

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 Pulp,” 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. Copsey'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. Stage 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 Stage, “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 Pulp* (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 Pulp 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: Pulp, 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 Pulp,” 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 Pulp: 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. Trisha 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 Bruscino, *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 Jensen, 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.
- 100 Aggression level studies in Susan H. Gray, “Exposure to Pornography and Aggression toward Women: The Case of the Angry Male,” *Social Problems* Vol. 29, No. 4 (April 1982): 390–391. On rape as a “sexual manifestation of aggression,” see 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), 20. Deviance in Mullins, “Sexual Violence during Armed Conflict,” 124. Susan Jeffords discusses the “systemic assumption that women will be violated” in “Performative Masculinities, or, ‘After a Few Times You Won’t Be Afraid of Rape at All,’” *Discourse* Vol. 12, No. 2 (Spring–Summer 1991): 106.
- 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.
- 102 Rape as part of war 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): 60. Power to reinforce in Honey, 12. On conceptual links between wartime rape and peacetime culture, see Nicola Henry, Tony Ward, and Matt Hirshberg, “A Multifactorial Model of Wartime Rape,” *Aggression and Violent Behavior* Vol. 9 (2004): 535–562.

CHAPTER 1

- 1 Proletarianized in Mark Jancovich, "Othering Conformity in Post-war America: Intellectuals, the New Middle Classes and the Problem of Cultural Distinctions," in *Containing America: Cultural Production and Consumption in Fifties America*, eds. Nathan Abrams and Julie Hughes (Birmingham: The University of Birmingham Press, 2000), 16. Little distinction in H. W. Brands, *The Devil We Knew: Americans and the Cold War* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1993), 19. Conspiracy in Ellen Schrecker, *The Age of McCarthyism: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2002), 21–22. Countering aggression in Michael McClintock, *Instruments of Statecraft: U.S. Guerrilla Warfare, Counterinsurgency, and Counterterrorism, 1940–1990* (New York, NY: Pantheon, 1992), 24. Conformity in Snell Putney and Gail J. Putney, *The Adjusted American: Normal Neuroses in the Individual and Society* (New York, NY: Harper Colophon, 1966), 67; and David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1961), 6.
- 2 Suffocating in Bill Osgerby, *Playboys in Paradise: Masculinity, Youth and Leisure-Style in Modern America* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2001), 74. *Femmes fatales* in George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1996), 74; and Kenneth Paradis, *Sex, Paranoia, and Modern Masculinity* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2007), 5. Beth L. Bailey compares immediate postwar views of dominating American women and "pleasant" European ones in *From Front Porch to Back Seat: Courtship in Twentieth-Century America* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 41.
- 3 Theodore Rivers, "The Enemy Within: Women Who Prey on Our Servicemen," *Real Combat Stories*, April 1964, 29, 62. 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): 49–50.
- 4 Persecutory paranoia in Paradis, 6. Fears in Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945–1961* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003), 36. On how these fears were intertwined with policy, see H. W. Brands, "The Age of Vulnerability: Eisenhower and the National Insecurity State," *The American Historical Review* Vol. 94, No. 4 (October 1989): 963–989.
- 5 Richard Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1967), 29. On paranoias driving much of the pulp narrative, see Woody Haut, *Pulp Culture: Hardboiled Fiction and the Cold War* (London: Serpent's Tail, 1995), 14. Ellen Schrecker argues the communist threat became a "national obsession." *The Age of McCarthyism*, 25.
- 6 Mass society and rehabilitation to meet Cold War challenges in K. A. Cuordileone, *Manhood and American Political Culture in the Cold War* (London: Routledge, 2005), xxiii.
- 7 Philip Caputo, *A Rumor of War* (New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1977), 5. Glorified male warrior in Charlotte Hooper, *Manly States: Masculinities, International Relations, and Gender Politics* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2001), 2.

- Protectors and providers in Barbara Ehrenreich, *The Hearts of Men: American Dreams and the Flight from Commitment* (New York, NY: Anchor Books, 1983), 16.
- 8 Postwar doubts in Warren Susman, "Did Success Spoil the United States? Dual Representations in Postwar America," in *Recasting America: Culture and Politics in the Age of the Cold War*, ed. Lary May (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), 22. Mandating new villains in Bernard F. Dick, *The Screen Is Red: Hollywood, Communism, and the Cold War* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2016), 148. Suzanne Clark has noted that "World War II finished off the threat from Hitler and Japan by opening a new place for the fascist imagination within the United States." In *Cold Warriors: Manliness on Trial in the Rhetoric of the West* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), 7.
 - 9 McCarran Act in Albert Fried, ed., *McCarthyism: The Great American Red Scare, A Documentary History* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1997), 85–87; and David Cauter, *The Great Fear: The Anti-communist Purge under Truman and Eisenhower* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 1978), 38.
 - 10 Men feeling besieged in Peter G. Filene, *Him/Her/Self: Gender Identities in Modern America*, 3rd ed. (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 99. Overcivilized and womanized in E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1993), 251–252. On debates over "sex difference" in the late 1800s, see R. W. Connell, *Masculinities*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005), 21.
 - 11 On obsession and crisis, see 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), 11–12. See also Bethan Benwell, "Introduction," in *Masculinity and Men's Lifestyle Magazines*, ed. Bethan Benwell (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003), 15. Constricted in Stephen W. Berry III, *All That Makes a Man: Love and Ambition in the Civil War South* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2003), 46.
 - 12 Traditional gender relations and Roosevelt quoted in Bobby A. Wintermute and David J. Ulbrich, *Race and Gender in Modern Western Warfare* (Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 2019), 81–82. Harvey C. Mansfield argues that to TR, manliness was "an individual construction of one's own willpower." In *Manliness* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 91.
 - 13 *Century Magazine* in Filene, 77. Physical culture in David M. Earle, *All Man! Hemingway, 1950s Men's Magazines, and the Masculine Persona* (Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 2009), 30–31. On links to imperialism, see Bederman, 192–193.
 - 14 Kennan in Frank Costigliola, "'Unceasing Pressure for Penetration': Gender, Pathology, and Emotion in George Kennan's Formulation of the Cold War," *The Journal of American History* Vol. 83, No. 4 (March 1997): 1310. On strong men and a strong nation, see Brian Robertson, "The Forgotten Man: Richard Nixon, Masculinity, and the Path to Power in Southern California," *California History* Vol. 94, No. 2 (Summer 2017): 36. On "hegemonic masculinity" going hand in hand with "the culture and ideology of hegemonic nationalism," see Emanuela Lombardo and Petra Meier, *The Symbolic Representation of Gender: A Discursive Approach* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 23.
 - 15 Halberstam and Kearns quoted in Mark Gerzon, *A Choice of Heroes: The Changing Faces of American Manhood* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1992), 93. Johnson quoted in

- Geoffrey S. Smith, "Security, Gender, and the Historical Process," *Diplomatic History* Vol. 18, No. 1 (Winter 1994): 87; and Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1996), 269–270.
- 16 LBJ quoted in Isabel Heinemann, "Introduction," in *Inventing the Modern American Family: Family Values and Social Change in 20th Century United States*, ed. Isabel Heinemann (New York, NY: Campus Verlag, 2012), 7. Elaine Tyler May has argued that the family became a "bastion of safety in an insecure world," a "bulwark against the dangers of the cold war." *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1988, 2008), 9, 33. On fears of family life not exercising the proper influence over children, see James Gilbert, *A Cycle of Outrage: America's Reaction to the Juvenile Delinquent in the 1950s* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1986), 17.
 - 17 Lester W. Dearborn, "Why More Men and Women Engage in Extramarital Relations," *Cavalcade*, November 1959, 6, 94. Shailer Upton Lawton, "Sex Secrets," *Challenge*, August 1959, 20–21. On similar conceptions of "masculine unease" in Australia, see Chelsea Barnett, "Man's Man: Representation of Australian Post-war Masculinity in *Man Magazine*," *Journal of Australian Studies* Vol. 39, No. 2 (2015): 153.
 - 18 Retreat to housewifery and costs to wives in Stephanie Coontz, *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1992), 33, 40. Idle class in Philp Wylie, *Generation of Vipers* (New York, NY: Farrar & Rinehart, 1942), 49. Controlling domestic life in Haut, 41. Traditional morals in John Bodnar, *The "Good War" in American Memory* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 62. Elaine Tyler May notes that experts "called upon women to embrace domesticity in service to the nation." *Homeward Bound*, 98.
 - 19 Wylie, 205. Editors of *Look*, *The Decline of the American Male* (New York, NY: Random House, 1958), 11. Advertisement in *Men*, May 1962, 55.
 - 20 Panic in James Gilbert, *Men in the Middle: Searching for Masculinity in the 1950s* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 9. Rubén Cenamor, "What Have We Learned since the 1950s? The Return to Conservative Gender Roles in Sam Mendes' Film Adaptation of *Revolutionary Road*," in *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), 170–178. William Heuman, "Why Do We Have to Marry Women?" *Saga*, July 1957, 32.
 - 21 Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 1963), 274. Conformity in Peter Viereck, *The Unadjusted Man: A New Hero for Americans* (Boston, MA: The Beacon Press, 1956), 6.
 - 22 On Miller, see Robert J. Corber, *Homosexuality in Cold War America: Resistance and the Crisis of Masculinity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 36–43. C. Wright Mills equally spoke of a "deep-rooted" malaise among American working men. *White Collar: The American Middle Class* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1953), xvi.
 - 23 Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., "The Crisis of American Masculinity," *Esquire* Vol. 50, No. 5 (November 1958): 63, 64. *Gray Flannel Suit* in Christian G. Appy, "'We'll Follow the Old Man': The Strains of Sentimental Militarism in Popular Films of the Fifties," in *Rethinking Cold War Culture*, eds. Peter J. Kuznick and James Gilbert (Washington, DC:

- Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 94. See also David Halberstam, *The Fifties* (New York, NY: Villard Books, 1993), 524.
- 24 GI Bill as social welfare and usage numbers in David R. Segal, *Recruiting for Uncle Sam: Citizenship and Military Manpower Policy* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1989), 87–88. Housing loans in Coontz, 94–96.
- 25 GI Bill nonusers in Suzanne Mettler, *Soldiers to Citizens: The G.I. Bill and the Making of the Greatest Generation* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2005), 48. On proving one's manhood being a "constant challenge," see Elisabeth Badinter, *XY: On Masculine Identity* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1995), 2. On the benefits, more generally, of economic growth leading to a just society, see Alan Brinkley, "The Illusion of Unity in Cold War Culture," in Kuznick and Gilbert, 64.
- 26 Heather Marie Stur, *Beyond Combat: Women and Gender in the Vietnam War Era* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 148. On the crisis of masculinity becoming a "standard literary theme," see Earle, 105. See also Clive Baldwin, "'The Orgasm of the Frigidaire': Male Sexuality and the Female Other in Post-World War II American fiction," on a "dominant discursive anxiety" in post-industrial America. In *Masculinity and the Other: Historical Perspectives*, eds. Heather Ellis and Jessica Meyer (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 143.
- 27 "Stag Confidential," *Stag*, July 1961, 8. Jorge Esteban, "A Young Legal Mistress for Every Man," *Men*, July 1964, 12.
- 28 *Cosmopolitan* in Steven Watts, *JFK and the Masculine Mystique: Sex and Power on the New Frontier* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 2016), 27. Feminizing in Gilbert, *Men in the Middle*, 63; and Hooper, *Manly States*, 70. "Dominated" in *Look*, 3. Philip Wylie, "The Womanization of America," *Playboy*, September 1958, 51. Wylie earlier claimed that a man might be "frightened out of his masculinity and suddenly start behaving in a womanish manner." *Generation of Vipers*, 120.
- 29 On emasculation, see Bill Osgerby, "Two-Fisted Tales of Brutality and Belligerence: Masculinity and Meaning in the American 'True Adventure' Pulp of the 1950s and 1960s," in Ellis and Meyer, 166. Joe Pearson, "The Mental Castration of Husbands," *Sir!*, July 1962, 31. Andrew Petersen, "Castration of the American Male," *Brigade*, March 1963, 35. Frederich Berquist, "Are Your Sex Guilt Making You Impotent," *Man's Action*, May 1966, 28.
- 30 Vigorous action in Watts, 14. Alexander P. de Sèvresky, "Our Boys Are Not Afraid to Fly," *Man's Day*, March 1953, 9. Sen. Estes Kefauver, "Are You the Ninth Man?" *Real Adventure*, March 1955, 15.
- 31 Paul C. Ditzel, "The Day That Cicero Died," *Stag*, April 1952, 22–23. Nor did the pulps make linkages between discrimination at home and US foreign policy. On this topic, see Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, MA: Princeton University Press, 2000); and Penny M. Von Eschen, *Race against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937–1957* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997). On whiteness and maleness combined to mark "American authenticity," see Clark, *Cold Warriors*, 3.
- 32 George Mandel, "Detroit's Unholy Secret Legion," *For Men Only*, November 1958, 23. On Evers, see William Bradford Huie, "Murder Trial in Mississippi," *Saga*, June 1964, 37;

- and Hal Bennet, "My Brother's Killer Can't Stop Me," *Saga*, August 1965, 20. William Bradford Huie, "The Klansman," *True*, October 1967, 37. On the Klan censoring the prewar pulps, see Linda Gordon, *The Second Coming of the KKK: The Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s and the American Political Tradition* (New York, NY: Liveright, 2017), 135. On Baldwin, see Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 271. Armstrong in Penny M. Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).
- 33 On *Ebony* and *Duke*, see Tom Pendergast, *Creating the Modern Man: American Magazines and Consumer Culture, 1900–1950* (Columbia, MS: University of Missouri Press, 2000), 68–71, 167–169, 242; Elizabeth Fraterrigo, *Playboy and the Making of the Good Life in Modern America* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009), 138–140; and Osgerby, *Playboys in Paradise*, 172–175. For a discussion on how civil rights activists were denounced as Moscow-inspired communists, see Cate, *The Great Fear*, 166.
- 34 Buriel quoted in Steven Rosales, "Macho Nation? Chicano Soldiering, Sexuality, and Manhood during the Vietnam Era," *The Oral History Review* Vol. 40, No. 2 (August 2013): 304. Diversity in armed forces in Thomas Bruscino, *A Nation Forged in War: How World War II Taught Americans to Get Along* (Knoxville, TN: The University Press of Tennessee, 2010), 58.
- 35 It is important to note how non-white men were objectified and emasculated in popular culture in other wars, most explicitly the Japanese in World War II. On this, see Osgerby, "Two-Fisted Tales of Brutality and Belligerence," 169.
- 36 On George Paine, see *American Manhood*, January 1953, 45; and *American Manhood*, February 1953, 40. *Challenge's* September 1955 exposé on fighter Jack Johnson called him the "most detested champion in all boxing history." James W. Cameron, "They Hated the Champ!," 34. On this topic, see Bederma, *Manliness & Civilization*, 1–10. Joe Weider, "Sam Langford: The Boston Tar Baby," *American Manhood*, March 1953, 31. Floyd Patterson, "I Was Hell-Bent for Trouble," *Man's Magazine*, April 1957, 28. On Satchel Paige, see Ernie Harwell, "The World's Greatest Pitcher," *Male*, July 1954, 21.
- 37 A. M. Libasci, "What You Should Know about Venereal Disease," *American Manhood*, February 1953, 31, 52. On sexual transgressions of the "black rapist," see Christopher Breu, *Hard-Boiled Masculinities* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 33; and Susan Griffin, *Pornography and Silence: Culture's Revenge against Nature* (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1981), 159. Racial anxieties in Steven Dillon, *Wolf-Women and Phantom Ladies: Female Desire in 1940s US Culture* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2015), 159. White sexual anxieties 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), 277, 288. On issues with sexual relationships between white German women and black US soldiers, see Maria Höhn, *GIs and Fräuleins: The German–American Encounter in 1950s West Germany* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 86, 104; and Christine Knauer, *Let Us Fight as Free Men: Black Soldiers and Civil Rights* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 35–36. For a different take, in which some pulp novels explored the experiences of black GIs in

- occupied Germany, see Paula Rabinowitz, *American Pulp: How Paperbacks Brought Modernism to Main Street* (Princeton, MA: Princeton University Press, 2014), 54–55.
- 38 On Milton Olive, see *Stag*, January 1967, 38. Mark Sufrin, “The Marine Who Won America’s Most Important Race,” *Male*, March 1965, 28. More representative of stories on athletes excelling in combat was Glenn Infield, “Ray Houk: The N.Y. Yankee Who Saved the 9th Armored Division,” *Stag*, May 1964, 17. On sports’ links to “toughness,” see Donald J. Mrozek, “The Cult and Ritual of Toughness in Cold War America,” in *Sport in America: From Wicked Amusement to National Obsession*, ed. David K. Wiggins (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1995).
- 39 On gender systems linked to racial issues, see Alice Kessler-Harris, *In Pursuit of Equity: Women, Men, and the Quest for Economic Citizenship in 20th-Century America* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2001), 6. On relations to World War II, see 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), 52; and Knauer, 20.
- 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.
- 41 Expendable ad in *Stag*, June 1959, 45. Rut ad in *Men*, December 1961, 3. On class components to gender, see Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1988), 60. For a treatment of this in the Canadian pulps, see Michelle Denise Smith, “Soup Cans and Love Slaves: National Politics and Cultural Authority in the Editing and Authorship of Canadian Pulp Magazines,” *Book History* Vol. 9 (2006): 262. On how this related to dating, see Bailey, *From Front Porch to Back Seat*, 21–22.
- 42 Ray Lunt, “Why Your Pension May Not Be Worth a Red Cent,” *Male*, March 65, 26. Ken Kolb, “What Ever Happened to The Old-Fashioned Mistress?” *Saga*, March 1956, 24–25.
- 43 GNP in Walter W. Young and Nancy K. Young, *The 1950s* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), 3. Disposable time in Andrew Kimbrell, *The Masculine Mystique: The Politics of Masculinity* (New York, NY: Ballantine, 1995), 107. Inequalities in Elizabeth Cohen, *A Consumer’s Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), 234. For a discussion on contemporary class hostilities, see Gilbert, *A Cycle of Outrage*, 5.
- 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.
- 45 Links to Great Depression in Christina S. Jarvis, *The Male Body at War: American Masculinity during World War II* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2004), 16–17; and Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 199–200. Masculinity and work in Myron Brenton, *The American Male* (New York, NY: Coward-McCann, 1966), 20.

- 46 Job failure ad in *Man's Magazine*, April 1957, 5. Income growth ad in *Battlefield*, August 1958, 9. Dependence in Ehrenreich, *The Hearts of Men*, 2. Lack of compassion in Robert Bly, *Iron John: A Book about Men* (New York, NY: Da Capo Press, 2004), 2.
- 47 Repression at bay in *American Manhood*, January 1953, 3. That same month, *Male* ran a class-centered story on a World War II NCO saving his unit from a “dangerously psychotic” officer. Jules Archer, “Lieutenant, You’re Crazy, Sir!,” 39.
- 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.
- 52 On subculture of bodybuilding, see Suzanne E. Hatty, *Masculinities, Violence, and Culture* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2000), 126. Atlas ads in *Stag*, July 1961, 83; *For Men Only*, July 1959, 5; *Male*, March 1967, 73. For a comparison with later movies which used the body as a “register of gender,” see Brian Caldwell, “Muscling in on the Movies: Excess and the Representation of the Male Body in Films of the 1980s and 1990s,” in *American Bodies: Cultural Histories of the Physique*, ed. Tim Armstrong (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1996), 136; and Christian G. Appy, *American Reckoning: The Vietnam War and Our National Identity* (New York, NY: Viking, 2015), 248.
- 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

- held “a tough job” while also enjoying “vigorous sports.” In *American Manhood*, January 1953, 6. On bodies and manhood, see Harriet Bradley, *Gender* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007), 155; and Connell, *Masculinities*, 45, 54.
- 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 Pulp,” 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.
- 58 Moxie in Griswold, 335. On Korean War POWs, see William Lindsay White, *The Captives of Korea: An Unofficial White Paper on the Treatment of War Prisoners* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1957); and Charles S. Young, *Name, Rank, and Serial Number: Exploiting Korean War POWs at Home and Abroad* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014). Young notes that “38 percent of 7,190 American POWs died” during the Korean War, p. 24.
- 59 Puller quoted in Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 363. On brainwashing films, see Dick, *The Screen Is Red*, 210; Matthew W. Dunne, “Homophobia, Housewives, and Hyper-masculinity: Gender and American Policymaking in the Nuclear Age,” in *The Routledge History of Gender, War, and the U.S. Military*, ed. Kara Dixon Vuic (London: Routledge, 2018), 106, and Klein, *Cold War Orientalism*, 36.
- 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 Effler, “Will Your Marriage Be Fertile?,” *Action*, March 1953, 14. The article noted that “Husband’s love often turns to hate if

- couple remains childless for years. It's usually his fault." Dr. Valentine W. Zetlin claimed that "many men stumble through the crisis of the wedding night like bulls in heat." In "What to Do on Your Wedding Night," *Challenge*, September 1955, 23. "Marriage Mischief" ad in *Stag*, April 1956, 71. J. K. Carter, "How Much Is 'Too Much Sex?,'" *Showdown*, September 1958, 13. The article highlighted one man who was married to a woman fifteen years younger and his worries over having intercourse so frequently, p. 47. "How to Taste the True Delights of Ideal Sexual Union" ad in *Cavalcade*, November 1959, 53. Henry Salton, "Virginity Can Cause Cancer!," *All Man*, April 1960, 20. R. Plimsoll Howard, "Ignorance Can Ruin Your Sex Life," *Battle Cry*, March 1964, 31. On pressures of male sexual performance, see Carolyn Herbst Lewis, *Prescribing Heterosexuality: Sexual Citizenship in the Cold War Era* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 65, 78.
- 62 On pains to prove manhood, see Timothy Beneke, *Proving Manhood: Reflections on Men and Sexism* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), 172. Inferiority in Kathleen Barry, *Unmaking War Remaking Men: How Empathy Can Reshape Our Politics, Our Soldiers and Ourselves* (Santa Rosa, CA: Phoenix Rising Press, 2011), 22. Sex guide ad in *Stag*, January 1964, 70. See *Man's Life*, September 1966, 51, for an ad on a "sex-manual" that offered "techniques of seduction that can open up a whole new world for you." Ogling in Ray Lunt, "Our Ridiculous Horse-and-Buggy Sex Laws," *Men*, March 1963, 68. Frigidity in ad for "Illustrated Sex Facts" in *Guy*, January 1959, 51. Anonymous, "My Wife Is a Nymphomaniac," *Battle Cry*, March 1960, 32–33. Persistence in Dr. Efreem Schoenhild, "25 Keys to Female Response," *True Action*, March 1967, 32, 62. Joseph Le Baron, "Glamour Girls Are a Pain in the Boudoir!" *Cavalcade*, November 1959, 16.
- 63 Cartoons in *Man's Magazine*, June 1965, 78; and *Man's Magazine*, November 1961, 30.
- 64 Lewis B. Puller, Jr., *Fortunate Son* (New York, NY: Grove Weidenfeld, 1991), 18. Fear and desire in Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949, 2010), 172. Bedroom barracudas in Edgar M. Sullivan, "'All-Out' Love Kittens," *For Men Only*, April 1967, 40. For an example of how these depictions promoted violence against women, see Joanna Bourke, *Rape: Sex, Violence, History* (Berkeley, CA: Shoemaker Hoard, 2007), 74; and Griffin, *Pornography and Silence*, 146.
- 65 Ultimate conquest in *Battle Cry*, July 58, 42. Frank S. Caprio, "How to Boost Your Sexual Batting Average," *Men*, December 1961, 22. "Inside for Men," *Male*, June 1966, 44. On depictions of tramps, see Alan M. Young, "Executive Suite Tramp," *Stag*, August 1966, 22. "Stag Confidential," *Stag*, March 1968, 6. A comic in *Stag*, February 1967, showed a man and woman at a nightclub table: "You seem like a nice girl, but frankly I'm looking for a tramp," p. 43. *Real Men* also ran a story in which the male author, in dating a girl who responded to a want ad, noted that "She wasn't an intellectual – but who wants to date an egghead!" Brandon Malone, "Wanted: Partner for Passion," *Real Men*, December 1960, 21, 46. Temporary virgins in D. Bogen, "Sex Lives of the Love Seekers," *Stag*, March 1968, 12.
- 66 Advisor Virginia Gildersleeve quoted in D'Ann Campbell, *Women at War with America: Private Lives in a Patriotic Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 37. Confused women in Billie Mitchell, "The Creation of Army Officers and the Gender Lie:

- Betty Grable or Frankenstein?," in *It's Our Military, Too! Women and the U.S. Military*, ed. Judith Hicks Stiehm (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1996), 40. Whores and lesbians in Cynthia Enloe, *Does Khaki Become You? The Militarisation of Women's Lives* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1983), 140.
- 67 *Battlefield*, November 1959, 52. Drill Instructors in Gustav Hasford, *The Short-Timers* (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1979), 4–5; and Carol Burke, *Camp All-American, Hanoi Jane, and the High-and-Tight* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2004), 13. On this type of language, see Ray Bourgeois Zimmerman, "Gruntspeak: Masculinity, Monstrosity and Discourse in Hasford's *The Short-Timers*," *American Studies* Vol. 40, No. 1 (Spring 1999): 66. Sexual harassment and slandering in D'Ann Campbell, "The Regimented Women of World War II," in *Women, Militarism, and War: Essays in History, Politics, and Social Theory*, eds. Jean Bethke Elshtain and Shelia Tobias (Savage, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1990), 114–115; and John Costello, *Virtue under Fire: How World War II Changed Our Social and Sexual Attitudes* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, and Company, 1985), 43. For a different take on military training that disassociates it from sexual violence, see Hugh McManners, *The Scars of War* (New York, NY: HarperCollins, 1993), 115.
- 68 On Cold War sex education, see Brian McAllister Linn, *Elvis's Army: Cold War GIs and the Atomic Battlefield* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), 280. Eroticizing women in Susan Gubar, "'This Is My Rifle, This Is My Gun': World War II and the Blitz on Women," 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), 240. See also Bruscano, *A Nation Forged in War*, 112. For an example of *Good Housekeeping* recommending how women should wear uniforms, and choose a "feminine coiffure," see Nancy Walker, ed., *Women's Magazines, 1940–1960: Gender Roles and the Popular Press* (Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1998), 35–37.
- 69 "GI Sex Instruction Films," *Battle Cry*, December 1955, 16. Charles Farrell, "The Failure of Mickey Mouse," *Battle Cry*, July 1958, 36. On Vietnam-era films, see Sue Sun, "Where the Girls Are: The Management of Venereal Disease by United States Military Forces in Vietnam," *Literature and Medicine* Vol. 23, No. 1 (Spring 2004): 66–87.
- 70 Viewing women as objects in Nicola Dibben, "Pulp, Pornography and Spectatorship: Subject Matter and Subject Position in Pulp's *This Is Hardcore*," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* Vol. 126, No. 1 (2001): 87. *Pleasure Primer* in *Challenge*, November 1958, 65. Photos of Brigitte Bardot in *Valor*, June 1959, 83. Stag stories for men in *Real Men*, December 1960, 63.
- 71 Cog in Smith, "How the Other Half Read," 214. Meat cutting in *Male*, July 1954, 79. Ads in *Battlefield*, May 1959, 3; *Male*, February 1965, 57; *Action for Men*, May 1964; *For Men Only*, March 1959, 9; and *Stag*, April 1956, 49.
- 72 Status striving in George Spindler and Louise Spindler, *The American Cultural Dialogue and Its Transmission* (New York, NY: The Falmer Press, 1990), 37. Artisans in Smith, *Hard-Boiled*, 63. "Investigate Accidents" in *Challenge*, November 1958, 49. "Don't Stay Just a 'Name' on the Payroll" ad in *Action*, May 1953, 5. "Be a Clerk all my life? Not Me!" ad in *Battle Cry*, February 1956, 3. IBM ad in *Saga*, June 1964, 71.

- 73 On ads selling English proficiency, see Smith, “How the Other Half Read,” 221–224. “Everyone takes Bill for a college man” in *For Men Only*, March 1959, 10. “How to Speak and Write Like a College Graduate” ad in *For Men Only*, February 1960, 53. Mistakes in English ad in *Male*, July 1954, 63.
- 74 High school ads *Battle Cry*, August 1962, 5; *Action for Men*, May 1964, 48; and *Men*, February 1968, 2.
- 75 “Exciting Outdoor Careers of Adventure,” *Action for Men*, May 1964, p. 37.
- 76 Delivery truck in James R. Ebert, *A Life in a Year: The American Infantryman in Vietnam, 1965–1972* (Novato, CA: Presidio, 1993), 4. Burning in John A. Wood, *Veteran Narratives and the Collective Memory of the Vietnam War* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2016), 19. Afraid in James Wright, *Enduring Vietnam: An American Generation and Its War* (New York, NY: St. Martin’s Press, 2017), 133. On these “soldier-adventurers,” see Peter S. Kindsvater, *American Soldiers: Ground Combat in the World Wars, Korea, and Vietnam* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2003), 189.
- 77 Battlefield and contest in Robert Strausz-Hupe, William R. Kintner, James E. Dougherty, and Alvin J. Cottrell, *Protracted Conflict* (New York, NY: Harper & Brothers, 1959), 29. For how some states dealt with the threat of communist subversion, see Cauter, *The Great Fear*, 70–71.
- 78 McCarthy quoted in Fried, *McCarthyism*, 80. Maryam Khalid notes how some critics linked the USSR threat to “unpredictably aggressive negative masculinity.” In *Gender, Orientalism, and the “War on Terror”: Representation, Discourse, and Intervention in Global Politics* (London: Routledge, 2017), 50.
- 79 Fanatical communists in Istvan Hildy, “Blood Bath in Budapest,” *Man’s Magazine*, April 1957, 12. Emile C. Schurmacher, “Red Murder of a US Diplomat,” *Stag*, January 1961, 26. Ivan Colt, “The Strange Russian City That Trains Fake Americans,” *True Action*, October 1961, 26. See also “Russia: Iowa in the Ukraine,” *Time*, 27 April 1959. Ed Hyde, “Russia’s Spy Fleet on Our Doorstep,” *Bluebook*, May 1965, 32. Mikhail Antonov, “My 20 Years with Moscow’s Secret Police,” *Sensation*, April 1959, 8.
- 80 David Mars, “Is Russia Planning a Submarine Pearl Harbor?,” *Stag*, July 1961, 33, 44. Seymour Freidin, “Mr. Terror: Boss of the K.G.B.,” *Stag*, March 1968, 27. See also Alex Seroff, “Stalin’s Secret Book of Death,” *Action*, May 1953, 11; and Kurt Koepfel, “Inside Moscow’s Mafia,” *Bluebook*, May 1966, 16.
- 81 Puppet in John Lamberton Harper, *The Cold War* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011), 105. For an alternative to this, see Irwin Carter, “The Coming War between Russia and Red China,” *Men*, December 1961, 20. On assumptions about China, see John Hellmann, *American Myth and the Legacy of Vietnam* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1986), 12; and James C. Thomson, Jr., “How Could Vietnam Happen?,” *The Atlantic*, 1 April 1968, who spoke of “a general perception of China-on-the-march,” p. 48. For a general overview, see Chen Jian, *Mao’s China and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001). Fred Sparks, “Red China: Will She Swallow the World?,” *Stag*, June 1959, 26, 28. See also Fred Sparks, “Butcher of Korea: Next Boss of Red China,” *Stag*, January 1967, 28.

- 82 On Chinese brainwashing and torture, see Kendell Foster Crossen, “The 1,000-to-1 Mission,” *Stag*, October 1959, 20. Chicom horde in Neil Turnbull, “Overkill Marauder,” *True Action*, March 1967, 36. Steven Tyler, “My 3 Months inside Russia and Red China,” *Stag*, August 1966, 21. Wellington Keye, “Mao’s Massacre Squads,” *Male*, Apr 1967, 41. For a more confident picture, see Don Warner, “Why Red China Doesn’t Dare Fight Us,” *Male*, August 1966, 22.
- 83 R. B. S. Shaw, “Let’s Scrap the Geneva Convention,” *Battle Cry*, October 1957, 22. The article was reprinted as “There’s Only One Rule for the Reds,” *Battle Cry*, February 1962, 26. On inability to trust the communists, see Marv Koeppel, “Phony Russia–Red China Split,” *Bluebook*, November 1965, 25.
- 84 Doolittle quoted in Brands, *The Devil We Knew*, 61. On savages, see Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*, 47. For a similar argument of American heroes no longer needing to play by the rules, see J. Richard Stevens, *Captain America, Masculinity, and Violence: The Evolution of a National Icon* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2015), 68.
- 85 Strausz-Hupe, 42.
- 86 Alf Sturgess, “‘Crazy Ché’: Guerrilla Czar of Cuba,” *Fury*, March 1961, 37, 66. On overestimating Che, see Douglas Porch, *Counterinsurgency: Exposing the Myths of the New Way of War* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 237. Crucial to national security in Appy, *American Reckoning*, 9.
- 87 Archer Scanlon, “The Secret Red ‘Subversion Clubs’ in Every U.S. Town,” *Male*, November 1967, 16. Maxwell Hamilton, “36 Hours That Wrecked Russia’s Greatest Spy Ring,” *For Men Only*, July 1959, 36. Glenn Infield, “The Hotshot CIA Pilot Who Kicked the Reds Out of Central America,” *Male*, February 1965, 28, 46. Abortionists in “Stag Confidential,” *Stag*, May 1964, 43. For an outlier and more sympathetic view from a *New York Times* correspondent, see Harrison Salisbury, “Russia’s Man on the Street,” *Male*, August 1960, 24.
- 88 Flailing in Lillian Hellman, *Scoundrel Time* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1976), 85. Iceberg from McCarthy quoted in Fried, *McCarthyism*, 76. Imminent war 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), 7. On the Cold War as a “continuous emergency,” see Andrew D. Grossman, *Neither Red nor Dead: Civilian Defense and American Political Development during the Early Cold War* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2001), 32.
- 89 McCarthy quoted in Halberstam, 54. Sexual anxieties in Osgerby, “Two-Fisted Tales,” 174.
- 90 On Marshall, see Thomas Doherty, *Cold War, Cool Medium: Television, McCarthyism, and American Culture* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2003), 189–204; and Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style*, 26–27. Ron Kovic, *Born on the Fourth of July* (New York, NY: Akashic, 1976, 2005), 70. Communism as an infectious agent in Young, *Name, Rank, and Serial Number*, 115.
- 91 Mark Davis, “The Red Plan to Conquer America,” *Real Men*, January 1957, 22. George Reis, “The Traitor GI Who Deals in Torture,” *Man’s Adventure*, September 1964, 19.

- 92 Psychosis in Paul Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age* (New York, NY: Pantheon, 1985), 21. On the bomb affecting military thinking, see James M. Gavin, *War and Peace in the Space Age* (London: Hutchinson, 1959), 97. On impact in the scientific community, see Jessica Wang, *American Science in an Age of Anxiety: Science, Anticommunism, and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 11, 13, 43. Sense of strategic vulnerability in Gretchen Heefner, *The Missile Next Door: The Minutemen in the American Heartland* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 47. On balancing fear and education in the nuclear era, see: Laura McEnaney, *Civil Defense Begins at Home: Militarization Meets Everyday Life in the Fifties* (Princeton, MA: Princeton University Press, 2000), 53; and Margot A. Henriksen, *Dr. Strangelove's America: Society and Culture in the Atomic Age* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), 97.
- 93 David A. Weiss, "Can the Hell Bomb Destroy the World?," *Real Adventure*, March 1955, 30. Allan J. Dickinger, "What Are Your Chances for Survival?," *Real War*, October 1958, 10. Iris Bristol in *Sir!*, July 1962, 25. Barracks Beauty, *True War*, September 1957, 23. Radiation sickness in "Men and Medicine," *Men*, May 1962, 44. Carrie Pitzulo notes how *Playboy* was offered as a "diversion from the anxieties of the Atomic Age." In *Bachelors and Bunnies: The Sexual Politics of Playboy* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 19.
- 94 Ray Lunt, "Should GI Commanders Control Nuclear Weapons," *Male*, February 1965, 18. See also C. K. Winston, Jr., "A Military Expert's Chilling Look at WWII," *For Men Only*, April 1967, 26. *Man's Life* illustratively decried "'push button' warfare advocates" who pointed to the "fragility of pilots" in arguing for more guided missiles. Glenn Willard, "Supermen for Supersonics," *Man's Life*, November 1952, 21.
- 95 Howard L. Oleck, "The Last War on Earth," *Real War*, October 1958, 39. On fears of World War III, see Masuda Hajimu, *Cold War Crucible: The Korean Conflict and the Postwar World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 70.
- 96 Emile C. Schurmacher, "The American General Russia Fears Most," *Stag*, December 1961, 16. Stone Age in Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 215. On LeMay, see also Halberstam, 357.
- 97 Ballsiness in Cuordileone, *Manhood and American Political Culture in the Cold War*, 201.
- 98 Damsels and multiple constructions in Stur, *Beyond Combat*, 18. See also Susan Jeffords, "Rape and the New World Order," *Cultural Critique* No. 19 (Autumn 1991): 204–205. Passive creatures in John V. H. Dippel, *War and Sex: A Brief History of Men's Urge for Battle* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus, 2010), 143. Sex objects in James C. Foust and Katherine A. Bradshaw, "Something for the Boys: Framing Images of Women in *Broadcasting Magazine* in the 1950s," *Journalism History* Vol. 22, No. 2 (Summer 2007): 97.
- 99 Haut, *Pulp Culture*, 106. See also Easthope, *What a Man's Gotta Do*, 42–43; and H. R. Hays, *The Dangerous Sex: The Myth of Feminine Evil* (New York, NY: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1964), 205. Predators in Bram Dijkstra, *Evil Sisters: The Threat of Female Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Culture* (New York, NY: Henry Holt, 1996), 216. A. I. Schutzer, "I Will

- Be Your Fraulein, Hugo Bleicher," *Battlefield*, July 1959, 27, 29. *Noir* thrillers in Hatty, *Masculinities, Violence, and Culture*, 175.
- 100 On history of Varga girls and pin-ups, see Charles G. Martignette and Louis K. Meisel, *The Great American Pin-Up* (New York, NY: Taschen, 1996), 22–27, 32–34; and Pendergast, *Creating the Modern Man*, 220–221. On Playmates, see Richard A. Kallan and Robert D. Brooks, "The Playmate of the Month: Naked But Nice," *Journal of Popular Culture* Vol. 8, No. 2 (September 1974): 329–330; Russell Miller, *Bunny: The Real Story of Playboy* (New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984), 78; and Halberstam, *The Fifties*, 575. On these depictions promoting "casual misogyny," see Pitzulo, 36.
 - 101 Grable and Hayworth in Robert B. Westbrook, *Why We Fought: Forging American Obligations in World War II* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2004), 75–79; and Frater-rigo, 19. Romantic escape and erotic versus wholesome in Costello, 79, 150.
 - 102 Hyman Goldberg, "Recipe for Cheesecake," *Man's Day*, March 1953, 36. See also *Man's Magazine*, April 1960, 28–29, on photographer Herb Flatow. On voyeurism, see Earle, *All Man!*, 11. Sexual act in Maria Elena Buszek, *Pin-up Grrls: Feminism, Sexuality, Popular Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 11. Invitation in Annette Kuhn, *The Power of the Image: Essays on Representation and Sexuality* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), 41–41. For an overview, see Joanne Meyerowitz, "Women, Cheesecake, and Borderline Material: Responses to Girlie Pictures in the Mid-Twentieth-Century U.S.," *Journal of Women's History* Vol. 8, No. 3 (Fall 1996): 9–35.
 - 103 "Racetack-curved" in *Male*, August 1964, 31. Karen in *Man's Magazine*, April 1957, 24. For a comparison with Australian pulps, see Ross Laurie, "Fantasy Worlds: The Depic-tion of Women and the Mating Game in Men's Magazines in the 1950s," *Journal of Australian Studies* Vol. 22, No. 56 (1998): 116–124.
 - 104 Varga in *Real*, March 1958, 27. Philip Wylie argued that there "was nothing wrong in the wish of a woman to become a sexually desirable object." *Generation of Vipers*, 64. Only much later did the pulps show models' fully exposed breasts, as in *Man's Epic*, March 1968, 27; and *Stag*, September 1968, 40.
 - 105 On innocent damsels needing protection, see Adam Parfrey, *It's a Man's World: Men's Adventure Magazines, The Postwar Pulps* (Los Angeles, CA: Feral House, 2003), 178; Laura Sjoberg, *Gender, War, and Conflict* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2014), 15; and Arthur Brittan, *Masculinity and Power* (New York, NY: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 59. Generosity in Tom Engelhardt, *The End of Victory Culture: Cold War America and the Disillusioning of a Generation* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 41. Saving French girls in W. J. Saber, "Strange Combine," *Stag*, July 1961, 20, 84. On a behind-the-lines mission to save nurses, see Bill Wharton, "The 13 Army Nurses in Lt. Duffy's Cave," *For Men Only*, June 1960, 27. For a similar story, see Bill Wharton, "Ambush!," *Man's Magazine*, December 1963, 37. In *Challenge's* September 1955 issue, the protagonist has to save a woman and girl from two other men made "frenzied by hunger, hatred and lust." Gerald Powell, "Lifeboat to Hell," 21.
 - 106 Richard Gallagher, *Male*, "Cage of Captive Women," November 1967, 32. For similar tales, see Mario Cleri, "Trapped Girls in the Riviera's Flesh Casino," *Male*, March 1967, 31;

- and Richard Gallagher, "Find the Kremlin's Blonde Nympho Hostage," *Male*, November 1966, 32.
- 107 J. Edgar Hoover, "Juvenile Delinquency: An Unconquered Frontier," *Educational Forum* Vol. 20 (November 1955): 46. J. Edgar Hoover, "Mothers . . . Our Only Hope," in Walker, *Women's Magazines*, 46–47. For a contemporary overview, see Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency* (New York, NY: The Commonwealth Fund, 1950). On parents' roles, see Nina Mackert, "'But Recall the Kind of Parents We Have to Deal with': Juvenile Delinquency, Independent Masculinity and the Government of Families in the Postwar U.S.," in Heinemann, 201. On war women challenging definitions of womanhood, see Sherna Berger Gluck, *Rosie the Riveter Revisited: Women, The War, and Social Change* (New York, NY: New American Library, 1987), 153.
- 108 Walter B. Miller, "Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency," *The Journal of Social Issues* Vol. 14, No. 3 (August 1958): 5. Subcultures in Gilbert, *A Cycle of Outrage*, 18; and Albert K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang* (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1955), 73. On sexuality and social class, see Jeanne Gardner, "Girls Who Sinned in Secret and Paid in Public: Romance Comics, 1949–1954," in *Comic Books and the Cold War, 1946–1962*, eds. Chris York and Rafael York (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2012), 94–95; and Barbara Ehrenreich, *Fear of Falling: The Inner Life of the Middle Class* (New York, NY: Pantheon, 1989), 24.
- 109 Teen pregnancy in Coontz, 43–45. Permissive in Philomena Mariani, "Law-and-Order Science," in *Constructing Masculinity*, eds. Maurice Berger, Brian Wallis, and Simon Watson (New York, NY: Routledge, 1995), 148.
- 110 Campbell, *Women at War with America*, 83. John Bodnar argues that the "call to women to enter wartime jobs was never meant to signal a change in traditional gender roles." *The "Good War" in American Memory*, 21. See also Coontz, 210; and Margaret R. Higgonet and Patrice L.-R. Higgonet, "The Double Helix," in Higgonet, Michel, Jenson, and Collins Weitz, 31.
- 111 Confusing definitions in Karen Anderson, *Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relations, and the Status of Women During World War II* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981), 64. On female identities being stretched, see Filene, *Him/Her/Self*, 177. On popular depictions of working women that suggested employment would not disrupt the family, see Maureen Honey, *Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class, Gender, and Propaganda during World War II* (Amherst, MA: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1984), 117. For a different view of ads reflecting women's independence, see Page Dougherty Delano, "Making Up for War: Sexuality and Citizenship in Wartime Culture," *Feminist Studies* Vol. 26, No. 1 (Spring 2000): 45.
- 112 Arnold Alexander, "The Young Girl Wolfpacks Who Terrorize Our Cities," *Men*, December 1961, 16, 19. William Ard, "Death Wore a Tight Bikini," *Men*, May 1962, 17. See also Brian McKeon, "Call Girls and Their Clients," *Sir!*, July 1962, 35, 61.
- 113 Barry Jamieson, "Housing Development Sex Parties," *Male*, August 1964, 18, 52.
- 114 Alex Austin, "Cycle Girl Gangs," *Stag*, November 1967, 20. Barry Jamieson, "Strange Bedroom Rampage of 1967's 'Beatnik Girls,'" *True Action*, January 1967, 12. Barry Jamieson, "Sex Revolt of Young Society Girls," *Male*, June 1966, 34.

- 115 Nymphomaniac Crystal Dana, "Every Night," *Male*, March 1967, 18. Archer Scanlon, "Calldoll Bait," *Ibid.*, 40. Noel Kraft, "Illegal Sex," *Stag*, March 1966, 13, 46. Daniel Olson, "All-or-Nothing Girls," *Male*, September 1966, 36. Among the key new findings, the author found that "Today's woman likes to make the decision on when to make love – and how," p. 37.
- 116 On the May Act and Victory girls, 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), 315–321; and Anderson, *Wartime Women*, 104. Frederic Lampron, "V-Girls," *Battle Cry*, November 1958, 18, 53. Parasites and vultures in Stuart N. James, "Off Limits," *Battle Cry*, February 1956, 12–13; and Don Davids, "Off Limits," *Battle Cry*, April 1956, 19. See also Matt Schultz, "The Most Vicious Town in the U.S.," *Man's Illustrated*, September 1965, 23, for a story on Biloxi outside Kessler Air Force Base, "an open sewer of a city that systematically suckers-and-saps our G.I.'s to the tune of \$1 million a month."
- 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.
- 118 Eric Volgner, "Dear John . . .," *Battle Cry*, July 1958, 34. Defending democracy in Gluck, 11. Melissa A. McEuen takes on what qualified women as "good citizens and team players" in a time of war in *Making War, Making Women: Femininity and Duty on the American Home Front, 1941–1945* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 2011), 2, 7–8, 57, 75, 118. On woman as betrayer in Vietnam, see Jerry Lembcke, *Hanoi Jane: War, Sex & Fantasies of History* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010), 34, 78.
- 119 Bob Walters, "Army Nurses . . . Saints or Sinners?," *Battle Cry*, April 1956, 26. "GI Tip Sheet," *Battlefield*, August 1958, 11. The piece admitted, though, that "New tests show that women in uniform are moral after all. . . The 'shack-up' stories originated in the minds of GIs who got pushed out of soft jobs by the lady soldiers."
- 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.
- 122 Socialite in Alex Austin, "What Women Look for in a Good Lover," *Stag*, February 1967, 40, 46. Dr. Grantham Powell, "That Operation," *Real Adventure*, March 1955, 39, 69. See also Carson Hill, "Surgery and Your Sex Life," *Sir!*, July 1962, 10.

- 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.
- 137 Caswell Stuart, "Could Your Wife Go Lesbian?," *Cavalcade*, May 1959, 37. Brandon Malone, "What Are Your Chances of Marrying a Lesbian?," *Battle Cry*, March 1964, 20. Sandra Block, "I Married a Homosexual," *Man's Peril*, September 1966, 14. "Inside for Men," *Male*, February 1965, 44. See also *Stag*, December 1966, 36 for a short piece on shock therapy.
- 138 Lester David, "The Sex Change," *Man's Day*, March 1953, 15–16. Anthony Armstrong, "Women Who Became Men," *Sir!*, July 1962, 16. On sex reassignment surgery, see Paradis, 151; and Christine Jorgensen, *Christine Jorgensen: A Personal Autobiography* (San Francisco, CA: Cleis, 1967, 2000).
- 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.

- 141 *To Be Takei*, directed by Jennifer M. Kroot (Dodgeville Films, 2014). Ads in *American Manhood*, February 1953, 60; *American Manhood*, January 1953, 57; *American Manhood*, May 1953, 80. On the photographers, see Vince Aletti, *Bruce of Los Angeles* (New York, NY: Antinuous Press, 2008); Reed Massengill, *The Male Ideal: Lon of New York and the Masculine Physique* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 2008); and Richard Meyer, *Outlaw Representation: Censorship & Homosexuality in Twentieth-Century American Art* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2002), 170–179. Maladjustment in “Strength and Health,” *One*, June 1953, 5–6. *One* was one of the first national magazines in the United States aimed at a homosexual audience.
- 142 Andrea Friedman, *Citizenship in Cold War America: The National Security State and the Possibilities of Dissent* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2014), 34. On editors, see Hooven, *Beefcake*, 58, 60. Sexual inquisition in Dean, *Imperial Brotherhood*, 95. For an overview, see David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2004).
- 143 Justin David Suran, “Coming Out against the War: Antimilitarism and the Politicization of Homosexuality in the Era of Vietnam,” *American Quarterly* Vol. 53, No. 3 (September 2001): 453, 456–458. Alan Bérubé argues that World War II helped establish “the first signs of a continuous gay political movement and press” in the United States. *Coming Out under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War II* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 273.
- 144 Taking charge in *Look*, 8–9. On pressures related to sex, see May, *Homeward Bound*, 116. Gregory Paul, “How Women Rate Their Menfolk,” *Man's Life*, September 1966, 32.
- 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

- 1 “Out of This World,” *Stag*, March 1968, 8.
- 2 Reinforcing masculinity and encouraging behavior in Michele Adams and Scott Coltrane, “Boys and Men in Families: The Domestic Production of Gender, Power, and Privilege,” in *Handbook of Studies on Men & Masculinities*, eds. Michael S. Kimmel, Jeff Hearn, and R. W. Connell (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2005), 236–237. On how comics also perpetuated the idea that failing to engage with danger was “unmanly,” see Jon Judy and Brad Palmer, “Boys on the Battlefield: Kid Combatants as Propaganda in World War II-Era Comic 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), 71.
- 3 Vietnam vet Michael Mace quoted in Michael Takiff, *Brave Men, Gentle Heroes: American Fathers and Sons in World War II and Korea* (New York, NY: William Morrow, 2003), 149.

- W. D. Ehrhart, *Vietnam–Perkasie: A Combat Marine Memoir* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1983), 7.
- 4 Multiple versions in Sara Ruddick, “Notes toward a Feminist Peace Politics,” in *Gendering War Talk*, eds. Miriam Cooke and Angela Woollacott (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 111. See also Heather Marie Stur, *Beyond Combat: Women and Gender in the Vietnam War Era* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 143–145. Emulation in Arthur Brittan, *Masculinity and Power* (New York, NY: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 84. On the power of war stories, see Lloyd B. Lewis, *The Tainted War: Culture and Identity in Vietnam War Narratives* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 42–44.
- 5 Escape in John V. H. Dippel, *War and Sex: A Brief History of Men’s Urge for Battle* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus, 2010), 171. On PTS, see Sheena M. Eagan Chamberlin, “Emasculated by Trauma: A Social History of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, Stigma, and Masculinity,” *The Journal of American Culture* Vol. 35, No. 4 (December 2012): 358; and David M. Earle, *All Man! Hemingway, 1950s Men’s Magazines, and the Masculine Persona* (Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 2009), 79. Difference between survival and annihilation in Mark Gerzon, *A Choice of Heroes: The Changing Faces of American Manhood* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1992), 31.
- 6 Protect and serve in Laura Sjoborg, *Gender, War, and Conflict* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2014), 70. On the need for a positive view of the American past, see Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 279. On more militaristic views of World War II appearing in 1960s popular culture, see Lisa M. Munday, *American Militarism and Anti-militarism in Popular Media, 1945–1970* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2012), 127, 136–137. Links between militarism and masculinity in Paul R. Higate, *Military Masculinities: Identity and the State* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), 113.
- 7 Leon Lazarus, “Let’s Stop Kicking Around America’s GIs,” *Stag*, July 1966, 36, 66. Embodiment in Roland Littlewood, “Military Rape,” *Anthropology Today* Vol. 13, No. 2 (April 1997): 10. TV series in J. Fred MacDonald, *Television and the Red Menace: The Video Road to Vietnam* (New York, NY: Praeger, 1985), 111–115.
- 8 Bruce Springsteen, *Born to Run* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2016), 3. Would-be soldiers in Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1987), 10. Models and planes in Bo Hathaway, *A World of Hurt* (New York, NY: Taplinger, 1981), 30. Imaginary wars in Tom Engelhardt, *The End of Victory Culture: Cold War America and the Disillusioning of a Generation* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 82. On manhood as something “to be seized by long and arduous testing,” see David D. Gilmore, *Manhood in the Making: Cultural Concepts of Masculinity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 19.
- 9 Bob Schwalberg, “Baptism of Fire,” *Climax*, March 1953, 45. Letter from Virginia Military Institute graduate Charles Dayhuff in *Saga*, May 1960, 92.
- 10 Sylvester Fourre, “Crash Out at St. Lo,” *Man’s Epic*, November 1967, 36. This compared with earlier article by Kurt Vaughn, “Vietnam Bloodbath – The Glory and the Despair,” 17. Puzo quoted in Adam Palfrey, *It’s a Man’s World: Men’s Adventure Magazines, The Postwar Pulps* (Los Angeles, CA: Feral House, 2003), 141. Myths in Slotkin, 88. Framing

- in Ron Eyerman, Todd Madigan, and Magnus Ring, “Cultural Trauma, Collective Memory and the Vietnam War,” *Croatian Political Science Review* Vol. 54, No. 1–2 (2017): 20.
- 11 Scrimmage in Ralph LaRossa, *Of War and Men: World War II in the Lives of Fathers and Their Families* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 83. Gallup and *Harper's* in Munday, 109, 118. Sanitized in Hugh McManners, *The Scars of War* (New York, NY: HarperCollins, 1993), 8.
 - 12 On the many obstacles to communicating the veteran war experience, see the final chapter, “The Real War Will Never Get in the Books,” of Paul Fussell, *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1989), 267–297.
 - 13 Editorial director Noah Sarlat in *Stag*, April 1968, 4. On Kaylin, see Robert Deis and Wyatt Doyle, eds., *He-Men, Bag Men & Nympho: Classic Men's Adventure Stories by Walter Kaylin* (Philadelphia, PA: New Texture, 2013). On Burma, see Walter Kaylin, “Mud, Maggots, and Massacre,” *Male*, August 1964, 21. On achieving masculinity through “vicarious experience and emulation,” see James Gilbert, *Men in the Middle: Searching for Masculinity in the 1950s* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 3.
 - 14 Kaylin quoted in Randall Beach, “‘The Great Walter Kaylin’ Has Been Rediscovered,” *New Haven Register*, 20 October 2013. David Saunders quoted in Parfrey, 43. On majority of soldiers not seeing combat, see Thomas Bruscino, *A Nation Forged in War: How World War II Taught Americans to Get Along* (Knoxville, TN: The University Press of Tennessee, 2010), 14.
 - 15 Survey data in Samuel A. Stouffer *et al.*, *The American Soldier: Combat and Its Aftermath, Volume II* (Princeton, MA: Princeton University Press, 1949), 631–632. Vietnam vet quoted in Peter Marin, “What the Vietnam Vets Can Teach Us,” *The Nation*, 27 November 1982, 560. World War II vet quoted in Gerald F. Linderman, *The World within War: America's Combat Experience in World War II* (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1997), 362. On Korea, 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), 1.
 - 16 Democratization in 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), 2. On what war did to those who fought in it, see John Bodnar, *The “Good War” in American Memory* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 2.
 - 17 Rone Lowe, “Night Jump!” *Man's World*, September 1957, 38, 56. Walter Kaylin, “Guadalcanal,” *Men*, July 1964, 18, 65. Howard L. Oleck, “Invasion!,” *Battle Cry*, February 1956, 8, 63. Oleck was part of the Historical Section of the US General Staff in Europe.
 - 18 Lemuel C. Sheperd, Jr., “The Terrible Assault of Sugar Loaf Hill,” *Battlefield*, January 1959, 16, 71. For an equally heroic tale, in which marines “fought their way through hell to raise the Stars and Stripes,” see L. E. Owen, “Mt. Suribachi – Iwo's Bloody Acre,” *Bluebook*, October 1965, 30.
 - 19 Letter from veteran Burton Binder in “Message Center,” *Battlefield*, January 1959, 8. Sentimental military, quoting Christian Appy, in Amy Rutenberg, “Service by Other

- Means: Changing Perceptions of Military Service and Masculinity in the United States, 1940–1973,” 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), 166. Lillian Hellman argued that this happened much earlier, as “America in the early 1940’s fell in love with total war; and no wonder. The war was the best thing that had happened to this country in a long time.” In *Scoundrel Time* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1976), 13.
- 20 Survey data in Stouffer *et al.*, 631. Vets quoted in Myron Brenton, *The American Male* (New York, NY: Coward-McCann, 1966), 15. Myths in Eric J. Leed, *No Man’s Land: Combat and Identity in World War I* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 117.
- 21 W. J. Saber, “Blow the Bridge to the D-Day Bridgehead!” *Stag*, January 1964, 24. Inconsequential in Pash, 199. See also Dippel, *War and Sex*, 245.
- 22 Paratrooper in “Male Call,” *Male*, January 1952, 96. Medals in “It’s in the Bag,” *Real*, March 1958, 8.
- 23 Puzo quoted in Parfrey, 17. Ambush letter in “Out of the Stag Bag,” *Stag*, July 1961, 82. For similar personal stories, see “Letters,” *Saga*, March 1956, 6; *Man’s Illustrated*, November 1963, 10; “Male Call,” *Male*, August 1960, 83; and “Out of the Stag Bag,” *Stag*, January 1961, 84.
- 24 David M. Earle, *Re-covering Modernism: Pulps, Paperbacks, and the Prejudice of Form* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 106. Dexter in “Bluebook Bouquets and Brickbats,” *Bluebook*, August 1968, 10. For a similar request, see “Letters to the Editor,” *Man’s Magazine*, December 1963, 6. Decent chick in “Sound Off,” *Saga*, April 1967, 4. James Bond in “Real Letters,” *Real*, February 1967, 5. Another letter writer in the same unit wrote in to say that the last issue had been “read by half the guys in the squadron.”
- 25 Censors in “Truely Yours,” *True*, November 1967, 2. Comics in “Sound Off,” *Saga*, February 1967, 4. Young men in “Bluebook Bouquets and Brickbats,” *Bluebook*, June 1968, 10.
- 26 On pressuring Congress, see “Veteran’s Newsletter,” *True War*, September 1957, 4. “Ask Adventure,” *Adventure*, October 1957, 81.
- 27 “The Service Bureau,” *Real War*, February 1958, 10; and *Real War*, October 1957, 8. “Whatever Happened to —?” *Battle Cry*, April 1956, 39. Robert LaGuardia, “‘Easy Pay’ Auto Gyps Who Rob Our GIs,” *Stag*, March 1968, 23. See also “Avoid GI Sucker Traps,” *Battle Cry*, July 1958, 10.
- 28 On D-Day coming to symbolize American values, see Michael R. Dolski, *D-Day Remembered: The Normandy Landings in American Collective Memory* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 2016), 3. Robert Leckie, “Coral Inferno Called Saipan,” *Man’s Illustrated*, November 1963, 33. One Vietnam veteran recalled reading Tregaskis’s *Gualdocal Canal Diary* seven times as a child. In Richard Stacewicz, *Winter Soldiers: An Oral History of the Vietnam Veterans against the War* (New York, NY: Twayne, 1997), 51. Norman Mailer, “The Gook’s Last Stand,” *True Adventures*, October 1958, 24.
- 29 Ernie Pyle, “D-Day Bloodbath,” *Bluebook*, May 1965, 42. Excerpt from James Clavell, “King Rat,” in *Male*, January 1964, 21. S. L. A. Marshall, “The Forgotten GIs Who Saved

- D-Day," *Saga*, June 1964, 9, 80. See also S. L. A. Marshall, "First G.I. Wave on Omaha Beach," *War*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1964): 84.
- 30 Stephen E. Ambrose, *Band of Brothers: E Company, 506th Regiment, 101st Airborne, from Normandy to Hitler's Eagle's Nest* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 1992), 224. Dolski, 68. It seems worth asking how much "moral superiority" truly is a determinant of combat motivation. On this, see Peter G. Bourne, *Men, Stress, and Vietnam* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1970), 40.
- 31 James Neal Harvey, "Who Says We Won't Come Back?" *Fury*, April 1959, 28, 67.
- 32 Robert C. Doyle, *Voices from Captivity: Interpreting the American POW Narrative* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1994), 3–5, 9, 26–28. Brenda M. Boyle, "Rescuing Masculinity: Captivity, Rescue and Gender in American War Narratives," *The Journal of American Culture* Vol. 34, No. 2 (June 2011): 158.
- 33 J. M. Jones, "The Three Who Fleed Mooseburg's Escape-Proof Stalag," *Male*, August 1960, 17. David Mars, "Our Top WWII Breakout King," *War*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1964): 26. Capt. "Bustout" in Alex Austin, "The Yank Who Led WWII's Biggest POW Escape," *Stag*, January 1964, 16. See also Robert F. Dorr, "P.O.W. Escape," *Man's Magazine*, October 1966, 24.
- 34 Mario Cleri, "We Go at Dawn," *Male*, February 1965, 15–17, 95–101.
- 35 Mark Sufrin, "The Ranger Raid to Save 512 Dying Yanks," *True Action*, October 1961, 16. Collective glory in Robert Jay Lifton, *Home from the War: Vietnam Veterans: Neither Victims nor Executioners* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 1973), 25. Control in Linderman, *The World within War*, 9. On superhuman strength as part of a "revenge fantasy," see John Hellmann, "Rambo's Vietnam and Kennedy's New Frontier," in *Inventing Vietnam: The War in Film and Television*, ed. Michael Anderegg (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1991), 140; and 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): 57.
- 36 Mark Sufrin, "Deadliest Yank Rifleman of All Time," *Male*, February 1965, 22, 75, 77.
- 37 On the 101st in the Bulge, see Laird Travis, "Slaughter in the Snow!," *True War*, September 1957, 12, 51. *Male* also shared an autobiographical account on the heroic stand of twenty-seven men who protected the entire right flank of the US First Army during the critical battle. Lt. William Forrest Dawson, "Give Each Man Four Grenades," *Male*, July 1954, 28. Howard Cohn, "The General Who Parachuted into Hell," *Guy*, January 1959, 19.
- 38 On links to the frontier, see John Hellmann, *American Myth and the Legacy of Vietnam* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1986), 44; and Philip D. Beidler, *Late Thoughts on an Old War: The Legacy of Vietnam* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 2004), 133. On Kennedy, see Michael McClintock, *Instruments of Statecraft: U.S. Guerrilla Warfare, Counterinsurgency, and Counterterrorism, 1940–1990* (New York, NY: Pantheon, 1992), 180.
- 39 Survey data from D. M. Mantell's 1974 *True Americanism: Green Berets and War Resisters* as quoted in Richard Holmes, *Acts of War: The Behavior of Men in Battle* (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1985), 93–94. On Green Berets reaffirming their faith "in their own

- omnipotence and invulnerability,” see Bourne, 113–114. For an article on the military’s elite US Army Strike Command, see Walter Wager, “The Army’s Fast, Tough, Elite Specialists in ‘Instant Hell,’” *Men*, May 1962, 13.
- 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.
- 41 William V. Horn, “I Was a Commando Raider!” *Adventure*, October 1957, 13–14, 76. Jake Dalton, “Lt. Karl Timmerman’s Crash-through to Remagen Bridge,” *Valor*, June 1959, 18. For a similar tale about a “rampaging U.S. Ranger,” see John Drozen, “Destroy That Bloody Bridge at Coblenz,” *Male*, August 1964, 36. On masculine qualities, see Donald Spoto, *Camerado: Hollywood and the American Man* (New York, NY: New American Library, 1978), 28; and 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. Steven Cohan argues that heroism in battle often was viewed as a “masquerade” by soldiers themselves. *Masked Men: Masculinity and the Movies in the Fifties* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1997), 104.
- 42 *Battle Cry*, for instance, ran a “None But the Bravest” series that showcased soldiers like paratrooper James Towle, who demonstrated “extreme heroism” by single-handedly attacking five German tanks during Operation Market Garden in World War II. In their story on recipient Carl V. Sheridan, *Stag* described the fatally wounded private first class from Maryland as “a hell of a lot tougher than those old-time knights you read about.” Richard T. Wallinghurst, “The Epic of Jim Towle,” *Battle Cry*, July 1958, 24. Glenn Infield, “Gaspape-and-Guts Medal of Honor GI,” *Stag*, September 1966, 16, 84. See also *Man’s Action*, May 1966, which ran a story on the Third Infantry Division winning the most medals of honor in World War II. Lee O. Miller, “Combat History: Third Division,” 22.
- 43 Glenn Infield, “Awarded for Singular Bravery,” *Stag*, July 1966, 16. On Harmon, see Thomas R. Brooks, *The War North of Rome: June 1944–May 1945* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 1996), 83–84. For similar stories, see J. P. Fried, “One-Man Suicide Squad,” *Man’s Magazine*, February 1967, 36; and Bruce Jacobs, “I’ll Kill Japs Until I Die,” *Man’s Illustrated*, July 1965, 42.
- 44 David Fax, “Captain Bayonet: America’s Greatest Cold Steel Fighter” *War*, Vol. 1 No. 1 (1964): 71, 73–75.
- 45 Transcending motivations in Robert McDowell, “A Rare Moment for All of Us,” *The Hudson Review* Vol. 52, No. 2 (Summer 1999): 347. Citizen heroes from *The Washington Times* praise for Tom Brokaw, *The Greatest Generation* (New York, NY: Random House, 1998), inside front cover of trade paperback edition. On the strength of stereotypes, 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), 5.
- 46 “Stag Confidential,” *Stag*, September 1968, 6. Colonel Theodore Bank quoted in Jarvis, 69. On toughness and masculinity, see LaRossa, 108. Control in Earle, *All Man!*, 13.
- 47 Glenn Infield, “Hell-and-Back Air Hero of Midway Island,” *Stag*, July 1961, 16, 54. Newton Axelrod, “One-Man Army Who Drove a German Regiment Off Mt. Rotundo,”

- Men*, March 1963, 18, 73. On Britt, who lost his right arm below the elbow, see Jack C. Mason, "My Favorite Lion, Maurice Britt," *Army*, May 2008, 71–76.
- 48 Mark Sufrin, "Like Hell I'll Surrender," *Men*, December 1961, 24, 87. On Miller, see Stephen Harding, *The Castaway's War: One Man's Battle against Imperial Japan* (Boston, MA: Da Capo Press, 2016).
- 49 Yellow in John Dower, *War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York, NY: Pantheon, 1986), 162. E. B. Sledge, *With the Old Breed: At Peleliu and Okinawa* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1981), 148. For a similar treatment on "insensate hatred," see William Manchester, *Goodbye, Darkness: A Memoir of the Pacific War* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1979), 64.
- 50 McFadden quoted in John C. McManus, *The Deadly Brotherhood: The American Combat Soldier in World War II* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1998), 175.
- 51 Animals from Okinawa veteran John Moore, quoted in McManus, 175. C. L. Morehead, "It Took More Than Guts . . . Iwo Jima!," *Battle Cry*, April 1956, 34, 36.
- 52 Staff Sergeant Lawrence M. Ashman, "ROK Leathernecks," *Action*, May 1953, 18–19. On American views of their South Korean counterparts, see: T. R. Fehrenbach, *This Kind of War: The Classic Korean War Story* (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 1994), 149, 164; and Stanley Sandler, *The Korean War: No Victors, No Vanquished* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1999), 78–79. Kenneth E. Hamburger holds a more sympathetic view in *Leadership in the Crucible: The Korean War Battles of Twin Tunnels and Chipyong-Ni* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2003), 39.
- 53 Glenn Infield, "Battling Lepers of Vietnam," *Male*, January 1967, 28. Americans views on the AVRN in Christian G. Appy, *American Reckoning: The Vietnam War and Our National Identity* (New York, NY: Viking, 2015), 127; and Robert K. Brigham, *ARVN: Life and Death in the South Vietnamese Army* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2006), 83.
- 54 Rasmus quoted in Studs Terkel, *The Good War: An Oral History of World War Two* (New York, NY: Pantheon, 1984), 38–39. See also Rachel Louise Moran, *Governing Bodies: American Politics and the Shaping of the Modern Physique* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 67. Personal interests in Bodnar, 65. On military conceptions of manhood, see James Penner, *Pinks, Pansies, and Punks: The Rhetoric of Masculinity in American Literary Culture* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2011), 72. Masculinity as an achievement in Candace West and Don H. Zimmerman, "Doing Gender," in *The Gendered Society Reader*, 2nd ed., ed. Michael S. Kimmel (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2004), 151.
- 55 Edward Linn, "The Ballad of Rodger Young," *Saga*, March 1956, 13. "The Ballard of 'Rodger Young': An Infantry Private Who Became a Hero Inspires a Stirring New Song," *Life*, 5 March 1945, 111–114.
- 56 Audie Murphy, "The Day I Cried," *Battle Cry*, August 1956, 16–17, 46–47. Murphy in Earle, *All Man!*, 79–82. Strength versus weapons in Joshua S. Goldstein, *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 165–166.
- 57 William J. Lederer, "O'Toole and the Missing Jap Fleets," *Real*, March 1958, 39. On boys suffering anxiety, see Peter G. Filene, *Him/Her/Self: Gender Identities in Modern America*, 3rd ed.

- (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 104. Vulnerable to charges in James Gilligan, "Culture, Gender, and Violence: 'We Are Not Women,'" in Kimmel, *Ibid.*, 431. Governed by shame in E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1993), 52.
- 58 Farrell Cross, "The Yankee Misfit Who Conquered China," *Guy*, January 1959, 37, 70. "Freckle-faced" hero in Martin Sol, "Great Raid on Japan's '30 Ship Harbor,'" *Men*, July 1964, 34.
- 59 Military doctors in "Last Minute Memo for Men," *For Men Only*, July 1959, 30. Mark Sufrin, "The Zany Pole Who Became Our Deadliest Commando," *Male*, February 1962, 16. Monro MacCloskey, "The World War II Mission That Made Heroes out of 'Gutless GIs,'" *Saga*, August 1965, 12, 14–15.
- 60 Munday, 111. On women in Korea, see Brian McAllister Linn, *Elvis's Army: Cold War GIs and the Atomic Battlefield* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), 62–63. Service numbers in Jeanne Holm, *Women in the Military: An Unfinished Revolution*, rev. ed. (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1992), 149. For an excellent overview of women serving in Korea and during the Cold War, see chapter 12. On the often unexamined role of African Americans serving in Korea, see Daniel Widener, "Seoul City Sue and the Bugout Blues: Black American Narratives of the Forgotten War," in *Afro Asia: Revolutionary Political Connections between African Americans and Asian Americans*, eds. Fred Ho and Bill V. Mullen (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 55–87.
- 61 Clay Blair, Jr., "We Walk Back or Die," *Man's Magazine*, November 1960, 34, 85. On sacrifice, see Michael Rowlands, "The Role of Memory in the Transmission of Culture," *World Archaeology* Vol. 25, No. 2 (October 1993): 146.
- 62 Arnold M. Lanceford, "Greater Love Hath No Man," *Battle Cry*, November 1958, 23, 43. Separate from society in Jonathan Mitchell, *Revisions of the American Adam: Innocence, Identity and Masculinity in Twentieth-Century America* (New York, NY: Continuum, 2011), 7. On "sisters," see Rada Iveković, "Women, Nationalism and War: 'Make Love Not War,'" *Hypatia* Vol. 8, No. 4 (Autumn 1993): 121; and Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 133. Of course, some women also found a special form of comradeship in the armed forces. See Jane Waller and Michael Vaughan-Rees, *Women in Wartime: The Role of Women's Magazines, 1939–1945* (London: MacDonald, 1987), 123.
- 63 John Ketwig, . . . and a Hard Rain Fell: A GI's True Story of War in Vietnam (Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks, 2002), 47. Philip Caputo, *A Rumor of War* (New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1977), xvii. For a similar take on kinship, see Micheal Clodfelter, *Mad Minutes and Vietnam Months: A Soldier's Memoir* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1988), 38. Impeachment in Linderman, 263.
- 64 Pyle quoted in Elshtain, *Women and War*, 21. Murphy quoted in Linderman, 297. Sharing fears in Stouffer *et al.*, 202. Sanitized in McManners, 8. Depersonalization in John Ellis, *The Sharp End: The Fighting Man in World War II* (New York, NY: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1980), 290.
- 65 Jack Lasco, "'Commando' Kessler – the Sergeant York of W.W. II," *Bluebook*, November 1965, 37, 39.

- 66 Docile domesticity in Rotundo, 224. Sociology professor Willard Waller 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), 34.
- 67 Lieut. Fremont Piercefield, "Toughest Korea Duty," *Man's Life*, November 1952, 24, 54.
- 68 Stouffer *et al.*, 87. Replacements in Fussell, 66; and Ellis, 305. Killing and dying in Samuel Hynes, *The Soldiers' Tale: Bearing Witness to Modern War* (New York, NY: Penguin, 1997), 126. Dehumanization in Kathleen Barry, *Unmaking War, Remaking Men: How Empathy Can Reshape Our Politics, Our Soldiers and Ourselves* (Santa Rosa, CA: Phoenix Rising Press, 2011), 6.
- 69 On clean and whole bodies, see Michael C. C. Adams, *The Best War Ever: America and World War II* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 13. See also Jonathan Shay, *Achilles in Vietnam: Combat Trauma and the Undoing of Character* (New York, NY: Atheneum, 1994), 10.
- 70 Expectations in Chamberlin, "Emasculated by Trauma," 359. On combat trauma and its relationship to gender, see Goldstein, 264.
- 71 R. C. Channon, "A Psychologist Looks at G.I. Marriage Problems," *Action*, May 1953, 22, 25.
- 72 M. L. Greene, "The Enemy Within – The Scourge of the Silent Killer," *Real Combat Stories*, June 1964, 28. Mike Lombardo, "Are Heroes Psycho?," *Battle Attack*, May 1957, 9.
- 73 Sense of vulnerability in Bodnar, 29. Loss of dignity in Peter S. Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers: Ground Combat in the World Wars, Korea, and Vietnam* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2003), 47. For a similar treatment from Civil War veterans, see Stephen W. Berry III, *All That Makes a Man: Love and Ambition in the Civil War South* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2003), 174–175.
- 74 Robert Benney, "Shrapnel Wound: Left Eye," *Male*, January 1952, 32–33. Thomas Gallagher, "What Makes a Hero?" *Saga*, August 1965, 39, 43, 86. Sledge, 157.
- 75 Chandler Price, "The Fighting Slobs of Peleliu," *Fury*, April 1959, 38. Len Simmons, "We Got Killed at Kasserine," *Battle Cry*, April 1956, 14.
- 76 Howard L. Oleck, "Anzio: The War's Biggest Stalemate," *Battle Cry*, July 1958, 12. Wynford Vaughan-Thomas, "Who Threw 40,000 GI's Down the Drain?," *Men*, December 1961, 12. For a similar storyline, see Emile C. Schurmacher, "Desperate Stand at Huertgen Forest," *Stag*, January 1964, 38.
- 77 Puzo quoted in Parfrey, *It's a Man's World*, 10. On GIs not seeing Korea as a "limited war," see Fehrenbach, 425. On suffering of Koreans, including American rape, see John Tirman, *The Deaths of Others: The Fate of Civilians in America's Wars* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011), 105. Questioning "victory" in Pash, *In the Shadow of the Greatest Generation*, 222.
- 78 Charles and Eugene Jones, "This Is Combat," *Battlefield*, August 1958, 26, 30. Frank D. Selvin, "We Fought with Our Fists," *Real Men*, January 1957, 26, 51.
- 79 Jim Yeager, "The Day They Massacred POW's," *Battlefield*, July 1959, 18. "The Look," *Battle Cry*, February 1956, 40. In "Hell Was Never Like This!" author Ted Marks wrote on the fear and pain of American GIs fighting on Triangle Hill. One medic recalled not having enough stretchers to carry the badly wounded off the battlefield, his comrades "perfect targets" for the Chinese. "When I say that blood flowed down that hill, I mean it

- literally; blood of men being slaughtered contrary to all rules of warfare.” *Battle Attack*, May 1957, 32.
- 80 Wally’s tale in Shailer Upton Lawton, “The Male Body,” *Challenge*, November 1958, 22. See also Louis Berg, “Castration: The Story of a Wounded G.I.,” *Man’s Magazine*, April 1957, 14; and H. B. Couth, “Hush Hush Purple Heart,” *Real Adventure*, March 1955, 6. On the role of women in dealing with men’s wartime disabilities, 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): 550.
- 81 Hyperrealism in John Strausbaugh, “Oh, Those Pulp Days of ‘Weasels Ripped My Flesh,’” *New York Times*, 9 December 2004. On modernism, see Earle, *Re-covering Modernism*, 3–6. Mort Künstler art accompanying Richard Gallagher, “The Island of Sea Nymphs Who Lived with PT-Boat 629,” *Male*, December 1962, 12–13. Mort Künstler, cover art, *Male*, January 1964.
- 82 On Minney, see Thomas Ziegler, “The Sensational Art of Bruce Minney,” *Illustration* Vol. 10, No. 4 (Winter 2013): 34–76. Bruce Minney art accompanying Glenn Infield, “Panhandle’s Ride-’Em-Cowboy Charge to Save Co. C,” *Stag*, February 1967, 18–19. Bruce Minney art accompanying Mario Cleri, “2,000-Mile Jungle Breakout from the Amazon’s Captive Girl Pen,” *Male*, April 1967, 12–13.
- 83 Obituary, Colonel Charles Waterhouse, *The Star-Ledger*, 18 November 2013. Rudy Nappi art accompanying Ted Stoil, “Two-Month Island Women Furlough of AWOL Sgt. O’Neil,” *For Men Only*, February 1960, 12–13. Robert Deis and Wyatt Doyle, eds., *Pollen’s Women: The Art of Samson Pollen* (Philadelphia, PA: New Texture, 2018). Samson Pollen art accompanying Martin Fass, “The GI Vanishing Artist of Pyongyang,” *Male*, February 1962, 12–13. “Norman Saunders in Parfrey, 43–51. For a list of artists, see Max Allan Collins and George Hagenauer, *Men’s Adventure Magazines in Postwar America* (London: Taschen, 2004), 491–505.
- 84 Senator Millard Tydings (Democrat, Maryland) quoted in Masuda Hajimu, *Cold War Crucible: The Korean Conflict and the Postwar World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 149. Translating power in Engelhardt, 62. See also Richard K. Betts, *Soldiers, Statesmen, and Cold War Crises* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), 96–97. On World War II as a more satisfying conflict than Korea, see J. Richard Stevens, *Captain America, Masculinity, and Violence: The Evolution of a National Icon* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2015), 59.
- 85 Norman Kingsley, “Hell on No-Name Hill,” *Male*, May 1952, 18. See also M/Sgt. Thoams F. Sheldon, “I Won Two Silver Stars and Lived!,” *Action*, March 1953, 26.
- 86 Mark Sufrin, “Hold Toktong Pass to the Last Man,” *Male*, November 1962, 16, 56. On Barber, see also Bob Drury and Tom Clavin, *The Last Stand of Fox Company: A True Story of U.S. Marines in Combat* (New York, NY: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2009).
- 87 James V. Parnell, “Bloody Bastards of Chipyeong-Ni,” *True War*, September 1957, 8, 68. For a similar story, see T/Sgt. Carl S. McPherson, “George Company’s Pinned-Down Patrol,” *Battlefield*, November 1959, 16.
- 88 On Korean War films, see William L. O’Neill, “The ‘Good’ War: National Security and American Culture,” in *The Long War: A New History of U.S. National Security Policy since*

- World War II*, ed. Andrew J. Bacevich (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2007), 524–525; Rutenberg, “Service by Other Means,” 167; and Bernard F. Dick, *The Screen Is Red: Hollywood, Communism, and the Cold War* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2016), 5, 162, 184, 247. S. L. A. Marshall, *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), xi, 11.
- 89 Andrew Geer, *The New Breed: The Story of the U.S. Marines in Korea* (New York, NY: Harper & Brothers, 1952), 55–56, 222, 280. I. F. Stone, *The Hidden History of the Korean War* (New York, NY: Monthly Review Press, 1952), 253.
- 90 “A Boy Needs a Dad He Can Brag About!,” advertisement for International Correspondence Schools, *Man’s Magazine*, January 1960, 5. On fathers’ military glories, 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): 68. Mark Bowden has argued that “War was stitched deep in the idea of manhood.” *Hué 1968: A Turning Point of the American War in Vietnam* (New York, NY: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2017), 12.
- 91 Gendered codes in Carol Cohn, “War, Wimps, and Women: Talking Gender and Thinking War,” in Cooke and Woollacott, 239. On the “narrative of patriotic armed civic virtue,” see Elshtain, 92. Expectations in Kindsvatter, 286–287. See *Guy*, April 1965, 63 for an ad on rocket ships and p. 69 on monsters. See *Man’s Magazine*, January 1960, 58 on ads for a flying helicopter and p. 73 for plastic toy cars. See *Man’s Magazine*, June 1965, 67 for an ad on “giant toys,” directly under an advert for a divorce lawyer.
- 92 John C. Bahnsen, Jr., *American Warrior: A Combat Memoir of Vietnam* (New York, NY: Citadel Press, 2007), xiv. Compulsive worries in Brenton, *The American Male*, 69. On products of and contributors to social reality, see Deborah Cheney, “Visual Rape,” *Law and Critique* Vol. IV, No. 2 (1993): 192. Cynthia Cockburn argues that from “a young age, boys learn that their bodies are weapons” and military systems exploit their propensity for violence. “Militarism, Masculinity, and Men,” in *Together for Transformation: Men, Masculinities, and Peacebuilding*, ed. José de Vries and Isabelle Geuskens (Alkmaar: Women Peacemakers Program, 2010), 18.
- 93 Steven Dillon, *Wolf-Women and Phantom Ladies: Female Desire in 1940s US Culture* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2015), 22. Clean death in Bourke, 221. Bourke also argues that “combatants interpreted their battleground experiences through the lens of an imaginary camera.” *An Intimate History of Killing: Face-to-Face Killing in Twentieth-Century Warfare* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1999), 14. Civilian depictions in Dwyer, 7. As an example of articles that spoke of the sexualized “Oriental” “shorn of guilt feelings or shame,” see Shailer Upton Lawton, “Oriental Love Customs,” *Man’s Magazine*, November 1960, 38.

CHAPTER 3

- 1 Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of “Sex”* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1993), 187. On the relationship between knowledge and daily practices which enforce a society’s power relations, see 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), 24. Dualisms on p. 91.
- 2 On fearing oppressed groups, see Arthur Brittan, *Masculinity and Power* (New York, NY: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 163–164. Exotic locales in Max Allan Collins and George Hagenauer, *Men's Adventure Magazines in Postwar America* (London: Taschen, 2004), 167. French philosopher Michel Foucault stands at the center of discussions on discourse and power. For a pithy review, see Katie Milestone and Anneke Meyer, *Gender and Popular Culture* (Cambridge: Polity, 2012), 22–28. For a more detailed consideration, see Michel Foucault, “Truth and Power,” in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1984), 51–75.
 - 3 Honor House Products Corp. advertisement, *Battle Cry*, July 1959, 62.
 - 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.
 - 5 On Rome, see Roberto Orsi, “City of 10,000 Wild Playdolls,” *Men*, March 1963, 14; and Cyrus W. Bell, “Rome’s Wild Nudie ‘Games,’” *Man's Illustrated*, July 1965, 28. L. E. Owen, “Sweden – Swinging Land of the Midnight Sun,” *Bluebook*, May 1965, 17, 21. Leon Ridgefield, “Rio – City of 1,000 Delights,” *Man's Illustrated*, September 1965, 30.
 - 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

- fallibility in sexual scenarios where he was helpless against the female sexual deviant, suggesting limits to his abilities as a sexual conqueror.
- 9 Igor Osipov, "Russia's Spy Fleet of Female Bed Partners," *Men*, May 1964, 36. On selling out to the Reds in the CIA West Berlin office, see W. J. Saber, "The Fraulein Trap," *Stag*, November 1966, 33. See also Emile C. Schurmacher, "East Berlin Spy House of the Communists' Blackmail Blonde," *For Men Only*, June 1960, 20. On bordello of neo-Nazis, see Alex Austin, "House of Call-Doll Frauleins," *Action for Men*, May 1964, 14.
 - 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.
 - 12 Rejecting femininity in Andrea Friedman, *Citizenship in Cold War America: The National Security State and the Possibilities of Dissent* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2014), 33. Prevailing images and conditions in Tawnya J. Adkins Covert, *Manipulating Images: World War II Mobilization of Women through Magazine Advertising* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2011), xiii. Shifts in sexual attitudes in Sharon R. Ullman, *Sex Seen: The Emergence of Modern Sexuality in America* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), 14. On aggressive female sexuality, see p. 19.
 - 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.
- 18 Propaganda posters in Christina S. Jarvis, *The Male Body at War: American Masculinity during World War II* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2004), 79–81. While the loose women displayed in VD propaganda posters illustrated the "wrong" type of femininity, the "correct" one was seen in posters of women in uniform, as nurses, or as supportive wives and mothers. Comics in Peter Lee, "Decrypting Espionage Comics in 1950s America," in *Comic Books and the Cold War, 1946–1962*, eds. Chris York and Rafael York (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2012), 38. Arthur Kaplan, "The Vanishing Lovers of Streetwalker Madeline Libertaud," *For Men Only*, July 1959, 20. Impure in Oliver, 30.
- 19 de Beauvoir, 13.
- 20 Archer Scanlon, "Monique: Queen of Newark's Sex Torture Palace," *Stag*, November 1967, 12, 74. "Jury Convicts Pair in 'Torture' Trial," *New York Times*, 24 June 1967. Fred P. Graham, "Law: No Censorship in the Home," *New York Times*, 13 April 1969.
- 21 Neil Turnbull, "Am Now Red Cuba's Most Wanted Man ... Will Fight On ..." *Male*, August 1964, 12. Anxieties in K. A. Cuordileone, *Manhood and American Political Culture in the Cold War* (London: Routledge, 2005), 40.
- 22 Bodies as weapons in Oliver, xi. Albert Hendricks, "Europe's Most Dangerous Spy Nymph," *Man's Conquest*, February 1968, 41–42.
- 23 Stuart Charles, "How We Broke the U.S. Deserters Seduction Ring," *Stag*, September 1968, 33, 80. On the implications of a communist seductress targeting an American officer in *The Ugly American*, see Robert D. Dean, *Imperial Brotherhood: Gender and the Making of Cold War Foreign Policy* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 177.
- 24 Kenneth W. Vinson, "Women Who Provoke Sex Attacks," *Man's Illustrated*, March 1966, 22, 55. The tagline read "Men call it 'frame-up,' women call it 'rape,' and psychiatrists call it 'wish fulfillment.'"
- 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 knowledgeably.” *Orientalism and War*, 5.
- 43 Said, *Orientalism*, 6. Silencing as a decision in Susan Sontag, *A Susan Sontag Reader* (New York, NY: Farrar/Straus/Giroux, 1982), 185. On questioning whether women were even human, see Carol Rittner, “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. Bruscino 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 Rafael 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. Trisha 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 Vomecourt, “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 Kesic, "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 Draftee 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 Hilsman, 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

- of traps in Ed Hymoff, "Vietnam: The Booby Trap War," *Stag*, November 1966, 39. See also "Stag Confidential," *Stag*, January 1968, 43; and Lou Prato, "They Live One Second from Hell," *Saga*, February 1967, 28.
- 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 Koepfel, “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*

- 1968/Early 1969: *A Study of Motivation and Morale* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 1970). For an example of warriors achieving honor because they had “killed more than 5,000 Nips” in Manila during World War II, see Richard Dennis, “Angels of the 11th Airborne,” *True War*, September 1957, 30, 32.
- 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 Koepfel, “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

- Southeast Asia,” in *Gendering War Talk*, eds. Miriam Cooke and Angela Woollacott (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 59.
- 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).
- 91 On the “troubled army” narrative, see: Huebner, 231–232; David Cortright, *Soldiers in Revolt: The American Military Today* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, 1975), 10; and Gabriel Kolko, *Anatomy of a War: Vietnam, the United States, and the Modern Historical Experience* (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1985), 363–367.
- 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.
- 93 Time quoted in Michael J. Allen, *Until the Last Man Comes Home: POWs, MIAs, and the Unending Vietnam War* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009),

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 Daggers . . .," *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).
- 97 On *Playboy* and the pulps' prowar stance, see Max Allan Collins and George Hagenauer, *Men's Adventure Magazines in Postwar America* (London: Taschen, 2004), 370. Timetable in "Stag Confidential," *Stag*, June 1967, 6. When criticisms did arise, they usually focused on the Saigon government. As an example, see Clement Haney, "That Dirty Mess in Vietnam!," *Real*, February 1964, 14.
- 98 Faggots in Mark Gerzon, *A Choice of Heroes: The Changing Faces of American Manhood* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1992), 46. See also Michael S. Foley, *Confronting the War Machine: Draft Resistance during the Vietnam War* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 183. Vet Micheal Clodfelter quoted in Jeff Loeb, "Childhood's End: Self Recovery in the Autobiography of the Vietnam War," *American Studies* Vol. 37, No. 1 (Spring 1996): 111.
- 99 On Ali, see Benjamin T. Harrison, "The Muhammad Ali Draft Case and Public Debate on the Vietnam War," *Peace Research* Vol. 33, No. 2 (November 2001): 69–86. Colts in Mitchell K. Hall, *Crossroads: American Popular Culture and the Vietnam Generation* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), 107. Bruce Springsteen, *Born to Run* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2016), 99–103. On Baez and Fonda, see Avital H. Bloch, "Joan Baez: A Singer and Activist," and Barbara L. Tischler, "'Hanoi Jane' Lives: The 1960s Legacy of Jane Fonda," in *Impossible to Hold: Women and Culture in the 1960s* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2005), 126–151, 241–258. Fonda as a "dangerous

- female” in Carol Burke, *Camp All-American, Hanoi Jane, and the High-and-Tight* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2004), 186. For a story on the courage not to go to war, see Jack Todd, *Desertion: In the Time of Vietnam* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 2001).
- 100 Ray Lunt, “The Bums Who Buy Their Way Out of the Draft – and the Creeps Who Help Them Do It,” *Male*, August 1966, 31. Bill Surface, “Draft Dodging Underground,” *Saga*, February 1967, 21. Edward Hymoff, “The 1967 Draft Scandal and You,” *Man’s Illustrated*, March 1967, 24.
 - 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.
 - 102 Ducking service in “Stag Confidential,” *Stag*, April 1968, 6. Sergeant Jack Smith quoted in Andrew E. Hunt, *The Turning: A History of Vietnam Veterans Against the War* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1999), 113.
 - 103 GI counterculture in Cortright, *Soldiers in Revolt*, 25. On the warrior myth and its relation to the “gendered ideology that defined it,” 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), 148. Percentage in Stacewicz, *Winter Soldiers*, 3. On the underground newspaper *Overseas Weekly* being “loaded with sex, crime and corruption,” see Al Stump, “A GI Newspaper the Brass Can’t Kill,” *True*, July 1967, 52–54. The story alleged that a “vast epidemic of corruption, waste and theft was sweeping Viet Nam,” p. 88. PFC hoping to get to Vietnam in “Truely Yours,” *True*, June 1967, 2.
 - 104 “Stag Confidential,” *Stag*, November 1967, 6. For a similar critique on political considerations, see Malcolm W. Browne, “The New Face of Censorship,” *True*, April 1967, 38. Amber Batura, “The *Playboy* Way: *Playboy* Magazine, Soldiers, and the Military in Vietnam,” *Journal of American–East Asian Relations* Vol. 22, No. 3 (October 2015): 233.
 - 105 Overriding in US, Grant Sharp, *Strategy for Defeat: Vietnam in Retrospect* (San Rafael, CA: Presidio Press, 1978), 270. Restraints and forfeiting the initiative in Palmer, *Summons of the Trumpet*, 116, 133. Micromanagement in Douglas Porch, *Counterinsurgency: Exposing the Myths of the New Way of War* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 290.
 - 106 Westmoreland, *A Soldier Reports*, 406. Hands tied in 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), 231. Edward Hymoff, “The Ultimate Infantry Weapon the Pentagon Won’t Use to Win in Vietnam,” *Bluebook*, May 1966, 24. For a similar theme, see Kurt Vaughn, “Vietnam Bloodbath – The Glory and the Despair,” *Man’s Epic*, November 1967, 17. The article noted how the ARVN soldiers were fighting with “second hand weapons.”
 - 107 Murky warrior image in Huebner, 237. Unpopular wars in “Stag Confidential,” *Stag*, April 1968, 6. Intelligence failure in Frank Winters, “Vietnam Pearl Harbor,” *Saga*, December 1968, 14. For a similar story on the inability to capture COSVN, see Mike Scott, “The Pentagon Foul-Up That Threatens Our Intelligence Network,” *Man’s Illustrated*, August 1971, 26, 62.

- 108 Specialist James Martin Davis quoted in Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers*, 50. Percentages in Adams, *The Best War Ever*, 95. “Stag Confidential,” *Stag*, September 1966, 6.
- 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 aspects 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-Documetary 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.
- 16 “Battlefield Baby” in “What a World,” *For Men Only*, September 1966, 46. Vaccines in “Stag’s Big Picture,” *Stag*, January 1968, 31. Joseph E. Brown, “Warriors on Bulldozers,” *Argosy*, June 1967, 31. Captain Miles in Peter Arnett, “How We Built a Super Base on a Shifty Sandpile,” *True*, June 1967, 42, 95. Building and destroying in James M. Carter, *Inventing Vietnam: The United States and State Building, 1964–1968* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 183.
- 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.
- 18 Peter Paret and John Shy, *Guerrillas in the 1960’s* (New York, NY: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962), 48. Incommensurate in Eric Bergerud, “The Village War in Vietnam, 1965–1973,” in *The Columbia History of the Vietnam War*, ed. David L. Anderson (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2011), 283. Never trust anybody in Kennedy, “John Goth’s Vietnam,” 42.
- 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, *Huế 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 Tittle, *From Melos to My Lai*, 123. David H. Hackworth and Eilhs 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 Sandeck 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 Stiglmeier (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.
- 71 Dean W. Ballenger, “The Strange Case of the Stagecoach Rapist,” *Sir!*, July 1962, 21. H. B. Allen, “Decoy for the Deadly Rape Gang Sadist,” *Man’s Action*, May 1966, 12, 14. For insights into family reactions, see Nguyen Thu Huong, “Rape in Vietnam from Socio-cultural and Historical Perspectives,” *Journal of Asian History* Vol. 40, No. 2 (2006): 185–206.
- 72 Kenneth Towne, “The Truth about GI Rapists,” *True War*, October 1956, 25, 50–51. On problems with the inevitability of rape argument, see Brownmiller, 31; and Bourke, 359. On the “military mindset” as a contributing factor to rape, see Andrew F. Simon, Susan A. Nolan, and Chi Thao Ngo, “Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War,” in *Violence against Girls and Women: International Perspectives, Volume 2, In Adult, Midlife, and Older Age*, eds. Janet A. Sigal and Florence L. Denmark (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2013), 83.
- 73 On contemporary romanticizing of violence, see Steven Watts, *JFK and the Masculine Mystique: Sex and Power on the New Frontier* (New York, NY: St. Martin’s Press, 2016), 114. On social traditions reflecting male dominance, see Ellis, *Theories of Rape*, 10. On military contempt for women, see Miranda Alison, “Wartime Sexual Violence: Women’s Human Rights and Questions of Masculinity,” *Review of International Studies* Vol. 33, No. 1 (January 2007): 78.
- 74 “Bluebook Bouquets and Brickbats,” *Bluebook*, May 1966, 10. On husbands not being able to rape their wives, see also “Hot Line on Women,” *Men*, December 1968, 8; and Bourke, 27–28. Ray Lunt, “Our Ridiculous Horse-and-Buggy Sex Laws,” *Men*, March 1963, 40, 69. In its January 1979 issue, *Family Circle* ran an article titled “Legal Rape” which began with the admission that it was not a “crime for a man to brutally force his wife to have sexual relations,” p. 24.
- 75 Jack Gordon, “I Joined a Go-Naked Swap Cult,” *Men*, December 1968, 15, 16. Norton McVickers, “Women Who Prowl the Streets Looking for Sex Thrills,” *Man’s Life*, January 1969, 19, 56. For a similar story, see Lilburn Hamber, “Crescendo,” *Climax*, June 1953, 18, about a man who murders his “faithless wife” because she “tantalizes him beyond all human endurance.” Such narratives suggested men ultimately were not responsible for rape. See Beneke, 8.
- 76 “Male Call,” *Male*, July 1966, 86. Institutionalizing prostitution in Brownmiller, 92. Sanctioned in Appy, *Patriots*, 159. On prostitution in Vietnam as a reflection and consequence of gender ideas more broadly, see Heather Marie Stur, “Gentle Warriors,

- Gunslingers, and Girls Next Door: Gender and the Vietnam War,” in *The Routledge History of Gender, War, and the U.S. Military*, ed. Kara Dixon Vuic (London: Routledge, 2018), 121.
- 77 World War II vet in Costello, *Virtue under Fire*, 245. Steam in John A. Wood, *Veteran Narratives and the Collective Memory of the Vietnam War* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2016), 63. See also Elisabeth Jean Wood, “Armed Groups and Sexual Violence: When Is Wartime Rape Rare?,” *Politics & Society* Vol. 37, No. 1 (March 2009): 135. Distraction in Baaz and Stern, 506. On brothels, see Boczar, “Uneasy Allies,” 190, 195–197, 201, 210. On calls for legalized prostitution from the pulps, see “Stag Confidential,” *Stag*, July 1961, 43.
- 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.
- 79 “Conquest Confidentials,” *Man’s Conquest*, December 1965, 8. Neil L. Jamieson discusses prostitution in *Understanding Vietnam* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), 332–333. James William Gibson referred to brothels as “virtual sex factories.” *The Perfect War: The War We Couldn’t Lose and How We Did* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1986), 263.
- 80 Contest in Donovan, *Once a Warrior King*, 191–192. Lice in *Soldados: Chicanos in Viet Nam*, ed. Charley Trujillo (San José, CA: Chusma House, 1990), 5.
- 81 On Korea, see Dirk Bradley, “Sex Below the 38th Parallel,” *Saga*, August 1963, 31. Bali in “It’s a Strange World,” *Male*, February 1965, 10. Polynesia in James Peterson, “Four Greatest Bargains for the Boat-Hopping Adventurer,” *For Men Only*, May 1965, 41, 54, 55. Leslie Thomas, “The Virgin Soldier and Juicy Lucy,” *Man’s Magazine*, September 1966, 14, 84.
- 82 On fantasies, see Timothy Beneke, *Proving Manhood: Reflections on Men and Sexism* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), 28; and Laura Kipnis, *Bound and Gagged: Pornography and the Politics of Fantasy in America* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 8. Miriam Gebhardt found that in World War II Germany, Americans used “fraternization” as a “euphemism for rape.” *Crimes Unspoken*, 107.
- 83 Montagnards in “Stag Confidential,” *Stag*, September 1968, 6. Joanna Bourke argues that racist discourse means that women are “not really seen as human.” *Rape*, 378. See also Eisen Bergman, *Women of Vietnam*, 69. On rape as a tool of “othering,” see James E. Waller, “Rape as a Tool of ‘Othering’ in Genocide,” in Rittner and Roth, 87–88.

- 84 Intercourse and intoxication in Kathy J. Phillips, *Manipulating Masculinity: War and Gender in Modern British and American Literature* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 133. Forcibly willing in Brownmiller, 107. Baron and Strauss argue that rape myths rest on a belief that “women expect or enjoy being forced to have sex,” p. 146. Brooks Allegation, 9 April 1970, Box 1, War Crimes Allegations Case Studies, War Crimes Working Group Files, RG319, NARA. The helicopter incident supports the “routine activity theory,” which states that “soldiers rape women because they can.” Christopher W. Mullins, “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.
- 85 Gooks as less worthy humans in Elisabeth Vikman, “Modern Combat: Sexual Violence in Warfare, Part II,” *Anthropology & Medicine* Vol. 12, No. 1 (April 2005): 36. Not shooting at humans in Terry H. Anderson, “Vietnam Is Here: The Antiwar Movement,” 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), 260. Not people in Bilton and Sim, *Four Hours in My Lai*, 60. See also Vietnam Veterans Against the War, *The Winter Soldier Investigation*, 14, 112.
- 86 Tales in Eisen Bergman, *Women of Vietnam*, 71; and 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): 61–62. VC incident in John Ketwig, ... and a *Hard Rain Fell: A GI’s True Story of War in Vietnam* (Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks, 2002), 87–88. Poet Adrienne Rich argued in 1973 that “when you strike the chord of sexuality in the ... [male] psyche, the chord of violence is likely to vibrate in response.” In Jonathan Shay, *Achilles in Vietnam: Combat Trauma and the Undoing of Character* (New York, NY: Atheneum, 1994), 133.
- 87 Calley quoted in Baird, 227. For a summary of the approximately twenty rapes, see James S. Olson and Randy Roberts, *My Lai: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston, MA: Bedford, 1998), 99–102. See also Bilton and Sim, 136–137; and William Thomas Allison, *My Lai: An American Atrocity in the Vietnam War* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 47, 69.
- 88 Alleged Rape of Two Vietnamese Nationals by U.S. Military Personnel, 11 December 1969, Box 69, MACIG Investigations Division Reports of Investigations, RG472, NARA. In another rape investigation, allegations prompted command concerns over “widespread publicity” and “widespread embarrassment” due to the age of the victims. Potter Allegation, 6 July 1971, Box 15, War Crimes Allegations Case Files, War Crimes Working Group Files, RG319, NARA.
- 89 Lt. “Ruth West,” “Girl Prisoner of the Japanese,” *Real War*, December 1957, 24. Mai Elliott mentions a similar tale of Japanese rape in *The Sacred Willow*, 110. For a story on a French plantation owner’s daughter being raped and killed by the Vietcong, see Martin Howard, “Revenge of the Green Berets,” *Man’s Peril*, September 1966, 34, 38. On rape creating disorder, see Megan H. MacKenzie, *Female Soldiers in Sierra Leone: Sex, Security, and Post-conflict Development* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2012), 100. As a systematic centerpiece of strategy, see Kerry F. Crawford, *Wartime Sexual Violence: From Silence to Condemnation of a Weapon of War* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University

- Press, 2017), 5, 33. As a means to produce or maintain dominance, see Claudia Card, "Rape as a Weapon of War," *Hypatia*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (Autumn 1996): 7.
- 90 Woman-hungry in Corporal Jake Ogilvie, "Death Charge at Tongawe Village!," *Men in Adventure*, February 1960, 31. On the "taking" of women as a form of revenge in earlier wars, see Petra Goedde, *GIs and Germans: Culture, Gender, and Foreign Relations, 1945–1949* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 84.
- 91 Calley quoted in Baird, 215. Body politic in Carolyn Nordstrom, "Rape: Politics and Theory in War and Peace," *Australian Feminist Studies* Vol. 11, No. 23 (1996): 152. Demonstrating power in Gibson, *The Perfect War*, 202. On women "belonging to the enemy," see Yuki Tanaka, "Rape and War: The Japanese Experience," in Sajor, 178.
- 92 Officer quoted in Richard Holmes, *Acts of War: The Behavior of Men in Battle* (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1985), 392. On group psychology, see Bourke, *Rape*, 377. Gang-rape as bonding in Alison, "Wartime Sexual Violence," 77; and Barry, *Unmaking War, Remaking Men*, 38. Homophobia in John Beynon, *Masculinities and Culture* (Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press, 2002), 67. Adolescent aggressiveness toward women in Beneke, *Proving Manhood*, 19.
- 93 Daniel Lang, *Casualties of War* (New York, NY: Pocket Books, 1969), 35, 58. Brutal boys in Robert Bly, *Iron John: A Book about Men* (New York, NY: Da Capo Press, 2004), 90. Deborah Cheney argues that in Brian DePalma's film version, the story is less about the Vietnamese victim than about the young Americans "brutalized" by war. "Visual Rape," *Law and Critique* Vol. IV, No. 2 (1993): 195.
- 94 Immunity in Benderly, 66; and Beverly Allen, *Rape Warfare: The Hidden Genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 39. Vanquished in Brownmiller, 49. Compensating for powerlessness and fear in John V. H. Dippel, *War and Sex: A Brief History of Men's Urge for Battle* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus, 2010), 263.
- 95 Specialist Robert E. Holcomb quoted in Terry, *Bloods*, 216. "Inside for Men," *Male*, July 1967, 8. For a similar view, see Marnais, *Saigon after Dark*, 24.
- 96 Ray Robbins, "Korean Camp-Followers," *True War Stories*, January–February 1953, 36–37. Dean W. Ballenger, "Japan's Fantastic Plot to Wipe Out 20,000 U.S. Marines," *Man's World*, April 1959, 20, 56. On the enemy using prostitutes to infect Allied soldiers in World War II, see Costello, 84.
- 97 Last Minute Memo For Men," *For Men Only*, September 1966, 11. "Deadline Bulletin," *Man's World*, February 1967, 51. For a similar story of a woman having hand grenades under her dress, see Ebert, 49. In one issue from *True Men Stories*, the Vietcong are said to "booby-trap" Saigon "B-girls" by drugging them so they appear to be "merely drunk" and then affixing fragmentation grenades to their bras. The "fumbling GI customer" ends up blowing her to pieces and losing his hands in the process. "Briefing Session," *True Men Stories*, 11 November 1965, 10.
- 98 Ketwig, 77. Hotchkiss Allegation, 25 May 1972, Box 2, War Crimes Allegations Talking Points, War Crimes Working Group Files, RG319, NARA. *Vagina dentata* in Jerry Lembcke, *Hanoi Jane: War, Sex & Fantasies of History* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010), 100. Razor blade stories in Stacewicz, 136. Marine quoted in Beneke, *Men on Rape*, 59. Castration in Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, 171, 201.

- 99 VC whore in Bilton and Sim, 132. See also Eisen Bergman, *Women of Vietnam*, 74. Calley incident in Gibson, 263. On American views of prostitutes and access to sex, see Weaver, *Ideologies of Forgetting*, 34. One veteran recalled that “Sex for most of the men meant prostitutes.” In Maurer, *Strange Ground*, 223.
- 100 Captain quoted in 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), 53. For a response to arguments on the “pervasiveness” of rape in wartime, see John B. Corr, “Rape, Sex, and the U.S. Military: Questioning the Conclusions and Methodology of Madeline Morris’ *By Force of Arms*,” *Transnational Law & Contemporary Problems* Vol. 10 (2000): 200–210. Targeting women in Alison, 89.
- 101 Richard Gilkey, *Vietnam REMF?* (Ashland, OR: Hellgate Press, 2016), 113–115. McClellan in Walker, *A Piece of My Heart*, 19. On service troops committing rape in World War II, see J. Robert Lilly, *Taken by Force: Rape and American GIs in Europe during World War II* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 58.
- 102 Baker, *Nam*, 92. Journalist Peter Arnett suggested that rear-area troops were driven to brothels by “discontent and boredom.” In Brownmiller, *Against Our Will*, 94.
- 103 “Stag Confidential,” *Stag*, March 1968, 43. Vet David Delgado in Trujillo, *Soldados*, 110. Not curbing rape in Cynthia Enloe, *Does Khaki Become You? The Militarisation of Women’s Lives* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1983), 36. On inability to protect women, see: Brownmiller, 37–38; Baaz and Stern, 498; and Elvan Isikozlu and Ananda S. Millard, “Wartime Rape: Identifying Knowledge Gaps and Their Implications,” *Security and Peace* Vol. 28, No. 1 (2010): 37. Sara Meger notes the demoralizing aspect of this failure. *Rape Loot Pillage*, 186. Of note, male victims of sexual violence were not part of this discussion. On this, see Simon, Nolan, and Ngo, 84.
- 104 VD rates and wedlock in “Stag Confidential,” *Stag*, September 1968, 6. Duration wives in “Men’s Newsletter,” *Men*, December 1968, 13. Distortion of sexual politics in Cynthia Enloe, “Bananas, Bases, and Patriarchy,” in *Women, Militarism, and War: Essays in History, Politics, and Social Theory*, eds. Jean Bethke Elshtain and Shelia Tobias (Savage, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1990), 200. Resentfulness in Lifton, *Home from the War*, 196. On the political response to rape, see Huong, 196. For a contemporary American view of the Vietnamese man, see Bourne, *Men, Stress, and Vietnam*, 217–222.
- 105 Whorehouse from soldier Peter Martinsen in Weaver, 50. Moral society in Boczar, 193. Thieu quoted in Lien-Hang Nguyen, “Cold War Contradictions: Toward an International History of the Second Indochina War, 1969–1973,” in *Making Sense of the Vietnam Wars: Local, National, and Transnational Perspectives*, eds. Mark Philip Bradley and Marilyn Young (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2008), 232. Feminine versus masculine states in Rada Iveković, “Women, Nationalism and War: ‘Make Love Not War,’” *Hypatia* Vol. 8, No. 4 (Autumn 1993): 122.
- 106 Nguyen, *Nothing Ever Dies*, 227. No male equivalent in Jessica Bennett, “Why Do People Still Use the Word ‘Mistress’? A Reporter Reflects,” *New York Times*, 7 June 2016.
- 107 Bui Thi Me in Mahoko Kyouraku, “Gender in War: The Case of the Vietnam War and ‘Vietnamese Heroic Mother,’” *Social Alternatives* Vol. 29, No. 10 (2010): 11–14. On Heroic Mothers, see also Dana Healy, “Laments of Warriors’ Wives: Re-gendering the

- War in Vietnamese Cinema," *South East Asia Research* Vol. 14, No. 2 (July 2006): 241.
- Passive victims in 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), 46.
- Women warriors in Sandra C. Taylor, *Vietnamese Women at War: Fighting for Ho Chi Minh and the Revolution* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1999), 2, 6.
- Damsels "in need of rescue" in Stur, *Beyond Combat*, 6.
- Women as key players in Helen E. Anderson, "Fighting for Family: Vietnamese Women and the American War," in Anderson, *The Columbia History of the Vietnam War*, 298.
- 108 Invisible combatants in D'Ann Campbell, "Women in Combat: The World War II Experience in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and the Soviet Union," *The Journal of Military History* Vol. 57, No. 2 (April 1993): 301. See also Susan K. Alexander, "The Invisible Veterans: Nurses in the Vietnam War," *Women's Studies Quarterly* Vol. 12, No. 2 (Summer 1984): 16–17.
- Lynda Van Devanter with Christopher Morgan, *Home before Morning: The Story of an Army Nurse in Vietnam* (New York, NY: Beaufort Books, 1983), 13.
- The best work on nursing in Vietnam is Kara Dixon Vuic, *Officer, Nurse, Woman: The Army Nurse Corps in the Vietnam War* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010).
- Nightmares in *Visions of War, Dreams of Peace: Writings of Women in the Vietnam War*, eds. Lynda Van Devanter and Joan A. Furey (New York, NY: Warner Books, 1991), 117.
- PTS in Joan A. Furey, "Women Vietnam Veterans: A Comparison of Studies," *Journal of Psychosocial Nursing* Vol. 29, No. 3 (1991): 12.
- Not considered legitimate in Carol Lynn Mithers, "Missing in Action: Women Warriors in Vietnam," *Cultural Critique* No. 3 (Spring 1986): 84.
- Cynthia Enloe discusses these "forgotten veterans" in *Does Khaki Become You?*, 109, 116.
- 109 For a history of Vietnamese women warriors, see: David E. Jones, *Women Warriors: A History* (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 1997), 32–33; Eisen Bergman, *Women of Vietnam*, 30–33; and Anderson, "Fighting for Family," 297–300.
- When the enemy comes in Helle Rydstrom, "Gendered Corporeality and Bare Lives: Local Sacrifices and Sufferings during the Vietnam War," *Signs* Vol. 37, No. 2 (January 2012): 284.
- 110 Vo Thi Sau in Eisen Bergman, 169.
- For similar stories, see Taylor, *Vietnamese Women at War*, 10; and Jones, 33.
- Number of female guerrillas in Mary Ann Tétreault, "Women and Revolution in Vietnam," in *Vietnam's Women in Transition*, ed. Kathleen Barry (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 41.
- 111 Karen Gottschang Turner with Phan Thanh Hao, *Even the Women Must Fight: Memories of War from North Vietnam* (New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons, 1998), 32.
- Women in the Viet Minh in Eisen, *Women and Revolution in Viet Nam*, 29–32.
- Social transformation in "Introduction" in *Gender Practices in Contemporary Vietnam*, eds. Lisa Drummond and Helle Rydstrom (Singapore: NIAS Press, 2004), 3.
- 112 "Jungle Amazon Terror Told by Viet-Nam Troops," *Los Angeles Times*, 30 June 1955.
- Leon Sudarski, "Women in Uniform," *Real*, February 1964, 26, 29.
- At least one World War II male veteran agreed, stating that the "proximity of danger finds a man obsessed with a wild exhilaration, almost sensual." In Costello, 94.
- On the limits of social transformations, see Rydstrom, "Gendered Corporeality and Bare Lives," 277.

- Downplaying in Joshua S. Goldstein, *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 80–81. See also Eisen, *Ibid.*, 106–107.
- 113 Dinh Thuy episode in Taylor, 50. On the lines between female combatants and victims not being clearly drawn, see Laura Sjöberg, *Gender, War, and Conflict* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2014), 39. On victimization as a common theme, see Peggy Reeves Sanday, “The Socio-cultural Context of Rape: A Cross-Cultural Study,” *Journal of Social Issues* Vol. 37, No. 4 (1981): 5–6. Defending homes in Jones, *Women Warriors*, 34.
- 114 Spooning sex and song in Edwin Johnson, “GI Who Raided ‘Saigon Sally’s’ Sin Barracks,” *For Men Only*, May 1965, 26–29, 58. Slow slaughter in Erik Broske, “Ambush in the ‘Alley of Perfumed Virgins,’” *Male*, November 1966, 13. Women’s Union in Rydström, 289; and Eisen, *Women and Revolution in Viet Nam*, 96. Childbearing years and toll on women in Heather Marie Stur, “Gender and Sexuality,” in *The Routledge History of Global War and Society*, eds. Matthew S. Muehlbauer and David J. Ulbrich (New York, NY: Routledge, 2018), 289.
- 115 “Madame Nhu dies at 86; former first lady of South Vietnam,” *Los Angeles Times*, 27 April 2011. On Madame Nhu and the Women’s Paramilitary Corps, see Stur, *Beyond Combat*, 26–27; and Anna Snipes, “Race and Gender in Early Vietnam War Popular Fiction,” in *The Vietnam War in Popular Culture, Volume 1, During the War*, ed. Ron Milam (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2017), 277. On the “dragon lady” trope, see Susan Zeiger, *Entangling Alliances: Foreign War Brides and American Soldiers in the Twentieth Century* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2010), 216; and Jones, 35.
- 116 Jeff St. John, “Get Saigon’s Queen of the Assassin Angels,” *Men*, February 1968, 18–19.
- 117 Susan Jeffords, “Point Blank: Shooting Vietnamese Women,” *Vietnam Generation* Vol. 1 (Summer–Fall 1989): 153. On women serving American GIs while working for the PLAF, see Eisen, *Ibid.*, 105.
- 118 W. J. Saber, “I’m Missing – Like Hell!” *Stag*, March 1966, 16, 99. Stories like these had precedence in tales of World War II, where undercover female spies infiltrated the United States’ west coast. See Alan Hynd, “The Great Stakeout of L.A.’s Geisha Spy House,” *Stag*, December 1961, 32.
- 119 “Bitches in Baggy Pants” in “For Your Information,” *Stag*, September 1966, 40. Seduce and destroy in “Action for Men Final,” *Action for Men*, November 1968, 36. The piece ran under the tagline “Marines Mauled By Murderous Maids.” Tolls in Powell 100–101. One female fighter noted that her “strength came from anger and the need to avenge my dead comrades.” In Turner, *Even the Women Must Fight*, 59. 25th ID in Hai T. Nguyen, “As the Earth Shook, They Stood Firm,” *New York Times*, 17 January 2017.
- 120 Military space from Healy, “Laments of Warriors’ Wives,” 237. On the multiple roles played by “long-haired warriors,” see Taylor, *Vietnamese Women at War*, 71. See also Eisen, *Ibid.*, 105–108; and William S. Turley, “Women in the Communist Revolution in Vietnam,” *Asian Survey* Vol. 12, No. 9 (September 1972): 793–805. On women increasing their autonomy during wartime, see Tétreault, 43. Nguyen Thi Dinh, *No Other Road to Take*, trans. Mai Elliott (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 1976). Wolfgang

- Saxon, “Nguyen Thi Dinh, the Senior Woman in Vietcong Ranks,” *New York Times*, 30 August 1992.
- 121 Women’s support of the ARVN in Robert K. Brigham, *ARVN: Life and Death in the South Vietnamese Army* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2006), 112–118; and Anderson, 300–302. “First Women’s Corps,” *Los Angeles Times*, 8 April 1965. Phung Thi Hanh, “South Vietnam’s Women in Uniform,” Folder 21, Box 5, Douglas Pike Collection: Unit 11 – Monographs, The Vietnam Center and Archive, Texas Tech University. On the WFAC, see also Stur, *Beyond Combat*, 109–100. War economy on p. 50. Heather Marie Stur also is helping to uncover this largely underreported story. See *Saigon at War: South Vietnam and the Global Sixties* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2020).
 - 122 Feelings of guilt and insecurity in Weaver, 20–23; MacKenzie, 109–110; and Kevin Gerard Neill, “Duty, Honor, Rape: Sexual Assault against Women during War,” *Journal of International Women’s Studies* Vol. 2, No. 1 (November 2000): 47. Emotional trauma in Leatherman, *Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict*, 107; and Nguyen, *Nothing Ever Dies*, 32. On male fantasies leaving out the nightmares of rape victims, see Herbert, *Sexual Violence and American Manhood*, 34.
 - 123 Half-breeds in David Lamb, “Children of the Vietnam War,” *Smithsonian Magazine*, June 2009. Gender stratification in Daniel Goodkind, “Rising Gender Inequality in Vietnam since Reunification,” *Pacific Affairs* Vol. 68, No. 3 (Autumn 1995): 344. See also MacKenzie, 123–124, 130–131. On postwar gender representation, see Jayne S. Werner, “Between Memory and Desire: Gender and the Remembrance of War in *doi moi* Vietnam,” *Gender, Place, and Culture* Vol. 13, No. 3 (June 2006): 306–307, 310–311.

CONCLUSION

- 1 Author notes, “Manpower and Morale after Tet Symposium,” 27 April 2019, Center for Military, War, and Society Studies, University of Kansas.
- 2 On cultural changes and the pulps increasingly becoming an “anachronism,” see Bill Osgerby, *Playboys in Paradise: Masculinity, Youth and Leisure-Style in Modern America* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2001), 152–153; and Steven Watts, *JFK and the Masculine Mystique: Sex and Power on the New Frontier* (New York, NY: St. Martin’s Press, 2016), 361, 364. On the war in Vietnam discrediting the “style of aggressive masculinity,” see Barbara Ehrenreich, *The Hearts of Men: American Dreams and the Flight from Commitment* (New York, NY: Anchor Books, 1983), 105, 107.
- 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.

- 4 Sexually subjugated in Joseph Le Baron, “How to Hold Your Own, Although Married!” *Men in Adventure*, February 1960, 22–23. Beatniks in Richard Gallagher, “Let’s Crack Down on Grimy Beatnik ‘Kicks-Tourists’ Who Disgrace Us Abroad,” *Male*, June 1967, 29. One can note a separation between generations even earlier. *Men* ran a letter from a reader who lauded a previous issue’s “real story of courage under fire. Not like these spineless kids nowadays who spend all their time trying to get out of being drafted.” In “Calling All Men,” *Men*, January 1962, 84. Macho as a dirty word, quoting *Newsweek*, in David Savran, “The Sadosomochist in the Closet: White Masculinity and the Culture of Victimization,” *Differences* Vol. 8, No. 2 (Summer 1996): 139.
- 5 Bill Ryder, “Unisex – The Assault on American Virility,” *Bluebook*, February 1970, 38–40. On universal masculine models, see Elisabeth Badinter, *XY: On Masculine Identity* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1995), 25. See also “Introduction” and Carole S. Vance, “Social Construction Theory and Sexuality,” in *Constructing Masculinity*, eds. Maurice Berger, Brian Wallis, and Simon Watson (New York, NY: Routledge, 1995), 4, 42–44. On links to the second wave of feminism, see Charlotte Hooper, *Manly States: Masculinities, International Relations, and Gender Politics* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2001), 22–25.
- 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 Elshtain, *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. Trisha 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

- the transition to “skin” mags, see Parfrey, 19. On this market, see Russell Miller, *Bunny: The Real Story of Playboy* (New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984), 170, 187–189; and Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1996), 275.
- 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-Documetary 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.
- 21 Hypermasculine heroes in R. W. Connell, *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987), 80. On Rambo, see: Susan Jeffords, “Debriding Vietnam: The Resurrection of the White American Male,” *Feminist Studies* Vol. 14, No. 3 (Autumn 1988): 525–526; Savran, 130; and Eben J. Muse, “From Lt. Calley to John Rambo: Repatriating the Vietnam War,” *Journal of American Studies* Vol. 27, No. 1 (April 1993): 88–92. Excessively muscled bodies in Antony Easthope, *What a Man’s Gotta Do: The Masculine Myth in Popular Culture* (Boston, MA: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 134.
- 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.
- 25 Taxi cab driver quoted in W. D. Ehrhart, *Vietnam–Perkasie: A Combat Marine Memoir* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1983), 273. Larry Heinemann, *Paco’s Story* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1986, 2005), 176. Joanna Bourke notes how threatening rape was seen as an acceptable way to gain information from prisoners of war and civilians. *Rape: Sex, Violence, History* (Berkeley, CA: Shoemaker Hoard, 2007), 368. Bo Hathaway, *A World of Hurt* (New York, NY: Taplinger, 1981), 110. See also Susan Jeffords, “‘Things Worth Dying For’: Gender and the Ideology of Collectivity in Vietnam Representation,” *Cultural Critique* No. 8 (Winter 1987–1988): 86–87.
- 26 Ketwig, 129. See also Micheal Clodfelter, *Mad Minutes and Vietnam Months: A Soldier’s Memoir* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1988), 144. On GI sexual behavior rooted in mainstream culture, see John A. Wood, *Veteran Narratives and the Collective Memory of the Vietnam War* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2016), 61.
- 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.

- 28 Montoya quoted in Gina Marie Weaver, *Ideologies of Forgetting: Rape in the Vietnam War* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2010), 161. Phil Klay, *Redeployment* (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 2014), 125.
- 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.
- 30 Muller quoted in *The Wounded Generation: America after Vietnam*, ed. A. D. Horne (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1981), 122, 123. For similar sentiments, see Goldman and Fuller, 125, 251. Of course, women were not part of these homecoming stories. On this, see Jeanne Holm, *Women in the Military: An Unfinished Revolution*, rev. ed. (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1992), 240–242. On the tolls suffered by the "greatest generation," see Thomas Childers, *Soldier from the War Returning: The Greatest Generation's Troubled Homecoming from World War II* (Boston, MA: Mariner Books, 2009), 13. "Where Are They Now?," *Stag*, March 1966, 39. Martin Fass, "John Barrow's Sex Colony," *Men*, May 1964, 21.
- 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.
- 34 On Wayne, see Mark Gerzon, *A Choice of Heroes: The Changing Faces of American Manhood* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1992), 3; Samuel Hynes, *The Soldiers' Tale: Bearing Witness to Modern War* (New York, NY: Penguin, 1997), 215; and Robert Jay Lifton, *Home from the War: Vietnam Veterans: Neither Victims nor Executioners* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 1973), 245. No victory in Susan A. Brewer, *Why America Fights: Patriotism and War Propaganda from the Philippines to Iraq* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009), 209. Patrick Hagopian argues that the "residue of unallocated guilt" had a "pernicious effect on the lives of Vietnam veterans." *The Vietnam War in American Memory: Veterans, Memorials, and the Politics of Healing* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009), 75.
- 35 On gender and identities not being fixed, see Hooper, *Manly States*, 35, 53–54, 75. On the warrior code as a natural imperative, see T. Walter Herbert, *Sexual Violence and American Manhood* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 60.
- 36 Broyles, 58, 61, 65. For a similar argument, see J. Glenn Gray, *The Warriors: Reflections on Men in Battle* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1959, 1970), 66. On war as the "ultimate romantic experience," see Goldman and Fuller, 56. For an example of

- Vietnam being reframed in the 1980s in terms of gallantry and heroism, see Meredith Lair, “The Education Center at The Wall and the Rewriting of History,” *The Public Historian* Vol. 34, No. 1 (Winter 2012): 54.
- 37 Soldier Anthony Cavender quoted in Eric M. Bergerud, *Red Thunder, Tropic Lightning: The World of a Combat Division in Vietnam* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993), 229. Journalist Dan Rather admitted that stories of soldiers perpetrating rape in Vietnam was “not something he thought of as news” because such incidents were “relatively common.” In Carol Harrington, *Politicization of Sexual Violence: From Abolitionism to Peacekeeping* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 93. On narratives having social power, see Beverly Allen, *Rape Warfare: The Hidden Genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 30.
 - 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.
 - 39 *Men in Adventure*, April 1966. Kaylin quoted in Bruce Jay Friedman, “Seamless, Outrageous, and Wonderful,” in *He-Man, Bag Men & Nymphs*, eds. Robert Deis and Wyatt Doyle (Philadelphia, PA: New Texture, 2013), 9.
 - 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.
 - 41 Quoted in Lifton, *Home from the War*, 121.
 - 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.
 - 43 Philip Marnais, *Saigon after Dark* (New York, NY: McFadden, 1967), 29. “Out of the Stag Bag,” *Stag*, April 1952, 80. “Letters to the Editor,” *Man’s Magazine*, October 1960, 6. On rechanneling rage and powerlessness into more nondestructive patterns, see 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), 141. On constructions of sexual violence in conflict as a larger social problem, see Eve Ayiera, “Sexual Violence in Conflict: A Problematic International Discourse,” *Feminist Africa* Vol. 14, No. 1 (2010): 8–14.
- 44 Rite of passage in Elshtain, *Women and War*, 223. Gender inequalities in Ann-Kathrin Kreft, “Fighting Sexual Violence in War: Context Matters,” U.S. Army War College War Room (on-line blog), 5 December 2018. On the nature of women disqualifying them from war, from testimony by Marine Corps Commandant Barrow, see Lucinda Joy Peach, “Gender Ideology in the Ethics of Women in Combat,” in Stiehm, 161. For an example of a female sniper, see Gustav Hasford, *The Short-Timers* (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1979), 98–103. Finally, on rethinking masculinities, see Cynthia Cockburn, “Militarism, Masculinity, and Men,” in *Together for Transformation: Men, Masculinities, and Peacebuilding*, ed. José de Vries and Isabelle Geuskens (Alkmaar: Women Peacemakers Program, 2010), 19.
- 45 On alternatives, see Claire Duncanson, “Hegemonic Masculinity and the Possibility of Change in Gender Relations,” *Men and Masculinities* Vol. 18, No. 2 (2105): 231–248. On the problems of being vulnerable without feeling emasculated continuing today, see Frank Bruni, “Donald Trump, Manly He-Man,” *New York Times*, 27 February 2018.
- 46 On the psychological impact of harming civilians, see Bruce P. Dohrenwend, Nick Turse, Thomas J. Yager, and Melanie M. Wall, *Surviving Vietnam: Psychological Consequences of the War for U.S. Veterans* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2019), 127, 161–178. For a contemporary example of the war’s nonmilitary aspects, see John C. Donnell, “Expanding Political Participation – the Long Haul from Villagism to Nationalism,” *Asian Survey* Vol. 10, No. 8 (August 1970): 688–704.
- 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.
- 48 On love of violence being associated with male patriotism, see Myron Brenton, *The American Male* (New York, NY: Coward-McCann, 1966), 66. On military socialization processes creating the potential for atrocities, see Peter G. Bourne, “From Boot Camp to My Lai,” in Falk, Kolko, and Lifton, 468. See also Cynthia Cockburn, “Gender Relations as Causal in Militarization and War: A Feminist Perspective,” in *Making Gender, Making War: Violence, Military and Peacekeeping Practices*, eds. Annica Kronsell and Erika Svedberg (New York, NY: Routledge, 2012), 19, 23.
- 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.
- 50 Of note, the June 2017 issue of *Men’s Health* ran a story on adventure magazines and claimed that they could “still inspire men of today.” Mike LaFavore, “War! Women! Weasels!” 102–125. On the disparity between idealized views of war and reality, see Hugh McManners, *The Scars of War* (New York, NY: HarperCollins, 1993), 356.