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FORWARD MYTH: MILITARY PUBLIC RELATIONS AND
THE DOMESTIC BASE NEWSPAPER 1941-1981

by

Willie R. Tubbs

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Graduate School
and the School of Mass Communication and Journalism
at The University of Southern Mississippi
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

FORWARD MYTH: MILITARY PUBLIC RELATIONS AND THE DOMESTIC BASE NEWSPAPER 1941-1981

by Willie R. Tubbs

May 2017

This dissertation explores the evolution of domestic military base newspapers from 1941-1981, a timeframe that encapsulates the Second World War, Korean War, and Vietnam War, as well as interwar and postwar years. While called “newspapers,” the United States military designed these publications to be a hybrid of traditional news and public relations. This dissertation focuses on three primary aspects of these newspapers: the evolution of the format, style, and function of these papers; the messages editors and writers crafted for and about the “common” soldier and American; and the messages for and about members of the non-majority group.

Sometimes printed on private presses with ad revenue generated by civilian newspaper ad sellers, these papers sometimes marked a unique marriage between the military and traditional media outlets. However, the local presses had no control over content. That privilege went to each base’s commanding officer. Despite the wide swath of people with control over content, these papers looked the same, and in some cases carried shared stories from various government-run “news” agencies. On their pages could be found both news of the day and identity building stories and editorials, all of which conspired to inform and to a greater or lesser degree nudge readers to conclusions of what the creators of the papers thought it meant to be an American, a soldier, or the member of a racial or gender minority. Though tasked with functioning as both a

journalistic and public relations vessel, these publications were inconsistent as purveyors of both news and propaganda. However, each provides a wealth of knowledge about the development of the American identity, and dominant concepts of majority and minority, as well as the integration of public relations and journalism into the military in the 20th Century.

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A dissertation is not only a capstone of a doctoral program, it is the manifestation of the ideas, concepts, and methodological approaches a student receives from the faculty under whom he studies. In addition to the five members of my dissertation committee, each of these professors directly affected this study while members of the faculty at The University of Southern Mississippi: Dr. Mary Lou Sheffer, Dr. Cindy Blackwell, Dr. Jai Hwa Shin, Dr. Gina Chen, Dr. Andrew Weist, Dr. Louis Kyriakoudes, Dr. Stephen Vennett, Dr. Chester Morgan, Dr. Ashley Mack, and Ms. Maggie Williams.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated primarily to my wife, Mary Beth Patten, without whom my life would be incomplete, my days filled with far less laughter, and my future marked with less promise. The entire Tubbs, Patten, Varnam, and Andrus families, all of whom overflowed with support, prayers, and patience throughout this process, also deserve much credit. Thanks to Darrell and Laura Andrus, Mike and Linda Patten, Ben and Judy Varnam, and Sarah Patten, as well as our siblings, cousins, aunts, and uncles, for putting up with an oft-absent family member. A special thanks also to my dear friends Dr. Joel and Leigh Bias, Matias and Essi Sarvela, and John Mortimer, all worthy scholars in their own right. Their friendship made this process all the more enjoyable, memorable, and bearable. Finally, though not least among these, a special thanks to my church family, specifically at Emmanuel Baptist in Alexandria, Louisiana, Main Street Baptist in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, and First United Methodist in Poplarville, Mississippi. The men and women of these churches, much as have the aforementioned family and friends, have consistently embodied God's love and have helped me to remain centered in my Christian faith at every step.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFIP	Armed Forces Information Program
AFNB	Armed Forces News Bureau
AFNS	Armed Forces News Service
AFPS	Armed Forces Press Service
ANF	Army News Features
ANS	Army News Service
ARNEWS	United States Army News Service
ARVN	Army of the Republic of Vietnam
ATC	Air Training Command
ATCPS	Air Training Command Press Service
AWOL	Absent Without Official Leave
BANTU	Black Association of Nationalism, Thought, and Unity
CO	Commanding Officer
CONARC	Continental Army Command
DOD	Department of Defense
EEO	Equal Employment Opportunity
GAO	Government Accounting Office
HQ ATC	Air Training Command Headquarters
MACV	Military Assistance Command Vietnam
NNSY	Norfolk Navy Shipyard
POW	Prisoner of War
PW	Prisoner of War

SEA	Southeast Asia
UPI	United Press International
VC	Viet Cong
WAAF	Women's Auxiliary Air Force
WAC	Women's Army Corps
WASP	Women Air Force Service Pilots
WAVES	Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service
WR	Marine Corps Women's Reserve

CHAPTER I – INTRODUCTION

From the time before its entry into the Second World War through the aftermath of the Vietnam War, the United States found itself in a perpetual state of preparing for, participating in, or recuperating from global conflict. Even when the nation was not involved in a war, it was obsessed with anti-Nazism, anti-fascism, and anti-communism. Regardless of circumstance, the United States frequently called on its people sacrifice for, or at least acquiesce to, the cause of the moment. While no one doubts the role the media played in this process, there remains one area of mass communication that the academy has left largely unexamined: the domestic military base newspaper. American soldiers, those who society asked to make the greatest sacrifices, were inundated with media messages during the years that covered the United States' entry into World War II and its exit from Vietnam. Scholars have rightly devoted much effort to exploring soldiers and the media in war zones and citizens and the media on the home front. Few have touched on soldiers and the media on the home front, particularly military-generated media at the multitude of bases that sprang to life in advance of America's participation in the Second World War and largely survived well into the 1980s.

A soldier at home is more than a citizen. Society separates her or him from the greater collective. Special housing, training, clothing, and regulations await those who don the camouflage of their generation. From 1941-1981, soldiers on the home front also received a special newspaper unlike any civilian counterpart, a paper that was not wholly a newspaper. Virtual soldier building took place on the pages of domestic base newspapers, which were produced under the watch of military public relations officers. Extensions of the military command structure, domestic base newspapers existed to both

inform soldiers of the day-to-day life of the base and, more important to this study, tell soldiers how to behave as ideal members of the military. The latter function of the domestic base newspaper affords a researcher the chance to study the ways in which a society defined itself, and how that definition was communicated to those tasked with defending the society.

Among the many roles, a military plays in a society is that of model of the nation's ideals, or at least the ideals of the empowered. If the military represents an ideal, what then makes an ideal soldier? How does this soldier walk, talk, and think? What does this soldier look like? From where did this soldier come and where is this soldier going? Most appropriate for this study, how did domestic base newspapers, created and maintained by the military with express direction from the government, inform the answers to these and more questions?

The University of Southern Mississippi's McCain Library contains one such paper, the Camp Shelby *Reveille*, which ran from 1941-1945 and is one of literally hundreds of base newspapers that existed during the World War II era. Early in its run, the staff of *The Reveille*, all soldiers, strove to adhere to the standard of journalistic neutrality, even as Europe erupted into war.¹ As the years progressed, and the United States became embroiled in the international conflict, *The Reveille* underwent a change. While general news – promotions, civic organization doings, sports scores, announcements of concerts, etc. – continued to appear, the front and editorial pages

¹ Some issues of *The Reveille* from 1941 feature articles about Germany that seem written with the specific intent to be neutral. For example, the January 22 edition featured an article titled "Germany's New Industrial Army" that contained a note from the editor that featured the direct claim that this was meant to explain Germany not take sides in the conflict in Europe.

became cheerleaders for the American way and disseminators of the wishes of the White House. *The Reveille* seemed obsessed with answering the question, “What makes a good soldier?” Not surprising, *The Reveille*’s soldier was obedient, tough-minded, patriotic, humble, eternally self-sacrificing, empathetic to others, heroic, and, perhaps most of all, ever ready to spend money. A soldier, above all else, was unwaveringly patriotic.

But one finds a complex, contradictory definition of patriotism on the pages of *The Reveille*. According to content creators in that periodical, ideal soldiers followed orders, didn’t stand out for the wrong reasons, fought for the right reasons, rose to the occasion, and were always humble, generally happy, and kind. At the same time, ideal soldiers were gentle spirits yet rugged fighters, team players yet staunch individualists, educated thinkers yet willing to respond without question to orders, and committed in mind, body, and finance to the cause. Ideal soldiers believed in victory, were willing to see the job through to the bitter end, and were fiercely loyal. Ideal soldiers understood why they fought but never questioned the reasons. Ideal soldiers took advantage of every service the military offered yet never complained when the military failed to provide a human necessity. Above all else, though, ideal soldiers knew the American cause was just, and commanding officers, indeed the army and nation proper, had nothing but soldiers’ best interests at heart.

Papers like *The Reveille*, however, lacked depth, even in their own time. Although the call for soldiers to understand why they fought was frequent, no one at *The Reveille* made any special effort to explain the intricacies of the Second World War, or to shed light on any other issue that might prove divisive. Issues of race, sex, and origin factored into reporting only to the extent that each was used to explain how a given soldier was

patriotic in spite of the difference. So long as all soldiers were Americans all were, at least in print, equally patriotic. Dissenting voices rarely earned a place on the page, unless they were used as a foil to “proper” American thinking. Everything leaned pro-American in World War II.

While most bases maintained a newspaper from World War II through the early 1980s, by the time America fought in the Vietnam War, the domestic base newspaper had not truly evolved with the society around it. Moreover, domestic base newspapers had fallen under a two-front attack. On one side, soldiers created subversive, anti-war newspapers to highlight their disgust with the war, the draft, and society in general. On the other side, equally powerful though comparatively less remembered, the late Senator Bill Proxmire, well known for his fights against political waste, requested a study of the operational standards of domestic base newspapers, and their close relationship with local presses.

By the time the country limped away from Vietnam, the United States military lay in shambles, but most bases still operated newspapers. Along the forty-year run from World War II to the aftermath of Vietnam, the domestic base newspaper had been present and at least had an opportunity to report on the highs and lows of a nation either at war, preparing for war, or recuperating from war. The mystery yet to be unraveled centers on the messages these papers produced as the country progressed in revolutionary ways.

When one ponders the existence of base newspapers and the information found within them, one finds far more questions than answers. Scant attention has been paid to domestic military base newspapers, yet no soldier has ever served the country who did not spend ample time at a domestic base. From 1941 through the Vietnam War, the

United States military often consisted of non-professional soldiers, conscripts or volunteers answering the call of their friends and neighbors in a time of national need. These soldiers were typically youthful, less educated, and often away from home for the first time. In this vulnerable moment of child-fast-tracked-adult, soldiers faced an onslaught of messages, demands, and commands aimed at producing ideal fighting men. The domestic base newspapers served as one of many prompts of “proper” soldiering. However, study of domestic base newspapers has been limited. Many scholars have focused their energies on media in war zones while relegating domestic base newspapers to an afterthought.

Regardless of generation, domestic base newspapers sought to define soldiering to soldiers, yet no scholar has yet traced the evolution (if there was one) of the meaning of “American Soldier” on the pages of domestic base newspapers. No one has yet asked what did mean to be a soldier? A soldier who was a minority? A soldier who was a woman? A soldier who was gay? If World War II base newspapers were to be taken at face value, one might get the impression America was a Stepford country, full of unwavering happiness and cohesion. Often what manages to stay out of print is as interesting as what finds its way to consumers.

A further issue, one that few scholars have attempted to address, is the root of the messages sent through camp newspapers. Military officers had ultimate say over the operation of individual presses and worked at the command of the president, but from where did the definition of ideal soldier come? Any middle-schooler knows the commander-in-chief is the President of the United States. Clearly, the man in the White House would have some say, but how did this man’s opinion trickle down to the base

newspapers? Did it indeed trickle down at all? Were base newspapers run under the strictest of orders or did individual presidents and their lieutenants merely have guidelines? Did soldier-editors operate under general freedom and simply reach conclusions of soldiering similar to other soldier-editors?

The primary aim of this project was to answer the broad question “What was the character of public-relations-run domestic military base newspapers from 1941-1981?” To answer this question, the stated timeframe will be broken into four eras, each of which represents a distinct moment of American history and American journalism: the World War II era, the early Cold War and Korean War era, the Vietnam War era, and the post-Vietnam War era. The character of the base newspaper for each era will be defined based on four additional questions: what orders, policies and officers governed the operation of domestic base newspapers; how did domestic military base newspapers define the “ideal soldier”; how did military base newspapers define “the other”; and what were the consequences of being “the other.” The significance of this inquiry will be explained in the coming subsections.

What Was the Character of Domestic Base Newspapers From 1941-1981?

By defining the character of a base newspaper, one will establish the “common sense” of the era, those “norms” which society accepted with limited questioning and to which soldiers were expected to cling.² In establishing this “common sense” one begins to identify one of the intricate ways in which a society defines itself and the norms to which it will hold itself and future generations. Put simply, the domestic base newspaper

² Stuart Hall, "Encoding, Decoding 1," in *Social Theory: Power and Identity in the Global Era 2*, ed. Roberta Garner (University of Toronto Press, 2010), 569-599.

is one avenue through which the people, with due influence from decision makers and the empowered, subtly defined American identity.

A military is, in ways, a reflection of the ideals of a nation. In the United States, the military represents one of the few institutions over which the ruling class enjoys complete control. The military of this free country is not by any definition free. A soldier press enjoys no First Amendment protection and military officials have the privilege of prior restraint and censorship, in addition to a hierarchy of power through which the rhetoric of the empowered can flow uninterrupted to the printed page. The same concept applies to those papers printed in war zones, yet the domestic base newspaper seems the better candidate for examination.

Society sets domestic bases apart from the rest of the country, but these bases nonetheless offer normalcy. A soldier at war has no normalcy and precious few comforts. A soldier at a domestic base might suffer from homesickness or a harsh commanding officer but still, lives in general safety and relative comfort while training for an eventual entry into the chaos of a war zone. Whether or not the soldier reaches the battlefield, the military, as extension of the government which sits atop a society, instills certain values and beliefs in the soldier. A newspaper created by soldiers yet governed by public relations agents employed by the military is a key tool in creating a mythical self, an ideal American which each soldier is expected to be.

An intriguing inquiry lies in determining the extent to which the character of these papers changed over the forty years that encompassed the beginning of World War II and the aftermath of the Vietnam War. The potential outcomes of an investigation are numerous. It might become evident – and certainly, some scholars argue, that World War

It is the war by which we measure all other wars – that the definition of the soldier never changed.³ Should this be true, one would be forced to explore the consequences of this lack of evolution compared to a society that by 1981 would have been unrecognizable to a person living in the 1940s.

What Orders and Policies Governed the Domestic Base Newspaper?

While each domestic base newspaper was produced locally, no one in the military operates on an island. The editors and reporters of a given base newspaper worked at the instruction of a public relations director, who was in turn overseen by ranking officers of a base, who themselves were beholden to superiors all the way to the President of the United States. Understanding the command structure as pertained to military public relations, then, is critical to understanding the artifacts that resulted. What were the goals of the officers with direct influence over content? How did these officers define the “ideal soldier” and the “other”? What orders did these officers issue regarding the operation of these papers? By studying the people behind the papers – from the President through the lowest ranking reporter – one should come to a more nuanced understanding the character of domestic base newspapers.

How Did Domestic Base Newspapers Define the Ideal Soldier?

To the extent that scholars have studied domestic base newspapers, the general agreement is these papers existed to engender discipline and a soldierly identity within

³ Cultural historian Paul Fussell argues in his 2003 book *The Boys' Crusade: The American Infantry in Northwestern Europe, 1944-1945* (New York: The Modern Library) that the European theater of the late war is the moment of our military history to which we point as the preferred way for American to do battle.

members of the military.⁴ A primary goal of this dissertation is to provide a nuanced account of what the “ideal” American soldier looked like as the nation progressed from emerging world power to leader of the free world to superpower defeated by a third-world nation. In World War II, the ideal soldier was disciplined, brave, and committed to the cause. These terms seem simple enough, however, as Becker argues, when one encounters terms which “everyone” understands, deeper thought is required.⁵ What does a society mean when it asks for discipline, bravery, and commitment? What do these acts look like and what do they entail?

How Did Domestic Base Newspapers Define Otherness?

In World War II, difference was an odd concept. At Camp Shelby, for example, soldiers who were the shortest, tallest, oldest, youngest, or possessing of the largest or smallest feet on camp were featured in stories, yet people of diverse racial backgrounds had their race identified only in terms of this person being both a minority and fervently pro-American. Women were, depending on if they were members of the Women’s Auxiliary Corps or civilians, either angels, sexpots, mothers, sisters, or sweethearts. It seems prudent that one trace the evolution of the portrayal of the other to identify when, or if, these tropes became less frequent.⁶ Of equal importance to understanding the military newspaper’s definition of difference is understanding the implications of being different. If the ideal soldier is, for example, “committed” what then can be said of the

⁴ Alfred E. Cornebise, *Ranks and Columns: Armed Forces Newspapers in American Wars* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1993); Alfred E. Cornebise, *The Stars and Stripes: Doughboy Journalism in World War I* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1984).

⁵ Carl L. Becker, “What are Historical Facts?” *The Western Political Quarterly* 8, 3 (September 1955): 327-340.

⁶ Issues of the *Camp Shelby Reveille* from 1941-45 are available in the McCain Archives at The University of Southern Mississippi in Hattiesburg.

soldier who fails to be committed? More importantly, what steps were necessary for a minority soldier to become ideal? Could racial or sexual minorities become ideal without sacrificing their own identities? Answering these questions will go a long way in understanding the greater concept of “being American” in 1941 compared to 1981.

Methodology

While all major military bases, and many minor, maintained newspapers throughout the timeframe of this study, the primary focus of this dissertation was those papers of select military installations from the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps. An early problem was finding bases for which an extensive collection of base newspapers still existed. Many bases’ 1941-1945 publications have been preserved, but few have uninterrupted archives through 1981. The publication with the earliest dates available was from Camp Lejeune, in Jacksonville, North Carolina. Camp Lejeune newspapers were available from as early as 1941 when the base was still called the Marine Barracks at New River, and as late as 1968.⁷ To supplement the Marine Corps sources for this study, the Camp Pendleton Scout, from Oceanside, California, was also examined for the available years of 1944-1960 and 1967.⁸

The availability of Army publications also proved limited. Fort Hood, in Killeen, Texas, proved the base newspaper with the most available years but was unavailable for the years during World War II.⁹ Fort Hood was serviced by a multi-base publication

⁷ Issues of the *New River Pioneer* are available from the years 1941-1944 on microfilm at the Wisconsin Historical Society; Issues *The Globe* are available from the years 1944-1968 on microfilm at the Wisconsin Historical Society in Madison.

⁸ Issues of *The Scout* are available from the years 1944-1960 and 1967 on microfilm at the Wisconsin Historical Society in Madison.

⁹ Issues of the *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel* and *Sentinel* are available from the years 1953-1981 in electronic form at the Texas Newspaper Project’s online catalogue, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/>

during World War II, the *Armored Force News*, which covered news from 17 bases that housed elements of the Army's Armored Divisions. All issues of this paper, from 1942 through its demise in 1945, were available.¹⁰ However, issues of the *Fort Hood Panther*, a World War II local Hood publication, were not available. In an effort to get a clearer idea of the type of coverage Army soldiers received in Texas during World War II, the available issues of several smaller Texas Army bases – Camp Barkeley, Camp Wolters, Avenger Field in Sweetwater, and the Abilene Army Airfield – were consulted.¹¹

The United States Air Force and Navy publications were far better preserved. The Air Force base which proved to have the amplest collection of newspapers available was Chanute Air Base in Rantoul, Illinois. The various incarnations of that base's paper were available from the years 1941-43, 1952-59, 1966-1971, and 1973-1976.¹² The Norfolk Navy Yard's base publication went through several name changes over the years but was available from 1942-1974 and 1977-1981.¹³ The NNSY papers provided an added benefit to this study. This base was home to a sizeable population of civilian employees in addition to enlisted persons. Thus, this paper offered some insight into how the military

¹⁰ Issues of the *Armored Force News* are available from the years 1942-1945 on microfilm at the Wisconsin Historical Society in Madison.

¹¹ The University of North Texas provides issues of the *Camp Barkeley News* from the years 1942-1945, Camp Barkeley's *Hellcat News* from the years 1943-1944, Camp Wolters' *Longhorn* from 1944-1945, the *Avenger* in Sweetwater, Texas, for the year 1943, and the Abilene Army Airfield's *Fighter* from the year 1945, all in electronic form, via the Texas Newspaper Project's online catalogue, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/>

¹² Issues of *Chanute Field Wings* from the years 1941-1943, *Wings* from 1952-59 and 1966, *Chanute Wings* from the years 1966-1971, and *Chanute This Week* from the years 1973-1976 are available on microfilm at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Library.

¹³ Issues of the *Norfolk Navy Yard Defender* from the years 1942-1943, *Speed Victory* from the years 1943-1945, and *Service to the Fleet* from the years 1945-1974 are available on microfilm at the Library of Virginia in Richmond; Issues of the *Dockside Gosport* from the years 1977-1978 and *Service to the Fleet* from 1978-1981 are available in bound form at the Library of Virginia in Richmond.

would have communicated with its civilian workforce, which was almost identical to the ways the military communicated with its enlisted.

The overall methodology of the paper was threefold. First, the aforementioned papers were examined for all available years for news, opinion, and illustrations that spoke to editorial stances on patriotism, world events, domestic events, race, and gender. As this dissertation was also rooted in development school thinking, the papers were also examined for pieces that spoke to how the editorial staff viewed their jobs and the job of journalism. Finally, various government documents were examined which served to illustrate the official stance of the United States Military's stance on how the domestic base newspaper was supposed to operate. An interesting picture, one of a military slowly learning how to use media and public relations to its ideal and ethical ends.

Structure of the Study

To achieve the aims of this study, it is necessary to first present the present the life of the domestic base newspaper in four eras: World War II, post-World War II through Vietnam, Early Vietnam, and Late Vietnam. While a decade by decade comparison might seem an easier subdivision of the data, history rarely proves so neat. Based on editorial evolutions, the papers are best grouped by the time of the Second World War, the era from the end of World War II through the eve of the United States' entry into the Vietnam War, the early Vietnam War, and the late Vietnam War and post-Vietnam War.

After reviewing pertinent literature in Chapter II, the focus of Chapter III will be on the military base newspapers from 1941-1945. In this chapter, it will be argued that this era proved the birth of the modern domestic base newspaper and the starting point for

the role of the newspaper as general supporters for American interests and primary culprit of limited and inaccurate portrayals of racial minorities and women. Even before America's official entry into the Second World War, large military bases began springing up across the nation. Each base had its own newspaper, run through the public relations office and typically printed by the local civilian newspaper. By war's end, the government and mass media had created an idealized, exceptional America to which future generations would be compared. The message was that of the great and free United States as leader, and lone savior, of an unfree world. One can find representations of racial minorities in the papers of this era, but non-white citizens were swept along with the rest of the country in a flood of patriotism. Everyone who appeared in a World War II-era domestic base newspaper, regardless of race, was presented as unequivocally patriotic and committed to American interests. Women were cast in stark ways, as wholesome soldiers, workers, mothers, sisters and sweethearts on one side, and as sexpots and pinups on the other. No issue of the day – African Americans demanding more liberty, evolving roles of women in society, etc. – trumped the war effort in the papers.

Chapter IV covers the largest swath of time, 1946-1963, the early days of the United States as a world leader. In this chapter, it will be argued that America and by extension the domestic base newspaper began to cover world events in deeper ways, but not in a manner reflective of journalistic standards of timeliness or public relations standards of proactivity. This was a time in which the United States frequently found itself engaged in all manner of international incidents, but reporting on these events, even the Korean War, was paper thin, bordering on propaganda, or dated. Further, it will be

argued that racial minorities all but disappeared from the pages of domestic base newspapers. When they appeared, portrayals of racial minorities were sprung from traditional stereotypes. Women, who were being “forced back into the kitchen” throughout society, were likewise relegated to subservient roles, primarily as pinups, on the pages of domestic base newspapers.

Chapter V will cover the start of the Vietnam War in 1964 through 1969, the year when opinions about the war, both in and out of the military, changed permanently to the negative. In this chapter it will be argued that while coverage of the Vietnam War was almost universally positive in the pages of the domestic base newspapers, and the papers attempted to explain the nuances of the war and the United States’ reason for being there, the papers’ reliance on World War II editorial approaches did not jibe with an America which had evolved greatly since 1945. Further, it will be argued that racial minorities at this point were portrayed as fully integrated into the military, which was not a reflection of reality, and portrayals of women remained largely unchanged from the World War II era.

Chapter VI will cover the late Vietnam War and the era immediately following America’s losing effort. For the first time, American soldiers and the American military were not generally adored. In this chapter, it will be argued that in a time in which public perception of the military was at an all-time low and scrutiny at an all-time high, the domestic base newspaper slowly began to emerge as a more in-depth and quality media institution. For the first time, honest explorations of drug abuse, rape, domestic abuse, child abuse, and crime in the military appeared on the pages of domestic base newspapers. Perhaps these stories did not show the bases in a positive light, but they did

show an acceptance of reality. Concurrently, stories about racial minorities became far deeper as papers not only began to celebrate the contributions of racial minorities to society and the military but also to explore, albeit infrequently, the problems of stereotypes and epithets. Women, too, were celebrated, but the old use of women as pinups was the last vestige of World War II to die out.

Overall Arguments

In the United States, we never forget a war. There are those we remember with hearts aflutter as romantic notions of heroism dance in our memories and those at which we cast furtive eye as we push thoughts of failure to the recesses of our minds, but we never truly forget a war. We theme dress to recall the American Revolution and Civil War, pay due honor to those who served in World War II. We think what a rotten hell it must have been in the First World War and Korea, and we still wince with hurt pride at the thought of the “one we lost.” This project cannot unpack the full complexity of any war. The biggest mistake a scholar can make is to assume something as complex as a war is knowable in full. Scholars can never realistically hope to identify “the” cause or effect of an international conflict, only to shed light on one of myriad factors within it.

Media historians, though talented, face the same challenge when addressing the role of media in a war. The scope is too large, the media too complex, and journalists too prone to diversity of thought to ever truly cram a war into a file marked “closed.” Although many scholars have addressed the media in many wars, there ever shall be room for more complexity. As historian Carl Becker argues, history is generational and once one group of scholars slap a definition on a “fact” a new wave of thinkers will

emblazon history with another series of characterizations.¹⁴ None will ever be truly wrong, but none can ever be truly correct, let alone complete.¹⁵ This project, therefore, will not settle history. Rather, it will add to a larger discussion on public relations, mass media, and the American military.

While there are ample archives in which one can find military base newspapers, to focus the study, the primary sources for this study will be six military bases – two Army bases, two Marine bases, one Navy base, and an Air Force base – which remained open throughout the forty-year scope of the study and for which a full run of the base newspaper or newspapers which served the bases are available. Although the uniform nature of the military seems to preclude the necessity of geographic diversity, these bases are located in all corners of the United States.

¹⁴ Becker.

¹⁵ Herbert Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1965).

CHAPTER II – LITERATURE REVIEW

There is an abundance of studies of war and media. Even if one focuses on a sole conflict, the number of sources that emerge is staggering. Conflicts such as the Second World War drew many nations into such a large and complex web of conflict that eventually yielded even more nations. Academe, therefore, is forced to reflect this reality. Thus, studies rooted in rhetoric, public relations, advertising, critical studies, and history can be found in virtually every language, in most countries, and on practically any topic relating to World War II. The topic of Vietnam, a war that encompasses comparatively fewer nations than World War II, is equally robust. To begin to reign the sources in, a researcher must fine-tune the scope of a study. In the case of this literature review, that scope is limited to the United States, mass communication, and war from the period of World War II through Vietnam.

World War II and the American Mass Media

Studies of World War II, America, and the media can be generally subdivided into five categories. Some scholars focus on the life of soldier reporters and mass communication in the ranks. Many others address the topic of World War II generally, focusing on the use of the available media of the time to various ends. Yet another group of scholars unpack the use of propaganda. A fourth group attempts to explain the use of censorship. The final group, which represents some of the more recent scholarship to have emerged regarding the Second World War, seeks to shed light on “the other” in World War II media.

Soldier Newspapers and Soldier Journalists

As aforementioned, the least served area is that of the domestic soldier press. However, one scholar published a pair of books that begin to unpack the reality of journalism under military command which were the inspiration for the structure of this study. In his 1993 book *Ranks and Columns: Armed Forces Newspapers in American Wars*, Alfred E. Cornebise laid what seems a solid foundation for the study proposed within this prospectus when he traced the soldier press from the Civil War through the early Cold War.¹⁶ Cornebise, however, focuses primarily on overseas reporting and the life of the soldier war correspondent. Issues of censorship and journalism by military decree rightfully take center stage, although Cornebise does give some attention to the portrayal of women and minorities in overseas soldier papers. Earlier in his career, Cornebise published a work on the birth of the *Stars and Stripes*, a national military newspaper which emerged in World War I and served as a model of what soldier newspapers would become in World War II.¹⁷

A second scholar whose work proved foundational for this study was Lowndes F. Stephens, whose 1978 study of military public affairs officers is a seminal look at the goals, objectives, and orders of the men and women who would have been in charge of domestic base newspapers.¹⁸ Stephens revealed the Marine Corps was the first branch to use a “publicity bureau,” having created said service in Chicago in 1907, with the Army

¹⁶ Cornebise, 1993.

¹⁷ Cornebise, 1984.

¹⁸ Lowndes F. Stephens, “The Professional Orientation of Military Public Affairs Officers,” from “Keeping the Troops Informed” (*The Armed Forces Officer*, 2nd edition, Washington, DC: Armed Forces Information Service, U.S. Department of Defense, 1975), in *Public Relations Quarterly* 23, 4 (1978): 19-23.

Air Service following suit during World War I.¹⁹ By the time of Stephens' study, the primary objectives were organization, personnel, internal affairs and external affairs.²⁰ Most important, especially in understanding the domestic base newspaper in the 1970s, the challenges of armed forces generally were accountability demanded from Congress, Pentagon, state officials, the civilian press, and the general public.²¹ Stephens called for public relations evaluators to pay particular attention to the civilian press to see where they were leaning on issues (particularly all-volunteer force) and campaigns:

Ever increasing rates of attrition in the armed forces are due in part to the fact that the 'troops are not informed.' The public affairs officer and commander must tell the troops 'what requires doing' and 'why' it must be done, and they must take the responsibility of answering these questions for external publics as well.²²

More recently, scholars have focused on military figures' use of the media, Pam Parry's *Eisenhower: The Public Relations President* and Alexander G. Lovelace's article on General George S. Patton and the press being sterling examples.²³ Another work that proved quite useful in understanding the work of public relations professionals during World War II was *Never a Shot in Anger*, Colonel Barney Oldfield's first-person account of working as a war correspondent in the Second World War.²⁴

¹⁹ Stephens, 19.

²⁰ Stephens, 20.

²¹ Stephens, 22.

²² Stephens, 22.

²³ Pam Parry, *Eisenhower: The Public Relations President* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2014); Alexander G. Lovelace, "The Image of a General," *Journalism History* 40, 2 (Summer 2014): 108-120.

²⁴ Barney Oldfield, *Never a Shot in Anger*, Battle of Normandy Museum Edition (Santa Barbara, California: Capra Press, 1989).

The Media during World War II

The second category of World War II and the American mass media encompasses studies which focus on the dominant mass communication platforms of the 1940s: newspapers, radio, and film. Most scholars who study newspapers and World War II have not approached the topic from a developmental perspective, and have chosen instead to address newspapers and newspapermen as they related to censorship. Scholars have, however, studied the development of radio and film.

Some radio studies focus on histories of popular programs, Raymond Felding's examination of the life of the popular "March of Time" broadcast at home to Cowan Shulman's study of "The Voice of America" abroad being most notable.²⁵ Other studies focus on reporters' use of radio as a means to circumvent censors. Richard Fine, for example, describes how NBC's John MacVane and CBS's Charles Collingwood, two renowned war correspondents, used the strength of their radio signals to broadcast controversial information about the Allies' decision to reinstall the Vichy French as the rulers of North Africa in the wake of Operation Torch.²⁶

Many scholars view World War II as "Hollywood's War." This argument has some credence. The Second World War was America's first major conflict since the explosion of cinema. Thomas Patrick Doherty argues film and war were natural allies. Cinemas allowed citizens to experience the thrill and horrors of war from the safety of a theater while thousands of captivated eyes provided movies the chance to communicate

²⁵ Raymond Felding, *The March of Time, 1935-1951* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); Cowan Shulman, *The Voice of America: Propaganda and Democracy, 1941-1945* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1990).

²⁶ Richard Fine, "The Ascendancy of Radio News in Wartime: Charles Collingwood and John MacVane in French North Africa, 1942-43," *Journalism History* 40, 1 (Spring 2014): 2-14.

with viewers in revolutionary ways. Doherty argues the contract between Hollywood and culture was rewritten between 1941 and 1945. The old agreement held that Hollywood was there to entertain. The new agreement transitioned movies to the role of informants and confirmers that “our way” was “the” way.²⁷

In his study of film studios, Bernard F. Dick writes Hollywood “awoke” to fascism in the 1930s slowly but, through the studio system, crafted an archetypical World War II film by the 1940s. Dick argues the messaging of these films – united and democratic America against the forces of evil – began prior to the war and was truly perfected after the war.²⁸ In *Projections of War*, Clayton R. Koppes and Gregory D. Black accuse Hollywood of being the primary purveyor of propagandist language and imagery.²⁹ The imagery was so consistent, so predictable and grounded in formula, that Kathryn Kane suggests they represent their own genre.³⁰

Propaganda and World War II

In 2009’s *Selling the Great War*, Alan Axelrod traces American use of propaganda to the First World War efforts of George Creel. Axelrod argues the people who fought in World War I saw that conflict as a necessary cause thanks to some manipulation by the ruling class. Thus, the “we fight the right reasons” theme and the government’s role in inspiring it are not special to the Second World War.³¹ Still, the

²⁷ Thomas Patrick Dougherty, *Projections of War: Hollywood, American Culture, and World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

²⁸ Bernard F. Dick, *The Star-Spangled Screen: The American World War II Film* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1985).

²⁹ Clayton R. Koppes and Gregory D. Black, *Hollywood Goes to War: How Politics, Profits, and Propaganda Shaped World War II Movies* (Berkeley: University of California Press 1990).

³⁰ Kathryn Kane, *Visions of War Hollywood Combat Films of World War II* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1982).

³¹ Alan Axelrod, *Selling the Great War: The Making of American Propaganda* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009).

issue of propaganda and World War II has been widely covered. Perhaps most link the term to Germany, but scholars have examined the use of propaganda in the United States as well. Topics ranging from safety campaigns to Roosevelt's communication efforts via multiple information offices have been closely studied.³²

Nicholas John Cull argues propaganda from the United Kingdom is what brought the United States into the Second World War in the first place. The British, Cull writes, used diplomacy as well as the press and public opinion to coax the U.S. into the war. Every conceivable communication medium was used to inspire the United States to come to its "brother's" aid.³³ Call identifies a different type of propaganda, one with more distant aims, in 2009's *Selling Air Power*. World War II, Steve Call argues, was a time of expanding imagination as it pertained to the flying machines of war. Air power was not always "common sense." Advocates used pop culture and popular media fantasies about World War II fighter pilots to build the notion of American Air Power as a positive, as the way to go in the military. Books, plays, movies, and posters bolstered this notion and the propaganda proved successful. By Vietnam, air superiority was our crutch.³⁴

American propaganda was by no means tame. Several scholars have addressed the darker side of American message manipulation. In 2007, Michael J. Socolow described

³² Mark A. Stoler, "Selling Different Kinds of War: Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Public Opinion during World War II," in *Selling War in a Media Age: The Presidency and Public Opinion in the American Century*, ed. Kenneth Osgood, and Andrew K. Frank (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2010), 67-93; Mordecai Lee, *Promoting the War Effort: Robert Horton and Federal Propaganda 1938-1946* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2012); Robert Fyne, *The Hollywood Propaganda of World War II* (Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1997); Stephen R. Patnode, "'Keep it Under Your Hat': Safety Campaigns and Fashion in the World War II Factory," *The Journal of American Culture* 35, 3 (2012): 231-243; Allan M. Winkler, *The Politics of Propaganda: The Office of War Information 1942-1945* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1978).

³³ Nicholas John Cull, *Selling War: The British Propaganda Campaign against American 'Neutrality' in World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

³⁴ Steve Call, *Selling Air Power: Military Aviation and American Popular Culture After World War II* (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 2009).

Roosevelt's attempts to take over an NBC Radio studio for the purpose of allowing the government to quickly reach the people. Network executives successfully derailed the attempt and, ultimately, the Roosevelt administration elected not to operate a domestic network for propaganda purposes.³⁵ Twenty-two years prior to the publication of Socolow's study, Richard W. Steele offered at least one explanation as to why the Roosevelt administration, one highly interested in public opinion, was less aggressive in its pursuit of a government radio station. Steele argues Roosevelt enjoyed the general support of the press, which led to a more organic positive public opinion.³⁶

World War II and Censorship

Much like propaganda, American leaders did not invoke censorship by totalitarian dictum. Rather, most scholars agree, a system of government-overseen censorship mixed with media self-censorship combined to create the media that most Americans received. The debate, therefore is not over whether America censored its press, but the degree. James Myers, for example, finds an almost harmonic relationship between government and the motion picture industry. Production studios willingly created the Bureau of Motion Pictures as a form of government informed self-policing.³⁷

Other scholars are less optimistic. In *The Censored War*, George H. Roeder, Jr., called World War II our most censored war. Roeder bases this assertion on his study of the photographs of the war, what we saw in real time. The government shielded the

³⁵ Michael J. Socolow, "'News is a Weapon': Domestic Radio Propaganda and Broadcast Journalism in America, 1939-1944," *American Journalism* 24, 3 (Summer 2007): 109-131.

³⁶ Richard W. Steele, "News of the 'Good War': World War II News Management," *Journalism Quarterly* 62, 4 (Winter 1985): 707-783.

³⁷ James Myers, *The Bureau of Motion Pictures and its Influence on Film Content during World War II: The Reasons for its Failure* (Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1998).

American people from the horrors of war until the revelation of the horrors were of some benefit to the government. It was the spring of 1945 before the first dead soldier was shown on the pages of a major American publication. In a darkly comedic coincidence, this photo ran on the cover of *Life*. The Truman administration made this decision not due to a sudden change of heart on censorship, but as a means to rally the American people for one last push against Japan. The American people had slacked on buying war bonds and the dead soldier was the United States' ticket to reopening an old cauldron of anger.³⁸

In studies of Japanese-American internment, scholars split on the issue of censorship. Takeya Mizuno, who penned two studies on the newspapers that existed in Japanese-American internment camps, argues the government heavily censored the messages imprisoned citizens received during the war. Mizuno calls any notion of freedom of the press in an internment camp a myth.³⁹ By contrast, Lauren Kessler argues, while there was a degree of oversight by the War Relocation Authority, the government attempted to create “normalcy” at each internment camp via a newspaper. The goal of these papers was to keep residents informed of the policies of the WRA and to maintain morale. Though some of these papers sought to maintain an independent voice, they were trapped between free press and administrative mouthpiece.⁴⁰

³⁸ George H. Roeder Jr., *The Censored War: American Visual Experience during World War Two* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

³⁹ Takeya Mizuno, “Journalism Under Military Guards and Searchlights: Newspaper Censorship at Japanese American Assembly Camps during World War II,” *Journalism History* 29, 3 (2003): 98-106; Takeya Mizuno, “The Creation of the ‘Free’ Press In Japanese-American Camps: The War Relocation Authority’s Planning and Making of the Camp Newspaper Policy,” *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 78, 3 (2001): 503-518.

⁴⁰ Lauren Kessler, “Fettered Freedoms: The Journalism of World War II Japanese Internment Camps,” *Journalism History* 15, 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 1988): 70-79.

Studies of the "Other" and World War II

The fifth category of World War II American mass media, much like the school of historical interpretation from which it is drawn, combines elements of the previous four with race and gender. These studies cover a wide array of topics and are connected only in the sense that they reveal the depth and importance of non-male, non-white players in World War II. Patrick Washburn was among the earliest scholars to address race and the American media of World War II. In *A Question of Sedition*, Washburn argues that the black press in World War II forced the United States examine its sedition laws. While the black press called for victory against oppression at home and abroad, might have fallen under the broad definition of sedition, the Roosevelt administration never prosecuted an African American journalist. Washburn points to attorney general Francis Biddle, not Roosevelt, as the man responsible for enabling the Black press to become more outspoken. Biddle opted to not press charges under the sedition act. Biddle, Washburn writes, was neither a crusader nor unaware of the actions of the Black press. The late Attorney General found himself in a complicated situation and, for the sake of the war effort, persuaded the Roosevelt administration to not push the issue.⁴¹

Other scholars have examined the use of propaganda in the African American press. Harry Amana, for example, writes of the work of political cartoonist Charles Alston, a man who created African-American specific pro-war messages.⁴² Other scholars have broadened the corpus on African American journalism during the war. Jinx

⁴¹ Patrick W. Washburn, *A Question of Sedition: The Federal Government's Investigation of the Black Press during World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

⁴² Harry Amana, "The Art of Propaganda: Charles Alston's World War II Editorial Cartoons for the Office of War Information and the Black Press," *American Journalism* 21, 2 (Spring 2004): 79-111.

Coleman Broussard and John Maxwell Hamilton argue the editorial content of African American newspapers reflected the intense struggle in which African Americans were engaged both at home and in the war.⁴³ Antero Pietila and Stacy Spaulding found the character of African American war correspondence to possess a far less serious tone than that of stories published about racial injustice and civil unrest in the United States.⁴⁴

Historical studies of women, particularly minority women, and other minority groups are far less prevalent, but some scholars have begun fill in these blanks. In 2014, Caryl Cooper used the career of Rebecca Stiles Taylor to begin to examine the life of African American women in the Black press during World War II.⁴⁵ In 2012, Greg Robinson edited an examination of Japanese-American journalists, of whom there were few, in World War II with a book chronicling the lives of Larry and Guyo Tajiri, the husband and wife who ran the *Pacific Citizen*, which amounted to the only independent voice Japanese Americans had during the Second World War.⁴⁶

More recent studies of the “other” in World War II have focused on women during the war. In 2005, Mei-ling Yang examined the creation of frugal housewife as a hero in the American eye. Yang found evidence of hero building in all media platforms as well as propaganda from the U.S. government.⁴⁷ A 2012 article by Ana C. Garner and Karen Slattery actually dated the construction of idealized mothers to the First World

⁴³ Jinx Coleman Broussard and John Maxwell Hamilton, “Covering a Two-Front War: Three African American Correspondents during World War II,” *American Journalism* 22, 3 (Summer 2005): 33-54.

⁴⁴ Antero Pietila and Stacy Spaulding, “The Afro-American’s World War II Correspondents: Feuilletonism as Social Action,” *Literary Journalism Studies* 5, 2 (Fall 2013): 37-58.

⁴⁵ Caryl Cooper, “Selling Negro Women to Negro Women and to the World,” *Journalism History* 39, 4 (Winter 2014): 241-249.

⁴⁶ Greg Robinson, ed., *Pacific Citizens: Larry and Guyo Tajiri and Japanese American journalism in the World War II Era* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012).

⁴⁷ Mei-ling Yang, “Creating the kitchen patriot: Media promotion of food rationing and nutrition campaigns on the American home front during World War II,” *American Journalism* 22, 3 (2005): 55-75.

War. Garner and Slattery argue Woodrow Wilson used the American media to create an idealized mother.⁴⁸ In domestic base newspapers from World War II through Vietnam, base commanders, local editorial staff, and government-funded news organizations used the domestic base newspaper to build the image of ideal fighters. As a common theme of this dissertation was the use of women as sexual objects, another area of scholarship consulted was that of sexuality during wartime. The best source for an examination of the true nature of sexuality in the Second World War was Jane M. Leder's 2006 book, *Thanks for the Memories: Love, Sex, and World War II*.⁴⁹

World War II as Culture Builder

Above all, and inclusive of the aforementioned categories of studies of the American mass media and World War II, America used the mass media in ways both intentional and consequential to build a new identity through the Second World War. In *To Hasten the Homecoming*, Jordan Braverman argues Americans fought the war through the media. Though Europe erupted into struggle in the late 1930's, for Americans the war began on the radio December 7, 1941, with the announcement of the attack on Pearl Harbor. The war ended August 14, 1945, with a kiss on the cover of *Life*. In the interim, the nation had thrilled over the war in theaters, on the front page of newspapers and magazines, and while huddled around radios.⁵⁰ But the media told of an unrealistic,

⁴⁸ Ana C. Garner and Karen Slattery, "Mobilizing Mother From Good Mother to Patriotic Mother in World War I," *Journalism & Communication Monographs* 14, 1 (2012): 5-77.

⁴⁹ Jane M. Leder, *Thanks for the Memories: Love, Sex, and World War II* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2006).

⁵⁰ Jordan Braverman, *To Hasten the Homecoming: How Americans fought World War II through the Media* (New York: Madison Books, 1996).

romanticized war and left the population with both a rose-colored memory of the Second World War and a strange understanding of what it meant to be patriotic.

A collection of scholars have attempted to rectify this phenomenon. Chief among these well-regarded thinkers is the late Paul Fussell, who wrote a trio of books that questioned the glorious and beautiful myths of World War II. In his earliest work, *Wartime*, Fussell explains the realities and the horrors of war. Fussell, himself a World War II veteran, addresses everything from a lack of food to petty infighting to malfeasance of officers in the ranks. In 1996, Fussell wrote *Doing Battle*, a memoir in which he describes his own idyllic boyhood shattered by war and his journey from romantic American to injured, jilted and subversive veteran. In 2003, Fussell wrote his shortest book on the Second World War, *The Boys' Crusade*. In this work, Fussell makes perhaps his most powerful observation. The American infantry of Europe in the latter war is the group to which we point when we describe how "Americans fight wars." Fussell wonders at the wisdom of this predilection.⁵¹

Fussell is not alone in his fascination with public memory and World War II. In 2010, John Bodnar provided an extensive study of the power romantic memory of the Second World War still holds over the American psyche.⁵² Andrew J. Huebner argues the Second World War created a *Warrior Image* up to which future generations of soldiers were expected to live, even though the vision we have of the World War II soldier is at

⁵¹ Paul Fussell, *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Paul Fussell, *Doing Battle: The Making of a Skeptic* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1996); Fussell, 2003.

⁵² John Bodnar, *The "Good War" in American Memory* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2010).

best incomplete and at worst wholly inaccurate.⁵³ Yet, as America transitioned from World War II into the Cold War, as well as the Korean and Vietnam Wars, the old World War II mindset remained ever-present.

The Korean War and the American Mass Media

By comparison to World War II and the Vietnam War, studies of the Korean War in relation to the American mass media are scant. Steven Casey's *Selling the Korean War: Propaganda, Politics, and Public Opinion in the United States, 1950-1953* stands as an example of the few books which exist on the topic and relatively few scholars have written articles that touch on Korea and the American media.⁵⁴ Similar to the Second World War, Korean War films have received much attention. Charles Young studies motion pictures about prisoners of war in Korea, while J.P. Telotte and Hye Sueng Chung each penned an article about films that sought to explain, either via documentary or biopic, the Korean War.⁵⁵ In a 1988 quantitative study, Michael Sherer compared the war photography of the Korean and Vietnam Wars but found the wars to be neither wholly alike nor different. Some content remained consistent while other content evolved.⁵⁶

One study of the media had less to do with the Korean War and military media but is nonetheless a valuable addition to the corpus regarding the media and society in the

⁵³ Andrew J. Huebner, *The Warrior Image: Soldiers in American Culture from the Second World War to the Vietnam Era* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

⁵⁴ Steven Casey, *Selling the Korean War: Propaganda, Politics, and Public Opinion in the United States, 1950-1953* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁵⁵ Charles Young, "Missing Action: POW films, brainwashing and the Korean War, 1954-1968," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio & Television* 18, 1 (March 1998): 49-75; J.P. Telotte, "From Midway to Korea!: John Ford and the De-Fuse Documentary," *Film and History* 45, 1 (2015): 17-24; Hye Sueng Chung, "Hollywood goes to Korea: Biopic politics and Douglas Sirk's *Battle Hymn*," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio & Television* 25, 1 (March 2005): 51-80.

⁵⁶ Michael Sherer, "Comparing Magazine Photos of Vietnam and Korean War," *Journalism Quarterly* 65, 3 (Fall 1988): 752-756.

1950s and critical to understanding the culture in which domestic base newspapers existed. Another work is Anna McCarthy's *The Citizen Machine*. McCarthy argues public memory of World War II and the early Cold War is of the U.S. as the freest country fighting to deliver our unique brand of perfect freedom to the rest of the world. Yet, while we were delivering this freedom, we saw unprecedented assaults on the "Big 5" freedoms – religion, speech, press, assembly and petition.⁵⁷

The Vietnam War and American Mass Media

Mark D. Harmon is among the few scholars to have addressed soldier presses during Vietnam. In *Found, Featured, then Forgotten*, Harmon offers a detailed account of the anti-war soldier press which emerged in the war but does not address base papers proper.⁵⁸ While no scholar has examined the soldier press on base, over the past three decades, historians have begun to paint a clearer, less polarized picture of the role the civilian media played in the conflict. Scholars have a fascination, albeit one of a narrow scope, with the Vietnam War. The primary focus of scholarship about the media during the era of the Vietnam War has centered on the degree to which the media helped or hampered the war effort. Many laypersons hold the media as responsible for America's losing effort. Another popular belief holds that the media served gallantly against a U.S. government that fought a needless war and violated freedoms of the press under multiple presidents.

⁵⁷ Anna McCarthy, *The Citizen Machine: Governing By Television in 1950's America* (New York: New Press, 2010).

⁵⁸ Mark D. Harmon, *Found, Featured, Then Forgotten: U. S. Network Television News and the Vietnam Veterans Against the War* (Knoxville, Tennessee: Newfound Press, 2011).

Daniel Hallin offers perhaps the most thorough exploration of the American media and Vietnam. In *The Uncensored War*, Hallin argues the print and broadcast media reported on the Vietnam in a manner agreeable to United States interests. However, the powerful new medium of television mixed with unprecedented access to the war zone for civilian journalists undermined this pro-United States reporting. Vietnam was so complex that no journalist could hope to explain it in full via a television news package. What journalists could do, relying on their understanding of what makes news, was show the carnage of the war. Thus, every night for the duration of the war, Americans were inundated with images of dead, dying, and suffering American soldiers. Thus, while the message from the media and government was “we are winning,” the images suggested we were not. Worse, neither the government nor the media ever proffered a satisfactory rationale for why we fought. Hallin argues that while television and Vietnam was television’s war, provided vivid and compelling images, it could not deliver context. Television’s built-in shortcoming contributed to a withering of support on the American home front.⁵⁹

Other scholars have crafted their own definition of the operation of the American media in the Vietnam War. In a 1986 article and in 1993’s *Paper Soldiers*, Clarence R. Wyatt argues the government used the media to share the messages it chose, but that messages did not resonate with the people.⁶⁰ In *Once Upon a Distant War*, William Prochnau described the relationships among war correspondents and military brass during

⁵⁹ Daniel C. Hallin, *The “Uncensored War”: The Media and Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

⁶⁰ Clarence R. Wyatt, *Paper Soldiers: The American Press and the Vietnam War* (University of Chicago Press, 1993); Clarence R. Wyatt, ““At the Cannon’s Mouth’: The American Press and the Vietnam War,” *Journalism History* 13, 3/4 (Autumn/Winter 1986): 104-113.

the early Vietnam War and concluded that misinformation, stonewalling, and a lack of cooperation on the part of top military officials forced journalists to seek answers from other sources, namely the bevy of lesser generals and officers who were willing to speak but who each possessed a unique agenda.⁶¹ In 2005, Heubner called for another rethinking of the media and Vietnam, arguing the media had neither sensationalized the news nor underplayed the war. The press had neither resorted to its own moral crusade nor served as willing mouthpiece for the government. Per Huebner, the American media existed in a non-polarized state.⁶²

Other books and studies do not fit neatly in categories but are nonetheless important to any study that seeks to broaden our understanding of the American mass media and the Vietnam War. While her book does not deal directly with media, Heather Marie Stur's *Beyond Combat* offers a broad explanation of what it meant to be a woman, either American or Vietnamese, in Vietnam.⁶³ In *Dispatches*, former war correspondent Michael Herr recounts his own sufferings in the war, which was similar to the pains endured by soldiers.⁶⁴ Cindy Koenig argues that even today, we view the Vietnam War in terms of a good America threatened by an evil force and required to respond.⁶⁵ At least

⁶¹ William Prochnau, *Once Upon a Distant War: David Halberstam, Neil Sheehan, Peter Arnett--Young War Correspondents and Their Early Vietnam Battles* (New York: Random House, 1995).

⁶² Andrew J. Huebner, "Rethinking American Press Coverage of the Vietnam War, 1965-68," *Journalism History* 31, 3 (2005): 150-161.

⁶³ Heather Marie Stur, *Beyond Combat: Women and Gender in the Vietnam Era* (Cambridge University Press, 2011).

⁶⁴ Michael Herr, *Dispatches* (New York: Vintage, 1991).

⁶⁵ Cindy Koenig, "The Story of the Green Berets: An Account of the American Monomyth," *Journal of the Northwest Communication Association* 32 (2003): 59-77.

one scholar, Gerd Horten, has sought to understand the media in Vietnam as it compares to the media in the Iraq wars.⁶⁶

Integration of the American Military

One key text in the crafting of this study did not fit neatly into any of the previous categories of literature. However, Morris J. MacGregor, Jr.'s 2001 *Integration of the Armed Forces 1940-1965* provided invaluable insight into the timing of the shift in domestic base newspapers' coverage and presentation of racial minorities. In his book, MacGregor intricately traces the gains and setbacks faced by African Americans from World War II through the early years of America's direct involvement in Vietnam. The author explains in great detail the grassroots and political efforts that led to further integration over a crucial twenty-five-year period in American history. MacGregor's findings were interesting not because they suggest any correlation between real-world integration and editorial changes but because his historiography provides insight into how slowly progress trickled from the highest levels of government to the lower ranks of the American military. Indeed, the largest leap forward in domestic base newspapers' coverage of minorities occurred a half-decade after the final year MacGregor studied.⁶⁷

A Missing Element

Ample studies have been written on a wide span of topics relating to the United States mass media and war. Yet, there remains a hole that this study can fill. Fewer scholars have paid due attention to the 20th-century domestic soldier press in wartime.

⁶⁶ Gerd Horten, "The Mediatization of War: A Comparison of the American and German Media Coverage of the Vietnam and Iraq Wars," *American Journalism* 28, 4 (Fall 2011): 29-53.

⁶⁷ Morris J. MacGregor, Jr., *Integration of the Armed Forces 1940-1965* (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History United States Army, 2001).

Fewer still have addressed domestic base newspapers during peacetime. While many scholars have explored the myths that have emerged about what it means to be an American, a soldier, or a racial or sexual minority, but none have fully defined the development of those myths. If the present is the culmination of intended and unintended consequences derived from history, a study of military base media, those places where millions of American soldiers who went on to be leaders in their communities and nation lived and were trained in their young adulthood, seems a logical step to rectify this situation.

CHAPTER III - "YE EDITOR WAS DELEGATED"

In addition to sparking the United States economy and industrial complex, World War II also proved the launch point for hundreds of domestic base newspapers. Even before the United States entered the war, newspapers sprang to life at bases throughout the nation. Bases, units, special squadrons, and regional commands began running weekly newspapers. These papers were typically, though not exclusively, free to military personnel and printed on the private presses of local newspapers with funds raised through ads sold by the local civilian press. It was a unique marriage between government-funded and privately-owned journalism that would, in the 1970s, attract the attention of watchdog Senator Bill Proxmire. Whether wholly or partially operated by the military, all papers were overseen by a base public relations coordinator and operated at the pleasure of the commanding officer. The mission of each domestic base newspaper was identical: inform the soldiery of the goings on in their own community, improve morale, increase discipline, and relate CO-approved opinions about the world and American soldiers' place in it.

The domestic base newspaper was meant to be equal parts information and public relations tool, and the staffing of the papers matched. While no domestic base lacked an outlet for messaging, few benefitted from the labor of seasoned journalists. The professionals went to the theaters of war, where rank-and-file reporters clashed with brass over access and censorship.⁶⁸ Since CO's faced less questioning from their green

⁶⁸ Oram C Hutton and Andrew A. Rooney, *The Story of the Stars and Stripes* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1970); Meyer L. Stein, *Under Fire: The Story of American War Correspondents* (New York: J. Messner, 1968); Cindy Elmore, "When the Department of Defense Writes the Rules: A History of Changes to Policy Instructions Governing the Stars and Stripes Newspaper," *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 35, no. 1 (2011): pp.70-85.

reporters, papers across the home front tended to match in style and content, regardless of location. Consequently, the World War II era, more than any other covered in this study, proved the moment at which the domestic base newspaper fit most comfortably into the realm of public relations and propaganda than into journalism.

In this chapter, it will be argued that the era America's involvement World War II, 1941-1945, proved the defining moment for how domestic base newspapers would operate until after the Vietnam War. Rather than consistent, in-depth coverage of issues abroad or at home, readers received an unceasing ode to American exceptionalism, one that swept all Americans, irrespective of economic status, race, gender, age, or ability, along in a landslide of patriotism. Winning the war trumped all. Even after the Allies defeated the Axis, the domestic base newspaper's focus remained on the Second World War. Covering the war gave way to anthologizing and reminiscing about having won the war. Rare was the story or editorial that delved into a social issue. Editors never questioned the judgment of political and military leaders. A negative word about the Allies was not to be found before, during, or after the war.

No sacrifice was too large, no minor deviation from the dominant script too minor, no social issue so dire that it superseded the papers' inclination to be America's most dogmatic, and at times vociferous, fan. It was a stance that would, for better and worse, inform the operation of domestic base newspapers from Roosevelt to Reagan. Ultimately, the historic effect of domestic base newspapers in this era was not the creation of a unique approach to military journalism but the birth of a press that would long be hampered by a dogged devotion to the status quo that began just months prior to Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

Birth of Domestic Base Newspapers

There was not a universal birthday for base newspapers. Each sprang to life more or less as the base did. At the Marine Barracks in New River, North Carolina, what would one day become Camp Lejeune, the first issue of the *Pioneer* ran in the form of a type-written letter on an issue dated October 31, 1941. That issue, such as it was, would be the only *Pioneer* of 1941 and the printing of the paper until September 17, 1942, yet it laid out the operational standards and editorial aims of the publication:

Ye editor was delegated with the task of launching this publication, yours and mine. Note particularly that say yours, for its success depends entirely upon you to furnish the scribe with news and brief items of interest to the members of this command. With its inception it is only appropriate that the scribe introduce you to the principals of this Post, and you, in turn, be brought to their attention by your appearance in these columns. If your name does not appear in this issue, do not despair, it will probably be mentioned in a later edition.⁶⁹

When the paper began its full-time run, the masthead stated this was an authorized base newspaper of the Marine Barracks at New River, North Carolina, free to all enlisted men.⁷⁰ While the base would officially become Camp Lejeune in 1942, the *New River Pioneer* remained the name of the paper until 1944.⁷¹ In December 1942, in an homage to the still-young paper, editors offered a brief glimpse into the rationale behind the publication. In this editorial, the staff revealed the paper had been conceived by Major

⁶⁹ Untitled, *New River Pioneer*, October 31, 1941.

⁷⁰ Masthead, *New River Pioneer*, September 17, 1942.

⁷¹ "New River Base Named Camp Lejeune in Honor of Famous Marine General," *New River Pioneer*, December 24, 1942.

F.N. Reeve and commanding officer Colonel D.L. Brewster. Corporal Vincent A. Byrne was editor of the first issue (that we don't have save the letter), which had been printed on mimeograph paper. The editorialist confirmed that the *Pioneer* had indeed "subsided" for a time and that a short-lived publication called *The Word* had run briefly in its place, but assured readers the paper had now gone ahead with a full-time press schedule to serve approximately 5,000 men.⁷²

Few papers got off to a more heralded start than *The Globe*. Early in its life as the new official base publication, having supplanted the *Pioneer*, *The Globe* received a collection of well wishes from the civilian press. It is unclear these letters of good luck and congratulations were part of a greater campaign or the result of incredible coincidence, but writers from Scripps Howard, The *Times Herald* of Washington, D.C., the *Toledo Times*, *The Hammermill Bond* (Erie, Pennsylvania), the Associated Press Bureau of Philadelphia, the *Youngstown Vindicator* (Ohio), the *Parris Island Boot*, the *Paterson (NJ) Evening News* (New Jersey), and *Phillipsburg Phillipsburger* (New Jersey) all sent in effusive praise for the *Globe* and its staff.⁷³

Name changes were not uncommon among base newspapers. The paper that served the enlisted and civilian personnel of the Norfolk Navy Shipyard changed titles thrice in the 1940s alone, and would later change titles again in the 1970s. In the 1940s, editors opened the naming of the NNSY paper up to the public via a nomination process followed by a popular vote with the winner receiving a war bond. The earliest iteration of the paper was known as the *Norfolk Navy Yard Defender*, an authorized publication

⁷² "History of 'The Pioneer' is Sport Saga of New River Marine Base," *New River Pioneer*, December 10, 1942.

⁷³ "Globe Acclaimed By Newspaper Editors," *The Globe*, March 29, 1944.

edited and approved by the base public relations office. That name lasted until 1943 when the first name-the-paper contest occurred. Voters, who were provided clip-out ballots in the paper, chose *Speed Victory* as the name that would carry the publication through until the end of the Second World War.⁷⁴ Just before VE Day, perhaps feeling the end of the conflict was near, the editors staged another name-the-paper contest. This contest was long enough to outlast the war, and in October 1945 the base paper's name changed to *Service to the Fleet*, the title which it would hold until the late 1970s.⁷⁵

From its first issue in 1942, the NNSY paper, regardless of its title, predicated itself on being for

... the men and women in Norfolk Navy Yard who, by their readiness to their part and by their boundless faith in America, are indeed the finest of the country's patriots ...⁷⁶

Even when the war-paced *Speed Victory* changed titles and content to match *Service to the Fleet*, the masthead maintained a similarly themed call to action:

This newspaper is dedicated to the service of the men and women of the U.S. Naval Shipyard, who by their readiness to do their part and by their unswerving faith in America, have done much to insure the future of their country and peace to the world.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ "Navy Yard Paper to Change Name," *Norfolk Navy Yard Defender*, October 13, 1943; "Speed Victory," *Norfolk Navy Yard Defender*, November 24, 1943.

⁷⁵ "New Name Sought for Speed Victory," *Speed Victory*, April 19, 1945; "New Name 'Service to the Fleet,'" *Speed Victory*, October 14, 1945.

⁷⁶ Masthead, *Norfolk Navy Yard Defender*, March 4, 1942; "The Defender is Born," *Norfolk Navy Yard Defender*, March 4, 1942.

⁷⁷ Masthead, *Norfolk Navy Yard Defender*, March 4, 1942.

Whereas other papers might be more flowery in the explanation of their expectations for soldiers, the editors of the *Defender* made no effort at tact. In the first issue, between the masthead and editorial was written, “We must have ships and more ships, guns and more guns, men and more men – faster and faster. There is no time to lose.”⁷⁸ This industrialist tone carried through the 1980s.

The paper at NNSY, regardless of its name, might have focused on labor and the business of shipbuilding, but it still found plenty of room for military pieces, particularly editorials written by the Armed Forces Press Service. Similarly, even as the papers of Camp Pendleton, Chanute Airbase, and multiple Army installations across Texas began their operations, each tended to draw content from national military news sources. Thus, each regional paper tended to look and read similarly to its counterparts in other corners of the country. One notable exception was the *Armored Force News*, which anthologized the newspaper from Camp (later Fort) Hood in Texas, Fort Knox, Fort Benning, Camp Polk, Pine Camp in New York, Camp Chaffee, Fort Riley, Camp Campbell, Fort George G. Meade, Fort Lewis, Camp Claiborne, Fort Leonard Wood, Camp Bowie, Fort Ord, Fort Bragg, Camp Gordon, and Camp Barkeley, as well as other “undisclosed stations in the United States and abroad.”⁷⁹

Armored Force News, which was edited in Fort Knox, Kentucky, but printed in Covington, Georgia, referred to itself as a “civilian enterprise” but its content typically came from the men and women of the ranks at the aforementioned bases.⁸⁰ *Armored Force News* featured common front and editorial pages, but each base, sometimes

⁷⁸ Untitled slogan under masthead, *Norfolk Navy Yard Defender*, March 4, 1942.

⁷⁹ Masthead, *Armored Force News*, November 9, 1942.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

individual units at a base, received one or more full pages. There was also a Women's Page for Army wives, although not for any women's units. While several papers featured in this chapter ceased to exist after World War II, *Armored Force News* is one of the rare papers in which an explanation for the demise via exists. On October 29, 1945, under the headline "Taps," the editors explained:

Our Job is finished. In parting, may we say that all of us who have worked on the Armored News take pride in the knowledge that we were permitted to reflect in the glory with which the armored units everywhere covered themselves.⁸¹

While *Armored Force News* might have been unique in its design, it was not the only specialty publication to be found among domestic bases. In Sweetwater, Texas, for example, *The Avenger* served the interests of the "'Mother Hive' of the Army WASPs" of Avenger Field. Published by the *Sweetwater Daily Reporter*, this paper was unique among its peers not only for its special audience of almost all women but for an editorial board and staff comprised almost entirely of women. Among the women on staff were co-editors Ann Berry and Betty Bangham, assistant editor Mary Strok, and art editor Betty Merryless.⁸² Sadly, few issues of this paper were preserved. However, in those pages that survive many of the issues of latent and overt sexism that will be addressed later in this chapter managed to escape print.

One of the newspapers analyzed in this chapter was not to a base but to a unit. The *Hellcat News* traveled with the soldiers, or more specifically the command, of the 12th Armored Division from post to post and, ultimately, into the theater of war. The

⁸¹ "Taps," *Armored Force News*, October 29, 1945.

⁸² Masthead, *The Avenger*, October 8, 1943.

Hellcat News boasted of its geographic location via the locator text in its banner head. In November 1943, the location of the paper was listed as “Somewhere in Tennessee,” where the men had been engaged in training exercises.⁸³ When the unit settled for a time at Camp Barkeley, Texas, the banner head reflected that reality. Eventually, in May 1945, the banner head listed the unit’s location as “Heidenheim, Germany.”⁸⁴

Regardless of location, domestic base newspapers dedicated the bulk of their space to soft news: announcements of promotions in the ranks, coverage of base sports teams, recommendations of good reads from librarians, schedules of chapel services, and photos of soldiers generally enjoying their stays at a given base. Editorials and war coverage came from Army press services like the Armed Forces News Service (AFNS) or editorialists working at the pleasure of a base commanding officer. It is unclear whence the men and women behind the domestic base papers of this era came. Typically, the papers refrained from bragging about the professional chops of the editors and writers. What is clear is that the editors of papers, either owing to a public relations lean or general misunderstanding of journalistic practices, often misfired in their attempts to explain their own jobs.

While each base newspaper purported to be, and generally functioned as, a service in the interest of its soldiers, even unseasoned journalists couldn’t resist waxing authoritative on the “proper way” journalism ought to be done. Unsurprisingly, the editors of domestic base newspapers were rigidly, if not blindly, patriotic and prone to defend any attack against the military found in the civilian press, even if those attacks

⁸³ Banner head, *Hellcat News*, November 12, 1943.

⁸⁴ Banner head, *Hellcat News*, May 19, 1945.

came from minor presses many miles from the base. In 1943, a *Chanute Field Wings* editorial lashed out at an unnamed columnist who had accused American women of being lazy.⁸⁵

Camp Lejeune's *Globe* might be the grand prize winner for having found the most obscure nemesis among non-military journalists. In 1946, a *Globe* writer penned a scathing editorial aimed at an unnamed columnist from a Wisconsin weekly newspaper who had recommended Dwight Eisenhower be hanged, the same as Yamashita of Japan. This weekly columnist accused Eisenhower of having headed a fighting force that had committed heinous acts of cruelty. The *Globe*'s response toed a line between apoplexy and deism. After roundly criticizing the "Filthy Journalist," the editorialist wrapped with, "We resent any slight to a man who has fought gallantly and courageously ... 'We swear by Ike'; he is a man's, man."⁸⁶

Messages to Soldiers

From late 1941-1945, domestic base newspapers created a story of the American soldier and his, sometimes her, place in the military, nation, war, and world. During one of the nation's more trying, though ultimately fondly remembered, times, domestic base newspaper fare proved more a public relations endeavor than true journalism. Far from measured, editors were the print version of every soldier's drill sergeant, rarely pleased and always demanding. While cheerleading for the men in combat was common, rare was the positive word for the men of the base. The only consistent was a demand for more dedication and more willingness to fight. Even prior to America's entry into the Second

⁸⁵ "American Women No 'Slacker,'" *Chanute Field Wings*, November 12, 1943.

⁸⁶ "Filthy Journalism," *Globe*, May 8, 1946.

World War, domestic base newspaper editors were hawkish in the extreme. Even in the wake of the attack on Pearl Harbor, the tone of some papers was almost joyous. Near Hattiesburg, Mississippi, the *Camp Shelby Reveille*, which often ran its editorials in the form of letters from a “Private John Doe,” used its go-to fictitious man of the ranks to pen a front-page editorial that read like a celebration of the dawn of war:

The soldiers in my historical pictures, I reasoned, were actually fighting. Their hardships were sacrifices toward the attaining of a military goal. But here I am doing nothing ... My soldier life, I argued, is artificial ... Then suddenly, as forceful as it would have been if a Japanese bomb had struck the orderly tent, came the news that Honolulu was under fire ... With it came the striking, strange realization: We are being attacked. Our blood is being spilled. Men who wear uniforms just like mine are falling under the spray of Japanese machine guns ... Things began to happen. Trucks rolled. Officers darted about. Everyone talked in one tongue, seemed to think in one vein, moved in one direction. The atmosphere was something I had never experienced in my months in the army ... It was then that I became conscious that I and every soldier around me were changed, men. Furthest from my mind were thoughts of menial tasks, my own heartaches, my boredom. I was alive to being a part of a vital force for my country. There was a reason for my being in an army camp ... I went forth to help in my company duties, feeling for the first time in its true significance that “Today I am a soldier.”⁸⁷

⁸⁷ “A Call to Arms,” *The Reveille*, December 10, 1941. Issues of *The Reveille* from 1941-1945 are available at the McCain Archives on the campus of The University of Southern Mississippi in Hattiesburg.

Chanute Field Wings ran a similar editorial, one in which the editorialist said airmen should be honored for the chance to truly wear their uniforms in service to their country.⁸⁸ *Wings* also used its December 12, 1941, issue to pledge its support to the United States' cause and decry the Japanese for its sneak attack.⁸⁹ This dual approach of heralding America as virtuous and the Japanese as subhuman bordering on demonic carried the papers throughout the war. The *Camp Barkeley News* ran a piece that seemed more in line with what one would have expected to find in the civilian press, claiming the Japanese had sneak-attacked the United States and forced the Americans into the conflict.⁹⁰

If any still doubt that American leaders expected to be eventually dragged into the Second World War well in advance of Pearl Harbor, one needs look no farther than the pages of *Wings*. In that paper, even the low-ranking soldiers on the paper's editorial board failed to predict the specific attack on Hawaii but had evidently long anticipated fighting alongside the Allies. In May 1942, *Wings* ran a signed editorial by Major M.F. Ranney in which it was revealed the staff foresaw American entry into the war and made a coverage plan to address the change in reader needs.⁹¹ At Chanute and elsewhere, editors identified that their readers needed not news of World War II, but news of Americans in World War II.

The coverage came with a decidedly pro-American slant, and typically ignored any Allied shortcomings, but readers from 1941-1945 did not go wanting for World War

⁸⁸ "Wear the Uniform," *Chanute Field Wings*, December 12, 1941.

⁸⁹ "Personnel of Chanute Field Pledged to 'Keep 'Em Flying' to Victory!" *Chanute Field Wings*, December 12, 1941; "Democracy Speaks," *Chanute Field Wings*, December 12, 1941.

⁹⁰ "How War Came: While Truce Talked Japan Gained Arms," *Camp Barkeley News*, September 11, 1942.

⁹¹ "A Milestone," *Chanute Field Wings*, May 22, 1942.

II news. Papers ran maps, progress reports, and updates often. Camp Pendleton's *Scout* was the most prolific map printer of the papers in this study, tracing United States progress across New Caledonia, Australia, Guam and Southwest Japan, often though not always under the headline "Where are the Yanks?"⁹² *Wings* went so far as to chastise readers for not appreciating its vast coverage of the war.⁹³ The *Hellcat News* and *Camp Barkeley News*, at least in available issues, each ran regular updates on the state of the war.⁹⁴ However, the war news in the domestic base newspaper never quite seemed on the level, never quite journalistic enough. Stories read more like journalism with a motive, a staff nudging readers toward an inevitable conclusion rather purely fact-driven reporting. Whether meant as motivation, morale builder, or oddly conceived adventure piece, a popular story motif of the war years was that of Americans as conquering, altruistic heroes. Rarely did one learn of a crushing United States defeat, only on the latest in a long line of positive strides.

Chanute Field Wings was particularly diligent in running stories about airmen's heroics and the Army Air Corps role in providing victories. Among the paper's offerings in 1942 and 1943 were stories of men fighting past their breaking points in the most dangerous conditions, and always, without fail, acquitting themselves well.⁹⁵ Above all, the men whose stories found their way into domestic base newspapers were those who

⁹² "Where are the Yanks?" map, *The Scout*, May 15, 1944; "Where are the Yanks?" map, *The Scout*, June 12, 1944; "Front Door to Tokyo," map, *The Scout*, August 7, 1944; "Target in the East," map, *The Scout*, October 5, 1944.

⁹³ "War News is Your News," *Chanute Field Wings*, June 25, 1943.

⁹⁴ "News Summary," *Hellcat News*, November 12, 1943; "The War This Week," *Camp Barkeley News*, May 8, 1942.

⁹⁵ "G.I. Jottings: Weary Gunner Fights without Bullets," *Chanute Field Wings*, October 23, 1942; "He Bears Scar from Pearl Harbor," *Chanute Field Wings*, October 30, 1942; "G.I. Jottings: Mechanic Underwent 400 Nazi Raids," *Chanute Field Wings*, November 6, 1942; Jack Newman, "Air Power Clears the Path for Allied African Victory," *Chanute Field Wings*, May 14, 1943.

adapted the notion of sacrifice. *Wings*, for example, ran a story near Christmas in 1942 about airmen foreswearing the details of their orders and doing grunt work and menial tasks as needed, all for the good of the cause and, in many cases, survival.⁹⁶ At least on the pages of the domestic base newspaper, all men were equally brave and willing to put themselves last.

For the well-warranted celebration of the vast majority of American fighting men, history also tells of a smaller group of soldiers that was much less committed. While many Americans indeed often displayed acts of heroics, there were many desertions throughout the war.⁹⁷ Some Americans in World War II broke, as they have broken in wars back into antiquity. This observation is not meant to shame those who fell short of a nation's expectation of bravery. It serves only to highlight, in perhaps the starkest terms, just how squarely domestic base newspapers qualified as public relations in war coverage. The papers continued to ignore the issue of desertion into the 1980s. The issue of draft-dodging during Vietnam, a hot-button issue in the civilian press, received only limited attention. In later wars, as in World War II, the dominant narrative of the domestic base newspaper was of the proud American fighting man.

Adventures of the Brave

During the Second World War, the soldiers featured on the pages of domestic base newspapers exhibited unflinching nerve and at times almost superhuman fighting abilities. In one of its earliest editions, the *New River Pioneer* featured a story about

⁹⁶ Willis Thornton, "Weathermen Dug Trenches, Cooked, Clerked: Overseas You Do What's to be Done," *Chanute Field Wings*, December 24, 1942.

⁹⁷ Robert Fantina, *Desertion and the American Soldier 1776-2006* (New York: Algora Publishing, 2006).

military journalists caught in a crossfire on the Solomon Islands.⁹⁸ The *Pioneer*, unlike other papers of the era, gave at least a glimpse into the rationale behind running these types of stories. Coincidentally, this explanation came as part of a feature about one Marine who survived a vicious attack by the Japanese and another who'd shot 31 enemy soldiers. In this story, which bore the memorable and epithetic headline "Japs Beat, Stab, Kick, But Can't Kill Marine; Another Shoots 31 Japs," the editors provided a preamble that hinted these stories were meant as a supplement to the training of soldiers at Camp Lejeune. The editor noted:

From time to time the *Pioneer* will print first-hand stories of Marine combat actions, not only for their inherent interest, but for their potential military value to men of this base who may face similar situations in the near future.⁹⁹

When *The Globe* supplanted the *Pioneer* at Camp Lejeune, it began to include all military branches and other Allied Nations in stories of heroism.¹⁰⁰

The multi-base, multi-unit *Armored Force News* tended to shy away from the hero stories. Although the occasional tale of American gumption found its way into print, the paper was more likely to downplay the dangers of military service in favor of shining a light on the positives of a life in uniform. In May 1944, for example, the paper featured a front-page story about a soldier who'd escaped death by belly-crawling away from oncoming Nazis after his tank was destroyed. The same issue featured a story explaining

⁹⁸ "Gripping Story of Solomon Capture Told by Marine Correspondents," *New River Pioneer*, September 17, 1942.

⁹⁹ "Japs Beat, Stab, Kick, But Can't Kill Marine; Another Shoots 31 Japs," *New River Pioneer*, October 15, 1942.

¹⁰⁰ Phil Edwards, "Our War: Naval Victory at Palan Island Saps Jap Strength; Russian Army Takes Odessa, Advances to Ploesti Oilfields," *The Globe*, April 12, 1944.

that the Pacific jungles weren't as dangerous as previously thought.¹⁰¹ The joy of service trumped the dangers in the Camp Wolters *Longhorn* as well.¹⁰² Late in the war, the *Armored Force News* combined the fun of service with the image of toughness. In a March 1945 *Armored Force News* photo an American barber was shown trimming U.S. soldiers with equipment taken from Nazis, including a swastika-emblazoned cape. This photo proved a striking, if somewhat disturbing to modern eyes, example of just how macho and merry the men of the U.S. fighting force were shown to be in domestic base newspapers.¹⁰³

Other Journalistic Concerns

Timeliness was a weakness of the domestic base newspaper in this era. A weekly print schedule limited access hindered the papers' effectiveness in disseminating fresh news. The papers were left to run features that described the scenes but not the nuances of the war. The papers revisited this approach again during the Korean and Vietnam wars. One of the few times a base paper in this era could be said to be roughly on time in the reporting of war news was in relation to D-Day. *The Globe* ran an editorial ostensibly aimed at the Allied invaders of France. In this piece, which ran in the June 7, 1944, issue, a day after the invasion of France had begun, the unsigned writer played the role of consummate promoter of American virtues, promising the demise of Nazi Germany and the glorification of United States Marines:

¹⁰¹ "GI Crawls Miles on Belly Under Fire After His Tank is Destroyed in Nazi Push," *Armored Force News*, May 15, 1944; "No Cobras nor Crocodiles Found in Pacific Jungles – Just Toads, Insects, Crabs," *Armored Force News*, May 15, 1944.

¹⁰² Herbert H. Brin, "Island Life Ain't All Mud, Japs," *The Longhorn*, September 8, 1944.

¹⁰³ "He'll Take a Trimming," *Armored Force News*, March 19, 1945.

The invasion, which is to bring certain death to Hitler's legions, moves this great world conflict one step nearer conclusion ... D-Day is approaching the Pacific and every Marine must prepare himself for this great event when the warlords of the Pacific will be smashed back to their Island Empire.¹⁰⁴

As Alfred Cornebise observed in his works, morale building was a key characteristic of every base newspaper, and took many forms.¹⁰⁵ Motivation – to fight, sacrifice, and win - was treated as sacrosanct by editors. In the *Chanute Field Wings*, for example, as America neared the one-year anniversary of its entry into the war, an editorial on the importance of getting mad and staying so through the conclusion of the conflict made it onto the front page.¹⁰⁶ *Speed Victory* showed a particular skill at crafting messages aimed at keeping up focus and anger. As the invasion of France began, *Speed Victory* rant two editorials demanding more work and sacrifice from the personnel of NNSY.¹⁰⁷ Were that not enough, later in 1944, *Speed Victory* used the story of Mrs. Margaret Causey – who worked on base as a means of helping her son, who was a POW in Japanese hands, return home safely – and the thought of POWs generally to drive home the need for more sacrifice from workers, who were already partaking in a seven-day work week.¹⁰⁸

Another editorial approach to morale sought not to bolster positive morale but to defeat negative. No one was immune to the printed dressing down. Even civilians in the

¹⁰⁴ "Godspeed to Invaders," *The Globe*, June 8, 1944.

¹⁰⁵ Cornebise, 1984; Cornebise, 1983.

¹⁰⁶ "The Will to Fight," *Chanute Field Wings*, October 9, 1942.

¹⁰⁷ "Invasion is on: Work, Fight, Sacrifice!" *Speed Victory*, June 7, 1944; "That Extra Something!" *Speed Victory*, June 21, 1944.

¹⁰⁸ "Son in Jap Prison, Mrs. Margaret Causey Works for His Return in Shop X51," *Speed Victory*, September 7, 1944; "So You Think You are Tired," *Speed Victory*, December 28, 1944.

labor force, both on bases and off, succumbed the typographical wrath of base newspaper editors. In 1943, for reasons not made clear in the piece, Corporal Philip E. Edwards penned a scathing editorial in which he chastised “labor” for not going all-in for the war:

No matter how many Marines are shipped to combat zones, their efforts will fail utterly if American labor continues to allow petty differences to halt, or even slow down war production ... And so today it is work – and more work. There is not time enough for anyone to be concerned with what he can get out of the war. It is high time that everyone discovers what he can contribute to winning the war – including labor.¹⁰⁹

Without compare, the more vitriolic rant of the war came from the *Norfolk Navy Yard Defender* and was aimed at a shipyard that at least one editor felt was not living up to its call of duty. In June 1942, in response to reports of early casualties in the war, the *Defender* accused the men and women of NNSY of not grieving properly:

Why don't you do more than you are doing? Why do you quibble over a gas ration? Why don't you curse utter damnation to the foe during every feverish minute of your work? Why don't you bless every shell you make, every rivet you drive, and wish it a place in the heart of an enemy?¹¹⁰

On the first anniversary of the attacks on Pearl Harbor, a *Defender* editorial featured a similar sentiment; punish the enemy by building more weapons of war.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Philip E. Edwards, “Will Labor Sacrifice to Save Itself,” *New River Pioneer*, July 8, 1943.

¹¹⁰ “Missing,” *Norfolk Navy Yard Defender*, June 10, 1942.

¹¹¹ “Anniversary of Black Day Clarion Call for Workers’ Vengeance,” *Norfolk Navy Yard Defender*, December 7, 1942.

The quickest way into an editor's ire, inconsequential though it might have ultimately been, was to be a task shirker or, worse, wish for the end of the war. Whether he was a real person is not evident, but the *Pioneer* used a letter from a soldier speaking to the people back home and, more specifically, the homesick of the base. The message, common among editorials of the type, was one that both acknowledged, devalued, and attempted to manipulate the soldier's yearning for a lost times:

It was strange here at New River to think of school and home. It would be nice to see it once again, its red-brick walks and ivy-laced walls. So different from the sand, dust, boondocks, and insects of New River. But, then, this is war.

At school one attended classes saw football games, played tennis, ate from a lined covered table decorated with a bowl of roses. The tables at New River have no linen, no roses. This is war. War changes many things.

There were his buddies – Joe spoke of Michigan and it's [SIC] tall straight trees and crystal lakes. Frank dreamed of a Minnesota farm and his young wife. Irving laughed and told of Washington Market and Delaney Street, and the Empire state building, he told the boys they hadn't lived until they had seen New York. But Irv was wrong. He had never seen New England.¹¹²

The author of this bit of nostalgic manipulation masterfully switched tone from warm suggestions of an idealized "home" to colder images of war and service:

All these dreams sharply ended with the sergeant's whistle, the whistle that brought them all back to the present, to duty, to reality. The whistle told him, Joe, Frank, and Irv, what they were here for, why New River must be and why they

¹¹² "War Reflections at New River," *New River Pioneer*, September 24, 1942.

must be at New River. There is a war to be won, and they were the ones to win it. The whistle reminded him that the East, the South, the West could never be without New River and the men of New River. New River is tough, but so is war. The decorum of New England might awe an enemy diplomat, but it would not impress or halt an enemy soldier. The mighty towers of New York would hold little glamor under an enemy bomber.

These were the forces that New River was created to combat. The enemy is tough, but the men of New River are tougher. What New River made could never be made by the sophistication of the East, the languor of the South, the grandeur of the West. New River is making men to fight for a nation – Marines who can lick their weight in wildcats. A shrill little whistle and the rifle in his hand made him think of this, and school and home seemed very far away and very small.¹¹³

If there was one strength of the papers, it was answering, for better or worse, the question “Why are we fighting?” While this answer would not be as readily available in the latter years of the Vietnam War, there was an abundance of rationale during World War II. America fought, the *New River Pioneer* said, for a “guarded peace,” one that would stand the fires of time where the First World War’s peace had failed.¹¹⁴ Later in the war, soldiers were reminded they were fighting collectively for individual freedoms and the legacy of no less than George Washington and Abraham Lincoln.¹¹⁵ *Chanute Field Wings* went into depth about the reasons for the U.S.’s fighting, quoting experts on

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ “A Democratic Manifesto,” *New River Pioneer*, January 14, 1943.

¹¹⁵ “Individual Freedom,” *New River Pioneer*, January 20, 1944; “Washington and Lincoln Point to the Future,” *New River Pioneer*, February 17, 1944.

history and international diplomacy. When Roy E. Bower of the Department of State spoke at Chanute in 1942, Private Fred Carlton was on hand to collect Bower's thoughts on winning the war.¹¹⁶ Later, *Wings* ran a piece by Dr. Pennington Haile, director of the League of Nations, who said the United States was fighting World War II due to the failings of diplomacy at the end of World War I.¹¹⁷

In 1945, *The Globe* gave perhaps the frankest, and retrospectively eerie, justification for the war with a pair of cartoons. The first illustration, drawn by Leroy Tyrell, ran in May 1945 and showed Uncle Sam, John Bull, and Josef Stalin offering freedom to children drawn as stereotypical depictions of the people of France, Poland, China, India, Holland and "South America."¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Fred Carlton, "Must Crush Nazi Leaders: Bower," *Chanute Field Wings*, May 15, 1942.

¹¹⁷ Pennington Haile, "Dr. Haile Tells Victory Aims: 'World Free from Fear and Want,'" *Chanute Field Wings*, September 25, 1942.

¹¹⁸ Leroy Tyrell, "Eternal Hope of Mankind," *The Globe*, May 23, 1945.



Figure 1. Eternal Hope of Mankind.

Cartoon by Leroy Tyrell, *The Globe*, May 23, 1945, depicting Josef Stalin, Uncle Sam and John Bull bringing freedom to the people of the world.

The second cartoon, an unsigned piece that ran in July 1945 under the headline “Getting him back on his feet again,” showed Stalin, Churchill, and Truman helping an anthropomorphic globe onto its feet.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ “Getting Him Back on His Feet Again,” *The Globe*, July 25, 1945.



Figure 2. Getting Him Back on His Feet.

Unsigned cartoon from the July 25, 1945, *Globe* depicting Josef Stalin, Winston Churchill, and Harry Truman assisting an anthropomorphic globe to its feet.

The *Pioneer* occasionally used stories of men who'd already fought as well as latent racism to inspire men to desire work harder and fight more. When Lieutenant James J. Dwyer, Jr., returned from the Solomon Islands, he and the editorial board used his experience versus "the Japs" to demand more effort.¹²⁰ When all other avenues had been exhausted, the *Pioneer* managed to unintentionally preview social media and chat house lingo. Later in October, many decades before screaming in online text, the *Pioneer* used all caps to emphasize the seriousness of Marine preparedness. Under a headline that read "GOT A MINUTE, MARINE? – LET'S HAVE A TALK," the editors generally derided the men of New River to be prepared for the grim realities of "tomorrow."¹²¹

¹²⁰ "Never Give Japs a Break,' Warns Marine Lieutenant in Solomons," *New River Pioneer*, October 1, 1942.

¹²¹ "Got a Minute, Marine? – Let's Have a Talk," *New River Pioneer*, October 8, 1942.

On one occasion, the *Pioneer* found a unique way to inspire morale when it all but fetishized war and killing. The starkest example of this was a piece by then 68-year-old Colonel Anthony J. Drexel Biddle, a Marine who achieved a measure of fame for his authority in the area of close-quarters combat.¹²² Biddle found his way into the pages of the paper in October of 1942, when he taught a bayonet course to soldiers. In one of the more eye-raising leads to be found, Biddle's lecture was described thusly:

The fine art of bayonetting a throat in a twinkling or disabling an enemy barehanded was explained to the Marines at New River during the past week by the nation's most distinguished master of these techniques ...¹²³

Editors believes complaints were meant only to go out from the newsroom, not in. The newspapermen deemed only themselves and CO's worthy of the honor of gripes. The soldiers of the base had no right to criticize anything, lest the war be lost. In 1943, the *Pioneer* laid it out clearly for the reader. Everything, particularly homesickness and discontentment, took second place to the war.¹²⁴ Even entities that base newspapers criticized were off limits for the soldiers. Whereas the *New River Pioneer* once chided labor for not being all in for the war, *The Globe* defended civilian laborers from complaints by Marines.¹²⁵

Perhaps the most sacred institution, the one held as least culpable, accountable, or worthy of criticism, was the media. The *Pioneer*, upon evidently receiving a string of

¹²² "Col. A. J. Biddle Sr. Dead at Age of 73," *New York Times*, May 28, 1948.

¹²³ "Colonel Biddle Teaches New River Marines Science of Sudden Death," *New River Pioneer*, October 22, 1942.

¹²⁴ "Berlin and Tokyo First," *New River Pioneer*, May 27, 1943; "What's in a Gripe," *New River Pioneer*, November 18, 1943.

¹²⁵ "Damn Civilian," *The Globe*, September 27, 1944.

complaints in 1943, ran an editorial classic among civilian and military journalists, a “woe are we” jeremiad, under the headline “You Can’t Win.” In this piece the editors complained that if they were to dig for stories, people would call them nosy. If they dug too little, people called them lazy. If they tried to be funny, people complained they aren’t serious enough and if they tried to be serious, people called them stuffy.¹²⁶

Another important message to all soldiers was that everyone was in the war effort together and rooting for the fighting man. Prominence sold as well in the 1940s as it does in contemporary United States culture. Thus, it was not uncommon for timely and frequent coverage to be dedicated to celebrities who either visited or had some connection to the bases. In 1942, the *New River Pioneer* celebrated the fact that legendary big bander Glenn Miller was bound for North Carolina.¹²⁷ Three years later in California, *The Scout* dedicated its entire front page to an announcement that comedian Eddie Cantor would perform his ode to the American win at Iwo Jima on base.¹²⁸ The *Camp Barkeley News* boasted of a celebrity subscriber in the form of Dinah Shore.¹²⁹ In 1944, the *Camp Wolters Longhorn* covered Helen Keller’s visit.¹³⁰

Why wouldn’t the men want to fight? If one reads the pages of the domestic base newspaper, it becomes clear that everyone wished they were war bound. The *Pioneer* and *Camp Barkeley News* featured stories of men north of 60, World War I heroes, and at least one cartoonist striving to fight.¹³¹ On the opposite end of the spectrum, the *Pioneer*

¹²⁶ “You Can’t Win,” *New River Pioneer*, December 9, 1943.

¹²⁷ “Glenn Miller Salutes New River Sept. 24, ‘Always in My Heart’ Named No. 1. Hit,” *New River Pioneer*, September 17, 1942.

¹²⁸ E.M. Dunne, “Eddie Cantor Salutes ---- Iwo Jima Flag,” *The Scout*, May 14, 1945.

¹²⁹ “Hooray! Dinah Goes for Paper; Wants a Subscription,” *Camp Barkeley News*, May 22, 1942.

¹³⁰ “Famous Woman Addresses Wolterites,” *The Longhorn*, December 8, 1944.

¹³¹ “World War Veteran Re-Enlists; Received Seven Decorations for Campaigns,” *New River Pioneer*, October 29, 1942; “Cartoonist Reenlists,” *New River Pioneer*, November 5, 1942; “Wants To Rejoin,” *New*

assured marines of a certain age their chances of discharge were slim.¹³² Even dogs were in on the war.¹³³

A humorous aspect of the messages to and about soldiers was that, among all the calls to toughen up and fight more, was a collection of stories and editorials defending the toughness of soldiers. When someone other than a newspaperman or a commanding officer complained about the toughness of American fighting men, the newspapers were quick to defend the soldiers. At New River, the *Pioneer* took umbrage when a camp radio broadcaster asked if the nation had grown soft. The editorialist said he couldn't speak for all, as he and the other Marines at Camp Lejeune were too busy training to know.¹³⁴

Demonizing the Japanese

As important to casting the Allies as heroes was cementing the Axis, particularly the Japanese, in the role of villain. While Nazis were certainly unpopular in domestic base newspapers, editors reserved their most vicious attacks for the character and humanity of the Japanese. Even calls for goodwill toward one's brothers in arms were accompanied by allusions to the killing of Japanese soldiers. When the *Pioneer* encouraged soldiers to write letters in combat, it did so with the proviso that these letters should remind marines in war zones why they fought. The headline for this piece was

River Pioneer, November 5, 1942; "Comeback Trail Puts 52-year-old Back in Engineer," *Camp Berkeley News*, May 29, 1942.

¹³² "Won't Discharge Marines over 38 Except Cases of Urgent Dependency," *New River Pioneer*, February 11, 1943.

¹³³ Ralph W. Myers, "Marine War Dogs do Real Job in Jungle Fighting against Japs," *Globe*, March 29, 1944.

¹³⁴ "Are We Getting Soft?" *New River Pioneer*, March 11, 1943.

“Write a letter – Kill a Jap!”¹³⁵ Likewise, stories of Marine heroics in the Pacific were typically accompanied by tails of Japanese atrocities.¹³⁶

The *Pioneer*, with the help of some men returning from the Pacific, offered a series of do’s and don’ts for fighting the Japanese. While the big do, indeed the only do, was to work hard in training, the don’ts included not underestimating the Japanese will or skill in combat, thinking he would surrender, assuming that a Japanese soldier was dead just because he wasn’t moving, collecting Japanese keepsakes, and falling for Japanese propaganda by either reading leaflets dropped from a plane or talking to an English-speaking Japanese person. The soldiers would likely not be dead and the keepsakes were likely booby-trapped. As to the friendly English speaker, the *Pioneer* dismissed him with, “The English is terrible and, besides, he’s probably coming right back to shoot the place up.”¹³⁷

In what would become a common practice throughout the war, holidays were often appropriated as a means to deify Americans and demonize the enemy. Holidays, victories, and commemorations all were ushered under the umbrella of inspiring men to fight. The *Pioneer*, from November 1942 through February 1943, used the fact that the United States was beginning to notch victories over the Germans, the celebration of Thanksgiving, the first anniversary of the attacks on Pearl Harbor, Christmas, the Marine

¹³⁵ “Write a Letter – Kill a Jap!” *New River Pioneer*, October 29, 1942.

¹³⁶ “Marine Wounded in Guadalcanal Action Tells Gory Story of Jap Tactics There,” *New River Pioneer*, February 25, 1943.

¹³⁷ “‘Do’s’ and ‘Don’t’s’ of Jap Fighting Listed by Veterans of Jungle Warfare,” *New River Pioneer*, March 11, 1943.

Corps' birthday to chastise the men to fight on, sacrifice more, and never stop seeking the desolation of the enemy.¹³⁸

In the 1943 *New River Pioneer* Christmas issue, the front page was dominated by a cartoon labeled "Christmas Presents for Tojo." The presents were weapons, "With thousands of Camp Lejeune trained Marines to use 'em!"¹³⁹ When the *Pioneer* transitioned to the *Globe*, the anti-Japanese sentiment unsurprisingly transitioned as well. In June 1944, the *Globe* wrote a "Letter to Tojo" unofficially announcing to the Japanese people, who even under the most charitable assumptions would be unlikely to read the base newspaper of Camp Lejeune, that American victory was imminent.¹⁴⁰

Future Japanese-themed pieces in *The Globe* followed a predictable, if counter-intuitive pattern of presenting the Japanese as skilled and shrewd, yet unethical and barbaric, fighters who were nonetheless no match for the United States Marine. As had been the case in the *Pioneer*, *The Globe* never missed a chance parlay a holiday or U.S. victory into rhetorical collateral.¹⁴¹ Even after the war's end, *The Globe* continued to run stories lambasting the Japanese as religiously devoted to their cause and unmercifully cruel to their enemies.¹⁴² In the wake of the battle for Iwo Jima, *The Globe* ran an

¹³⁸ "The Tide is Turning," *New River Pioneer*, November 12, 1942; "A Marine Thanksgiving," *New River Pioneer*, November 26, 1942; "Remember Pearl Harbor – And How!" *New River Pioneer*, December 3, 1942; "Peace on Earth, Good Will Toward Men," *New River Pioneer*, December 24, 1942; "Footprints on the Sands of Time," *New River Pioneer*, February 18, 1943.

¹³⁹ "Christmas Presents for Tojo," *New River Pioneer*, December 23, 1943.

¹⁴⁰ "Letter to Tojo," *The Globe*, June 14, 1944.

¹⁴¹ James E. Hague, "Japs Who Fought in Solomon Said to be Superior to Guam Units," *The Globe*, October 25, 1944; "The New Year Ahead," *The Globe*, January 3, 1945; "Sniper Overrated," *The Globe*, January 10, 1945; "First Official Pictures of Iwo," *The Globe*, March 7, 1945; "Spirit of Suribachi," *The Globe*, May 30, 1945; "Marines Return to Okinawa," *The Globe*, April 11, 1945; "Marines Push Ahead on Okinawa," *The Globe*, April 11, 1945; "Marines at Iwo Jima Slept, Ate and Wallowed on Death Eye-witness Says," *The Globe*, April 11, 1945; Leroy Tyrell, "Honorable Hirohito Hot," *The Globe*, June 6, 1945.

¹⁴² Camp Newspaper Service, "Japs Revere Hirohito as 'Earth God,'" *The Globe*, September 12, 1945; George R. Voight, "Nips Always Victorious in Prison Bouts," *The Globe*, October 10, 1945.

editorial titled “What Price Iwo?” in which the editors spun the massive loss of American lives reported in the civilian print media into a positive. The general call to action was to view the losses as tragic but ultimately worth it if the United States defeats Japan.¹⁴³

The Camp Wolters *Longhorn*, in its few available issues, treated the Japanese as mere laughing stocks, using an editorial cartoon to depict a Japanese propagandist radio announcer lying about the results of the battle for Iwo Jima.¹⁴⁴

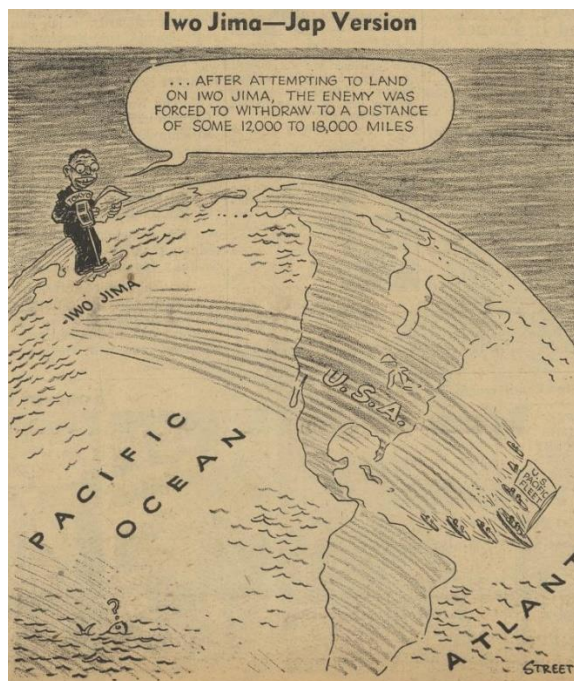


Figure 3. Anti-Japanese Cartoon.

Cartoon by Street, which ran in the February 23, 1945, *Longhorn*, depicts a Japanese propagandist misrepresenting the truth of battle for Iwo Jima.

¹⁴³ “What Price Iwo?” *The Globe*, March 21, 1945.

¹⁴⁴ Street, “Iwo Jima – Jap Version,” *The Longhorn*, February 23, 1945.

The *Camp Barkeley News* fell in line with the dominant racist notions of the day, having written at least one story accusing the Japan of forcing its citizens to worship Hirohito and another that upheld the stereotype of the Japanese soldier as sneaky.¹⁴⁵

The “common sense,” to borrow from late critical cultural theorist Stuart Hall, of the hour was that of evil Japanese soldiers and politicians traipsing on the traditional rules of war.¹⁴⁶ The stories didn’t necessarily have to be true, only based enough in truth for readers to understand the stakes of the fight. *Chanute Field Wings* once ran a cartoon in which an air gunner burst through the front page of a newspaper which read “Captured U.S. Fliers Murdered by Japs,” the message being that U.S. gunners were ready to exact revenge.¹⁴⁷ Camp Pendleton’s *Scout* was even less tactful. In addition to stories that gloated over the destruction of Japanese targets, *Scout* editors followed suit with much of the civilian world by resorting to classic racism.¹⁴⁸ Late in the war, the *Scout* ran a cartoon by Captain Art Gates depicting three soldiers wearing gas masks. Two Americans identify the third as a Japanese soldiers due to his diminutive height and, more important, the fact the eye holes in his gas mask have been fashioned into squints.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ Homer Ferguson, “Medic Worshipped Hirohito – Unwillingly,” *Camp Barkeley News*, March 13, 1942; “Jap Soldier at His Best during Night Tactics, Pacific Veterans Say,” *Camp Barkeley News*, December 29, 1944.

¹⁴⁶ Hall.

¹⁴⁷ “Air Gunners Will Give Our Reply,” *Chanute Field Wings*, May 21, 1943.

¹⁴⁸ “Remember Pearl Harbor?, Japanese Certainly Must After B-29 Raids on Tokyo,” *The Scout*, December 4, 1944.

¹⁴⁹ Art Gates, untitled cartoon, *The Scout*, January 29, 1945.

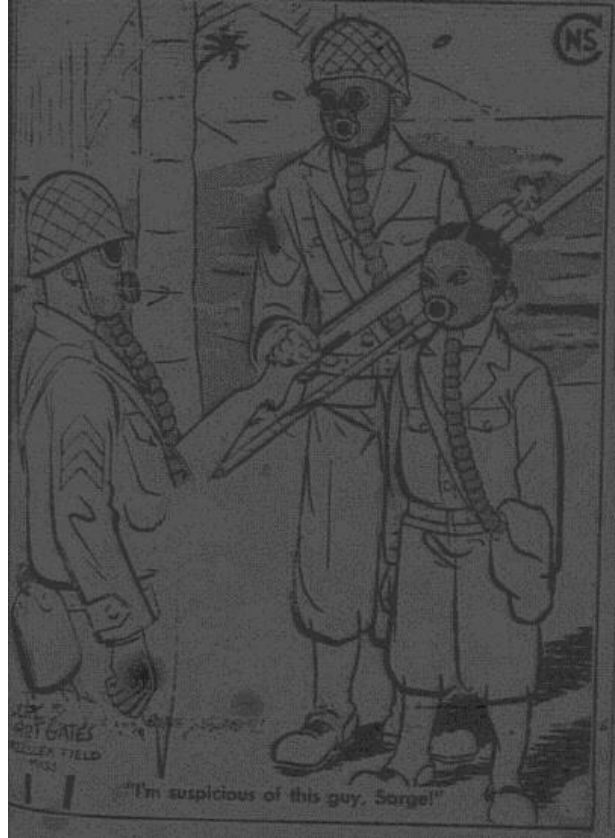


Figure 4. Gasmask Racism.

Cartoon from Art Gates, which ran in the January 29, 1945, *Scout*, depicting Americans identifying a Japanese soldier using traditional racial stereotypes.

Although the papers of NNSY were typically focused on the production side of the war, they still occasionally found room for the bashing of the Japanese. In the over-the-top, life-and-death style of its editorials, NNSY papers opted for the most colorful language when describing the Japanese enemy. In December 1942, the *Defender* reprinted a speech in which former United States ambassador to Japan Joseph C. Crew called the Japanese “barbarous hordes” who were keen on burning, bombing, bayoneting, and raping.¹⁵⁰ In 1944, the name of the paper had changed but the rhetoric remained the same. Upon U.S.

¹⁵⁰ “About the Japs,” reprint of speech by Joseph C. Crew, *Norfolk Navy Yard Defender*, December 23, 1942.

victory in the Philippines, *Speed Victory* told of Japanese soldiers doing things most horrid to captured U.S. and Filipino soldiers.¹⁵¹

Reactions to Victory

Even when big Allied victories began mounting and enemy nations rather than units were removed from the battlefield, the editorial call of fight on rang forth. In Rantoul, *Wings*' calls for focus in the face of success came as early as April 1943.¹⁵² When the war began to truly swing fully in the Allies' favor, *The Globe* encouraged the men of Camp Lejeune to not count the war as won.¹⁵³ Similarly, the *Hellcat News*, at that point still emanating from "Somewhere in Tennessee," quoted no less than Winston Churchill in an effort to keep focus high.¹⁵⁴

When Germany exited the conflict, celebrations in the base newspapers were tempered, to say the least. *Wings* treated the moment as merely a marker on the road to victory.¹⁵⁵ In *The Globe*, all eyes were on the war in the Pacific on May 9, 1945.¹⁵⁶ However, a week later, the paper was commemorated V-E Day with a full front dedicated to the fall of Germany and a poem on an inside page.¹⁵⁷ When the war ended, finally a celebration occurred on the pages of base newspapers. *The Globe* commemorated V-J

¹⁵¹ "The Horror Story is Out," *Speed Victory*, February 2, 1944.

¹⁵² "Whoa, There, Pollyannas!" *Chanute Field Wings*, April 27, 1943.

¹⁵³ "It Isn't Over, Mac!" *The Globe*, August 30, 1944.

¹⁵⁴ "Churchill Warns Allies against Overoptimism: Says Fighting to Come," *Hellcat News*, November 12, 1943.

¹⁵⁵ "One Down, Two to Go," *Chanute Field Wings*, September 10, 1943.

¹⁵⁶ "Above Sound of Victory, War Rumbles On," *The Globe*, May 9, 1945; "Step up Jap War as Nazis Quit," *The Globe*, May 9, 1945.

¹⁵⁷ "Lejeune Gives Thanks for Victory," *The Globe*, May 16, 1945; Glenn D. Parrot, "Farewell," *The Globe*, May 16, 1945.

Day with two photos of mass celebration under “Salute to Victory – Thanks to God!” and a recollection of the benchmarks achieved by Marines on the road to victory.¹⁵⁸

The Scout was perhaps the most prolific publisher of stories about the war’s end and its ramifications for soldiers. On August 20, 1945, a *Scout* story asked what no doubt was on many soldiers’ minds, “And Now What?”¹⁵⁹ At least one *Scout* staffer sought to find answers. In the same issue, Sergeant J.F. Andrews began a weekly piece titled “I’ll tell ya what – I’m going to do” in which he did man-on-street interviews with soldiers to find out what each planned to do post-war.¹⁶⁰

The *Armored Force News*, which had previously not published many stories of the exploits of the soldiers, seemed to have built up quite the cache of gloating over the course of the war. When Germany exited the conflict in 1945, the paper rattled off six stories celebrating the nation’s win, the role of tanks in the same, and a new target on Japan.¹⁶¹ The *Armored Force News* staff was so keen to explore the many ways tanks had won that phase of the war, they ran the headline “Germany Crushed Beneath Tank Treads” headline on pages 1, 4, and 5. V-J Day coverage in the paper read almost subdued compared V-E Day. On the front page was a photo of the United States flag with the headline “Old Glory flies all over the world,” on the back a graphic asking “Where are the tyrants of yesteryear?”¹⁶² The graphic was simple yet forceful. The word “Viva”

¹⁵⁸ “Salute to Victory – Thanks to God!” *The Globe*, August 22, 1945; “Marine Stepping Stones Leading to the Collapse of Japan,” *The Globe*, August 22, 1945.

¹⁵⁹ “And Now What?” *The Scout*, August 20, 1945.

¹⁶⁰ J.F. Andrews, “I’ll Tell You What – I’m Going to Do,” *The Scout*, August 20, 1945.

¹⁶¹ “Germany Crushed Beneath Tank Treads.” *Armored Force News*, May 14, 1945; “Tank Gunners Sights Trained Upon Japan,” *Armored Force News*, May 14, 1945; “Enlisted Men’s View of V-E Day,” *Armored Force News*, May 14, 1945; “Major General’s View of V-E Day,” *Armored Force News*, May 14, 1945; “Sound Off,” *Armored Force News*, May 14, 1945.

¹⁶² “Old Glory Flies All over the World,” *Armored Force News*, August 20, 1945; “Where are the Tyrants of Yesteryear?” *Armored Force News*, August 20, 1945.

ran next to a photo of Mussolini, “Heil” next to Hitler, and “Banzai” next to a photo of Supreme Japanese military leader Hideki Tojo.

The Camp Wolters *Longhorn* and Abilene Army Airfield’s *The Fighter* editorials aimed to keep the men’s fighting spirit up, even after big wins.¹⁶³ The *Longhorn*, however, was not beyond some not-so-good-natured digs at the Axis. The December 15, 1944, *Longhorn* featured a cartoon by Corporal Bill O’Brien which depicted Hitler being hanged by a noose made our U.S. hundred dollar bills.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ “Optimism of Jap Defeat Not Justified by Facts,” *The Longhorn*, March 16, 1944; “The Fighter Side,” *The Fighter*, February 23, 1945.

¹⁶⁴ Bill O’Brien, “Good Noose ... A Christmas Tie for Adolf,” *The Longhorn*, December 15, 1944.



Figure 5. Christmas Tie For Hitler.

Cartoon by Bill O'Brien from the December 14, 1944, *Longhorn*, depicting Adolf Hitler being hanged by a noose made of U.S. 100-dollar bills.

In May 1945, just before the end of the war, another odd cartoon ran in *The Longhorn* in which a football player wearing a United States jersey bowls over players in German and Japanese uniforms. In the background is a previously trampled player in an Italian jersey.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ "Two Down and Goal to Go!" *The Longhorn*, May 11, 1945.



Figure 6. Two Down and Goal to Go.

The front page of the May 11, 1945, *Longhorn* featured an unsigned cartoon depicting an American football player bowling over Italian, German, and Japanese foes.

The least celebratory of the papers was that of the Norfolk Navy Shipyard. When the war ended, there was no grand celebration, only a story in September 1945 announcing the end of seven-day work weeks.¹⁶⁶ Later in the year, and early in January 1946, after *Speed Victory* had become *Service to the Fleet*, there was a commemoration of the war gone by and a story about the return of some G.I.s aboard the *Queen Mary*.¹⁶⁷ Beyond those stories, production remained the focus of NNSY and its base paper.

¹⁶⁶ "Five Day Work Week Begins Monday: Employees Welcome Longer Rest Period After 4-year Grind," *Speed Victory*, September 6, 1945.

¹⁶⁷ "Lest We Forget," *Service to the Fleet*, December 29, 1945; "Queen Mary in New York Harbor Loaded with Happy GI's," *Service to the Fleet*, January 18, 1946.

Messages about American Racial Minorities

During World War II, to be anything other than a white American was to be swept up, at least editorially, in a rush of patriotism, teamwork, and good feelings. African Americans were, to the extent they were mentioned at all in domestic base newspapers, were always portrayed as 100 percent behind the war effort. Patrick Washburn has examined the falsity of this idea in depth in *A Question of Sedition*. Far from acquiescing the cause of America, many African Americans, particularly those in the Black Press, chose World War II as the moment at which to demand equality.¹⁶⁸ This equality was not fast in coming. Although minorities filled the ranks of the Army and Navy in record numbers, the branches of the military remained segregated.¹⁶⁹

In the 1940s domestic base newspaper, nuance in regards to race was never truly a factor. The closest any paper in this study came to reporting on the life of black soldiers was found in the *New River Pioneer* in 1942. The story, which ran under the headline “Negro recruit training now in progress,” announced the arrival of African American Marines at Montford Point, a satellite camp of Camp Lejeune now known as Camp Gilbert H. Johnson. The news was innocuous, however, stating only:

Training is progressing smoothly with the first Negro recruits displaying keen aptitude for military training. Intelligence and education standards in the group are unusually high ...¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ Patrick W. Washburn, *A Question of Sedition: The Federal Government's Investigation of the Black Press during World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

¹⁶⁹ MacGregor, 17-122.

¹⁷⁰ “Negro Recruit Training Now in Progress,” *New River Pioneer*, September 17, 1942.

This detached welcome, tinged as it was with racism, might be attributable to the fact that the Marines, unlike the Army and Navy, were allowing black enlistees for the first time. The inclusion of African Americans was not voluntary. As MacGregor uncovered, the Marine Corps had entered the Second World War fully intent on continuing its tradition of forbidding black enlistments. However, through the persistence of black volunteers and Franklin Roosevelt's decision to grant African Americans a greater role in the Navy, the Marine Corps succumbed to the march of progress.¹⁷¹

At New River, the paper remained aloof to its African-American contingency. The *Pioneer* featured a call for unity, but this was meant as a call for cooperation among the Allied nations, not racial groups in the United States. "Herr Shicklegruber and his cohorts," a *Pioneer* editorial from July 29, 1943, claimed, wanted the Allies fighting internally. However, the editorialist was convinced no such in-fighting would occur. "We are fervently proud that we are Americans," editorial reads. "We should be equally proud that all of us are human beings."¹⁷²

The *Pioneer* was not the only paper with a strange understanding of equality and diversity. In an October 1942 editorial, *Chanute Field Wings* celebrated the unique names to be found in a military barracks. The editorial listed, "Antoniazzi! Balinski! Blaskowski! Chavez! Kurzawa! Levin! Mahoney! Tkachuk!" but did not append these names to a race, although one can safely assume the writer meant to conjure in the readers vague conceptions of what the holders of those names looked like. Not all stories were bad, but stories that portrayed African Americans in purely positive, meritocratic

¹⁷¹ MacGregor, 100-112.

¹⁷² "One Cause, One Fight, One Freedom!" *New River Pioneer*, July 29, 1943.

ways were rare. In 1945, for example, the *Armored Force News* featured a story, albeit buried on page 13, about an African American receiving the Distinguished Service Cross.¹⁷³

There was no mention of racial camaraderie. The patriotism of African Americans, it seem, was taken for granted.¹⁷⁴ Portrayals of African Americans followed the predictable stereotypes of athlete, entertainer, gentrified patriot, and soldier servant. Dichotomous stereotypes nestled comfortably among the pages of most of the papers. African Americans made the paper at New River as members of a revival of “Shuffle Along.”¹⁷⁵ After the war, *The Globe* ran an announcement for a different minstrel show.¹⁷⁶ Other entertainers featured prominently and were covered based on their talents rather than their race. Legendary jazz musician Louis Armstrong, who appeared at Camp Lejeune once during the war and received favorable coverage *The Globe*.¹⁷⁷

Among athletes, boxing great Joe Louis appeared in *Armored Force News* and *Chanute Field Wings*.¹⁷⁸ Other boxers, even amateurs, occasionally graced the pages of a base newspaper. In a 1944 *Wings*, in the tiniest of blurbs under the tiniest of pictures and one-word headline, Private Evans Riley of Fort Knox was celebrated for having participated in the Golden Glove tournament in Chicago.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷³ “Negro Captain Awarded D.S.C.,” *Armored Force News*, March 26, 1945.

¹⁷⁴ “Roll Call, American Style,” *Chanute Field Wings*, October 2, 1942.

¹⁷⁵ “Negro Musical Comedy Next USO Camp Show,” *New River Pioneer*, February 4, 1943.

¹⁷⁶ “Minstrel Show Opens Tomorrow at CHB, Plays Camp Theatre Monday and Tuesday,” *The Globe*, September 2, 1948.

¹⁷⁷ “Armstrong Brings Band Here Sunday,” *The Globe*, September 27, 1944.

¹⁷⁸ “Knox Gets Louis Tour Sept. 27 and Pro Tennis Tourney Oct. 7-10,” *Armored Force News*, September 20, 1943; “Duck, Here Comes That Left,” *Armored Force News*, October 4, 1943; “Louis, Zale Appear Here Today,” *Chanute Field Wings*, October 10, 1941; “Joe Louis at Chanute October 6!” *Chanute Field Wings*, September 24, 1943.

¹⁷⁹ “Eliminated,” *Chanute Field Wings*, March 6, 1944.

It's hard to determine if one would be better mentioned inaccurately or not mentioned at all. African Americans, for all the stereotypes, at least existed on the pages of base newspaper. Few and far between were stories of non-African-American racial minorities. However, when other races appeared, they received treatment similar to African Americans. The Fijians got a photo spread in *The Globe*, and were called both "Junglemasters" and great fighters in a single headline.¹⁸⁰ Similarly, in a 1943 article in *Wings*, Private Jonathan Alau, a native of Hawaii, was mentioned as a medic but pictured wearing a sarong and holding a machete.¹⁸¹

Messages about Women

Women were far more often covered than racial minorities, but their coverage fell into similar, predictable patterns. Depending on whether a woman was in or out of an American uniform, she might be portrayed as heroic and representing the best of the nation, a mother or sweetheart waiting at home and needing protection, a caregiver, a sexpot and, in the case of women from other countries, a seductress out to destroy soldiers. Perhaps not coincidentally, the most frequent stereotypes to be found were of the positive "women in uniform" and negative "women as male fantasies" varieties.

Many of the papers in this study ran pinup photos of scantily clad women throughout the years of this study. During World War II, the photos would not qualify as risqué by modern standards, but the goal in the 1940s was the same as it would be well into the 1970s. The lonely male soldiers needed pretty faces to admire. The *Hellcat News*, the publication that served the 12th Armored Division in Camp Barkeley, Texas, replaced

¹⁸⁰ "Junglemasters. The Fighting Fijians," *The Globe*, January 31, 1945.

¹⁸¹ "Medic from Oahu," *Chanute Field Wings*, March 19, 1943.

its staff editorials with pinup photos under the headline “Editorial of the Week.” Marjorie Lord and Marjorie Reynolds each had turns appearing in this unique brand of editorial.¹⁸²

Even stories that weren’t meant to be overtly sexualized nonetheless contained photos of traditionally attractive young women. In *Chanute Field Wings*, one article stated plainly in its headline “Play has Gals (See Pictures below), Laughs (see show).”¹⁸³ In the *Pioneer*, a story about a show on base was accompanied by a photo of a tap dancer in a tutu and the announcement of Glenn Miller’s visit to base was accentuated by a photo of Miller with “A Lovely Lass.”¹⁸⁴ Miller would later appear in the *Camp Barkeley News* as the guest judge of a beauty contest.¹⁸⁵ A recurring theme among papers was to stage beauty pageants. The staff of *Armored Force News* covered the “Miss Armorette” competition with more consistency than virtually any other topic. From March-May 1943, eight front and inside page features ran in that publication.¹⁸⁶

The Miller photos were hardly meant to be sultry. Indeed, reasonable people could argue the level of offense these would have given then or should give now.

However, for every debatable photo, there were many more pictures that were clearly

¹⁸² “Editorial of the Week,” *Hellcat News*, May 11, 1944; “Editorial of the Week,” *Hellcat News*, March 4, 1944.

¹⁸³ “Play Has Gals (See Pictures Below), Laughs (See Show),” *Chanute Field Wings*, January 22, 1943.

¹⁸⁴ “With Revue,” *New River Pioneer*, September 17, 1942; “Glenn Miller and Lovely Lass,” *New River Pioneer*, September 24, 1942; “Need Women Volunteers to Aid in Registration Here for Ration Books,” *New River Pioneer*, February 4, 1943.

¹⁸⁵ “Beauty Contest to be Judged by Glenn Miller,” *Camp Barkeley News*, June 5, 1942.

¹⁸⁶ “Cast Your Vote for Queen: Campbell Ordinance Worker Among This Week’s Ten,” *Armored Force News*, March 1, 1943; “These Armorette Contestants are Beautiful – But Late,” *Armored Force News*, April 5, 1943; “Armorette Finals Start on April 19 – Use Your Vote,” *Armored Force News*, April 12, 1943; “Armorette Finals Start – Be Sure to Use Your Vote!” *Armored Force News*, April 19, 1943; “The 24 Finalists in Nation-wide Armored Force Beauty Contest: Vote for the Most Beautiful – Miss Armorette Wins a Free Trip or \$150 War Bond,” *Armored Force News*, April 26, 1943; “The 24 Finalists in Nation-Wide Armored Force Beauty Contest: Winner to Get Nation-wide Acclaim – Choice of Free Trip or \$150.00 in Bonds,” *Armored Force News*, May 3, 1943; “Here She Is – Miss Armorette,” *Armored Force News*, May 17, 1943; “Miss Armorette Receives Bonds, Flashes Victory Smile,” *Armored Force News*, May 24, 1943.

meant purely for the enjoyment of male eyes. The *Pioneer*, in its brief existence, featured the likes of Christine Forsythe, Shirley Van, Helen Goudvis, Patricia Clark, Betty Grable, and Dorothy Lamour, as well as unnamed women in few clothes.¹⁸⁷ The *Camp Barkeley News* landed photos of celebrities such as Rita Hayworth and Ann Baxter as well as women from the local area.¹⁸⁸ In one of the stranger uses of a pin-up photo, Abilene Army Air Field's *The Fighter* used Annette Sorrell, the daughter of the Polish Consul General in New York, as a pin-up girl.¹⁸⁹

The Globe often offered more than one naughty photo per week, including shots of Yvonne De Carlo, Lorraine Day and Toni Seven.¹⁹⁰ The *Armored Force News* was particularly fond of providing pinups for its readers. Some were classic photos of the likes of a glamorous Dale Evans, others were full-page pictures with no headlines.¹⁹¹ Perhaps the strangest combination of photos to be found in the *Armored Force News* was a pair of pictures on the back page of the January 28, 1945, issue picturing a "Pin-Up

¹⁸⁷ "A Christmas Package," *New River Pioneer*, December 10, 1942; "She's Here Tonight," *New River Pioneer*, January 7, 1943; "Lovelies in USO Show Here Next Week," *New River Pioneer*, April 1, 1943; "Manual of Arms (and Legs)," *New River Pioneer*, December 9, 1943; "The Alluring Lamour," *New River Pioneer*, October 21, 1943; "Beauty at the Beach," *New River Pioneer*, December 30, 1943; "War Bond Show Opens Tonight," *New River Pioneer*, November 4, 1943; "Speaking of Figures," *New River Pioneer*, November 4, 1943.

¹⁸⁸ "Rita Hayworth Due Here for Big Relief Show," *Camp Barkeley News*, August 14, 1942; "Ann Baxter – Christmas Bonus," *Camp Barkeley News*, December 24, 1943; "Is Morale Low, Buddy? Take Look at These Contest Cuties and Cheer Up!" *Camp Barkeley News*, May 29, 1942.

¹⁸⁹ "The Fighter Girl," *The Fighter*, March 23, 1945.

¹⁹⁰ "And Lamour, Too!" *The Globe*, September 27, 1944; "Fresh as a New Day," *The Globe*, January 3, 1945; "The 'Number,'" *The Globe*, August 29, 1945.

¹⁹¹ "A Morale Booster-Upper," *Armored Force News*, November 23, 1942; "Sweet N' Low," *Armored Force News*, December 7, 1942; "The Eyes Have It," *Armored Force News*, January 18, 1943; Untitled art, *Armored Force News*, March 6, 1944; Untitled photo, *Armored Force News*, May 1, 1944; Untitled Photos, *Armored Force News*, May 8, 1944.

Girl,” Delores Moran, below a picture of a “Pinned-down boy,” an unnamed soldier sprawled out in the mud.¹⁹²

Not all pinups were real people. The *Armored Force News* once ran a cartoon by Sergeant Tony Abruzzo in which a woman identified as Carol Kemp, star of the “Randy Allen” comic strip, is shown in a bonnet, bra, frilly skirt that barely covers her buttocks, and an exposed midriff as she towers over soldiers trying to glare up her skirt.¹⁹³ The *Camp Barkeley News* also ran a strange submission from Lieutenant William L. Russell, who wanted to give soldiers fighting in North Africa “a girl to entertain them.” The result was a cartoon and poem ode to “Dirty Gertie from Bizerte, ‘Miss Latrine, 1930.’”¹⁹⁴



Figure 7. Dirty Gertie.

William L. Russell’s sketch of “Dirty Gertie from Bizerte” graced the pages of the July 16, 1943, issue of the *Camp Barkeley News*.

¹⁹² “Pinned-Down Boy,” *Armored Force News*, January 28, 1945; “Pin-Up Girl,” *Armored Force News*, January 28, 1945.

¹⁹³ Tony Abruzzo, “Happy New Year,” *Armored Force News*, December 27, 1943.

¹⁹⁴ William L. Russell, “Our ‘Dirty Gertie,’” *Camp Barkeley News*, July 16, 1943.

On the opposite extreme of the pinup art were stories celebrating women's role in select elements of the war effort. In the *Pioneer*, the editors "typified" women at war with a photo of a "white-haired New York volunteer" who, as a part of "Women at War Week," was attempting to sell war bonds and stamps.¹⁹⁵ The *Pioneer* also had stories about women on base, soldiers' wives, serving as hostesses.¹⁹⁶ *Chanute Field Wings* ran a feature on the first woman truck driver on base.¹⁹⁷ There were also stories about women in the service, as parts of the WACS, WASPS, and Women's Reserve. The *Pioneer* featured consistent coverage of the Women Marine Reserve, particularly when Major Ruth Cheney Streeter, director of the Women's Reserve, planned a visit to Camp Lejeune in order to prep the base for the arrival of its first women reservists. The subsequent arrival of hundreds of generally well-received, at least in print, women also received generous coverage.¹⁹⁸

The inclusion of women in the military did not end the use of other women as eye candy for the boys. Often, stories featuring progressive visions of women ran alongside photos of women in various stages of undress. The Camp Pendleton *Scout* once ran a full page pictorial of "Marine Beauties" in swimsuits. The photos of real women were surrounded by cartoon soldiers ogling.¹⁹⁹ In the *Pioneer*, a story about Streeter and the

¹⁹⁵ "43,000,000 Mrs. Minivers," *New River Pioneer*, January 7, 1943.

¹⁹⁶ "Hostess House," *New River Pioneer*, January 21, 1943; "New Hostess House at Hadnot Point Opening for Guests of Marines," *New River Pioneer*, February 18, 1943.

¹⁹⁷ Phil Seavey, "She has Six Children: First Woman Truck Driver at Work," *Chanute Field Wings*, October 23, 1942.

¹⁹⁸ "Women's Reserve Chief Will Visit Base, March," *New River Pioneer*, February 25, 1943; "Major Streeter, Director of Women Reserves, Will Visit Base Next Week," *New River Pioneer*, March 18, 1943; "Major Streeter Studies Possibilities for Women," March 25, 1943; "Enlistment of Women Exceed Expectation," *New River Pioneer*, April 22, 1943; "Women Marines Training in Specialist Schools Here for Variety of Duties," *New River Pioneer*, June 3, 1943; "Motor Transport School Will Graduate Women," *New River Pioneer*, June 3, 1943.

¹⁹⁹ "Marine Beauties," *The Scout*, May 22, 1944.

Camp Lejeune marines planning work for Women's Reservists shared the April 1, 1943, front page with a story about Helen Goudvis, an actress, and Patricia Clark, a former model turned actress, "two luscious lovelies" who would participate in a USO show on base.²⁰⁰ Similarly, in June 10, 1943, a story about a graduating class of Women Marines ran alongside a story about an all-girl revue.²⁰¹ The Camp Pendleton *Scout* had the distinction of frequently running its "WR of the Week" photos on the same page as, or facing pages with, the more sexualized "Squadron Sweetie" pinup series.²⁰² Similarly, the Camp Wolters *Longhorn* once ran a photo of Marjorie Riordon next to a story honoring women soldiers.²⁰³

Sometimes the dichotomy alternated from week to week only to connect in single stories. The front page of the April 15, 1943, *Pioneer* featured a huge photo of four women under a headline that read, among other things, "Lookit!"²⁰⁴ On April 22, a straight news story about the arrival of women marines at Lejeune took center stage. This story contained no literary flare, just facts and figures.²⁰⁵ On April 29, a story about the arrival of Navy nurses painted the women in a professional light but also added, "From now on it'll be a pleasure to get sick."²⁰⁶

²⁰⁰ "Camp Lejeune Marines and Maj. Streeter Mutually Impressed; Plan Women's Work," *New River Pioneer*, April 1, 1943; "Lovelies in USO Show Here Next Week," *New River Pioneer*, April 1, 1943.

²⁰¹ "Women Marines Graduate," *New River Pioneer*, June 10, 1943; "All Girl Revue Plays Here June 17-18; Brings Ada Leonard Orchestra," *New River Pioneer*, June 10, 1943.

²⁰² "Scout's Squadron Sweetie," *The Scout*, December 25, 1944; "WR of the Week," *The Scout*, December 25, 1944; "Scout's Squadron Sweetie," *The Scout*, January 1, 1945; "WR of the Week," *The Scout*, January 1, 1945; "Scout's Squadron Sweetie," *The Scout*, February 26, 1945; "WR of the Week," *The Scout*, February 26, 1945.

²⁰³ Marcia E. Lampert, "The Soldier Girl," *The Longhorn*, July 21, 1944; Photo of Marjorie Riordon, *The Longhorn*, July 21, 1944.

²⁰⁴ "Lookit! Glamour for New USO Show Here!" *New River Pioneer*, April 15, 1943.

²⁰⁵ "First Unit of Women Marines, 10 Officers, Arrive at Camp Lejeune," *New River Pioneer*, April 22, 1943.

²⁰⁶ "50 Navy Nurses Now on Duty Hospital Here, Many are Specialists" *New River Pioneer*, April 29, 1943.

It didn't take long for the Women's Reserve to prosper at Lejeune, within a year not only were numbers strong, but the boot camp for Women Marines was moved to North Carolina.²⁰⁷ The *Pioneer* was replete with pieces covering and celebrating the expansion of women into the Marines. When the first women arrived for training in May 1943, the response of the *Pioneer* was generally respectful. The staff writer who covered the WR's arrival seemed surprised on behalf of the men of New River, "Many here were doubtless surprised at that the snap and precision exhibited by the feminine Marines as they stepped smartly through their paces in close order drill."²⁰⁸

An almost identical process took place on the pages of *Chanute Field Wings* as the paper worked through the announcement, coverage, and acceptance of women at that base.²⁰⁹ However, alongside all of the positive coverage, *Wings* also produced an "Air WAC Pictorial Section" in which traditionally beautiful women in uniform were shown posing around various military equipment.²¹⁰

However, not every base was blessed with an abundance of women in uniform. One of the campaigns of the *Camp Berkeley News* was to help in the recruitment of WACS.²¹¹ At those bases where women were numerous, the influx of women soldiers

²⁰⁷ "Move 'Boot Camp' for Women Marines Here, Lt. Whitaker in Command," *New River Pioneer*, June 24, 1943.

²⁰⁸ "145 in First Unit Enlisted Women Marines to be Training at Base," *New River Pioneer*, May 6, 1943.

²⁰⁹ "First Women Instructors in Training," *Chanute Field Wings*, October 2, 1942; "Women Teaching AAFTS Classes," *Chanute Field Wings*, December 4, 1942; John Oppitz, "WAACS on Duty at Chanute," *Chanute Field Wings*, March 26, 1943; "Welcome to the WAACS," *Chanute Field Wings*, March 26, 1943; Virginia Carten, "The WAAC is in Back of You," *Chanute Field Wings*, April 9, 1943; Jack F. Newman, "Post WACS Doing a Man's Job and Doing it Well, 'Bosses' Say," *Chanute Field Wings*, October 29, 1943; "Wake Up, soldier!" *Chanute Field Wings*, October 29, 1943; Newman, "What Type of Women are WACS?" *Chanute Field Wings*, November 5, 1943; "The AAF Salutes the WAC," *Chanute Field Wings*, December 10, 1943.

²¹⁰ "Air WAC Pictorial Section," supplement of *Chanute Field Wings*. This sections was undated and appeared on microform reel after later final 1943 *Chanute Field Wings* issue.

²¹¹ "Uncle Sam Needs WACS's --- Here's How Soldiers Can Help Get Enlistments," *Camp Berkeley News*, December 17, 1943; "Recruit a WAC -- Win a 3-Day Pass," *Camp Berkeley News*, January 7, 1944.

brought about some editorial changes. Coincidentally, a week after the story about Women Marines training at Camp Lejeune, and in the same issue as a story about Women Marines sending greetings to their families, an article about Women Marine Officers, and the debut of a new column called “The Woman’s Angle,” the *Pioneer’s* editorial call for a decrease in cursing on base.²¹²

No paper ran an in-depth look at discrimination, harassment, or even hard feelings of men who wished to not have women in the military. The closest one came to that level of depth were sheepish admissions from editors that there had been skeptics who had since been impressed by women.²¹³ Still, some papers did strive to answer the unstated question of “Why are these women here?” The *Pioneer* used the stories of women receiving commendations and jobs formerly reserved for men to stress the primary benefit of women’s service, to free more men to fight.²¹⁴ Similar sentiments can be found in the *Armored Force News*.²¹⁵

Other stories of Women Marines linked the soldiers to men in their families who also served.²¹⁶ Both the *Pioneer* and *Globe* celebrated the collective birthdays of the Women Marines.²¹⁷ In the spirit of the times, other stories about women serving were

²¹² “Women Marines Record Voices for Home Folks,” *New River Pioneer*, May 13, 1943; “Women Marine Officers Find Much of Interest Here on Tours of Base,” *New River Pioneer*, May 13, 1943; “The Woman’s Angle,” *New River Pioneer*, May 13, 1943; “Less Profanity Please,” *New River Pioneer*, May 13, 1943.

²¹³ “Welcome Marines!” *New River Pioneer*, July 22, 1943.

²¹⁴ “Frees a Marine to Fight,” *New River Pioneer*, July 22, 1943; “Women Marines are Replacing Men, Many Jobs Over This Base,” *New River Pioneer*, July 22, 1943.

²¹⁵ “Civilian Women Take Over Vital War Jobs at Campbell,” *Armored Force News*, January 4, 1943.

²¹⁶ “Daughter Follows in Marine Dad’s Steps,” *New River Pioneer*, July 22, 1943; “Sister Follows Brother in Corps, Reunited Here,” *New River Pioneer*, August 19, 1943; “Heroes’ Widows Train Here,” *New River Pioneer*, September 23, 1943.

²¹⁷ “Women Marines Will Celebrate 1st Anniversary,” *New River Pioneer*, February 3, 1944; “First MCWR Birthday,” *New River Pioneer*, February 10, 1944; “First Anniversary,” *New River Pioneer*, February 10, 1944; “Women’s Reserve Celebrates Its First Birthday with Parade, Dance, Broadcast and Cakes,” *The Globe*, February 23, 1944.

sometimes seen alongside pieces featuring scantily clad women. Even the story of Eugenia Dickson Lejeune, daughter of Lieutenant General John A. Lejeune, serving on base shared a front page with the announcement of a “Girls Galore” show.²¹⁸ It was a new take on a common theme. *The Globe* featured several stories about women as entertainers, though most of these stories were innocuous.²¹⁹

Contrary to what one might expect, the use of women as the faces of the grief and wartime loss was rare.²²⁰ This occurrence could have been quite common among all bases, more than 416,000 American soldiers died, but perhaps the thought of dead soldiers did not jibe with the overall theme of “all in for the war” and high morale. The rarest story was that of women as civilian leaders, although *The Globe* did run one story about Congresswoman Margaret Chase Smith visiting Lejeune.²²¹

Another common theme of women in base newspapers was that of American women as enraptured with U.S. soldiers and vice versa. *The Globe* posited that young women swooned over men in uniform and that United States soldiers who went abroad to fight found the women of Europe to be less attractive than women in the states.²²² In an August 1944 editorial, *The Globe* wrote:

It is a good old American custom for a man to add color to his exploits and conquests with the fairer sex. And when it occurs in a foreign country the adventure is likely to be more entertaining ... It didn't take the Marines long to

²¹⁸ “General’s Daughter Enlists,” *New River Pioneer*, September 2, 1943; “Girls Galore Feature New USO Sow Playing Here Four Days Next Week,” *New River Pioneer*, September 2, 1943.

²¹⁹ “The Music Goes Round ‘n’ Round – And Comes Out Here” *The Globe*, March 1, 1944; “North Carolina U. Coeds Here Friday,” *The Globe*, April 12, 1944.

²²⁰ Jas. J. McElroy, “Woman Marine Given Air Medal Awarded Husband Posthumously,” *The Globe*, February 23, 1944.

²²¹ “Congresswoman Inspects WR Activities at Lejeune,” *The Globe*, May 31, 1944.

²²² “18th Defense: New Blazes Popular with Young Girls,” *The Globe*, March 15, 1944.

find out that the “exotic beauties resting beneath waving palms on sun-kissed shores” in the Pacific was just a lot of baloney ...²²³

Women also served to embody both the positive and negative, fictional and non-fictional, aspects of the war. Women as mothers was an unsurprising editorial approach. Before, during, and after the war, papers honored mothers.²²⁴ When it became evident that the United States would win the war, the thought that men had made their mother’s proud played in a *Globe* cartoon.²²⁵ The *Camp Barkeley News* honored its favored adoptive mother in a story about Marie Bartley, who was a surrogate mother to man of the men of the base.²²⁶ In *The Globe* a topless cartoon woman with a sash signaled the coming of spring in 1944.²²⁷ In the days following the Japan’s surrender, *The Globe* introduced its readers to Iva Toguri, who previously had been known to the men in the Pacific theater as Tokyo Rose.²²⁸

Sometimes the men of the paper sought to understand and explain womanhood. In the *Armored Force News*, on Camp Polk’s Eleventh Armored page, a cartoon titled “Armoraider’s Girl Friends (Mail Version)” explained eight categories into which girlfriends could fall: the girl who sealed letters with a kiss, the good cook, the girl who told her soldier boyfriend that home is the same since he’d gone, the newspaper clipper who sent soldiers tidbits from home, the girl who sent pictures of people soldiers don’t know, the hypochondriac who offered unsolicited medical advice, the controlling woman

²²³ “American Girls Still Tops,” *The Globe*, August 9, 1944.

²²⁴ “Plan Mother’s Day Program at Chanute,” *Chanute Field Wings*, May 18, 1942.

²²⁵ “Truly a Mother’s Day,” *The Globe*, May 9, 1945.

²²⁶ “‘Mom’ Bartley is Sweetheart of Many G.I.s,” *Camp Barkeley News*, February 25, 1944.

²²⁷ “Come Out of Those Foxholes,” *The Globe*, March 23, 1944.

²²⁸ “Meet ‘Tokyo Rose,’” *The Globe*, October 10, 1945.

who mapped out all of a soldier's activities , and the girls who wanted soldiers to read.²²⁹ In a similar vein, Tony Abruzzo's "Randy Allen" strip once depicted the Carol Kemp character asking a group of soldiers to spend the afternoon with her only to bring them to a lecture series.²³⁰

Prior to the war, one was more likely to see a cartoon about a woman than commentary on world issues. *Chanute Field Wings*, for example, was fond of running cartoons of women as sweethearts. In a July 4, 1941, cartoon by Duane Wright, a woman is shown being impressed with how aggressive a kisser her boyfriend has become since become since joining the Army.²³¹ Later, *Wings* ran a series of cartoons and poems by Sergeant Charles Wright dedicated to "Soldiers' Sweethearts."²³²

Of all of the papers in this study, the NNSY and Avenger Field papers were the least likely to cover women in a sexualized way during World War II. Stories about women in both the *Defender* and *Speed Victory* tended to be mundane.²³³ This would change after the war, as women would begin to adorn monthly clip-out calendars. Not surprisingly, *The Avenger*, which served an almost exclusively female military audience, was void of sexualized pictures of women, and there were no pinup men of the week in the scant available issues. Rather, the stories in *The Avenger* more closely mirrored those

²²⁹ "Armoraider's Girl Friends (Mail Version)," *Armored Force News*, February 1, 1943.

²³⁰ Tony Abruzzo, "Randy Allen," *Armored Force News*, June 21, 1943.

²³¹ Duane Wright cartoon, *Chanute Field Wings*, July 4, 1941.

²³² Charles Wright, "Soldiers' Sweethearts – No. 1: The Blonde," *Chanute Field Wings*, July 11, 1941; Wright, "Soldiers' Sweethearts – No. 2: The Brunette," *Chanute Field Wings*, July 18, 1941; Wright, "Soldiers' Sweethearts – No. 3: The Red Head," *Chanute Field Wings*, August 1, 1941.

²³³ "Shop Women to Wear Uniform of this Type," *Norfolk Navy Yard Defender*, January 6, 1943; "2 WACs Together in Army Now Work in Navy Yard," *Speed Victory*, September 27, 1945.

stories about men in the service to country.²³⁴ *The Avenger* featured one story answering why the women of the base fought. Some were widows, other were wives to POWs or servicemen.²³⁵ *The Avenger* also offered a history column titled “Women in Aviation” and a unique advice column that was similar in format to “Dear Abby,” inasmuch as readers wrote in for answers. However, the paper tailored this column to the WASPS. Rather than relationship advice, correspondents received tips on flying and airplane upkeep.²³⁶

Conclusion

As important as it is to understand the editorial content of these papers as reflections of their own times and culture, it is equally import to appreciate the World War II manifestations of the domestic base newspaper as the foundations of the editorial approaches the papers continued to employ in the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s. The editorial approach anchored the domestic base newspapers in a perpetual state of creating and combatting myths. America was the good cop of the world, its soldiers a kind yet ferocious, its leaders pure, and its motives just. However, even as the newspapers extoled the virtues of America, they often treated soldiers as task-shirkers in editorials. The resulting message suggested that the United States military was ready to fight anywhere, and to great success, but was staffed by lazy, homesick goldbrickers.

²³⁴ “Sixth WASP Class Gets Army Wings Saturday,” *The Avenger*, October 8, 1943; “Big Doings: That First AT-6 Ride,” *The Avenger*, October 8, 1943; “Avenger Officers Pass Oxygen Tests,” *The Avenger*, December 3, 1943.

²³⁵ “Why WASPs are in Heavens,” *The Avenger*, October 8, 1943.

²³⁶ “Women in Aviation,” *The Avenger*, December 3, 1943; “Answers from Airbelle,” *The Avenger*, December 3, 1943.

Matters of racial and gender inequality did not factor into any paper's coverage. These stories gave way to tales of American heroes at war. Stories that painted the United States in unfavorable ways were not only never seen on the pages of the domestic base newspapers, the military writers on staff were often vociferous in their opposition to negative messages found in the civilian press. Overall, the papers were house journalism spiked with patriotism, clear public relations bordering on bald propaganda. The goal was winning the war and every American person and thing – men and women of all races, civilians, soldiers, and the military press itself – was swept along in the current.

CHAPTER IV – “THE WORLD IS NOW YOUR RESPONSIBILITY”

In early June 1951, a *Globe* reporter was on hand when Navy Chaplain Robert S. Sarsaman addressed the graduating class of Camp Lejeune High School. Sarsaman, who doubled as the school’s football coach, tasked the graduates with assuming stewardship of the entire world.²³⁷ Sarsaman might well have addressed the entire United States military. From the highest office in the land to the lowest-ranking soldier, military personnel were tasked with, for better and worse, serving as not just a leader of the world, but the chief defender of freedom. As World War II ended, the military base newspaper, as a communication tool of commanding officers, became a herald for this new American mentality. Concurrently, as a war-weary nation returned to life at peace, the domestic base newspaper became the bearer of messages of normalcy.

The pairing of America’s duty to freedom’s cause and return to safety, security, and predictability might seem oxymoronic, but these messages so dominated the domestic base newspaper from 1945-1963 that issues of race relations, gender equality, post-traumatic stress disorder, and alcoholism – issues that would become dominant in civilian society – received limited attention. In regards to racial and gender minorities, the 1950s were a time of regression in domestic base press. Racial minorities who served in the ranks all but disappeared from base newspapers. The only time one was likely to see a black man on the front page was when an African American entertainer was due on base or a local athlete achieved some measure of success. Women came to be featured far more often for their beauty and appeal to male eyes than for their military contributions.

²³⁷ “‘World is Now Your Responsibility,’ Chaplain Warns Graduating Class,” *The Globe*, June 7, 1951.

The domestic military press' adjusted focus might have been unavoidable given the sociopolitical atmosphere of the time. The Americans had scarcely helped defeat the Axis before communism rose, the Russians went nuclear, and a world that had once seemed purged of evil became a bigger threat than ever. The response from the domestic base newspapers was not to delve consistently into the issues inherent in this new world but to offer cosmetic coverage of world events and double-down of superficial editorials calling for support of American interests. From 1946-1963 – a time period covering America's emergence as a world superpower, the birth of the Cold War, the fighting of the Korean War, the Bay of Pigs Invasion, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and numerous other minor international incidences – domestic base newspapers were mostly void of high-quality journalism and propaganda. One war and several conflicts came and went with inconsistent coverage. The presence or absence of editorials became the barometer for the level of conflict in which the American military found itself. When all was quiet, far fewer editorials were printed, but they were only a conflict away.

In this chapter, it will be argued that the overall character of base newspapers matched that of the zeitgeist of the time. As women and minorities faded in the real world, so too did they fade in the base papers. As a nation reaffirmed its Judeo-Christian leanings, so too did the papers begin to feature Christian messages more prominently. As America began to reconcile its preconception as the most powerful and popular nation on the planet with the rise of the USSR, so too did the papers. It was a decade of extreme patriotism and extreme control. As Anna McCarthy has argued, while many still think of the early Cold War as a time during which the freest nation in the world tried to spread American concepts of democracy to the rest of the world, the era featured some of the

most egregious attacks on Americans' most prized liberties.²³⁸ Liberty was never under attack in the domestic base newspaper, but it was underserved by papers that failed to adequately explain the gradations of an evolving world to its readers.

Policies Governing Domestic Base Newspapers

What domestic base newspapers lacked in depth, they made up for with a bevy of regulations. The nineteen years covered in this chapter were unique within this study not only for an editorial evolution but an emergence of a record of how the Department of Defense governed the base newspapers. Among the online holdings of the National Archives can be found three documents, from 1956, 1957, and 1958, respectively, each titled "Policies Governing Publication of Service Newspapers, and Establishment of the Armed Forces Press Service." These documents shed light on the operation of the papers during the 1950s and, it seems safe to assume, the 1940s. The earliest of the three documents was a rewording of an existing bylaws to clarify advertising standards, but also contains a wealth of information about the content and editorial policies under which all domestic base newspapers operated.²³⁹

The DOD defined three types of domestic base newspaper – authorized service newspapers, civilian enterprise newspapers, and civilian employee newspapers – all of which fell under at least some control of the commanding officers of the base each paper served. An authorized service newspaper was self-contained, written by military personnel, and printed using DOD funds. These papers were meant to primarily share

²³⁸ Anna McCarthy, *The Citizen Machine: Governing by Television in 1950's America* (New York: New Press, 2010).

²³⁹ Department of Defense System Transmittal, "Policies Governing Publication of Service Newspapers, and Establishment of the Armed Forces Press Service," July 12, 1956, accessed June 6, 2016, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/26041429>.

news about the base and serve as a communication tool at the disposal of the commanding officer. However, authorized service papers could also, “publish current worldwide news of interest to local military personnel when such news is not readily available from other sources ...”²⁴⁰ A civilian enterprise newspaper shared the same purpose as authorized service papers, but was owned by a private entity. A civilian employee newspaper was one aimed exclusively at civilian employees at an installation.²⁴¹ At least one of each of these types of base newspaper is represented in the major papers of this study. The papers of Fort Hood and Chanute Air Base were civilian enterprise papers, while Camp Pendleton and Camp Lejeune were authorized service papers. The Norfolk Navy Shipyard publications seemed to be generally a civilian employee newspaper, although messages to sailors were common.

Regardless of type, every base newspaper was supposed to operate under the same journalistic standards as the civilian American press.²⁴² Further, all papers, even those owned by private entities, operated at the pleasure of the base CO, who enjoyed the power of restricting the circulation of papers deemed “in bad taste, detrimental to discipline, subversive, or otherwise contrary to the best interests of their commands.”²⁴³ A key rule, one that would eventually earn several papers the ire of Senator Bill Proxmire in the 1970s, stated no one on active duty could work for a civilian enterprise paper. Moreover, DOD funds could not be allocated to print a civilian enterprise newspaper.²⁴⁴

²⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 2.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Ibid, p. 3.

²⁴³ Ibid, p. 3.

²⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 4.

Personnel from Chanute and Fort Hood dedicated at least man hours to their respective civilian enterprise newspapers from the 1940s-1980s.

While the rules governing today's domestic base newspapers are many pages long, all service newspapers in 1956 were expected to follow a set of policies which fit on three type-written pages. These rules addressed both general standards and policies governing the coverage of political news:

1. News coverage will be as complete as practicable. The writing should be factual, objective, accurate, and at all times impartial. Articles should be based on reports provided by the commercial press associations (where authority to utilize such service exists), the Armed Forces Press Service, official releases, members of the staff of the individual service newspapers, or correspondents of other reputable news-gathering agencies.
2. Editorial and news policies of all service newspapers will serve to increase knowledge and understanding. There must be no appeal to emotions detrimental to the interests of the Nation or of any Government agency.
3. Orders and directives will be treated according to their straight news value or should be departmentalized as official documents published for the information of all concerned.
4. Newspapers will distinguish between facts and opinions which may be part of a news story. When opinion is expressed, the person or sources will be identified.

5. Editorial opinion will be confined to the editorial column. Editorials will reflect the policies of the command and be directed to the interest and welfare of the Armed Forces.
6. Editors will conform to the principles of good taste, applicable regulations, laws covering libel, postal regulations, and policies of the Armed Forces.²⁴⁵

The DOD also provided specific instructions as to the level of political discourse allowed in domestic military publications. While overseas military publications could share measured, balanced political news, domestic base newspapers were expected to avoid coverage of politics and political campaigns. Most important, no newspaper could endorse and political candidate.²⁴⁶

The DOD directive also enumerated the powers of the Armed Forces Press Service. The AFPS was allowed to provide clip sheets, an official editor's guide, and advice to editors and all of the papers in this dissertation used AFPS stories, editorials, maps, illustrations, and photographs. Base newspapers that wished to use an AFPS release needed only include an AFPS byline, refrain from changing the meaning or spirit of the original AFPS piece, and avoid using AFPS material in commercial advertisements.²⁴⁷ These rules remained unchanged in spirit in subsequent versions of the policy released by the DOD in 1957, 1958, and 1960.²⁴⁸ Although it was not in the scope

²⁴⁵ Ibid, 5-6.

²⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 6-7.

²⁴⁷ Ibid, 7-10.

²⁴⁸ Department of Defense System Transmittal, "Policies Governing Publication of Service Newspapers, and Establishment of the Armed Forces Press Service," September 5, 1957, accessed June 6, 2016, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/26041433>; Department of Defense System Transmittal, "Policies Governing Publication of Service Newspapers, and Establishment of the Armed Forces Press Service," February 25, 1958, accessed June 6, 2016, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/26041435>; Department of Defense Instruction, "Policies Governing Publication of Service Newspapers; Operation of Armed Forces Press Service; and

of this study, it is noteworthy that the regulation for newspapers were similar to those governing military broadcast systems.²⁴⁹

The Job of Military Journalism

During this era, as papers began to have a firmer footing at their bases, many editors began to explain why their unique brand of paper existed, and what the job of a base newspaper entailed. In 1957, *Wings* ran an editorial saying that in the early 1950s it was determined that base newspapers were the best channel for keeping soldiers informed. The writer went on to brag that the paper provided the men of the base all manner of news, and some entertainment, while offering Brigadier General Andrew J. Kinny, commander of the base, the ability to quickly reach his soldiers. The writer theorized:

It's been proved over the years that Americans are most effective when they know WHY they are doing something and WHERE their job fits into the big picture.²⁵⁰ *The Globe* defined its job as a two-way street. The paper covered the news but soldiers had to provide the paper with news to cover.²⁵¹

Other times, papers opted to celebrate the honors they'd earned as well as their own birthdays. *Wings* produced the most grandiose celebration of the era, many pages worth of stories and editorials run as a part of Newspaper Week 1959.²⁵² *The Globe*

Relationship of Armed Forces to Civilian Enterprise Publications," September 27, 1960, accessed June 6, 2016, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/26041447>.

²⁴⁹ Directive 5120.20, "Department of Defense Instruction: Armed Forces Radio and Television Services," July 13, 1962, accessed June 6, 2016, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/26041549>.

²⁵⁰ "Base Newspaper's Job – To Keep You Informed about the AF," *Wings*, August 16, 1957.

²⁵¹ "Our Resolution," *The Globe*, January 2, 1958.

²⁵² "Wings Joins in First AF Observance of Newspaper Week: This Issue Tells Base Paper's Story," *Wings* October 16, 1959; "Gen. Briggs Cites Papers for Service," *Wings*, October 16, 1959; "WINGS 'Week': We 'Point With Pride' in Exhibit at Library," *Wings*, October 16, 1959; "WINGS Nears Close of Teen Years," *Wings*, October 16, 1959; Gerald A. DuBois, "The WINGS Celebrates ..." *Wings*, October 16, 1959.

consistently won awards from the military as a top Marine newspaper.²⁵³ Perhaps some celebration was in order at all papers. Many bases closed, as did their connected base newspapers. In 1959, *Wings* said goodbye and good job to *The Mobiler*, which ceased operating as the paper of the 3499th Field Training Wing after a 13-year run.²⁵⁴

The *Fort Hood Sentinel* offered some of the more diverse ideas of the purpose and function of newspapers and journalists. The staff memorialized Joseph Pulitzer, Jr., on his passing, calling him a true pioneer and stalwart of journalism, yet demanded excellence from “the media,” which one editorial accused of cheating people of fair trials with sensationalized stories of murder and mayhem.²⁵⁵ The staff of the *Sentinel* in 1954 was not an authority on journalism, though, and seemed particularly keen on not reporting negative news of any sort. An August 12 editorial questioned the idea of printing news that cast people of all sorts in a negative light:

No editor is ever free to print ALL that comes over his desk. Any editor that did would spend at least half of his time in the hospital recovering from from [sic] maulings and horsewhippings [sic] ... Very few editors are adverse [sic] to suppressing the unpleasant facts about a rich advertiser who had been caught chiseling on his income tax return; and nearly all of them will do what they can to protect the good name of a state senator who gets snagged on the hook of a

²⁵³ “GLOBE Honored by Award as Top Marine Newspaper,” *The Globe*, September 9, 1955; “Two in a Row,” *The Globe*, August 24, 1956; “Globe Gets Defense Dept. Paper Award,” *The Globe*, November 28, 1957; “Globe Award,” October 1, 1959.

²⁵⁴ “A Farewell Salute ...” *Wings*, July 3, 1959.

²⁵⁵ “The Last of the Giants,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, April 14, 1955; “Good and Bad Journalism,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, January 6, 1955.

scheming grass widow while drinking in a beer garden following a session of the legislature.

All editors do this, and there is nothing wrong with it. In fact, all editors have a moral obligation to keep quiet upon certain occasions ... Every American community has its dutiful wives and innocent children who must be protected from the shame and infamy [of] errant husbands and fathers. To expose them to contumely would be a very wicked act, and no editor ever does it unless some roving John the Baptist forces his hand.²⁵⁶

Base newspapers rigidly followed the rules regarding the avoidance of endorsing political candidates. While all the papers in the study championed international U.S. causes in the face of communism, none ever sided with a candidate during a presidential election and all supported each president from Roosevelt through Reagan. The closest any paper came to violating the rule of political neutrality was the *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel* in 1954. With Dwight Eisenhower in the White House, the *Armored Sentinel* did not take the side of Republicans in the midterm elections. Rather, the paper suggested readers not vote for a candidate just because he was charismatic and used Eisenhower as an example of an effective leader who lacked pizzazz. The *Armored Sentinel* also pointed to Calvin Coolidge, who the editorialist said had “no more personality than a retired scrub ball,” as an effective, uncharismatic leader. The interpretation of this editorial hinges on one’s perspective. The optimist might think it an innocuous piece of advice for

²⁵⁶ “Printing All the News,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, August 12, 1954.

all voters. The pessimist could see this as a preemptive, tacit endorsement of Eisenhower for reelection.²⁵⁷

The journalists of this era objectively failed in addressing issues faced by soldiers, particularly in the wake of a massive conflict like World War II. Among all the stories that ran, those dealing with the post-war issues faced by World War II veterans proved most scarce. *The Globe* ran a single story about a veteran who committed suicide, but this story ran just three paragraphs long and contained no analysis.²⁵⁸ World War II commemoration stories, however, factored greatly into the papers' editorial schemes. At the end of 1945, with the war only recently over, NNSY's *Service to the Fleet* included an homage to the horrors of war in its end-of-the-year issue.²⁵⁹ Iwo Jima and Pearl Harbor were particularly popular subject to recall, but battles less known to the general public also got some attention.²⁶⁰ In 1952, *Wings* ran multiple stories in which journalists recalled why they fought in the Second World War.²⁶¹

Atomic Age Messaging

Not surprisingly, in the wake Hiroshima and Nagasaki, atomic weaponry and research leapt to the fore of base newspaper coverage almost as quickly as the Second World War ended. The Camp Lejeune *Globe*, Camp Pendleton *Scout*, Norfolk Navy Yard *Service to the Fleet*, Fort Hood *Armored Sentinel*, and Chanute's *Wings* all explored

²⁵⁷ "The War of Words," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, October 21, 1954.

²⁵⁸ "Wake Vet Kills Self," *The Globe*, February 12, 1947.

²⁵⁹ "Lest We Forget," *Service to the Fleet*, December 29, 1945.

²⁶⁰ "Bloodiest Leatherneck Battleground: Iwo Jima," *The Globe*, February 24, 1949; C.F. Dale, "Chanute Lieutenant Saw Opening of Historic Attack on Pearl Harbor: Recalls Watching From Dock That Sunday 15 Years Ago," *Wings*, December 7, 1956; "Tarawa ... Story of a Battle," *The Globe*, May 20, 1954; "Iwo Jima Vets Remember: Black Ash, Flag Raising, Jap Fortification, Taps," *The Globe*, February 22, 1957; "Pearl Harbor Attacked 16 Years Ago," *The Globe*, December 5, 1957.

²⁶¹ "Former WINGS Editor Recalls War Activities," *Wings*, March 24, 1952.

atomic topics.²⁶² While all papers harped on the immense power of atomic weaponry, *Service to the Fleet*, true its labor focus, had one editorial assuring personnel that people would still be key in the atomic age.²⁶³ Thoughts on atomic power were generally, though not exclusively, measured. In what read almost like a parody sprung from the Hollywood movie “Dr. Strangelove,” a December 1947 issue of *The Scout* featured a story about remarks made by the appropriately named General H.M. “Howlin Mad” Smith, who posited the best way to solve the world’s problems was to drop as many atomic bombs on as many communist targets as possible.²⁶⁴

Korean War Coverage

The papers of this study took far less interest in the Korean War than they had the Second World War. The war in Korea served more as the backdrop for the fight against communism. At Chanute, *Wings* took a major interest in exploring where the communist threat might rear its head again. In early January 1952, *Wings* took a depressed view of the world, even as the war seemed close to an end. A front page *Wings* story predicted a truce in Korea, one that wouldn’t satisfy Americans; a clash with communists in Indochina, China, Malaya, or the Philippines; an indirect attack on Western Europe; and

²⁶² AFPS, “The Power of the Atom” *The Globe*, December 12, 1947; “Atomic Bomb Tests to Start at Bikini Atoll in July,” *The Scout*, June 12, 1946; “Atom Bomb Tests Fingertip Facts,” *The Scout*, June 12, 1946; “The Future of the Atom,” *Service to the Fleet*, January 18, 1946; “Scene of Atomic Fury Next Month,” *Service to the Fleet*, March 22, 1946; “Division Gets Atomic Fission Vision: 900 2nd Division Troops Departing for Nevada Atomic Bomb Tests,” *The Globe*, April 9, 1953; Phil Sanborne, “A-Bomb Kaleidoscope of Chaos,” *The Globe*, April 23, 1953; “A Progress Report: Corps Develops Atomic Age Approach in Combat-Free Year,” *The Globe*, January 6, 1954; “‘Atomic’ Blasts Set Off Spearhead Dawn Attack,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, May 5, 1954; “Using Nuclear Weapons,” *Wings*, April 12, 1957; “New Nuclear Weapons Complicate Plans of Would-be Aggressors,” *Wings*, October 25, 1957; “A Progress Report: Corps Develops Atomic Age Approach in First Combat-free Year Since ’49,” *The Globe*, January 6, 1955; “‘Readiness’ Nears End; Nuclear Tactics Tested,” *The Globe*, November 16, 1956; “Fourth Armored to Become Atomic Combat Force Soon,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, April 4, 1957; Robert C. Mehl, “All the Fury in the World,” *The Scout*, May 9, 1952.

²⁶³ “Key to Future,” *Service to the Fleet*, September 9, 1955.

²⁶⁴ “‘Drop Atom Bomb,’” *The Scout*, December 12, 1947.

trouble in Japan. The story also urged soldiers to keep an eye on Iran and Britain's dispute over oil, Egypt's attempt to get the Brits out of the Suez Canal, Palestine's borders, and the India-Pakistan conflict in Kashmir.²⁶⁵

Strangely, at this point in the war, *Wings* rarely mentioned Korea. There was a weekly "The Nation and World in the News This Week" feature, but Korea was not a regular topic. An announcement in September 1953 of a return to a five-day school week for students at Chanute proved a rare allusion to the conflict.²⁶⁶ There were no rallying cries asking the soldiers to stay focused or fight hard until victory was achieved, messages that dominated World War II coverage less than a decade prior. Indeed, *Wings* editors seemed lost as to the specific reasons for this war. One of the most matter-of-fact pieces about the Korean War came several years after the war's cease-fire. *Wings* reprinted a transcript from a commentary by CBS radio and television's Eric Sevareid, who "puzzled" over why American troops had fought so hard in Korea. Savareid theorized it was because our societal institutions – 4-H clubs, parents, education, military, etc. – were so strong that they caused the men to fight well, even if they, we, and he still hadn't quite defined what it was we had sought to gain.²⁶⁷

Wings' coverage of Korea in 1952 was sporadic but included the arrival of men wounded in Korea at Chanute, passage of a Korean War veterans' bill in the U.S. House of Representatives, and efforts of one airman to get aid for a Korean orphanage.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁵ "World Peace Outlook For 1952, Not Too Bright, But Looking Up," *Wings*, January 7, 1952.

²⁶⁶ "TTAF Announces Return to Pre-Korean Work Week: Usual 5-Day School Week Begins Oct. 7," *Wings*, September 28, 1953.

²⁶⁷ "Newsmen Tells Story of 'Why We Fought,'" *Wings*, September 14, 1956.

²⁶⁸ "First Airman Wounded in Korea Now at Chanute," *Wings*, March 31, 1952; "Korea-Vet GI Bill Passes House Test: Schooling, Loads Part of Benefits," *Wings*, June 9, 1952; "President Signs Korean GI Bill: GI's Discharged Since July 27, '50 Eligible," *Wings*, July 21, 1952; "Son's Letter Home Inspires Help for Korean Orphanage," *Wings*, July 14, 1952.

However, when reports of Korean and communist atrocities reached the public's eye, *Wings* unleashed a savage takedown of the enemy. In a November 1953 issue, a "Special Report" package told of the horrors faced by U.S. servicemen in Korea. One story told of the murder of thousands of POWs.²⁶⁹ A second, equally galling account told of torture:

Imagine that you are a prisoner of war in Communist hands. Can you expect to be confined until the end of the war?

Not you – the Communists plan to use you. They want to force you to work in their conspiracy to dominate the world. Once you're captured, you have no right to be loyal to your country – according to them.

You're going to be lectured and brainwashed. Suppose you refuse to accept

Communist ideals – you can expect to be sentenced to 'corrective education' ...

The Communists will try every possible approach to force you to be 'reasonable.

Even as you near the prisoner exchange point the enemy will threaten you to force your cooperation when you return home. You can expect to be indoctrinated with

Communist ideas from the time you're captured until you come back – if you come back.

But aren't you protected by the Geneva Conference? Not in Communist hands!²⁷⁰

The November 9, 1953, *Wings* was replete with stories that seemed destined to appall any soldier. There was a photo of Americans identifying their friends, a story about a death

²⁶⁹ "Press Service Presents Documented Facts on Atrocities: Army Releases Proof From Files Showing 6,000 POWs Murdered," *Wings*, November 9, 1953.

²⁷⁰ "Loyalty to US Stops, Reds Tell POWS," *Wings*, November 9, 1953.

march, and the revelation of the shock felt by AFPS writers in Washington upon learning of the aforementioned atrocities.²⁷¹

The *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel's* coverage of Korea was more nuanced than other domestic base newspapers. In 1953, the *Sentinel* ran a story about former Fort Hood soldiers serving in Korea, a piece explaining that a truce with Korea would not effect a troop build-up, and an article reporting that the United States' plan to help South Korea recover would total in the billions of dollars.²⁷² However, the *Sentinel* still made room for American exceptionalism, specifically a series of stories that ran under the common headline, "Whose Army is Best?" In these piece, the writer divulged the many ways in which the United States Army was superior to communist forces.²⁷³

At Camp Lejeune, *The Globe's* coverage of Korea included the occasional map and an eventual announcement of a peace mixed with calls for caution.²⁷⁴ Regular coverage of the war, such that it was, could be found in a weekly "Globals" column, which featured news from around the world. A typical "Globals" included an inspirational quote and myriad stories about the ways the United States was combatting communism. The August 15, 1953, "Globals," for example, began with a quote from Cardinal Richelieu then addressed the latest from Korea as well as from Berlin's

²⁷¹ "Americans Identify Buddies," photo, *Wings*, November 9, 1953; "To Fall Out Meant Death on March to POW Camps," *Wings*, November 9, 1953; "War Crime Reports Shock Washington AFPS Staff Writers," *Wings*, November 9, 1953.

²⁷² "Over 75 Former Hoodmen Serving With I Corps," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, June 11, 1953; "Korean Truce Not Slated to Change Expansion, Build-Up," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, July 30, 1953; "South Korea Recovery Program to Cost US Army Billion Dollars," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, October 15, 1953.

²⁷³ ANF, "Whose Army is Best? Red Army Attempting to Copy American's [SIC] 'Commo' System," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, January 15, 1953; "Whose Army is Best? Red Army's Luxuries are Musts for Highly Valuable U.S. Men," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, February 12, 1953.

²⁷⁴ "Where Allies Struck," *The Globe*, September 28, 1950; "Firing Stops, But No Peace," *The Globe*, December 3, 1953; "In Korea, Desperate Delay," *The Globe*, December 3, 1953; "No Time to Relax," *The Globe*, December 17, 1953.

“Stomach Bomb” campaign.²⁷⁵ *The Globe* also contained stories about the negative aspects of the war and offered a list of Marine prisoners in communist hands.²⁷⁶ Post-1954, mentions of Korea continued in *The Globe*, although the stories took on a more positive character. In 1955, *The Globe* welcomed home Marines and also told the story of a horse named “Blaze of Glory” that had sprinted across a minefield in the demilitarized zone and wound up with the 7th Marines.²⁷⁷

Reporting on the Korean War wasn’t even an afterthought for *Service to the Fleet*. Rather, the paper ran pieces that highlighted the positives of American ideals and the negatives of communism throughout the 1950’s, often through AFPS editorials that demonized communism.²⁷⁸ However, *Service to the Fleet* had unique takes on what it meant to be free. The paper explained the concept of freedom of thought as the freedom to express unorthodox views on how to make the production process on base go more smoothly.²⁷⁹ The paper, via AFPS editorials, also frequently overstated, in some ways deified, the notion of Americanism. In a 1955 piece, an AFPS editorial opened with “Karl Marx hated democracy, but at least he knew what he was fighting” but ended with a statement that Americans loved people above all other creatures on earth.²⁸⁰ It was

²⁷⁵ “Globals,” *The Globe*, August 15, 1953.

²⁷⁶ Hugh Gibson, “It Was Cold in Korea Says Casualties Here,” *The Globe*, December 28, 1950; “Marine POW List Disclosed,” *The Globe*, January 31, 1952.

²⁷⁷ Paul E. McArdle, “Flying Red Horse Escapes; Joins 7th Marines in Korea,” *The Globe*, January 6, 1955; “Welcome Home,” *The Globe*, March 11, 1955.

²⁷⁸ AFPS, “Communists Threaten Freedom,” *Service to the Fleet*, February 10, 1956; AFPS, “Communism: Greatest Danger,” *Service to the Fleet*, March 9, 1956; AFPS, “The Real Meaning of Peaceful Coexistence,” *Service to the Fleet*, March 14, 1958; AFPS, “The Real Meaning of Peaceful Coexistence,” *Service to the Fleet*, March 21, 1958; “Mr. Khrushchev’s Visit Could be an Education,” *Service to the Fleet*, September 18, 1959.

²⁷⁹ “Freedom of Thought,” *Service to the Fleet*, May 7, 1952.

²⁸⁰ AFPS, “The Communist Machine,” *Service to the Fleet*, March 25, 1955.

strange that a paper so fond of demanding production from its workers for decades would take such issue with the communists for valuing outcome over individuals.

Similar to the other papers, the Camp Pendleton *Scout's* coverage of the Korean War was highlighted by early justification of the cause, coverage of Pendleton men in action, and eventual peace and return.²⁸¹ Also similar to other papers, *The Scout* offered a grim narrative about the experience of POWs in communist hands. On November 1, 1954, *The Scout* ran the story of Staff Sergeant Bob Coffee, who was beaten, starved, mentally abused, humiliated, and subjected to an indoctrination course.²⁸²

Cold War Editorial Philosophy

In late 1945, with the nation still adjusting to peacetime life, many base newspapers began to ponder if military service should apply to all. Abilene Army Air Field's *The Fighter* addressed the issue of compulsory military service in the same month World War II ended. The paper's only stance was that readers should make up their own minds, a deviation to be sure from the "our way only" tone of World War II editorials.²⁸³ Camp Lejeune's *Globe* approached the subject with an almost obsessive consistency. From January-February 1946, *The Globe* ran a five-part series of editorials outlining and generally endorsing the concept of compulsory service.²⁸⁴ The series cast a strange

²⁸¹ "Why We are Fighting in Korea," *The Scout*, August 18, 1950; "First Official Photos Show CampPen Marines in Thick of Korean Fight," *The Scout*, September 1, 1950; "Korean Terrain Similar to Pendleton, Says First Returned Marine Tragedy," *The Scout*, September 22, 1950; "Highlights of This Week's War News," *The Scout*, January 19, 1951; "Tumultuous Welcome Given Korean Veteran Marines," *The Scout*, March 9, 1951; "300 Come Home: Pendleton's Own Marines Capture Nation's Heart," *The Scout*, May 4, 1951; "Welcome Home," *The Scout*, May 4, 1951; "Dateline Korea," *The Scout*, July 11, 1952; "Editorial: Fighting Has Stopped in Korea -- But We Have No Peace Yet," *The Scout*, November 1, 1954.

²⁸² "Second Hospitalized Marine Relates POW Experience," *The Scout*, November 1, 1954.

²⁸³ "The Fighter Side: Should We or Shouldn't We?" *The Fighter*, August 31, 1945.

²⁸⁴ "Military Training," *The Globe*, January 30, 1946; "Military Training – II," *The Globe*, February 6, 1946; "Military Training – III," *The Globe*, February 13, 1946; "Military Training – IV," *The Globe*, February 20, 1946; "Military Training – V," *The Globe*, February 27, 1946.

shadow running as it did at a base at which demobilization was named the highlight of the year.²⁸⁵

Coverage of world events in domestic base newspapers grew more robust from 1946-1963. The rise of communism led to a more robust coverage from the papers, which tread the line between U.S. cheerleading and honest-to-goodness reporting. Whereas World War II coverage had been almost exclusively about Americans, post-war stories exhibited far more international awareness. Some journalists wrote with hope about the emergence of the United Nations.²⁸⁶

While their explanations of world events were more nuanced than during World War II, the papers rarely missed a chance to decry communism. *Wings* once used a quote from none other than Pope Pius XII “rejecting Communism” on Biblical grounds.²⁸⁷ *The Globe* ran several AFPS editorials each outlining the evils of communism and value of the American way.²⁸⁸ When communism spread to Czechoslovakia, *The Globe* painted the moment as evil.²⁸⁹ When the largest domino of the Cold War fell, domestic base newspapers offered large-scale coverage of China’s turn to communism and the not-so-coincidental reactivation of American forces. In 1948, when American sentiment waned in China, *The Scout* reported on Marines’ mission to evacuate U.S. citizens from the area.²⁹⁰ In its October 20, 1949, days after Mao Zedon proclaimed the People’s Republic

²⁸⁵ “Demobilization is Highlight of 1946,” *The Globe*, December 31, 1946.

²⁸⁶ “World Looks to United Nations to Ensure Peace and Security,” *Service to the Fleet*, March 22, 1946; “The United Nations,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, October 28, 1954; “U.N. Keeps Growing; It’s Bigger Than Cities,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, October 23, 1959.

²⁸⁷ “Communism,” *Wings*, May 1, 1959.

²⁸⁸ AFPS, “What Makes ‘Em Tick?” *The Globe*, February 17, 1956; AFPS, “Death of Democracy,” *The Globe*, November 4, 1956; AFPS, “Score for Liberty,” *The Globe*, December 12, 1956.

²⁸⁹ “Communists Engineer Czech Coup; Denounced by U. S., Britain, France,” *The Globe*, March 18, 1948.

²⁹⁰ “Call to China Continues 128-year-old Tradition,” *The Scout*, November 26, 1948.

of China and the Soviet Union recognized the new nation's sovereignty, *The Globe* covered the reactivation of regiments.²⁹¹

Subversion was another hot topic of the era. In 1948, *Service to the Fleet* used what could be mistaken as the likenesses of classic cartoon characters of Boris and Natasha to remind its readers that spies were still a real threat. This ad, however, ran eleven years prior to the debut of *The Rocky and Bullwinkle Show*.²⁹²

²⁹¹ "2nd and 6th Reactivated," *The Globe*, October 20, 1949; "Parade and Review Opens New Era for Old Regiments," *The Globe*, October 20, 1949.

²⁹² "Are Spies Out-of-Date?" *Service to the Fleet*, September 10, 1948.



Figure 8. Are Spies Out-of-Date?

A house ad in the September 10, 1948, *Service to the Fleet* used references to cloak-and-dagger tactics as well as a femme fatale to warn readers to stay alert for spies.

When the Red Scare blossomed in the late 1940s and people in all walks of life were chastised for their political and union affiliations, *Service to the Fleet* reported that Shipyard's Loyalty Board would evaluate if and to what extent employees were connected to any group deemed to be subversive.²⁹³ In 1950, *Service to the Fleet* implored readers to report espionage, subversion, and sabotage to the proper authorities

²⁹³ "Subversive Groups," *Service to the Fleet*, January 7, 1949.

but begged for only credible tips.²⁹⁴ *The Globe*, in an unintentional homage to the old “Loose Lips Sinks Ships” motif, warned Marines against speaking about military matters in public places.²⁹⁵ *Service to the Fleet* generally bemoaned rumors throughout the 1950s, even using the same AFPS editorial in both 1950 and 1957.²⁹⁶

By 1955, the Korean War was over but the domestic base papers’ crusade against communism continued. In a February 4 issue, *Wings* asked readers to imagine life without the Bill of Rights.²⁹⁷ In the first *Wings* of 1956, there was no year in review, but there was an AFPS story on an inside page about the continued expansion of Russian interests.²⁹⁸ A week later, *Wings* again used a classic American document, this time the Declaration of Independence, to explain why communism was worth fighting.²⁹⁹

The papers were uniform in their degradation of communism as an evil ideology and communists as vile people. *Wings* frequently attacked communists for being experts of doublespeak, particularly members of the Russian media. In an April 1959 editorial, reprinted from *Officer Magazine*, the headline claimed communists were experts of confusion who “‘Define’ words to suit themselves.” The editorial that followed offered definitions for a collection of words communists allegedly misused:

Here are some false labels favored by the Communists to avoid or confuse the issues. Read them – and recognize them the next time you hear or see the terms, on the radio or in your newspaper:

²⁹⁴ “Alertness Against Sabotage,” *Service to the Fleet*, August 18, 1950.

²⁹⁵ “Treason in the Tap Rooms,” *The Globe*, May 20, 1955.

²⁹⁶ AFPS, “I just heard,” *Service to the Fleet*, January 20, 1950; AFPS, “I Just Heard,” *Service to the Fleet*, April 12, 1957; “Rumors,” *Service to the Fleet*, January 30, 1959.

²⁹⁷ “Here’s How It Might Be – Life Without the Bill Of Rights,” *Wings*, February 4, 1955.

²⁹⁸ AFPS, “Russian Prowess Still on Rise,” *Wings*, January 6, 1956.

²⁹⁹ “Who’s Right?” *Wings*, January 13, 1956.

THE PEOPLE: The Communists, their sympathizers or collaborators in any satellite nation or prospective satellite nation.

ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE: All anti-Communists, their sympathizers or collaborators in any satellite nation or potential satellite nation.

SLANDERER: Anyone who tells the truth about the Soviet Union.

REACTIONARY: Outside of the Iron Curtain, anyone who isn't a Communist.

A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY: A totalitarian government taking orders from Moscow.

A FASCIST STATE: Any government not taking orders from Moscow.

FASCIST: Anyone who believe [sic] in capitalism.

ANTI-FASCIST: A Communist

PROGRESSIVE: A Communist sympathizer; a fellow traveler.

MARXISM-LENINISM: Communism.

LIBERATION: Conquest of a free country by Communist infiltration or force.

AGGRESSOR: Anyone or any nation opposing Soviet imperialism.

PEACE: A condition of helplessness and indefensibility before the military might of the Soviet Union. A cloak for the dagger of subversion.

PEACE-LOVING: Any nation, people or individual willing to cooperate with Moscow.

COOPERATION: 'You let us do what we want and help us to do it.'

MONOPOLY: Any corporate enterprise.

WARMONGER: Anyone who is willing to defend himself or his country, if need be by the force of arms, from Soviet enslavement.

PROFITEER: Anyone who makes a profit.

ILLEGAL: Not arranged for, desired by, or in the interest of the Soviet Union; characterization of an action contrary to Soviet policy.³⁰⁰

The *Armored Sentinel* addressed many angles of communism in both Russia and China. Some stories followed the predictable pattern of trying to explain communist aims and championing America's moral high ground.³⁰¹ However, the *Sentinel* at times dug deeper and provided more context to the clash between capitalism and communism than its fellow papers. One the paper went so far as to outline the important role France's alliance with the U.S. played in softening Russian attitudes as well as the threats France faced from pro-communist people within its population.³⁰² The paper also was critical of Russian diplomat Andrei Vyshinsky after his death, saying he "must have died a miserably unhappy man" having failed to affect a positive change for his people.

Vyshinsky would be remembered, the *Sentinel* predicted, as a:

... poor mountebank, a fraud and a cowardly fellow who could never muster the courage to sever his union with a gang of miserable mobsters whose infamies will endure as long as human history endures.³⁰³

The *Sentinel* saved some vitriol for the wealthy in the Soviet Union, pointing out that communist leaders, factory managers, writers, musicians, and politicians all made great livings while the common man struggled.³⁰⁴ Perhaps most notable among the pieces

³⁰⁰ "Confusion Experts 'Define' Words to Suit Themselves," *Wings*, April 24, 1959.

³⁰¹ "Soviet Aims," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, November 4, 1954; "Red China and the Marxists," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, December 9, 1954; "Better Times Ahead," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, December 23, 1954.

³⁰² "The Protean Russians," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, November 25, 1954; "France's Dilemma," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, March 3, 1955.

³⁰³ "Vyshinsky," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, December 2, 1954.

³⁰⁴ "The Russian Millionaires," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, March 31, 1955.

about communism in the *Sentinel* was a 1954 editorial that stated plainly that people in the military were needed because communist doctrine said a collision between Soviet and capitalist nations was inevitable.³⁰⁵

As much as during World War II, the papers promoted sacrifice, pride in America, and a belief that the U.S. was the best in the world at most things. If the danger of too much faith in the United States had a face in the 1950s, it would have belonged to one Wilbur F.H. Radeline, who turned down a \$300,000 inheritance because it would have required he switch his citizenship to Sicilian. Both Radeline and his wife had mounting medical bills, Wilbur suffering from osteoarthritis and his wife from epilepsy, but Radeline refused to forego his American citizenship. Radeline's story became known, such that it was, in a 1955 editorial he penned for AFPS. This editorial appeared, among other places, in *Service to the Fleet*. In the piece, Radeline wrote that he struggled with health and bills, but would not take the money because nothing was worth losing his American citizenship. In a strange display patriotism mixed with a lack of awareness, Radeline asked, "Where else in the world can an ailing man ... and his sick life look forward to security and peace of mind and soul in the eventide of life?"³⁰⁶

Intermittent Wartime Rhetoric

Throughout the years of this era, papers committed what can best be described as false starts of patriotism. When communism threatened a corner of the globe, the papers reacted in a manner sympathetic to American interests and reminiscent of World War II rallying stories. However, this coverage was always inconsistent and typically late. The

³⁰⁵ "A Spade is a Spade," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, September 27, 1954.

³⁰⁶ Wilbur F.H. Radeline, "I Will Not Sell My Citizenship," AFPS editorial, *Service to the Fleet*, May 6, 1955.

domestic papers of World War II fluctuated between house journalism and propaganda but were consistent in coverage from the months prior to Pearl Harbor until well after the war ended. From 1946-1963, domestic base newspapers were neither consistent nor detailed enough in their coverage to be deemed strong journalists and were too late on major issues to be successful public relation professionals.

One example of the start-stop coverage of world events can be found in the February 11, 1955, *Wings*. In the wake of the Formosa Resolution, a front-page *Wings* editorial used a lengthy headline to first tell readers where they might find Formosa on a map, then went on to explain the significance of the resolution. A paragraph stating that the U.S. had taken a “firm and unified stand” against Chinese advances on Formosa preceded a quote from President Eisenhower saying the U.S. was willing to fight. The writer then offered an explanation as to why soldiers were being asked to prepare to fight in such an obscure location:

The basic reason is because, in words of the President, the most important objective of our Nation’s foreign policy is to safeguard the security of the United States by establishing and preserving a just and honorable peace. And the situation now developing in the Formosa Straits seriously imperils the peace and our security.

Look at a map of the Pacific. Note the island chain that includes the Aleutians, Japan, Okinawa, Formosa and the Philippines. It contains what the President calls ‘the geographical backbone’ of the security structure of the United States and other free nations in the Western Pacific. Formosa is only 65 miles from Y’ami, the northernmost island of the Philippines.

The United States is determined that this security chain remain in friendly hands. But the Chinese Communist Premier Chou En-Lai has stated that Red attacks on islands off the shore of China are first steps in their plan to take Formosa. That's why, if the Chinese Communists more to attack, the United States is 'prepared to take appropriate military action. (New Paragraph) 'Military action' – that's where you and I come in.³⁰⁷

On the same front page was a story outlining the President's comments on Formosa, what the writer of the piece called "a little background information to fill you in just in case the Reds decide to move on Formosa and we are called to stop them."³⁰⁸

Strangely, the following week's paper included no follow-up on Formosa. For the reader of *Wings*, it was as if Formosa was but an episode in an odd television series. The February 18 issue did, however, contain an announcement of a visit by Gene Autry, his horse Champion, and Gail Davis, "TV's Annie Oakley," to Chanute.³⁰⁹ Similarly, in August 1956, as the nation quarreled with the communists over the Suez Canal, *Wings* ran an AFNS editorial explaining the situation but offered no follow-up in subsequent issues.³¹⁰

Even international incidents that didn't directly involve the American military were nonetheless cased in terms of how they eventually affect U.S. soldiers. When Hungarians revolted against the Soviet Union, *Wings* ran an editorial not only supporting

³⁰⁷ "Editorially Speaking On: Formosa, the AF, and You – From Formosa to Tip of Philippines About Same as From Chanute to Decatur," *Wings*, February 11, 1955.

³⁰⁸ "What Has Happened in the Past: President Outlines Formosan Situation," *Wings*, February 11, 1955.

³⁰⁹ "Gene Autry, Champion Top New '55 Show," *Wings*, February 18, 1955.

³¹⁰ AFNS, "Editorial: National Viewpoint on Suez Explained," *Wings*, August 31, 1956.

the Hungarians but positing that the revolt, even though it had failed, might hold a positive implication for the United States:

Hungarian youth had spent their formative years since World War II under a Communist educational system. It did not take. This gave us reassurance that there is nothing magic about Communist ‘education’ or indoctrination.³¹¹

This story was unique among domestic base newspapers as it questioned previous wisdom the papers had championed via the Code of Conduct for POWs and the thought that “irresistible indoctrination” awaited if one fell into communist hands.

Rather than cover specific incidents, *Service to the Fleet* opted to focus on matters at home and offer broader messages about the world and NNSY’s place in it. Coverage of communism and the world, however, was scant. In December 1950, in response to a “grave threat to the peace of the world,” presumably the Korean War but possibly just communism in general, a *Service to the Fleet* editorial’s call to action read, “There isn’t too much that can be demanded of us because our freedom is our very life.”³¹² A month later, a second editorial assured readers the NNSY was contributing to the improvement of what the editorialist identified as a “sad and dangerous place.”³¹³

Sometimes coverage of an international crisis spanned multiple weeks. From July-August 1958, *Wings* ran a series of stories outlining an emerging situation in Lebanon. On July 10, *Wings* reprinted a speech by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles explaining that the United States would be sending equipment to stabilize Lebanon.³¹⁴

³¹¹ “We Salute Hungarian Youth,” *Wings*, December 7, 1956.

³¹² “Our Freedom’s at Stake,” *Service to the Fleet*, December 29, 1950.

³¹³ “Doing Our Part,” *Service to the Fleet*, January 12, 1951.

³¹⁴ “What is Our Nation’s Policy on the Middle East?” *Wings*, July 10, 1958.

When the nation actually began sending troops, the July 25 issue featured an editorial linking Lebanon to the soldiers of Chanute. The editorialists stressed, however, that the United States military in Lebanon only to protect the peace.³¹⁵ The August 1 issue featured words from Eisenhower explaining that troops were in Lebanon because the Lebanese were a free people threatened by communism. Eisenhower warned:

While on this duty you may be assailed by propaganda whipped up by skillful and ambitious men. There may be deliberate attempts to involve you as units – or individually – in incidents which will greatly exaggerated [sic] by these propagandists to suit their own purpose.

Through it all, just remember you are representing the United States of America – that you are true to her ideals in helping a people to keep their freedom. We have no hostile intent toward any people anywhere in the world.³¹⁶

The Globe also featured extensive and weeks-long coverage of Lebanon.³¹⁷

However, like *Wings*, most international incidents were given only one issue's worth of attention. On one occasion, the paper reported on the occurrence of an international incident without adequately explain what had happened. In the May 22, 1958, *Globe* readers learned about two companies of Marines being sent to Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, only to return three days later. No mention was made as to what had occurred, only that "Department of State developments in South America" had necessitated the move.³¹⁸

³¹⁵ "What Does Mid-East Crisis Mean to You?" *Wings*, July 25, 1956.

³¹⁶ "President Speaks to You on Crisis in Lebanon," *Wings*, August 1, 1958.

³¹⁷ "Divvy Troops in Lebanon, Beirut Trouble Causes Move," *The Globe*, July 28, 1959; "A Job Well Done," *The Globe*, August 7, 1958; "8,000 Marines Home from Lebanon," *The Globe*, October 9, 1958; "Returning Leathernecks Give First Impression of Lebanon," *The Globe*, October 9, 1958; "Last of 2nd Division Marines Returns from Lebanon Duty," *The Globe*, October 23, 1958.

³¹⁸ "Force in Readiness," *The Globe*, May 22, 1958; "6th Marines Units Sent to Caribbean Return to Lejeune Three Days Later," *The Globe*, May 22, 1958.

Perhaps the reason for the deployment then-Vice President Richard Nixon's car being pelted by rocks thrown by anti-United States demonstrators in Venezuela back on May 13.³¹⁹

The Berlin incident in 1959 got the domestic base newspapers churning, if only briefly. In *Wings*, the March 27 issue turned into a commitment from the newspaper staff to keep soldiers informed about the situation in Germany and a demand of the soldiers to never foreswear their fellow free people in West Berlin.³²⁰ *Wings'* commitment to Berlin, at least in print, lasted just one issue. The following week, the big call to action was to enjoy the pleasures of reading for relaxation.³²¹ Similarly, when a Communist flare-up occurred in Laos, the *Wings'* passion lasted just one week.³²²

Sentinel coverage of international incidents was not as robust as other papers, but the stories that ran, on places like Germany and the Middle East, were typically not updated in subsequent issues.³²³ The *Sentinel* did, however, reserve some criticism for American allies. In 1957, an editorial toed the line between chiding and gloating about the collapse of Chile's economy, which the *Sentinel* blamed on the taxation of U.S. copper interests.³²⁴

The Camp Pendleton *Scout's* coverage of international incidents was similar to its fellow base newspapers in length of focus per event. However, *The Scout*, more

³¹⁹ Marvin R. Zahniser and W. Michael Weis, "A Diplomatic Pearl Harbor? Richard Nixon's Goodwill Mission to Latin America in 1958," *Diplomatic History* 13, no. 2 (1989): 163-190.

³²⁰ "Our First Job: Keep Informed About Berlin," *Wings*, March 27, 1959; "Background on Berlin," *Wings*, March 27, 1959.

³²¹ "Wake Up and Read: It's Time We Recall Pleasure of Reading," *Wings*, April 3, 1959.

³²² "The Government's Policy on Laos Fully Explained," *Wings*, September 11, 1959.

³²³ "First group of Trainees Depart for German Duty," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, April 4, 1957; "Paratroopers in Mid-East; Pentomic Unit," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, July 31, 1958.

³²⁴ "Chile's Lesson," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, March 3, 1955.

specifically Lieutenant J.M. Baker, had a true commitment to weekly examinations of at least one “World Hot Spot” from August-September 1950. In an eerie coincidence, given what came in the 1960s and 1970s, the first hot spot Baker identified was French Indochina, what would eventually become known as Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos.³²⁵ Over the following weeks, Baker used his “Letter from the Editor” column to explain the hotspots of Greece, Turkey, Iran, Spain, and Yugoslavia, and offered a second exploration of the issue of French Indochina.³²⁶

Influx of Space Coverage

The issue of space exploration became the hottest topic of the day, one religiously covered in *Wings*. Beginning as one of eight points of emphasis issued by Dwight Eisenhower and reprinted in *Wings*, the coverage of the U.S. space program fluctuated between straight-up coverage of government aims and Air Force interests to fantastical speculation.³²⁷ Long before man walked on the moon, editors and ranking officials were already building forts on other planets. In February 1958, *Wings* reprinted a speech in which Air Force Chief of Staff General Thomas D. White laid out a lofty vision of space:

For many years, airmen have known that the capability to control the air permits control of the land and seas beneath. We airmen also feel that the capability to control space will be the basic essential to control the surface of the earth.

³²⁵ “French Indochina’s Two Enemies; Rugged Terrain and Native Rebels,” *The Scout*, August 11, 1950.

³²⁶ J.M. Baker, “Letter from the Editor,” *The Scout*, August 18, 1950; J.M. Baker, “Letter from the Editor, Turkey: World Hot Spot,” *The Scout*, August 25, 1950; J.M. Baker, “Letter from the editor, Iran: World Hot Spot,” *The Scout*, September 1, 1950; J.M. Baker, “Letter from the Editor,” *The Scout*, September 8, 1950; J.M. Baker, “Letter from the Editor, Yugoslavia: World Hot Spot,” *The Scout*, September 15, 1950; J.M. Baker, “Letter from Editor French Indochina: World Hot Spot,” *The Scout*, September 22, 1950.

³²⁷ “We Face These Tasks, Says the President,” *Wings*, January 17, 1958.

In speaking of the control of the air and the control of space, I want to stress that there is no fine dividing line between air and space. Air and space are an indivisible field of operations ... The Air Force can be very proud of the men who have shown the way toward true conquest of space.

The next step is the Air Force program to fly at hypersonic speeds, circumventing the globe many times before reentry into the earth's atmosphere. As a weapon system, this program will represent the first major breakthrough in sustained piloted space flight ... The Air Force is planning and working rapidly into the future ... and in the future, I see indefinitely integrated forces of manned and unmanned systems. It will take both manned and unmanned systems because the Air Force goal must continue to be economical and effective in the performance of its missions. If unmanned systems can perform a mission effectively without risking the lives of a combat crew, then we will use unmanned systems. If manned systems can do the job better, then we will use manned systems.³²⁸

In future installments, *Wings* journalists wondered how man would react to the conditions of space and if the United States Air Force's name should be changed to "United States Aerospace Force."³²⁹ Generals and other space experts' words often found their way into *Wings*.³³⁰ Base historian A.D. McLarty once used Octave Chanute, namesake of the base, to sell the notion of space dominance.³³¹ *Wings* took the idea of the

³²⁸ Thomas D. White, "AF Chief Sets Guide for Air-Space Force," statement reprinted in *Wings*, February 7, 1958.

³²⁹ "What Will be Man's Reaction to Space?" *Wings*, March 21, 1958; "Will the 'A' in USAF Refer to Aerospace," *Wings*, September 5, 1958.

³³⁰ "In and Through Space," *Wings*, October 17, 1958; "Aerospace Power: General White Explains Air Free Space Mission," *Wings*, February 20, 1959; Curtis LeMay, "For Your Information: A Statement of Policy for the U.S. Air Force," *Wings*, October 30, 1959.

³³¹ A.D. McLarty, "We're On Our Way: Sky No Longer the Limit," *Wings*, April 17, 1959.

Air Force's role in space supremacy so seriously that, beginning in the first issue of 1959, the banner head included the phrase, "U.S. Air Force – Aerospace Power for Peace."³³² Multiple stories in 1959 outlined the ways the Air Force was applying the old concept of "Power for Peace," the United States military's stance that stronger and more deadly weapons helped rather than hindered peace, to space.³³³

The Scout celebrated the involvement of a Marine aviator in the space program.³³⁴ The paper also took the chance to downplay the significance of the Russians beating the United States in the race to get a rocket into space:

While the Russians combined numerous rockets to get their cosmic rocket past the moon, we perfected the Atlas missile so that we may defend the free world ... the United States is actually several years ahead ... and the Russians know it. Unfortunately, they have the keen insight on propaganda, this is one field they exceed in. As Marines, however, we know the communist for what they [SIC] are. Many in number but little on skill ... Accuracy is the overall importance in anyway type instrument, and now as before, we are supervisor.³³⁵

Thoughts of space exploration eventually waned in the early 1960's, although *The Globe* dedicated its full front page to the story of John Glenn in 1962.³³⁶

³³² Banner headline, *Wings*, January 2, 1959. In late 1958, the banner head motto had been, "U.S. Air Force – Guardian of Freedom."

³³³ "AF Goal is 'Aerospace Power for Peace' Now," *Wings*, January 2, 1959; "Modern Armed Forces," *Wings*, December 30, 1959.

³³⁴ "Marine Aviator Chosen for Space Training Possible Rocket Ride," *The Scout*, April 16, 1959.

³³⁵ "Pendleton Panorama: Moon of Bust?" *The Scout*, January 8, 1959.

³³⁶ "America's First Orbital Astronaut," *The Globe*, February 23, 1962.

Crime, Long Hair, and Other Threats to Discipline

Although people often remember the 1950's as a time of moral purity, of a collective United States, committed to the rule of law, this was, in reality, a time in which many nefarious people operated. Slowly, some newspapers began to examine issues of discipline within the ranks and crime on and near bases. The primary targets of the coverage were, unsurprisingly, men over whom the bases enjoyed some authority. From 1952-1953, *Wings* took a particular interest in the base command's efforts to rein in lawbreakers in uniform, first through removal of privileges and second through the launching of a "retraining center," the title of which would have been likely met with screams if announced by Russia.³³⁷

Part of the reason for the uptick in concern was that bases were increasingly falling prey to crime and vice from off base. In 1954, Chanute briefly faced difficulties at the hands of the Pachuco gang, which was a group inspired by the zoot-suit gangs of Los Angeles. Coverage of the Pachuco issue, similar to international incidents, lasted just one issue, but in the story, we learn an airman had been attacked by a person or people with razor blades. The gang might have been rooted on base, or at least have contained members of the Air Force. Police had come into a "crudely written paper giving the 'Laws of Pachuco'" and brought in Los Angeles authorities to help "interrogate all personnel with unusual self-tattooing on any part of their bodies." This investigation landed thirty-six men in the stockade.³³⁸

³³⁷ "Airmen's Off-Base Hours Trimmed: Base Seeks to Improve Discipline," *Wings*, April 14, 1952; "Launch Big Retraining Center Here: Convicted Airmen Get Rehabilitation," *Wings*, February 9, 1953; "60 to Enter Retraining," *Wings*, February 16, 1953; "9 Violate Traffic Rules; Get Stiff Penalty," *Wings*, March 22, 1954.

³³⁸ "'Pachuco' Questions Continue," *Wings*, August 27, 1954.

Discipline in the ranks, as had been the case during World War II, remained a common editorial demand. However, as men became more publicly brash in their lack of discipline, the real-world consequences and timbre of the editorials became harsher.³³⁹ In 1956, *Wings* ran a commentary by Major Frank R. LeBourveau in which he asked: “Are You an Uncle Willie?” To the modern reader, this might seem an odd question to ask anyone not named Willie, but LeBourveau referred to a character named Uncle Willie, who appeared in *Stars and Stripes* an all-around slacker, always bearded, and typically slouched. LeBourveau warned:

A shaggy head of hair hands jammed in pockets or an unbuttoned blouse can destroy every favorable impression that we hope to create and maintain among the people who are our neighbors or our superior officers.³⁴⁰

Wings, it seems, had a talent for using caricatures of poor soldiering to make a point. When airmen complained of being forced to work overtime, *Wings* told the “Airmen Gumps” to cheer up because overtime was the military’s way of recognizing competence.³⁴¹

Nonconformity in society seemed to trouble the papers as well. In November 1959, *The Globe* reprinted a piece by famed commentator, columnist, and radio personality George E. Sokolsky who, just three years prior to his death, issued a screed against beatniks:

³³⁹ “By Presidential Statement – Increase AWOL Penalties,” *Wings*, October 8, 1954; “That Proper Salute Means Much to Airman; Has Long History with Military,” *Wings*, June 22, 1956.

³⁴⁰ “Are You an Uncle Willie?” *Wings*, November 30, 1956.

³⁴¹ “WINGS Editorials: Airman Gumps, Cheer Up; Your Overtime’s Important!” *Wings*, August 19, 1955.

This country's youth does not consist of Beatniks or juvenile delinquents. These are the sick personalities in an otherwise wholesome atmosphere ... They are not even evil. Their unshaved faces, their unkempt hair, their unmannerly habits, their general sloppiness mirror their minds which find neither hope in logic nor beauty in emotion. They despise conformity; nevertheless, they conform in their sloppiness as though they were in uniform.

They are a response to the challenge of materialism unsoftened by spiritual assumptions ... Beatnikism is a passing fashion among our youth ... Youth needs God's guidance to revitalize our nation which seems to be losing its way in the confusion of a revolution in morals ...³⁴²

The *Armored Sentinel*, similar to the stance of *The Globe* and Sokolsky on Beatniks in 1959, took a hard line on tattoos in 1960.³⁴³

There were some signs of softening from the editors. A September 1955 *Wings* editorial explained the Air Force understood the everyday problems faced by it enlisted.³⁴⁴ Drinking began to draw a bit more attention in editorials. In 1957, *Wings* began to address the issue of alcoholism in the military.³⁴⁵ In 1960, *The Scout* reminded Marines new to California that the drinking age in that state was 21 rather than 18.³⁴⁶ An AFPS editorial warning against drinking and driving on July 4th proved particularly popular with editors in 1960. Perhaps due to the clever headline "A Fourth with a fifth

³⁴² George E. Sokolsky, "Beatniks," *The Globe*, November 26, 1959.

³⁴³ "Leave the Tattooing to Sideshow Freaks," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, April 1, 1960.

³⁴⁴ "WINGS Editorials: About YOUR Problems," *Wings*, September 23, 1955.

³⁴⁵ "Your Doctor Speaks: Chronic Alcoholism – What it is, How it Starts," *Wings*, September 20, 1957.

³⁴⁶ "Editorial: Liquor and Servicemen," *The Scout*, June 30, 1960.

can mean no sixth,” this editorial ran in the *Armored Sentinel* in April and *Service to the Fleet* in July.³⁴⁷

Transitioning to the 1960s and Vietnam

As the 1950s gave way to the 1960s, messages to soldiers remained the same. The United Nations still held a special place in the heart of editorialists.³⁴⁸ The *Armored Sentinel*, as were all other papers in this study, was still keen on bragging that the United States soldier was the best-informed soldier in the world thanks to military media and communications.³⁴⁹ There were occasional remembrances of the Korean War active phase.³⁵⁰ The *Armored Sentinel* closed a 1963 homage to the war with: “The United States is free today and will remain free as long as Americans are willing to pay the price for our freedom . . .”³⁵¹ A *Sentinel* editorial expressed a similar sentiment when it commemorated Japan’s invasion of Manchuria 38 years prior.³⁵² The *Sentinel* also offered one of the rare follow-ups on Korea, which was still technically ongoing although a ceasefire had been achieved.³⁵³

The early 1960’s featured fewer tales of world hotspots. Mentions of Vietnam, where the United States already had a presence but was not yet technically embroiled in a war, were few but told of a shift in United States posture. On August 30, 1962, *The Globe* ran a story highlight the people of South Vietnam’s appreciation of the humanitarian aid

³⁴⁷ AFPS, “A Fourth with a Fifth Can Mean No Sixth,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, April 1, 1960; AFPS, “A 4th with a Fifth Can Mean No Sixth,” *Service to the Fleet*, July 1, 1960.

³⁴⁸ “U.N., Holds World Hope,” *The Globe*, October 14, 1963.

³⁴⁹ “Best Informed Soldiers,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, December 1, 1961.

³⁵⁰ Wayne Matheson, “Div. Arrives From Korea Five Years Ago Today,” *The Scout*, March 17, 1960.

³⁵¹ “Freedom’s Price,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, July 26, 1963.

³⁵² “Price for Peace?” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, September 13, 1963.

³⁵³ “Korean ‘Policemanship’ Still a Man-sized Job,” *The Globe*, November 21, 1963.

brought by U.S. Marines.³⁵⁴ Less than six months later, in February of 1963, *The Globe* ran a piece by Lance Corporal T.G. Smith highlighting the struggle between North and South Vietnam. Smith's piece stated plainly that the United States was reevaluating its position in helping South Vietnam maintain its freedom.³⁵⁵

There were still occasional forays into international incident. In 1961, *The Armored Sentinel* ran an explanation of the rationale behind the Berlin Airlift, as well as a series on the state of affairs in Germany.³⁵⁶ *The Globe* spent one week, one story, and a photo package on the deployment of Marines to Thailand in 1962.³⁵⁷ However, in 1963, papers were far more likely to belittle communism than address the places at which the communists were gaining traction. *The Globe* ran a semi-regular series on the history of communism, which ran even on December 5, 1963, alongside stories of Americans mourning the loss of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson's ascension to the Presidency.³⁵⁸ *The Armored Sentinel* ran a regular piece called "Primer on Communism," which it used to decry the Russians for nuclear testing, spreading communism internationally, lying about the lack of religion in the Soviet Union, calling New York City a "hellscape," and stifling freedom of expression.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁴ "Vietnamese Praise Corpsmen, Marines," *The Globe*, August 30, 1962.

³⁵⁵ "Vietnam ... Struggle for Freedom," *The Globe*, February 7, 1963.

³⁵⁶ "Airlift's Purpose," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, October 25, 1963; "The Divided City: Berlin Turmoil Began in 1945," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, August 25, 1961.

³⁵⁷ "President Sends BLT 3-9 to Thailand: Part of U. S. Military Assistance Command," *The Globe*, May 24, 1962; "Marines in Thailand," *The Globe*, May 24, 1962.

³⁵⁸ "Lyndon Baines Johnson Thirty-sixth President," *The Globe*, December 5, 1963; "History of Communism: The Bolsheviks Confuse a Disenchanted People," *The Globe*, December 5, 1963; "Americans in Uniform Mourn Departed Chief," *The Globe*, December 5, 1963.

³⁵⁹ AFPS, "Great Leap Backward," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, December 8, 1961; "Threat of Communism," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, December 15, 1961; AFPS, "Repeat Performance," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, October 19, 1962; "Russians Refuse Rule," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, October 19, 1962; AFPS, "Soviet Eye View," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, January 25, 1963; "Hardline," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, May 10, 1963.

Base newspapers still implored soldiers to be ever ready for battle. The *Sentinel* covered Kennedy's request for a defense build-up and later named the subsequent increase as the story of 1961.³⁶⁰ When an apparent rift developed between Russia and China in 1963, the *Sentinel* warned its readers to not relax.³⁶¹ A January *Globe* made readiness its New Year's Resolution for 1961, emphasizing the fact with a photo of a Marine leaping into action.³⁶² *The Globe's* stance was simple:

It isn't an easy thing to accept. The knowledge that at any time, any moment, we can be catapulted from our peaceful life into combat has disturbed the dreams of more than one Marine.³⁶³

Service to the Fleet stories in the early 1960s were a bit different. The paper continued to urge personnel to keep silent on matters of the base and to focus on combatting communism.³⁶⁴ In one issue, the paper ran a four-page commentary by Vice Admiral H.C. Rickover on the challenge of protecting the nation's interest and remaining committed to the cause of freedom, as well as a comparatively shorter piece in which Rickover urged the yard to accept the challenge of integrating nuclear power.³⁶⁵ However, most of the content in the paper was geared toward activities of the yard, often in the area of safety.

³⁶⁰ UPI, "Kennedy Asks Solons for Defense Build-up," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, July 28, 1961; "Year Brought Many Changes: Buildup Highlighted Post 1961 Major Events," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, January 5, 1962.

³⁶¹ AFPS, "Wrangling Reds," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, January 18, 1963.

³⁶² "A Time for Vigilance," *The Globe*, January 1961; "Our Resolution for 1961: Marines Must be Ready," *The Globe*, January 1961.

³⁶³ "Never has Our Country Needed Marines More," *The Globe*, November 10, 1961.

³⁶⁴ "Democracy Gives Us Freedom We Must also Protect by Silence," *Service to the Fleet*, August 19, 1960.

³⁶⁵ H.C. Rickover, "Nuclear Power – The Challenge to Norfolk Naval Shipyard," *Service to the Fleet*, February 15, 1963; H.C. Rickover, "The Never-Ending Challenge," *Service to the Fleet*, March 1, 1963.

Occasionally, a reader might get a harrowing or tragic tale associated with shipping. In 1961, Rear Admiral Ralph K. James, chief of the Bureau of Ships, wrote a commentary memorializing the deaths of 50 people in a fire aboard the U.S.S. Constellation.³⁶⁶ In 1963, an AFPS editorial explained the story of the U.S.S. Thresher, a submarine which had gone missing off of Cape Cod.³⁶⁷ While in the real world, the Thresher's loss sparked major changes in the Navy's safety standards, on the pages of *Service to the Fleet*, readers got only the announcement of the mysterious disappearance. Particularly adroit editorials in *Service to the Fleet*, and also *The Scout*, in 1960 urged military voters to choose wisely in the next presidential election because, the editorialists predicted, the nation's greatest challenges were yet to be faced.³⁶⁸

Messages about Racial Minorities

In the years immediately following the end of the Second World War, the stories of racial minorities in print were not told. Sightings of racial minorities, black or otherwise, were rare in the late 1940s. Even rarer, indeed wholly absent, were stories of calls of civil rights. After having been engulfed by the patriotism of World War II to the point of being painted erroneously as content members of a flawed society, racial minorities would now be ignored by domestic base newspapers. Only those fortunate, and innocuous, enough to gain a measure of fame in sports or music could count on regular coverage.

³⁶⁶ Ralph K. James, "Human Misery and Grief, Major Tragedy," *Service to the Fleet*, February 24, 1961.

³⁶⁷ AFPS, "Thresher Search Continues; Wreck Shrouded in Silence," *Service to the Fleet*, May 10, 1963.

³⁶⁸ "Editorial: The Next Presidency a Man's Greatest Test," *The Scout*, July 23, 1960; AFPS, "The Next Presidency: A Man's Greatest Test," *Service to the Fleet*, August 5, 1960.

The best way to be noticed as a minority after the Second World War was to be an athlete or a singer. Sports, perhaps, were a safe enough space for inclusivity. The *Scout*, the majority of photos in which were almost exclusively white, squeezed in a perhaps unintentionally desegregated collection of headshots of the base basketball team, two African American men, two white men, and a white coach.³⁶⁹ *Service to the Fleet* ran a story about a NNSY team entering an African American softball league.³⁷⁰ Entertainers also received share of attention, although these portrayals ran the gambit from inclusive to racist.

In *The Globe*, there was an announcement for a minstrel show in 1948.³⁷¹ At Chanute, appearances by Duke Ellington and Louis Armstrong got several weeks of coverage.³⁷² In 1953, *Wings* announced an Ellington concert in the same issue as a story about an aspiring singer, beaming and broad-smiled Airman Third Class Albert Lee Richardson, who *Wings* dubbed the “miniature King Cole.”³⁷³

Some pieces did not fit squarely in the category of sports or entertainment. In *The Globe* there was an odd cartoon showing a Marine being a litterer. This character was solid black and it is unclear if the artist meant to portray the person as black, use the color

³⁶⁹ “Know Your Basketball Team,” *The Scout*, February 11, 1949.

³⁷⁰ “Naval Shipyard Grays Entered Colored Softball League of Norfolk,” *Service to the Fleet*, July 26, 1946.

³⁷¹ “Minstrel Show Opens Tomorrow at CHB, Plays Camp Theater Monday and Tuesday,” *The Globe*, September 2, 1948:

³⁷² “‘The Duke’ Is Coming ... To Give 2 Shows at Arena,” *Wings*, September 14, 1953; “Duke Likeness,” *Wings*, September 14, 1953; “Duke Ellington to Play at Airmen’s Dance, May 12,” *Wings*, May 3, 1954; “September Jazz,” *Wings*, August 9, 1954.

³⁷³ “Coming,” *Wings*, September 8, 1953; “48th’s Top Singer Looks Towards [sic] ‘Big Time’ Clubs,” *Wings*, September 8, 1953.

black to offset the white colors of the Marine's uniform or to hide fact the artist couldn't draw eyes and mouths.³⁷⁴

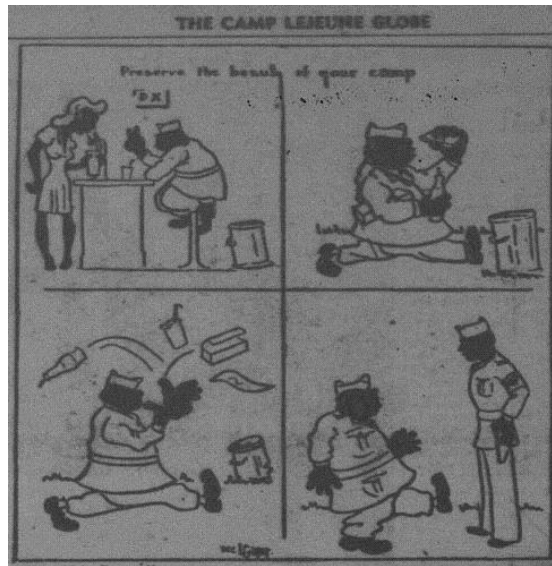


Figure 9. Preserve the Beauty of Your Camp

This cartoon, from the December 5, 1946, *Globe* depicted a black character, although it is impossible to tell if this character was meant to represent an African American or simply a generic slovenly soldier, littering.

In *Service to the Fleet*, another atypical story was that of John L. Conley, an African-American man who'd escaped injury in a sand-blasting accident and got a stand-alone photo for his freight in 1949.³⁷⁵ Occasionally, *Wings* focused on African American airmen who either through quality of service or non-athletic/singing talent warranted positive attention. Among these were stories about African American men who were named "Airman of the Month" by the base, reenlistments, college/special training graduates, and one comic book artist.³⁷⁶ *The Globe* also featured a rarity, a photo of two

³⁷⁴ "Preserve the Beauty of Your Camp," *The Globe*, December 5, 1946.

³⁷⁵ Untitled photo, *Service to the Fleet*, February 18, 1949.

³⁷⁶ "Sergeant Wright is Named July 'Airman of the Month,'" *Wings*, August 3, 1953; "He Can Draw His Own Comic Book," *Wings*, December 7, 1953; J.L. Ivens, "They Told Him it Couldn't be Done," *Wings*, October 18, 1957; "Reenlistees," *Wings*, May 29, 1959; "Reenlistments," *Wings*, July 31, 1959.

African-American youth in Boy Scout uniforms cutting a cake as Sergeant W.A. Green, also an African American looked on.³⁷⁷ *The Globe* was less likely to feature an African American who had achieved some measure of success in the Marine Corps. In a sad coincidence, one the few features of this sort was a photo of two African-American cooks receiving an award.³⁷⁸

With few exceptions, the portrayal of racial minorities remained unchanged into the early 1960s. *Wings* featured stories of the boxing, track and field, and baseball prowess of some African American Airmen.³⁷⁹ Much like at Camp Lejeune, some of the base's team sports were desegregated. In the case of Chanute, it was the baseball team, the Planesmen. Features of individual players, both black and white, ran each week during the 1954 season. On May 10, 1954, it was African American Arthur Duckett who got the spotlight, while on June 1, Lyle Stocker, who was white, was featured.³⁸⁰

While African Americans might make the papers for athletics or entertainment, other races might as well not have existed. Portrayals of other racial minorities in *Wings* was scant and, when present, sometimes born of old-fashioned racism. A story about a Native American Airman who served as a base librarian said "you'd never guess" Juan Jose Lajara held doctorates in theology and philosophy and was nearing the completion of his law degree.³⁸¹ There were two stories about Hawaiians in *Wings*, one telling of a singer from Hawaii and the other about 600 white people attending a Hawaiian-themed

³⁷⁷ "Cake Cutting," *The Globe*, March 3, 1953.

³⁷⁸ "Well Done," *The Globe*, December 16, 1954.

³⁷⁹ "Capable Chanute Pugilists to Appear on TV Show," *Wings*, January 14, 1952; "Fred Faucett Makes First Base All-Service Champ," *Wings*, June 29, 1953; "Fred Faucett to Leave Chanute in February," *Wings*, January 4, 1954; Dick Powell, "Know Your Planesmen: Versatile 3rd Sacker Plays Entire Field," *Wings*, May 10, 1954; "Six Chanutemen Advance in Decatur Golden Gloves," *Wings*, February 25, 1955.

³⁸⁰ Powell; "Planesman Pitcher," *Wings*, June 1, 1954.

³⁸¹ "Chanute Librarian – Doctor, Lawyer, Indian Chief!" *Wings*, June 21, 1954.

dinner.³⁸² The absence of racial minorities extended only to American citizens. In *Wings*, there were several stories of visitors, both military and civilian, from South Korea, Japan, and the Republic of China, but none geared toward Americans of a similar extraction.³⁸³

Another interesting, if retrospectively troubling, element of race in *Wings* could be found in advertisements from Scheduled Airlines and Joint Airlines. The conceit of these ads was typically to show someone who should have chosen to fly rather than another method of travel. Some of these scenes featured caricatures of racial minorities from throughout history. There was an ad showing a stereotypical Persian man stalled at sea in 789 A.D., an Aztec struggling with travel in 1519, and a Native American, the ad referred to the character as a “buck,” traveling via white water rapids.³⁸⁴

The Globe's coverage of minorities so closely resembled *Wings* that one would be forgiven for assuming the papers shared an editor. There was once a story about whites attending a racially themed party, in this case, a “Plantation Party” in which they recreated antebellum living.³⁸⁵ Entertainers like the Harlem Globetrotters and Louis Armstrong, as well as local talent, got prominent coverage.³⁸⁶ And, like *Wings*, *The Globe* featured stories about people from China, South Korea, and Japan.³⁸⁷ However, the

³⁸² “Tops in Blue Singer,” *Wings*, August 26, 1955; “600 Attend Hawaiian Dinner,” *Wings*, June 22, 1956.

³⁸³ “Japanese Major Cites U.S. Progress,” *Wings*, July 22, 1955; “Korean Bo Pianist to Give Local Concert,” *Wings*, October 5, 1956; “Korean Prodigy’s Concert Sunday,” *Wings*, October 12, 1956; “Chinese AF Officers See Chanute Training,” *Wings*, October 26, 1956; “Korean Airmen,” *Wings*, August 21, 1959.

³⁸⁴ Scheduled Airlines Ad, “Persia Pass Fading Fast! – 789 A. D.,” *Wings*, August 7, 1959; Scheduled Airlines Ad, “A Long Trek For A [sic] Aztec 1519 A. D.,” *Wings*, August 28, 1959; Joint Airlines Ad, “Passing the Buck! – 1867 A.D.,” *Wings*, April 24, 1959.

³⁸⁵ “Scenes from the Plantation Party,” *The Globe*, May 11, 1950.

³⁸⁶ “Globetrotters to ‘Court’ Lejeune Sunday,” *The Globe*, March 15, 1952; “Satchmo’s Trumpet to Herald Relief Drive,” *The Globe*, April 15, 1954; “‘Essex’ Marine Quartet Hoping for Big Break,” *The Globe*, April 4, 1963.

³⁸⁷ “Two China-Born MD’s Here Recall Days in Homeland,” *The Globe*, January 27, 1955; “Korean Refugee Families Get Marine Helping Hand,” *The Globe*, January 27, 1955; “Two Korean Marines Arrive as Student Vanguard Here,” *The Globe*, February 17, 1956; “Studying at Lejeune: Two Korean Marines

Camp Lejeune paper also shared the trait of generally ignoring American-born racial minorities.

The Scout had far fewer stories and photos about racial minorities, although the commandant of the Nationalist Chinese Marine Corps, Major General Chou Yu-Huan was featured when he visited the base and there was once a photo of two South Korean mechanics in vehicle repair school.³⁸⁸ A sports story in *The Scout* stuck out as particularly noteworthy. This story, a feature on Pendleton basketball standout Jim “Mr. Good-on” Smith, an African American, was dominated by an artist’s rendering. In this cartoon, Smith was shown dribbling a basketball while saying “Shucks it’s easy.”³⁸⁹

Living Testimony of President’s New Program,” *The Globe*, November 21, 1957; “Korean School Child Aided by 2nd Bn., Eighth Marines,” *The Globe*, November 5, 1959.

³⁸⁸ “Nationalist China CMC Here,” *The Scout*, February 6, 1953; “Briefing,” *The Scout*, October 20, 1960.

³⁸⁹ “Sports Spots,” *The Scout*, February 20, 1953.

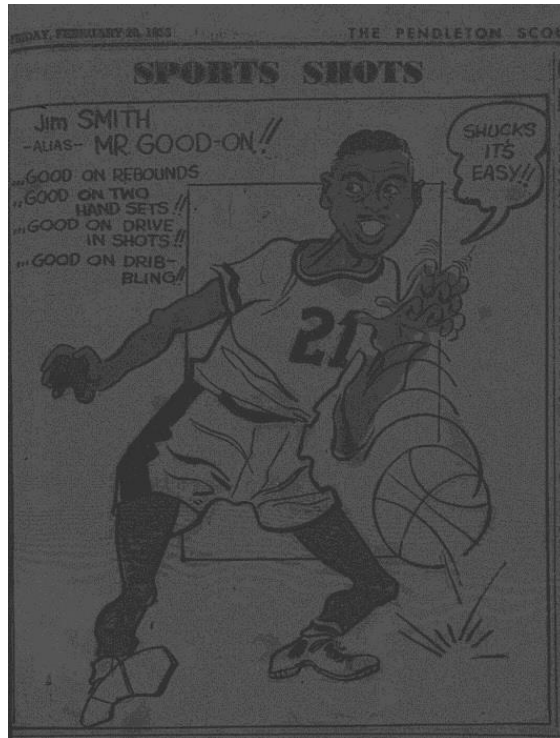


Figure 10. “Mr. Good-On!!”

This sketch of Jim “Mr. Good-On” Smith ran alongside a feature story about the basketball star in the February 20, 1953, *Scout*.

The *Armored Sentinel* ran only a handful of stories that featured racial minorities. There was a headshot of an African American recipient of the Bronze Star, a story about Sergeant Theodore Jackson who’d been held as a POW for two-and-a-half years in China, and a feature of champion marksman and Hood soldier Sergeant Thomas Blake, as well as the occasional African American named “Soldier of the Month.”³⁹⁰ There was also a story about Master Sergeant Frank Hardin singing for the governor of Texas in

³⁹⁰ Headshot of Harold L. Ward, *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, February 12, 1953; “Held By Reds: Sergeant Who Was PW,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, July 2, 1953; “Hood Marksmen Grab Early Matches Lead,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, April 24, 1959; “Sp4 Dowkins USAMC Soldier of Month,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, July 24, 1958; “Sp7 Glenn is Named SOM,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, October 2, 1959.

1954 and an odd photo of Private John Manning, who'd played minor league baseball, holding a rifle like a bat.³⁹¹

Cultural appropriation sometimes found its way to print. In an August 1953 *Sentinel*, the paper featured the story of Lieutenant Will Burgle, who might or might not have been a Native American but is pictured bedecked in huge headdress and Native American garb for what was called the "Big Injun Powwow." This title and the fact Burgle called Indian lore a hobby makes it seem he was not, in fact, a Native American.³⁹² Bald racism still had a home. In 1962, *The Globe* ran one to the more audacious headlines, both in style and substance, over the story about a jeep driver who had served in Korea. The headline read "... Then There Was This Big Hill. The Gooks ..."³⁹³

Service to the Fleet ran precious few stories or photos that featured obvious racial minorities, but those pieces that ran looked far more similar to what readers in the 21st Century would expect. There was a picture of the 2-year-old son of an African American employee of the yard ran in 1950.³⁹⁴ The fact that the young man was black was mentioned. In 1955, a description of the heroics of Joseph T. Brown, an African American who saved a man's life, ran with a photo of Brown on the front page while the picture of an unnamed African American man who had survived an accident on base ran on an inside page.³⁹⁵ Neither photo tied the heroics or accident to race.

³⁹¹ "Post Soldier Entertains Texas' Governor at School Centennial," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, May 13, 1954; "Not Exactly a Bat," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, August 21, 1959.

³⁹² "Chief of the Sioux," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, August 27, 1953.

³⁹³ W.L. Hall, "... Then There Was This Big Hill. The Gooks ...," *The Globe*, June 7, 1962.

³⁹⁴ Untitled photo, *Service to the Fleet*, February 17, 1950.

³⁹⁵ "Machinist Acts Quickly to Save Man Aboard Ship," photo, *Service to the Fleet*, April 15, 1955; "Hole in Hat, Not in Head!" photo, *Service to the Fleet*, April 15, 1955.

It seems strange that this era would prove so lacking in coverage of racial minorities. From 1946-1963, the military faced fervent demands from Civil Rights leaders, both inside and outside of the military. African American interest groups gained unprecedented clout in society and more and more blacks enlisted throughout the military. Subsequently, by the 1960s, the military had implemented pay increases and lifestyle improvements for African Americans in the ranks.³⁹⁶ Beyond increases in enlistment and improved treatment for blacks in the military, branch-by-branch the nation's fighting forces began to include integrated units.³⁹⁷ This did not mean all problems were over for African Americans. It took federal intervention and the threat of sanctions to open opportunities for blacks to earn an equal opportunity at advancement. However, the nation was moving farther away from its exclusionary past.³⁹⁸ Despite these changes in the real world, the domestic base newspapers remained mostly mum on matters of race. Matters of integration were never discussed and the issue of interracial harmony did not arise until the latter years of this era.

Service to the Fleet was the earliest paper to express an interest in social improvements for racial minorities. The issue of equal employment first appeared on the pages of *Service to the Fleet* in 1963. A decade after a story called "Human Relations" featured no mention of race relations, *Service to the Fleet* announced the formation of an Equal Employment Opportunity committee in September of 1963 and used the death of President John F. Kennedy to encourage people to rally behind the idea of equal

³⁹⁶ MacGregor, 123-151.

³⁹⁷ MacGregor, 397-472.

³⁹⁸ MacGregor, 473-608.

opportunity three months later.³⁹⁹ In the latter 1963 editorial, Rear Admiral James M. Farrin wrote, “I think it is appropriate for us, and the least we can do in the spirit of President Kennedy’s memory ...”⁴⁰⁰

Messages about Women

The types of depictions of women found in domestic base newspapers remained largely unchanged post-1945. However, the appearance of women in positive military or industrial roles waned while the use of women as eye-candy and in traditional gender roles increased. In 1946, World War II having been won, the military began to downsize the number of women in the ranks. While the women would eventually return, in the late 1940s some base papers ran stories about the end of women’s units on base.⁴⁰¹ Before the WR’s left Camp Lejeune, *The Globe* ran a story about some of the women “allowing” male Marines to win at bowling.⁴⁰² WR’s might have left Camp Lejeune, but *The Globe* honored the birthday of the women marines in 1947 and 1948.⁴⁰³

Pinup photos remained a common representation of womanhood. The likes of Gloria DeHaven, Yvonne De Carlo, and Angela Greene were featured in different papers in the late 1940s.⁴⁰⁴ Pinups proved no less prevalent in the 1950s. Dardy Orlando, Sonia Furio, Doris Day, Mona Freeman, Anne Francis, Marilyn Monroe, Debra Paget, and

³⁹⁹ “Human Relations,” *Service to the Fleet*, July 31, 1953; “Equal Employment Opportunity Committee Appointed in Yard,” *Service to the Fleet*, September 20, 1963; “Re-Examine Internal Attitudes,” *Service to the Fleet*, December 6, 1963.

⁴⁰⁰ “Re-Examine.”

⁴⁰¹ “Women’s Reserve Activities Here Ended Last Week,” *The Globe*, June 6, 1946; “Bid Farewell to Camp Pen’s Women Marines,” *The Scout*, May 22, 1946.

⁴⁰² “Stronger Sex Allowed to Beat WR’s at Bowling,” *The Globe*, April 17, 1946.

⁴⁰³ “They Also Served,” *The Globe*, February 12, 1947; Cartoon, “Happy Birthday, Salty,” *The Globe*, February 12, 1947; “WRs Will Celebrate Fifth Anniversary Throughout Land,” *The Globe*, February 11, 1948.

⁴⁰⁴ Photo of Gloria DeHaven, *The Globe*, December 18, 1946; “The Gorgeous Lady,” *The Scout*, January 30, 1947; “Pin Up,” *The Scout*, February 27, 1947.

Marla English all got the clip-out treatment in either *The Globe*, *Scout*, or *Armored Sentinel*.⁴⁰⁵ *The Globe* even went through a period of naming a weekly “Hometown Pinup,” which featured photos of women submitted by the men of Lejeune.

Service to the Fleet, which during World War II had portrayed women only as workers, began using women as scantily clad accouterments to monthly calendars in 1946.⁴⁰⁶ While most of the calendar girls were real women, the June 1946 calendar girl was a drawing of a woman whose breasts are visible through her blouse.⁴⁰⁷ The same year, the first pin-ups made it into the Shipyard paper.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁵ AFPS Photo, “Anyone for a Swim,” *The Globe*, January 11, 1951; “Globe Pin-up,” *The Globe*, June 25, 1959; Photo of Doris Day, *The Scout*, October 27, 1950; “Lovely Mona Freeman,” *The Scout*, February 3, 1955; “Make-Believe Dream,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, January 8, 1953; AFPS photo, “Marilyn Monroe,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, July 1, 1954; AFPS-UP Photo, “Debra Paget,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, July 8, 1954; “Marla English,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, May 13, 1954.

⁴⁰⁶ February calendar, *Service to the Fleet*, February 1, 1946; March calendar, *Service to the Fleet*, March 1, 1946.

⁴⁰⁷ June calendar, *Service to the Fleet*, May 29, 1946.

⁴⁰⁸ “Shipyard Pin Up Girl for Week,” *Service to the Fleet*, May 8, 1946; “Shipyard Hubba Hubba Girl,” *Service to the Fleet*, May 29, 1946.



Figure 11. June 1964 Calendar Girl

Service to the Fleet used scantily clad women, both real and drawn, as accouterments to its monthly calendars. This calendar, which ran in the May 29, 1946, *Service to the Fleet*, depicted a woman whose breasts are visible through her blouse. This was one of the only occurrence of nudity found in the papers of this study.

Of the primary bases in this study, however, the one that stood out as the most frequent user of sexualized women in the 1950's was Chanute's *Wings*, a strange coincidence given what became of the base's population of women soldiers. While some bases bid farewell to their women's units, Chanute experienced a boom.⁴⁰⁹ Consequently, *Wings* ran a bevy of stories about women in service, celebrating the WAF's birthday as well as other milestones and accomplishments from the base's "Gray Ladies."⁴¹⁰ Chanute

⁴⁰⁹ "WAF Barracks Ready; Moving to Start Today," *Wings*, April 7, 1952; "Base's WAF Population Doubles," *Wings*, September 8, 1952.

⁴¹⁰ "Mrs. Stice Marks Tenth Year Here as Gray Lady," *Wings*, June 2, 1952; "WAF Flies Own Plane in Leisure," *Wings*, May 18, 1953; Donna Creswell, "WAF Students Like Their Work; Are All

even played host to the All-Air Force WAF national softball tournament in 1956.⁴¹¹

These stories treated women in the service in only glowing terms. There was the occasional odd headline, such as “It’s Her Job to Keep Tabs on General” stripped over a story about a general’s secretary, but largely the women in the ranks were treated as equal to their male counterparts.⁴¹²

For every story about a WAF, however, there were countless more photos of women in suggestive poses. Like the other base newspapers, *Wings* used its share of famous women – among them Debbie Reynolds, Miss Universe competitor Janet Small, Rhonda Fleming, Joy Niven, Mamie Van Doren, Dianne Foster, and Marla English – to fill its pages.⁴¹³ In 1954, the paper ran a tall, half-page ad for life-sized posters and greeting cards featuring the likes of Joanne Arnold, Pat Hall, Lili St. Cyr, Madeline Castle, Anita Ekberg, and Marilyn Monroe.⁴¹⁴ When Betha (Not Bertha) Lee Devers changed careers from model to WAF, she too was given the pinup treatment.⁴¹⁵ When Miss America Neva Jane Langley visited Chanute in 1952, *Wings* bragged of the whistles she received from Airmen.⁴¹⁶ Sometimes, even the holidays were sexualized. The November 24, 1952, *Wings* Thanksgiving feature was accompanied by a photo of

‘Outstanding,’” *Wings*, August 24, 1953; Bob Ellis, “Gray Ladies Volunteer Hours of Service in Hospital Here,” *Wings*, March 29, 1954; “WAF Here Saluted on 6th Birthday,” *Wings*, June 28, 1954; Pat Voltz, “Nine Years: WAF Serve at Chanute,” *Wings*, June 28, 1957; “Letters Congratulate WAF on Ninth Anniversary,” *Wings*, June 28, 1957.

⁴¹¹ Don Lowe, “First World-Wide Sports Event for Chanute: All-AF WAF Tournament Here: Seven Teams Vie for Softball Crown,” *Wings*, August 24, 1956.

⁴¹² “It’s Her Job to Keep Tabs on General,” *Wings*, February 4, 1952.

⁴¹³ “A Triple Threat,” *Wings*, March 24, 1952; “Miss Universe?” *Wings*, April 21, 1952; “Sultry Scorcher,” *Wings*, May 26, 1952; “Jump for Joy,” *Wings*, October 20, 1952; “All American,” *Wings*, January 11, 1954; “Curves Ahead,” *Wings*, April 26, 1954; “Water Nymph,” *Wings*, June 1, 1954; “Recording Star,” *Wings*, August 28, 1959; “Aquatic,” *Wings*, September 11, 1959.

⁴¹⁴ Poster Advertisement, *Wings*, July 19, 1954.

⁴¹⁵ “Model WAF,” *Wings*, July 14, 1952.

⁴¹⁶ “Miss America Tours Chanute, Gets Whistles from Airmen,” *Wings*, November 17, 1952.

Paramount Pictures actresses Elaine Riley and Joan O'Donnell dressed, respectively, in a bikini and skimpy maid outfit while standing near a live turkey named "King Tom."⁴¹⁷

By far the most ghastly story of sexualized womanhood found in any paper from any period of this study ran in the February 24, 1953, *Wings*. In this two-photo stand-alone piece of wild art with extended cutline, *Wings* shared that 17-year-old Lucille Thomas had been named Consolidated Vultee Aircraft Corporation of San Diego's "Miss Sextant." The cutline reads like the thoughts of a pervert:

She's been named Miss Sextant of 1953 ... We don't really care what she's been named ... Seems Air Force personnel at Consolidated Vultee Aircraft Corporation San Diego division chose the young lady (Lucille Thomas, 17) as their favorite heavenly body on which to take sights during 1953 ... Then Convair sent us two photos (at left, sighting through astrodome of Convair T-29 navigator trainer – at right, on wing of trainer), but we couldn't decide which one to use ... We have just one other point of information – she attends high school in Imperial Beach, Calif.⁴¹⁸

This story, in which the name and high school of a teenager was shared with a population used to gawking at half-naked women, ran on the back page of the first section of the paper. In a sad coincidence, the front page of the second section replaced objectification with tokenism. *Wings* ran a story about women from far off places who served in the WAF, two of whom were women of color. In addition to mentions of women from Alaska and New Jersey, were references to women from Hawaii and Puerto Rico.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁷ "Chanute Pauses to Observe Thanksgiving," *Wings*, November 24, 1952.

⁴¹⁸ "Miss Sextant of 1953," *Wings*, February 24, 1953.

⁴¹⁹ E.G. Cook, "WAF Hail from Far Away Places," *Wings*, February 24, 1953.

Wings also provided stories of women connected to, though not enlisted in, the Air Force. Generally, these stories were about wives, either wives of airmen or wives of local residents who visited base.⁴²⁰ In 1955, a story about the Chanute Auto Registration Section ran with the unfortunately worded headline, “They Keep Tabs On Everybody – Including Your Wives.”⁴²¹ At first blush this headline seems like the ramblings of a stalker, but perhaps it was just the product of a time at the publication during which oddly worded headlines were the norm. A week later, a front page story about a golf tournament had the headline “D-Divot-Day for Base Golfers Soon.”⁴²²

An Age of Beauty Pageants

In 1951, *The Scout* featured a glorified advertisement for the “Days of San Luis Ray” festival in Oceanside. A picture of Phoebe Allen, the fiesta queen who wore a tank top with exposed midriff and had pistols strapped to her side, dominated the front page. The accompanying story promised “dancing girls” and “laughing señoritas.”⁴²³ It was one of numerous stories about beauty that dominated issues of the base newspapers in this era. *Service to the Fleet* covered the crowing of a “May Queen,” “Armed Forces Day Queen,” and “Snow Queen.”⁴²⁴ In a strange editorial decision, Helen N. Hayden was identified as a “Hollywood Starlet, in a 1959 *Service to the Fleet* when she was actually a

⁴²⁰ “Officers’ Wives Club Shows Spring Fashions,” *Wings*, April 7, 1952; “Ladies to Get Their View of Big Planes: 200 Coming From Ford County,” *Wings*, November 2, 1953; “It’s Spring! Base Blooms With New Trees An’ Flowers,” *Wings*, April 5, 1954; “Conference Hall Blooms for Wives Flower Show,” *Wings*, August 2, 1954; “A Good Example,” *Wings*, February 24, 1956; “Flower Show Next Week,” *Wings*, July 13, 1956.

⁴²¹ “They Keep Tabs on Everybody – Including Your Wives,” *Wings*, April 11, 1955.

⁴²² “D-Divot-Day for Base Golfers Soon,” *Wings*, April 8, 1955.

⁴²³ C.E. Noonan, “CamPen Marines Invited to Oceanside 3-Day Fete,” *The Scout*, August 24, 1951.

⁴²⁴ “Supply to Crown May Queen Next Week,” *Service to the Fleet*, May 22, 1952; “Crowned Armed Forces Day Queen,” *Service to the Fleet*, June 7, 1956; “Highlights of the Supply Department’s Armed Forces Day Coronation Ball,” *Service to the Fleet*, June 7, 1956; “Who will be ‘Snow Queen’ Tomorrow Night?” *Service to the Fleet*, December 14, 1956.

contestant for the Armed Forces Day Queen.⁴²⁵ *Wings* was not short on pageant stories. From 1957-1959, for example, the paper featured stories about the WAF's "Miss Parachute" pageant, which included an African-American contestant, "Bathing Beauties" pageant, and "Sweetheart" pageant, as well as the story of an Air Force Wife winning the title of "Mrs. America" (not Miss).⁴²⁶ Beauty pageants remained as popular in the late 1940's, 1950's, and early 1960's.⁴²⁷

Women in Ads

Beginning in the early 1950s, *Wings* began to sell ads to local theaters, some of which introduced a new and risqué type of film to the men of Chanute. The February 24, 1953, ad for the Illini Theater in Downtown Champaign touted the showing of a "For Adults Only" movie called "The Sinners," which featured the tagline "Emotional Secrets Women Only Whisper About."⁴²⁸ For many months after, Illini ads in *Wings* became packed with movies replete with ribaldry. The February 15, 1954, Illini ad announced the showing of "Times Gone By," an "adult film sextette," featuring "6 unblushing stories." This ad was dominated by a picture of a woman in a revealing shirt.⁴²⁹

Two years later, the Illini was still showing taboo movies. In December 1956, the Illini ad was for "The Naked Night" starring Harriet Andersson. The ad promised "The whole town will be talking about this picture!" and included a quote from the *New York*

⁴²⁵ Studio of Archie E. McDearmid, "Hollywood Movie Starlet," *Service to the Fleet*, April 17, 1959;

⁴²⁶ Eleanor L. Cherrison, "Girls Compete for 'Miss Parachute,'" *Wings*, May 17, 1957; "Air Force Wife Wins 'Mrs. America' Title," *Wings*, May 24, 1957; "Miss Parachute," *Wings*, May 24, 1957; Charlotte E. Wayne, "OWC Features Bathing Beauty Pageant," *Wings*, June 19, 1959; "Sweetheart Pageant: Hoopetown's Annual Corn Festival to See Record Number of Entrants," *Wings*, September 4, 1959.

⁴²⁷ "Entries for 'Miss Marston Pavilion' Contest Accepted at Dance Tonight," *The Globe*, January 20, 1949; "'Miss Camp Pendleton' to Represent Marines in Local Beauty Contest," *The Scout*, May 22, 1947; "What Curves! What Form! What Grace! Make Your Choice for First Place," *The Scout*, May 28, 1948.

⁴²⁸ Illini Theater Ad, *Wings*, February 24, 1953.

⁴²⁹ Illini Theater Ad, *Wings*, February 15, 1954.

Journal that read, “As frank and realistic a drama as ever managed to slip by the censors’ scissors. Definitely not for junior!”⁴³⁰ By 1958, the Illini had company in the world of erotica. The Art Theater would occasionally delve into the bawdy. In November 1958, for example – while the Illini showed “Mitsou,” tabbed “Very French ... Very Bold!” – the Art Theater announced the showing of Brigitte Bardot in “The Night Heaven Fell.”⁴³¹

Depending on one’s perspective, an either darkly humorous or horrifying coincidence can be found in the ads that ran adjacent to the Illini’s racy movies. Whereas some theaters ran stag films, others showed some of history’s fondest remembered movies and stars. The February 15, 1954, Illini ad for “Times Gone By” ran alongside an ad for the family friendly Home Theater of Rantoul, which that week featured Rock Hudson in “Back to God’s Country,” Glenn Ford and Gloria Grahame in “The Big Heat,” Alan Hale, Jr., in “The Trail Blazers,” Joan Leslie and Forrest Tucker in “Flight Nurse”, Wayne Morris in “Texas Bad Man,” and Robert Stack and Coleen Gray in “Sabre Jet.”⁴³² On March 29, 1954, when the Illini advertised “Top Banana,” which was deemed “king of burlesque,” the Twin City Drive-In showed, among others, “From Here to Eternity” starring Burt Lancaster, Frank Sinatra, Montgomery Clift, Deborah Kerr and Donna Reed; “The Nebraskan” starring Phil Carey, Roberta Haynes, and Wallace Ford; and “Prisoners of the Casbah” starring Cesar Romero.⁴³³ At McCollum’s Paxton Theatre, James Stewart and June Allyson starred in “The Glenn Miller Story,” Burt Lancaster and

⁴³⁰ Illini Theater Ad, *Wings*, December 7, 1956.

⁴³¹ Illini Theater Ad, *Wings*, November 21, 1958; Art Theater Ad, *Wings*, November 21, 1958.

⁴³² Home Theater of Rantoul Ad, *Wings*, February 15, 1954.

⁴³³ Illini Theater Ad, *Wings*, March 29, 1954; Twin City Drive-In Ad, *Wings*, March 29, 1954.

Virginia Mayo starred in “South Sea Woman,” and Dean Martin and Jerry Lewis starred in “Money from Home.”⁴³⁴

Wings occasionally featured pieces about women as mothers, always positively portrayed and exclusively Caucasian. However, these stories looked quite strange in the same papers as ads for the Illini. For example, a July 19, 1957, illustration showed a woman’s eyes as the “Outer Light” and her heart as the “Inner Light” with accompanying Bible verses (Matthew 6:22-23).⁴³⁵ However, only pages away was an Illini ad for “Rififi,” which contained, per a quote from the *Daily Mirror* in London, “Enough Raw Sex to Elevate Every Eyebrow!”⁴³⁶

Similar to ads featuring racial minorities, there were some ads that seem tone deaf, even for their time. In *Wings*, ads for Kelley Motor Sales sexualized cars, which were identified as members of “Kelley’s Harem.” Slogans for this ads included “Don’t miss the hottest show in town ... Come out and watch these gals perform” and “These Gals Are Clean both in Body and Soul!”⁴³⁷ *Service to the Fleet* once linked weight loss to buying U.S. Savings Bonds. In this ad, an obese woman looks into a mirror and thinks “A little off each week,” while a thin woman, presumably her future self, says “Will look good in 10 years.”⁴³⁸

Women were also used to encourage men to buy goods and to perform tasks editors might have assumed they would otherwise forget. *The Globe* once suggested the

⁴³⁴ McCollum’s Paxton Theater Ad, *Wings*, March 29, 1954.

⁴³⁵ Untitled illustration, *Wings*, July 19, 1957.

⁴³⁶ Illini Theater Ad, *Wings*, July 19, 1957.

⁴³⁷ Kelley Motor Sales Ad, *Wings*, January 7, 1952; Kelley Motor Sales Ad, *Wings*, January 14, 1952.

⁴³⁸ U.S. Savings Bond Ad, *Service to the Fleet*, January 5, 1951.

best way to get a girlfriend was to buy U.S. Savings Bonds.⁴³⁹ *Service to the Fleet* had an affinity for using women as messengers. In a 1958 ad, a woman with a wreath encouraged men to buy bonds for Christmas.⁴⁴⁰ *Service to the Fleet* also once used a scantily-clad woman holding a clock to alert men to the start of adjusted summer hours in the yard.⁴⁴¹ In the early 1960's, *Service to the Fleet's* use of women in announcements was marked by a gradual decrease in clothing. In April 1961, a woman in a bath towel reminded was to never be caught unprepared, as in without the proper safety equipment.⁴⁴² In April 1963, a bikini-clad woman urged men to buy savings bonds.⁴⁴³ In May 1963, the bikini-clad, unnamed woman was replaced by a woman named Amanda H. Taylor, who was naked save a strategically placed billboard urging men to buy savings bonds.⁴⁴⁴

Innovations and Improvements for Women

While the sexpots dominated the portrayals of women, there were some innovations meant to cater to women. Progress was slow, but it was noticeable. By the 1950's, most papers contained multiple specialty columns dedicated to women's topics. *Wings* had an "Officers Wives" calendar of events, "A Word from the WAFS," "Society," and "NCO Wife of the Month" sections. *The Globe* featured a long-running "Scene Socially" piece. Women still received honors in *Service to the Fleet*, some even earned spots in the "Naval Shipyard Hall of Fame."⁴⁴⁵ As other Army publications in

⁴³⁹ "How to Get a Girl," *The Globe*, July 7, 1949.

⁴⁴⁰ "Say it with Savings Bond, Santa," *Service to the Fleet*, December 24, 1958.

⁴⁴¹ "The Clock Boys, Let's Look at the Clock," *Service to the Fleet*, June 11, 1954.

⁴⁴² "Don't Get Caught Unprepared, That is," *Service to the Fleet*, April 14, 1961.

⁴⁴³ "Buy Bonds," *Service to the Fleet*, April 5, 1963.

⁴⁴⁴ "To be Covered ... Buy U.S. Savings Bonds," *Service to the Fleet*, May 18, 1963.

⁴⁴⁵ "That's Women Drivers for You --- Men Too!" *Service to the Fleet*, December 6, 1945; "Naval Shipyard's Hall of Fame," *Service to the Fleet*, June 21, 1946.

Texas had during the Second World War, *The Armored Sentinel* continued to run a “WAC of the Week” photo, although these did not share a page or facing pages with pinups. *The Scout* at Camp Pendleton ran a story about Margaret Rudi, an editor who’d served at the paper from August 1948 through February 1949.⁴⁴⁶ Even work that might seem mundane was celebrated. A 1951 *Globe* article about telephone operators made the work of women in menial positions seem like a nonstop party.⁴⁴⁷

By 1950, Women Marines were again mainstays at Camp Pendleton. The same became true for Camp Lejeune in the mid 1950’s, and the papers for both offered coverage as well as a continuation of annual birthday celebrations for the WRs.⁴⁴⁸ *The Globe* also featured stories about military wives, both as contributors to the community and recipients of special services from the military.⁴⁴⁹

For the briefest period in 1960, it seems the editors of *The Globe* concluded a paper that featured scantily-clad women might not be well received by families of married soldiers. On February 4, 1960, *The Globe* announced the formation of two editions of its paper, a troop edition and a family edition.⁴⁵⁰ The former would feature content primarily for the boys, one seems safe to assume this included the photos of half-naked women, and the latter family-friendly content. The family-friendly edition existed

⁴⁴⁶ “‘Lady Editor’ Leaves Scout Duty,” *The Scout*, February 4, 1949.

⁴⁴⁷ Charley Dullea, “Leatherneck Hello Girls’ Life Just One ‘Party’ After Another,” *The Globe*, October 4, 1951.

⁴⁴⁸ “Lady Leathernecks At Lejeune Since 1943,” *The Globe*, February 10, 1955; “First Group of Women Reserves Arrive for Training,” *The Globe*, June 29, 1956; “Woman Marines to Celebrate Anniversary,” *The Globe*, February 8, 1957; “200 Lady Leathernecks Celebrate 16th Anniversary of Corps,” *The Globe*, February 12, 1959; “First Women Marines Arrive; Met by Commanding General,” *The Scout*, August 18, 1950; “Women Marines Arrive Here,” *The Scout*, November 24, 1950; “Pendleton Women to Celebrate 12th Anniversary,” *The Scout*, February 10, 1955.

⁴⁴⁹ “Career Wives,” *The Globe*, April 26, 1957; “Lejeune Housewives Named Mainstays of Cleanup Drive,” *The Globe*, April 24, 1958.

⁴⁵⁰ “News for Troops,” *The Globe*, February 4, 1960.

just four months. In the May 26, 1960 issue, *The Globe* announced a return to the single-edition format.⁴⁵¹ Some issues of *The Globe* nonetheless overflowed with messages to and about women. The November 23, 1961, issue contained stories about the graduation of Red Cross Gray Ladies, wives club elections, and new fashions for teenagers, all on the same page.⁴⁵²

The return to the single-edition format coincided with a boom in pinup art. Photos of sexualized women ran weekly in *The Globe* in the early 1960s. Even announcements of sporting events came with photos of women. In August 1961, *The Globe* featured back-to-back weeks of advances for professional wrestling on base. While the key attractions were Argentina Rocca and Angelo Savoldi, both advances also included photos of women's wrestler Rita Cortez.⁴⁵³

A fair question, one often raised when discussions of sexualized portrayals of women arises, is what about the men? Could it have been that all people were subject to over-sexualization at the hands of base newspapers? The evidence collected for this study indicates men were not treated in this way. Among all the scantily clad women, there was a single occurrence of a man in a state of undress. This came in the form of the story of Ray Green earning the title of "Mr. Chanute" in 1954. The photo of Green was not sexualized. He poses as any bodybuilder would, but one would be hard-pressed to call this photo suggestive.⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵¹ "Single Globe Edition Begins on Thursday," *The Globe*, May 26, 1960.

⁴⁵² "Red Cross Gray Ladies, Staff Aides, Receive Caps at Graduation Rites," *The Globe*, November 23, 1961; "Midway Park Wives Club Installs Officers Thursday," *The Globe*, November 23, 1961; "Staff Wives Elect Officers November 30," *The Globe*, November 23, 1961; "Teen Models to Invade PX with New Fall Fashion Fads," *The Globe*, November 23, 1961.

⁴⁵³ "Professional Wrestling Back on Local Scene Next Week," *The Globe*, August 3, 1961; "Professional Wrestling on Tap Here Tonight," *The Globe*, August 10, 1961.

⁴⁵⁴ "Ray Green is Mr. Chanute," *Wings*, May 17, 1954.

Conclusion

This era of the domestic base newspaper was more than simply a bridge between wartime presses. This era represented a distinct moment in the evolution of the papers and the people behind them. This evolution, however, was not toward a more journalism-centered methodology, but a shift even farther to the side of public relations. The domestic base newspaper continued in its role as consummate promoter of American ideals. A pessimist might think of these papers as what an American state-controlled media would look like, however this would be an unfair characterization. Rather than a manifestation of a culture of control, the papers of this era were the net result of a society that was generally content with itself and sure, even if inaccurate, about its place in the world. Americans have long fancied themselves as uniquely moral. It is no surprise, then, that the papers of this era reflected that self-assuredness.

This overconfidence did little to improve the lot of racial minorities and women in domestic base newspapers. While there might not have been a mission to misrepresent and underrepresent racial minorities, papers from 1946-1963 generally ignored non-white people most of the time and offered only stilted portrayals in the instances when racial minorities were featured. For women, it was an era of regression in most ways as stories of industrial and military gains in World War II gave way to an explosion pictures meant for hanging over beds or stuffing in wallets, to say nothing of adult-themed movies. When women were not used as sexual objects, they were presented in traditional genders roles. On the pages of domestic base newspapers, women were bursting out of their clothes and receding back into domesticity.

Regardless of race or gender, consumers of domestic base newspapers went underserved. Serious issues of post-traumatic stress disorder and alcoholism barely factored into the papers' editorial routines. International incidences received attention, but this coverage was spasmodic, untimely, and did little to elucidate world events for an American military that was newly charged with protecting the free world. Social issues, be they rooted in politics, race, or gender, were generally ignored during this era, yet another defect in media that was purportedly serving the best-informed fighting man in world history. This shortcoming was about to become even more obvious in the coming era. As the world around them changed in radical ways, domestic base newspapers adhered to the methods of the Second World War.

CHAPTER V – “HOT’ COLD WAR ATTITUDE”

In a 1964 *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, just inches away from a photo of a bikini-clad Mamie Van Doren, an editorial ran in which the writer seemed to have an epiphany. The unnamed editorialist postulated that the country was waking to the complexities of the Cold War. The communists, the writer argued, were engaging in:

... an economic, religious, political, social and cultural offensive re-enforced with a powerful military force used to blackmail us into inaction. ‘Hot’ war is employed in guerilla ‘wars of liberation’ where the threat to our security does not appear to be worth the risk of a major conventional or nuclear war.⁴⁵⁵

The writer, who called for a renewed vigor from soldiers for the sake of spreading freedom, couldn’t have realized how soon the United States would make the worst-fated of its stands against the communists’ protracted war. Little more than a year later, the United States officially entered the Vietnam War, a move that sparked the domestic base newspaper into action. As this new war began, some old standbys found a home in the domestic base newspaper. The editorial approaches of the early 1940s – calls for sacrifice, focus, and support for the cause would dominate the early years of the war – reemerged as did a general sense of American exceptionalism.

Beginning in the early 1960s and carrying on well after the end of the Vietnam War, a common boast among base newspapers was that America’s was the most informed soldiery in history. In this chapter, it will be argued that while soldiers might have been inundated with messages from newspapers, the publications did not offer the nuance one would expect from a robust press service. Rather, the story of 1964-1969 was

⁴⁵⁵ “‘Hot’ Cold War Attitude,” *Armored Sentinel*, January 17, 1964.

wrought with clinging to the old ways of World War II. Hyper-patriotism, sexism and racial ambivalence informed editorial approaches.

The messages domestic base newspapers disseminated did not reflect the realities of a society that was far more divided than in the Second World War. By 1969, bases across the country were in turmoil. Antiestablishment, antiwar, soldier-run outlaw papers began springing up near bases the nation over. Racial minorities and women marched daily for change across the nation. These stories rarely made it onto the pages of the base newspaper. Owing to longstanding rules about domestic base newspapers' involvement in political issues, ignoring social issues was common. Papers might have followed orders, but those directives forced the papers to stick to the methods of World War II while the world at-large evolved at a rapid rate. The papers, perhaps of no fault of their own, again fell short in their mission as journalists and public relations professionals.

Best Informed Troops

The papers of this time, much like those of the 1950s and 1970s-2000s, operated under the guidelines outlined in the 1956 Department of Defense Transmittal.⁴⁵⁶ A 1967 Defense Department Directive of the Armed Forces Information Program buttressed the existing rules of fairness, political neutrality, and general support of the best interests of the United States among base newspapers:

A. It is the policy of the Department of Defense that the Armed Forces Information Program (AFIP) ... make available to military personnel information concerning the (1) basic policies of the United States, (2) role and culture of

⁴⁵⁶ Department of Defense Transmittal, 1956.

nations allied with the United States; and (3) ideologies inimical to our form of government.

B. A basic mission of Armed Forces newspapers, radio and television stations, for use in and support of the AFIP, is to assure the free flow of information to the members of the Armed Forces ... and to serve as an aid to commanders in performing their operational mission.

C. All publications, posters, motion pictures and programs for use in and support of the AFIP shall be presented in consonance with the subsection.⁴⁵⁷

The AFIP was comprised of a collection of important members of the DOD: the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower) as chairman, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs), Director of Office of Information for the Armed Forces, and ranking officers from the different branches. The chair could also invite others from within Department of Defense to participate “When a mutual interest or responsibility exists ...”⁴⁵⁸

Much as they’d begun doing in the 1950s, the domestic base papers of the mid and late 1960s continued to pontificate on matters of the press. There were some modifications to the physical dimensions and titles of papers, but the views editors expressed about the role of the military press remained unchanged. *Wings* underwent a facelift in 1966. Beginning March 3, the title of the paper switched from *Wings* to *Chanute Wings* and the size of the paper changed from broadsheet to tabloid.⁴⁵⁹ The

⁴⁵⁷ Defense Department Directive, “Armed Forces Information Program Advisory Council,” August 17, 1967, p. 1-2. Accessed October 22, 2016, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/26042029>.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁹ “WINGS to Receive New Format Soon,” *Wings*, February 24, 1966.

changes stopped at the cosmetic. The primary conceit remained that the United States press far exceeded the rest of the world, particularly that of the Soviet Union. In 1968, for example, *Chanute Wings* reprinted an excerpt from the book *How the Communist Press Works*, which Anthony Buzek had written in 1964 which painted the Soviet press as little more than a propaganda tool.⁴⁶⁰ Conversely, the most frequent assessment of base newspapers was that the military and civilian presses of the United States made the U.S. soldier the best-informed fighter in world history. *Chanute Wings* celebrated this fact with editorials, often during or circa National Newspaper Week. In a 1968 AFPS editorial in *Chanute Wings*, the paper boasted: “Today, those fighting men not only know what hill to take or what ship to cut off – the know why!”⁴⁶¹

Coverage of Vietnam

Whereas 1950s readers might have gone wanting for extensive coverage of Korea, domestic base newspaper consumers of the 1960s were adrift in stories of Vietnam. The papers of Camp Lejeune, Camp Pendleton, and Chanute Air Base produced a collection news, maps, editorials, and columns on par in both volume and character with coverage of World War II. Fort Hood’s *Armored Sentinel* was less prolific in its Vietnam coverage, but still took a far greater editorial interest in Vietnam than it had taken in Korea. Only *Service to the Fleet*, a paper whose editors seemed oblivious to virtually all issues not related safety or production in Norfolk, remained mum on the war.

Perhaps owing to the Marines being the first into battle, *The Globe* covered Vietnam with vigor even before March 8, 1965, when the American phase of the war

⁴⁶⁰ “Communism and Press,” excerpt from *How the Communist Press Works* by Anthony Buzek (London: Pall Mall Press, 1964), reprinted in *Chanute Wings*, February 8, 1968.

⁴⁶¹ AFPS, “Information – Hallmark of Freedom,” *Chanute Wings*, October 24, 1968.

officially began with the 9th Expeditionary Brigade wading onto China Beach near Da Nang. The August 13, 1964, *Globe* contained a double-truck, the newspaper term for a news package run across facing inside pages, about South Vietnam's struggle against its communist neighbors to the north.⁴⁶² Later in 1964, readers might have gotten the impression the war was heating up when a story ran about "Red Dragon," an operation in which U.S. Marine and Army helicopters assisted Vietnamese rangers in the killing of 112 Viet Cong.⁴⁶³ In February 1965, Master Sergeant Bill Daum told of the thwarting of a Viet Cong attack.⁴⁶⁴ Once the Americans entered the war, *The Globe's* coverage grew even more robust. Unlike World War II, when the horrors of war were discussed in generalities, *The Globe* went into specifics about the suffering of soldiers in combat. An early story told of the death of a Marine pilot.⁴⁶⁵ Later stories sought to understand life for both the Vietnamese and U.S. troops in Vietnam.⁴⁶⁶

Less pleasant stories, however, represented a minority of the fare. The bulk of *The Globe's* offerings centered on Marine successes in combat. Beginning in 1965, *The Globe* did a weekly "Dateline Da Nang" page, which was home to stories of Marines requiring themselves well in Vietnam, both as fighters and humanitarians. Another regular installment called "It happened in Vietnam," told a similar tale of U.S. Marines not only fighting well but outsmarting, or at least ignoring, communist propagandists.⁴⁶⁷ Stories

⁴⁶² "South Viet Nam. A Country Fighting for Freedom," *The Globe*, August 13, 1964.

⁴⁶³ "'Red Dragon' Teams Devouring Viet Cong," *The Globe*, December 17, 1964.

⁴⁶⁴ Bill Daum, "VC Killer Plans Go Awry – Well Maybe Next Time," *The Globe*, February 4, 1965.

⁴⁶⁵ "Shot Down by Rebel Fire: Marine Pilot Killed in Viet Nam Raid," *The Globe*, April 8, 1965.

⁴⁶⁶ "Da Nang -- City of Contrasts," *The Globe*, April 29, 1965; "In Viet Nam, Dreams Made of Icy Winds, Girls, Undisturbed Sleep," *The Globe*, June 17, 1965.

⁴⁶⁷ Jack Childs, "VC Propaganda Machine Fails to Make Impression," *The Globe*, September 26, 1965; S.R. Tiner, "Marines in Viet Nam Share Fighting Spirit," *The Globe*, October 7, 1965; F.A. Marthy, "It Happened in Viet-Nam," *The Globe*, December 2, 1965; "VC Didn't Want Fight: Operation 'Double

from the war zone were unique as they often came with bylines whereas items created stateside, due to DOD regulations, did not.

Through 1965 and 1966, *The Globe* also ran stories that justified the necessity of U.S. involvement and offered ways people at home could help by answering various needs of the men on the ground.⁴⁶⁸ As the war entered 1967 and 1968, the stories in *The Globe* remained consistent. *The Globe* eventually published a new feature series, “Vietnam Story,” as well as a single story about “Operation Kindness to Kids” (in Vietnam), various pieces about soldiers winning honors for heroism in the war, and the occasional story about life in Vietnam.⁴⁶⁹ *The Globe* produced a double-truck that contained a three-story package by Chief Warrant Officer Bill Driscoll about the training of a battalion for action in Vietnam.⁴⁷⁰

Issues of Camp Pendleton’s *The Scout* for this era were only available for 1967, but they tell of a base paper that was hard at work covering the Vietnam War. The January 13, 1967, *Scout* contained several pages of Vietnam coverage, all positive, featuring stories of the fighting acumen, generosity, and effectiveness of the U.S. Army

Eagle’ Largest Landing Since Korea,” *The Globe*, February 17, 1966; “Three Marines Kill 15 VC’s in Battle near Phu Bai,” *The Globe*, March 17, 1966.

⁴⁶⁸ “You Want to Help in Viet-Nam?” *The Globe*, December 16, 1965; “The Vital War,” *The Globe*, June 2, 1966; “Vietnam Situation Better According to SecNav,” *The Globe*, July 28, 1966; “DOD States Policy for Vietnam Leave,” *The Globe*, November 17, 1966; “Presents for Soldiers Stationed in Viet Nam,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, November 19, 1965.

⁴⁶⁹ Doug Switzer, “Operation Kindness to Kids,” *The Globe*, May 26, 1967; “Vietnam Story: Marines at War: Stories and Photos from III Marine Amphibious Force,” *The Globe*, October 13, 1967; Lance Corporal Paul, “For Vietnam Valor: 3d Medal of Honor,” *The Globe*, February 9, 1967; “Recon Marines Decorated for Gallantry in Vietnam,” *The Globe*, March 13, 1967; “‘Tunnel Rat’ Wins Bronze Star Medal,” *The Globe*, July 14, 1967; “Christmas Celebrated in Vietnam – Not Exactly Like Home,” *The Globe*, December 20, 1968.

⁴⁷⁰ Bill Driscoll, “Staging Battalion,” *The Globe*, February 9, 1967; Bill Driscoll, “The Stepping Stone,” *The Globe*, February 9, 1967; Bill Driscoll, “To South Vietnam ...” *The Globe*, February 9, 1967.

in converting Viet Cong fighters into pro-Capitalist sympathizers.⁴⁷¹ Subsequent issues were equally replete with Vietnam stories.⁴⁷² As was the case with *The Globe*, *The Scout*'s war zone stories came with bylines.

Editorial writers in *The Scout* seemed interested in fostering a spirit of pro-democracy in its readers. In March 1967, a staff editorial encouraged soldiers to master the concepts of democracy to the point that they could enumerate its benefits to people in foreign countries, arguing, "Unless we are able to offer tangible definitions ... we can never hope to explain them to people of another country."⁴⁷³ In June, *The Scout* ran an AFNS editorial announcing a competition in which soldiers would write letters explaining what democracy meant to them.⁴⁷⁴ This contest was the clearest throwback to the days of World War II, when bases like Camp Shelby, Mississippi, had run similar contests.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷¹ "5th Recon Bn: Copter Rappelling, Vital in Combat," *The Scout*, January 13, 1967; "'I' Co. Squad Halts Viet Cong Charge," *The Scout*, January 13, 1967; "Generous City Helps Give Christmas to Viet Children," *The Scout*, January 13, 1967; "New Tri-Purpose Building Dedicated in Viet Village," *The Scout*, January 13, 1967; "'Contented' Viet Village All Ex-VCS," *The Scout*, January 13, 1967; "Former Viet Cong Officer Vows to Fight Viet Cong," *The Scout*, January 13, 1967.

⁴⁷² "Regimental Survey Pinpoints Targets," *The Scout*, February 10, 1967; Jack W. Jansen, "Artillery Units and Infantrymen Share Mutual Respect In Vietnam," *The Scout*, February 10, 1967; "Six Division Marines Win Combat Medals," *The Scout*, February 17, 1967; "Operation Prairie I Ends in Vietnam," "Volunteers Risk Lives, Save Guns of Downed Huey," *The Scout*, February 17, 1967; Dan Lubell, "Marines Entertain Vietnam Villagers," *The Scout*, February 24, 1967; D.L. Collars, "Force Logistics Command Dedicates New Hospital," *The Scout*, February 24, 1967; L.D. Carson, "Happiness Is ... Is a Young Marine to Viet Children," *The Scout*, February 24, 1967; H.G. McGrattan, "'Sea Stallion' Proves Reputation in Vietnam," *The Scout*, February 24, 1967; G.E. Cornwall, "Former VC Veteran, 17, Changes Mind; Becomes a Strong Friend to Marines," *The Scout*, March 17, 1967; "Six Vietnam Veterans to be Honored Here," *The Scout*, May 12, 1967; Russell R. Hurley, "Liberty Road Lifeline Reopened, Extended," *The Scout*, June 2, 1967; George F. Shelby, "All-Out Viet Cong Ambush Costs Enemy 50-60 Dead," *The Scout*, June 2, 1967; "Vietnam War News Updated by Lt. Gen. Walt," *The Scout*, June 23, 1967; G. F. Shelby, "Sniper Platoon's Shooting Gets Marines Home Sooner," *The Scout*, July 28, 1967; "Viet Heroism Earns Marine Medal of Honor," *The Scout*, August 25, 1967; "5th Marine Division: 13 to be Decorated During Parade," *The Scout*, August 25, 1967; "Showers on Wheels' Cleanse Viet Children," *The Scout*, August 25, 1967.

⁴⁷³ "Editorial: Don't Take it for Granted," *The Scout*, March 24, 1967.

⁴⁷⁴ AFNS, "Editorial: Letters for Freedom," *The Scout*, June 23, 1967.

⁴⁷⁵ "'Why I Fight' Contest Launched by Reveille – Only EM Eligible to Enter, Win Three War Bond Prizes," *Camp Shelby Reveille*, October 12, 1944; "First Contest Essay Printed; Writer Hates Fighting But –" *Camp Shelby Reveille*, October 26, 1944.

Chanute's *Wings* was a bit slower to pick up the Vietnam story but quickly grew into a prolific disseminator of war-related items. In the earliest available edition of *Wings* from the 1960s, January 6, 1966, there is no mention of Vietnam. Rather, the front page contained stories about the award for instructor of the year, Air Force Academy applications, and family housing.⁴⁷⁶ The editorial page was equally bare of Vietnam talk. Rather, the staff editorials praised a program on base that paid people for quality suggestions and reminded soldiers to seek legal advice when the situation required it. The paper also offered advice from experts in the areas of finance, medicine, and dentistry.⁴⁷⁷ It was but a slow week for Vietnam news. In the weeks to come, the base newspaper's war coverage began to slowly gain momentum.

In the January 13, 1966, issue, there was a short page 4 story about the hiring of the wife of a Vietnam veteran, the first mention of the war in the available issues.⁴⁷⁸ The February 3, 1966, *Wings* proved the first in which the paper began to truly address Vietnam, albeit in a noncommittal manner. The front page featured a story about the humanitarian efforts of former Chanuters abroad. Southeast Asia was mentioned as a region, but the story focused on Thailand, where airmen were helping the orphans of a catholic-run orphanage.⁴⁷⁹ Page 2 contained a six-paragraph story by AFNS about Air Force action at Tan Son Nhut Air Base. The story was Vietnam-focused, but the information within was from December 10, almost two months prior to the publication

⁴⁷⁶ "Instructor of the Year Named: SSgt. James M. Love Wins Coveted Title," *Wings*, January 6, 1966; "AF Academy Now Accepts Applications," *Wings*, January 6, 1966; "Family Housing Now Available for Dependents of Personnel," *Wings*, January 6, 1966.

⁴⁷⁷ "Suggestions Benefit All," *Wings*, January 6, 1966; G.E. Lewis, "Ask Your Finance Officer," *Wings*, January 6, 1966; "See Your Legal Officer," *Wings*, January 6, 1966; "Tend Those Little Injuries," *Wings*, January 6, 1966; "Wearing Down Teeth: Your Dental Health," *Wings*, January 6, 1966.

⁴⁷⁸ "Chanute Welcomes New Vietnam Veteran's Wife," *Wings*, January 13, 1966.

⁴⁷⁹ "Former Chanute Airmen Play Humanitarian Role," *Wings*, February 3, 1966.

date of the paper. Short and late though this story was, it still spoke to a general editorial style of Vietnam stories, one reminiscent of the “All positive, all the time” stories from World War II. The only change was substituting phrases like “Communist,” “North Vietnam,” and “Viet Cong” where “Germany,” “Nazi,” and “Japanese” had once been:

Countering rising Red infiltration into the Republic of Vietnam, Air Force pilots struck Communist North Vietnam highways in unprecedented attacks during the week ending Dec. 10.

Hitting highways in the Northwest, attacking aircraft cratered or caused landslides to block roadways in 189 places, destroyed 8 bridges and damaged 11 others, struck 4 ferry complexes and cratered 2 river fords.

‘If we haven’t stopped Communist truck convoys in the Dien Phu area,’ one Air Force officer said, ‘we have at least made their job a lot harder.’

Perhaps significantly, Air Force pilots did not report striking a single truck during the week, indicating a possible let-up in truck traffic.

In other attacks on North Vietnam, aircraft destroyed a train caught heading from Communist China toward Hanoi, the North Vietnamese capital.

Altogether, U.S. and South Vietnamese pilots logged 280 strike sorties over North Vietnam and 1,897 in South Vietnam (AFNS).⁴⁸⁰

Also featured in the February 3, 1966, *Wings* was the story of a U.S. soldier stationed at MAC-V headquarters in Vietnam who was asked by his Vietnamese landlord, who’d recently learned to speak English, to wish everyone a Merry Christmas

⁴⁸⁰ AFNS, “Air Force Hits Vietnam Target,” *Wings*, February 3, 1966.

and a Happy New Year. The unnamed South Vietnamese gentleman thanked the Americans profusely for their help:

As you see, my country is in danger with communist. When Vietnamese people is going to be falled [sic] under communism domination, you and your companion were coming and saving him out communist yoke.

I do not know, till what time, this war will finish. But for a moment, a great number of my people can live freely and easily by American assistance. You risk your living and property to bring just peace for my country.⁴⁸¹

On the February 3 editorial page, the *Wings* staff addressed the issue of Vietnam via running an AFPS opinion piece that championed the United States as a crusader and defended the 1960s United States soldier as being just as tough as his World War II and Korea forebears. Equally telling of U.S. military opinions of the time, the AFPS editorial contained language that suggests the editors didn't take the North Vietnamese seriously:

Before the United States' entry in strength in the Republic of Vietnam, there were some who said the American fighting man in the 1960s simply couldn't handle the rough bitter type of battle that rages in Southeast Asia.

Some critics said today's fighting man just wasn't as rugged as his father or grandfather; that he was soft, and too dependent on 'mechanical gadgets.' ...

In adapting to conditions in the RVN, the American fighting man has even surprised some of his oldest supporters. He has not only shown the physical ability to adjust to natural conditions but has gone further. He has shown himself

⁴⁸¹ "Sergeant Receives Letter in Vietnam," *Wings*, February 3, 1966.

master of his own swift mobile tactics, as well as dominant over the enemy's guerrilla skills.⁴⁸²

The spirit of the AFPS editorial was echoed by an untitled cartoon that showed a soldier in the jungle. The caption read simply, "The toughest, best trained, most dedicated American Servicemen in Living Memory."⁴⁸³

After February 3, the Chanute paper settled into a Vietnam groove highlighted by a pair of recurring Vietnam columns. The first, "USAF Vietnam Battle Report," was a strictly by-the-numbers dissemination of data. These pieces highlighted where the Air Force had fought, how the Air Force had fared, how many died, and how many were missing. Perhaps due to delays in getting information from the war zone to the States, "USAF Vietnam Battle Report" was inconsistent in the timely delivery of news about the war. The February 10, 1966, report, for example, had information that dated all the way back to February 5, 1965.⁴⁸⁴ However, the February 24, 1966, report contained more or less fresh information, at least from within the most recent two weeks.⁴⁸⁵ "USAF Vietnam Battle Report" proved one of the few places in any of the base newspaper to find bad news from Vietnam. The May 25, 1967, report featured a headline that told of death in the war: "USAF Vietnam Battle Report: Six Die As Cong Hit American Air Bases." The report, which centered on Viet Cong attacks at Bien Hoa and Bihn Thuy, contained the tale of heroism by two Air Force pilots in an F-100 Super Saber who attacked a force

⁴⁸² AFPS, "Today's Fighting Man," *Wings*, February 3, 1966.

⁴⁸³ Untitled cartoon, *Wings*, February 3, 1966.

⁴⁸⁴ "USAF Vietnam Battle Report," *Wings*, February 10, 1966.

⁴⁸⁵ "USAF Vietnam Battle Report," *Wings*, February 24, 1966.

of 75 enemy, killing 30, yet the lead was the American dead.⁴⁸⁶ It was a rare moment during which the base newspaper, by virtue of reporting bad news alongside good, matched the reporting style of the civilian press.

The other recurring Vietnam piece in *Wings* was far shorter lived than “Battle Report” but proved far stronger in emotion pull. “Vignettes from Vietnam” by Lieutenant Frank Adinolfi, who sometimes referred to the country as Viet Nam rather than Vietnam in print, featured stories of common men at war, an narrative approach reminiscent of the now-famous work of Ernie Pyle during World War II.⁴⁸⁷ The February 17 “Vignettes” was about Staff Sergeant Gene T. Schmitz, who had been walking near the Brink Hotel when it was bombed.⁴⁸⁸ Later installments featured attempts at humor. When Adinolfi told of Staff Sergeant Titus E. Aaron, who’d served on a special task force on “Monkey Mountain” in Vietnam, an anecdote about a frantic call from a gate guard ended with Aaron stating that when he arrived at the scene, “the guard had already shot a horse.”⁴⁸⁹ More typical, however, were harrowing tales of life in war.

Although it was not identified as part of the “Vignettes” series, Adinolfi shared the story of Airman First Class Joseph P. Nash, a medic who survived when B-57’s exploded over Bien Hoa. Nash admitted his fear as he recalled treating a man next to an unexploded 500-pound bomb: “I shook all over. Everybody was scared, of course, and nobody was afraid to admit it.”⁴⁹⁰ Adinolfi reported Nash went on to be wounded in a

⁴⁸⁶ “USAF Vietnam Battle Report: Six Die as Cong Hit American Air Bases,” *Chanute Wings*, May 25, 1967.

⁴⁸⁷ Lee Graham Miller, *The Story of Ernie Pyle* (New York: Viking Press, 1950).

⁴⁸⁸ Frank Adinolfi, “Vignettes from Vietnam,” *Wings*, February 17, 1966.

⁴⁸⁹ Frank Adinolfi, “Vignettes from Vietnam,” *Chanute Wings*, March 10, 1966.

⁴⁹⁰ Frank Adinolfi, “Medic Views Bien Hoa Incident,” *Chanute Wings*, March 17, 1966.

mortar attack and receive the Purple Heart and Air Force Commendation Medal.

According to Adinolfi's story, "To this day, despite investigations, no one knows why those B-57's exploded."⁴⁹¹

As was the case in reporting on issues of the press, the *Chanute* paper paid particular attention to deducing communist strategies. In its the February 24, 1966, issue, *Chanute Wings* ran stories about the 3rd Infantry being airlifted from Hawaii to South Vietnam alongside an AFPS editorial about the presumed "Red Blueprint for Victory".⁴⁹²

First winning control of Asia, Africa or Latin America, the Communists will surround and overwhelm the advanced nations of Europe and North America. Lin Piao has completely misrepresented the role of the United States and other free nations in trying to help the developing nations. He is concocting a witch's brew of hate in areas where we are trying to help the people and nations to better living.

No boxer ever won a victory by going into a ring blindfolded. If we are going to defeat Red aggression, we cannot delude ourselves as to Communist aims. Lin Piao's article will be available in most service libraries in the near future. Read it, then reflect on what it means to America and other free nations.⁴⁹³

Like its Marine counterparts, *Chanute Wings* ran some pieces that seemed transplanted from World War II fare. In early 1966, *Chanute Wings* ran a series of editorials on courage, which didn't mention Vietnam but spoke of courage as being

⁴⁹¹ Ibid.

⁴⁹² "3rd Infantry Brigade Airlifted to Vietnam," *Chanute Wings*, February 24, 1966; "MAC is Praised for Operation Blue Light," *Chanute Wings*, February 24, 1966; "315th Air Division Triples Airlift in Southeast Asia," *Chanute Wings*, February 24, 1966.

⁴⁹³ AFPS, "Red Blueprint for Victory," *Chanute Wings*, February 24, 1966.

unglamorous, but latent in everyday people.⁴⁹⁴ In December 1966, an AFNS editorial declared the nation's New Year's resolution was overcoming challenges with courage.⁴⁹⁵ In January 1967, the paper reprinted a letter from Airman Third Class Donald Clark to his mother that had run in *Tactical Air Command Press Service*. Whereas in World War II, some letters that ran in base newspapers had been written by fictional soldiers, Camp Shelby in Mississippi being a notable example, this letter was written by a real person. The spirit of the message, however, was essentially the same. Clark struck an ultra-patriotic, even touching, tone as he explained why he'd volunteered:

Please try to understand when I tell you that I put in a volunteer statement for Vietnam today. It doesn't necessarily mean that I'll be sent over there, only that if I'm needed, I'm willing to go. I know didn't want me to volunteer but I felt it was something I should do. Before you say anything, please finish the letter. It's just a few of my thoughts but maybe it will help you to understand.⁴⁹⁶

In a strange editorial approach, the writer questioned the commitment of the American people in the 1960s, an editorial tactic that would have been foreign in previous eras:

Maybe I should have lived 50 years ago. Patriotism was accepted then, but now it's way out of style. Why? All anyone hears about now are the people protesting the fighting in Vietnam. Nothing is heard about people being patriotic or supporting our position in Vietnam. It's almost as if patriotism were extinct. If

⁴⁹⁴ "Courage Today: Outside and Inside Courage," *Chanute Wings*, January 13, 1966; "Courage and Fear: Mastering Fear," *Chanute Wings*, January 20, 1966; "Courage: Without Glamour," *Chanute Wings*, February 10, 1966.

⁴⁹⁵ AFNS, "We Resolve," *Chanute Wings*, December 29, 1966

⁴⁹⁶ Donald Clark, "'Mom, I Volunteered Today ...'" *Chanute Wings*, January 26, 1967, reprinted from *Tactical Air Command Press Service*.

people held or attended a rally supporting our position in SEA, they would be labeled ‘war-mongers.’ Why? Don’t people realize that if Communist aggression is not stopped soon, we’ll be fighting it right here in the United States? Doesn’t anyone take pride in this country anymore? Don’t they realize what will happen if an active interest is not taken in the defense of this nation against Communism? The only thing people seem to be interested in now is money. Sure, money makes life easier but if someday Communism does take over the U.S. money will do no good. They won’t be able to buy their way out from under Communism. I’m not saying that everyone should forget about money, just that an interest in this great nation and a desire to keep it great should be developed. Developed? – why should it have to be developed? – pride in this nation should be inborn. I guess people just take freedom for granted. They’ve known it for so long that they can’t imagine any other way of living. I’m afraid they’ll just have to wait until this country is engulfed by Communism before they realize what freedom is worth. But by that time it will be too late. Why can’t people see these things?⁴⁹⁷

Primarily, the writer expressed a wholesale acceptance of the official government stance. The United States could only defeat communism by engaging in Vietnam. By extension, a young man could only be patriotic, by volunteering for the effort:

Mom, I want to help this country and the rest of the world in its fight against Communism. Should that cause a person to be laughed at, to be called “crazy”?

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid.

I'd rather go to Vietnam to fight Communism now than to wait for the day when we have to fight them right here in our own backyard.

Many Americans have died in Vietnam fighting for freedom. Have they died for a worthless cause? If they have, then every man who has died in any war fighting for the United States has died in vain.

I hope to get married and raise a family someday. I don't want my children or grandchildren to live under Communism. I want them to live at least as well as I have, to have the opportunities and the blessings that I have. I want them to love the wonderful country as I do. I hope, with every part of me, that they will make a solemn promise to do all that is humanly possible to preserve and protect this country and its freedom for all future generations.

Was I wrong to volunteer, Mom?⁴⁹⁸

In Clark, *Wings* at least had a real person who embodied the idealized American fighting spirit in the face of a society that was rejecting the notion. Absent an authentic soldier, other papers opted to use the World War II tactic of inventing a fictional, composite soldier to serve as the mouthpiece for exceptionalism. In March 1967, *Chanute Wings* ran another letter, this one written from the perspective of a fictitious draftee:

'Why must I be an American?' A year has passed since I asked that question. I was going to be taken away from my home, my family, and my bride – from happiness and security and it certainly seemed for nothing. I was about to be drafted to help fight someone else's war in a nation on the opposite side of the world. I was not proud, I resented being an American.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid.

I decided to beat the dreaded draft and I was relatively certain that I could. Only one thing hampered my success – my conscience. I had an unshakeable sense of guilt and shame and a total loss of self-respect. I fought within myself [sic] I rationalized, I applied all manner of arguments but to no avail. Finally, I gave in and thought the situation out. It did not take long realize that I had neglected, to be honest with myself and when I corrected that point of my thinking, I knew easily and clearly what I had to do and why I had to do it. Instead of growing a beard and picketing the local post office, I enlisted and became a man filled with pride in my heart and in my country [sic] I found peace by deciding to join a war. I became an American.⁴⁹⁹

As had been the case in the Second World War, and similar to Clark, this “soldier” made liberal use of allusions to the patriots of yesteryear:

Our forefathers were great men for whom we have the highest regards. An interesting thought is this – Someday you and I are going to be considered ‘forefathers.’ How shall we be referred to? Will America’s future generations look at us with thanks for our accomplishments? Will ‘Grand-dad’ be remembered as a fine fellow who stood up for freedom? Or was ‘Grand-dad’ a capitalistic swine? The answer to each question rests upon your shoulders today. We must insure our descendants’ freedom just as it was insured for us. At the present, our enemies are not physically after us. They are striving to dominate another nation. Yet, we must answer the call of that nation and help gain and retain their freedom, for in the helping them we help ourselves. We cannot

⁴⁹⁹ ATCPS, “I Became an American,” *Chanute Wings*, March 9, 1967.

allow any country's freedom to be lost, a loss to freedom is again to communism; again in both strength and power. The next conquest would be easier and eventually freedom, ours included, would cease. Freedom's bell would be stilled forever.⁵⁰⁰

Whereas Clark seemed interested only in preserving peace, the fictionalized soldier had far grander aspirations for himself and his nation:

If peace were our only goal, it could be easily obtained. America could simply lay down, mind her own affairs, and turn a deaf ear to the cries of the world. Peace would prevail, but only until the rest of the free world folded, then America would have to fall. With her would go our children, our hopes, and dreams, freedom would die. America would no longer 'shine' from sea to sea.

Freedom must never die. We must fight for preservation of freedom, whenever, wherever, and if necessary, forever. Freedom's bell shall toll, not only for the ears of America but for the ears of all the world – now and always.⁵⁰¹

Spot news pieces were also run in *Chanute Wings* about both U.S. efforts in Vietnam and the training of South Vietnamese Troops at Chanute.⁵⁰² Stories about awards for heroics and humanitarianism of U.S. servicemen in Vietnam were also

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

⁵⁰² "Air Force Pilots Bomb North Vietnamese Targets," *Chanute Wings*, March 10, 1966; Cliff Johnson, "Vietnamese Student Trains for Vital Role: Highly Motivated in Tech Studies," *Wings*, February 10, 1966; "Men and Machines in Vietnam Speed Jet Engine Maintenance," *Chanute Wings*, January 12, 1967; "Col. Edwin E. Carmell Heads Weather Satellite Program," *Chanute Wings*, April 20, 1967; "Mig Airfield Hit in Vietnam Air War," *Chanute Wings*, May 11, 1967; "Air Force Pilots Down 10 North Vietnamese MIG-17s," *Chanute Wings*, June 1, 1967; "Air Force, Army Teams Join Forces in SEA," *Chanute Wings*, June 1, 1967.

frequent in *Chanute Wings*.⁵⁰³ There was even a story about a German shepherd sentry dog named Nemo who'd been deemed a hero after he found Viet Cong who'd gotten inside a fence at Tan Son Nhut Air Base. Nemo had taken a bullet but his handler had killed two VC.⁵⁰⁴ The vision of the humane U.S. Serviceman was perhaps strongest in an April 14, 1966, AFPS cartoon run in *Chanute Wings*. The cartoon depicted a U.S. soldier with a Vietnamese child on his lap and another looking on. The caption reads, "... Aiding those in need where help is most effective."⁵⁰⁵

In May 1967, an AFNB editorial went farther in its effusive praise of the type of American man fighting in Vietnam with a reprint of remarks made by General William C. Westmoreland, commander of Military Assistance Command, Vietnam:

Who are these men? They are mostly youngsters representing every state of the Union – from the farms, the cities, the factories and the campuses. They are the sound product of America's democratic society. They are the sum of our educational system, our medical science, and our communications. Their excellent morale results from knowledge of their jobs, sound military policies, professional unit leadership, and unprecedented material support. Their medical care is superb, their food is excellent and their mail is carefully handled. Shortages have been few and of short duration.

⁵⁰³ "Chanute Trains Vietnam Hero," *Chanute Wings*, March 17, 1966; "Air Force Cross Awarded to Vietnam Veteran," *Chanute Wings*, August 11, 1966; Cliff Johnson, "CTTC-Trained Mechanics Aid Medal of Honor Winner," *Chanute Wings*, March 16, 1967; "Chanute Officer Decorated for Heroism in SEA," *Chanute Wings*, July 6, 1967; "Former Pleiku AB Commander Receives Silver Anvil Award," *Chanute Wings*, July 6, 1967; "Lieutenant's Invention Aids Vietnamese Blind," *Chanute Wings*, July 27, 1967.

⁵⁰⁴ "The War is Over for a Hero ..." *Chanute Wings*, August 3, 1967.

⁵⁰⁵ Marks, AFPS cartoon, *Chanute Wings*, April 14, 1966.

As an individual, the fighting man I command is a tough, determined professional in battle one day, and (the) next day, a sensitive, compassionate friend helping the Vietnamese people. He is a fighter, a thinker, and a doer. He has seen – at first hand – Communist subversion and aggression at work; he has acquired a deeper appreciation of the importance of freedom. And from his ranks in the years ahead will come the confident, alert, intelligent citizens and leaders who will make this nation's future greater than its past.

With fighting forces like these, a commander cannot help but look forward with confidence as he views the military situation.⁵⁰⁶

These messages were buttressed by frequent words of support from the highest officials in the land, particularly around holidays. As Armed Forces Day 1966 approached, *Chanute Wings* reprinted letters from President Lyndon Johnson and Air Force Chief of Staff John C. McConnell under the shared headline of “Armed Forces Day.” Johnson's remarks were short, but spoke to the general spirit of the time:

Freedom is indivisible. It is not secure in America when it is brutally denied elsewhere on this earth.

The struggle to be free is a struggle worthy of man's unceasing sacrifice. And it is worthy of America's abiding commitment in Vietnam and in other parts of the world where violence threatens man's earnest desire to be free.

Those who serve in distant lands in the uniforms of our Armed Forces know the meaning of this commitment. They know the meaning of the bond which

⁵⁰⁶ AFNB, “Who Are These Men?” *Chanute Wings*, May 25, 1967.

inextricably unites America's freedom with the freedom of her friends around the world.

They bravely and selflessly uphold an historic commitment. And they sustain a legacy which has made this nation the world's arsenal of freedom and democracy. As Commander-in-Chief, I join all my fellow American's in the traditional observance of Armed Forces Day and in high tribute to the valor and dedication of those whose courageous service this day commemorates.⁵⁰⁷

Weeks later, for Memorial Day, another short Johnson comment ran on the front page of *Chanute Wings*.⁵⁰⁸ Johnson later appeared in an installment of "Battle Report," and a one-paragraph holiday greeting near Christmas 1967 stressed that without U.S. Servicemen, the world would cease to be free.⁵⁰⁹

Infrequently, *Chanute Wings* offered advice for soldiers bound for Vietnam. In a November 1966 editorial, the AFNB warned soldiers bound for the "Far East" to never buy a product made in China, North Korea, or North Vietnam. This directive took this conceit to an odd extreme and instructed soldiers to not buy anything that looked like it might have been made in one of the aforementioned countries or attempt to import goods from those countries; or buy any embargoed goods as gifts.⁵¹⁰

Bad news, even non-celebratory news, about Vietnam was an uncommon facet of Chanute coverage. In April 1967, a speech given by Air Force Secretary Harold Brown in San Francisco appeared on an inside page of *Chanute Wings* for a story about the

⁵⁰⁷ "Armed Forces Day," *Chanute Wings*, May 19, 1966.

⁵⁰⁸ "Memorial Day Address," *Chanute Wings*, May 27, 1966.

⁵⁰⁹ "President Salutes Servicemen; More MIGs Downed: USAF Vietnam Battle Report," *Chanute Wings*, June 8, 1967; "Holiday Greeting Messages," *Chanute Wings*, December 29, 1967.

⁵¹⁰ AFNB, "Shopping in the Far East," *Chanute Wings*, November 3, 1966.

“problems” in Vietnam. Brown called the bombing of North Vietnam the most precise in military history. The challenge, he said, was to find ways to make even more efficient and accurate measurements.⁵¹¹ The positive messaging continued in May 1967 with an Armed Forces Day editorial that stated “Power for Peace,” the military’s long-standing slogan, was well represented in the sacrifices being made in Vietnam. In the same issue was a story that gave a glimmer of hope to those who yearned for the day when South Vietnam could fight its own war.⁵¹² Likewise, soldiers were portrayed as facing no residual challenges after their tours. Early returnees from the war were mentioned only as invaluable assets to Chanute.⁵¹³

That the nation surrounding the bases was beginning to sour on the conflict was mostly ignored by the editors, except when it was expedient to do otherwise. Perhaps in the wake of growing public questions about the war, in December 1967, *Chanute Wings* reprinted an excerpt from “Vietnam Review,” a piece published by the Office of Information for the Armed Forces, in which the necessity for the United States’ involvement in Vietnam was rationalized. The following week, a second part of the “Why Vietnam” miniseries offered just two paragraphs’ worth of reasons, in the form of a brief history of Vietnam since the end of French rule over Indochina.⁵¹⁴

For all its coverage of Vietnam, the editors of *Chanute Wings* did not list the war as a top news event of 1967. Rather, the 50th anniversary of Chanute Air Base, a visit by

⁵¹¹ “Air Force Secretary Reviews Vietnam Gains, Problems,” *Chanute Wings*, April 6, 1967

⁵¹² ““Power for Peace,” *Chanute Wings*, May 18, 1967; “Vietnamese Air Force Maturing Rapidly,” *Chanute Wings*, May 18, 1967.

⁵¹³ “Vietnam Veterans Bring Realism to Chanute Classrooms,” *Chanute Wings*, May 25, 1967; “Vietnam Weather Returnees Bring Realism to Chanute,” *Chanute Wings*, June 1, 1967.

⁵¹⁴ Office of Information for the Armed Forces, “Vietnam Review” reprinted in “Why Vietnam,” *Chanute Wings*, December 7, 1967; “Why Vietnam,” *Chanute Wings*, December 14, 1967.

baseball great Bob Feller, and 11 Chanute men being deployed to Alaska to help with a flood got top billing. The story made no mention of Vietnam or Chanute's role in preparing men for the war in Southeast Asia.⁵¹⁵ The snub in the year-end review was a portent of a lessening of war coverage in the coming years of *Chanute Wings*. The paper ran photos under the headline "Vietnam: The Air Force in Action." The "Battle Summary" feature as well as occasional spot news continued to appear, but the pages of stories were overshadowed by local, non-war-related news. When major events of the war came to pass, *Chanute Wings* sometimes covered it, but often key facts were omitted. The best example of this approach can be found in the paper's coverage of the resignation of Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara in 1968. When McNamara was replaced by Clark Clifford, the coverage in *Chanute Wings* failed to mention the tumult that had led to the change. The story offered no explanation for McNamara's resignation, only confirmation that McNamara had served in the position.⁵¹⁶

Unlike *The Globe*, *The Scout*, and *Wings*, the *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel* was far less apt to run Vietnam news early in America's involvement. In 1967, the *Sentinel* ran a weekly "Sentinel Shorts," the weekly top item of which was the subhead "Vietnam Review." From 1964-1966, however, the *Sentinel* had focused on broader themes of the Cold War when it addressed international affairs. These issues were inextricably linked to Vietnam, but didn't mention the nation. In January 1964, for example, the *Sentinel* accused the Soviets of using bully tactics abroad and demanded a more aggressive stance against the rise of communism via the creation of "self-sufficient and mobile units

⁵¹⁵ "Down Memory Lane in 1967: CAFB's 50th Anniversary Top News Events of 1967," *Chanute Wings*, January 4, 1968.

⁵¹⁶ "Clark M. Clifford Successor: Secretary McNamara Ends Era," *Chanute Wings*, March 7, 1968.

capable of fighting and surviving on a nuclear battlefield.”⁵¹⁷ In its September 23, 1966, issue, the *Sentinel* assured readers that Vietnam was not diverting attention from Europe.⁵¹⁸ In the September 30 issue, the *Sentinel* ran excerpts from a Lyndon Johnson speech at the Nuclear Reactor Testing Center in Idaho Falls, Idaho, the spirit of which was that fighting in Vietnam did not have to prevent the United States from building better relations with the USSR.⁵¹⁹

Sentinel coverage of the war generally matched that of *The Globe*, *The Scout*, and *Chanute Wings* in character, though not always in scope.⁵²⁰ In 1965, the *Sentinel* used a series of editorials to explain the United States’ reasons for being in Vietnam, even going so far as to link the current fight against communism to the wars the Athenians fought, one AFPS editorial claimed, against “tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself.”⁵²¹ In an editorial written by a *Sentinel* staffer, the rationale for fighting painted the United States in the most sympathetic light:

This is not a war to establish an American empire or ‘sphere of influence’ ... Nor is this a holy war to destroy communism ... Nor does this United States seek in Vietnam to impose unconditional surrender, nor does it exclude any segments of

⁵¹⁷ “‘Hot’ Cold War Attitudes,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, January 17, 1964.

⁵¹⁸ “And Nato: European Security,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, September 23, 1966.

⁵¹⁹ Lyndon Johnson, “Background for Commanders: World Peace,” excerpt from remarks made in Idaho Falls, Idaho, in *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, September 30, 1966.

⁵²⁰ Robert A. Couch, “Capt. Horn Remembers May Day as Day we Stole from the VC,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, February 10, 1967; “Soldier Discusses Peaceful Aspects of Vietnamese War,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, February 17, 1967; “Wounded Soldier Directed Artillery Fire at Viet Cong,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, February 24, 1967; Dick Pritchard, “Sp5 Wins Bronze Star in Viet Cong R&R Site,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, August 2, 1968; Bob Rogers, “New chief of Staff Vietnam War Hero,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, August 30, 1968.

⁵²¹ ANF, “Our Stake in Viet Nam – Freedom from Peril,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, January 15, 1965; AFPS, “Centuries-Old Fight,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, July 30, 1965; AFPS, “Know All the Facts,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, August 13, 1965.

the South Vietnamese people from participation by peaceful means in their country's future government.

The U.S. aim is simply this: to prevent the Viet Cong, strongly controlled and reinforced by the North, from imposing by force its claim, never tested by free election, to be the 'sole genuine representative' of the South Vietnamese people.⁵²²

Service to the Fleet was not as active in covering the Vietnam War. Stories that mentioned Vietnam tended to be only tangentially related to the war and focused on personnel at NNSY who had served or, in one case, a role the yard played in preparing the *USS Intrepid* for service near Vietnam.⁵²³

Response to Anti-War Movement

As the Vietnam War progressed, it became increasingly less popular. As American opinions of the war turned irrevocably sour, the papers were forced to respond. However, there weren't many pieces decrying critics or defending the American military. Defenses were infrequent and vague, a marked failure if the papers were meant to serve a public relations function. In July 1968, Chaplain (Captain) Glen E. Roger wrote a vague commentary in *Chanute Wings* begging people not to fail. Rogers never specified what in what areas Americans had begun to fail, but swore that if failure occurred it would be a detriment to the memory of every person from eras of the Korea War, World War II, World War I, the American Revolution, and even the Pilgrims.⁵²⁴ Similarly, a 1968

⁵²² "A Road to Peace," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, August 19, 1965.

⁵²³ "Zero Defects Attitude Praised," *Service to the Fleet*, February 10, 1967; "Vietnam Vet Gets DFC in Barracks Ceremony," *Service to the Fleet*, Nov. 22, 1967; "Medic Vietnam Vets Remember Heat, Dirt," *Service to the Fleet*, July 26, 1968.

⁵²⁴ "If We Fail, They Fail," *Chanute Wings*, July 25, 1968.

Sentinel editorial, which editors allowed be written by Fred Pool of the East Texas Chamber of Commerce, blasted what Pool called a “Communist-inspired” student organization that was causing trouble with its anti-establishment leanings:

The bearded long hairs with their little tables set up on our colleges and universities ... are well-trained, vocal missionaries of destruction ...⁵²⁵

One of the rare overt stances against a political movement can be found in the September 20, 1968, *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*. In this reprint of a *Fort Benning Bayonet* editorial, the paper warned soldiers to avoid falling in with the “New Left”:

The militant ‘New Left’ has devised a plan to enlist you, the soldier, unwittingly into their cause.

Their purpose is to encourage soldiers to break the law, defy orders, engage in demonstrations and generally create havoc in the Army. Their purpose is to exploit these incidences for their own propaganda purposes ...

They now claim to have sympathy for soldiers. Yet they spit on soldiers in Washington D.C. and Baltimore earlier this summer as the screamed obscenities when the soldiers tried to do their duty in restoring order and protecting property. These groups picture soldiers as mindless clods incapable of doing anything that requires any degree of intelligence.

Don’t be a sucker. Play it smart.⁵²⁶

This stance fell into the murky area of Department of Defense regulations. While the paper had undoubtedly taken a political stance, which was against the rules, it had also

⁵²⁵ Fred Pool, “Students for What Society,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, November 8, 1968.

⁵²⁶ “The New Left,” reprinted from *Fort Benning Bayonet* in *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, September 20, 1968.

protected U.S. interests and those of the soldiers, which was a key point of the mission described in the DOD directives. While the paper might have been wrong on a technicality, it is unlikely anyone with authority would have sought accountability.

In April 1969, *Chanute Wings* ran an editorial by N.D. Anderson that managed to both criticize Americans as hypocrites yet still manage to smack of exceptionalism:

He is the fellow who yells for the government to balance the budget, then takes the last dime he has to make a down payment on a car ...

He ties up his dog but lets his 15-year-old son do what he wants ...

We're supposed to be the most civilized Nation on earth, but still, can't deliver payrolls without an armored car.

But we're still pretty nice folks. Calling a person 'A Real American' is the best compliment you can pay him. Most of the world is itching for what we have, but they'll never have it until they start scratching for it as an individual.⁵²⁷

The editors of *Chanute Wings* saw fit to add, "We're also the people whose eyes moisten when the Flag goes by in a parade – but find a man around who will admit it."⁵²⁸

Messages to Soldiers

The anti-communist theme thrived in the 1960s. From 1964-1969, base newspapers ran editorials comparing the Soviets to the antagonists in George Orwell's *1984*, exposing Mao's plan for world revolution, and addressing numerous negative claims against communism, Russia, and China.⁵²⁹ Virtually any move the USSR made or

⁵²⁷ N.D. Anderson, "What is an American," *Chanute Wings*, April 10, 1969.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁹ "History of Communism: Leninism Imbedded in the Russian Mind," *The Globe*, January 16, 1964; "Mao Tse-tung's Blueprint for World Revolution," *The Globe*, January 6, 1966; "Inconsistency of Communism and Freedom of Opposition," *Chanute Wings*, March 14, 1968; "Shades of 'Nineteen Eighty

was believed to have made, was met with umbrage. Stories that deviated from this theme were rare but indicative of a domestic military press that was continuing to increase its appreciation and application of professional journalistic norms. Some papers continued to cover Korea. In 1964, *The Globe* commemorated the taking of Inchon.⁵³⁰ In 1968, *Chanute Wings* ran a story on truce talks between the U.S. and its enemies from the 1950s.⁵³¹ Stories of Communist atomic power and testing weren't always met with umbrage. The *Sentinel* expressed no great shock when China detonated an atomic bomb.⁵³²

Not surprising given the focus on the dangers of communism, *Chanute Wings* also began running editorials warning of espionage that ranged from an AFPS warning not to share information even with friends to a particularly paranoid AFNS exhortation to beware of phone intercept devices and to not allow an unlicensed person to repair military or personal phones due to the threat of bugging.⁵³³ *Service to the Fleet*, in 1966, ran a rather odd editorial in which the paper linked the struggles of soldiers in Vietnam in identifying enemies from friends to safety issues in the yard:

Ask any soldier returning from battle in Viet Nam what frustrates him most about the conflict and they all tell you the same thing. They say it's the difficulty in determining the enemy from the friend ... there must be an enemy among us

Four,” *Chanute Wings*, March 21, 1968; “Communism and Harmony,” *Chanute Wings*, September 28, 1967.

⁵³⁰ “Inchon Invasion, A Tactical Masterpiece,” *The Globe*, September 10, 1964.

⁵³¹ “Chanute Commander Addresses AFA on Korea Truce Talks,” *Chanute Wings*, Jan. 25, 1968

⁵³² “Red China’s Atom Bomb Blast Comes as No Surprise,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, November 13, 1964.

⁵³³ AFNS, “Editorial: Snooper’s Tool,” *Chanute Wings*, April 25, 1968; AFPS, “A Full-Time Job for Everyone,” *Chanute Wings*, September 19, 1968; “Communications Security Demands Strict Adherence,” *Chanute Wings*, August 10, 1967.

disguised as a friend; or there must be those in our remarks who have no pride, no incentive, no desire, or just don't care.⁵³⁴

At first read, this seems like the story of an act of espionage or high treason on the domestic front. However, the instance that so riled the *Service to the Fleet* editorialist was an oil stove that had been brought below ship, which was against safety rules, causing a fire. The damage was minor, but the threat of worse damage seems to have fueled the rant.

Aside from anti-communist musings, the papers began to address personal issues faced by soldiers. Anti-drug pieces began to appear in 1968, the earliest examples of what would become a popular editorial topic in the 1970s. In May 1968, *The Globe* used a graphic featuring a hypodermic needle flying at soldiers like a missile over an AFPS editorial warning of the dangers of drugs.⁵³⁵ The same editorial and graphic ran in *Chanute Wings* in June.⁵³⁶



Figure 12. Drug Missile

This AFPS sketch, which ran in both the May 31, 1968, *Globe*, and June 13, 1968, *Chanute Wings*, depicts a narcotic needle missile attacking members of the United States Armed Forces. Pictured is the sketch on the editorial page of *Chanute Wings*.

⁵³⁴ "Enemy Disguised as Shipyarder?" *Service to the Fleet*, December 16, 1966.

⁵³⁵ AFPS, "A Menace to All," *The Globe*, May 31, 1968.

⁵³⁶ AFPS, "A Menace to All," *Chanute Wings*, June 13, 1968.

There were some elements of papers that fall generally under the category of “Product of the Times.” In 1966, *Chanute Wings* ran an editorial about research into UFO sightings. The reporting did not seem to be tongue-in-cheek.⁵³⁷ Another *Chanute Wings* story from 1968 discussed the readiness of the United States to provide food to its people in the event of a nuclear fallout and promised, based on what science the writer did not say, there was no danger of people receiving radiation-tainted food.⁵³⁸

Space, once the spark of the military base newspaper’s imagination in the 1950s, became far less prevalent. *The Globe* ran a story about the Gemini Space Project in 1965 as well as a feature about a pilot from Marine Air Station Cherry Point, about 47 miles from Camp Lejeune, being selected to the space program in 1966.⁵³⁹ The pilot was Jack R. Lousma, who would go on to serve on the second manned flight to the Skylab space station in 1973 and command the third space mission of *Space Shuttle Columbia*, in 1982. A day after the launch of Apollo 11 in 1969, *Chanute Wings* wrote of the enormity of the feat of walking on the moon.⁵⁴⁰ The *Sentinel* celebrated the moonwalk after Apollo 11’s return.⁵⁴¹

Papers still made room, albeit not as much as the 1950s, for other international incidents. In 1965, *The Globe* spent four out of five issues from May 13 through June 10 on Marin involvement in ending the main phase of the Dominican Civil War in Santo

⁵³⁷ “University of Colorado to Research UFO Sightings,” *Chanute Wings*, October 20, 1966.

⁵³⁸ Howard H. Clark, Jr., “Temporary Food Shortage Result of Nuclear Attack,” *Chanute Wings*, November 28, 1968.

⁵³⁹ “14 FT Marines Take Part in Gemini Space Project,” *The Globe*, April 8, 1965; “Cherry Pt. Pilot Chosen for Astronaut Program,” *The Globe*, April 14, 1966.

⁵⁴⁰ “Apollo 11 Mission Looms as Feat of Century,” *Chanute Wings*, July 17, 1969.

⁵⁴¹ “Apollo Crew Returns,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, July 25, 1969.

Domingo.⁵⁴² This lengthy coverage was a rare example of a paper dedicating space and weeks of attention to an international topic. One of the few other examples of a mention of a non-Vietnam international issue came in 1966 when *The Globe* endorsed Radio Free Europe.⁵⁴³

Domestic social commentary was, as had been the case in the 1940s and 1950s, limited but grew in frequency from 1964-1969. Drinking, and later alcoholism, got some attention.⁵⁴⁴ In 1966, *The Globe* ran an editorial saying that, as part of Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society" vision, the base was trying to save money as part of the "war on poverty."⁵⁴⁵ Later in 1966, *The Globe* printed remarks by Sidney L. De Love who, on an episode of the "Know Your History Hour" on WHMP Evanston, Illinois, responded to criticism that the show was doing too much "flag waving" by saying there was no such thing as supporting the flag too much.⁵⁴⁶ While the paper did not reveal who De Love was or why he was featured, a 1971 obituary reveals De Love to have been an author, lawyer, and lecturer who'd won 18 Freedoms Foundation awards and sponsored a patriotic essay contest among Chicago area schools. De Love later, while serving as president of the Cook County Federal Savings & Loan Association, became embroiled in a federal securities fraud investigation and committed suicide.⁵⁴⁷

Service to the Fleet did not devote much time to defining what it meant to be a good soldier or sailor but did offer the occasional piece on what it meant to be a good

⁵⁴² "Santo Domingo Scenes," *The Globe*, May 13, 1965; "Santo Domingo – Mixture of Sacrifice, Sweat, Compassion," *The Globe*, May 20, 1965; "Three Marines Risk Life to Rescue Wounded Man," *The Globe*, May 27, 1965; "Troops are Home: Peak Strength in D.R. Nearly 8000," *The Globe*, June 10, 1965.

⁵⁴³ "Will Radio Free Europe be Your Choice," *The Globe*, February 3, 1966.

⁵⁴⁴ "Problem Drinking," *Chanute Wings*, August 25, 1966.

⁵⁴⁵ "A Different Kind of War," *The Globe*, January 27, 1966.

⁵⁴⁶ Sidney L. De Love remarks, "Too much flag waving?" reprinted in *The Globe*, May 19, 1966.

⁵⁴⁷ "Sidney De Love Kills Himself; Note Refers to Fraud Probe," *Chicago Tribune*, October 30, 1971.

American. In a June 1964 editorial, the key points of being a quality citizen were listed as voting, civic engagement, support of schools and churches, “proper observance of patriotic holidays,” respect for public property, and service in the armed forces.⁵⁴⁸ Stories of crime and serviceman personal issues of both the drug and non-drug variety were equally infrequent in *Service to the Fleet*, although once the paper ran a story of an FBI investigation on base.⁵⁴⁹ The overall focus of the NNSY paper was still on production. In November 1967, *Service to the Fleet* spelled it out plainly: the future of the base hinged on successful conversion to nuclear power.⁵⁵⁰

The *Sentinel* began to take major notice of drugs and crime in the military in 1969. Frequent was the occurrence of anti-drug editorials in that year, including a three-part report on marijuana from President Richard Nixon.⁵⁵¹ In what became a common practice for all papers in the 1970s, the *Sentinel* ran a “former drug user tells all” story in December 1969.⁵⁵² Stories and editorials about crime and the value of obeying the law also began springing up in the *Sentinel in 1969*.⁵⁵³ In the funniest headline encountered during the study, the *Sentinel* gave front page attention to a German shepherd drug dog whose work had led to arrests under the alliterative “Pooch Pinches ‘Pot’ Packers.”⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁴⁸ “What is a Good Citizen?” *Service to the Fleet*, June 5, 1964.

⁵⁴⁹ “FBI Probes Supply Theft; Arrest One,” *Service to the Fleet*, October 4, 1968.

⁵⁵⁰ “Yard’s Future Tied to Nuclear Fleet Conversion,” *Service to the Fleet*, November 9, 1967.

⁵⁵¹ AFPS, “Fuss About Drugs,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, March 14, 1969; “Note on Pot,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, April 25, 1969; AFPS, “Expand the Mind,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, May 23, 1969; AFPS, “Part 1: President’s Report on Marijuana,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, October 31, 1969; AFPS, “Part 2: President’s Report on Marijuana,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, November 7, 1969; AFPS, “Conclusion: President’s Report on Marijuana,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, November 14, 1969.

⁵⁵² Dick Erdel, “Former Drug User ‘Tells it Like it is,’” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, December 5, 1969.

⁵⁵³ “3 Convicted on Marijuana Charges Here,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, January 17, 1969; AFPS, “A Lawful Society,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, April 4, 1969; “Five Get Convictions on AWOL Charges,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, June 6, 1969; “Steal and Steal and Steal,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, January 31, 1969.

⁵⁵⁴ “Pooch Pinches ‘Pot’ Packers,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, February 7, 1969.

Pooch Pinches 'Pot' Packers



Good Nose

Gannar gets a loving pat on the head from Lt. Gen. Powell. (U.S. Army Photo by Herrie Veerman)

There was a dog show in the office of Fort Hood's Marshal Henry Gerecke last week.

But it wasn't an ordinary dog show. Only one canine was entered, and he was an Army dog — a well-trained and well-loved mascot.

But Gannar, the nine-year-old male German Shepherd that now calls Ft. Hood home, performed admirably at his specialty — sniffing out concealed marijuana — as a fascinated audience that included Lt. Col. and Ft. Hood Commander Lt. Gen. Beverly K. Powell watched attentively.

Trained specifically to sniff out marijuana under a special test project of the Army Institute of Research, Gannar sniffed into the room with his trainer, handler and companion, Sgt. Steven L. Pierce.

The handsome pooch waited patiently while his "best friend" knelt the audience.

Then, under Pierce's direction, Gannar took 50 sniffs. Sniffing breezily, he had located three well-concealed bags containing the drug within a few minutes. It occasionally could have taken a more human being, even all day, to locate the stash.

The dog will now be utilized at Ft. Hood to help locate marijuana hidden in such places as barracks and automobiles.

"He has found marijuana concealed in wall sockets, toilet bowls, suit cases, suit cases and numerous other places during the training," Pierce explained. "He's one of a few dogs in the Army today being used for this purpose."

Gen. Powell, a dog fancier himself, compared Gannar's usual to do to those of one of his favorite big dogs. "I was sending this dog the other day," he smiled, "and he killed a snake and then flushed a covey of quail."

But, Malheur, pointed out Gerecke to observe that "that's real small talk."

Gannar's sensitive nose is the result of intensive training by Pierce, who was employed by a veterinarian before entering the Army.

"We started last July," he recalled. "I would take a bag containing marijuana into a well-ventilated field, give the command 'search' and Gannar would retrieve it. We gradually moved to fields with taller and taller grass, repeating the same process, and rewarding Gannar when he did well."

By September the training was complete, and the Pierce-Gannar team conducted demonstrations with armying at Ft. Hood last month. Both are assigned to the 10th MI Bn., with the canine half of the duo based at the Fort Veterinary.

"He's good at what he does — sniffing out marijuana," Pierce said with affection, "but he's certainly not vicious. Gannar wouldn't hurt a fly."

"We're glad to have both these young fellows — Pierce and Gannar," Gerecke concluded. "If they prove themselves here, we expect they will, then I would agree similar teams will be joining other police agencies."

Figure 13. Pooch Pinches Pot Packers

The *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel* celebrated a drug dog's success with a front page story in the February 7, 1969, edition.

Perhaps the most adroit editorial of the era, however, an AFPS editorial in the *Sentinel* did not take a stance but began to ponder the pros and cons of an all-volunteer military.⁵⁵⁵

It was an unintentional act of foreshadowing what would become a major issue in the wake of the end of the Vietnam War in the 1970s.

Messages about Racial Minorities

Portrayals of racial minorities were in a holding pattern from 1964-1969. The old, well-meaning and overt racism stopped but so did virtually all photos featuring racial minorities. Race was not mentioned as a rule. For example, there were no minorities of any note in the February 10, 1966, *Wings*, when an editorial honored Abraham Lincoln as

⁵⁵⁵ AFPS, "Toward a Volunteer Force," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, November 21, 1969.

the “Great Emancipator” in addition to, oddly, commemorating the 101st anniversary of his celebration of his final birthday.⁵⁵⁶ Lincoln commemorations were annual occurrences in base newspapers, which was appropriate. If there was an enduring message about racial minorities in the domestic base newspapers of this study, it was that all people were equal, and always had been.⁵⁵⁷

In the first issue under the name of *Chanute Wings*, Frank Adinolfi’s “Vignettes from Viet Nam” featured the story of Airman First Class John E. Simmons, Jr., who was African American and served at Da Nang Air Base. The story was about Simmons’ wartime experience and of a similar character of those “Vignettes” about white soldiers. Simmons recounted hearing a nearby plane being struck by a .45 slug and seeing what is implied to be a member of the Viet Cong leave a radio which had been rigged as a bomb in a restaurant. Simmons also recalled working alongside ARVN, which he said was tough since he couldn’t tell the enemy from friends.⁵⁵⁸

In March 1966, Master Sergeant David J. Jenkins, Jr., also African American, earned front page attention when he’d won “suggestion” money for recommending obsolete jet engines used for training be returned to inventory since they were no longer useful.⁵⁵⁹ In March 1967, Staff Sergeant Melvin Hayes earned the title of instructor of the month and got a headshot but no story or headline on the front page.⁵⁶⁰ Other stories, about reenlistments, honors earned, and retirements featured racial minorities, albeit

⁵⁵⁶ “Abraham Lincoln: A Nation and World Endebted [SIC] to One Man,” *Wings*, February 10, 1966.

⁵⁵⁷ AFPS, “An American Tradition,” *Chanute Wings*, November 21, 1968; AFPS, “Equality, Justice,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, September 15, 1967.

⁵⁵⁸ Frank Adinolfi, “Vignettes from Viet Nam,” *Chanute Wings*, March 3, 1966.

⁵⁵⁹ “Chanute NCO Saves \$1,867, 600: CR Effort Tops Goal By 50%,” *Chanute Wings*, March 17, 1966.

⁵⁶⁰ Photo of Melvin Hayes, *Chanute Wings*, March 9, 1967.

infrequently, in the coming years in *Chanute Wings*.⁵⁶¹ These items never mentioned race. Indeed, the only way a reader would know the aforementioned people were racial minorities was the inclusion of photos. Whether this constitutes a sign of progression, gentrification, or an editorial decision to ignore race or race-based stories depends on the perspective of the observer. The truth, as it so often does, likely falls among all of these.

Stories of equal opportunity were not quite as rigorously positive as they had been in the early 1960s. In a June 1966 *Chanute Wings*, Major General Leo F. Dusard, in his “Commander’s Comments” segment, seemed more dutiful than enthused when he wrote:

In conformance with the provisions and spirit of Executive Order 11246, dated Sept. 24, 1965, I hereby direct that all Supervisory and management personnel insure Equal Employment Opportunity will be extended in accordance with the qualifications and potential of the individual.

There will be no discrimination in employment at any grade level or any area because of race, creed, color, or national origin and positive progressive action will be taken for the fulfillment of this goal.⁵⁶²

In 1967, an editorial served as the vessel for the statement of the Chanute equal employment policy.⁵⁶³ The *Sentinel’s* equal opportunity message of 1969 was delivered none other than Army Chief of Staff W.C. Westmoreland.⁵⁶⁴

⁵⁶¹ Tim Alswager, “1967 Airman of the Year Set to Retire Dec. 31,” *Chanute Wings*, December 12, 1968; “Receives Certificate,” *Chanute Wings*, July 17, 1969; “Four More,” *Chanute Wings*, September 25, 1969; Manson W. McHargue, “Staff Notes: Equal Opportunity,” *Chanute Wings*, November 13, 1969.

⁵⁶² Leo F. Dusard, “Commander’s Comment,” *Chanute Wings*, June 16, 1966.

⁵⁶³ “Equal Employment Policy Reiterated,” *Chanute Wings*, June 29, 1967.

⁵⁶⁴ W.C. Westmoreland, “Equal Opportunity,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, October 10, 1969.

Service to the Fleet had the most modern style of presenting race, particularly if one thinks in terms of public relations. In a 1967 graphic about the “Zero Defects” program on base, headshots of African Americans and whites populated the spokes of a giant sprocket.⁵⁶⁵ *Service to the Fleet* also featured several equal opportunity pieces, one of which in 1967 seemed well-meaning but ran under the headline “Yard’s equal employment opportunity program opens new economic doors for region’s Negroes.”⁵⁶⁶

Traditional overt racism was all but dead in print at domestic base newspapers. Aside from the aforementioned *Service to the Fleet* headline, one of the rare examples of racism seems to have been a poor decision to fill a hole in print rather than a piece of social commentary. In a 1968 *Chanute Wings*, a rare portrayal of a Native American showed up in a tiny cartoon that seemed to have been used to fill space. In the cartoon, an offended Native American with a single, huge feather grimaces at a far taller white officer. The officer says “All chiefs and no Indians is just an expression ...”⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶⁵ “All Together Now for Zero Defects,” *Service to the Fleet*, January 6, 1967.

⁵⁶⁶ “President’s Statement Calls for Equal Treatment of All,” *Service to the Fleet*, June 4, 1965; “Equal Employment Opportunity Plan of Action Outlined,” *Service to the Fleet*, February 18, 1966; “Yard’s Equal Employment Opportunity Program Opens New Economic Doors for Region’s Negroes,” *Service to the Fleet*, April 14, 1967.

⁵⁶⁷ Untitled cartoon, *Chanute Wings*, April 4, 1968.



Figure 14. All Chiefs and No Indians

This unsigned cartoon, which ran as space filler in the April 4, 1968, *Chanute Wings*.

If portrayals of racial minorities were rare in *Chanute Wings*, they were positively scant in *The Globe*. Among the few pieces featuring racial minorities was a story about the visit of the commandant of the South Korean marines to Camp Lejeune, a feature about basketball player Gus Johnson, and a piece showing Marines, at least one of whom was black, receiving commendation for their service in Vietnam.⁵⁶⁸

The *Sentinel* contained far more frequent appearances of racial minorities but, as was the case with the other bases, race was evidenced by photos rather than mentions of race in copy. In addition to stories about African Americans, the *Sentinel* contained far more stories featuring racial minorities other than African Americans. From 1964-1969, the paper produced a story of the heroics of a Hispanic soldier in Vietnam as well as a

⁵⁶⁸ "KMC Commandant is Due Here Tomorrow," *The Globe*, May 7, 1964; "Basketball Greats to Play at Lejeune," *The Globe*, September 15, 1966; "Formal Ceremonies Honor Nine Vietnam Veterans," *The Globe*, April 27, 1967.

separate story about a Hispanic soldier who won a percussion contest.⁵⁶⁹ On one occasion, the *Sentinel* used a Chinese-born soldier to condemn communism.⁵⁷⁰ The other papers of this study were almost void of stories featuring non-African-American racial minorities. The rare appearance of a Hispanic soldier occurred in a July *Chanute Wings* and was the story of a sergeant who brought a toy to a sick child in the hospital.⁵⁷¹ However, in August 1967, a story about a “Mexican band” was that of white people dressed as stereotypical, nearing on cartoonish, mariachis and performing at the officer’s open mess.⁵⁷²

The *Sentinel* also contained one piece that hinted at the realities of the time. For all the equality talk, the paper still had a feature about Fort Hood soldiers being used to quell riots in that had sprung up in Chicago in the wake of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther Kings, Jr.⁵⁷³ It was the first of what would become many mentions of the Civil Rights leader in domestic base newspapers. King’s work while alive never cracked the front page, but in death, the pastor would soon become an annual star of all domestic base papers.

Messages about Women

Whereas minorities began to fade on the pages of base newspapers in this era, women continued to be presented in the same ways and with generally as much

⁵⁶⁹ “Specialist Gonzalez Fought in Dak To’s Horror: Communists Wage Furious Attack Against Americans Who Battle for Hill,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, January 26, 1968; “Velez Wins 1st FUSA,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, October 25, 1968.

⁵⁷⁰ Beryl D. Little, “Born in China: Escaped in 1956: Wong Knows Communism,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, October 25, 1968.

⁵⁷¹ “Recruiters Brighten Face of Chicago Hospital Patient,” *Chanute Wings*, July 14, 1966.

⁵⁷² “The Mexican Brass,” *Chanute Wings*, August 17, 1967.

⁵⁷³ D.R. Richardson, “Hood Troops Sent to Chicago to Help Quell Riots and Looting: Violence Follows King Assassination,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, April 12, 1968.

frequency as before. The use of pinup art fluctuated but, thanks to advertisements, a reader was never terribly far from photos of scantily-clad women. Pinup art was present in the *Sentinel* throughout this era, but used sparingly and often as space filler in non-prominent places from 1964-1968.⁵⁷⁴ However, in the late 1960s, a regular “Eye Catcher” photo began running in quarter-page installments with large headlines.⁵⁷⁵ These types of photos would make a roaring comeback in the early 1970s. The *Sentinel* also covered “Operation Entertainment,” which was a program in which young women visited men in the hospital for Christmas.⁵⁷⁶

In *Chanute Wings* copy and photos, women were generally portrayed in positive ways, although in many stories a woman’s name were shared by placing “Mrs.” in front of her husband’s first and last name. For example, women featured in a regularly appearing “Ladies in Blue” segment about the NCO wives club, referred to the stars of pieces Mrs. George Brunner and Mrs. Rupert Hopewell 1966 *Chanute Wings* issues.⁵⁷⁷ Pageants and talent shows still factored heavily in the coverage of women.⁵⁷⁸ Some women were treated as equals to men. In a 1966 *Chanute Wings*, an editorial playing on the “a-Go-Go” craze, as in hamburgers a-go-go, movies a-go-go, etc. – told Airmen and WAFs that they could reach the heights of the service, “Provided, of course, they go-go

⁵⁷⁴ “Zany Mamie,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, January 17, 1964; “Star Stare,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, February 20, 1964; “Cookies’ All Wet,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, April 17, 1964; “Ready to be Shot,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, February 18, 1966; “Poised for a Plunge,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, March 11, 1966; “Strike,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, June 30, 1967.

⁵⁷⁵ “Eye Catcher,” July 12, 1968; “Eye Catcher,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, October 3, 1969.

⁵⁷⁶ “Merry Christmas,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, December 22, 1967.

⁵⁷⁷ “Ladies in Blue --- Serve You,” *Chanute Wings*, March 10, 1966; “Ladies in Blue --- Serve You,” *Chanute Wings*, March 31, 1966.

⁵⁷⁸ “USO to Present All-Girl Talent Show; Night in Las Vegas & Combo Dance Saturday,” *Chanute Wings*, March 10, 1966; “Gen. Dusard to Crown Queen of Queens Sat.,” *Chanute Wings*, April 21, 1966; “USO to Crown 1967-68 ‘Queen of Queens’ Saturday Night,” *Chanute Wings*, April 20, 1967.

today.”⁵⁷⁹ In *Chanute Wings*’ “Stars with Bars” feature, Lieutenant Joanne Albrecht of Gunter Air Force Base in Alabama, received special recognition for having been named top instructor for the nurses’ branch.⁵⁸⁰

Pinup art provided by the Chanute paper was limited. A photo of a bikini-clad Julie Newmar in an “Indian” costume, which was a bikini and made no obvious allusions to any traditional Native American garb, in a 1968 *Chanute Wings* stands as a rare example.⁵⁸¹ The paper seemed to be maturing in its content. In *Chanute Wings*’ recurring “The Bachelor Airman: Gold, Girls And God” it was suggested plainly that every good soldier should want to earn a good living, find a good woman, and stay close to God:

These three forces – gold, girls, and God – can enrich one’s life and spirit, and assist in the development of a confident, mature, honest man – worthy of the name.⁵⁸²

By 1968, *Chanute Wings* was still primarily portraying women as wives, mothers, and pageant contestants.⁵⁸³ There were some positive stories, such as one about a woman who won a marksmanship competition, but even stories of women in the Air Force referred to their beauty as much as they skill in service.⁵⁸⁴ *Chanute Wings* also ran a recurring “Feminine Forum” column in which writers, Connie Stahl for the majority of

⁵⁷⁹ “A Real Go-Go,” *Chanute Wings*, August 4, 1966.

⁵⁸⁰ Garcia, “Stars with Bars,” *Chanute Wings*, September 22, 1966.

⁵⁸¹ AFPS, “Indian Costume!” *Chanute Wings*, August 22, 1968.

⁵⁸² “The Bachelor Airman: Gold, Girls and God,” *Chanute Wings*, November 17, 1966.

⁵⁸³ “Wives in Review,” *Chanute Wings*, January 25, 1968; “Wives in Review at Chanute,” *Chanute Wings*, March 21, 1968; “Family Services Announces Chanute’s Volunteer of the Year,” *Chanute Wings*, May 2, 1968; “General Demler Crowns Queen,” *Chanute Wings*, May 2, 1968; “Mother-Daughter Banquet Set by PWOW at Chapel May 10,” *Chanute Wings*, May 2, 1968; “NCO Wives’ Club Stuffs Ditty Bags for Vietnam,” *Chanute Wings*, October 10 1968.

⁵⁸⁴ “Second Lt. Susan Kohn,” photo, *Chanute Wings*, May 30, 1968; Stephen W. Billingsley, “Technically Trained and Lovely Too: ‘Women in the Air Force’ Receive Technical Training Here at Chanute,” *Chanute Wings*, October 17, 1968.

the run, offered advice and, in some cases, judgment for other women. In a June 1969 “Feminine Forum,” for example, Stahl complained of women wearing curlers in their hair in public by using an odd analogy. Stahl asked what people of “Chanute Intergalactic Technical Training Center” in 2069 would think of a time capsule filled with photos of women with curlers: “. . . have you looked around while shopping? Is the old joke true, ‘The bride wore curlers to her wedding because she wanted to look nice at the reception?’”⁵⁸⁵

While ads for risqué movies were still present, in 1966 and 1967, most advertisements were innocuous product plugs. One ad in *Chanute Wings* cross-promoted the television program *Bonanza* and Chevrolets. In this ad, Lorne Greene, dressed as his Ben Cartwright character, stands near a Chevy. The cutline reads “Watch Lorne Greene, star of Chevrolet’s ‘Bonanza’, each Sunday night on NBC-TV.”⁵⁸⁶ What *Chanute Wings* lacked in pinup art in copy it more than made up for in sexualized ads. In a May 1968 *Chanute Wings* “American Armed Forces Features” comic strip insert, which featured humor of the *Beetle Bailey* variety as well as serious pieces celebrating “America’s Fighting Heroes,” An ad for “Rise” shaving cream suggested the product would lead to sexual conquests for men.⁵⁸⁷ The unquestioned star of the sexualization show, however, came from the Karavan Lounge, a strip club which ran quarter-page ads in *Chanute Wings*, typically accompanied by photos of the featured performer of the week. Some of the more memorable women to have been featured included “Ineda Mann,” “Desha: ‘The

⁵⁸⁵ Connie Stahl, “Feminine Forum: ‘The American Woman,’” *Chanute Wings*, June 26, 1969.

⁵⁸⁶ Chevrolet Ad, *Chanute Wings*, March 16, 1967.

⁵⁸⁷ Rise Shaving Cream Ad, “American Armed Forces Features” insert, May 1968, in *Chanute Wings*.

Hawaiian Volcano,”” Miss Jody Laurence “A Tantalizing Tease,” and “Dior Angel” the “Texas Playmate.”⁵⁸⁸

The Globe tended to not cover women, but the few times women appeared the portrayal was typically on the extreme of glamorized – Miss Jacksonville 1965 and professional wrestler Penny Banner – or professional.⁵⁸⁹ *The Globe* featured a few takes on womanhood that were unique among the papers of this study. In 1966, the paper ran a signed editorial by “Mrs. W.R. Fisher,” in praise of the Girl Scouts.⁵⁹⁰ In a 1969 issue, *The Globe* explored the potential of women in space.⁵⁹¹ Perhaps the most disturbing piece, for its content if not its editorial approach, ran in the April 20, 1967, *Globe* and was an editorial decrying callers at Lejeune who were telling wives their husbands were dead and other unflattering things.⁵⁹² The 1967 *Scout* editors did not seem keen on portraying women in sexualized ways. Rather, women were shown, albeit infrequently, serving in the ranks.⁵⁹³

Service to the Fleet also had some unique portrayals of womanhood. In a 1966 piece, a story celebrated “the dulcet tones of a lovely lady” that had become part of the alarm system on submarines.⁵⁹⁴ Where once scantily clad women had been used to

⁵⁸⁸ Karavan Lounge Ad, *Chanute Wings*, March 7, 1968; Karavan Lounge Ad, *Chanute Wings*, April 27, 1968; Karavan Lounge Ad, *Chanute Wings*, March 6, 1969; Karavan Lounge Ad, *Chanute Wings*, April 10, 1969.

⁵⁸⁹ “TV Pro Grappler Arrive Here Feb. 27,” *The Globe*, February 20, 1964; “Miss Jacksonville 1965,” *The Globe*, September 24, 1964; “Lady Missionaries Aided by Chaplains in Viet Nam,” *The Globe*, June 24, 1965; “Lady Marine at Memphis Likes to Drop Out of Planes,” reprint from *Navy Times*, *The Globe*, January 6, 1966; “WAVES to Celebrate Twenty-Fourth Birthday,” *The Globe*, July 28, 1966; “Helps Marines and Vietnamese: One-Woman Crusade,” *The Globe*, April 12, 1968.

⁵⁹⁰ W.R. Fisher, “Girl Scouting,” *The Globe*, September 15, 1966.

⁵⁹¹ “Women in Space? It Could Happen,” *The Globe*, January 5, 1967.

⁵⁹² “Obscene Calls,” *The Globe*, April 20, 1967.

⁵⁹³ “Woman Marine Officer Assigned to Vietnam Duty,” *The Scout*, January 20, 1967; “Woman Marines Celebrate 24 Years Service to Corps Feb. 13,” *The Scout*, February 10, 1967.

⁵⁹⁴ “Sultry Voice Invades Subs,” *Service to the Fleet*, August 19, 1966.

remind the men of the yard to set their clocks backward or forward, in this era the motif was less sexualized. In 1968, a photo about springing forward showed a black woman supporting a white woman, both professionally clad, as the white woman set the clock forward.⁵⁹⁵ The oddest entry from *Service to the Fleet*, one that proved a portent of what was to come in the 1970s, was a story in October 1969 about the reimagining of a base snack bar, which had undergone “a face (and body) lift” in the form of a remodel and the addition of go-go dancers, who appeared Monday-Saturday nights from 7-11 p.m. The package was dominated by a photo of “Miss Joyce Annarine” who wore a bikini while dancing barefoot on a table top “under the appreciative eyes of shipyard-stationed men.”⁵⁹⁶

Conclusion

The early Vietnam War era was one of intense positivity in the pages of the base newspaper. The editorial approach was a near carbon copy of World War II. Realism began to seep into the papers, but generally, the papers had a steady pro-America approach, even as public opinion turned against the war effort. By ignoring, either due to Department of Defense directives or individual editorial choices, the papers again failed as both journalists and public relations professionals. The papers did not cover controversies with any consistency and never delved into subjects like Civil Rights and women’s liberation. Passing remarks about the New Left and radical student groups hardly constitute the coverage one would expect from papers charged with serving

⁵⁹⁵ “Turning Up Clock,” *Service to the Fleet*, April 25, 1968.

⁵⁹⁶ “Snack Bar Swings,” *Service to the Fleet*, October 31, 1969.

readers according to the journalistic norms of the civilian press, or even a public relations tool masquerading as a newspaper.

For racial minorities, it was a time of being once again steamrolled under patriotism. Meaningful reform was sought in the real world, but nothing made it to the pages of the papers. It was a poor change from being portrayed in inaccurate and no doubt offensive ways to not being covered at all, or being covered as in all ways equal and interchangeable with whites when reality told a different story. This would change in the 1970s. Racial minorities were soon to be portrayed more often, more deliberately, and almost more favorably. This coverage would not be particularly deep, but it spoke to an evolution to a better, though not ideal, editorial standard.

For women, it was more of the same, just a little less of it. The old pinups and pornography ads were still present, as were stories of women in the services. The depth of coverage remained paper thin but, similar to racial minorities, better times were ahead for women. In the coming epoch – as domestic base newspapers and the American military faced not only unpopularity in society as a whole but also fell under intense public scrutiny – gender issues would become far more extensively covered in the 1970s and 1980s. Stories that addressed some of the darkest realities of crime and abuse in the United States military and society, and seemed aimed at affecting improvements in the ranks, were soon to become common fare. Women, like racial minorities, would receive more positive, in-depth, and frequent coverage and, by the early 1980s, would be treated with immense respect on the pages of base newspapers. Old tenets of sexism and racism, however, would be slow to die.

CHAPTER VI – “WHO SPEAKS FOR SOLDIER? WHO SPEAKS TO SOLDIER”

In 1970, William Proxmire was about halfway through his 1957-1989 service in the United States Senate. Proxmire initially came to prominence when the people of Wisconsin chose him to fill seat vacated by Joseph McCarthy in 1957 but built his legacy on fighting government waste, opposing the Vietnam War, and serving as loyal resistance to Republican presidents. In 1970 and 1971, the man who signed his official letters simply “Bill” turned his attention to domestic base newspapers. Four years before Proxmire gave his first “Golden Fleece Award” to wasteful government officials, he identified the *Talespinner* at Lackland Air Force Base in Texas as a potential source of unethical spending. Keying in on the fact that base newspapers were often printed on civilian presses but staffed by soldiers, Proxmire wondered if some domestic base newspapers were serving as vessels for delivering public funds from the taxpayer to private entities.

Reassessing public entities was the norm in the 1970s, and the domestic base newspaper, like the military proper, found itself on unfamiliar footing. The once-supportive public was now casting a critical eye towards America’s fighting forces and all institutions within. However, as will be argued in this chapter, this time of challenge turned into a meaningful progression in standards and quality for domestic base newspapers, an improvement that affected all news and opinion pieces including those featuring racial and gender minorities. Whether by design or coincidence, this time of incredible scrutiny coincided with a major shift in the depth and breadth of reporting and commentary in the domestic base newspaper. Beginning in 1970, the domestic base newspaper became home to far more honest and comprehensive stories. While

celebrations of the military and the American way of life were mainstays, stories that told of the darker side of the military and society came to dominate front pages. For the first time, stories of minorities acknowledged the existence and inherent problems of racism and sought to ameliorate the same. Progress was slower in coming for women, but by the dawn of the 1980s newspapers that had long been home to pinup art and pornography, ads had grown into more inclusive publications that sought to address pressing women's issues.

Proxmire and Other Woes

In September 1970, Proxmire requested the Government Accountability Office study how DOD funds were being used in the production of military base newspapers. The issue of the appropriated funds at domestic base newspapers was one of many areas of government spending Proxmire attempted to hold to account, and Proxmire was no stranger to requesting GAO studies of military spending. In 1969, for example, Proxmire used a GAO study to expose billions in overspending across the military.⁵⁹⁷ In its time, the GAO probe of base newspapers done at Proxmire's urging would go virtually unnoticed in the civilian press. A search of the *New York Times* and *Chicago Tribune* archives revealed no specific coverage of the probe. Stories featuring Proxmire in the *New York Times* of 1970 and 1971 focused more on the Senator's stance against supersonic transport, a federal loan requested by Lockheed, and other broader military spending issues.⁵⁹⁸

⁵⁹⁷ "\$31.6 Billion Rise is Told in Arms Cost Overruns," *Chicago Tribune*, July 21, 1970.

⁵⁹⁸ United Press International, "Ousted Pentagon Aide Hired To Expose Defense Waste," *New York Times*, January 28, 1970; Associated Press, "Pentagon Planning is Scored as Costly," *New York Times*, February 11, 1970; Robert M. Smith, "Kennedy Asserts that Substantial Cuts can be Made in 'Rock Bottom' Military Budget," *New York Times*, February 25, 1970; Associated Press, "Proxmire Opposes Pentagon on

Proxmire might have been the loyal opposition to then-President Richard Nixon and by extension military spending, but not even he constituted the ultimate threat to the armed forces. Public opinion of the United States military was at an all-time low. From 1966 to 1971, public opinion of the military had plummeted. Pew Research documented that over those five years, the percent of Americans with a great deal of confidence in the military had dropped from 62 to 27.⁵⁹⁹

It was a brief, though powerful, episode of unpopularity. By 1979, however, the military was beginning to regain its place in American hearts. In an issue of *Service to the Fleet* that year, the paper announced the United States military ranked third in trustworthiness behind churches and banks.⁶⁰⁰ It was part of a general rewarming of public attitudes toward the military. In 1977, for example, Major General Paul F. Gorman noted in a lecture to the students of the University of New Brunswick that, while the early 1970s had been a time of great tumult, the late-1970s were proving to be a rebound for the American soldier.⁶⁰¹

Financing for Lockheed,” *New York Times*, March 11, 1970; “Proxmire Requests Study of Lockheed,” *New York Times*, March 13, 1970; Associated Press, “Proxmire Assails U.S. Aid for Private Corporations,” *New York Times*, June 16, 1970; John W. Finney, “Lines are Drawn for Battle on Arms Spending,” *New York Times*, July 26, 1970; Associated Press, “Pentagon Criticized on Buying Methods,” *New York Times*, August 18, 1970; Dana Adams Schmidt, “Proxmire Disputed by Pentagon on Military Aid Total for 1970,” *New York Times*, January 23, 1971; Philip Shabecoff, “U.S. Study Finds Wasteful Costs in Defense Work,” *New York Times*, March 18, 1971; Associated Press, “Proxmire Urges Cuts in Defense,” *New York Times*, April 13, 1971; Richard Witkin, “Plan for Lockheed Loan is Opposed by Mansfield,” *New York Times*, April 21, 1971.

⁵⁹⁹ Jodie T. Allen, Nilanthi Samaranyake, and James Albrittain, Jr., “Iraq and Vietnam: A Crucial Difference in Opinion,” *Pew Research Center* online, March 22, 2007, accessed November 3, 2016, <http://www.pewresearch.org/2007/03/22/iraq-and-vietnam-a-crucial-difference-in-opinion>.

⁶⁰⁰ “Military Third in Opinion Survey,” *Service to the Fleet*, February 23, 1979.

⁶⁰¹ Paul F. Gorman, “Vietnam and After: The U.S. Army, 1976,” transcript of lecture given at the University of New Brunswick, February 9, 1977, accessed December 10, 2016, http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/CSI/docs/Gorman/03_DCST_1973_77/32_77_VietnamAfter_Feb.pdf.

In the early 1970s, those warmer days might have seemed a fantasy. Academicians, the press, and general public viewed the military as having a serious drug problem. In 1971, when President Richard Nixon declared his “War on Drugs,” some of the unintended targets of the metaphoric battle were those fighting in a real war on behalf of the United States. Consequently, in the early 1970s, several medical doctors and psychiatrists took a keen interest in drug use among U.S. soldiers in Vietnam. These studies painted grim, though measured, pictures of drug use in Vietnam.

In 1972, Jerome Char published a study in the *American Journal of Psychiatry*, in which he interviewed three groups of men – those who had completed or had nearly completed 12-month tours, people receiving outpatient psychiatric care, and new arrivals – 58 percent of whom had used drugs before Vietnam. Thirty-four percent of the first two groups, however, had begun using drugs while in Vietnam.⁶⁰² In 1975, the team of Lee N. Robbins, John F. Helzer, and Darlene Davis polled 898 men upon the end of their tours and learned that half of the group had at least tried narcotics in Vietnam, with 20 percent reporting a narcotic addiction. The study also suggested that most of the men’s addiction levels and drug use had returned to pre-Vietnam levels upon their return. Less than one percent reported a sustained addiction once home.⁶⁰³ In the press, the image of the drug-addled Vietnam vet permeated well beyond the end of the war. It is necessary to add, however, that the notion of abundant drug use in Vietnam has been challenged. Historian Jeremy Kuzmarov argues this belief was not only an overblown media narrative in its

⁶⁰² Jerome Char, “Drug Abuse in Viet Nam,” *American Journal of Psychiatry* 129, no. 4 (1972): 123-15.

⁶⁰³ Lee N. Robbins, John F. Helzer, and Darlene Davis, “Narcotic Use in Southeast Asia and Afterward: An Interview Study of 898 Vietnam Returnees,” *Archive of General Psychiatry* 32, no. 8 (1975): 955-961.

day, but also spawned future overestimations of the effect and expanse of drug addiction in the nation proper.⁶⁰⁴

The Brief Trial of the Domestic Base Newspaper

It's almost poetic, at least quite a coincidence, that in an era known as the death of the United States military even the newspapers that served the bases drew criticism for being a wasteful and potentially illegal marriage between government and private industry. But this episode is meaningful only in retrospect. The military journalists, to say nothing of the everyday enlisted soldiers, of the time, are unlikely to have even been aware, much less troubled by, the GAO inquiry. It seems unlikely Fort Hood's newspaper would have been unaware of the inquiry since theirs was one of the publications studied by the Government Accounting Office. But, while the paper underwent noticeable changes, the *Sentinel* never mentioned the investigation on its pages. The other newspapers of this study never reported on, perhaps never knew about, Proxmire's request. The only newspaper staffs likely to have been aware of the GAO probe were those selected as primary parts of the federal inquiry – Fort Hood, Lackland, Fort Devens and Hanscom Field in Massachusetts, the Corpus Christi Naval Air Station in Texas, and the New London Naval Submarine Base in Connecticut. The GAO report reveals that additional bases, identified in the official report as the Newport Naval Station in Rhode Island and “numerous other bases” from which the GAO “obtained newspapers and guides,” were also visited but not intricately examined.⁶⁰⁵ No evidence was found to

⁶⁰⁴ Jeremy Kuzmarov, *The Myth of the Addicted Army: Vietnam and the Modern War on Drugs*, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009).

⁶⁰⁵ Comptroller General of the United States, “Publications at Military Bases by Civilian Contractors” July 26, 1971, accessed October 21, 2016, <http://gao.gov/assets/210/201851.pdf>.

indicate the other bases in this study would have had any indication of an accountability study.

And yet the papers changed in both appearance and content. This change was not sparked by wholesale modifications of code. The policies governing Armed forces newspapers in 1970 were essentially the same as those that had been in place in the 1950s. There were far more rules, but the spirit of the governance was essentially unaltered.⁶⁰⁶ Section IV of a 1970s Department of Defense instruction titled “Policies and Guidelines Governing Armed Forces Newspapers and Civilian Enterprise Publications” listed six rules that formed the backbone of domestic base newspaper operational standards. While the rules alluded to grander notions of the role of media, these rules served as evidence of the military hampering base newspapers by creating an environment in in which true journalism could not take place.

The first rule was internally inconsistent and held that while papers were expected to facilitate a “free flow” of information to soldiers, papers could not publish any news that posed a threat to national security. The authors of the directive did not explain how any publication could be both vessel of uninhibited information and gatekeeper. The second and third rules, which identified the function of a military newspaper as both a public information tool and news service, further complicated the issue. The fourth and fifth rules addressed reporting standards and were not contradictory to normal press standards. The fourth rule said that reporting in military newspapers should be factual and accurate, and absent of unnecessary gory or sensational prose, while the fifth rule listed

⁶⁰⁶ Department of Defense Instruction, “Policies and Guidelines Governing Armed Forces Newspapers and Civilian Enterprise Publications,” April 30, 1970, accessed October 21, 2016, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/26041459>.

the off-base news services from which newspapers could draw content. The final rule specified that, while opinion pieces were allowed, newspapers were required distinguish clearly between fact and opinion in print.⁶⁰⁷

As had been the case for decades, the conceit was that domestic base newspaper was, on paper, supposed to have mirrored its civilian counterparts:

1. The principles of operation of Armed Forces newspapers are generally similar to those governing commercial newspapers in the U.S.
2. Armed Forces newspaper editors will conform to applicable regulations, laws involving libel and copyright, and postal regulations ...⁶⁰⁸

Additionally, per DOD regulations, no Armed Forces newspaper could contain advertising other than in-house appeals, endorse or insinuate that the DOD endorsed a product, use wire copy from services that promoted commercial or political entities, or officially endorse any political candidate or sell ad space to same. These rules did not apply to civilian-run newspapers, however, even those papers were required to provide equal space to all candidates and sides of a political issue if they chose to engage in political discourse.⁶⁰⁹

Proxmire took no issue with these rules, and indeed never questioned the operation of a service newspaper, those publications created wholly by the military. Rather, the Senator questioned the use of military personnel in the creation of civilian enterprise publications off base. A separate document, this released by the Comptroller General of the United States and General Accounting Office on September 23, 1970,

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid, 2-3.

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid, 4.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid 4-5.

contains Proxmire's original letter requesting an accountability study. Proxmire thought the government was losing money by providing manpower to private entities who then printed the paper. Proxmire questioned if this arrangement was a proper use of federal funds.⁶¹⁰ That Proxmire was the Senator to eventually take issue with domestic base newspapers was not surprising for a man who would become synonymous with battles against wasteful spending. Proxmire later gave out "Golden Fleece" award to fellow politicians via a monthly press conference from 1975-1988.⁶¹¹

In this battle against government waste, however, Proxmire's concerns would not be vindicated. The auditors agreed in spirit but found no grounds for further action. While the GAO agreed that the use of military personnel in the production of off-base papers, the auditors argued that since commanders enjoyed unilateral control over the civilian enterprise publications, the interests of the military had been served.⁶¹² The GAO concluded that, while the bases had strayed from the strictest letter of regulations, there was not sufficient grounds to pursue legal action.⁶¹³ However, the GAO added four typewritten pages of areas where regulations had been violated. In addition to using military personnel to produce the civilian publications, bases were also found to have been in violation of rules prohibiting the use of military personnel's names in bylines or mastheads of civilian publications, requiring a disclaimer on the front of civilian publications stating the publisher had no connection to DOD, that opinions didn't reflect

⁶¹⁰ Comptroller General of the United States, 1.

⁶¹¹ Richard Severo, "William Proxmire, Maverick Democratic Senator from Wisconsin, is Dead at 90," *New York Times*, December 16, 2005, accessed October 21, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/12/16/us/william-proxmire-maverick-democratic-senator-from-wisconsin-is-dead-at.html>.

⁶¹² Comptroller General of the United States, 1-2.

⁶¹³ *Ibid*, 7-9.

DOD, and that ads were ads and not endorsements; and forbidding the use of official military insignia.⁶¹⁴

Perhaps the most telling GAO finding came in the form of a question, one that seems to be an obvious logical flaw. How could the base not have any say over the content of a civilian paper when commanders were allowed to “suggest the positioning of editorial matter,” use the paper as a communication tool, and forbid the distribution of the paper if it ran pieces contradictory to military wishes?⁶¹⁵

Improper allocation of manpower proved the egregious offense the GAO found the base newspapers of its study to have committed.⁶¹⁶ The GAO uncovered some questionable practices, specifically salary paid to soldier journalists whose primary, and in some cases only, job was to produce off-base publications.⁶¹⁷ The GAO findings did not result in any long-term problems for domestic base newspapers. However, the GAO did reveal a marriage between military and private industry that at best should have constituted a conflict of interest and at worst could be construed as a legally questionable collaboration.⁶¹⁸

The GAO report, while rich in narrative and suggestive of what could have been the case at many more domestic bases, lacked specificity as to the scope of the misuse of manpower. Consequently, it remains difficult to pin down the nature of the domestic base newspaper at this time. While this report contained some examples of missteps by commanding officers, it would be

⁶¹⁴ Ibid, 10-14.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid, 13-14.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid, 6-7.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid, 5-6.

⁶¹⁸ Ibid, 7.

presumptuous to extrapolate the findings. The GAO's estimated that the cost to taxpayers, both in actual money and reassigned manpower, was less than \$100,000 at a single base.⁶¹⁹ This finding serves as little more than an interesting anecdote but bears reprint if only for the fact that it might serve as a catalyst for future studies.

Best Informed?

The domestic base newspaper had escaped largely unharmed by the Proxmire inquiry. However, as the 1970s progressed, the scrutiny continued in other areas and the military press was further exposed for its shortcomings. In 1978, with the military still reeling in the public eye, some scholars began to question just how well informed the best-informed soldiers in world history were. Two studies stand out, one perhaps better known but both speaking to a failing on the part of base newspapers and public information officers to inform the troops. The better known is Lowndes F. Stephens' historiographical piece that originally ran in *The Armed Forces Officer* in 1975 but was later reprinted in *Public Relations Quarterly*.⁶²⁰ In recounting the evolution of the public information in the military, Stephens observed that public information officers were accountable to Congress, the Pentagon, state officials, the civilian press, and the general public but urged more focus be put on the civilian press to learn of non-military journalists' leanings on controversial issues:

⁶¹⁹ Ibid, 5-9.

⁶²⁰ Lowndes F. Stephens, "The Professional Orientation of Military Public Affairs Officers," From "Keeping the Troops Informed," *The Armed Forces Officer* (2nd ed., Washington, DC: Armed Forces Information Service, U.S. Department of Defense, 1975, p. 164), reprinted in *Public Relations Quarterly* 23, no. 4 (Winter 1978): 19-23.

Ever increasing rates of attrition in the armed forces are due in part to the fact that the ‘troops are not informed.’ The public affairs officer and commander must tell the troops ‘what requires doing’ and ‘why’ it must be done, and they must take the responsibility of answering these questions for external publics as well.⁶²¹

Stephens’s findings seem to support the assertion that domestic base newspapers were not focused enough on journalism to be successful newspapers or public relations enough to succeed in PR. Moreover, these papers also failed in regard to a primary goal, one they bragged about all along, that they were there to inform the best-informed military.

Also in 1978, with funding from the Air Force Office of Scientific Research, L. Brooks Hill, Michael G. Parkinson, and David Dobkins said part of the problem was that the commanders, who held ultimate authority over base information officers and by extension the base newspapers, misunderstood the investment of time required for a public relations professional to succeed:

Information Officers frequently reported that their Commanders and other members of the staff see the IO as incompetent or untrustworthy because of junior rank. Similarly, Commanders often complained about their inexperienced information personnel. Even a cursory review of the survey results demonstrates that these attitudes are not accurate reflections of reality. For example, the average Information Officer surveyed has over nine years [of] experience in his profession, while the average Commander has only five years command experience. Further, many Information Officers report related work experience as

⁶²¹ Ibid, 22.

civilians and frequently had college training in job-related areas. In fact, 78 percent of IOs had college degrees in some area of communication.⁶²²

Hill, Parkinson, and Dobkins found that most commanding officers didn't understand how many hours were required for information officers to complete tasks.⁶²³ One of the more interesting findings of the Hill, Parkinson, and Dobkins study was that both CO's and IO's wished for IO's to spend more time producing media products:

When queried about skills not used and in the open-ended question, IOs and Commanders frequently mentioned production skills. When describing their own preferences, both reported they would prefer the IO spend more time in the production of electronic and print media. Both also indicated they would prefer decreased time commitments for such activities as open houses and staff meetings. These results may stem from IOs receiving more formal training in media production than in areas such as general communication or public relations, which are directed toward interpersonal and organizational, as well as mass-mediated, communication. However, these results are also attributable to the Air Force reward system which urges Information Officers to produce visible products.⁶²⁴

⁶²² L. Brooks Hill, Michael G. Parkinson, and David Dobkins, "Commander Utilization of the Information Officer," research conducted through the University of Oklahoma, funded by the Air Force Office of Scientific Research, Secretary of the Air Force Office of Information, USAF Grant NC. AFOSR 77-3417, 1978, accessed June 9, 2016, <http://oai.dtic.mil/oai/oai?verb=getRecord&metadataPrefix=html&identifier=ADA057306>.

⁶²³ Ibid, 18-21.

⁶²⁴ Ibid, 21.

It was a problem that, in reality, had already begun to dissolve. Domestic base newspapers in the 1970s became for more active producers of journalistic content, albeit content still tinged with public relations.

Reimagining the Domestic Base Newspaper

While Proxmire and the GAO were probing, the domestic base newspapers were growing into vessels of far more valuable information. Moreover, the military publications were beginning to look and read like civilian newspapers. Changes in cut, style, and content of domestic base newspapers might have been incidental to Proxmire's inquiry. An editorial in an August 1971 *Fort Hood Sentinel* suggests changes in appearance and content were voluntary and varied from base to base. The editorialist wrote that commanding officers and information officers had been granted the freedom to decide what type of paper best suited each base. In terms of aesthetics, this meant the officers could change the size of papers and use more white space.⁶²⁵ This editorial also spoke of a shift in editorial focus toward stories deemed more controversial:

Army publications are already moving from conservative topics to the problems and issues faced by today's soldiers – from no discussions to frank discussions – and from a feeling of 'too much gap' between commanders and raw recruits to feelings of 'Our Army' and 'Our Side.'⁶²⁶

The papers examined in this study began to ask far more probing and taboo questions, and offer opinions on topics both in and out of the military that might not have squared with commanding officers' wishes. Evidence was not available to determine if it

⁶²⁵ "Army Paper Modernization Approved; DA Offers Guides," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, August 27, 1971.

⁶²⁶ Ibid.

was because of the Proxmire probe, but the Fort Hood paper stood as the most progressive of the papers in this study from 1970-1981. With stories written by civilian journalists rather than soldiers assigned to be journalists, the paper released some of the more nuanced and diverse stories of the era. In January 1974, the *Sentinel* ran an odd editorial decrying the “good old days” as having not been all that good. It was one of the rare admissions that the days prior to the 1970s hadn’t been ideal.⁶²⁷ The *Sentinel* also occasionally addressed the issue of runaway teens.⁶²⁸ In 1978, the *Sentinel* criticized the telephones on base, a minor critique to be sure but one that would have been anathema to the editors and officers who oversaw domestic base newspapers prior to the 1970s.⁶²⁹ The *Sentinel* also stood as the only paper from this study to have addressed the issue of gays in the military. The paper, like the military, was against the idea.⁶³⁰

Papers were being more open and honest, even about themselves. In June 1973, when the weekly “Comment” asked what people liked least about *Chanute This Week*, the paper ran the words of Staff Sergeant Bill H. Humphrey: “I don’t actually dislike any of it. I just ignore parts of it, like Commander’s Quotes.” A few asked for more sports, more civilian features, and more letters to the editor, but all prefaced their statements with a generally kind word. This was hardly a scientific representation of base opinion; *This Week* printed only 12 of the 647 people who submitted a response.⁶³¹ Later in the

⁶²⁷ “Good Old Days – Horse Manure,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, January 25, 1974.

⁶²⁸ Gordon Pike, “Runaways – Understanding an Age Old problem,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, October 16, 1975; Sandy McCheyne, “Runaways: ‘Fleeing from a Society that Demands Perfection from its Youth,’” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, November 16, 1978.

⁶²⁹ Ron Matlock, “Hood Phones: Outdated, Overloaded,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, March 16, 1978.

⁶³⁰ Sonny McClendon, “Homosexuals and the Army: Gay and Green Incompatible Bed Partners,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, June 19, 1975.

⁶³¹ “Comment,” *Chanute This Week*, June 29, 1974.

year, *This Week* went so far as to ask, via “Comment,” what people thought of a recent Supreme Court ruling on pornography.⁶³²

When it came to the paper’s role in soldiers’ lives, many papers began to express a far more nuanced, and more or less accurate, understanding of the mass communication process and to the ways a base newspaper should ideally operate. In 1973, *Chanute This Week’s* Doug Campbell of the base Office of Information wrote that soldiers and civilian readers should consult the paper to be challenged with differing opinions:

The news media have been ‘taking it on the chin’ recently. Criticism levied against the press has ranged from mild to vicious ... The reader or listener has the ultimate responsibility to decide what he will read or listen to, and what he believes.⁶³³

Campbell added one should be skeptical, but only after becoming a frequent media consumer and learning to think with a critical mind:

It is foolhardy for a reader to ignore those who ideals differ from his. It is his responsibility to know what he reads, or listens to, who is saying it, and to weigh in his mind what he has read or heard. Only in this way can he make a rational assessment of the news, whether it is on world events or a story in the base newspaper. That is the reader [sic] responsibility.⁶³⁴

Base commanders began to contribute more pieces for the papers under their command. Contrary to a printed drill-sergeant-like hectoring, this generation of base commander tended to express more empathy for soldiers’ issues. At Chanute, Major

⁶³² “Comment,” *Chanute This Week*, July 6, 1973.

⁶³³ Doug Campbell, “Readers Held Shape News Responsibility” *Chanute This Week*, November 2, 1973.

⁶³⁴ Ibid.

General Frank W. Elliott, Jr. not only contributed commentaries to the editorial page but also answered questions from the men in a weekly “Command Action” write-in column.⁶³⁵ Questions cut a wide swath. The December 7, 1973, “Command Action,” for example, featured questions about required return dates following Christmas leave and the base’s policy on Christmas lights in the wake of a gas and energy crisis.⁶³⁶ Not that all old military habits ceased to exist. On December 7, 1973, Elliott unintentionally called back to the days of World War II when he used a commentary to encourage his men to not spread rumor.⁶³⁷

Service to the Fleet underwent quite the change in 1974. Perhaps owing to budget cuts, perhaps to the policy changes, the cut of the paper went to essentially a pamphlet, perhaps best described as quarter-tabloid. In 1977, the NNSY paper changed its name again, this time to *Dockside Gosport*.⁶³⁸ It also went from a weekly to a monthly, sometimes bi-monthly, publication. The *Dockside Gosport* title was short-lived, lasting only until 1978 when, with little fanfare, the title returned to *Service to the Fleet*.⁶³⁹ As the 1970s drew to a close, The *Gosport* created a special edition as part of Armed Forces Day 1977. This issue was a pure and modern tool of public relations, a long-form method of informing civilian visitors and residents of Greater Norfolk just how integral the base was to the region.⁶⁴⁰

⁶³⁵ “Actionline,” *Chanute This Week*, November 23, 1973.

⁶³⁶ Frank W. Elliott, Jr., “Command Action,” *Chanute This Week*, December 7, 1973.

⁶³⁷ Frank W. Elliott, Jr., “Commanders Quotes: Don’t Be Used,” *Chanute This Week*, December 7, 1973.

⁶³⁸ “Name of Shipyard Paper Makes Debut,” *Dockside Gosport*, May 1977.

⁶³⁹ Banner head, *Service to the Fleet*, June 23, 1978.

⁶⁴⁰ “Portsmouth’s Shipyard -- A Report to the Public,” *Dockside Gosport*.

Empathy for Soldiers, Scorn for Media

The domestic base newspapers might have been more closely emulating their civilian counterparts, but the officers who oversaw the military publications did not count themselves as fans of the press. During the time of the Norfolk Naval Shipyard's *Gosport*, the editors ran a piece by Commander George McHorse, who served as commander at an unnamed other base. The general thrust of the piece was to spell out who could and could not speak to the press. The paper used the strange analogy of a fire on the fictional "USS Neversail" in which three people died, but the news reported the names of the dead:

The person who 'leaks tragic news' thoughtlessly disregards the feelings of the families involved but, more importantly, disregards the danger to their lives.⁶⁴¹

Among the most outspoken critics of the media was Captain Alfred Kurzenhauser, commander of NNSY in the late 1970s. Kurzenhauser twice unleashed screeds at media who he deemed had wronged the base of the military proper. In an August 1978 *Service to the Fleet*, Kurzenhauser questioned the accuracy of media reports about asbestos on base. Kurzenhauser said airborne asbestos was a concern, but not cause for panic as the science was still out.⁶⁴² The paper never delved into asbestos on base in great detail, but it did encourage people to be examined if they'd been exposed.⁶⁴³

The latest occurrence of a public chastising of the civilian media came in a June 1979 *Service to the Fleet*. In that instance, Kurzenhauser accused broadcast news outlets

⁶⁴¹ George McHorse, "News Queries are Public Affairs business," *Dockside Gosport*, May 26, 1978.

⁶⁴² Alfred Kurzenhauser, "Commander's Comments," *Service to the Fleet*, August 4, 1978.

⁶⁴³ "About the Asbestos Examination," *Service to the Fleet*, November 9, 1978; "Yard Ends First Round of Asbestos Tests," *Service to the Fleet*, February 8, 1980.

of having misrepresented Captain L.R. Myers of the USS Kennedy, whose ship had been victimized by arson while in port. Myers said he could not believe anyone in his crew had committed the crime, but that the investigation was ongoing. However, per Kurzenhauser, some media outlets had parsed Myers' words and erroneously reported the crew had been ruled out.⁶⁴⁴ When Captain David P. Donohue replaced Kurzenhauser, the new CO focused even more on the tradition of using the commander's column to push for industrial output rather than critique the media.⁶⁴⁵ As the 1980s dawned, the message of produce, produce, produce, as had been the case since the earliest days of the *Defender* in the 1940s, dominated the messaging at NNSY.

Criticisms of the civilian media continued into the 1980s. While the NNSY commanders held the most vociferous antagonist views, civilian press bashing could be found in the Army ranks as well. In January 1980, for example, the *Sentinel* ran a signed editorial by Dave Mooney which questioned the wisdom of civilian media covering events staged by terrorists.⁶⁴⁶ The *Sentinel*, however, was far more likely to speak in positive terms about the military media than to castigate the civilian press.

How Editors and Reporters Viewed Themselves

Most papers did not offer a clear statement as to how they defined their obligation to readers. However, the *Fort Hood Sentinel* (the paper dropped "Armored" from its title in 1973) used a signed editorial by Tom Glade to explain the purpose of a base

⁶⁴⁴ Alfred Kurzenhauser, "The Commander's Comments: News Can be Misinterpreted," *Service to the Fleet*, June 29, 1979.

⁶⁴⁵ Kurzenhauser, "The Commander's Comments" Productivity = Survival," *Service to the Fleet*, May 2, 1980; Kurzenhauser, "The Commander's Comments: Improve Productivity for Survival," *Service to the Fleet*, July 11, 1980; David P. Donohue, "The Commander's Comments: Your Productivity = Your Survival," *Service to the Fleet*, August 22, 1980; Donohue, "The Commander's Comments: It is Our Opportunity," *Service to the Fleet*, June 24, 1981.

⁶⁴⁶ Dave Mooney, "Media 'Exploited' by World's Terrorists?" *Fort Hood Sentinel*, January 31, 1980.

newspaper: “A good newspaper is said to be aggressively seeking those things which are pertinent to the public it serves and to keep the public [in]formed.”⁶⁴⁷ Glade mentioned the American Press Association’s code of best practices, which stated social controversies were of particular importance and worthy of greater attention, was being used to inform editorial decisions. In Glade’s view, a base newspaper’s task was to explain the controversy so people could evaluate and make up their own minds. While Glade echoed the longstanding belief that the primary function of the military newspaper was to help the commander communicate with the soldiers, he argued that the contemporary military paper would not shy away from controversy:

Army newspapers ... must be ready to speak frankly about matters that usually are referred to as controversial: “A good military or civilian paper is a medium of exchange of ideas and sometimes a forum for discussion ... The responsibility of the Fort Hood Sentinel is to speak for and to the men it serves ... a mission we accept fully.”⁶⁴⁸

In August 1979, another signed editorial in the *Sentinel*, this one by Steve Valentine, began by calling Russians propagandists and Americans fact sharers. Valentine wrote that military journalists are often called propagandists, but argued this wasn’t “necessarily true.” Valentine admitted some military journalists had attempted to engage in propaganda, but those who had wouldn’t survive professionally:

Probably the greatest difference between military journalists and civilian reporters, however, is that military writers do not report the news, but write about

⁶⁴⁷ Tom Glade, “Who Speaks For Soldier? Who Speaks To Soldier?” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, August 3, 1973.

⁶⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

the happenings within the command and the Army. And unlike their civilian counterparts, military writers must concern themselves with security restrictions, command policy and the effect of what they write on the morale of the readers. Civilian writers have no such restraints ...⁶⁴⁹

Valentine offered a unique perspective on the role of the military journalist, one that bespoke an underlying belief that, even within military newsrooms, soldier journalists understood that theirs was not traditional journalism:

An Army journalist is not a reporter, he is a feature article writer. He tells other Army personnel what is happening within the command, the post, and the soldier's unit. The writer features personalities, unit missions, command decisions and the like. He is not a propagandist, but a person employed to feature a very select type of writing.⁶⁵⁰

Valentine concluded that, despite the special nature of military journalism, the papers were beginning to creep closer to the professional practices of the civilian media:

More and more the Army is publishing items of controversial nature that have a specific relevance to its members. Topics such as barracks' thefts, alcoholism, and housing problems are beginning to be seen in print.

So the next time you find a military publication, don't just pass it off as a 'propaganda rag.' Pick it up, read it and learn something new. Military publications have more to offer than just a single, one-sided point of view. They're written because of you, for you.⁶⁵¹

⁶⁴⁹ Steve Valentine, "Army Pubs. Not Propaganda," *Fort Hood Sentinel*, August 2, 1979.

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁵¹ Ibid.

Not that the papers were without flaws, or the occasional flirtations with outright unethical behavior. One of the stranger phenomena of this era was one paper's self-plagiarism. It was infrequent, but from 1973-1976, *Chanute This Week* re-used several of its stories. In March 1973, the paper ran a story about of pair of non-commissioned officers who went about the base to discover the feelings of the men and report back to Major General Frank W. Elliott, Jr.⁶⁵² In November 1974, the same story, under essentially the same headline, ran about Elliott's two NCO's. The same joke was even used in the lead and second paragraph, the conceit of the joke being that Elliott went out on base in disguise every night: "If he is not easily recognized, it's because he travels under the guise of a two-man team composed of two senior NCOs."⁶⁵³ In August 1975, Elliott was gone but the new CO got the essentially the same story about his NCO eyes on the ground.⁶⁵⁴ Similarly, Colonel Monte Ballew, Jr., twice used the pages of *Chanute This Week* to warn thieves of the dangers of stealing food. He used the same headline and lead in both stories, which ran almost one year apart to the date.⁶⁵⁵

Coverage of Vietnam

The Vietnam War was still on in the early 1970s, but readers of a domestic base newspaper would be hard pressed to have known. In *Service to the Fleet*, mentions of Vietnam remained scant. *Service to the Fleet*, as had long been its custom, took a

⁶⁵² "Commander's Reps Stop, Look, Listen," *Chanute This Week*, March 16, 1973.

⁶⁵³ "Commander's Eyes, Ears: CCRs Roam, Look, Listen, Talk," *Chanute This Week*, November 1, 1974.

⁶⁵⁴ "Commander's Eyes, Ears See, Listen, Talk," *Chanute This Week*, August 15, 1975.

⁶⁵⁵ Monte Ballew, Jr., "Thieves in Garden Area Risk Punishment, Poison," *Chanute This Week*, August 1, 1975; Monte Ballew, Jr., "Thieves in Garden Area Risk Punishment, Poison," *Chanute This Week*, August 6, 1976.

particular interest in out-pacing the Soviets.⁶⁵⁶ Related to this was the continued call for more production in what was the most industrial-minded of the papers of this study.⁶⁵⁷ *Chanute Wings*' reporting on the Vietnam War was limited, although the paper did report on the Air Force's role in the conflict with a round-up in early 1970.⁶⁵⁸ Three years later, *Chanute This Week* ran an alert in February 1973 announcing that people assigned to Vietnam duty had been put on hold.⁶⁵⁹ In the same issue, Colonel Denis B. Sullivan, Center Vice Commander at Chanute, wrote that the signing of a Vietnam ceasefire and the end of the draft signaled a new era for the Air Force. Sullivan said he foresaw technological advances and a move toward a more professional military.⁶⁶⁰ The paper also did a man-on-the-street Q and A asking the men of Chanute for their feelings about the recently achieved peace in "Indo-China." The men expressed unanimous joy, although some doubted peace would last.⁶⁶¹

Fort Hood's publication was a bit more attentive to the ongoing conflict. The *Armored Sentinel* found one of the more striking tales of a man's service in Vietnam. In January 1970, Specialist James Provencher wrote a gripping tale about Specialist Michail Choubin, a Russian-born American who'd served and been seriously injured in Vietnam only to return and be rejected by his family. It was one of the purest forms of human-interest journalism to be found in the 40 years that encompass this study. Choubin had

⁶⁵⁶ "Keller Warns of Challenge of U.S. Sea Power: Soviets Expand Navy," *Service to the Fleet*, September 4, 1970; "Supervisor Effort Held Sea Control Factor: Soviets Narrow Gap," *Service to the Fleet*, July 2, 1971.

⁶⁵⁷ "Yarders Must Compete: Yard's Future Depends on Increased Productivity," *Service to the Fleet*, December 15, 1972;

"Navy Family in Action: Working Together for Good of All," *Service to the Fleet*, October 5, 1973.

⁶⁵⁸ "Air Force Plays Big Role in Past Year's Vietnam War," *Chanute Wings*, January 15, 1970.

⁶⁵⁹ "Assignees Sit Tight: Hold Status Hits Vietnam Tours," *Chanute This Week*, February 2, 1973.

⁶⁶⁰ Denis B. Sullivan, "Commanders' Quotes," *Chanute This Week*, February 2, 1973.

⁶⁶¹ "Comment," *Chanute This Week*, February 2, 1973.

been born in Russia as a member of the pacifist Molokian faith. In 1968, Choubin joined the military to expedite his quest for citizenship and to get out of the “closed world” of his parents, who had immigrated to the United States in 1953. Provencher was on hand when Choubin’s family visited their wounded son in the hospital:

The young Vietnam Veteran, his legs mangled and torn, his face full of shrapnel, lay limply on the hospital bed. His mother hugged him and cried. He tried to return the embrace. At the end of his bed, the rest of his family stood, solemn and silent.

His father spoke: “You have been at war and you are full of evil.” His father ushered the veteran’s brothers, sisters, and mother out of the room.

Spec. 4 Michail Choubin’s welcome home had lasted but five minutes.⁶⁶²

The *Armored Sentinel* was home to several more unique features about Vietnam. In March 1970, the paper featured a two-part series about a former college student who’d visited the Soviet Union as part of his studies, a story about an advisor who’d spent time in a Montagnard Village in the Vietnamese highlands, and a story about the U.S. military bringing modern science to Vietnam.⁶⁶³

In the early 1970s, in several of the papers in this study, the issue of prisoners of war played a conspicuous weekly role. *Chanute Wings* ran frequent appeals for readers to help POWs by writing letters to Congress, foreign heads of state, and anyone else with

⁶⁶² James Provencher, “Pacifist Fights in Vietnam to Become an American,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, January 16, 1970.

⁶⁶³ Dave Daniel, “Entries from Writer’s Journal: Traveling Through the Soviet Union,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, March 6, 1970; Daniel, “Second of Two-Part Series: Traveler Recalls Moscow’s People Overdose,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, March 13, 1970; “Advisor Spends Two Months with Montagnard Villagers,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, March 27, 1970; “Advisors Bring Modern Science to Vietnamese Jungle Villages,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, March 27, 1970.

the ability to pressure the North Vietnamese into kinder treatment of American POWs.⁶⁶⁴ In March 1973, *Chanute This Week* celebrated the return of POWs in multiple articles, including a rush by Chanuters to purchase POW bracelets, which had been worn in honor of POWs while the war was still on.⁶⁶⁵

The *Armored Sentinel* also ran stories of empathy for POWs, even integrating the phrase “POW Concern” into its March 24, 1972, banner head. In 1976, *Chanute This Week* honored the sacrifice of one POW with an almost cartoonish retelling of his trials. The story was about Lieutenant Arthur Cormier, who’d been captured in North Vietnam in 1965. He avoided capture for a few days but eventually fell into North Vietnamese hands and was sent to Hòa Lò Prison, known colloquially among U.S. soldiers as the “Hanoi Hilton.” Cormier, a para-rescuer, had been shot trying to extract a downed pilot. The tale of Cormier included a small stereotypical etching of a Vietnamese person possessing slanted eyes, carrying a machine gun, and wearing a large round hat, sandals, and shorts. The Vietnamese soldier beams with joy as he runs. Meanwhile, Cormier hangs by one arm on a palm tree.⁶⁶⁶

The end of Vietnam was not met with celebration. Indeed a Q and A in *Wings* asking what the focus of the military should be now that the war was over was the closest

⁶⁶⁴ ATCPS, “Prisoners of War Need Our Help Now,” *Chanute Wings*, September 10, 1970; AFNS, “Pitch in to Gain Fair POW Treatment,” *Chanute Wings*, September 17, 1970; ATCPS, “Prisoners of War Need Our Help Now,” *Chanute Wings*, September 24, 1970; J.B. Knapp, “Commander’s Comment,” *Chanute Wings*, November 5, 1970; AFNS, “Just Try Spending Weekend Like a PW,” *Chanute Wings*, November 12, 1970; Ronald L. Ricker, “Two Student Squadrons Write Letters for PWs/MIAs,” *Chanute Wings*, November 27, 1970; ATCPS, “A POW Wonders,” *Chanute Wings*, May 13, 1971; “Prisoners of War Need Our Help Now,” *Chanute Wings*, May 20, 1971.

⁶⁶⁵ “Many Groups Vie for POW Bracelets,” *Chanute This Week*, March 2, 1973; Frank W. Elliott, Jr., “Commanders’ Quotes,” *Chanute This Week*, March 2, 1973; “Operation Homecoming,” *Chanute This Week*, March 2, 1973; “Defense, Industry to Help POWs,” *Chanute This Week*, March 2, 1973; “POWs Make First Stop at Clark,” *Chanute This Week*, March 2, 1973.

⁶⁶⁶ Don Burgin, “Former POW Describes Capture,” *Chanute This Week*, February 13, 1976.

thing to an official announcement of the war's end to be found in the papers of this study.⁶⁶⁷ In years to come, some papers would commemorate the war. In 1974, *Chanute This Week* recognized Vietnam Veteran's Day.⁶⁶⁸ In 1979, *Service to the Fleet* announced the creation of Vietnam Veterans Week.⁶⁶⁹ In the immediate aftermath of Vietnam and subsequent death of the draft system, the big question on the minds of editors was how the new American military would staff itself. As the military transitioned away from the draft, *Chanute This Week* expressed confidence, through an AFNS piece, that an all-volunteer force would be an effective way to run a military.⁶⁷⁰

In 1976, when the South Vietnamese had been defeated by the North, the mission of the Air Force again seemed in flux. Major General Edwin W. Robertson II used his first commentary as commanding officer in *Chanute This Week* to explain:

Gen. Van Tieu Dung, field commander of the North Vietnamese forces whose final offensive in 1974 led to communist victory over the South Vietnamese, has written extensively of his victory. There is much we as members of the United States Air Force can learn about ourselves and our capabilities from his statements.

General Dung denies the value of the Viet Cong (South Vietnamese communist guerrillas) in the achievement of the final defeat of Saigon. He states that the victory was military, not political, and cites the overwhelming superiority that North Vietnam enjoyed in tanks and large caliber field artillery. Because of

⁶⁶⁷ "Comment," *Chanute This Week*, March 23, 1973.

⁶⁶⁸ "Today Vietnam Veteran's Day," *Chanute This Week*, March 29, 1974.

⁶⁶⁹ "President Proclaims Vietnam Vets Week," *Service to the Fleet*, June 1, 1979.

⁶⁷⁰ AFNS, "All-Volunteer Force Goal Presents No Problem in AF," *Chanute This Week*, June 28, 1974.

ammunition, aircraft, vehicle and fuel shortages, the South Vietnamese forces lacked the firepower and mobility to counter the North Vietnamese offensive ... Our mission then was to “fly and fight”; our mission today is to be prepared to “fly and fight”. The better prepared we are, the less the chance for war. Maintenance of the peace is your responsibility. Are you making an effort every day to see that the USAF remains “tough, trim, talented?” In a word – Ready? – Combat Ready?⁶⁷¹

Even as the draft ceased to exist in practice, the *Sentinel* nonetheless ran a piece highlighting the benefits of volunteering rather than waiting to be drafted.⁶⁷² By 1980, the paper was solidly against the notion of the draft.⁶⁷³ In 1981, the *Sentinel* endorsed the value of an all-volunteer force and highlighted the positive experience of the men already in the ranks.⁶⁷⁴

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the *Sentinel* began to wrestle with the issues faced by Vietnam veterans. The paper once dedicated its entire front page to the issue.⁶⁷⁵ In May 1979, the *Sentinel* allotted five stories to exploring the lives of veterans.⁶⁷⁶ Steve

⁶⁷¹ Edwin W. Robertson II, “Robertson Comments on Past, Present AF Mission,” *Chanute This Week*, August 6, 1976.

⁶⁷² Jerry Reed, “Draftees Sing ‘GI Blues’; Pros Get Lottery of Talent,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, February 8, 1974.

⁶⁷³ Rick Fulton, “Draft Will Increase Quantity, Not Quality,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, March 20, 1980.

⁶⁷⁴ Charles Schill, “Volunteer Army Reflects Strength of Our Country,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, April 2, 1981; Paul T. Spyriosn, “Consensus Enunciates the Positive Points: Soldiers Speak Out: Would You Join the Army Again?” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, January 15, 1981; Spyriosn, “Here’s What They’re Saying: Army Life Holds Valuable Lessons,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, January 15, 1981.

⁶⁷⁵ Tom Wolsfeld, “Viet Vets Retain Battle Scars,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, November 22, 1974; Mary Boudreaux, “Concerned Vietnam Vets Ease Adjustment,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, April 16, 1981.

⁶⁷⁶ Steve Valentine, “Vietnam Vets: Before, During and After Vietnam: The Personal Odyssey of Two Ft. Hood Soldiers,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, May 24, 1979; Joe Carroll, “Vietnam Gambit – Sacrifice of an Army,” reprinted in *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, May 24, 1979; ARNEWS, “Statistics Revealed by VA: Average Age of Vietnam Era Vets – 32,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, May 24, 1979; Max Cleland, “It was a Different Kind of War,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, May 24, 1979; Rick Fulton, “Veterans’ Viewpoint: Why Should We Forget?” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, May 24, 1979.

Valentine, a Vietnam veteran in addition to being a member of the *Sentinel* staff, once questioned the idea of offering cheaper beer to Vietnam veterans, a proposal that seems to have gained some traction, at least near Fort Hood. Valentine argued that veterans didn't need special treatment and asked only, "Just give me what I've earned. No more, no less."⁶⁷⁷

Messages to Soldiers

For all their novelty, the messages aimed at soldiers in this era contained shadows of the past. Previous feel-good stories of space exploration were gone. Post moon-landing, interest in space lessened. *Wings* ran an AFNS story advancing the launch of Apollo 13, but did not cover the subsequent harrowing days of the mission.⁶⁷⁸ Coverage of international affairs coverage was almost nil. The papers barely covered Vietnam, much less other matters of national interest. The *Sentinel* did devote a single story to U.S. relations with Taiwan in 1979 and another piece about the arrival of Cuban refugees at Fort Chaffee, Arkansas, in 1980.⁶⁷⁹ There were far fewer "America is the best" pieces and far more pieces that dealt with the tenuous standing of the military in the public eye.

As early as 1973, some papers were beginning to address the darker side of life in the military and America at large. One topic of note was that of child abuse. Papers went to all lengths to raise awareness.⁶⁸⁰ More than the other papers, the *Armored Sentinel* seemed to grasp the precarious footing on which the U.S. military stood in the early

⁶⁷⁷ Valentine, "Should They Get Special Treatment? Cheap Beer for Viet Vets?" *Fort Hood Sentinel*, June 14, 1979.

⁶⁷⁸ AFNS, "DOD Support Forces for Apollo 13 Launch," *Chanute Wings*, April 9, 1970.

⁶⁷⁹ AFPS, "U.S. Not Abandoning Taiwan, Brown Tells FRC," *Fort Hood Sentinel*, March 8, 1979; Art Phelps, "Fort Chaffee Handles Flow of Cuban Refugees," *Fort Hood Sentinel*, June 12, 1980.

⁶⁸⁰ AFPS, "Parents Appear 'Normal' in Most Child Abuse Cases," *Chanute This Week*, July 20, 1973.

1970s. Stories dealt with multiple facets of loving, hating, and dodging military service. In August 1971, Dan Egler wrote that the modern soldier borrowed from a “Southern Spiritual” when he shouted “Free at last” upon leaving the military.⁶⁸¹ In October 1971, the paper actually ran two Associated Press stories about Nixon signing into law a bill that froze military pay, then used three in-house stories to explain the effect.⁶⁸²

Chanute This Week featured some stories about international situations that affected Chanute, such as a gas shortage caused by instability in the Middle East.⁶⁸³ In a move reminiscent of the days of World War II, the paper’s response was to tell the men to not complain. In November 1973, under the headline “Another Kind of Gas Problem,” a photo was published showing men hunkered down while a cloud of gas poured over them. The cutline reads:

The country today faces a gas and energy problem. But there basic trainees of the ‘50s at the Lackland indoctrination center than [sic] had a week of bivouac. A part of the training included a gas attack on a 12-mile night march.⁶⁸⁴

In December 1973, a photo of Lady Liberty holding a bindle while walking into the distance dominated the front. There was no headline or byline, just an eight-paragraph commentary saying we’d become spoiled to having an abundance of energy.⁶⁸⁵

⁶⁸¹ Dan Egler, “‘Free at Last’ – Cry of GI Clearing Army,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, August 20, 1971.

⁶⁸² Associated Press, “Nixon Signs Draft Law, Freezes Military Pay,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, October 1, 1971; Associated Press, “Overseas GIs Get Allowances,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, October 1, 1971; “Freeze Affects Defense People,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, October 1, 1971; “Freeze Affects Longevity Pay,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, October 1, 1971.

⁶⁸³ “AAFES Chief Says ‘Gasoline Uncertain,’” *Chanute This Week*, November 16, 1973.

⁶⁸⁴ “Another Kind of Gas Problem,” *Chanute This Week*, November 23, 1973.

⁶⁸⁵ Untitled photo and story, *Chanute This Week*, December 14, 1973.

The idea of being second-best, of not stacking up against Russia, made a return in this era. In March 1975, an AFNS feature in *Chanute This Week* quoted General Russell E. Dougherty, SAC Commander in Chief, who admitted that:

For the first time since 1945, we are facing up to the reality that the strategic nuclear power relationship between the U.S. and the Soviet Union is one of balance – a rough parity of all forces and an essential equivalence of capabilities.

⁶⁸⁶

The piece offered no advice for existing in this new reality or context on what this reality meant for the U.S.

American ego woes after the loss in Vietnam became a topic of interest to some papers. In April 1975, Brigadier General Lloyd R. Leavitt penned “Carrying On” in *Chanute This Week*, in which he addressed the shame of Vietnam:

Many of us served in Southeast Asia. Many of us feel an intense personal loss; or great sense of futility because of recent events in that troubled area ... Many of us question the forces and attitudes that are loose in our country; forces that tear down that which was carefully constructed through the years since World War II ... So we will “carry on” in the best military tradition. We will not hang our heads in shame over our personal involvement in Southeast Asia. Instead, we will take pride that we live in a country where policies can still be changed through democratic process. And, we will stay strong and ready, knowing that all Americans need and expect us to retain our strength and readiness.⁶⁸⁷

⁶⁸⁶ AFNS, “Current Policy Insight,” *Chanute This Week*, March 14, 1975.

⁶⁸⁷ Lloyd R. Leavitt, “Carrying On ...” *Chanute This Week*, April 4, 1975.

In January 1976, while announcing the new base motto for the year, Leavitt pointed out that Watergate and the falls of Laos, Cambodia, and South Vietnam had people thinking the American dream was dead:

America looks to its armed forces for the traditional values needed during difficult times. We are expected to be strong, disciplined, capable and unselfish in our devotion to national objectives ... Tough because we are physical and mentally strong. We can accept discipline and the hard knocks that go with military life. Trim because we have cut away the fat from our organization. We are careful of the tax dollar. We recognize that all our needs cannot be met, but we can do more with what remains than anyone else. Talented because we have experience, knowledge, and skill – factors that made the USAF the best air force in the world. Talent that we will pass to the young airmen we are privileged to train.⁶⁸⁸

In 1976, *Chanute This Week* once again featured an AFNS admission that the Soviet Union was a force on par with the United States.⁶⁸⁹ Inside of the same issue, the paper asked if the nation would be ready if the Soviets attacked.⁶⁹⁰ In 1977, the *Dockside Gosport* at the Norfolk Navy Yard detailed the development of defense missiles.⁶⁹¹

Appeals to Sobriety

Anti-drug pieces were preposterously frequent in all the papers of this study. The issue wasn't if these pieces would run, but the rhetorical length to which a paper would

⁶⁸⁸ Lloyd R. Leavitt, "Chanute, 1976: Tough, Trim, Talented," *Chanute This Week*, January 9, 1976.

⁶⁸⁹ AFNS, "Soviet Military Might: Jones Tell Threat," *Chanute This Week*, October 1, 1976.

⁶⁹⁰ "Combat Readiness: How Prepared are We?" *Chanute This Week*, October 1, 1976.

⁶⁹¹ "Lasers: Forget Death Rays – DoD is Looking More Toward Defense Systems," *Dockside Gosport*, September 23, 1977.

go to decry drug use.⁶⁹² In *Chanute Wings*, editors ran the uncut, unsworn testimony of a 24-year-old staff sergeant from Chanute who had been caught with marijuana and sentenced to discharge, four months hard labor, a reduction in grade to Airman Basic, and a fine. The testimony of this unnamed, woeful character ran over the course of three weeks from December 1970-January 1971 as a forewarning to any other soldiers who might be considering experimentation.⁶⁹³ In a similar vein, Kurzenhauser praised Captain Jerry Tuttle of the USS Kennedy, and his own command, for keeping drugs off of ships at NNSY in 1978.⁶⁹⁴

Chanute This Week continued *Wings*' war on drug use. One of the more interesting pieces in *This Week* was an attempt at humor by Jerry Brutto, who called the 1970s a pill generation and dreamt up tablets to solve all of an airman's problems, including "Passoverin" for people in the military who'd failed to gain promotion, "Aggressorin" for anger, and "Flunkeez" for kids who failed a class.⁶⁹⁵ On a more serious note, the paper also defended Vietnam veterans against the stigma that they used drugs at

⁶⁹² Arthur J. Thiele Jr. "Staff Notes: The Pill Popping Age," *Chanute Wings*, January 8, 1970; F.C. Heiss, "Kicking the Drug Habit," *Chanute Wings*, February 19, 1970; "Pot's Big Danger: Illegal," *Chanute Wings*, March 19, 1970; W.C. Pittman, "Staff Notes: Drug Collection," *Chanute Wings*, March 19, 1970; J.M. Trotter, "Lucy in the Sky Can Mean Goodbye," *Chanute Wings*, April 16, 1970; W.C. Pittman, "Drug Abuse Serious Air Force Problem," *Chanute Wings*, July 23, 1970; "Drugs Can be a Bad Trip," *Chanute Wings*, September 10, 1970; John R. Schuman "Chanuters, Have You Ever Taken Drugs?" *Chanute Wings*, October 29, 1970; AFPS, "Pot's Big Danger: Illegal," *Chanute Wings*, November 12, 1970; Wayne C. Pittman, "Chanuters, Using Drugs is Dangerous," *Chanute Wings*, December 10, 1970; AFNS, "Drug Victim Kills Self, Warns Others," *Chanute Wings*, December 24, 1970; "Police Captain Calls for Education, Action: Drug Threat Detailed," *Service to the Fleet*, January 30, 1970; AFNS, "'Pure Gold' Buys Dishonorable, Jail," *Chanute Wings*, March 18, 1971; "Are Marijuana, Alcohol Equal?" *Chanute Wings*, March 25, 1971;

⁶⁹³ "Ex-Sergeant Relates Drug Experiences," *Chanute Wings*, December 31, 1970; "Ex-Sergeant Relates Drug Experience," *Chanute Wings*, January 7, 1971; "Ex-Sergeant Relates Drug Experience," *Chanute Wings*, January 14, 1971.

⁶⁹⁴ Kurzenhauser, "The Commander's Comments," *Service to the Fleet*, September 29, 1978.

⁶⁹⁵ Jerry Brutto, "Why Bother Solving Your Problems When You Can Pop a Pill?" *Chanute This Week*, April 6, 1973.

a higher rate than civilians and addressed alcoholism as a problem as serious as drug addiction.⁶⁹⁶

In October 1975, Leavitt used a commentary to offer perhaps the most measured take on pot to be found, at least in military circles:

Many arguments exist – both pro and con – about using marijuana. Probably the evidence is inconclusive at this time because of limited testing that has been accomplished ... Regardless of your personal view, marijuana is still against Federal law.

Most of you came into the Air Force for a good personal reason. Education? Career? GI Bill? Travel? Whatever the reason, you seriously jeopardize your Air Force career ... when you mess with marijuana.⁶⁹⁷

This commentary made an interesting companion to a common ad, one that ran frequently throughout the 1970s. An ad for Garcia's Pizza sat two pages over from Leavitt's commentary. The ad came in the form of a cartoon and featured a long-haired mustachioed man calling the "Munchie Hotline" as his wife or girlfriend chews a book. The man shouts, "Yeah! It's an emergency! She's started in on the phone book, man!"⁶⁹⁸

Several stories about or against drug use and alcohol at Chanute varied from the norm. In February 1976, Leavitt used a commentary to tell of a relaxing of rules about

⁶⁹⁶ AFNS, "Vet Use Same as Nonveterans: Survey Finds Drug Use Parallel" *Chanute This Week*, May 11, 1973; "Thank God, It's Not Drugs": Attitudes Contribute to Alcohol Problem," *Chanute This Week*, June 29, 1973; "We Worked Hard We Partied Hard," *Chanute This Week*, July 6, 1973; Brutto, "Supervisors Hold Key to Alcohol Treatment," *Chanute This Week*, July 13, 1973; Brutto, "Social Actions Program Needs Basewide Support," *Chanute This Week*, July 20, 1973; "Alcohol Most Abused Drug," *Chanute This Week*, October 19, 1973.

⁶⁹⁷ Leavitt, "Smoking Pot," *Chanute This Week*, October 3, 1975.

⁶⁹⁸ Garcia's Pizza Ad, *Chanute This Week*, October 3, 1975.

alcohol in the dorm rooms of Chanute.⁶⁹⁹ The paper also wasn't always as measured or forgiving. *This Week* had resorted to fearmongering in a February 1975 piece that showed a little girl holding a lollipop staring into a mirror as the reflection of a demon with a pot leaf stares back.⁷⁰⁰ Overstating drug issues dated back at least four years at Chanute. In 1971, *Wings* ran a two-part feature on drugs that addressed the comparatively less prevalent practice of smoking banana peels and sniffing glue.⁷⁰¹ *This Week's* fare regarding alcohol echoed that of the other the papers' approach. In September 1976, for example, legendary baseball player Don Newcombe wrote about the dangers of alcohol.⁷⁰²

While it paled in comparison to Chanute's papers, the Fort Hood *Armored Sentinel* took a holistic and more sympathetic stance toward drug use, part of that base's general albeit limited push for improved mental health.⁷⁰³ Typically, though, the *Armored Sentinel's* anti-drug stories mirrored those of the other papers.⁷⁰⁴ The *Armored Sentinel* distinguished itself, perhaps due to its location, by running a story warning people that drug use, though popular, was still illegal in Mexico.⁷⁰⁵ The *Sentinel* continued the drug

⁶⁹⁹ Leavitt, "Alcohol in Dorm: General Explains Policy," *Chanute This Week*, February 27, 1976.

⁷⁰⁰ "Sweet Mary Jane Disables Users," *Chanute This Week*, February 28, 1975.

⁷⁰¹ AFPS, "Drug Fads Go from Bananas to Glue," *Chanute Wings*, March 4, 1971; AFPS, "Drug Fads Go from Bananas to Glue," *Chanute Wings*, March 11, 1971.

⁷⁰² Don Newcombe, "Six-Packs Spoil Spirit of Sports," *Chanute This Week*, September 24, 1976.

⁷⁰³ "Rehabilitation, Education Stressed: Mental Hygiene Wars on Drug Habit," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, April 9, 1971; "'Emotional Problems Can't Wait' Says 2nd Division Psychiatrist," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, February 5, 1971.

⁷⁰⁴ "Drug Abuse Prevention Week Proclaimed by President Nixon," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, May 28, 1970; "The Drug Scene: Psychological, Physical Effects of Marijuana Use," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, June 12, 1970; Steve Singleton, "Men Granted Amnesty: Chance to Kick Drugs Given," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, April 30, 1971; "Look at Drug Use," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, October 8, 1971; Barbara Mitchell, "Hash or Life," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, November 5, 1971; Robert Thinnies, "Drug Control Center Opens Doors," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, January 7, 1972; John Lang, "Soldier Tells About Being a Drug User," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, January 7, 1972; Linda Kenner, "Drugs Spell Death," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, March 10, 1972.

⁷⁰⁵ "Ambassador Explains Drug Misconception," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, June 18, 1971.

and alcohol coverage where its predecessor left off.⁷⁰⁶ One odd *Sentinel* piece seemed like an unintentional advertisement for cocaine. This piece was a warning against the drug but ran under a headline that told of the drug as “most powerful natural stimulant known to man.”⁷⁰⁷

⁷⁰⁶ “Drug & Alcohol Abuse Involves Everyone,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, April 19, 1974; “Alcoholism Today,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, January 24, 1975; Perkins McKenzie, “Whole Family Needs Alcoholism Counseling,” *Fort Sentinel Hood*, April 4, 1975; Rick Fulton, “Quarter Million in Marijuana Seized on Post,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, January 26, 1980; “Alcoholic Officer Relates Own Story,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, December 31, 1980; Steve Valentine, “Alcoholism in Army Labeled Serious Illness,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, December 31, 1980; “NCO Views Army Partially at Fault,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, December 31, 1980; Crystal Adams, “Alcoholism,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, April 5, 1979; Crystal Adams, “The Alcoholic’s Story: ‘When I Couldn’t Drink was the Worst Part. Oh God, How I’d Bitch ...’” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, April 5, 1979; “I’m a Drug Addict,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, July 31, 1975; “I was Selling Drugs,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, April 5, 1979; Beky Beaton, “Drug Prevention Week Brings Local Education,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, October 16, 1975; Geraldine Porter, “Drug Abuse Prevention Week: Want to Kick? We’ll Show You How” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, October 11, 1976; Jo Ann Hooker, “What Price Escape? Drugs Almost Ruined a Man,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, November 4, 1976; Barbara Sorensen, “You Sign Your Life Away: When You Take That First Puff,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, November 18, 1976; L.G. Faison, “Marijuana: Facts on the Magical Mystery Weed,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, January 8, 1975.

⁷⁰⁷ Larry Gaian, “Cocaine: ‘Most Powerful Natural Stimulant Known to Man,’” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, July 20, 1978.

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"My first encounter with Cocaine was somewhat surprising. I was expecting to get ripped, but nothing happened except for a numbing of my nose, mouth and teeth — while mentally I felt perfectly normal. My experiment with coke was conducted with a friend who had filled his canteen on many occasions. He explained to me that the more one does coke the more one gets off. I certainly hoped so, because for two weeks I didn't feel much different, other than the fact that I could have eaten nails for dinner without experiencing any pain."

By LARRY GAIAN

Once used almost exclusively by jazz musicians, movie stars, and the rich, cocaine use has spread to encompass every life style and working class of America. It has been estimated by the United States Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) that 4.8 million Americans have experimented with cocaine, and that there are over 2 million regular users in the U.S.

Cocaine is a white crystalline alkaloid processed from the leaves of the coca plant. Grown primarily in the Andean valleys of South America, particularly in Bolivia and Peru, the leaves are transported to Colombia, where they are processed.

The leaves and the leaves of the coca plant, which they chewed, as an insecticide for the tobacco to smother insects. The leaves were passed out as a reward to those that planted the tobacco. The Altiplano Indians still chew the leaves to fight fatigue and to smother them to the high wind and cold.

ALTHOUGH THE COCA leaves were brought back to Spain along with the conquistadors, following their being conquered by Francisco Pizarro in the 16th century, it wasn't until 1850 that the alkaloid was isolated by a German scientist named Gaubius.

Sigmund Freud was the first to begin serious experiments into the medicinal purposes of cocaine. Freud prescribed cocaine to his patients as a proposed cure for melancholia and depression. And as a treatment for asthma, stomach ailments, chronic fatigue, neuritis and alcohol addiction. Freud eventually abandoned his work with cocaine when he discovered that his patients were suffering ill effects from excessive use. Freud's assistant Carl Koller took over the experiments into the medicinal value of cocaine. Koller later successfully introduced cocaine as a local anesthetic for eye operations.

This discovery increased the exploration into the effects of cocaine. The drug became known as a narcotic. Shortly it was used as an ingredient in many states. People were signing tea leaves with cocaine, sniffing nasal sprays and chewing gum.

THE MOST FAMOUS of these units was introduced in 1984 when a pharmaceutical named John Smith Trans-dermal cocaine and caffeine into a syrup he called the "instantaneous beverage." This name was later re-named Coca-Cola.

The wide spread use of cocaine landed itself in 1966 when the Pure Food and Drug Act was passed, mainly to help regulate the use of cocaine in the United States, which government officials were fearful would get out of control.

In 1954 the Harrison Narcotic Tax Act was passed, which legally classified cocaine as a narcotic. At this time the same penalties were imposed for illegal possession of cocaine as for those of heroin, opium and morphine.

The Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970 made illegal possession of cocaine, along with illegal manufacturing and distribution as a felony under Federal law.

"An hour went by I tried coke a few more times and as my friend projected, I did get more sensations. From wanting a saw, physically coke made me feel relaxed while mentally gave me confidence in my thoughts and actions. These highs were accompanied by numbing sensations like I could have absorbed my leg in a car door and drive off dragging my leg behind and wouldn't have known a thing until I tried to open the jammed door."

FOLLOWING THE PASSAGE of the Harrison Narcotic Tax Act, the drug lost much of its popularity. Its use was restricted mainly to subsistence, mostly film and other entertainment people.

For the next 40 years the use of cocaine was a non-existent problem. Following it's rediscovery by the 'drug culture' of the 1960s cocaine use has risen sharply.

A 1980 study of 800 high schools students showed that 5.6 percent had tried cocaine, and 1 out of 3 of those used it regularly. A 1972 survey revealed that this figure was now up around 19 percent. Cocaine has been placed third on the DEA's

(Continued on Pg. 2A)

Cocaine

'Most powerful natural stimulant known to man'

Figure 15. The Most Powerful Natural Stimulant

A Larry Gaian anti-drug feature about cocaine in the July 20, 1978, *Sentinel* was accompanied by a sketch of a young man attempting the drug, and the oddly worded headline identifying cocaine as a powerful natural stimulant.

Far more often, though, the editors of the *Sentinel* left no doubt as to the negative character of drugs. As the decade drew to a close, the Fort Hood paper suggested that the marijuana problem in the United States had run its course. In a 1979 editorial, the *Sentinel* opined:

Attitudes toward marijuana in this country have spun around like a drunk in a cyclone ... The good news is, a lot of young people are starting to smarten up. They've figured out that the potheads are life's dwarfs.⁷⁰⁸

⁷⁰⁸ "A Joint in the Ear Won't Hurt," *Fort Hood Sentinel*, January 4, 1979.

Other Crime

Non-drug crime was on the rise at the bases on which this study focused, a fact that drew the attention of a press that was beginning to truly embrace the responsibilities of journalism. In March 1970, *Wings* addressed auto thefts.⁷⁰⁹ In 1973, there appears to have been a rise in clashes between local civilian young men and Chanute airmen off base, enough so that a double-truck was dedicated to an interview with Rantoul Chief of Police Eldon L. Quick. When asked if there was tension between the young men at Chanute and their civilian counterparts, Quick defended the military and blamed local “punks” who “agitate” for pestering airmen into fighting.⁷¹⁰ Quick said drug traffic was an issue among some airmen, but distinguished between drugs and hard drugs. Hard drugs, the chief reported, were not a real issue. Overall, Quick was kind in his appraisal of the base and said any problems faced by local police were not attributable to the military but to the fact that there was a large concentration of young people in the area.⁷¹¹ Chanute seems to have taken a serious stance against youthful aggression. To that end, in 1975, *Chanute This Week* warned against “trigger words or annoying gestures” that would lead to fights.⁷¹²

At NNSY, the *Dockside Gosport* took a hard line, as did guest writer Special Agent Howard Scott, about the crimes of fraud and larceny. People on base were feigning disabilities to such a degree that the base had to implement a special investigation

⁷⁰⁹ Bradford L. Benson, “Auto Thefts on the Rise,” *Chanute Wings*, March 19, 1970.

⁷¹⁰ “Rantoul Chief of Police Looks at His Military Neighbors,” *Chanute This Week*, January 26, 1973.

⁷¹¹ *Ibid.*

⁷¹² “You and the Law,” *Chanute This Week*, Jan. 17, 1975.

program.⁷¹³ The *Gosport* occasionally revisited the topic. In 1978, the paper ran the story of a man convicted of faking deafness and receiving five years imprisonment.⁷¹⁴ The *Gosport* also addressed the crimes of vandalism and chain letters.⁷¹⁵ In 1978, Kurzenhauser warned personnel against opening the base to crime from outsiders, including family and friends of personnel: “The shipyard family should expect and receive trust from all members of the family. Thieves will be proposed for swift removal from the shipyard, by sundown where warranted.”⁷¹⁶

If NNSY and its base paper seemed tough, it was likely due to the fact that in the late 1970s the shipyard was no stranger to violent crime. The *Gosport* once shared the story of an officer who was shot and injured while trying to detain two men who were alleged to have been drinking.⁷¹⁷ It got so bad that in a single February issue of the *Gosport* Kurzenhauser addressed the initiation of a crime prevention program while the *Gosport* warned readers that it was no longer safe to walk outside the shipyard after dark.⁷¹⁸

Military justice remained a favored topic among the domestic base newspapers of this study. *Chanute This Week* ran many stories about men who’d run afoul of the military code of justice.⁷¹⁹ Stories of crime in *Chanute This Week* were generally standard

⁷¹³ Howard Scott, “Fraud and Larceny in Shipyard; Common Crimes Against the GOVT,” *Dockside Gosport*, May 1977.

⁷¹⁴ “Shipyard Welder Convicted of Hearing Fraud,” *Dockside Gosport*, January 12, 1978.

⁷¹⁵ “Vandalism: Youthful Crime or Senseless Destruction,” *Dockside Gosport*, August 77; Taylor Gray, “Chain Letters: Illegal Usage of Shipyard Mail,” *Dockside Gosport*, November 9, 1977.

⁷¹⁶ Kurzenhauser, “The Commander’s Comments,” *Dockside Gosport*, January 26, 1978.

⁷¹⁷ “Officer M. Chavis Injured in Line of Duty,” *Dockside Gosport*, January 26, 1978.

⁷¹⁸ Kurzenhauser, “The Commander’s Comments: Open Letter from the Commander,” *Dockside Gosport*, February 24, 1978; “Don’t Become ... A Victim,” *Dockside Gosport*, February 24, 1978.

⁷¹⁹ “50 Chanuters Get UCMJ Punishment,” *Chanute This Week*, March 23, 1973; “Shoplifters Beware: AF Sets Guidelines for Theft Discipline,” *Chanute This Week*, April 27, 1973; “33 Chanute Airmen Accept Article 15 Punishments” *Chanute This Week*, August 31, 1973; Jim Holland, “Article 15s Adversely Affect Any Air Force Aspirations,” *Chanute This Week*, December 3, 1976.

issue and focused who was wanted or had been arrested for what alleged crime. While the perpetrators and alleged perpetrators were both military and civilian, Leavitt took a particular interest in the criminals in his ranks. In 1975, Leavitt penned a passive aggressive commentary aimed at his less scrupulous underlings:

November and December were big months for you. More shoplifting, more barracks thievery than we've experienced in recent times. So far, out "extra measures" have not stopped you – maybe we don't know it ... maybe next time we'll get you ... who knows? But are you really adding up all the pluses and minuses? Is the risk worth the gain?

"Are you prepared to trade the opportunity the Air Force offers you in exchange for \$34 and a used wallet? Are you ready to go back home, perhaps with a Bad Conduct or Dishonorable Discharge, no money and confinement at Lowry as your principal Air Force memories? How cool is it to trade your family's future for your roommate's used stereo? Do two stripes equal a \$5.95 eight-track tape? Make your own decision, but think carefully. The wrong answer may hurt for a long, long time.⁷²⁰

The *Sentinel* took an active approach to explaining to soldiers how they could run afoul of the unified code of military justice, going so far as to dedicate the entire front page to a graphic that read simply "Article 15" and a reference to an inside page that explained to both soldiers and officers how the process of military discipline was carried

⁷²⁰ Leavitt, "Stop, Thief!" *Chanute This Week*, January 17, 1975.

out when a soldier's infraction did not rise to the level of requiring a court martial.⁷²¹ The *Sentinel* also warned of the dangers of going AWOL in 1979.⁷²²

Social Issues in the Spotlight

In this era, the papers also began to examine basic struggles on all Americans. Energy conservation briefly became a hot topic. *Chanute This Week*, in 1973, took energy conservation so seriously it printed a 2/3 page cartoon with a 1/3 page article about a board game men could play as a means to help them conserve energy.⁷²³ The NNSY also faced the energy crisis, and Rear Admiral Joe Williams, Jr., like his counterparts, urged conservation.⁷²⁴ *Service to the Fleet* also took a momentary interest in inflation, which the paper identified as a major problem in 1974.⁷²⁵ In Illinois, in a 1975 *Chanute This Week*, Leavitt showed a unique attunement to modern issues, even those far less pressing than an energy crisis, when he took a neutral stance on hair length in the military.⁷²⁶

Yet, for all the changes, the old American exceptionalism still found plenty of room on domestic base newspaper pages. In an October 1975 *Chanute This Week*, for example, an AFNS editorial by Vernon King spoke of America of having been cast in a false light both internationally and domestically:

⁷²¹ Graphic, *Fort Hood Sentinel*, August 24, 1973; "Few Soldiers Think Art. 15 as 'Bennies,'" *Fort Hood Sentinel*, August 24, 1973; "COs Check Before Chewing," *Fort Hood Sentinel*, August 24, 1973; "Investigation Necessary," *Fort Hood Sentinel*, August 24, 1973; "First Termers Hardest Hit by 15s," *Fort Hood Sentinel*, August 24, 1973.

⁷²² Mary Tetlow, "The AWOL Trap: Consequences May Haunt Soldier's Future Beyond His Army Career," *Fort Hood Sentinel*, December 13, 1979; Tetlow, "AWOL: 'Fight or Flight' from Daily Stress," *Fort Hood Sentinel*, December 13, 1979.

⁷²³ Cartoon, "The Conservation Game," *Chanute This Week*, February 16, 1973; Doug Campbell, "The Conservation Game," *Chanute This Week*, February 16, 1973.

⁷²⁴ Joe Williams, Jr., "The Commander's Comments," *Service to the Fleet*, November 30, 1973.

⁷²⁵ "Coping with Public Enemy Number One is the Winning Idea," *Service to the Fleet*, November 15, 1974.

⁷²⁶ "Hair Today, Gone Tomorrow," *Chanute This Week*, June 20, 1975.

Today, many Americans seem to have a false feeling of guilt ... We are called capitalist pigs, meddlesome, greedy. Is America guilty? ... Selfish, we are called. Each year, millions of dollars are contributed to charity by average American citizens. What other nation fights wars and then taxes itself to restore war-torn lands of the enemy?

Our new world ways are jeered. But in less than 200 years, we have carved a mighty nation from a wilderness and become a sanctuary of freedom majestic to the world ...

Prejudiced we are called. But, men of many faiths and colors sit in our Congress and rule from the highest judicial court in the land.

Is America guilty?

There are 200 million Americans who have never owned a black slave, or any slave. They stem from ancestors who also never owned a slave.

There are 200 million Americans who never started a war, or envied another man's land. They have never ransacked a nation, looted a stranger's home, or forced any man to bow to a loser's yoke ...

Americans live with their neighbors in peace and harmony. They live with a spirit of charity and compassion in their hearts.

Millions of Americans still pray, pay taxes, obey the law, and govern themselves peaceably.

Cynics, scoffers, critics ... say what you will.

America pleads not guilty!⁷²⁷

Similarly, in July 1979, Kurzenhauser complained that criticizing the government and military had become “fashionable” but urged his base personnel to be proud.⁷²⁸

The *Armored Sentinel* was not afraid to delve into some social commentary. In February 1972, the paper reprinted a story written by Admiral John S. McCain, Jr., the Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Command during Vietnam and father of a future candidate for president, for the *Honolulu Staff-Bulletin Adviser*. McCain vented about, among other things, the slogan “Make love, not war,” newspapers that had used Pearl Harbor Day editorials to call for a full withdrawal from Vietnam and an end of the draft, and people who asked why America couldn’t be “second best.”⁷²⁹ McCain’s diatribe foreshadowed a more forceful tone that was to come in Texas. Throughout this era, the Fort Hood paper emerged as a vibrant source of opinions that ranged from measured and concise to outspoken and wide-sweeping. In February 1972, an *Armored Sentinel* piece asked what was to be done with draft dodgers now that the war was over. The paper speculated it could become a hot-button issue in the upcoming presidential election.⁷³⁰ In June of the same, *Armored Sentinel* writer Linda Kenner blasted communist groups in the United States including the Weathermen, Black Panthers, American Communist Party, and “all self-styled, bomb-throwing Yippies.”⁷³¹

⁷²⁷ Vernon King, “Is America Guilty as Charged?” originally ran in *Tinker Take-Off*, reprinted in *Chanute This Week*, October 3, 1975.

⁷²⁸ Kurzenhauser, “The Commander’s Comments: Hold Your Head High,” *Service to the Fleet*, July 13, 1979.

⁷²⁹ John S. McCain, Jr., “Guest Spot: Military Hurt,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, February 4, 1972.

⁷³⁰ “Amnesty,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, February 25, 1972.

⁷³¹ Linda Kenner, “Revolution: The Will of the Way,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, June 23, 1972.

While all the papers began to concern themselves with domestic and child abuse, the *Armored Sentinel* took the hardest line. In a June 1972 editorial, under the headline “What kind of animal? May God Damn the Child-Beater,” Carl Brown wrote:

It’s time we all took stock of this ugly reality. Stopped kidding ourselves about ‘what side of town’ this sort of thing happens on. We have monsters among us, and it's [sic] up to us to weed them out.⁷³²

Future *Armored Sentinel* and *Sentinel* pieces were less forceful but were equally critical of abuse of women and children.⁷³³

Even though papers were given more leeway to address controversial topics, it was still rare for any paper to criticize the United States military or government. To have done so would have still been against regulations. However, occasionally, some criticism would find its way to print. In July 1973, the *Sentinel*'s Tom Glade complained that the military was falling short in incentivizing men to reenlist:

If the military wants to keep the married soldier in the service an evaluation must be made as to their needs, Living [sic] conditions, post housing, interests are just a few of the areas to consider.⁷³⁴

⁷³² Carl Brown, “What Kind of Animal? May God Damn the Child-Beater,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, June 2, 1972.

⁷³³ “Child Abuse Abuse Abuse Abuse,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, July 21, 1972; A.D. Pittman, “Fiction Paints Abused Children Picture,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, May 16, 1975; Pittman, “Confused Parents Offered Guidance, Empathy,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, May 16, 1975; Chris Menefee, “Child Abuse: Some Angered, Dismayed, Stressed, Some Battered,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, March 8, 1974; “Child Abuse, Our Problem,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, March 8, 1974; Rudy Juarez, “Child Abuse: Tension, Worry a Major Cause,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, January 8, 1975; Larry Gaian “Abuse: It is Estimated That Two to Four Thousand Children Die Each Year Because of Abuse,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, December 8, 1977; “Bell Co. Child Abuse Cases Second Highest in State,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, September 14, 1978; Nancy Vanvalkenburg, “Victims: Child Abuse Laws Strict,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, March 13, 1980; Vanvalkenburg, “Child Protection Team Investigates Parents,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, March 20, 1980,

⁷³⁴ Tom Glade, “Army Money Rewards Seem Inadequate,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, July 27, 1973.

This piece seems to have sprung up during the time of a housing shortage on and near base.⁷³⁵

Messages about Racial Minorities

By far the most inclusive and nuanced coverage of racial minorities occurred in the 1970s and early 1980s. Appropriate given racial dynamics of the time, the primary beneficiaries of improved coverage were African Americans. This era marked the beginning of special, regularly occurring sections dedicated to racial minorities. *Chanute This Week* contained a weekly “Minority Report” which shared positive facts about African Americans in the military. Other stories highlighting the contributions of African Americans ran throughout this era.⁷³⁶ The coverage was not perfect, only comparatively much better than in the past. Indeed, modern scholars might view the editorial approach of domestic base newspapers to race in this era as severely limited. Still, evidence of an evolution abounds.

The shift of editorial policy came many years after several historic moments in the integration of the United States military. The official end of segregation in the military came, MacGregor writes, in 1954. It would take another decade, and multiple Presidential interventions for the segregation to stop in practice. By 1965, while still imperfect, the bulk of the military had overcome its worst racial tendencies and become an open meritocracy for all enlisted men regardless of race.⁷³⁷ The domestic newspaper took an additional half-decade, years after the true fighting was done, to address the issue

⁷³⁵ Robert Allen, “Housing Dilemma for EMs,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, July 27, 1973; John Savard, “Good Housing Available in Surrounding Area,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, August 3, 1973; Allen, “Army Won’t Stand for Housing Discrimination,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, September 14, 1973.

⁷³⁶ “Third in AF History: Black Commander Becomes General,” *Chanute This Week*, October 12, 1973.

⁷³⁷ MacGregor, 619-623.

of racism in its pages. The lack of coverage in real time stands as an example of domestic base newspapers failing to succeed as both a journalistic and public relations tool. By failing to cover Civil Rights, a movement that spawned broad national change, the papers failed to be newspapers. In terms of public relations, by failing to discuss integration, and perhaps paint the change as a positive, the papers failed both the command structure and soldiers of all races.

The editorial shift in the 1970s might have been late, but what the papers lacked in timing they made up for in belated enthusiasm. Stories about race and race relations became some of the most frequent topics covered in the papers of this study. The most glaring change was in the emergence of annual commemorations of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. In the 1970s, all of the papers of this study, to one degree or another, honored the late Civil Rights leader.⁷³⁸ *Chanute This Week* once did a rather friendly piece on Malcolm X.⁷³⁹ The papers also came to include Black History Week, and later Black History Month, stories each February.⁷⁴⁰

⁷³⁸ “Chapel Holds King Services,” *Chanute This Week*, January 12, 1973; John E. Isom, “King Spent Life Serving Others,” *Chanute This Week*, January 12, 1973; Leavitt, “We Remember the Man,” *Chanute This Week*, January 10, 1975; Phillip R. Smith, Jr. “Martin Luther King, Jr.,” *Service to the Fleet*, January 12, 1979; “Paying Homage,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, January 14, 1972; Tom Wolsfeld, “Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr: Non-violence a Creed, Equality a Dream,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, January 11, 1974; Wolsfeld, “Dr. King Sought Change: Non-violent Boycotts Marked Struggle,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, January 10, 1975; Becky Beaton, “Martin Luther King – The Story of an Era,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, January 15, 1976; “Martin Luther King Remembered Here,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, January 13, 1977; Larry Gaian, “Great Civil Rights Leader Remembered: Declared Love, Nonviolence His Weapon,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, January 12, 1978; “I Have a Dream That One Day the,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, January 11, 1979; John Raudy, “Lovett to Speak at King Ceremonies,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, January 11, 1979; “Post Chapel Services to Honor M.L. King,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, January 9, 1981; Jim Austin, “King’s Message Still One of Equality,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, January 15, 1981.

⁷³⁹ “Malcolm X Left Legacy of Pride,” *Chanute This Week*, May 18, 1973.

⁷⁴⁰ “Black History Gets Spotlight,” *Chanute This Week*, February 7, 1975; John Isom, “Why Black History Week?” *Chanute This Week*, February 7, 1975; “Base Sets Black History Month,” *Chanute This Week*, January 30, 1976; “Afro-American History,” *Dockside Gosport*, February 24, 1978; “Black Americans: Serving Wherever the U.S. Military is Needed,” *Service to the Fleet*, February 23, 1979; “Highlighting Contributions of Black People ...” *Service to the Fleet*, February 23, 1979; “Black History,” *Service to the Fleet*, February 22, 1980; “Shipyarders’ [SIC] Contribute to Navy and Nation,” *Service to the Fleet*,

The importance of inclusivity to building a stronger public image had dawned on the people behind the base papers. The NNSY paper had the best grasp of the value of featuring inclusive to men and women of multiple races when engaging in public relations. In 1971, the base was still plugging for EEO in *Service to the Fleet*.⁷⁴¹ Rear Admiral James Adair once refuted the claim of a letter writer who complained that EEO was unfair and not needed.⁷⁴² In 1974, *Service to the Fleet* ran staged photos announcing which civilian employees had been promoted. In November, the photo was a sexually diverse group, in December, it was racially and sexually diverse.⁷⁴³ The support for EEO was still evident into the 1980s at the NNSY.⁷⁴⁴ Similarly, the *Armored Sentinel* and the *Sentinel* did their share of addressing racism and EEO.⁷⁴⁵

February 22, 1980; "Outstanding Roles of Some Pave Way for All," *Service to the Fleet*, February 22, 1980; John Savard, "Black History Week Feb. 13-19; Heritage of Blacks Explained," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, February 11, 1972.

⁷⁴¹ "MI Lunchers Watch New Navy EEO Film: Problem Spelled Out," *Service to the Fleet*, April 8, 1971.

⁷⁴² James Adair, "Yarder Challenge's Adair's EEO Statements: EEO Protest Aired," *Service to the Fleet*, January 15, 1971.

⁷⁴³ "Promotions," *Service to the Fleet*, November 15, 1974; "Promotions," *Service to the Fleet*, December 2, 1974.

⁷⁴⁴ John L. Ashby, "EEO Should Never be Thought Optional," *Service to the Fleet*, February 22, 1980; "EEO Studies Show Minority Increase," *Service to the Fleet*, December 23, 1981.

⁷⁴⁵ "Racial Segregation," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, March 6, 1970; Linda Kenner, "Racism Starts in the Mind," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, April 7, 1972; Nancy Vanvalkenburg, "Fair Treatment to All: EEO Guarantee Rights," *Fort Hood Sentinel*, June 14, 1979.

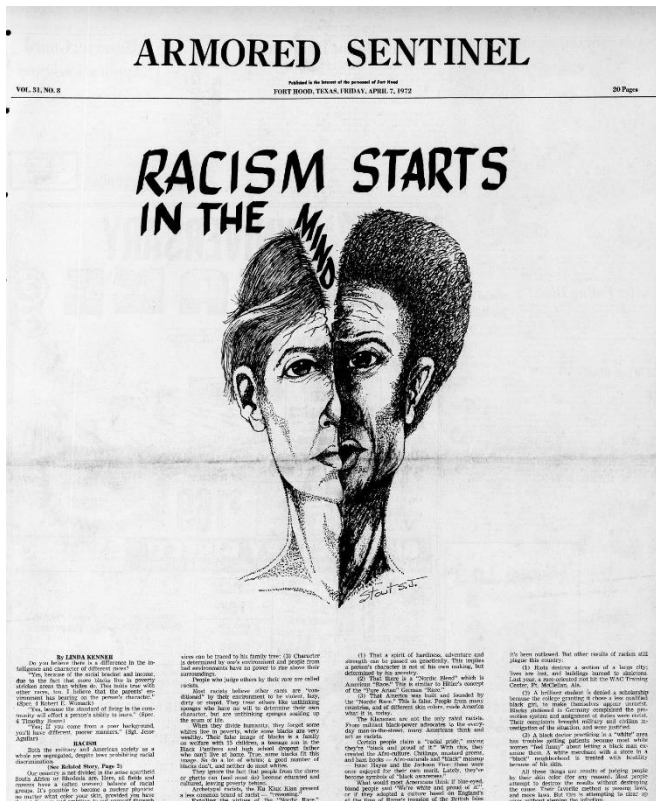


Figure 16. Racism Starts in the Mind

The entire front page of the April 7, 1972, *Armored Sentinel* was dedicated to a feature by Linda Kenner with accompanying sketch by “Stouts.J.”

However, whereas *Service to the Fleet* focused on the modern, the Fort Hood paper was more likely to run stories about the historical contributions of African Americans to the military, going so far as to do a series on the topic in 1970.⁷⁴⁶

⁷⁴⁶ James Toms, “The Black Soldier,” originally written for JFK Center for Military Assistance in Fort Bragg, reprinted in *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, May 28, 1970; “A Black Man Fell First,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, June 5, 1970; “Blacks in Civil War,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, June 19, 1970; “Blacks and World War I,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, July 10, 1970; “Black Heroes in Korea,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, July 31, 1970; CONARC, “Blacks in New Roles,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, August 7, 1970; John Grabowski, “Black History Week: Entire Military Influenced by Black Heroics,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, February 8, 1974; “Black History Week,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, February 8, 1974; Mike Martindale, “Buffalo Soldiers,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, February 8, 1974; A.D. Pittman, “Blacks Included Throughout American History,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, February 7, 1975; L.G. Faison, “To Educate America: Black History Week,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, February 19, 1977; “Black History: Aiding in Development of America,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, February 9, 1978; Rick Fulton, “Black Contributions Celebrated in Feb.,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, February 28, 1980.

The papers of this study all used prominent figures from African American history as a means to celebrate Black History Week, later expanded to Black History Month. In the late 1970s, the *Dockside Gosport* ran stories about well-known African Americans like Benjamin Banneker, well-accomplished African American Navy men, and at least one every-day person who worked in the yard.⁷⁴⁷ In one of the stranger editorial decisions regarding African Americans, in a February 1976 issue, *This Week* ran a blurb about the contributions of African Americans in a black box with white text.⁷⁴⁸ As to issues regarding the African American community, specific topics were not broached in *This Week*, although the paper did give space to an AFPS editorial saying history was not inclusive enough.⁷⁴⁹ *Chanute This Week* actually covered one story about African American history in a month other than February. In March 1976, the paper used information pulled from the Chanute archives to tell of the activation of the first all-black unit in the Army Air Force.⁷⁵⁰

The *Armored Sentinel* did something one might have expected all papers to do, focused on the concept of war as the presumed great eraser of racial strife for those fighting on the same side. In 1970, the paper quoted an anonymous black paratrooper who said, “When you drink out of the same canteen and eat off the same spoon, you get real tight together.”⁷⁵¹ The *Armored Sentinel* also managed to be both empathetic to the troubles of African Americans yet still oblivious to the manifestation of the same. In a

⁷⁴⁷ “He Capitalized on a Good Idea,” *Dockside Gosport*, May 1977; “Betty Holmes Means ‘Versatility,’” *Dockside Gosport*, November 28, 1977; “Black Americans in the Navy,” *Dockside Gosport*, February 10, 1978.

⁷⁴⁸ AFPS, “America for All Americans,” *Chanute This Week*, February 6, 1976.

⁷⁴⁹ AFPS, “Minorities Lack Equal Space,” *Chanute This Week*, February 27, 1976.

⁷⁵⁰ “Chanute Field Won’t Forget Early Days of 99th Outfit,” *Chanute This Week*, March 19, 1976.

⁷⁵¹ “No Racial Dynamite Keg,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, October 9, 1970.

May 1970 story reprinted from the Fort Bragg *Paraglide*, the suggestion was made that the author of the piece, and by extension the *Armored Sentinel*, opposed racial discrimination, but used a questionable tactic to elucidate the claim. The writer argued people shouldn't use positive or negative stereotypes to make decisions since positive stereotypes led to unwarranted favor and negative stereotypes led to hate. While the explanation of the dangers of positive stereotypes was straightforward, the writer lost the plot while explaining how negative stereotypes were more damaging than positive:

Frequently it involves the use of generalities or stereotypes. For instance, many Late Show fans are familiar with Step'n Fetchit, the famous Negro comedy star. He became famous playing such menial roles as a janitor or handyman. People laughed at him because of his seeming stupidity. To some people, he represented the 'typical' Negro. Few people seemed to realize that while other people were unemployed, Fetchit had a good paying job in the middle of the worst economic depression America had known. So he wasn't so 'stupid' after all.⁷⁵²

This type of misfire was not the norm at Fort Hood or any other base but is a consummate reminder that the road of progress is never smooth.

Chanute's base paper contained the most overt support of racial minorities. The idea of the Black Pride was welcomed with great vigor in Illinois. In November 1971, *Chanute Wings* dedicated a full page to the constitution of the "Black Association of Nationalism, Thought, and Unity," or "BANTU." BANTU was an Air Force

⁷⁵² "Similar but Contradictory," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, May 8, 1970.

organization, sanctioned specifically at Chanute and open to active-duty persons at the installation, regardless of race. Among the many bylaws, BANTU listed:

The purpose of BANTU shall be the study and appreciation of African and Afro-American culture and tradition. The Program of BANTU shall be carried out by means of lectures on history through a Black perspective; the study of Black art, poetry, drama, dance, and music; seminars will be conducted emphasizing issues relevant to Black people and programs will be sponsored commemorating Black leaders and events. BANTU will provide an effective communication link between its members and Commander concerning attitudes, grievances, and complaints.⁷⁵³

⁷⁵³ “Constitution of the Black Association of Nationalism, Thought and Unity,” *Chanute Wings*, September 10, 1971.

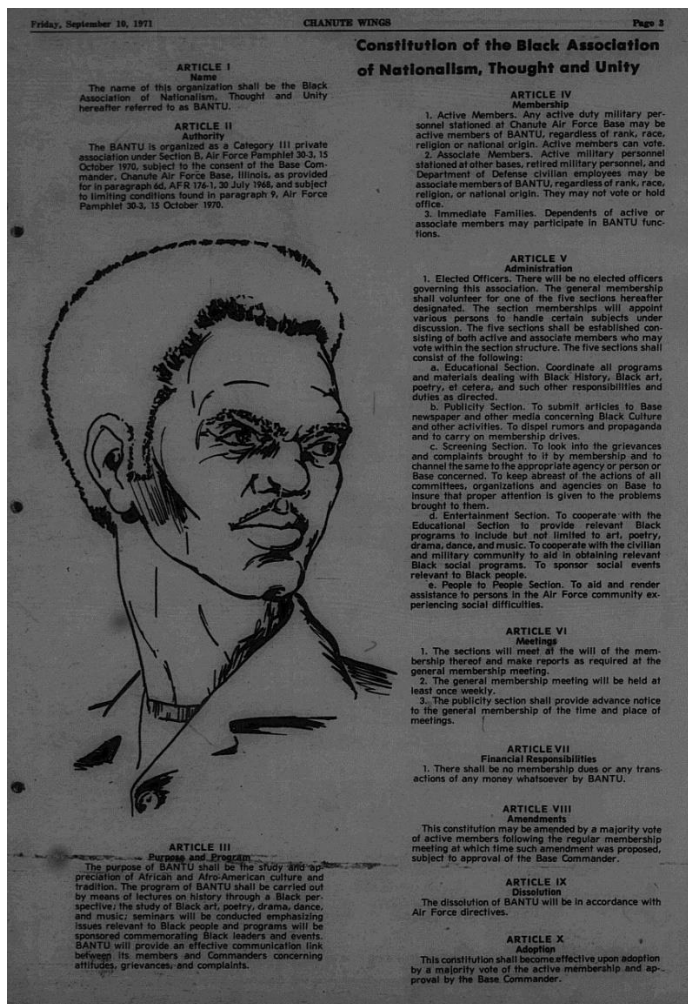


Figure 17. BANTU Announcement

The September 10, 1971, *Chanute Wings* included this full-page announcement of the formation of the Black Association of Nationalism, Thought, and Unity.

Chanute This Week was not without traditional, though unintentional, racism. In August 1973, the paper ran a full-page spread about Airman Melvin Barnes, a black serviceman who was pictured lying atop a huge pile of rucksacks which he'd brought to Chanute from Lackland Air Force Base in Texas as part of a recruit transport. He really does look like a bellhop. Around his stack of sacks are a bunch of small suitcases strewn about. The story ran under the headline, "I'm Tired and I want to go Home," which could be construed as him being a task shirker. The strangest aspect of this story is that Barnes

never said he was tired. The lead stands as a tacit admission of this fact: “Those might be the sentiments of AB Melvin Barnes, after the trip from Lackland AFB, Tex., to Chanute.”⁷⁵⁴ While the story was actually meant to celebrate Barnes’ stellar service, the photo and headline lent themselves to negative first impressions.

Chanute Wings, and later *Chanute This Week*, gave frequent attention to “human relations” training, which was geared toward recognizing one’s own prejudices and learning to get along with others.⁷⁵⁵ In April 1973, Major General Frank Elliott, Jr., attended the “Defense Race Relations Institute” at Patrick Air Force Base in Florida.⁷⁵⁶ Two months later, a group of white soldiers attended the same training. Upon their return, *This Week* was on hand to ask eight of the men how the training had gone. Six of the men were positive, although two offered criticism.⁷⁵⁷

A staff columnist, Dusty Rhodes, addressed a far less positive rumor in 1973. Rumors of racial unrest and a visit from the Black Panthers had troubled some people at Chanute. Rhodes attempted to diffuse the angst. Rhodes wrote that there were more fights on base, but these skirmishes had been fueled by alcohol rather than racism. Rhodes went on to say that interracial dating, though more common than in the past, had caused no issues. He also refuted claims that there had been racially motivated fights on school buses. The defense of racial harmony crept into the realm of damage control. Rhodes confirmed that there was a fight between blacks and whites at a local bowling alley, but contended the issue had arisen due to “troublemakers” on both sides.

⁷⁵⁴ “I’m Tired and I Want to Go Home,” *Chanute This Week*, August 10, 1973.

⁷⁵⁵ “ATC Announces Course,” *Chanute Wings*, October 29, 1971; “Chanute Major Discusses Program,” *Chanute Wings*, October 29, 1971.

⁷⁵⁶ “Social Actions,” *Chanute This Week*, April 6, 1973.

⁷⁵⁷ “Comment,” *Chanute This Week*, June 1, 1973.

Indeed, Rhodes seemed to have found an apt scapegoat in those people he referred to as “fuse lighters” – people who started trouble then fled. Rhodes assumed these ne’er-do-wells were “taking a lot of the rest of you for suckers without getting involved themselves” and fanning the rumors. Rhodes drew six conclusions: interracial dating was no one’s business but the people dating, it was a bad idea to hang around in parking lots (no matter race), police should arrest loud/drunk people, maintaining order was the responsibility of everyone, men should stop talking tough just because their friends were around, and people who spread rumors were the worst.⁷⁵⁸

In a positive sign of the times, the January 18, 1974, *This Week* featured a story about an African-American reverend welcoming an African-American brigadier general to the base.⁷⁵⁹ *Chanute This Week* once ran a piece honoring the work of black theatre in the area.⁷⁶⁰ *This Week* also featured a story about local African American chaplains offering courses on “Transactual Analysis,” which included a diverse array of courses, including those centered on understanding soul music, black theology, and Parent Effectiveness Training.⁷⁶¹

Coverage of non-black racial minorities improved drastically in the 1970s and 1980s, inasmuch as now this coverage existed at all. *Chanute Wings* contained a story in which the term “Chicano” was dissected and explained to be offensive. Using quotes from Felix D. Almaraz, Jr., who was director of a bilingual education center in San Antonio, Texas, the term “Mexican-American” was said to be the preferred reference to

⁷⁵⁸ Dusty Rhodes, “Baring Truth Allows Return to Light,” *Chanute This Week*, November 23, 1973.

⁷⁵⁹ “Chanute Welcome,” *Chanute This Week*, January 18, 1974.

⁷⁶⁰ Ben Lindsay, “The Black Theatre Experience Checks Out Life,” *Chanute This Week*, September 21, 1973.

⁷⁶¹ “Monday Classes Cover Blacks,” *Chanute This Week*, January 18, 1974.

people of Mexican heritage.⁷⁶² In 1973, *Chanute This Week* ran a story informing people of Alaskan native extraction they could apply for their share of a billion dollar, 40-million acre land settlement under the Alaska Native Land Claims Settlement Act.⁷⁶³

Bases began to give at least a little attention, and all positive, to Latinos. In one notable example of reaching out to this demographic, Chanute's Major General Edwin W. Robertson II wrote his "Hispanic-American Week" commentary in Spanish.⁷⁶⁴ Other stories included coverage of "Hispanic Heritage Week" and celebrations of the contributions of Latinos to the American military.⁷⁶⁵ But even in the positive portrayals, *Chanute This Week* managed to show some well-meaning racism in a 1975 story in which Don Burgin wrote: "Whether they be Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican or other backgrounds, these hard-working, fun-loving Americans have made their mark in many ways."⁷⁶⁶

The coverage of Asian Americans had a different look and feel. While there were celebrations of Asian-American heritage, some, such as a *Chanute This Week* feature in 1976, blended positive portrayals with age-old stereotypes:

Besides chinaware, judo, kung fu, incense, hibachis, acupuncture, oriental fashions and foods Asia's greatest gift to America has been its sons and daughters ... If we are guilty of overlooking the contributions of Americans of Asian origin,

⁷⁶² HQ ATC, "Chicano," *Chanute Wings*, September 10, 1971.

⁷⁶³ "Native Alaskans Get Part of Settlement Act Claims," *Chanute This Week*, February 2, 1973.

⁷⁶⁴ Edwin W. Robertson II, "Commander Comments on Hispanic-American Week," *Chanute This Week*, Sept. 17, 1976.

⁷⁶⁵ "Hispanic Heritage Week Recognizes Contributions," *Chanute This Week*, September 10, 1976; Charles Padilla, "Hispanics Donate Technical Insight," *Chanute This Week*, September 10, 1976.

⁷⁶⁶ Don Burgin, "Hispanic Americans Contribute to Life," *Chanute This Week*, September 19, 1975.

it is due in part to their relatively small numbers and their geographic isolation within our vast nation.⁷⁶⁷

In the same paper, *This Week* did a Q and A in which it asked how best to celebrate Asian heritage in the military and a story about an Asian American who'd risen in the ranks of the Air Force.⁷⁶⁸ In November 1976, *This Week* did a story about a Hawaiian couple who performed at an NCO luncheon.⁷⁶⁹ Dusty Rhodes, who'd been so keen to dispel the idea of racism at Chanute, seemed to utterly dismiss Asian culture when he wondered why people like "Asian movies." Rhodes mused, "Any day now I expect to see "Lassie vs. Godzilla," or how about "Bruce Lee and Billy Jack Save The Universe."⁷⁷⁰

The Fort Hood paper contained a diverse array of stories, which spanned from inclusive and empathetic to generally racist and unflattering about multiple races. When the *Armored Sentinel* turned into just the *Sentinel*, the stories that discussed race continued, including one story that decried using racial slurs, even as a joke.⁷⁷¹ There was once an announcement of a Juneteenth Celebration in the *Sentinel*.⁷⁷² The paper also once ran a strange feature on a local radio station in 1977, a story the headline for which seems to have been written in an attempt to appeal to dialect: "KIFH has somethin' for ya': Soul, rock, and [lowercase] latin heard on radio."⁷⁷³

⁷⁶⁷ "Oriental-American History Notes Asians' Heritage," *Chanute This Week*, January 23, 1976.

⁷⁶⁸ "Comment," *Chanute This Week*, January 23, 1976; "Gen. Lowe Holds Job as Procurement Director," *Chanute This Week*, January 23, 1976.

⁷⁶⁹ "Hawaiian Performance," *Chanute This Week*, November 12, 1976.

⁷⁷⁰ Rhodes, "Dusty Gets Help But Can't Understand Kung Fu Takeover," *Chanute This Week*, February 7, 1975.

⁷⁷¹ "Racial Slurs 'No Mocking Matter' to Minorities," *Fort Hood Sentinel*, November 9, 1973.

⁷⁷² "Blacks Plan Celebration of Juneteenth Holiday," *Fort Hood Sentinel*, June 19, 1975.

⁷⁷³ Mary Ekis, "KIFH Has Somethin' for Ya': Soul, Rock, and Latin Heard on Radio," *Fort Hood Sentinel*, March 17, 1977.

The *Sentinel* did stories on “Hispanic Heritage Week,” that essentially celebrated Latinos in the same manner as the Black History month segments.⁷⁷⁴ The *Sentinel* also announced 1976 as the “Year of the Dragon.”⁷⁷⁵ Twice in 1978, the *Sentinel* covered serious topics of race. In May, it was a story about the oft-controversial topic of interracial marriage.⁷⁷⁶ In August, the topic was a study of African Americans in prison.⁷⁷⁷ In 1979, Fort Hood announced a “multi-ethnic” week, which the *Sentinel* covered.⁷⁷⁸

The *Armored Sentinel* made some references to Native Americans, but not actual Native Americans. One such story, the headline “Kiowa Scouts Set up Ambushes,” was about Kiowa helicopters.⁷⁷⁹ In March 1970, the paper was far less tongue-in-cheek when it reported on the existence of a medicine man on base. This gentleman was “in no way related to the original American inhabitants” but had learned “Indian practices” as a Boy Scout in England.⁷⁸⁰ The only mention of authentic Native Americans in *Sentinel* came in the form of a retrospective of the Native Americans who had once populated the region around Fort Hood, one of several historic history features done by a writer named Roy D. Holt.⁷⁸¹

⁷⁷⁴ “Hispanic Week Slated,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, September 11, 1975; Fernando Hernandez, “Proclaimed to Honor Latin Culture: Heritage Week Celebrated Sept. 11-17,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, September 8, 1977; “Hispanics have Colorful History,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, September 14, 1978.

⁷⁷⁵ “1976: Year of the Dragon for Eastern Zodiac,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, December 31, 1975.

⁷⁷⁶ Robert Hairston, “Bi-racial Marriages have Varied Social Acceptance,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, May 18, 1978.

⁷⁷⁷ ARNEWS, “Army Begins Study on Blacks in Prison,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, August 17, 1978.

⁷⁷⁸ “Festivities Planned for Multi-Ethnic Week,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, June 14, 1979; “Multi-Ethnic Festival Stresses Cultural Awareness,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, June 21, 1979.

⁷⁷⁹ Steve Singleton, “Kiowa Scouts Set Up Ambushes,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, April 23, 1971.

⁷⁸⁰ Richard Klein, “Medicine Man’s Indian Lore Learned in England,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, March 6, 1970.

⁷⁸¹ Roy D. Holt, “Horses and White Captives,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, November 1, 1974.

Messages about Women

Women, like racial minorities, got more diverse coverage in the 1970s and early 1980s. Stories of women's gains in the military and society became more prevalent as this epoch wore on. Women were even treated as imperfect human beings, itself an odd form of equality, with stories about female criminals and the rehabilitation of the same.⁷⁸² However, the old-school sexist imagery was slow in dying. Traditional sexism made up a preponderance of the portrayals of women. *Chanute Wings* used pinup art, not only of Vegas showgirls but also bikini-clad WAFS.⁷⁸³ *Wings'* also continued to run ads for the Karavan Lounge. Perhaps the starkest installment of this ad series was for a stripper named "Amber Mist," who was referred to as "Model No. 20th Century" and "Loaded with Accessories." The ad also listed Mist as having a hood measurement of 42, axle 24 and Chassis 36.⁷⁸⁴ The Karavan ads continued in *Chanute This Week*, with announcements of appearances by the likes of "Champagne Velvet – The smoothness of velvet and the enticing taste of champagne" and a woman referred to as simply "Miss Nude World" – well into the 1970s.⁷⁸⁵

In addition to the Karavan ads were those for even more overtly pornographic movies showing at local theaters, films with titles like "The Curious Female" and "Office Girls in Vivid Color." While the ads for the movies and the strippers were prevalent and aimed at men, they were tiny in comparison to the size of ads for products clearly aimed at women. In the August 17, 1973, *Chanute This Week*, for example, featured a full-page

⁷⁸² AFNS, "Retraining Group Admits Women for Rehabilitation," *Chanute This Week*, July 12, 1974.

⁷⁸³ "A Bejeweled Pair," *Chanute Wings*, April 29, 1971; "Permanent at the Pools," *Chanute Wings*, May 27, 1971.

⁷⁸⁴ Karavan ad, *Fort Hood Sentinel*, April 29, 1971.

⁷⁸⁵ Karavan ad, *Chanute This Week*, February 23, 1973; Karavan ad, *Chanute This Week*, April 6, 1973.

ad from Econ-O-Mart titled “Play It Cool” and featuring mostly women’s clothing. There was also a half-page ad for Frank Jewelers offering wedding bands, cocktail rings, etc. Proof that women were viewed as both customers and products, in the same week’s paper “Passion Flame” was announced staying on at the Karavan for another week.⁷⁸⁶

In the 1970s, the base beauty pageants were gone but *Chanute This Week* ran all manner of story about wives of airmen. There was an innovation in this type of story as well. Women were referred to by their own names rather than by affixing “Mrs.” to their husbands’ first and last names.⁷⁸⁷ In April 1976, the paper addressed women as the primary shoppers of their families and urged them to shop smart.⁷⁸⁸

As had been the case since World War II, the women of the ranks still received mostly positive coverage, the bikini-clad WAFs being the exception. Women in the ranks were considered equal. In a January 1973 *This Week*, the staff did a man-on-the-street about allowing women to enter pilot training. The results of this unofficial poll were 9-2 in favor with one person on the fence.⁷⁸⁹ *Wings* also did occasional positive stories about WAFS.⁷⁹⁰ There were stories of standout women in the service, the benefits women said

⁷⁸⁶ Econ-O-Mart ad, *Chanute This Week*, August 17, 1973; Frank Jewelers ad, *Chanute This Week*, August 17, 1973; Karavan ad, *Chanute This Week*, August 17, 1973.

⁷⁸⁷ “Base Names Wife of the Year,” *Chanute This Week*, January 19, 1973; “Work, Interest, Activity Make One Wife of Year,” *Chanute This Week*, February 8, 1974; “We are an Air Force Family: Partners do ‘Super Job,’” *Chanute This Week*, November 14, 1975; Anne Leavitt, “Chanute Honors Wives,” *Chanute This Week*, November 14, 1975;

⁷⁸⁸ “Commissary Changes: Wives Shop Wisely,” *Chanute This Week*, April 9, 1976.

⁷⁸⁹ “Comment,” *Chanute This Week*, January 19, 1973.

⁷⁹⁰ Cynthia L. Hall, “WAF Remains ‘In the Dark,’” *Chanute Wings*, July 15, 1971.

they received from being in the service, and stories about the history of women in the service.⁷⁹¹ *Chanute This Week* even delved into the gains women had made in politics.⁷⁹²

In 1973, progress was immense for the women of Chanute, both in print and in the real world. Women had expanded at Chanute from about 4,300 women to 14,700 serving in every area save combat.⁷⁹³ An AFNS story reported those numbers extended to civilians on base.⁷⁹⁴ Sexism was not fast in leaving, though. Later in 1973, in a *Chanute This Week*, a Q and A asked people who they'd like to see as a female vice president, now that the office was vacant. Shirley Chisholm was the most popular choice, although one person said no woman was qualified, some wished for Jane Fonda, Susan St. James, or Charo, and one woman said "Good question, why not go halfway? Take Tiny Tim."⁷⁹⁵

As had been the case in the 1960s, the adult themed movie ads in *This Week* were sometimes paired with unfortunate neighbors. In the June 6, 1975, *This Week*, an ad for the "My Pleasure is my Business" and "The Love Life of a Cop" double-feature was just below that for "Old Yeller."⁷⁹⁶ An even more bizarre stacking of ads occurred in the October 22, 1976, *This Week*, when "The Best of Walk Disney's True-Life Adventures" and fellow Disney property "Gus" ran below a double feature showing of "Secretary" and

⁷⁹¹ "Center's Top Airman," *Chanute This Week*, July 12, 1974; Phyllis Costello, "Women Like Job, Independence," *Chanute This Week*, February 28, 1975; Helen Minor, "Minor Tells WAF Story," *Chanute This Week*, April 4, 1975; "Women Become Eligible," *Chanute This Week*, April 9, 1976; AFNS, "Women Compete for Wings," *Chanute This Week*, September 3, 1976; Linda Prellwitz, "Could WACs Find Happiness Driving Tanks?" *Fort Hood Sentinel*, September 7, 1973.

⁷⁹² AFNS, "Women Win Votes," *Chanute This Week*, June 6, 1975.

⁷⁹³ Erni DeVall, "Chanute AF Women Present New Image," *Chanute This Week*, November 2, 1973.

⁷⁹⁴ AFNS, "AF Plans to Expand Woman Labor Force," *Chanute This Week*, January 11, 1974.

⁷⁹⁵ "Comment," *Chanute This Week*, October 19, 1973.

⁷⁹⁶ "Old Yeller" ad, *Chanute This Week*, June 6, 1975; "My Pleasure is My Business" ad, *Chanute This Week*, June 6, 1975.

“Swinging Coeds,” the latter of which starred the winners of the 1976 International Swingers Competition.⁷⁹⁷

The Karavan Lounge got some company in the mid-70s. Ads for places like the “Pleasure Palace Massage Parlor,” which begged customers to “Let our attractive all-female staff pamper your tired body,” and the “East Main Massage and Sauna,” which boasted an all-girl staff, began to occupy space on a regular basis.⁷⁹⁸ In 1975, when Karavan Lounge ads ceased to run regularly, they were replaced by “The Hitchin Post.” This new establishment, like the Karavan before it, used its ads to announce performances by women with suggestive stage names. In July 1975, for example, the establishment featured Leigh Sharon, “The Mar-digra Vampire” of New Orleans.⁷⁹⁹

The photos of scantily clad women were far less prevalent on the pages of the NNSY base paper. A rare exception occurred in 1970, when the paper advanced a show that would feature go-go dancers and a fire dancer.⁸⁰⁰ The shipyard paper was still doing stories of pageants as late as 1971.⁸⁰¹ However, the *Dockside Gosport* and later the reborn *Service to the Fleet* nixed stories and photos of sexualized women. By the late 1970s, the stories about women in those papers were all about progress.⁸⁰²

⁷⁹⁷ “The Best of Walt Disney’s True-Life Adventures” ad, *Chanute This Week*, October 22, 1976; “Gus” ad, *Chanute This Week*, October 22, 1976; “Swing Coeds” ad, *Chanute This Week*, October 22, 1976.

⁷⁹⁸ Pleasure Palace Massage Parlor ad, *Chanute This Week*, June 13, 1975; East Main Massage and Sauna ad, *Chanute This Week*, June 13, 1975.

⁷⁹⁹ Hitchin Post ad, *Chanute This Week*, July 11, 1975.

⁸⁰⁰ “Rec Unit Will Stage Pro Show,” *Service to the Fleet*, January 30, 1970.

⁸⁰¹ “Six Nominated for Miss-Mrs. ZD Crown: Queen Choice Begins,” *Service to the Fleet*, November 19, 1971; “Seven Lovelies Join Miss-Mrs. ZD Quest: Thirteen Seek Crown,” *Service to the Fleet*, December 3, 1971.

⁸⁰² “Navy Women May Get Shipboard Duty,” *Dockside Gosport*, May 1977; “Federal Women’s Program Week Observed,” *Dockside Gosport*, June 77; “Women Engineers on the Move as Needs Increase,” *Dockside Gosport*, March 17, 1978; “Minorities, Women Again in Federal Work Force,” *Service to the Fleet*, September 11, 1978.

Conversely, the *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel* and *Sentinel* made plenty of room for women in various stages of undress. “Jefferey,” the fictitious staff photographer, continued to “provide” the papers with photos of women from across the globe in the “Eye Catcher” pinup through 1974. “Jefferey’s” work had begun appearing in 1969.⁸⁰³ “His” work sometimes came courtesy of Playboy, which suggests this person was the creation of an editor’s imagination.⁸⁰⁴ Whoever wrote “his” outlines in 1972 exemplified old-school sexism, to say nothing of sexual harassment and exploitation. In August 1972, a “Jefferey” photo of Susan Miller sitting atop a box was filled with double entendres:

Our roving photograph was packing this week to go on a vacation and was having trouble putting things away until lovely Miss Susan Miller offered to help him pack. Jeff complained that he just couldn’t get it all in, but when Susan offered him the box she was sitting on, he managed to put it all away. We maintain that Jeff found Susan was sitting on a gold mine.⁸⁰⁵

In September, a photo of Ewa Flicker was described as:

Jeff says she was interested in becoming his assistant, so he hired her. We can’t really say that was a bad choice, but with Ewa working so close to him how will he ever be able to concentrate on his next subject.⁸⁰⁶

In November, a photo of Lee Lindstrom was accompanied by:

Our nature-loving photographer took to the woods this week and managed to capture pretty Lee Lindstrom in a casual pose. Jeff tells us he had no trouble in

⁸⁰³ “Eye Catcher,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, October 3, 1969.

⁸⁰⁴ “Eye Catcher,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, April 7, 1972.

⁸⁰⁵ “Eye Catcher,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, August 31, 1972.

⁸⁰⁶ “Eye Catcher,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, September 22, 1972.

convincing Lee to pose for his camera, but he had nothing but trouble from pesty [SIC] “woodpeckers.” We maintain that if Jeff had his choice, he wouldn’t mind the same bird’s eye view.⁸⁰⁷

“Jefferey” was still appearing as late as 1974, even after the *Armored Sentinel* had become the *Sentinel*.⁸⁰⁸ While “Jefferey” was meant to be a joke, he also stands as an example of the failure of the paper as a journalistic entity. AP style has long spoken against staging photos or fabricating facts, even for entertainment.⁸⁰⁹

The *Armored Sentinel* and *Sentinel* lacked recurring ads for strip clubs like the Karavan at Chanute, a 1972 *Armored Sentinel* did contain a tiny ad for “go-go dancers” at the Stetson Lounge.⁸¹⁰ The latest use of a sexualized woman in the collection of papers analyzed for this story, however, was in the *Sentinel* and occurred in a December 1976 issue in the form of a *Playboy* courtesy photo. The picture was of a woman with no name who had caught a fish and was buried on page 22, a far stretch from the opinion page location some pinups got in Army newspapers during World War II.⁸¹¹ There were the occasional throwbacks to World War II style editorials about women. An ARNEWS editorial about the illegal nature of eavesdropping on phone calls by operators and secretaries on base was accompanied by a drawing of women gasping as they caught the latest gossip via listening in.⁸¹²

⁸⁰⁷ “Eye Catcher,” *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, November 9, 1972.

⁸⁰⁸ “Eyecatcher,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, July 27, 1973; “Eye Catcher,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, September 7, 1973; “Eye Catcher,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, February 8, 1974.

⁸⁰⁹ *The Associated Press Stylebook and Briefing on Media Law 2015* (New York: Basic Books, 2015).

⁸¹⁰ Stetson Lounge ad, *Fort Hood Sentinel*, February 25, 1972.

⁸¹¹ “Wonder What Lure She Used,” *Playboy* courtesy photo, *Fort Hood Sentinel*, December 9, 1976.

⁸¹² ARNEWS, “‘Listening in’ Violates Army Regulations,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, May 24, 1979.

As the 1970s wore on, in general, the papers took far more interest in women's topics. Many papers tried to add context to women's issues. In October 1975, *Chanute This Week* covered a seminar at the University of Illinois titled "Does Your Mother Wear Combat Boots?" which still cast the Air Force and military proper in a positive light.⁸¹³ CO's wives began to get more space. In *Chanute This Week*, the wives of Leavitt and Robertson wrote one commentary piece, both in honor of women.⁸¹⁴ At NNSY, wives of COs were occasionally featured in stories.⁸¹⁵

Chanute This Week also began to cover the issue of rape in 1976, although that paper's coverage was less about understanding the problem than it was about warning people of the danger.⁸¹⁶ The issue of rape became a central focus of the *Sentinel* in the late 1970s. An early example came from 1975, when Barbara Sorensen recounted the story of "Stephanie," a rape victim.⁸¹⁷ From 1979-1981, the *Sentinel* ran many stories about the issue of rape, women who'd been victimized by rape, how to defend oneself from being raped, and a single story about the legalization of abortions in the case of rape.⁸¹⁸

⁸¹³ U.S. Air Force Story, "Women ROTC Cadets Give Views," *Chanute This Week*, October 24, 1975.

⁸¹⁴ Anne Leavitt, "Chanute Honors Wives," *Chanute This Week*, November 14, 1975; Jana Robertson, "Chanute Salutes Women," *Chanute This Week*, August 27, 1976

⁸¹⁵ "Mrs. Brown Sees Quiet Life Ahead," *Service to the Fleet*, Jan. 26, 1970; "Shipyard's First Lady is Volunteer," *Service to the Fleet*, July 17, 1970; "Shipyard's First Lady Adds Special Touch to Historic Home," *Service to the Fleet*, June 15, 1973.

⁸¹⁶ "Rape Fighters Set Meeting," *Chanute This Week*, September 10, 1976; Kelley, "Kelley Warns Women Against Rape," *Chanute This Week*, November 19, 1976.

⁸¹⁷ Barbara Sorensen, "Rape: 'I prayed, I Cried, I Cursed[sic] I was Hurt, Angry; Helpless,'" *Fort Hood Sentinel*, November 20, 1975.

⁸¹⁸ Debbie Feden, "Rape," *Fort Hood Sentinel*, August 16, 1979; Feden, "Victim of Rape Attempt Recollects Attack," *Fort Hood Sentinel*, August 16, 1979; Mark Vitullo, "Rape Myths Continue, Proper Defense Needed," *Fort Hood Sentinel*, November 20, 1980; "Crime of Hate: Rape: Violation of Rights as well as Bodies," *Fort Hood Sentinel*, February 26, 1981; ARNEWS, "Policy Change Permits Rape-Related Abortions," *Fort Hood Sentinel*, February 26, 1981; "Measures Can Help Prevent Awesome Tragedy of Rape," *Fort Hood Sentinel*, December 3, 1981; Eloise Lundgren, "Rape: Many Fall Victim; Few Escape Grasp," *Fort Hood Armored Sentinel*, December 17, 1981.

In August 1975, *Chanute This Week* produced an entire special section in honor of “International Women’s Year.” This section was filled with calls for more women in power, as well as celebrations of women in the military and an announcement that women would now be admitted to the service academies.⁸¹⁹ A year later, the entire front and portions of the rest of the paper were dedicated to the “Federally Employed Women” organization. Stories followed a similar pattern to those found in the International Women’s issue.⁸²⁰

Later, the paper celebrated women’s expanding roles in the military.⁸²¹ In a story about a large-scale training exercise, a writer named Rudy Juarez wrote of women escaping old roles:

For years female soldiers have fought an uphill battle in attempting to shake off the ‘angel of mercy’ stereotype ...

“The jobs held by women during Bold Eagle ’76, a southern California desert exercise, were numerous and diverse. Some worked in stuffy field tents as cooks ... other women made their presence known as helicopter crew members ... while others, as medics, helped soothe the sore throats and stuffy noses of the hundreds of soldiers.”⁸²²

⁸¹⁹ Kay Podagrosi, “Women Need to Take Proper World Place,” *Chanute This Week*, August 8, 1975; “We Salute Women,” *Chanute This Week*, August 8, 1975; Aurilla Miller, “Assume Responsibilities,” *Chanute This Week*, August 8, 1975; Rina Kelley, “Kelley: Air Force Gives Rights,” *Chanute This Week*, August 8, 1975; “Women Talk About Jobs, Year, Family,” *Chanute This Week*, August 8, 1975; “Bill Allows Women Into Academies,” *Chanute This Week*, August 8, 1975.

⁸²⁰ “Memorable Moments: Women Achieve Progress,” *Chanute This Week*, August 27, 1976; Jana Robertson, “Chanute Salutes Women,” *Chanute This Week*, August 27, 1976; Kay G. Trippiedi, “Women Need To Become Aware,” *Chanute This Week*, August 27, 1976.

⁸²¹ ARNEWS, “DA Policy Change: Women Eligible for 14 All-Male MOSs,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, January 12, 1978; Barbara Sorensen, “Women: The Army is Giving Them More Leeway in the Jobs They Choose,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, February 9, 1978.

⁸²² Rudy Juarez, “Women Work in Tough Jobs during Bold Eagle,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, March 4, 1976.

That two-thirds of the jobs in the exercise centered on caregiving seems to have been lost on the writer.

Similar to the other papers, there were stories about the contributions of women throughout history in the Texas-based publication.⁸²³ The idea of sexual stereotypes, toward men and women, was criticized once in the *Sentinel*.⁸²⁴ The *Sentinel* once featured a story about women winning a military award for cooking for the first time.⁸²⁵ Even the notion of women using contraception found its way into the *Sentinel* in the 1970s.⁸²⁶ On a darker note, prostitution was far more of a focus for the *Sentinel* than it was for any other paper in this study. In 1975, the paper did a two-part series on prostitution near Fort Hood.⁸²⁷

The *Sentinel* served, as papers should, as a battleground for ideas. Ever home to strong opinions, the *Sentinel* ran a story about women gaining jobs as truck drivers, with one writer claiming that men who did not like women truck drivers were opposed to liberty.⁸²⁸ The *Sentinel* celebrated wives who chose to go to work rather than be housewives.⁸²⁹ However, when the issue of women serving in combat arose, the paper took a definitive stand against it. One editorialist wrote:

⁸²³ “Women – Filling Vital Roles Throughout History,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, July 1, 1976; Sandi Adams, “You’ve Come a Long Way: Women’s Corps Travels Long Road,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, May 12, 1977; Regina Largent, “WAC Completes 36th Year; Future Still Uncertain,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, May 11, 1978; Sandi Adams, “Being Called ‘WAC’ is No Insult,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, May 11, 1978; “Army Nurses Celebrates 78th Year of GI Care,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, February 1, 1979.

⁸²⁴ Sandi Adams, “Myline: Stereotypes of Both Male and Female GIs Can Cause Problems,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, February 9, 1978.

⁸²⁵ “First for Ft. Hood Cooks: Cook Awards Won by Women,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, February 3, 1977.

⁸²⁶ Mary Faulkner, “Technology Presents Alternative: Pregnancy Can be Avoided,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, January 6, 1977.

⁸²⁷ Tom Hart, “Oldest Profession Flourishes; Spells Problem for Soldier,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, April 18, 1975; Hart, “Law Enforcement vs. Prostitution: Task Force Wages War on Street Scene,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, April 25, 1975.

⁸²⁸ Mary Grimes, “Today’s Woman Still has Long Road to Walk,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, June 19, 1975.

⁸²⁹ Linda Prellwitz, “Military Wives Lead Many Lives at Hood,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, September 7, 1973.

As for the lass who wishes to engage in combative factions, we aren't really sold on this. Surely, we can find another way to lower the population level that is more appropriate than subjecting our women to the hazards of warfare.⁸³⁰

In 1980, after years of generally inclusive and supportive writing, an editorialist Steve Valentine took women to task over not wishing to be involved in the draft. As had been the case years earlier, the paper remained staunchly against women in combat, but via Valentine's writing, advocated for their inclusion into the draft:

If this idea is unpalatable, then draft women into a national service corps. They could then release men from the home front by taking over such jobs as street sweeper, garbage collector, lumberjack or even office executive.

Women can do these jobs; they've said so a thousand times ...

But maybe none of this will be necessary. Maybe, during the next war, women – in droves – will scurry down to the local enlistment stations and volunteer for the military. Maybe even a bunch will go to court in order to force the military to let them enlist in combat arms. And maybe there's a Santa Claus and an Easter Bunny, too. But I don't think so.

And that's too bad. Too bad because women could do a lot more to further their own cause if they would just stop talking a good fight and start putting their lives where their mouths are.⁸³¹

⁸³⁰ "If Mom Comes Marching Home," *Fort Hood Sentinel*, February 1, 1974.

⁸³¹ Steve Valentine "What's Women's Role? Draft: Equal Right to Fight?" *Fort Hood Sentinel*, June 24, 1980.

Harassment in multiple forms became a central focus of the *Sentinel*, which addressed obscene phone calls as well as classic office harassment and catcalls.⁸³²



Figure 18. Harassment.

The front page of the December 4, 1980, *Sentinel* was dedicated to the issue of harassment.

In 1979, a writer named Charles Schill addressed the issue of cat-calling in common areas on the base. He theorized:

⁸³² Bobbi Kurowski, "'50 Percent are One-Time Things ...' Obscene Calls No Joke; Carry Heavy Penalties," *Fort Hood Sentinel*, August 24, 1978; Billy Barber, "Sexual Harassment Arouses National Awareness," *Fort Hood Sentinel*, September 7, 1978; "Harassment: Sexual Coercion, Abuse Outlawed by EEOC, DoD to Follow Lead with Own Guidelines," *Fort Hood Sentinel*, December 4, 1980.

It combines maximum of temptation opportunity, anonymity and, on occasion, captive audiences ...”Says men still view woman as “safe targets” “... But more importantly, this practice probably stems from a vein of resentment that most military men still harbor against females in uniform.⁸³³

While child abuse got frequent coverage, the issue of spousal abuse was less prevalent in the *Sentinel*, although in 1978 Larry Gaian wrote a story about the nationwide problem of men beating women.⁸³⁴ The idea of abused husbands was used only once, and as a comedic device for a piece by Ralph Yoder. In an attempt at humor, Yoder talked about men who were abused to the extent that they faced angry wives and no supper when that returned home from work.⁸³⁵

Conclusion

If the early 1970s were a low point for the United States military and by extension the domestic base newspaper, the moment was also a springboard into a better, more useful form of military-produced media. After years of stilted coverage that outright ignored real issues within the ranks, base newspapers either chose or were allowed to explore the imperfections of the United States and its military. Women and racial minorities were given far more extensive, and far less discriminatory coverage. Racist and sexist undertones might have survived the era, but each paper evidenced a growth in professionalism and inclusion that surpassed that of the 1941-1969. Professionally, this era marked an improvement in the military’s use of newspapers to communicate with and

⁸³³ Charles Schill, “Harassment a Multifaceted Problem: Why Women Singled Out?” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, April 5, 1979.

⁸³⁴ Larry Gaian, “Wife Beating Recognized as Nation-wide Problem,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, November 9, 1978.

⁸³⁵ Ralph Yoder, “Husband Abuse is Real,” *Fort Hood Sentinel*, January 12, 1978.

disseminate information to its soldiers. Forty years after inheriting hundreds of journalists and public information officers through the draft, the United States military had begun to utilize its printed public relations tool in a manner commensurate with professional standards.

CHAPTER VII – CONCLUSION

Robert E. Park, whose 1923 “The Natural History of the Newspaper” spawned the cultural school of historical interpretation, warns of the danger of assigning agency when studying mass media:

The press, as it exists, is not, as our moralists sometimes seem to assume, the wilful product of any little group of living men. On the contrary, it is the outcome of an historic process in which many individuals participated without foreseeing what the ultimate product of their labors was to be.⁸³⁶

Likewise, this study has not been written as a means of assigning blame. Even in the heavily regimented and hierarchical world of the United States military, and at bases with singular commanding officers, there are countless cultural and human forces that affect the final product. Thus, the primary findings of this study are not predicated upon identifying moral shortcomings of presidents, officers, or journalists. Rather, the goal was to anthologize the ways dominant ideas and misconceptions – about the job of the press, role of public relations, nature of citizenship and soldiery, and the reality of being “the other” in the military – manifested themselves in ways both overt and subtle.

It is clear domestic base newspapers fell short of their task of operating in ways similar to the civilian press. But to whom should one assign the blame? Similar to Park’s observation in the 1920s, this researcher can find no single person or group of people to be held to account. If the media is the product of a society, perhaps every member of the society bore at least a modicum of responsibility for the results of a flawed military press.

⁸³⁶ Robert E. Park, “The Natural History of the Newspaper,” *The American Journal of Sociology* 29, 3 (November 1923): 273.

No media message finds a home in a culture to which it is foreign. This is not meant to excuse the people behind the domestic base newspaper, only to acknowledge that theirs was not the only imperfect entity in play in the years of this study.

Just as every soldier has a mission, so too did domestic base newspapers, whether they were self-contained military or civilian-owned operations. The men and women who produced domestic base newspapers faced a complex task, one that was nearly impossible to achieve. The papers had to deliver the news of the day without risking the overall mission of the United States.⁸³⁷ What journalist ever succeeded by following the will of the empowered? How effectively could a newspaper cover the Vietnam War without asking tough questions of military leaders and presidents? On the other extreme, the papers were supposed to bolster morale and inspire troops to sally forth in support of the military aims of the day. This might also seem easy, but what public relations professional could succeed when forced constantly to react to rather than work ahead of exigencies?

The extent to which the papers succeeded in their mission warrants some debate, but the ultimate ruling hinges upon how one gauges success. If one wishes to appraise the papers based on the concepts of soldiering, of dutifully following orders, then the papers were a triumph. No paper failed to generally obey the directives outlined in various Department of Defense directives. No paper ever involved itself in a domestic political squabble, criticized a President, or failed to extol the virtues of the American way. However, if one prefers to evaluate the papers using journalistic or public relations, the

⁸³⁷ Department of Defense Directive, 1956.

domestic base newspaper proves slave with two masters, able to satiate both but satisfy neither.

Even the area in which domestic base newspapers thrived, virtual soldier-building, is hard to classify as a success. The success the domestic base newspapers of this study achieved can be found in the effort. Certainly, no paper failed to offer myriad stories and editorials that spoke to an idealized American soldier. However, absent any evidence, it is hard to say what if any effect these articles and opinion pieces had on soldiers in the ranks. It is difficult to even determine how many soldiers read the papers. Domestic base newspapers were available to all personnel on a base, but far from compulsory reading. Perhaps some soldiers read these papers and dogmatically believed. Maybe these papers were largely ignored or taken as poorly disguised propaganda. It is likely that those soldiers who did read the papers accepted some claims and rejected others, and were influenced in ways both subtle and overt. A precise measurement of the effect might be impossible.

Domestic base newspapers were designed to be equal parts public relations and journalistic endeavors, yet the pull from one precluded success in the other. For the majority of the 40 years encompassed by this study, the papers were too inconsistent in coverage and lacking in measure to be heralded as successful journalism by virtually any standard of professional excellence. Simultaneously, the papers were also too reactive, tone-deaf, and inconsistent in their messages to be considered overall successes as public relations. It would also be inaccurate to call these papers bald, nefarious propaganda. Yes, there were many editorials that were either purposefully ignorant or horribly out of tune with the times in which they were written, but the papers hardly rose to the level

lying to their readers on behalf of government entities. It seems unlikely anyone would be shocked to find pro-American military speak in a newspaper either directly or indirectly operated by the United States military.

The domestic base newspaper from 1941-1981 was a public relations venture, wrapped in house journalism, that eventually made room for deep journalism. From 1941-1970, the amount of true, in-depth journalism was negligible. Far more frequent was the appearance of pieces that pushed a romanticized permutation of American exceptionalism. On the pages of domestic base newspapers, a virtuous America faced attacks by aggressive, underhanded forces of fascism, communism, and, perhaps most galling to the editors, disorder both at home and abroad. In the 1970s, the papers began to provide more nuanced coverage of issues both foreign and domestic and to acknowledge select shortcomings within the military and society. However, even these stories were offset by articles and editorials that bolstered the idea of an America that was superior to all its international neighbors and an American military that was better-informed than all other fighting forces into antiquity.

As overall providers of information, domestic base newspapers slowly but steadily evolved. The area in which the most growth seems to have occurred was in the coverage of racial minorities. From 1941 mentions of “colored regiments” to grand celebrations of African American military contributions in the 1970s, from white men dressed as Native Americans to stories of the forgotten population of the United States, and from “mariachi” lunches to decrying the use of the word “Chicano,” the domestic base newspaper gradually came to a less objectionable, fuller representation of racial minorities. This not to suggest that the papers were perfect in 1981. While equal

employment opportunities became a frequent call, no paper addressed the Civil Rights Movement that created the EEO or inequalities that necessitated it. No publication ever relived the military's own racist past. Rather, the papers ignored the contemporary while white-washing the historic. Still, it would be unfair to not recognize that at least the classic forms of racism had been extracted from the domestic base newspaper by the time Ronald Reagan entered the White House.

The area in which the least growth occurred was in the coverage and portrayal of women. In the 1940s, women in the military were heroes, women at home were mothers and sweethearts, women from enemy nations were sirens, and women with traditional good looks were pinups. In the 1980s, the pinups were mostly gone – it took until the mid-1970s for the pinups to finally disappear from the pages of the newspapers of this study – and Americans had no war from which to draw a siren. However, women in the military were still generally viewed as wholly good and the women at home were still generally celebrated for the domesticity. The papers began to examine issues of male sexual and domestic violence, something that was a stark contrast to the old World War II cartoons that showed aggressive soldiers trying to forcefully make out with women on couches. Powerful examinations of rape, abuse, and harassment, were infrequent but stand as a vivid example of domestic base newspapers and the military's slow acclimation to the professional and ethical standards of journalism and public relations.

Implications

The primary takeaways from this study all center on the evolution of journalism and public relations at a localized level within the United States military. Each chapter within this study represents an epoch of the evolution of professional standards in the

domestic base newspaper, as well as the development and at times devolution of military press conceptions of sociopolitical issues. Domestic base newspapers are the best examples of how the fruits of the American military mind manifested themselves in the mass media. The writers, editors, press services, and commanders created domestic base newspapers might have had myriad opinions, but the newspapers they created represented a singularity of thought about what it meant to be an American domestically and part of the United States as the nation grew in prominence internationally. Further, the papers created a lasting record of how racial and sexual minorities were viewed both in society and the nation.

Beyond highlighting the evolution of editorial standards and outcomes, this study provided insight into many facets of changes and stagnations in American thinking over a four-decade timeframe. The most pressing implication of this study can be found in the ways in which the dominant, often surface-deep, ideologies of the day seeped into domestic base newspapers and affected the quality of the news coverage. American exceptionalism colored virtually every aspect of American life, and the domestic base newspaper was no different.

The most memorable artifacts found in this study are those centering on the portrayal of women and minorities. While these certainly add to the width of examples of overt and subtle racism and sexism recorded in American history, prove the least impactful in terms of the corpus. It will have likely shocked no one to learn about the existence of stereotypical portrayals of African Americans, Asians, and Native Americans, or of sexualized images of women. The case for these phenomena has long been made. However, it is important to document that these racist and sexist undertones

were eventually undercut by the tides of progress. Few would likely argue America was void of racism and sexism at the dawn of the 1980s; however, it would be equally hard to argue that either had worsened or stagnated. The domestic base newspaper in 1981 was moving in the right direction. Future studies will tell if that arc continued.

The legacy of the domestic base newspaper as a tool for media research is not found in their quality but the lack of the same. The lasting impression of the papers is as one of the places a researcher can turn to find out just how wrong Americans were about themselves. No media is able to offer a complete accounting of “truth.” Domestic base newspapers, however, framed issues in such a blindly patriotic way as to have been atypical among other media in their own time, and unrecognizable as journalism today. This issue changed for the better in the 1970s, but even in the latest years represented in this study, the palpable ring of a “U-S-A” chant still tinged all of the papers.

Limitations and Future Research Opportunities

In William David Sloan and Michael Stamm’s *Historical Methods in Communication*, Jim McPherson offered an adroit observation of the nature of chronology: “Unless you’re a U.S. president or an Olympic athlete, history rarely happens in neat chronological packages.”⁸³⁸ This study reflects this reality. Domestic base newspapers were not perfected over the course of the forty years examined. The story of the domestic base newspaper from 1941-1981 is one of the imperfect integration of journalism and public relations into local bases throughout the United States, but this

⁸³⁸ Jim McPherson, quoted in Wm. David Sloan and Michael Stamm, *Historical Methods in Communication*, Northport, Alabama: Vision Press, 2010, 25.

hardly constitutes an exhaustive study of the changes to the domestic base newspaper that were to come.

Future research opportunities are numerous in the area of the life of the domestic base newspaper in the 1980s and beyond. The funding woes of papers did not end in 1981. In 1986, the United States General Accounting Office (today known as the Government Accountability Office) recommended the European and Pacific versions of *Stars and Stripes* be consolidated and the money spent on the ventures be reduced after a study commissioned not by Bill Proxmire but by Representative Dan Daniel, a Democrat from Virginia, in 1985.⁸³⁹ In 1988, coincidentally 11 months after Daniel's death, the GAO issued another damning report regarding the conflicts of interest in censorship and news management in the *Stars and Stripes*.⁸⁴⁰ An important future study can be built around the reimagining of the domestic and foreign military publications in the 1980s and beyond.

The most obvious limitation of this study was the number of publications examined. While all of the papers in this study were similar enough to safely assume they represented at least generally the products that would have been found in other locations, future studies will benefit from examinations of an even more robust collection of papers at other bases.

⁸³⁹ GAO Report to the Chairman, Readiness Subcommittee, Armed Services Committee House of Representatives, May 1986, accessed on October 21, 2016, from <http://www.gao.gov/assets/150/144408.pdf>.

⁸⁴⁰ United States General Accounting Office Report to the Congress, "STARS AND STRIPES Inherent Conflicts Lead to Allegations of Military Censorship," December 1988, accessed on October 21, 2016, from <http://www.gao.gov/assets/150/147190.pdf>.

As important as examining other bases' papers will be zeroing in on the individual topics covered in this study. While this explorations was meant to be a thorough, nuanced overview of the nature of domestic base newspapers, it is evident that each subtopic warrants deeper study. A fruitful study is in the making if one chooses to use social changes in the civilian world as a backdrop to, and perhaps a stimulant for, editorial changes. Take for example the evolution, limited though it was, of messaging aimed at African Americans. The uniform nature of this change at all bases is such that it seems unlikely to have been an organic. While no doubt one or more ranking officers eventually wrote the order dictating an editorial shift, it is likely social and political pressures both within and out of the military will have played a role in inspiring the change.

Another limitation of this study was the lack of first-person accounts of men and women who staffed domestic base newspapers. This problem might prove the most difficult to overcome since Department of Defense regulations prohibited the use of bylines in stories written by soldiers.⁸⁴¹ Men and women usually came and went from papers without any public comment, and those whose names are known did not leave behind a readily available collection of journals. The historian who can find the line workers, collect their stories, and share a collection of first-person narratives will have not only done a great service to the memory of the men and women who served but will have shed much-needed light upon the day-to-day life of a grunt soldier journalist.

⁸⁴¹ Ibid.

Forward Myth

While the content of the domestic base newspaper evolved from 1941-1981, the Department of Defense regulations governing the operation of military newspapers did not change, and indeed have not changed, in spirit. In 1997, the Department of Defense instruction governing the papers had ballooned from ten to forty-eight pages, but the rules read essentially the same.⁸⁴² The most recent DOD instruction available is from March 17, 2015. This instruction had shrunk by three pages but, as had been the case since the 1950s, the rules are the same.⁸⁴³ Today's domestic base newspapers are more easily identifiable as public relations newsletters. No reasonable person would consult them for unbiased news. Perhaps over the course of its history with house journalism, the United States military opted for the house over the journalist, or maybe the explosion of news organizations and unprecedented availability of news in the online age led bases to use their base media to provide soldiers with the one thing they couldn't get from somewhere else, stories about the men.

As to the domestic base newspaper from 1941-1981, ultimately, regardless of topic, these papers represent the United States military's gradual growth in appreciation of the utility of public relations and journalism at the local level, and the professional standards pursuant to same. These papers serve as reflections of the cultural zeitgeist of their times. These papers show the best of us and the worst of us. Their work serves as an

⁸⁴² Department of Defense Instruction Number 5120.4, "Department of Defense Newspapers, Magazines and Civilian Enterprise Publications," June 16, 1997, accessed on October 21, 2016, from http://biotech.law.lsu.edu/blaw/dodd/corres/pdf/i51204_061697/i51204p.pdf.

⁸⁴³ Department of Defense Instruction Number 5120.04, "DoD Newspapers, Magazines, Guides, and Installation Maps," March 17, 2015, accessed on October 21, 2016, from <http://www.dtic.mil/whs/directives/corres/pdf/512004p.pdf>

example of journalism as done by people who don't understand journalism, public relations by people who did not understand public relations, and mass communication under the watchful eyes of commanders who were more versed in military how-to than the intricacies of a unique profession.

These papers fell short as vessels of journalism, despite their frequent claims to having aided in creating the best-informed military in world history. These papers weren't quite polished as public relations tools despite a clear lean in that direction. However, the creators of these papers followed orders with dogged attention to detail one would expect from members of the military. The resulting papers were somewhat professional, racist, and sexist, but did serve to push forward the myth of America as the freest, kindest, and most tolerant nation on earth while simultaneously and unintentionally exposing the undercurrent of social issues that remain a part of the national conscience today. In the end, the papers' most lasting contribution was buttressing for a myth.

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