Army during the Vietnam Era* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company, 1981), 110. Sherrod, "Notes on a Monstrous War," 23. One marine sergeant recalled being "at the mercy of the VC." Otto J. Lehrack, *No Shining Armor: The Marines at War in Vietnam, an Oral History* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1992), 29. Mark Bradley argues that poor assessments of the Vietnamese were the norm among Americans in the 1940s and 1950s, even after the French defeat in 1954. "Slouching toward Bethlehem," 28–29.
- 39 Amazing soldier in "Men's Newsletter," *Men*, May 1962, 40.
- 40 Spike pits in "Inside for Men," *Male*, November 1962, 6. The article made sure to mention that these steel spikes were "always covered with human excrement." Offering a tank in "Inside for Men," *Male*, December 1962, 6.
- 41 "Men's Newsletter," *Men*, March 1963, 8.
- 42 Decoys in "Inside for Men," *Male*, March 1967, 8. Gary Alberts, "Hero of Viet Nam's 'Corpse Valley' Commandos," *True Action*, March 1967, 16. Tom Christopher, "Destroy the Red Butcher of the Mekong," *Male*, July 1967, 25.
- 43 Ho's KGB in Marv Vaughn, "Outpost in Hell for the Fighting Skypilot," *Bluebook*, May 1966, 32, 34. On the Vietcong engaging in terror within a once-peaceful Vietnamese village, see Robert F. Dorr, "9 Assaults on Ira Dinh," *Man's Magazine*, September 1966, 16.
- 44 Phillip Knightley, "Vietnam 1954–1975," in *The American Experience in Vietnam: A Reader*, ed. Grace Sevy (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 121. See also Ringnalda, *Fighting and Writing the Vietnam War*, 20. On racism being just below the surface at the policy level, see Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 191. Pint-sized in Doug Kennedy, "John Groth's Viet Nam," *True*, November 1967, 38.
- 45 Not fighting in the open in "Stag Confidential," *Stag*, January 1967, 8. Captain Dave Ramsey quoted in Lehrack, 67. VC units surrounded in Donald Duncan, "The Whole Thing Was a Lie!," *Ramparts*, February 1966, 22.
- 46 William Tuohy, "He Waits to Kill," *True*, May 1968, 32, 35, 72. On the need to both dehumanize and feminize the enemy, see Jacqueline A. Lawson, "'She's a Pretty Woman . . . for a Gook': The Misogyny of the Vietnam War," *The Journal of American Culture* Vol. 12, No. 3 (Fall 1989): 58.
- 47 Epithets in Robert Jay Lifton, *Home from the War: Vietnam Veterans: Neither Victims nor Executioners* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 1973), 310; Lewis B. Puller, Jr., *Fortunate Son* (New York, NY: Grove Weidenfeld, 1991), 129; and Guillermo Alvidrez in *Soldados: Chicanos in Viet Nam*, ed. Charley Trujillo (San José, CA: Chusma House, 1990), 65. Worth a fuck in Ehrhart, 62.

- 48 Michael Willis quoted in Eric M. Bergerud, *The Dynamics of Defeat: The Vietnam War in Hau Nghia Province* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991), 227. National cause in Robert K. Brigham, *ARVN: Life and Death in the South Vietnamese Army* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2006), 121. For a similarly nuanced view, see Nathalie Huynh Chau Nguyen, *South Vietnamese Soldiers: Memories of the Vietnam War and After* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2016).
- 49 Scared rabbits in Steven Hughes, “Copter War on the Phantom Vietcong Guerrillas,” *Brigade*, March 1963, 18, 48. See also Hasford, *The Short-Timers*, 69. On extending the war into North Vietnam, see “Stag Confidential,” *Stag*, August 1964, 45.
- 50 Bill Francois, “Sheer Hell in Vietnam,” *Man’s Magazine*, June 1965, 16. The ARVN also seemingly lacked aggressiveness in battle. “U.S. advisors say that the trouble with the average Viet Nam troop is that he’d rather use artillery than go in and fight.” “Inside for Men,” *Male*, February 1965, 44. For a version of scapegoating, see George McTurnan Kahin and John Wilson Lewis, *The United States in Vietnam*, rev. ed. (New York, NY: The Dial Press, 1967, 1969), 363.
- 51 Thankless in “Stag Confidential,” *Stag*, November 1967, 6. Desertions in “Inside for Men,” *Male*, July 1966, 40. No initiative in “Stag Confidential,” *Stag*, April 1968, 6. “Stag Confidential,” *Stag*, June 1967, 6. The piece noted how the “French always claimed that the Northerners had more energy, intelligence.”
- 52 Malcolm W. Browne, “Why South Viet Nam’s Army Won’t Fight,” *True*, October 1967, 31. This compared with the “hand-to-hand action” undertaken by Korean troops, who apparently fared better than the ARVN. John Groth, “The ROKs Take a Hill,” *Climax*, March 1953, 34. Marv Koeppel, “The Thousand to One Break-out of the Green Berets,” *Man’s Conquest*, December 1968, 72–73. Beckwith actually would say, “I’d give anything to have two hundred VC under my command.” In Tom Engelhardt, *The End of Victory Culture: Cold War America and the Disillusioning of a Generation* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 222.
- 53 General Bruce Palmer quoted in Willenson, *The Bad War*, 109. On Kit Carson Scouts, see Lewis W. Walt, *Strange War, Strange Strategy: A General’s Report on Vietnam* (New York, NY: Funk & Wagnalls, 1970), 43–47.
- 54 Henry I. Kurtz, “Brigade of the Damned,” *Male*, February 1968, 26, 64–67.
- 55 Reluctant warriors in Lieutenant General William Fulton, quoted in Harry Maurer, ed., *Strange Ground: Americans in Vietnam, 1945–1975, an Oral History* (New York, NY: Henry Holt and Company, 1989), 465. Presidential Unit Citations in Robert L. Tonsetic, *Forsaken Warriors: The Story of an American Advisor with the South Vietnamese Rangers and Airborne, 1970–71* (Philadelphia, PA: Casemate, 2009), 27. Hit-and-run in Sgt. Jim Briggs, “Combat Diary of a Yank with Viet Nam’s 7th Rangers,” *Man’s World*, June 1963, 16.
- 56 Photo in “Men in Action,” *Male*, March 1965, 40. For a comparable story on a soldier who seemed to be little more than a cold-hearted killer, see Charles Keeler, Jr., “Our One-Man Army Who Has Killed 1,054 Viet Cong,” *For Men Only*, August 1966, 20. 44th Battalion in Ed Hyde, “The Bloody Devils Who Fight Saigon’s War,” *Bluebook*, May 1966, 46. Doubts in Tonsetic, 163.

- 57 On criticisms of the GVN, see Frances FitzGerald, *Fire in the Lake: The Vietnamese and the Americans in Vietnam* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1972), 314, 322; and Bergerud, *The Dynamics of Defeat*, 221. Propaganda war in “Last Minute Memo for Men,” *For Men Only*, August 1966, 11. On the impact of this, see James Walker Trullinger, Jr., *Village at War: An Account of Revolution in Vietnam* (New York, NY: Longman, 1980), 163. Blockade in “Stag Confidential,” *Stag*, August 1966, 8. According to “Stag Confidential,” Marines who “distributed nearly a million pounds of soap to the Viet population, saw almost all of it reappear on the black market.” *Stag*, June 1967, 6.
- 58 “Letters to the Editor,” *Man’s Illustrated*, January 1965, 8. On problems selling the war back home, see Karl H. Purnell, “He’s Gen. Ky’s Own Executioner,” *True*, July 1968, 92.
- 59 Charles Forbes, “Naked Terror of the Viet Cong Butchers,” *Man’s Action*, May 1966, 40–43. Good and bad Asians in Susan A. Brewer, *Why America Fights: Patriotism and War Propaganda from the Philippines to Iraq* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009), 179. On impulsive cruelty being the essence of “Indianness,” see Engelhardt, 17.
- 60 “Stag Confidential,” *Stag*, January 1967, 42.
- 61 Marine Philip Caputo, *A Rumor of War* (New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1977), 228. Veteran quotes in Jonathan Shay, *Achilles in Vietnam: Combat Trauma and the Undoing of Character* (New York, NY: Atheneum, 1994), 105. Massacre in Nhã Ca, *Mourning Headband for Hue* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2014), xxxv, 111. On the Vietcong waging war in direct violation of the Geneva Conventions, see Telford Taylor, *Nuremberg and Vietnam: An American Tragedy* (Chicago, IL: Quadrangle Books, 1970), 136.
- 62 “Inside for Men,” *Male*, January 1967, 42. On inability to gain a clear sense of the enemy picture, see: Mark Baker, *Nam: The Vietnam War in the Words of the Men and Women Who Fought There* (New York, NY: William Morrow and Company, 1981), 171; and Ringnalda, 38.
- 63 Incessantly from infantryman Michael Patrick Kelley in Bernard Edelman, “On the Ground: The US Experience,” in *Rolling Thunder in a Gentle Land: The Vietnam War Revisited*, ed. Andrew Wiest (New York, NY: Osprey Publishing, 2006), 194. Enemy initiative in Thayer, *War without Fronts*, 91; and Bergerud, *The Dynamics of Defeat*, 229. Ambushes as inferior in Malcolm W. Browne, *The New Face of War*, rev. ed. (New York, NY: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1968), 164. Counter guerrilla tactics in Kurt Vaughn, “The GI Guerrilla Raid That Rocked the Viet Cong!,” *Man’s Illustrated*, July 1965, 16, 62. See also Marv Koeppel, “Green Hell Raiders,” *Man’s Illustrated*, January 1965, 43.
- 64 Gregory Patrick, “The Navy’s Deadliest Viet Nam Shark-Man,” *Male*, November 1967, 39. Richard Marcinko with John Weisman, *Rogue Warrior* (New York, NY: Pocket Books, 1992), 125, 167–168.
- 65 Fanatics and cut-throats in Allen Bernard, “Westerling: ‘Butcher’ of Indonesia,” *Climax*, March 1953, 18. Nicholas J. Leslie, “Mau,” *Ibid.*, 53.
- 66 If it’s dead in Christian G. Appy, *Patriots: The Vietnam War Remembered from All Sides* (New York, NY: Viking, 2003), 356. Obscuring origins in Marilyn B. Young, *The Vietnam Wars, 1945–1990* (New York, NY: HarperCollins, 1991), 187. See also Trujillo, 17. For a more nuanced view of the enemy, see Konrad Kellen, *Conversations with Enemy Soldiers in Late*

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- 67 Thomas E. Ricks, *The Generals: American Military Command from World War II to Today* (New York, NY: The Penguin Press, 2012), chapter 14, “The Organization Man’s Army.” For a supporting contemporary view, see H. R. Hays, *The Dangerous Sex: The Myth of Feminine Evil* (New York, NY: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1964), 278. Physical violence in Rachel Woodward, “Warrior Heroes and Little Green Men: Soldiers, Military Training, and the Construction of Rural Masculinities,” *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 65, No. 4 (December 2000): 643.
- 68 Glenn Infield, “‘Gunfighter’ Emerson: Toughest Paratroop Commando in Vietnam,” *Stag*, January 1967, 16. For more, see Henry E. Emerson, interview by Jonathan Jackson, 2004, Senior Officer Oral History, US Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, PA. On Karch, see Marv Koeppel, “Bloodbath at Danang,” *Man’s Conquest*, December 1965, 42. Karch later voiced his respect for the Vietcong: “I thought that once they ran up against our first team they wouldn’t stand and fight, but they did. I made a miscalculation.” Joe Holley, “Gen. Frederick J. Karch, Who Led First Ground Troops into Vietnam, Dies at 91,” *The Washington Post*, 25 May 2009.
- 69 On Moore, see G. G. Burke, “Is He the ‘General Patton’ We Need in Viet Nam?,” *Male*, June 1966, 42. On Patton, see Jeff St. John, “Fighting C.O. of Viet Nam’s Cong-Blasting ‘Tankers,’” *Men*, December 1968, 20. For a similar tale, see Glenn Infield, “‘Danger 79’: Toughest General the Cong Ever Faced,” *Stag*, April 1968, 16.
- 70 David Mars, “If There’s a Dirty War Get Me Yarborough,” *Male*, February 1964, 38, 82. On Abrams, see “Thunderbolt on Wheels,” *Man’s Illustrated*, January 1965, 35, 56. Seduced in Baker, *Nam*, 14. On need for heroes, see Laura Sjoberg, *Gender, War, and Conflict* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2014), 65. On worshipping World War II veterans, see Smith, *Looking Away*, 4. On the tactical consequences of this worship, see Guenter Lewy, *America in Vietnam* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1978), 119.
- 71 Glenn Infield, “The Admiral Who Blasted the Reds at Tonkin Gulf,” *Stag*, February 1965, 14, 80, 83. Glenn Infield, “‘Brute’ Krulak’s 7-Day Suicide Decoy for Bougainville,” *Stag*, March 1966, 22, 63.
- 72 Glenn Infield, “The Marine the Japs Couldn’t Stop,” *Man’s Magazine*, September 1966, 33, 49.
- 73 Emile C. Schurmacher, “Showdown for Medal of Honor Hero ‘Scooter’ Burke,” *Stag*, August 1966, 16. On Burke, see also David Hackworth and Julie Sherman, *About Face: The Odyssey of an American Warrior* (New York, NY: Touchstone, 1989), 125. Ed Hyde, “Three War Bullet-and-Bayonet Rampage,” *Male*, January 1967, 17.
- 74 William D. Porter, “The Pilot Who Rode the Wind,” *Man’s Magazine*, September 1968, 18, 21.
- 75 Mechanical steeds in Harold B. Hersey, *Pulpwood Editor* (New York, NY: Frederick A. Stokes, 1937), 184. Rite of passage from Richard Olsen in Appy, *Patriots*, 63. Close friends in Stanley D. Rosenberg, “The Threshold of Thrill: Life Stories in the Skies over

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- 76 Robert F. Dorr, “Trap in the Sky,” *Man’s Magazine*, July 1967, 16, 19. Robin Olds with Christina Olds and Ed Rasimus, *Fighter Pilot: The Memoirs of Legendary Ace Robin Olds* (New York, NY: St. Martin’s Press, 2010), 78. Taylor quoted in James William Gibson, *The Perfect War: The War We Couldn’t Lose and How We Did* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1986), 330. Loren Baritz argued that “Air power supposedly made Americans potent, especially against the primitives who dared to confront us.” *Backfire*, 110.
- 77 Blast furnace in Robert F. Dorr, “Bomb Raid on Hanoi,” *Man’s Magazine*, September 1967, 38. See also Jacob Konrath, “The Air War . . . Goes On!” *Real*, February 1967, 24. On Air Rescue pilots “defying concentrated Viet Cong fire near [a] landing zone,” see Ed Hyde, “‘Angels’ in Choppers,” *Bluebook*, October 1965, 16, 19.
- 78 Emile C. Schurmacher, “The ‘Crazy Guy’ Rescue of Major ‘Jump’ Myers,” *Stag*, September 1966, 26. Neil Sheehan, “Flier, Safe, Thanks ‘Crazy Guy,’” *New York Times*, 12 March 1966. Sheehan called Fisher’s “a particularly daring act of heroism.” For similar tales, see Robert L. LaPointe, *PJs in Vietnam: The Story of Air Rescue in Vietnam as Seen through the Eyes of Pararescuemen* (Anchorage, AK: Northern PJ Press, 2001); and John T. Correll, “A Habit of Heroism,” *Air Force Magazine*, January 2010, 63–67.
- 79 Epton Ellington, “The Curvy Cutie Who Broke Up the Viet Cong Ambush of Death,” *Man’s Life*, January 1969, 15. On posing as rescuing knights, see Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish–American and Philippine–American Wars* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 56. On the significance of masculine men rescuing women, see Brenda M. Boyle, “Rescuing Masculinity: Captivity, Rescue and Gender in American War Narratives,” *The Journal of American Culture* Vol. 34, No. 2 (June 2011): 154.
- 80 Ed Hyde, “Sgt. Jimmy Howard and His Unkillable Marines of Hill 488,” *Male*, November 1966, 22–23. Dusting off in Huebner, *The Warrior Image*, 175. Despite such stories, at least a few US policymakers saw Vietnam as “an escalating military stalemate.” In Palmer, *Summons of the Trumpet*, 108.
- 81 “Stag Confidential,” *Stag*, February 1967, 10. Robert Sherrod reported in early 1967 that military psychologists were “underemployed.” “Notes on a Monstrous War,” 22.
- 82 Glenn Infield, “River War in Vietnam,” *Man’s Magazine*, October 1966, 38–41, 46. Infield called the hero, Lt. Harold Meyerkord, the “Hornblower” of the Delta. For similar stories, see George D. Robinson, “Black Beret Raid on the Viet Cong Nitro-Navy,” *For Men Only*, April 1967, 14; and Tom Christopher, “Top Gun of Viet Nam’s ‘Napalm River’ Death Raiders,” *Male*, March 1967, 16. Details on this aspect of the conflict are in John Darrell Sherwood, *War in the Shallows: U.S. Navy Coastal and Riverine Warfare in Vietnam, 1965–1968* (Washington, DC: Naval History and Heritage Command, 2016). The wife of one riverboat patrolman said her husband suffered from seeing “so much violence and death and horrible things.” In Julie Davidson, “Proud but haunted, ex-Vietnam riverboat gunner is remembered,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 16 July 2006.
- 83 “Inside for Men,” *Male*, January 1967, 42. Henry I. Kurtz, “Hand to Hand Combat in Vietnam,” *Man’s Magazine*, October 1967, 42, 90.

- 84 Westmoreland quoted in William Thomas Allison, *The Tet Offensive: A Brief History with Documents* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2008), 158. Irrelevance in Appy, *American Reckoning*, 177. See also Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York, NY: Bantam Books, 1993), 299.
- 85 Ed Hyde, “Mekong Marauders: Specialists in Creating Viet Cong Corpses,” *Man’s Conquest*, February 1968, 17. Emile C. Schurmacher, “Sgt. Jimmie Howard’s ‘Lost Platoon’ Heroes,” *Stag*, March 1968, 16. Caleb Kingston, “16-Medal ‘No. 1’ Cong Killer,” *True Action*, May 1968, 20, 54.
- 86 Samuel Hynes argues that courage, and even heroism, were possible in Vietnam. *The Soldiers’ Tale: Bearing Witness to Modern War* (New York, NY: Penguin, 1997), 214. On this allure for young teens, see Kovic, 81–82; and Jan Barry Crumb in Richard Stacewicz, *Winter Soldiers: An Oral History of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War* (New York, NY: Twayne, 1997), 29.
- 87 C. K. Winston, Jr., “Indiana Hot Rodder Who Became Our Youngest, Toughest Cong Killer,” *Male*, June 1967, 16. See also “Honored for Service: Crafton Enshrined in Military Hall of Fame,” *Madison Courier*, 4 November 2017. Henry I. Kurtz, “The Brooklyn Lifeguard Who Saved His Men in Vietnam,” *Man’s Magazine*, September 1968, 37, 74.
- 88 Glenn Infield, “Ambushed by the Vietcong,” *Man’s Magazine*, July 1967, 36. For a similar tale, see Glenn Infield, “‘Panhandle’s’ Ride-’Em Cowboy Charge to Save Co. C,” *Stag*, February 1967, 19. As the story recounted, “U.S. Marines have always been known for their courage, especially when the chips are down,” p. 86.
- 89 Tom Christopher, “Grenade-Duel at Cong Ravine,” *True Action*, July 1967, 16, 81. See also Kurt Koepfel, “The Fantastic Danang Escape of the Marines Who Wouldn’t Die,” *Bluebook*, August 1967, 42, for one of the few articles with an African American protagonist, Sergeant James S. Dodson.
- 90 Emile C. Schurmacher, “Medal of Honor Medic the Cong Couldn’t Stop,” *Stag*, January 1968, 24, 71, 74. We might ask if Joel’s story was less of a threat to the pulps’ constructed narrative on martial manhood because he was a medic and not a combat soldier. For an overview, see James E. Westheider, *The African American Experience in Vietnam: Brothers in Arms* (Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008).
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- 92 Professional troops in “Stag Confidential,” *Stag*, December 1966, 6. Marijuana in “Stag Confidential,” *Stag*, March 1968, 43. For a more nuanced view of drug use, see Jeremy Kuzmarov, *The Myth of the Addicted Army: Vietnam and the Modern War on Drugs* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009), 38–43. On post-Tet skepticism, see Peter S. Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers: Ground Combat in the World Wars, Korea, and Vietnam* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2003), 146.
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66. William C. Westmoreland, *A Soldier Reports* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1976), 373.
- 94 Edward Payson Brown, Jr., “My Escape from a Viet Cong Torture Camp,” *Saga*, August 1965, 52. Joseph E. Brown, “Lieutenant Klusmann’s Amazing Escape,” *Saga*, March 1965, 29, 31. Fendall W. Yerxa, “Captured U.S. Airman Escapes from Pro-Communists in Laos,” *New York Times*, 2 September 1964. Resistance and escape narratives in Robert C. Doyle, *Voices from Captivity: Interpreting the American POW Narrative* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1994), 33.
- 95 Hal D. Steward, “Navy Ace Who Blasted His Way Out of The Cong’s ‘Body Rot’ Jungle,” *Man’s World*, February 1967, 16, 68. See also William Harris, “Escape from a Viet Cong Prison Camp,” *Man’s Magazine*, February 1967, 18. Bruce Henderson, *Hero Found: The Greatest POW Escape of the Vietnam War* (New York, NY: HarperCollins, 2010), 26, 73. For a similar story, see S/Sgt. George Lockey, “My 72 Days of Hell in the Cong’s Fortress of Daggars . . .,” *True Action*, January 1967, 17.
- 96 On the politicization of the POW issue, see: Allen, 15–16, 29; H. Bruce Franklin, *Vietnam and Other American Fantasies* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000), 178; and Brewer, *Why America Fights*, 219. Central war aim in Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*, 621. Robinson Risner, *The Passing of the Night: My Seven Years as a Prisoner of the North Vietnamese* (New York, NY: Random House, 1973), 76. Of the POWs, *Stag* noted that there was “no evidence that one of them has ever denounced war and country. Nor is it likely one ever will.” “For Your Information,” April 1968, 38. For a different rendering, see George E. Smith, *P.O.W.: Two Years with the Vietcong* (Berkeley, CA: Ramparts Press, 1971).
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- 101 Ray Lunt, “Let’s Slap Down ‘Snotty Brat’ Entertainers Who Smear America,” *Male*, January 1967, 24. Don King, “Draft Deferments: The Inside Story of Who Gets Them,” *Bluebook*, August 1968, 16.
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- 109 Irrational in Susan Jeffords, *The Remasculinization of America: Gender and the Vietnam War* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989), 111. Malcolm W. Browne, “Hell in the Highlands,” *True*, January 1966, 54–56. “Stag Confidential,” *Stag*, November 1966, 6. The piece noted, however, that such an outlay of ammunition was “far from a waste and acts as a good protective shield for our own troops.” On satisfaction of being in combat, see Kindsvatter, 184.
- 110 Caputo, *A Rumor of War*, 128. “Stag Confidential,” *Stag*, November 1967, 6.
- 111 “Inside for Men,” *Male*, July 1961, 36. Schell quoted in *From Nuremberg to My Lai*, ed. Jay W. Baird (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1972), 237. On visions of the Orient, see Sheridan Prasso, *The Asian Mystique: Dragon Ladies, Geisha Girls, and Our Fantasies of the Exotic Orient* (New York, NY: Public Affairs, 2005), xi, 29, 49. Other world from Oliver Stone, quoted in Appy, *Patriots*, 253.
- 112 Cover illustration, *Man’s Illustrated*, March 1966. Mort Künstler, cover illustration, *Male*, March 1967. Cover illustration, *Man’s Epic*, March 1968.
- 113 Magnin Tobar, “Follow the Curves to the Viet Cong House of Spies,” *All Man*, October 1966, 28, 30–31, 44. On translating foreign aspects of the Cold War, see Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945–1961* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003), 63.
- 114 “Flashes for Men,” *Man’s Illustrated*, March 1962, 8. On fabricated representations and the construction of knowledge, see Maryam Khalid, *Gender, Orientalism, and the “War on Terror”*: Representation, Discourse, and Intervention in Global Politics (London: Routledge, 2017), 4–5.
- 115 “Deadline: Man’s World,” *Man’s World*, June 1963, 24. On “Voodoo in Vietnam,” see “It’s a Strange World,” *Male*, June 1966, 48. On American GIs not being prepared for actual combat conditions, see Appy, *Working-Class War*, 113; and Hugh McManners, *The Scars of War* (New York, NY: HarperCollins, 1993), 113.
- 116 Larsen quoted in Willenson, *The Bad War*, 115. For a similar assessment, see Fitzgerald, *Fire in the Lake*, 142, 370.
- 117 Greg Moffett, “With One Leg Shot Off – He’s Still the Marines’ Top Ace,” *Male*, June 1966, 16. See also Chester J. Pach, Jr., “The War on Television: TV News, the Johnson Administration, and Vietnam,” in *A Companion to the Vietnam War*, eds. Marilyn B. Young and Robert Buzzanco (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), 455. For a similar story of pilot heroism, see Bob Strange, “The Desperate Chopper War of ‘Iron Man’ Barrett,” *Man’s Illustrated*, August 1971, 30. Even at this late stage of the war, there were opportunities for heroism. Of note, the article included no discussion of the larger stalemated war.
- 118 Kovic, *Born on the Fourth of July*, 132–133, 136.
- 119 Larry Powell, “Hottest Tease in Town,” *Stag*, December 1966, 22, 84–85.
- 120 Richard Gallagher, “Who’s the Guy in Judy’s Bed?” *Stag*, September 1968, 22. For loose parallels on a wounded (paralyzed) veteran still able to provide sexual satisfaction, see Michael Selig, “Boys Will Be Men: Oedipal Drama in *Coming Home*,” in *From Hanoi to Hollywood: The Vietnam War in American Film*, eds. Linda Dittmar and Gene Michaud

- (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 197. Ron Kovic's experiences differed greatly. See pp. 124–129.
- 121 Complicity from historian Frank Freidel, quoted in James Wright, *Enduring Vietnam: An American Generation and Its War* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 2017), 317. For an example of vets being disappointed with their homecoming, see Kyle Longley, *Grunts: The American Combat Soldier in Vietnam* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2008), 160.
  - 122 Michael E. Ruane, "Traitors or Patriots? Eight Vietnam POWs Were Charged with Collaborating with the Enemy," *The Washington Post*, 22 September 2017. On Smith, see Donald Duncan, "The Prisoner," *Ramparts*, September 1969, 51–56. Son Ty in Doyle, *Voices from Captivity*, 226–227. Operational success in Bruce Palmer, Jr., *The 25-Year War: America's Military Role in Vietnam* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1984), 161.
  - 123 Sergeant Nicholas Francic quoted in James P. Sterba, "Close-up of the Grunt: The Hours of Boredom, the Seconds of Terror," *New York Times*, 8 February 1970. Lieutenant Lee Ashburn quoted in Lehrack, *No Shining Armor*, 147. See also Longley, 82.
  - 124 "Men in Action," *Male*, September 1966, 24.
  - 125 Gary Alberts, "Hero of Viet Nam's 'Corpse Valley' Commandos," *True Action*, March 1967, 16–17. Grant Freeling, "Find and Destroy Hitler's Deathmaker Fortress," *Ibid.*, 20. "How Diane Keeps Men Out of Trouble," *Ibid.*, 22. Dr. Efreim Schoenhild, "25 Keys to Female Response," *Ibid.*, 32.
  - 126 Fugitive in Smith, *Looking Away*, 70. On fratricides, see George Lepre, *Fragging: Why U.S. Soldiers Assaulted Their Officers in Vietnam* (Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 2011).
  - 127 "Sound Off," *Saga*, December 1968, 4. Negro fighting men in Appy, *American Reckoning*, 138. Racial tensions in Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line*, 213–219. On the Panthers and "military radicals," see James E. Westheider, *Fighting on Two Fronts: African Americans and the Vietnam War* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1997), 143.
  - 128 Lieutenant Ezell Ware, Jr. quoted in John Prados, ed., *In Country: Remembering the Vietnam War* (London: Ivan R. Dee, 2011), 129. Specialist Haywood T. Kirkland quoted in Wallace Terry, *Bloods: An Oral History of the Vietnam War by Black Veterans* (New York, NY: Random House, 1984), 103. On the press often using controversial terms when it came to black masculinity, see Huebner, 192. For an alternative view, see William M. King, "'Our Men in Vietnam': Black Media as a Source of the Afro-American Experience in Southeast Asia," *Vietnam Generation* Vol. 1, No. 2 (1989): 94–117.
  - 129 Controlling the night in "Inside for Men," *Male*, June 1967, 6. Bombs in Duncan, "The Whole Thing Was a Lie!," 24. Spooklike from Private Richard Ogden in Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers*, 211.
  - 130 Ehrhart, *Vietnam—Perkasie*, 247. NLF in David Hunt, *Vietnam's Southern Revolution: From Peasant Insurrection to Total War* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008), 217. Lieutenant Colonel Garry Riggs quoted in Santoli, *Everything We Had*, 168.
  - 131 Helplessness in Dean, *Imperial Brotherhood*, 55. Validated from John Hellmann, *American Myth and the Legacy of Vietnam* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1986), 135. Surplus from Gloria Emerson, quoted in Myers, *Walking Point*, 31.
  - 132 Lowering sights in Peter Goldman and Tony Fuller, *Charlie Company: What Vietnam Did to Us* (New York, NY: Ballantine Books, 1983), 8. Stover quoted in *Ibid.*, 105. One

- marine argued that the military experience turned boys not into men, but into beasts. In Lifton, *Home from the War*, 140.
- 133 Noble cause in Appy, *American Reckoning*, 286. Impotence from Daniel Ellsberg, quoted in Baird, *From Nuremberg to My Lai*, 237.
- 134 The Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, *The Indochina Story: A Fully Documented Account* (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1970), 105. Victim and vanquisher in Appy, *Working-Class War*, 191. Depressed in James R. Ebert, *A Life in a Year: The American Infantryman in Vietnam, 1965–1972* (Novato, CA: Presidio, 1993), 178.
- 135 Frequent occurrences in Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, 105. Shapeless and disjointed in Lloyd B. Lewis, *The Tainted War: Culture and Identity in Vietnam War Narratives* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 72. Andrew Wiest argues that many soldiers embraced an “impotent rage” due to their frustrations. See *The Boys of '67: Charlie Company's War in Vietnam* (New York, NY: Osprey, 2012), 142, 233.

## CHAPTER 5

- 1 Carl Sherman, “Major Slavich’s Top-Ace Frontline Air Force,” *Stag*, January 1964, 30, 54.
- 2 What are we doing here in Robert Jay Lifton, *Home from the War: Vietnam Veterans: Neither Victims nor Executioners* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 1973), 37. Gook syndrome in Cincinnatus, *Self-Destruction: The Disintegration and Decay of the United States Army during the Vietnam Era* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company, 1981), 94. On the western genre and ambushes, see Tom Engelhardt, *The End of Victory Culture: Cold War America and the Disillusioning of a Generation* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 194, 237. Tobias Wolff recalled that “We were all living on fantasies.” In *Pharaoh’s Army: Memories of the Lost War* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), 5.
- 3 VD in Robert L. Tonsetic, *Forsaken Warriors: The Story of an American Advisor with the South Vietnamese Rangers and Airborne, 1970–71* (Philadelphia, PA: Casemate, 2009), 23. Interviews by Carl D. Rogers in James R. Ebert, *A Life in a Year: The American Infantryman in Vietnam, 1965–1972* (Novato, CA: Presidio, 1993), 91. Presumably, many GIs assigned to support roles actually liked their relatively safe and comfortable assignments.
- 4 John C. Bahnsen, Jr., *American Warrior: A Combat Memoir of Vietnam* (New York, NY: Citadel Press, 2007), 51–52, 122. No doubt many officers believed that “any man who won’t fuck, won’t fight.” In Christina S. Jarvis, *The Male Body at War: American Masculinity during World War II* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2004), 82.
- 5 Softest skin in David V. Forrest, “The American Soldier and Vietnamese Women,” *Sexual Behavior* (May 1972): 9. Sensual and flowers in Philip Marnais, *Saigon after Dark* (New York, NY: McFadden, 1967), 12–13. Weakness of flesh from Private Jack Smith, quoted in John Prados, ed., *In Country: Remembering the Vietnam War* (London: Ivan R. Dee, 2011), 29.
- 6 Fulbright quoted in Amanda Boczar, “Uneasy Allies: The Americanization of Sexual Policies in South Vietnam,” *Journal of American–East Asian Relations* Vol. 22, No. 3 (2015): 188. Sodom in Marnais, 22. On expectations coming from cultural depictions, see Sheridan Prasso, *The Asian Mystique: Dragon Ladies, Geisha Girls, and Our Fantasies of the Exotic Orient* (New York, NY: Public Affairs, 2005), 8.

- 7 Meghana V. Nayak and Christopher Malone, “American Orientalism and American Exceptionalism: A Critical Rethinking of US Hegemony,” *International Studies Review* Vol. 11, No. 2 (June 2009): 254–257. Anxiety and rage in Arthur Brittan, *Masculinity and Power* (New York, NY: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 44. For how these expectations differed from those of American women serving in Vietnam, see Jeanne Holm, *Women in the Military: An Unfinished Revolution*, rev. ed. (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1992), 213, 227.
- 8 On the concept of the “violence of rhetoric,” see Wendy S. Hesford, “Rape Stories: Material Rhetoric and the Trauma of Representation,” in *Haunting Violations: Feminist Criticism and the Crisis of the “Real,”* eds. Wendy S. Hesford and Wendy Kozol (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 20. Subservience in Roger Saint Martin O’Toole, “Sensuous Orient and Its Scrutable Dolls,” *True*, July 1968, 42, 45. Reward and collateral damage in Nancy Farwell, “War Rape: New Conceptualizations and Responses,” *Affilia*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (Winter 2004): 389. Farwell notes that accepting rape as an “inevitable aspect of armed conflict can lead to condoning it.” Sexual coercion as normal in T. Walter Herbert, *Sexual Violence and American Manhood* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 32. On the links between exposure to pornography and male propensities to commit rape, see Lee Ellis, *Theories of Rape: Inquiries into the Causes of Sexual Aggression* (New York, NY: Hemisphere, 1989), 39–40.
- 9 Meaningless war from Lieutenant Joseph W. Callaway in Prados, 122. Affirming masculinity in R. Wayne Eisenhart, “You Can’t Hack It Little Girl: A Discussion of the Covert Psychological Agenda of Modern Combat Training,” *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (1975): 17. Michael Herr spoke of the problems when “you pursue a fantasy until it becomes experience, and then afterward you can’t handle the experience.” *Dispatches* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968, 1978), 68.
- 10 Definition of pacification in Gregory A. Daddis, *Westmoreland’s War: Reassessing American Strategy in Vietnam* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014), 120–121. On control, see Martin G. Clemis, *The Control War: The Struggle for South Vietnam, 1968–1975* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018), 16–19. On advocating the use of “soft power” in military guidebooks, see Donna Alvah, *Unofficial Ambassadors: American Military Families Overseas and the Cold War, 1946–1965* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2007), 50–53.
- 11 Lie detectors in “Inside for Men,” *Male*, August 1964, 42. Boy in “Inside for Men,” *Male*, March 1967, 8. Secretly despising in Ebert, *A Life in a Year*, 297.
- 12 Winnie Smith, *American Daughter Gone to War: On the Front Lines with an Army Nurse in Vietnam* (New York, NY: William Morrow and Company, 1992), 54, 114–115.
- 13 Politically unsophisticated from CIA officer Bruce Lawlor in Al Santoli, *Everything We Had: An Oral History of the Vietnam War by Thirty-Three American Soldiers Who Fought It* (New York, NY: Random House, 1981), 195. Grievances in Ethan B. Kapstein, “Success and Failure in Counterinsurgency Campaigns,” *Journal of Cold War Studies* Vol. 19, No. 1 (Winter 2017): 133–135. Eliminating political competition in William R. Andrews, *The Village War: Vietnamese Communist Revolutionary Activities in Dinh Tuong Province, 1960–1964* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1973), 65. See also Donald Duncan, “The Whole Thing Was a Lie!,” *Ramparts*, February 1966, 21.

- 14 “Stag’s Big Picture,” *Stag*, February 1967, 27. Doug Kennedy, “John Goth’s Vietnam,” *True*, November 1967, 41. Aspirations and communist intrigue in John Tirman, *The Deaths of Others: The Fate of Civilians in America’s Wars* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011), 128. On terror, see Eric Norden, “American Atrocities in Vietnam,” in *Crimes of War: A Legal, Political-Documentary and Psychological Inquiry into the Responsibility of Leaders, Citizens, and Soldiers for Criminal Acts of War*, eds. Richard A. Falk, Gabriel Kolko, and Robert Jay Lifton (New York, NY: Random House, 1971), 282. Fears of the people turning against the Americans in “Man’s Bulletin,” *True Action*, November 1968, 6.
- 15 Gentle warrior image in Heather Marie Stur, *Beyond Combat: Women and Gender in the Vietnam War Era* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 143, 153. Stur notes how this image “relied in part on notions of Vietnamese primitivism,” p. 158. Malcolm W. Browne, “Ghosts of Christmas Past,” *True*, December 1965, 39. Medic Malcolm W. Browne, “Hell in the Highlands,” *True*, January 1966, 54, 73. On modernization efforts, see Jonathan Nashel, “The Road to Vietnam: Modernization Theory in Fact and Fiction,” in *Cold War Constructions: The Political Culture of United States Imperialism, 1945–1966*, ed. Christian G. Appy (Amherst, MA: The University of Massachusetts Press, 2000), 132–145.
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- 17 “Man’s Bulletin,” *True Action*, July 1967, 8. On paradoxes, see Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 460. Refugees in Michael McClintock, *Instruments of Statecraft: U.S. Guerrilla Warfare, Counterinsurgency, and Counterterrorism, 1940–1990* (New York, NY: Pantheon, 1992), 260; and Marilyn B. Young, *The Vietnam Wars, 1945–1990* (New York, NY: HarperCollins, 1991), 177. Exportable in H. W. Brands, *The Devil We Knew: Americans and the Cold War* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1993), 94. Hearts and minds in Peter G. Bourne, *Men, Stress, and Vietnam* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1970), 3.
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- 19 Power and pleasure in Forrest, “The American Soldier and Vietnamese Women,” 13. Hands in Carol Burke, *Camp All-American, Hanoi Jane, and the High-and-Tight* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2004), 38. Rape as a weapon in Farwell, “War Rape,” 393. Efficient tools in Janie L. Leatherman, *Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2011), 8. Hostile population from PFC Bill Brocksieker in Otto J. Lehrack, *No Shining Armor: The Marines at War in Vietnam, An Oral History* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1992), 35.

- 20 Drill instructors in Sara Meger, *Rape Loot Pillage: The Political Economy of Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016), 61. Not questioning orders in Norden, 278. On violence as a command policy, see Nick Turse, *Kill Anything That Moves: The Real American War in Vietnam* (New York, NY: Metropolitan Books, 2013), 22, 230. For an alternative view, where soldiers would have gotten into trouble for excessive violence, see Richard Stacewicz, *Winter Soldiers: An Oral History of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War* (New York, NY: Twayne, 1997), 155.
- 21 Male-power fantasy in Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1979, 1994), 207. “Mademoiselle from Saigon,” *For Men Only*, August 1966, 30. Mario Cleri, “Saigon Nymph Who Led the Green Berets to the Cong’s Terror HQ,” *Male*, August 1966, 12.
- 22 Licentious in Said, 190. Subhuman in Peter G. Bourne, “From Boot Camp to My Lai,” in Falk, Kolko, and Lifton, 466. Atrophied in Richard Drinnon, *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire-Building* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1980), 449. Sexual release in Forrest, 13.
- 23 Marine Michael McCusker quoted in Joanna Bourke, *Rape: Sex, Violence, History* (Berkeley, CA: Shoemaker Hoard, 2007), 366. For a similar story of a soldier attempting rape by stating that he “wanted to make love,” see Serious Incident Report S-8-59-71, 24 August 1971, Entry P845, Box 2, Serious Incident Reports, Office of the Provost Marshal, RG472, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD. (Hereafter cited as NARA) Soldier Arthur E. Woodley, Jr. quoted in Wallace Terry, *Bloods: An Oral History of the Vietnam War by Black Veterans* (New York, NY: Random House, 1984), 255. On Americans believing most female “hooch maids” also offered “personal services,” see Bahnsen, 39–40. On GIs feeling entitled with servants, see Santoli, 7.
- 24 “Stag Confidential,” *Stag*, September 1966, 6. Men hearing yes in Bourke, 67.
- 25 Dependency in Duncan, 16. On GI attitudes, see Prados, *In Country*, 135; and Lawrence A. Tritle, *From Melos to My Lai: War and Survival* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2000), 117. For a perspective from Vietnamese women, see Bourne, 52–56; and Mai Lan Gustafsson, “‘Freedom. Money. Love.’: The Warlore of Vietnamese Bargirls,” *The Oral History Review* Vol. 38, No. 2 (Summer/Fall 2011): 322.
- 26 Letter from Harlan A. Bender, Jr., *Man’s Magazine*, October 1960, 6. On the reaction spawned by these attitudes, see Alvin Shuster, “Vietnam Riot: Anti-G.I. Feelings Boil Over,” *New York Times*, 14 December 1970. Crew chief John Durant quoted in Fred Turner, *Echoes of Combat: Trauma, Memory, and the Vietnam War* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 24.
- 27 Duong Van Mai Elliott, *The Sacred Willow: Four Generations in the Life of a Vietnamese Family* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1999), 307. For another Vietnamese reaction, see Nguyen Ngoc Ngan with E. E. Richey, *The Will of Heaven: A Story of One Vietnamese and the End of His World* (New York, NY: E. P. Dutton, 1982), 47.
- 28 Mark Bowden, *Hué 1968: A Turning Point of the American War in Vietnam* (New York, NY: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2017), 327–328. Sexual debasement in Gina Marie Weaver, *Ideologies of Forgetting: Rape in the Vietnam War* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2010), 41. Entitlement rape in Eva Fogelman, “Rape during the Nazi Holocaust:

- Vulnerabilities and Motivations,” in *Rape: Weapon of War and Genocide*, eds. Carol Rittner and John K. Roth (St. Paul, MN: Paragon House, 2012), 22. Bargaining chips in Goedde, 91. See also Maria Höhn, *GIs and Fräuleins: The German–American Encounter in 1950s West Germany* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 129; and John Costello, *Virtue under Fire: How World War II Changed Our Social and Sexual Attitudes* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, and Company, 1985), 248. On sexual “collusion” as a condition of survival, see Lorraine Helms, “‘Still Wars and Lechery’: Shakespeare and the Last Trojan Horse,” in *Arms and the Woman: War, Gender, and Literary Representation*, eds. Helen M. Cooper, Adrienne Auslander Munich, Susan Merrill Squier (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 38.
- 29 On Hayslip, see Leslie Bow, “Third-World Testimony in the Era of Globalization: Vietnam, Sexual Trauma, and Le Ly Hayslip’s Art of Neutrality,” in Hesford and Kozol, 171–176; and Weaver, 43. On the story changing in movie form, told now as an American success story, see Rebecca L. Stephens, “Distorted Reflections: Oliver Stone’s *Heaven and Earth* and Le Ly Hayslip’s *When Heaven and Earth Changed Places*,” *The Centennial Review* Vol. 41, No. 3 (Fall 1997): 661–669. On rape as a result of sexual needs, see Maria Eriksson Baaz and Maria Stern, “Why Do Soldiers Rape? Masculinity, Violence, and Sexuality in the Armed Forces in the Congo,” *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 53, No. 2 (June 2009): 508. Dehumanizing in “Acknowledging Violations, Struggling against Impunity: Women’s Rights, Human Rights,” in *Common Grounds: Violence against Women in War and Armed Conflict Situations*, ed. Indai Lourdes Sajor (Quezon City, Philippines: Asian Center for Women’s Human Rights, 1998), 37.
- 30 Selling daughters and time-honored tradition from Peter Arnett in Susan Brownmiller, *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape* (New York, NY: Fawcett Books, 1975), 93. Women as commodities in Timothy Beneke, *Men on Rape* (New York, NY: St. Martin’s Press, 1982), 31. One sketch artist in *True* showed children congregating around GIs, with the caption reading “They try to sell anything, including their older sisters.” Kennedy, “John Goth’s Vietnam,” 42.
- 31 Marnais, *Saigon after Dark*, 23. Something to gain in Stacewicz, 133.
- 32 “Bring Back the Brothels!” in “It’s a Strange World,” *Male*, April 1967, 44. Prostitution as profitable in Jean Bertolino, “Report on American Conduct of the War in the South,” in Falk, Kolko, and Lifton, 335. Behavior contributing to images in Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies, Volume 1: Women, Floods, Bodies, History* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 152.
- 33 Individualism in Bob Wanderer, “Sin State,” *Guy*, April 1965, 28. Tramp from Veteran of the Korean War, “I Married a Pon Girl,” *Action*, March 1953, 22, 24. We might ask why the author, who ultimately married the Japanese woman because she treated him like a “king,” preferred to stay anonymous.
- 34 One function and sexual gratification in Weaver, 73. On Vietnamese women being “doubly demeaned” as both women and “Orientals,” see Robin Gerster, “A Bit of the Other: Touring Vietnam,” in *Gender and War: Australians at War in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Joy Damousi and Marilyn Lake (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 230.

- 35 Goals of the forum in Vietnam Veterans Against the War, *The Winter Soldier Investigation: An Inquiry into American War Crimes* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1972), 2. Heidtman and Henry quoted in Brownmiller, 109, 110. Atrocity-producing in Patrick Hagopian, *The Vietnam War in American Memory: Veterans, Memorials, and the Politics of Healing* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009), 53. Allegations in Deborah Nelson, *The War behind Me: Vietnam Veterans Confront the Truth about U.S. War Crimes* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2008), 146. Neil Sheehan claimed not long after the event that Americans' "vision was so narrowly focused on the unfolding details of the war" that they paid no heed to war crimes allegations. "Should We Have War Crimes Trials?," *New York Times*, 28 March 1971.
- 36 Gook rule in Resume of Hearing, Ad Hoc Committee to Investigate War Crimes, 27 April 1971, Summaries of Congressional Hearings on War Crimes, Box 5, War Crimes Working Group Files, RG319, NARA. See also Guenter Lewy, *America in Vietnam* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1978), 241. Drill instructors in Arlene Eisen Bergman, *Women of Vietnam* (San Francisco, CA: Peoples Press, 1974), 67. Copelon quoted in Waitman Wade Beorn, "Bodily Conquest: Sexual Violence in the Nazi East," in *Mass Violence in Nazi-Occupied Europe*, eds. Alex J. Kay and David Stahel (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2018), 198. For an alternative view, see Michael Bilton and Kevin Sim, *Four Hours in My Lai* (New York, NY: Viking, 1992), 18. The mother of one of the killers at My Lai told the *New York Times*, "I sent them a good boy, and they made him into a murderer." Mrs. Anthony Meadlo quoted in Richard A. Falk, "The Circle of Responsibility" in Falk, Kolko, and Lifton, 222.
- 37 Madeline Morris, "By Force of Arms: Rape, War, and Military Culture," *Duke Law Journal*, Vol. 45, No. 4 (February 1996): 724. On American mass media, which sent the message that to be a man, "you had to kill bad guys," see Norman Cousins in Ebert, *A Life in a Year*, 50.
- 38 Sgt. Lyle I. Johnson, "They Don't Like Grenades," *Men*, October 1952, 14, 52. Stefan Wolfe, "The Quiet Dutchman Who Became Ambush King of the Marines," *Men*, January 1962, 20, 83. The article was part of the "Heroes of the Great War" series.
- 39 Philip Caputo, *A Rumor of War* (New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1977), 124. David Donovan, *Once A Warrior King: Memoirs of an Officer in Vietnam* (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 1985), 59. Numb to killing in Eisen Bergman, *Women of Vietnam*, 70.
- 40 Eric Broske, "Smash the Cong's Terror Tunnels," *True Action*, November 1968, 16, 66. Ethics of combat in Tirman, *The Deaths of Others*, 153.
- 41 Power and destruction in Bak Mark Baker, *Nam: The Vietnam War in the Words of the Men and Women Who Fought There* (New York, NY: William Morrow and Company, 1981), 152. Enjoying killing in Turner, *Echoes of Combat*, 29; and James P. Sterba, "Close-up of the Grunt: The Hours of Boredom, the Seconds of Terror," *New York Times*, 8 February 1970. Feeling better in Shay, 78. Primitive from Douglas Anderson in Santoli, 69.
- 42 Cpl. Lester Carter, "Payoff on Horror Hill," *Action*, March 1953, 18. See also Jonathan Ira Freeman, "Kill Crazy," *True War*, September 1957, 16. Don Croxley, "Blood Feast in the Hürtgen Forest," *Battle Cry*, March 1964, 32. Rick Gavin, "When I've Killed Enough Japs, I'm Taking on MacArthur," *Man's World*, February 1967, 40.

- 43 On the problems of accurately accounting for the number of those murdered, see Howard Jones, *My Lai: Vietnam, 1968, and the Descent into Darkness* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017), 1–2. Aberration debate in Bruce Palmer, Jr., *The 25-Year War: America's Military Role in Vietnam* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1984), 85; Lifton, *Home from the War*, 42; and Peter Goldman and Tony Fuller, *Charlie Company: What Vietnam Did to Us* (New York, NY: Ballantine Books, 1983), x. Epitome from Michael Bernhardt in Christian G. Appy, *Patriots: The Vietnam War Remembered from All Sides* (New York, NY: Viking, 2003), 350.
- 44 Itch in Lifton, 53. Indian Country in Drinnon, *Facing West*, 451. Calley quoted in *From Nuremberg to My Lai*, ed. Jay W. Baird (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1972), 222. He also noted that “the only lesson every GI learned was not to trust anybody.” In Bilton and Sim, 54.
- 45 Murphy quoted in Tom Tiede, *Calley: Soldier or Killer?* (New York, NY: Pinnacle Books, 1971), 132. Only seeing the enemy in Baird, *Ibid.*
- 46 Lewis B. Puller, Jr., *Fortunate Son* (New York, NY: Grove Weidenfeld, 1991), 258. Kicking pregnant women in Stacewicz, 118. Dehumanization in James Wright, *Enduring Vietnam: An American Generation and Its War* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 2017), 164; and Sheehan. Shooting children and burning in Baker, *Nam*, 158–159. On soldier testimonials in the aftermath of My Lai, see Nelson, *The War Behind Me*, 74, 77–78, 87, 145.
- 47 “Stag Confidential,” *Stag*, January 1967, 8. McDonough, 59. On indifference to non-combatants in Korea, see I. F. Stone, *The Hidden History of the Korean War* (New York, NY: Monthly Review Press, 1952), 257–258.
- 48 Puller, *Ibid.* Sexual trip in Baker, 166. On the links between atrocities and a “perverse quest for meaning,” see Robert Jay Lifton, “Beyond Atrocity,” in Falk, Kolko, and Lifton, 23. Kathleen Barry argues that when the “violence of male domination that we see in wife abuse and rape engages with the sociopathy of war, we are no longer dealing with [a] ‘good men in a bad situation’ scenario.” *Unmaking War, Remaking Men: How Empathy Can Reshape Our Politics, Our Soldiers and Ourselves* (Santa Rosa, CA: Phoenix Rising Press, 2011), 76.
- 49 McDonough, 73. Jackson Bowling, “Ambush by the Bridge at Nam Nang,” *Man's Life*, September 1966, 38, 42. Dr. Reginald Keen, “Hospital Horror Raid of the Viet Cong,” *Man's Action*, October 1964, 40, 42, 64–65. Taxes and manpower in Elliott, *The Sacred Willow*, 322. VC selective terror in Falk, Kolko, and Lifton, 266.
- 50 Tacit agreements and shrewd VC in Edward P. Metzner, *More Than a Soldier's War: Pacification in Vietnam* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1995), 33–34. On medical assistance and its “minimal” impact, see Robert J. Wilensky, *Military Medicine to Win Hearts and Minds: Aid to Civilians in the Vietnam War* (Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 2004), 117, 130. “Inside for Men,” *Male*, September 1966, 6.
- 51 Superiority in Kim Willenson, *The Bad War: An Oral History of the Vietnam War* (New York, NY: New American Library, 1987), 11. Fear and hatred in Tritle, *From Melos to My Lai*, 123. David H. Hackworth and Eilhys England, *Steel My Soldiers' Hearts: The Hopeless to Hardcore Transformation of 4th Battalion, 39th Infantry, United States Army, Vietnam* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2002), 131. For an alternate view in which a specialist

- argued he and his unit “got to know some of the Vietnamese people as human beings,” see Vietnam Veterans Against the War, *The Winter Soldier Investigation*, 82.
- 52 Micheal Clodfelter, *Mad Minutes and Vietnam Months: A Soldier's Memoir* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1988), 149. Onus on civilians in Turse, 55.
- 53 “Flashes for Men,” *Man's Illustrated*, March 1966, 8. John E. Sparkman, “Man's Talk,” *Man's Magazine*, February 1967, 8. “Man's Bulletin,” *True Action*, July 1967, 8.
- 54 USAID officer Robin Pell quoted in Harry Maurer, ed., *Strange Ground: Americans in Vietnam, 1945–1975, An Oral History* (New York, NY: Henry Holt and Company, 1989), 474. Puller, *Fortunate Son*, 137. Commodity from Rose Sandecki in Keith Walker, *A Piece of My Heart: The Stories of 26 American Women Who Served in Vietnam* (Novato, CA: Presidio, 1985), 10.
- 55 Herr, *Dispatches*, 199. Whores and thieves in Lifton, *Home from the War*, 194. On pre-Vietnam examples of Asian women being the victims of sexual violence in popular culture, see Peter Conolly-Smith, “Race-ing Rape: Representations of Sexual Violence in American Combat Films,” *War and Society* Vol. 32, No. 3 (October 2013): 241–242.
- 56 *Tropic Lightning News*, 26 August 1968, Box 30, Entry P1660, Unit Publication Files, RG472, NARA. The 12th Combat Aviation Group's *Blackjack Flier* can be found in Box 31, *Ibid.* IV Corps' *Delta Dragon* from Box 2, Entry P1705, Publications 1971–1972, RG472, NARA.
- 57 *Cavalier*, 6 March 1968, Box 34, Entry P1660, Unit Publication Files, RG472, NARA. *Southern Cross*, 25 October 1968, Box 37, *Ibid.*
- 58 Sunday Magazine, *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, 19 April 1970. On service publications in World War II including pin-up girls, see Costello, 153; and Robert B. Westbrook, *Why We Fought: Forging American Obligations in World War II* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2004), 73.
- 59 Vet quoted in Baker, *Nam*, 59. On male privilege, see Miriam Gebhardt, *Crimes Unspoken: The Rape of German Women at the End of the Second World War* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2017), 99.
- 60 Hagelin quoted in Vietnam Veterans Against the War, 67.
- 61 Sexual intimacy in Ellis, *Theories of Rape*, 1. On problems with the simplistic notion that “men must have sex” and will rape if “deprived,” see Morris, “By Force of Arms,” 676. On military rape rates in combat theaters climbing to several times civilian rates, see Madeline Morris, “In War and Peace: Rape, War, and Military Culture,” in *War's Dirty Secret: Rape, Prostitution, and Other Crimes against Women*, ed. Anne Llewellyn Barstow (Cleveland, OH: The Pilgrim Press, 2000), 167.
- 62 Rape as a weapon in Jill Benderly, “Rape, Feminism, and Nationalism in the War in Yugoslav Successor States,” in *Feminist Nationalism*, ed. Lois A. West (New York, NY: Routledge, 1997), 65. Dominance and aggression in Larry Baron and Murray A. Strauss, *Four Theories of Rape in American Society* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 61. On women's economic vulnerabilities in war, see Carol Harrington, *Politicization of Sexual Violence: From Abolitionism to Peacekeeping* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 80. On romantic liaisons between GIs and Asian women in a wartime environment, see Naoko Shibusawa, *America's Geisha Ally: Reimagining the Japanese Enemy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 40, 261.

- 63 Susan Griffin, "Rape: The All-American Crime," *Ramparts*, September 1971, 29. On rape as a weapon of war and a deliberate policy, see Doris E. Buss, "Rethinking 'Rape as a Weapon of War,'" *Feminist Legal Studies* Vol. 17, No. 2 (2009): 146, 149; and Meger, *Rape Loot Pillage*, 54, 57. Opportunistic in Meger, 93.
- 64 Gang rapes as common occurrence in Turse, 168. MACV published a directive on 20 April 1965 outlining procedures for investigations of war crimes and "similar prohibited acts," following contemporary standards of what constituted a "grave breach" of the Geneva Conventions. While "inhuman treatment" was deemed a prohibited act, the directive did not specifically address rape or sexual violence. MACV Directive 20-4, 20 April 1965, Box 4, Reporting and Investigating War Crimes Allegations, War Crimes Working Group Files, RG319, NARA. Nor did the 10 July 1970 version of the directive mention sexual violence. On this topic, see Gary D. Solis, *The Law of Armed Conflict: International Humanitarian Law in War*, 2nd ed. (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 339–341.
- 65 Lieutenant Joseph W. Callaway, Jr. quoted in Prados, *In Country*, 245. Capacity for rape in Weaver, *Ideologies of Forgetting*, xiv. Majority of rapes going unreported on p. xv. Admitting killing over rape in Viet Thanh Nguyen, *Nothing Ever Dies: Vietnam and the Memory of War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), 80. See also "Introduction" in Barstow, 5.
- 66 Herbert Allegation, 3 August 1972, Box 2, War Crimes Allegations Talking Points, War Crimes Working Group Files, RG319, NARA. On another rape case being dropped for "insufficient evidence," see Brummett Allegation, 29 November 1972, Box 1, War Crimes Allegations Case Studies, War Crimes Working Group Files, RG319, NARA. On women "suffering without words," see Gebhardt, 171. Victim silence in Agnes Callamard, "Breaking the Collusion of Silence," in Sajor, *Common Grounds*, 63. Distrusted rape victims in Bourke, *Rape*, 23. For a more skeptical view of "war crime stories," see Gary Kulik, *"War Stories": False Atrocity Tales, Swift Boaters, and Winter Soldiers – What Really Happened in Vietnam* (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2009), 19.
- 67 Szolsowski Incident, 14 July 1971, Box 14, Brummett Allegation, 29 November 1972, Box 1, War Crimes Allegations Case Files, War Crimes Working Group Files, RG319, NARA. In a similar case, an infantry company captured two suspected VC nurses who were gang-raped during overnight detention. Case 43, Americal Div. Allegation, 2 June 1968, Box 1, War Crimes Allegations Talking Points, War Crimes Working Group Files, RG319, NARA. War crime statistics in Gary D. Solis, "Military Justice, Civilian Clemency: The Sentences of Marine Corps War Crimes in South Vietnam," *Transnational Law & Contemporary Problems* Vol. 59 (2000): 67–79; W. Hays Parks, "Crimes in Hostilities," *Marine Corps Gazette*, August 1976, 18; Lewy, *America in Vietnam*, 348–356; and Nelson, *The War Behind Me*, 140–143. A full listing of cases classified as "founded" by army investigators can be found in Appendix A. See also Karen Stuhldreher, "State Rape: Representations of Rape in Viet Nam," *The Vietnam Generation Big Book* Vol. 5, Nos 1–4 (March 1994): 155. Fred Turner quotes one study which claimed that "nearly one in every ten combat soldiers committed an act of abusive violence, such as torturing prisoners, raping civilians, or mutilating a corpse." *Echoes of Combat*, 29.

- 68 Pressure cooker in Ruth Siefert, War and Rape: A Preliminary Analysis,” in *Mass Rape: The War against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, ed. Alexandra Stiglmayer (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 54. On sexual and gender norms, see Morris, “In War and Peace,” 182. Perpetrators understanding themselves in Baaz and Stern, “Why Do Soldiers Rape?,” 496. For a similar discussion on “rape signs,” see Beneke, *Men on Rape*, 7. Culturally produced representations in Stuhldreher, 157. On MACV making rape “socially acceptable,” see Eisen Bergman, *Women of Vietnam*, 63.
- 69 Increased influence from Robert Slayton, email to author, 7 August 2019.
- 70 “What They Said about Women,” *Sensation*, April 1959, 6. Wesley Hall, “Cowboy Hank Plummer and the Bed-Hopping Brides,” *Valor*, June 1959, 26. Sidney Gorgeson, “The Day They Ravaged Frisco,” *Big Adventure*, June 1961, 6.
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- 78 “It’s a Strange World,” *Male*, February 1965, 10. Basic services in Baird, *From Nuremberg to My Lai*, 240. On 400,000 prostitutes, see Eisen Bergman, *Women of Vietnam*, 82. The number jumps to nearly half a million in her later book, *Women and Revolution in Viet Nam* (London: Zed Books, 1984), 45. Assuming a total South Vietnamese population in 1965 of 16,124,000, that would mean over three percent of the population was engaged in prostitution, a questionable claim. “Final Report, A Population Survey in Viet Nam,” 31 March 1967, Folder 06, Box 43, Douglas Pike Collection: Unit 03 – Statistical Data, The Vietnam Center and Archive, Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX. Still, *True Action* noted how the US Army in Vietnam was fighting back against an “army of prostitutes.” “Man’s Bulletin,” January 1967, 6. Saigon official quoted in Eisen, *Women and Revolution in Viet Nam*, *Ibid*. On control of women’s bodies in Korea, see Katharine H. S. Moon, *Sex among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S.–Korea Relations* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1997), 94.
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### CONCLUSION

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- 3 Caste system in Shulamith Firestone, *The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution* (New York, NY: Quill, 1970), 23. Oppressed and male dominance in Andrea Dworkin, *Woman Hating* (New York, NY: E. P. Dutton, 1974), 17, 23. On discarding masculinity as a “useful category of expression,” see Ehrenreich, 107. On counterculture, see Tim Hodgdon, *Manhood in the Age of Aquarius: Masculinity in Two Countercultural Communities, 1965–83* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2008); and Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York, NY: Bantam Books, 1993), 215, 286–287. On a more progressive pulp author dealing with “free-love philosophy,” see George R. Meadows, “The Wrong Road to Sex,” *Man’s Epic*, March 1968, 36.

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- 6 Tobias Wolff, *In Pharaoh’s Army: Memories of the Lost War* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), 68. Symbolic power in Thomas Myers, *Walking Point: American Narratives of Vietnam* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1988), 3. Returning home as a war hero in Mark Baker, *Nam: The Vietnam War in the Words of the Men and Women Who Fought There* (New York, NY: William Morrow and Company, 1981), 220. On Vietnam’s relation to masculine citizenship and the warrior myth, see Heather Marie Stur, “Men’s and Women’s Liberation: Challenging Military Culture after the Vietnam War,” in *Integrating the US Military: Race, Gender, and Sexual Orientation since World War II*, eds. Douglas Walter Bristol, Jr. and Heather Marie Stur (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017), 143, 145; and Chris Blazina, *The Cultural Myth of Masculinity* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), xvi. On its relation to the culture of dissent, see Margot A. Henriksen, *Dr. Strangelove’s America: Society and Culture in the Atomic Age* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), 350.
- 7 Veteran quoted in Jonathan Shay, *Achilles in Vietnam: Combat Trauma and the Undoing of Character* (New York, NY: Atheneum, 1994), 33. Just warriors in Jean Bethke Elshaint, *Women and War* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1987), 9. On triumphalist narratives in the comics, see “Introduction” in *The 10 Cent War: Comic Books, Propaganda, and World War II*, eds. Trischa Goodnow and James J. Kimble (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2016), 13.
- 8 Puzo quoted in Adam Parfrey, *It’s a Man’s World: Men’s Adventure Magazines, the Postwar Pulps* (Los Angeles, CA: Feral House, 2003), 31. Harry Brod, “Joe Kubert’s ‘War No More’ War Comics – Losing a Living Legend,” *Huffington Post*, 17 August 2019.
- 9 Sarlat quoted in “Them!,” *Esquire*, November 1976, 94. In the same piece, Carl Sifakis, editorial director for *Male* and *Action*, said he “aimed at the blue-collar readers with high-school educations and annual incomes of twelve thousand dollars. A majority of our readers own a home – but a home in some place like Arkansas.” *Stag*, May 1976. On

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- 10 Sexual liberalism in Stephanie Coontz, *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1992), 260. On the rising popularity of X-rated films, see Jody W. Pennington, *The History of Sex in American Film* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007), 56–58; and Linda Williams, *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure, and the “Frenzy of the Visible”* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 96–99. On the rise of “sexploitation” magazines, see David Church, “Between Fantasy and Reality: Sexploitation, Fan Magazines, and William Rotsler’s ‘Adults-Only’ Career,” *Film History* Vol. 26, No. 3 (2014): 106–143.
  - 11 *Hustler* in Laura Kipnis, *Bound and Gagged: Pornography and the Politics of Fantasy in America* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 128–131. On a crisis of masculinity being re-envisioned in the 1990s, where men were scapegoats for unhappy, angry women, see Stephen Wicks, *Warriors and Wildmen: Men, Masculinity, and Gender* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1996), 3, 42.
  - 12 Percentages in Melissa T. Brown, “Transitioning to an All-Volunteer Force,” in *The Routledge History of Gender, War, and the U.S. Military*, ed. Kara Dixon Vuic (London: Routledge, 2018), 134. On concerns over manpower shortages, see Stephen J. Dienstfrey, “Women Veterans’ Exposure to Combat,” *Armed Forces and Society* Vol. 14, No. 4 (Summer 1988): 550. On military recruiting ads during this timeframe, which still promoted a “warrior masculinity,” see Melissa T. Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity: The Construction of Gender in U.S. Military Recruiting Advertising during the All-Volunteer Force* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2012), 48–49.
  - 13 James Webb, “Women Can’t Fight,” *The Washingtonian*, November 1979, 146. A West Point cadet mirrored Webb’s sentiment, saying he “would never openly harass women, [but] I hope they understand they are not welcome here.” In Joshua S. Goldstein, *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 97. Schlafly quoted in Beth Bailey, *America’s Army: Making the All-Volunteer Force* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), 169. On disdain for female soldiers dating back to World War II, see Emily Yellin, *Our Mothers’ War: American Women at Home and at the Front during World War II* (New York, NY: The Free Press, 2004), 111.
  - 14 James William Gibson, *Warrior Dreams: Paramilitary Culture in Post-Vietnam America* (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 1994), 7–13, 28–29, 39, 48, 196–197. See also James William Gibson, “Redeeming Vietnam: Techno-thriller Novels of the 1980s,” *Cultural Critique* No. 19 (Autumn 1991): 179–202.
  - 15 Mercenary quoted in Kyle Burke, “Soldiers of Fortune,” *Jacobin Magazine*, 2 June 2018. See also H. Bruce Franklin, *Vietnam and Other American Fantasies* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000), 155. Sadler quoted in Marc Leepson, *Ballad of the Green Beret: The Life and Wars of Staff Sergeant Barry Sadler* (Guilford, CT: Stackpole Books, 2017), 179. On the ideology of masculinity needing healing after war, see Katherine

- Kinney, *Friendly Fire: American Images of the Vietnam War* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2000), 106. Robert Bly has argued, somewhat problematically, that if a culture does not “deal with the warrior energy . . . it will turn up outside in the form of street gangs, wife beating, drug violence, brutality to children, and aimless murder.” *Iron John: A Book about Men* (New York, NY: Da Capo Press, 2004), 190.
- 16 Victims in Christian G. Appy, *American Reckoning: The Vietnam War and Our National Identity* (New York, NY: Viking, 2015), 241; and Robert Jay Lifton, “Victims and Executioners,” in *Crimes of War: A Legal, Political-Documentary and Psychological Inquiry into the Responsibility of Leaders, Citizens, and Soldiers for Criminal Acts of War*, eds. Richard A. Falk, Gabriel Kolko, and Robert Jay Lifton (New York, NY: Random House, 1971), 419. For women dealing with similar postwar issues, see Winnie Smith, *American Daughter Gone to War: On the Front Lines with an Army Nurse in Vietnam* (New York, NY: William Morrow and Company, 1992), 37; and Barbara Hesselman Kautz, *When I Die I’m Going to Heaven ‘Cause I Spent My Time in Hell: A Memoir of My Year as an Army Nurse in Vietnam* (Portsmouth, NH: Piscataqua Press, 2013), 65. Of course, Vietnamese women were absent from these postwar conversations. On symbolically earning manhood, see Myers, *Walking Point*, 137.
- 17 Remaining a child in John Ketwig, . . . and *a Hard Rain Fell: A GI’s True Story of War in Vietnam* (Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks, 2002), 75. On unfulfilled manhood, see Tracy Karner, “Fathers, Sons, and Vietnam: Masculinity and Betrayal in the Life Narratives of Vietnam Veterans with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder,” *American Studies* Vol. 37, No. 1 (Spring 1996): 65.
- 18 Walter R. Hecox, “The One-Man Army of Bataan,” *Man’s Magazine*, July 1961, 42, 80. “Bill Mauldin in Korea,” *Man’s Day*, March 1953, 87–88. “Stag’s Big Picture,” *Stag*, March 1962, 23. For a similar tale of Medal of Honor recipient Dwight Johnson’s post-Vietnam struggles, see James E. Westheider, *The African American Experience in Vietnam: Brothers in Arms* (Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), 128; and Fred Turner, *Echoes of Combat: Trauma, Memory, and the Vietnam War* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 50–51.
- 19 Karl H. Purnell, “How Many GI’s Get Hooked on Drugs?,” *True*, August 1968, 52, 82. Equilibrium and time bombs in Myers, 190. On World War II, see David A. Gerber, “Heroes and Misfits: The Troubled Social Reintegration of Disabled Veterans in ‘The Best Years of Our Lives,’” *American Quarterly* Vol. 46, No. 4 (December 1994): 545–574. Fears of increasing domestic violence in Janie L. Leatherman, *Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2011), 82.
- 20 On *Taxi Driver* and *Heroes*, see Mitchell K. Hall, *Crossroads: American Popular Culture and the Vietnam Generation* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), 181. On regenerative violence, see Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 228. For a discussion on Vietnam films like *The Deer Hunter* (1978), which exposed the traumas of a humiliating lost war, see Suzanne E. Hatty, *Masculinities, Violence, and Culture* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2000), 171; Peter Marin, “Coming to Terms with Vietnam,” *Harper’s*, December 1980, 45; and Leonard Quart, “*The Deer Hunter*: The Superman in Vietnam,”

- in *From Hanoi to Hollywood: The Vietnam War in American Film*, eds. Linda Dittmar and Gene Michaud (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 159–168.
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- 22 On gender being politically deployed, see Harriet Bradley, *Gender* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007), 4. Gender not being fixed in R. W. Connell, *Masculinities*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005), 35.
- 23 On the effect of war stories, see Susan Jeffords, “Telling the War Story,” in *It’s Our Military, Too! Women and the U.S. Military*, ed. Judith Hicks Stiehm (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1996), 227–230.
- 24 Peter Goldman and Tony Fuller, *Charlie Company: What Vietnam Did to Us* (New York, NY: Ballantine Books, 1983), ix. John M. Del Vecchio, *The 13th Valley* (New York, NY: Bantam, 1982), 19, 160–161. See also Myers, *Walking Point*, 67. On portraying war as neither noble nor uplifting, see Philip Dwyer, “Making Sense of the Muddle: War Memoirs and the Culture of Remembering,” in *War Stories: The War Memoir in History and Literature*, ed. Philip Dwyer (New York, NY: Berghahn, 2017), 10. On how idiosyncratic views become accepted as universal, see Judy Lee Kinney, “Gardens of Stone, Platoon, and Hamburger Hill,” in *Inventing Vietnam: The War in Film and Television*, ed. Michael Anderegg (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1991), 160. Lost youth in Jeff Loeb, “Childhood’s End: Self Recovery in the Autobiography of the Vietnam War,” *American Studies* Vol. 37, No. 1 (Spring 1996): 100. The vision of every man being a “hero in immediate prospect” could be seen in the Civil War as well. Stephen W. Berry III, *All That Makes a Man: Love and Ambition in the Civil War South* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2003), 167.
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- 27 P. F. Kluge, “Why They Love Us in the Philippines,” *Playboy*, September 1986, 90, 92. William Broyles, Jr., “Why Men Love War,” *Esquire*, November 1984, 62.

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- 29 Harold G. Moore and Joseph L. Galloway, *We Were Soldiers Once . . . and Young* (New York, NY: HarperPerennial, 1993), 231. Philip D. Beidler, *Late Thoughts on an Old War: The Legacy of Vietnam* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 2004), 195. Selling Vietnam in Rick Berg and John Carlos Rowe, “The Vietnam War and American Memory,” in *The Vietnam War and American Culture*, eds. John Carlos Rowe and Rick Berg (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1991), 3.
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- 31 *The Grunt*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1968): 5, 22. The magazine was published in Honolulu, Hawaii.
- 32 Trooper Clinton Poley quoted in Moore and Galloway, 424. On the emotional cycle of war, see David Donovan, *Once a Warrior King: Memoirs of an Officer in Vietnam* (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 1985), 156.
- 33 Donovan, *Ibid.* Voyeurism in Don Ringnald, *Fighting and Writing the Vietnam War* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1994), 175. Structures and images of male superiority in Jonathan Rutherford, “Who’s That Man,” in *Male Order: Unwrapping Masculinity*, eds. Rowena Chapman and Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1988), 54.
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- 38 William Harrell, “The Treacherous Nymph Who Sold Out the Navy at Pearl Harbor,” *Men*, March 1963, 34. Jimmy Cannon, “Korea Was Like a Good-Looking Woman with Gonorrhea,” *Saga*, August 1963, 57. On sexual violence in wartime being linked to gender-based violence in daily life before conflict, see Kerry F. Crawford, *Wartime Sexual Violence: From Silence to Condemnation of a Weapon of War* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2017), 163. Language as a vehicle to assumptions about gender roles in relation to war in “Preface,” in *Gendering War Talk*, eds. Miriam Cooke and Angela Woollacott (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), xii. See also Susan Jeffords, *The Remasculinization of America: Gender and the Vietnam War* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989), xi. On the role of military indoctrination, see William Arkin and Lynne R. Dobrofsky, “Military Socialization and Masculinity,” *Journal of Social Issues* Vol. 34, No. 1 (1978): 151–168.
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- 40 John C. Bahnsen, Jr., *American Warrior: A Combat Memoir of Vietnam* (New York, NY: Citadel Press, 2007), 460. On earlier notions that World War II had “reinvigorated and masculinized the nation,” see Christina S. Jarvis, *The Male Body at War: American Masculinity during World War II* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2004), 186.
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- 42 Barrow quoted in Madeline Morris, “In War and Peace: Rape, War, and Military Culture,” in *War’s Dirty Secret: Rape, Prostitution, and Other Crimes against Women*, ed. Anne Llewellyn Barstow (Cleveland, OH: The Pilgrim Press, 2000), 183. Jesse Kelley, “Why the Trump Administration Needs to Keep Women Out of Combat,” *The Federalist*, 25 September 2018.
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- 47 Kevin Draper, “Video Games Aren’t Why Shootings Happen. Politicians Still Blame Them.” *New York Times*, 5 August 2019. For an additional view, see Julie Bosman, Kate Taylor and Tim Arango, “A Common Trait among Mass Killers: Hatred toward Women,” *New York Times*, 10 August 2019. On exposure to pornography and men’s magazines leading men to perceive women as objects, see Paul J. Wright and Robert S. Tokunaga, “Men’s Objectifying Media Consumption, Objectification of Women, and Attitudes Supportive of Violence against Women,” *Archives of Sexual Behavior* Vol. 45, No. 4 (May 2016): 961.
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- 49 Jack Raymond, “3,500 U.S. Marines Going to Vietnam to Bolster Base,” *New York Times*, 7 March 1965. For table of contents taglines, see *Male*, March 1965, 4.
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