

AMERICAN SOCIETY, STEREOTYPICAL ROLES, AND ASIAN CHARACTERS IN M*A*S*H

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ABSTRACT

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*M*A*S*H* is an iconic, eleven season (1972-1983), American television series that was produced on the tail end of the Vietnam War during a period of upheaval for the American public. Set in Korea during the Korean War, *M*A*S*H* was a satire on the war in Vietnam. As a result, *M*A*S*H* presents numerous Asian (Korean) characters throughout the series, but often in limited, stereotypical roles.

Despite producing America's most watched final season episode "Goodbye, Farewell, and Amen," and being granted several Emmy nominations and awards, *M*A*S*H* has all but evaded lengthy academic study. This thesis primarily uses newspapers, both local and national, to understand how Asian stereotypes are presented in *M*A*S*H* with relationship to American society. Through the analysis of seven Asian-centered character roles, including; farmer/villager, houseboy/housekeeper, prostitute, war bride, peddler/hustler, orphan, and enemy, I explore the foundations of these stereotypes as well as how they were being utilized to reassure Americans of their own communal, Cold War, beliefs in a time of distress. I explore how these roles change and adapt over the course of the series and what may be motivating these changes, such as the Asian-American, Civil Rights and women's rights movements, and changing Cold War ideologies and objectives.

For my Parents, Grandmother and Aunt, Debbie

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INTRODUCTION

Goals and Methodology

Stereotypes are often created from a combination of fear, songs, sayings and images that are repeated and commonly accepted by one community about another. Newspapers, word-of-mouth and media help spread and maintain these stereotypes, and *M*A*S*H*, as an extremely popular American television comedy show, is not an exception. Asian stereotypes following World War II had a strong influence from and on the Cold War ideologies of the United States. The belief in the U.S. as a “policing force” for the rest of the world supported stereotypes surrounding those who the U.S. was then in the process of “protecting,” in particular Korea and Vietnam. The stereotype of a weak, docile, yet untrustworthy and subversive Asian character in need of U.S. assistance, protection, and reformation not only legitimized the U.S. role as “policing force” but helped the continuation of these stereotypes. Popular media, specifically *M*A*S*H*, utilizes established East Asian stereotypes to support a community belief in the U.S. as a superior, protecting force for the rest of the world.

This thesis will use the television series *M*A*S*H* as a case study to understand how East Asian stereotypes can be employed to support larger collective beliefs while showing that these stereotypes are also fluid and adaptable, as they were affected by social movements of the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s. Through the examination of seven Asian-specific character roles; houseboy/housekeeper, prostitute, war bride, farmer/villager, peddler/hustler, orphan and enemy, I explore the foundations of these stereotypes as well as how they are being utilized to reassure Americans of their own beliefs in a time of distress: the Vietnam War.

Chapter one outlines Asian character stereotypes presented in *M*A*S*H* during its first five seasons (1972-77) to establish the real-life influences on these stereotypes, their accuracy

within the show, and their prevalence (level of occurrence). Chapter two considers seasons six through eleven ((1977-83), including the final episode) to understand the changes that have arisen over the course of the show's production as well as what may have contributed to any changes, or lack of changes, in representation. Specifically, chapter two focuses on the social movements of the time period in which the show was produced, to understand the role these movements may have played in altering media representations of Asian-Americans. As America turned inward, to focus on its own social problems following the Vietnam War, *M*A*S*H* also changed. The noticeable shift during season five (1976-77) with the departure of Frank Burns (Larry Linville) following the end of the Vietnam War signaled a drastic change in the character of the show from a message against military bureaucracy to a discussion on the individual struggles faced by the show's main characters.¹ This shift serves to divide the series into two parts; pre and post, Vietnam War. Chapter one and two reflect this division within *M*A*S*H* and America.

*M*A*S*H – From Book to Movie to Television*

*M*A*S*H* has become one of America's best known situational comedies. Beginning as a book by the same title by H. Richard Hornberger writing under the name Richard Hooker, *M*A*S*H* grew in popularity to become first a movie, then a television series.² The book that sparked the legacy featured three army doctors stuck in the Korea, far away from home, going by the now well-known names of Hawkeye, Trapper and Frank Burns.³ The movie, by the same title as the book and later television series, was released in 1970 two years prior to the television

¹ This shift after season five is also noted by Wittebols. James H. Wittebols, *Watching M*A*S*H, Watching America; A Social History of the 1972-1983 Television Series*, (Jefferson, North Carolina, and London: McFarland and Company Inc, Publishers: 1998).

² Richard Hooker, *M*A*S*H*, (Mattituck: Rivercity Press, 1968).

³ Ibid.

show's debut. Featuring a different main cast than the later television series, the movie was generally well received but was darker in nature than the comically focused television show of later years. *M*A*S*H*, the television show similar to the book and movie was set during the Korean War, but was a satire on the Vietnam War which was ongoing during the first few seasons. As a result, *M*A*S*H* blends together elements of the 1950s and Korean War, the 1970s and the Vietnam War and eventually the early 1980s. Overall, it is the television program that would win America's focus as ratings began to soar and millions tuned-in. The final episode "Goodbye, Farewell and Amen" aired in 1983 and was watched by an estimated 106 million viewers, more than any other sponsored show on television cementing *M*A*S*H* in American popular culture.⁴

*M*A*S*H* during its first season was less popular, but the show picked up ratings and viewers with a change to a prime timeslot later in the series. The pilot episode was written by Larry Gelbart, who would go on to help write or produce many *M*A*S*H* episodes, and Gelbart wanted the show to address the tragedy of the Vietnam War while remaining a lighthearted sitcom.⁵ Despite this rough start, however, it was clear that *M*A*S*H* was being noticed. The pilot episode was nominated for two Emmys (outstanding directing by Gene Reynolds and outstanding writing by Larry Gelbart), and the show also won a Directors Guild Award.⁶ The first season established many of the central writers, directors and producers that would become central to the series including Larry Gelbart (the creator of the show and both writer and

⁴ Wesley Hyatt, *Television's Top 100: The Most-Watched American Broadcasts, 1960-2010*, (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland and Company Inc., publishers, 2012): 172.

⁵ Wittbols, *Watching M*A*S*H Watching America*.

⁶ Ibid, 23.

producer), Gene Reynolds (a director and producer), and Burt Metcalfe (producer), all of whom contributed to over 100 episodes in the series.⁷

Gelbart, Metcalfe and Reynolds are generally considered the central producers of the show and the main creative forces driving the behind-the-scenes efforts, but over the course of eleven years the series had tens of different directors, producers and writers contributing to production. Larry Gelbart, the first writer for *M*A*S*H*, was writing for radio as early as high school and got his television debut when Bob Hope transferred his radio show to television.⁸ In 1972 Gelbart was asked by Reynolds to work on the *M*A*S*H* pilot, and when the series went into production a year later Gelbart became a co-producer with Reynolds.⁹ Gene Reynolds also recruited Metcalfe, convincing him to leave Universal to be casting director for *M*A*S*H*, and eventually the executive producer.¹⁰ Reynolds was responsible for recruiting Alan Alda to the show as Hawkeye, convincing both Alda and Metcalfe that it would be a hit. Though none of these three central forces in *M*A*S*H* stayed the entire duration of the series, their influence on the character of the show is notable and remained throughout its production.

By season two (1972-73), ratings had jumped, *M*A*S*H* had been moved to a Saturday night time slot, and by the end of the year was the fourth most watched show on television.¹¹ A writer's strike during the second season opened the way for more suggestions from the main cast to be introduced, adding greater depth to many of the main characters.¹² This, combined with a trip to Korea by the main writer, Larry Gelbart, and producer, Gene Reynolds, added a greater depth to the show than in previous seasons. By season three (1973-74), *M*A*S*H* was again

⁷ David Reiss, *M*A*S*H: The Exclusive, Inside Story of TV's Most Popular Show*, (Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1980):109-122.

⁸ Ibid, 109.

⁹ Ibid, 110.

¹⁰ Ibid, 119,115.

¹¹ Wittebols, *Watching M*A*S*H, Watching America*, 39.

¹² Ibid.

moved, this time to Tuesday nights, but its ratings held, garnering for *M*A*S*H* a place in American popular culture.

Season four (1974-75), brought yet another change in timeslot, to Friday nights, as well as noticeable changes in the main cast. By the beginning of season four, Colonel Henry Blake (McLean Stevenson), the commanding officer of the 4077th had left and been replaced by Colonel Sherman T. Potter (Harry Morgan), who stayed with the show as the commanding officer for the remainder of the series.¹³ Trapper or Captain John McIntyre (Wayne Rogers), the bunk-mate and fellow troublemaker to Hawkeye (Alan Alda) returned stateside to be replaced by B.J. Hunnicut (Mike Farrell).¹⁴ Corporal Maxwell Klinger (Jamie Farr) with his crossdressing and crazy antics was added to the main cast in season four in an attempt to add comic relief as the show began to discuss more serious topics regarding race and gender.

Season five (1976-77), presented a major shift in the series as Larry Gelbart left his role as executive producer, stating that he had run out of ideas.¹⁵ The cast also faced a dramatic shift with the addition of Father Mulcahy (William Christopher) to the main cast in season five, and the impending departure of Frank Burns (Larry Linville) into season six. Burns, the bumbling foil to Hawkeye, was replaced by season six after going AWOL following the marriage of Major Margaret Houlihan (Loretta Swit). As a result, season six (1977-78) introduced a new more formidable foil to Hawkeye, Charles Emerson Winchester (David Ogden Stiers). The departure of Gelbart combined with the then-recent end of the Vietnam War and the fall of South Vietnam in 1975 led to a major shift in the feeling and focus of the show going into season six. As James H. Wittebols explains in *Watching M*A*S*H, Watching America; A Social History of the 1972-*

¹³ Reiss, *M*A*S*H, the Exclusive Inside Story*.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Wittebols, *Watching M*A*S*H, Watching America*, 61.

1983 Television Series, the series shifted after season six to be more individually focused, moving away from a critique on the horrors of war.¹⁶ However, the usual Asian stereotypes remain, having changed somewhat in reaction to contemporary social movements but still prevalent in the series.

In season seven (1978-79) the show was again moved, from Tuesday to Monday night, where it remained through its final season.¹⁷ By season eight (1979-80) further cast changes arose as the young-at-heart Corporal Radar O'Reilly (Gary Burghoff) (who was the only main cast member in both the film and the movie) departed to return Stateside. Ratings remained high as the show moved into the 1980s; the Jimmy Carter era came to an end with the election of Ronald Reagan and military power and American superiority again became a central focus of both the country and the show. In year nine (1980-81), Burt Metcalfe, the executive producer, returned to Korea to add authenticity to the final, end of the war focused episodes.¹⁸ However, season ten (1981-82) saw a slight drop in ratings despite this added effort, falling to 9th place overall.¹⁹ *M*A*S*H* fully recovered by season eleven (1982-83) when the final episode reached over 100 million viewers, leaving a lasting legacy for American television.

The Wars: Korea and Vietnam

*M*A*S*H*, though set during the Korean War, is widely understood as being a thinly-veiled critique of the Vietnam War that was contemporary to the show's production. The show used the Korean War as a backdrop to discuss the then-current military, social and political issues surrounding the Vietnam War. Therefore, this thesis will engage with both the Vietnam and Korean Wars as points of reference. Both wars, Korea and Vietnam, were controversial in

¹⁶ Ibid, 81.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid, 127.

¹⁹ Ibid.

the eyes of the American public and were overall unpopular, and both were fought with the same Cold War ideology in mind – America is a world superpower and is therefore responsible to act to contain communism on a global scale.²⁰ These similarities and close historical parallels lend to the show's large appeal at the time of its airing, as well as its continued interest today. As a result, a general understanding of both wars is needed to fully understand the driving forces behind the production.

The Korean War (1950-1953), or policing action, began in June of 1950 when the North Korean People's Army crossed the 38th parallel into the Republic of South Korea, beginning the first military conflict of the Cold War. Following WWII, Korea had been divided into north and south, with the north, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, being under Soviet control and the South, the Republic of Korea, under western (American) control. America entered the conflict in July of 1950 in order to contain communism, in this case Soviet Russia and Maoist China. Initially, the United States under the command of Douglas MacArthur would push the North Korean forces back to the 38th parallel and towards the Yalu River, the border between Korea and China. However, this initial success would be challenged by the arrival of Chinese forces into the conflict thus beginning a bitter, years-long, tense stalemate as the threat of a third World War between the U.S., China and the Soviet Union loomed. Eventually, after three years of battle, the conflict was brought to a close with the signing of an armistice agreement and the creation of the DMZ (demilitarized zone at the 38th parallel). Korea returned to being formally divided into North and South, communist and liberal democratic once again, as it has remained to this day.

²⁰ Steve Crabtree, "The Gallup Brain: Americans and the Korean War," *Gallup*, accessed March 12, 2016. <http://www.gallup.com/poll/7741/gallup-brain-americans-korean-war.aspx>.

Though it is overshadowed by the Vietnam War today, the Korean War was very controversial when it was taking place and produced dissent in the American public. The initial response to the U.S. show of force was solid, with the majority of Americans approving the actions of President Harry S. Truman, but by the following year this support had declined.²¹ The fear that the U.S. was approaching another world conflict contributed to constant shifts in American opinions as did the increasing number of casualties, which rose to millions by the end of the conflict. Though Americans remained supportive of the United Nations (U.N.) efforts in the Korean War campaigns throughout, their opinions on the direction that the war was taking generally shifted from year to year.²² Overall, the Korean War was feared to be the beginning of major military conflicts not only in Asia but across the globe, a fear that appears to have been somewhat well-founded with the controversial American war in Vietnam that followed less than twenty years later.

It is difficult to definitively outline the start and end dates of the Vietnam War as it was centered on an escalation in U.S. involvement over a period of several years. Beginning as a conflict between France, who once held Vietnam as a colony, and Vietnamese forces, America became increasingly involved as French forces moved out of the area, eventually becoming entangled in similar conflicts to those faced by France years earlier. However, it was clear that by 1954 armed conflict involving the United States and the Communist forces in North Vietnam under Ho Chi Minh would have been difficult to avoid. By 1968, the U.S. military participation in Vietnam had reached a peak with over half a million U.S. personnel involved. But by 1973, after years of bitter and bloody conflict over the course of several presidencies, both at home and abroad, America had left Vietnam; Richard Nixon withdrew American forces in 1973.

²¹ Steve Crabtree, "The Gallup Brain: Americans and the Korean War."

²² Ibid.

However, the conflict continued to be fought. North Vietnamese forces regrouped, planning to unite the country after the departure of U.S. forces and perhaps more importantly, U.S. aid goods and U.S. dollars from the now weakening and largely unsupported South Vietnamese government. Without the support of the United States, South Vietnam fell to the North only two years later, officially ending the conflict in 1975. In 1976, Vietnam was united as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, while those who had supported America and the South Vietnamese government fled the country. America's negative opinion of the war had driven a removal of U.S. forces contributing to the war's end but also its lasting legacy and negative representation, as evidenced in the television program *M*A*S*H*. The controversy over the legitimacy and necessity of U.S. involvement in faraway Cold War conflicts had been called into question and challenged by the American public, which was reflected in *M*A*S*H*. However, the communal belief in American superiority as a model to the rest of the world remained strong. The way in which the U.S. showed its superior strength, morality and civility was being questioned, within *M*A*S*H*, not the U.S. world position.

Social Change: Women, Asian-Americans, Civil Rights, and Gay Rights

America faced a great deal of social change during the 1960s through the early 1980s beginning with renewed civil rights efforts, women's and gay rights and eventually with the Asian-American rights campaigns and protests to forever change American culture, history and society.²³ The civil rights movement has an extensive history, beginning far earlier than the

²³ Though women's rights, civil rights and Asian-American rights efforts began before this chaotic period of American history they all saw a resurgence in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. This early history however is outside the scope of this project, to have a full overview of see the website timelines. During this period minority groups successfully helped pass several significant pieces of legislature including Title VI (prohibiting education discrimination based on race, color or national origins in programs or activities receiving federal funding), Title IX (same as Title VI but for gender-based discrimination), *Roe V. Wade*, and the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965.

1960s, but most of the movements significant social changes arose during this later period.²⁴ The American hypocrisy of both claiming to be the model for the free, liberal, western world while maintaining institutionalized racism was a major source of propaganda for the Soviet Union against the United States, which likely contributed to the changes that were implemented. America has struggled with racism since the colonial era but the pressure to be a world “model” combined with motivated protestors led to some of the first major changes in this system.

The 1954 case *Brown v. Board of Education*, which overturned the *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling of “separate but equal” by making the segregation of public schools illegal, brought the modern civil rights era to the American mainstream. The Montgomery bus boycott with Rosa Parks in 1956 followed soon after, Little Rock in 1957, lunch counter sit-ins in the early 1960s, and in 1963 the famous “I have a dream” speech of Martin Luther King during the March on Washington; King received the Nobel Peace prize the same year. But by 1965 Malcom X had been assassinated and by 1968 Martin Luther King has also lost his life, but the movement continued. In 1967, Thurgood Marshall came to be the first African American justice of the Supreme Court and following King’s death, the Civil Rights Act of 1968 was signed attempting to confront discrimination in housing. The efforts of civil rights leaders and advocates contributed to other social movements in the wake of their progression.

Women’s rights, similar to civil rights, has an extensive history extending back to the founding of the nation and pertaining to everything from women’s right to education and voting to the domestic role of women.²⁵ The focus of women’s rights in the 1960s and 1970s was on

²⁴ The Leadership Conference, “Civil Rights Chronology,” *Civil Rights 101*, accessed March 12, 2016. <http://www.civilrights.org/resources/civilrights101/chronology.html?referrer=https://www.google.com/>. This site includes a complete timeline of the civil rights movement, from the 1600s to 2000 and is an easily accessible overview of the movement.

²⁵ National Women’s History Project, “Timeline of Legal History of Women in the United States,” *detailed timeline*, accessed March 12, 2016. <http://www.nwhp.org/resources/womens-rights-movement/detailed-timeline/>.

reproduction and a woman's rights over her own body as well as women's rights in the workplace. The oral contraceptive Enovid, commonly known as Pill, was officially deemed safe by the Food and Drug Administration in 1960, sparking controversy over access to the drug among married and single women. Later, *Roe v. Wade* again addressed women's rights over their bodies, effectively legalizing abortion in the U.S. in 1973. Meanwhile, efforts to equalize women's role in the workplace is advancing; in 1963 the Equal Pay Act was passed and by 1964 the Civil Rights Act was passed prohibiting employment discrimination based on race, sex, religion or nationality. By 1981 the first female Supreme Court Justice had been elected; Sandra Day O'Connor. Within *M*A*S*H*, women, especially Margaret Houlihan (Loretta Swit), began to be more assertive and less reliant upon doctors or other male personnel for support; this reflected these social changes.

Gay rights also gained ground during the late 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. The 1969 Stonewall Riot in Greenwich Village, New York sparked the LGBT community to take action, and within two years' gay rights activist groups had arisen in nearly every major city in America. The riot and the subsequent activism brought a new vocabulary to discuss gay rights issues and made the LGBT community more visible. Partly in response, *M*A*S*H* included episodes such as "George" in season two, which featured a homosexual American GI. The movement was aimed at creating equal employment, housing and education opportunities for the LGBT community. By 1973 the American Psychiatric Association had removed homosexuality as a mental disorder, and limited progress was being made. AIDS arose as a central concern in the

University of Houston, "Timeline for Women's Rights," digital history, accessed March 12, 2016.

<http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/timelines/timelinetopics.cfm?tltopicid=3>.

A basic timeline of women's rights can be found through the University of Houston beginning in 1777 and continuing through 1984 and through the National Women's History Project beginning in 1701 and continuing to 2013.

1980s and 1990s sparking increased distrust and only recently have major strides in equal marriage rights been obtained.

Though Asian-Americans are often overlooked in American history the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, brought them greater visibility with the influx of East and Southeast Asian immigrants and the rise of mostly student driven protests. World War II brought changes in immigration laws in order to address increasing numbers of refugees from around the world. In 1952 the Immigration and Naturalization Act or “McCarran-Walter Act” was passed granting all immigrants the right of naturalization while establishing a per-country quota system for immigrants. The act was amended in 1965 to allow Asian countries an equal status to other countries eliminating the nationality-based quota system, largely in response to Korean immigration following the Korean War. Finally, the Refugee Act of 1980 was passed, allowing Vietnamese people to immigrate legally, a direct response to the immigration concerns created by the Vietnam War.

In the midst of these changes in immigration laws, Asian-Americans were getting involved; they became politically active in other organizations while working to ensure their own voices were heard. Feeling unable to voice their concerns alone, many Asian-American activists joined other organization in order to reach the public including the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), which participated in the 1963 civil rights March on Washington.²⁶ Most Asian-American activists were students who began in other groups before creating their own organizations, such as Asian Americans for Action (AAA), the Asian American Political

²⁶ Susan Gall and Irene Natividad ed., *The Asian American Almanac: A Reference work on Asians in the United States*, (Washington D.C. and London: Gale Research Inc., 1995): 333. This text provides a comprehensive overview and foundation about Asian-Americans from the 1800s to the 1990s, covering employment, politics, immigration, discrimination (hate crimes), education, family and legal changes and trends for those unfamiliar with the topic.

Alliance and the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF). These student groups successfully drove the creation and academic acknowledgement of ethnic and Asian studies programs on college campuses throughout America. The groups spoke out against anti-Asian hate crimes and negative stereotyping while advocating equal employment and education opportunities. The increased population of Asian-Americans as a result of the 1965 immigration amendment led to greater political control and institutional access for Asian-Americans but racial tensions remain, with hate crimes increasing in the 1990s.²⁷

Intervention and the Cold War

The Cold War began after World War II in 1945 lasting until the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991; covering a total of nine presidencies over its duration. Though it is difficult to accurately summarize this entire period, and the many changing opinions and policies that it encompassed, it is important to understand America's Cold War goals and obligations. One of the main factors in forming American Cold War views was the so-called Long Telegram, written by American diplomat and Soviet expert George Kennan. The telegram cautioned America against a direct conflict with the Soviet Union and urged instead American support of any country in danger of falling under communism combined with a strengthening of American values and organizations abroad, essentially fostering the idea of containing communism rather than inciting armed conflict against it.

President Harry S. Truman (1945-53) reacted to the report by forming a council to review the issue, under Clark Clifford. The council, unlike Kennan, urged a focus on military strength to ensure U.S. security against the Soviet Union. When the Soviet Union obtained nuclear weapons in 1949, Truman approved the National Security Council Paper 68 (NSC 68)

²⁷ Ibid, 337.

calling for the containment of communism through a rapid military build-up and drastic increase in U.S. aid abroad. NSC 68 established the foundations for American Cold War policies for decades to come despite changes over presidencies and circumstances.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953-61) and President John F. Kennedy (JFK 1961-63) followed, slightly altering the foundations of NSC 68. Eisenhower pressed the need for the U.S. to focus on the Middle East with regard to Cold War policies, reacting to unrest in Egypt and Lebanon. Eisenhower also pledged American assistance to South Vietnam, officially entangling the U.S. in the region in 1954. President Kennedy, known for his approach to the Cuban missile crisis in 1962, created the strategy of “flexible response” to address unpredictable Cold War conflicts. This new strategy allowed Kennedy to authorize CIA operations in other countries and send U.S. aid and/or troops to counter Communist threats. Kennedy used this to further a coup against South Vietnamese president Ngo Dinh Diem, and increase U.S. aid by sending military advisors to the region.

Under President Lyndon B. Johnson (1963-69) American involvement in Vietnam drastically increased, reaching half a million U.S. military personnel by the end of his presidency, leading to falling approval ratings. Though Johnson was able to make strides with the Soviet Union towards limiting the use of nuclear weapons, the nation became divided over the Vietnam War during his presidency. President Richard Nixon (1969-74) responded to this unrest by announcing a decrease in U.S. military involvement in Asia, urging “Vietnamization” of the War efforts, by which he meant a drastic increase in the involvement and responsibility of the South Vietnamese government and military in its own defense. Nixon would eventually call for the complete withdraw of U.S. military personnel from Vietnam in 1973 in an effort to address political unrest at home.

Following the Watergate scandal and the departure of President Nixon, President Gerald Ford (1974-77) came to office. Ford faced economic decline in the American economy and the fall of South Vietnam to communism (1975) while president, but changed little regarding America's overall Cold War policy: he continued to seek agreement with the Soviet Union and a decrease in nuclear weapons. Following Ford, President Jimmy Carter (1977-81) came to office, returning to the strategy of containment established under Truman, responding to hostilities in the Persian Gulf. President Ronald Reagan (1981-89) came to office when Carter failed to be re-elected after Reagan criticized Carter's failing foreign policy. Despite this, Reagan supported a return to the containment of communism world-wide, essentially retaining the Cold War policies of Carter and Truman before him. President George Bush (1989-93) would see the official end of the Cold war while in office in 1991.

Historiography

Much has been written about the Vietnam and Korean Wars, Asian-Americans, situational comedies, and the social movements of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, but surprisingly few authors have academically discussed one of America's most watched situational comedies: *M*A*S*H*. Popular books about the show, its cast, production and behind the scenes operations such as: *M*A*S*H: The Exclusive, Inside Story of TV's Most Popular Show* by David S. Reiss, *M*A*S*H: The Official 4077 Quiz Manual* by Paul Bertling and *The Complete Book of M*A*S*H* by Suzy Kultar are plentiful and easily found.²⁸ In addition, the World Wide Web

²⁸ Reiss, *M*A*S*H: The Exclusive, Inside Story*. Paul Bertling, *M*A*S*H: The Official 4077 Quiz Manual*, (New York: New American Library, 1986, c1984). Suzy Kultar, *The Complete Book of M*A*S*H* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1988).

provides everything from articles on the show in the *Washington Post* to dedicated and highly detailed blogs created by viewers.²⁹ However, scholarly writing on the show is relatively scarce.

James H. Wittebols' *Watching M*A*S*H, Watching America: A Social History of the 1972-1983 Television Series* is one of the only academic texts dedicated to analyzing the *M*A*S*H* television series in its entirety, but Wittebols devotes little of the book to the role of Asian characters despite their consistent appearance.³⁰ Wittebols instead focuses on shifts in the representations of gender and race (specifically focused on black characters), drinking and drug use, marriage and other mainstream (white) American concerns of the period. *M*A*S*H* however, being set in Korea, features a significant Asian cast whose role has yet to be discussed. Asian characters, though generally considered part of the background - outside of the main cast - are central to the plot of several *M*A*S*H* episodes during a period when America was facing increased visibility and immigration of Korean and Vietnamese people. Understanding how these characters are represented, exploring why they are represented this way and how these representations change over time reflects upon not only those immediately involved in the production of the show, but the views and attitudes of Americans towards East and Southeast Asian people at this critical and chaotic time in American history.

Wittebols writes with the view that *M*A*S*H* follows the trends of society rather than trying to direct or pre-determine them, a view which I follow, as this appears to be founded with regards to major events in social movements and subsequent theme shifts in *M*A*S*H*.³¹ However, the importance of television as simply entertainment for viewers, as explained by Gary Selnow and Richard Gilbert in *Societies Impact on Television: How the Viewing Public Shapes*

²⁹ "M*A*S*H; America Has Gone "MASH" Mad, *The Washington Post*, April 27, 1980, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/1980/04/27/mash/b6be174c-b853-4271-a1b2-e411db7ad1e4/>.

³⁰ Wittebols, *Watching M*A*S*H, Watching America*.

³¹ Ibid.

Television Programming, should also be considered.³² Though producers, writers, actors and networks may have control over content, viewership is also a strong determining factor in what remains on network television, thus the cause-and-effect model is ineffective; both producers and consumers affect what is presented in television. Wittebols also points to a noticeable shift in the overall character of the show following season five which coincided with the departure of Larry Gelbart, a major writer, from the show, and a period when the Vietnam War was fading from American focus, justifying and explaining this inward shift.³³ It is this gap (lack of focus on Asian characters) in Wittebols research, which I will be addressing. Asian characters similar to the main, all white, cast, are changing and adapting to American social trends throughout the series.

MASH units in reality, or Mobile Army Surgical Hospitals, have been relatively well documented by scholars, often being related to the popular television show as a well- recognized comparison. Began during WWII and the Korean War to provide immediate medical and surgical care to the wounded; MASH units proved to be highly effective, remaining part of the U.S. military for sixty years.³⁴ Success stories surround the famous MASH units of the U.S. military as life-saving wonders of invention.³⁵ Within the television show this is reflected in the desperate determination of Hawkeye to challenge death every day of the war, highlighting the horrors of modern warfare while maintaining the superiority of the U.S. to overcome adversity using technology and innovation.

³² Gary W. Selnow and Richard R. Gilbert, *Society's impact on Television: How the Viewing Public Shapes Television Programming*, (Westport, Connecticut and London: Praeger Publishers, 1993).

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ John Patrick Apel, "A Window of Opportunity: A History of the Mobile Army Surgical Hospital in the First Half of the Korean War." PhD diss., University of Southern Mississippi, 1998.

³⁵ Ibid.

Newspapers are an advantageous way of understanding the concerns, politics and values of past years within a community. Using Access and ProQuest Newspaper Archives, I combine both national and local newspapers articles to outline the reoccurring concerns of the American public. This thesis utilizes roughly 200 news articles from *The New York Times*, *Stars and Stripes* and various local newspapers from across the nation to compare stereotypical representations of Asian characters in *M*A*S*H* with what was applied to the “real-life” community at the time. The newspapers used were selected to focus on stories reported about Asian-Americans (with a specific focus on the seven identified Asian character categories in *M*A*S*H*), locals and GIs in Korea and Vietnam as well as major events in American society over a forty-year period from 1950 (the beginning of the Korean War) to 1980 (the end of *M*A*S*H*).

In addition to the newspapers, I turn to the academic body of work concerning each of the seven identified Asian-centered character categories, some of which are more extensive than others. Though main authors stand out in each body of work, the complete overview of military prostitution during the Korean War, the experience of war orphans, or other categories, cannot be wholly explored within this thesis. The houseboy/housekeeper category is the first Asian character role to appear in *M*A*S*H* but is not extensively researched as it was largely a disappearing role in war areas by the 1970s: newspapers form the foundation of information in this category. The farmer/villager role in *M*A*S*H* was largely defined by the day-to-day life of Korean and Vietnamese people, and as a result my research utilizes books and articles from a range of academic disciplines on Korean and Vietnamese culture.³⁶ The black market is central

³⁶ For a basic overview of Korean culture, customs and daily life see during the Korean War see; Cornelius Osgood, *Koreans and their Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951). For the period after the Korean War see; Suh Kuk-sung, Kim Young-soo, Park Il-sung, Lee Jeong-soo and Lee Se-jin, ed., *The Identity of the Korean People; A History of Legitimacy on the Korean Peninsula* (Seoul, South Korea: Research Center for Peace and Unification,

to the peddler/hustler role in *M*A*S*H* as it was a prevalent aspect of both the Korean and Vietnam Wars. The role was seen as an example of the crafty and subversive nature of Korean and Vietnamese (and by extension all Asian) people to the American public: again, newspapers are the foundation of this section.

The prostitution and war bride character roles are often discussed together since romantic and sexual contact with American GIs was frowned upon by Korean and Vietnamese societies. Women associated with GIs were assumed to be prostitutes residing in the camp towns that surrounded U.S. military bases. As a result, the main authors in these categories overlap, and they include Katherine H.S. Moon, Grace M. Cho and Susan Zeiger.³⁷ Moon focuses specifically on the relationship between the U.S. and Korea in regards to military prostitution, arguing that the American presence promoted the practice, while the South Korean government was anxious to pacify America in order to ensure continued military support.³⁸ Cho, similar to Moon, discusses military-oriented prostitution but expands this to explore the physical and emotional trauma faced by Korean women and children during the war.³⁹ Finally Zeiger, who focuses specifically on war brides and American GIs, discusses the discrimination, legal/immigration

1983). Ho-Youn Kwon, ed. *Korean Cultural Roots: Religion and Social Thoughts* (Chicago, Ill.: Integrated Technical Resources, 1995). For Vietnamese culture, customs and immigration see; Trin Yarborough, *Surviving Twice: Amerasian Children of the Vietnam War*, (Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, 2005). Susan Gall and Irene Natividad ed., *The Asian American Almanac: A Reference work on Asians in the United States*, (Washington D.C. and London: Gale Research Inc., 1995).

³⁷ Katharine H.S. Moon, "South Korean Movements against Militarized Sexual Labor," *Asian Survey* 39, no.2 (1999):310-327. Grace M. Cho, *Haunting the Korean Diaspora; Shame, Secrecy, and the Forgotten War*, (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2008). Katharine H.S. Moon, *Sex Among Allies; Military Prostitution in U.S.-Korean Relations*, (New York: Columbia University Press,1997). Susan Zeiger, *Entangling Alliances; Foreign War Brides and American Soldiers in the Twentieth Century*, (New York and London: New York University Press, 2010).

³⁸ Katharine H.S. Moon, *Sex Among Allies; Military Prostitution in U.S.-Korean Relations*, (New York: Columbia University Press,1997). Katharine H.S. Moon, "South Korean Movements against Militarized Sexual Labor." *Asian Survey* 39, no.2 (1999):310-327.

³⁹ Grace M. Cho, *Haunting the Korean Diaspora; Shame, Secrecy, and the Forgotten War*, (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

struggles, and success of relationships between GIs and locals from the First World War to Vietnam, when the practice began to disappear.⁴⁰

Orphans and the enemy form the final two categories presented in *M*A*S*H*. Scholarly work regarding Korean and Vietnamese war orphans is a vast body of work as thousands of orphaned children arrived in the U.S. during the mid-1970s, drawing a great deal of media and political attention.⁴¹ In general, articles and books discussing international adoption, specifically of Korean and Vietnamese children, point to the lack of focus on institutional problems that are leading to women forfeiting their children in the hope they will receive a better life elsewhere, a problem that still exists in parts of the world today.⁴² Scholarly work discussing war orphans points to the Korean War as the foundation of much of America's international adoption policies, and the problems created by the 'selection' hierarchy within this adoption system that overlooks specific groups such as minorities or those with physical or emotional disabilities.⁴³ The enemy, and "friendly fire" which was common to the media's portrayal of the Vietnam War, is also the focus of a large body of academic research. Generally, scholarly writing on "friendly fire" and the position of the enemy in the Vietnam War is focused on media representations, the reasons for the rise in non-hostile casualties and the American perception of the sly, untrustworthy Vietnamese people (enemy or otherwise).⁴⁴ Academic writing about the enemy during the

⁴⁰ Susan Zeiger, *Entangling Alliances; Foreign War Brides and American Soldiers in the Twentieth Century*, (New York and London: New York University Press, 2010).

⁴¹ Rosemary C. Sarri, Yenoak Baik, and Marti Bombyk, "Goal Displacement and Dependency in South Korea-United States Intercountry Adoption," *Children and Youth Services Review* 20 (1998):87-114. Sandra Patton-Imani, "Orphan Sunday: Narratives of Salvation in Transnational Adoption," *Dialog: A Journal of Theology* 51, no.4 (2012): 294-304. Arissa H. Oh, "From War Waif to Ideal Immigrant: The Cold War Transformation of the Korean Orphan," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 31, no.4 (2012): 34-55. Mary Lee, "Mixed Race Peoples in the Korean National Imagery and Family," *Korean Studies* 32 (2008):56-85.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Katherine Kinney, *Friendly Fire: American Images of the Vietnam War*, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press:2000). Bruce Palmer, *The 25-year War: America's Military Role in Vietnam* (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1984).

Korean War tends to focus on the reeducation programs for Korean prisoners of war (POWs) by the U.S.⁴⁵

Overall, *M*A*S*H* offers elements of reality in its presentation of Asian characters but still strongly bases the nature of those characters on pre-established Korean and Vietnamese stereotypes. *M*A*S*H* furthers the Cold War message of the U.S. as a policing force for the rest of the free world, fighting against communism and reflecting the social changes of the community as they arise. Asian characters in *M*A*S*H* adapt to changing American perceptions of what it means to be “Asian,” while in turn using this definition of the “other” to further define Americanness, detailing; the collective communal goals, values and expectations of Americans.

As will be discussed in chapter one, *M*A*S*H* begins conservatively by presenting a stereotypical Asian character to legitimize the Korean setting of the show. The first five seasons of *M*A*S*H* are strongly impacted by the Vietnam War, and tend not to challenge Asian stereotypes or the role of women, as these were divisive topics at the time. Instead these early seasons focus on the controversial military bureaucracy surrounding the Vietnam War, pointing to the failings of the American government while upholding the image of American cultural superiority. As the show, and American social movements, progress and gain popularity, the role of female and Asian characters begins to diversity. Though *M*A*S*H* begins with strictly stereotypical Asian characters, by the end of the series Asian characters are more complex, diverse and individualized, better reflecting reality though still far from the complexity of the all-white main cast.

⁴⁵ Tal Tovy, “Manifest Destiny in POW Camps: The U.S. Army Reeducation Program during the Korean War,” *The Historian, Phi Alpha Theta* (2011): 503-525. Grace June Chae, “Captive Minds: Race, War and the Education of Korean War POWs in U.S. Custody, 1950-1953,” PhD. Diss., The University of Chicago, 2010.

CHAPTER ONE: SEASONS 1-5 (1972-77) ROLES AND REALITY

Overview and Introduction

Seasons one through five of *M*A*S*H* were produced at the tail end of the Vietnam War, though they are set during the Korean War. The show, which began airing in 1972, tends towards a military focus and critique of the Vietnam War. The war ended in a cease-fire for the United States in 1973 but the fighting continued. By 1975, Saigon had fallen to the communist North. As a military show depicting the Korean War, the presentation of locals (Koreans) is essential to the plot line of many *M*A*S*H* episodes. However, these characters were largely confined to stereotypical, one-dimensional roles during the first five seasons. Those stereotypes are generally unchallenged within the show despite Asian-American rights movements during the early 1970s. These roles include: houseboy/housekeeper, prostitute/ “moose”, war bride, orphan, peddler/hustler, farmer/villager, and the “enemy.”⁴⁶ All of which, with the exception of perhaps the enemy, can be understood as being reliant upon, subservient to and envious of the United States for substance/salvation. Asian characters, though prevalent in *M*A*S*H*, tend to conform to common social and cultural misrepresentations and rarely move beyond or challenge these roles. Asian characters are often presented as uneducated, unsophisticated, feminine and in need of assistance and protection from the United States, though this is often not the case in reality.

The well-known view that America was needed and in fact morally obligated to “help” and “protect” Asian countries under the threat of communism can be strongly felt throughout the show, especially in the early seasons while the war in Vietnam was still raging. Though the show

⁴⁶ Katherine H.S. Moon, *Sex Among Allies Military Prostitution in U.S.- Korean Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997). The term “moose” can be used to refer to Asian women who acted as live in girlfriends, housekeepers (cooking, cleaning, doing laundry), or a prostitute in order to survive and lived in the ‘camp-towns’ surrounding American bases. Similar terms in Korean include; *Kijich'on* woman (military camp-town woman), *yanggalbo* (western whore), or *yanggongju* (western princess).

blatantly critiques military bureaucracy and overzealous patriotism (often through the character of Frank Burns), it does not fundamentally undermine the reasoning behind fighting the war, in this case to save Asian countries from communism. Rather, the docile and “needy” presentation of Asian characters suggests to an audience likely in need of reassurance that the need for American assistance was valid and moral. Asian characters fulfill not only stereotypical roles but also perpetually weak roles, leaving room for American assistance to become a vital part of the show’s themes. Weak Asian characters ensured the need for strong, benevolent American characters to come to the rescue, convincing viewers of American superiority while reinforcing Cold War ideologies of America as a policing force aimed towards creating peace. Later, as the war in Vietnam waned and Americans began to look inwards to their own social concerns this message weakened, as did the need for weak Asian characters.

Beginning in the 1960s, Asian-Americans had pushed for greater recognition, civil rights and civil equality. This effort continued strongly throughout the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s but was overshadowed by larger social movements of the time such as women’s rights, gay rights and civil rights, the tactics of which were noted by Asian-American activists. Similar to these other social movements Asian-Americans did succeed in establishing ethnic/Asian studies programs on college campuses and changes in citizenship and refugee legislation. However, Asian-American efforts were often slow in reaching results due to their limited social platform in comparison to civil rights or women’s rights; this slow response is reflected in *M*A*S*H* where Asian characters waited until half-way through the series until stereotypical roles were strongly challenged. Though Hawkeye consistently refutes and condemns the use of terms such as “gook” or other insensitive language regarding Asian characters, these characters remained subservient

to the U.S. military and American GI's actions throughout early seasons whether by choice, force or circumstances.

The first season of *M*A*S*H* was unpopular. The audience ratings were low enough that cancelation was a strong possibility, but the network decided to give the show one more chance, and after its second season *M*A*S*H* would never again be threatened with cancelation due to low viewership. Season one was relatively conservative, but from the first episode it was clear that local civilians would be a central component of the show. Season one established the main cast, writers, producers and directors which remained relatively unchanged during the first five seasons. Season two brought increased viewership and the inclusion of a suggestion box for the cast members to provide feedback, leading to more emotional main cast characters.

The first major shift in the series came at the end of season three with the departure of Colonel Henry Blake (McLean Stevenson), the commanding officer of the 4077th. Henry was followed by the departure of Trapper (Wayne Rogers), camp-mate and friend of Hawkeye Pierce (Alan Alda).⁴⁷ Both characters were replaced by the third episode of season four after Frank is given a brief stint as commander. Henry's role was taken over by the new arrival Colonel Sherman T. Potter (Harry Morgan), while Trapper was replaced with B.J. Hunnicutt (Mike Farrell), both of whom maintained the same relationships with the main cast. Frank Burns (Larry Linville) continued to cause headaches and annoy the commanding officer, while B.J. became the best of friends with Hawkeye, playing pranks on Frank as usual.

The rivalry between Frank and Hawkeye during the first five seasons can be seen as representative of the rising "culture war" occurring within America. The differing views on the

⁴⁷ David S. Reiss, *M*A*S*H: The Exclusive, Inside Story of TV's Most Popular Show* (Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1980). Reiss provides bios on the main cast, how they came to be on the show, their personal insights regarding their character and how they interacted with fellow cast member. This book also provides brief information on the producers, Gene Reynolds, Burt Metcalfe and creator Larry Gelbart.

treatment of Koreans by Hawkeye is notable. Hawkeye tends to side with locals, working to improve their living conditions but at the expense of the U.S. military and its often backwards regulations, while Frank shows animosity and a reluctance to use U.S. resources to help. The American public was divided at the time on the position of the military, as it was on other social issues. The failures of the Vietnam War led many to see military functions as inherently dysfunctional, a view reflected in *M*A*S*H* in seasons one through five in the character of Frank Burns.

By the end of season five another significant shift in cast occurred. Frank Burns, the constant foil to Hawkeye, Trapper and later Hunnicutt, left the 4077th. Frank is replaced by an abler opponent to Hawkeye and Hunnicutt: Charles Winchester (David Ogden Stiers), a blue blood aristocrat from Boston who is a valued surgeon but a noticeable snob. The departure of Frank and arrival of Winchester leads to a noticeable shift in the overall character of the show. No longer focused on the rivalry between military and personnel, the show began to focus more on personal growth, and the Asian characters as a result also saw noticeable changes.

Houseboy/Housekeeper

The role of an Asian houseboy is introduced in *M*A*S*H* from the first episode, and remains prevalent throughout the first season. A hired Housekeeper, or houseboy, appears to have been a common feature of the Korean War. Newspapers at the time would feature short columns on the achievements, often reached through the generosity of an American employer/sponsor, of an Asian houseboy.⁴⁸ Once employed, a houseboy was generally

⁴⁸ "Promise to Korean Houseboy Kept by Former Sergeant," *Monroe News-Star*, August 1 1956, access.newspaperarchive.com. "Promise of 3 Years Ago in Korea Is fulfilled," *Post-Tribune Jefferson City Mo.* August 1 1955, Access Newspaper Archive. "Seven-Year Search for Kin of Korean Houseboy is Ended," *The North Adams Massachusetts Transcript*, December 10 1952, Access Newspaper Archive. "Former Korean Houseboy Writes to Ex-Employer," *The Salt Lake Tribune*, March 18 1951, Access Newspaper Archive. "Korean youth wants to Go to 'Amelica'," *Pacific Stars and Stripes* February 7 1951, Access Newspaper Archive.

considered a maid, performing household tasks and ensuring the upkeep of the living space. A model employer of a houseboy was often expected to provide education, especially in the English language; employers promises of a better future in America made to houseboys often appeared as success stories in newspapers of the time.⁴⁹ Since the end of WWII, the ‘typical’ houseboy appears to have come to be understood as “oriental” by default. Houseboys, once in America, may even have been seen as a “gimmick;” one Las Vegas Hotel advertises the inclusion of a “houseboy” button in rooms, which once pushed brings “...an attentive Oriental scooting to his room....”⁵⁰ The employ of a houseboy in *M*A*S*H* during its first season is thus unsurprising. The role is one that would have been recognized in society, often mirroring events from newspapers.

The “Pilot” episode of *M*A*S*H* introduces Ho-Jon, the Swamp (or surgeon’s quarters) houseboy, to the audience.⁵¹ Played by Patrick Adiarte, a Filipino by birth playing a Korean, Ho-Jon’s character is one of only a handful of Asian characters throughout the entirety of the series that is given a formal name and reappears in several episodes. Ho-Jon effectively creates the parameters for the first “heroic” action of Hawkeye, played by Alan Alda. Hawkeye has written to the dean of his alma mater requesting the admittance of Ho-Jon. The request is met and Ho-Jon is admitted assuming that tuition and transportation funds can be raised. The ensuing effort to raise these funds leads to the throwing of a party and “raffling” of a nurse with a two-day pass to Tokyo.⁵² Following this successful raising of funds, Ho-Jon departs for America, but is destined to return to the show by episode five, “The Moose.” Despite this return however, Ho-

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ “How to Attract Big Spenders,” *Independent Press Telegram*, Feb. 4 1962, Access Newspaper Archive.

⁵¹ *M*A*S*H*, “M*A*S*H Pilot,” season 1 ep. 1, directed by Gene Reynolds, written by Larry Gelbart, 20th Century Fox, September 19, 1972.

⁵² Ibid. Hawkeye and Trapper convince an attractive nurse to accompany whoever wins the 2-day pass rest and relaxation raffle tickets to Tokyo. Mulcahy wins this raffle.

Jon never moves beyond the stereotypical role of a houseboy; his assumed education is not reflected in his character upon his return, and he remains a marginally educated Housekeeper with the assumed aspiration of reaching wealth and prosperity through America.

Ho-Jon is not alone in this housekeeper role on the show but he is the only “servant” character that consistently appears and also fills the “houseboy” role. Other Asian characters appear as well throughout the series, paid to do laundry or tidy-up a room, but these roles are less frequent and are often performed by older Korean women, never introduced and only appearing on screen for a few moments. Ho-Jon is certainly the most dynamic houseboy/housekeeper character on the show, but it is important to note that nearly all housekeeper roles on the show, regardless of screen time, are played by Asian actors. Again, as the setting of the show is during a war this reflects the realities of camp life but also firmly places Asian characters in a dependent and often “lesser” role in relationship to Americans and the U.S. government.

Introduced along with Ho-Jon is Spearchucker, a black roommate to Hawkeye and Trapper living in the Swamp, played by Timothy Brown. While Ho-Jon is central to the plot of the “Pilot,” Spearchucker appears to fade away entirely, largely forgotten despite later brief reappearances.⁵³ Spearchucker’s disappearance supports a social difference between Asian and black characters and their accepted roles. Unlike the unassuming and unchanging, yet significant one-dimensional role of a houseboy, a roommate requires depth of character and likely a main role in future episodes. The increasing civil rights concerns of the time likely drove the inclusion of Spearchucker into the script, but his role appears as largely that of an afterthought, a

⁵³ *M*A*S*H*, “M*A*S*H Pilot,” *M*A*S*H*, “Chief Surgeon Who?,” season 1 ep. 4, directed by E.W. Swackhamer, written by Larry Gelbart, 20th century Fox, Oct. 8, 1972. *M*A*S*H*, “The Moose,” season 1 ep. 5, directed by Hy Averback, written by Laurance Marks, 20th Century Fox, Oct. 15, 1972. *M*A*S*H*, “I Hate a Mystery,” season 1 ep. 10, directed by Hy Averback, written by Hal Dresner, 20th Century Fox, Nov.26, 1972. *M*A*S*H*, “Germ Warfare” season 1 ep. 11, directed by Terry Becker, written by Larry Gelbart, 20th Century Fox, Dec. 12, 1972.

background minor character. Though Asian- American movements, often modeled on and working with the civil rights movement, were also rising at this time, the level of threat they posed was perceived to be lesser.⁵⁴ Often seen as a “model minority” in America, Asians represented a middle-ground between the black and white divisions of society.⁵⁵ Within *M*A*S*H*, Asian characters would be difficult to avoid and the decision to open the series with a prominent Asian character suggests an acknowledgement and willingness to meet the need for such inclusion. However, this inclusion is largely restricted to stereotypical, predictable roles and seems not to have been extended to blacks in the same way.

Despite other brief appearances Ho-Jon is the feature of only two episodes; the “Pilot” episode, and “I Hate a Mystery.”⁵⁶ Breaking the housekeeper role, Ho-Jon plays the role of a thief in “I Hate a Mystery,” stealing from members of the 4077th in order to fund the reunion of his family, stating when caught “I didn’t think anybody would miss their bits and pieces, you’re all so rich...”⁵⁷ The camp graciously agrees to let Ho-Jon keep the items as they are going towards a good cause, forgiving his actions. Again Ho-Jon serves as a means of showing the “hero” role of Hawkeye and metaphorically America, providing sustenance, even if reluctantly. Despite largely changing roles to be predominantly a thief in this episode, Ho-Jon remains a houseboy with regard to his motivations. Rather than stealing for himself, or in the case of a houseboy working for himself, wages and “booty” are intended for his family. The end result is

⁵⁴ Steve Louie and Glenn K. Omatsu, ed. *Asian Americans; the Movement and the Moment* (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center Press, 2001).

⁵⁵ Yen Le Espiritu, *Asian American Women and Men Labor, Laws and Love* 2nd ed. (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2008).

⁵⁶ *M*A*S*H*, “M*A*S*H Pilot,” season 1 ep.1, directed by Gene Reynolds, written by Larry Gelbart, 20th Century Fox, September 17, 1972. *M*A*S*H*, “I Hate a Mystery,” season 1 ep.10, directed by Hy Averback, written by Hal Dresner, Fox, November 26, 1972. (see appendix A for other episodes with Ho-Jon)

⁵⁷ “I hate a Mystery” 23:20 – it is also important to note that newspapers also tended to feature the supposed crimes of houseboys as well, specifically a gruesome murder of five, believed to be by a houseboy in 1969, among others. “Houseboy Held in Double Murder,” *Humboldt Standard*, Eureka California, Saturday Evening September 25 1954, Access Newspaper Archive. “Houseboy Denies Murder Guilt,” *Nevada State Journal*, Reno Nevada, Monday August 11, 1969, Access Newspaper Archive.

essentially the same; regardless of the dominate role played, Ho-Jon is expecting to utilize the perceived excess of the camp (and by extension the U.S.) in order to prosper.

Overall, the houseboy or housekeeper role is one that appears to be designated as Asian within *M*A*S*H*. Similar to other common stereotypical roles in the series, houseboys also appear to be cast-typed in a society thought of as predominantly Asian. However, the prevalence of houseboys following the Korean War declined and largely disappeared. This limited exposure likely contributed to the general disappearance of the houseboy role by the second season, to be replaced by a more general housekeeper figure. Despite this change, the role of a “servant” or housekeeper remained firmly Asian, and no other group is seen in filling this role, however briefly, during the first five seasons.

Peddlers and Hustlers

Peddlers and hustlers appear frequently in *M*A*S*H* as Asian characters usually men pushing around carts filled with bits and bobs, selling their wares and making deals even working through the black market at times to meet requests. However, unlike other roles in *M*A*S*H* that tend to be divided as either Asian or Caucasian, the peddler/hustler role splits in season three from being exclusively Asian characters to include American characters as well. But the treatment of these two groups is distinctive: whereas the Asian peddler/hustler is seen as “working” to survive (an acceptable role), American characters in this role are looked-down upon. They are seen as taking advantage of desperate locals, not respecting the American role as the “protector” of locals against communism but exploiting this role unnecessarily for personal gain. Meanwhile, locals in this role on the show are viewed as making the best of a difficult situation exploiting the American military and the war in general. Americans within *M*A*S*H* are allowed to utilize the black market without outcry to meet their needs (as the incompetence

of the US military often requires them to do in the show), but are not allowed to be in control of the flow of goods or receive *personal* gain from the market's existence.

The black market during the Korean War was extensive, visible, and often involved the full cooperation of select American military personnel in order to be maintained. According to a *New York Times* article, "between Jan. 1 1951 and last Feb. 9 (1952) \$5,114,420.25 worth of Army goods were stolen."⁵⁸ Though the article claims that much of this was able to be recovered through a "watchdog" Preparedness Investigation Subcommittee, the losses were noticeably high.⁵⁹ The addition of legitimately obtained U.S. goods through aid efforts further complicated U.S. work at recovering black market goods, as the stolen goods could not be distinguished from legitimately obtained aid goods.⁶⁰ The fact that many black market thieves could have stolen goods on the market available for purchase within hours of their theft further reduced U.S. chances of recovering these goods.⁶¹ The struggle over the existence and prevalence of black markets in Korea led to increased tension between the U.S. and South Korea with the U.S. arguing a lack of support on the issue and South Korea arguing a lack of understanding and misplacement of blame.⁶² PX (post exchange) Scripts and MPC (military payment certificates) were distributed in an effort to control black market currency exchange but failed, eventually becoming yet another currency common to the market.⁶³ Overall, the consistent emergence of U.S. goods from the Post Exchange (which no Korean had access to according to the Korean

⁵⁸ "Army Says Thefts in Korea were Big," *The New York Times*, May 7, 1952, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ "5 GI's in Korea Get Jail in Black Market," *The New York Times*, June 11, 1951, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. According to this article the 5 GI's were "so well organized that the goods were in the hands of the blackmarketeers within two hours of being stolen."

⁶² "U.S. Army Order Angers Koreans: Drive Against Black Market Seems to Aim Visitors to Military Reservations," *The New York Times*, Oct 12, 1955, ProQuest Historical Newspaper.

⁶³ "PX Script Sparks Trade at Seoul: Certificates for U.S. Forces Are Extensively Used in Black-Market Operations," *The New York Times*, March 26, 1961, ProQuest Historical Newspaper. "Army Peril Seen in Korean Thefts: Pilfering at Bases Increases- Called Threat to Security," *The New York Times*, Feb 20, 1964, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

Ambassador You Chan Yang), led to several arrests of army personnel and a problem that lasted far beyond the war's end.⁶⁴

In Vietnam the story was much the same. Again, the American military used specially created military script paid to “all foreign and civilian military personnel serving in South Vietnamin order to curb inflation and to reduce the black market in U.S. dollars.”⁶⁵ However the problems remained with about \$120 million worth of U.S. PX goods making their way to the Vietnam black market in 1967.⁶⁶ PX (post exchange) goods were not the only things falling victim to corruption during the war; the American Secretary of State Dean Rusk conceded, in 1966 that U.S. aid (both currency and goods) was being directly pocketed by higher ranking officials of both countries, blaming the fast-paced nature of the situation and the Vietcong for the American inability to correct this.⁶⁷ This manipulation by high ranking officials is also reflected in *M*A*S*H* when the U.S. military takes on an internal black market with Hawkeye and Radar manipulating the system in order to get goods and supplies from within the U.S. military. In Vietnam by 1968 the prevalence of U.S. military script illegally in the hands of Vietnamese led to an unannounced script exchange rendering all old script worthless, only allowing U.S. personnel to exchange script up to \$100 without question.⁶⁸ This though, did not end the black market or military corruption. Even after the war ended, the black markets remained with Ho Chi Minh City becoming “one of the black market capitols of South -East Asia” by 1979.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ “G. I.’s in Vietnam Will Be Paid in Script to Curb Black Market,” *The New York Times*, Sept 1, 1965, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁶⁶ “\$120-million in ’67 PX Goods On Black Market in Vietnam,” *The New York Times*, Sept 26, 1968, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁶⁷ “Concedes Black Market Involves Americans and Vietnamese,” *The New York Times*, Jan 27, 1966, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁶⁸ “Money-Changers in Saigon Hit Hard; U.S. Invalidates Big Sum in Scrip Held by Vietnamese,” *The New York Times*, Oct 22, 1968, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁶⁹ “Black Market Makes Ho Chi Minh City Run,” *The New York Times*, Aug 10, 1979, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

Newspapers reporting on the black market to the American public highlighted the extent of the problem by showcasing high ranking and well respected U.S. military personnel falling to corruption. By the time of the Vietnam War, the reality of U.S. involvement in this underground market and currency exchange was being broadcast with the same message as *M*A*S*H*, and those involved not only act immorally but act against the U.S. image as protector and policing force. While locals are often assumed by American media to have legitimate reasons for resorting to the black market, any U.S. personnel is condemned for attempts at *personal* gain from the war effort. Asian characters can profit, survive on and gain from the black market with limited negative response within *M*A*S*H*, but any American attempting to do the same will be met with hostility.

Within *M*A*S*H*, the black market first appears in the second episode of the first season, “To Market To Market.”⁷⁰ The theft of an order of hydrocortisone forces Hawkeye and Trapper to trade (without asking) Henry Blake’s antique desk in order to receive supplies.⁷¹ Hawkeye is ironically forced to steal from the military in order to regain stolen military supplies, effectively swapping one stolen good for another. Charlie-Lee an enterprising, well-dressed and smooth talking black-market-leader in Seoul, brokers the deal.⁷² The use of “Charlie-Lee” as a character name in itself is a stereotypical marker for Asian characters reminiscent of the “Charlie Chan” detective series or later *M*A*S*H* episode “Five O’clock Charlie.”⁷³ “Charlie,” was a commonly

⁷⁰ *M*A*S*H*, “To Market to Market,” season 1 ep.2, directed by Michael O’Herlihy, written by Burt Styler, 20th Century Fox, September 24, 1972.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ It is important to note that as early as 1973, the fact that Asian character roles were not being played by Asian actors was being noticed, Charlie Chan (a famous Chinese detective series) in particular is cited as being a role that though clearly Chinese has never been played by a Chinese actor. “Asian-American Actors Fight for Jobs and Image,” *The New York Times*, June 3, 1973, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. “Real Orientals?: Are Films Ready for Real Orientals?,” August 11, 1985, *The New York Times*, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. This is noted in great detail for the Korean actor Philip Ahn as well in: Hye Seung Chung, *Hollywood Asian: Philip Ahn and the Politics of Cross-Ethnic Performance*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006).

used ethnic slur for Vietnamese people, suggesting the use of the term to consciously or unconsciously demarcate any character named “Charlie” as being Asian in *M*A*S*H*.⁷⁴ Here Charlie Lee is the witty business-oriented Asian out to make a quick buck, taking advantage of the opportunities provided by the war but presented not as a “bad” person but rather as a savvy business man.

By season two, the image of exclusively Asian characters profiting from the black market has changed to reveal an internal market within the U.S. military. “The Incubator” replaces the stereotypical Asian hustler with a high ranking U.S. official selfishly profiting from the war and “vacationing” in Japan while he does it.⁷⁵ By selling stolen U.S. military goods back to U.S. military personnel, he becomes not only a war profiteer but a traitor, undermining his own country's interests. Unlike previously, where Hawkeye and Trapper appear to negotiate on equal ground with a level of respect at the extent of Charlie's resources, “The Incubator” shows open hostility towards the Colonel with Trapper declaring “you're a thief!” and the Colonel replying “well of course...”⁷⁶ The Colonel is viewed as not a business man but as a criminal who is by his own admission acting immorally in order to “prepare a little doggie bag for Switzerland.”⁷⁷ Unable to reach an agreement with the Colonel, Hawkeye and Trapper head further up the hierarchy with little success; eventually it is through clever trading by Radar that the two receive

⁷⁴ The use of “Charlie” as a slur for Vietnamese people arose during the Vietnam War. The Viet Cong were shortened to V.C. (Victor Charlie in military terms) which led to the shortened name “Charlie.” Eventually the term became more generally used to refer to any Asian person, as seen by the television show Charlie Chan. For basic outline of Charlie Chan and other slurs see: Asian American Journalist Association “AAJA Guide to Covering Asian America,” accessed March 31, 2016. <http://www.aaja.org/coverageguide/>.

⁷⁵ *M*A*S*H*, “The Incubator,” season 2 ep. 12, directed by Jackie Cooper, written by Larry Gelbart, 20th Century Fox, December 1, 1973.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

an incubator, swapping a barbeque grill that *M*A*S*H* units are allowed with another unit for something more useful.⁷⁸

By season three, the presentation of the black market, peddlers and hustlers in *M*A*S*H* has become further complicated. In “White Gold,” three American thieves arrive in the 4077th seeking penicillin but are noticed; one is captured by Klinger. Colonel Flagg, a CIA intelligence officer, arrives to investigate the crime, but secretly releases the prisoner as the CIA takes the penicillin for themselves to use to barter for information. Eventually, it is revealed that the original thief who was caught, a young black GI, was stealing the penicillin to take to other U.S. camps where it was in high demand to help wounded GIs at the front. Since the original thief was stealing in order to help save lives rather than to make a profit, he was vindicated, while Colonel Flagg was condemned as morally backward stealing needed supplies from those in need for his own goals. Though both are on the U.S. side operating within an American-driven internal market, they are viewed differently based on their objectives. Thus, the pre-established internal U.S. market becomes further complicated as the line between “good” and “bad” American participation in the market is outlined for the audience. By season three, Asian characters are all but removed from this role as the message changes to become about the dangers of Americans abusing their power for personal gain.

This warning to not abuse power or act selfishly is further outlined by the season five episode, “Souvenirs.”⁷⁹ In this episode, Asian characters are again linked to the black market, but rather than being the hustler or peddler they are the victims and an American GI is placed in the

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ *M*A*S*H*, “Souvenirs,” season 5 ep. 23, directed by Joshua Shelley, written by Burt Prelutsky, 20th Century Fox, March 1, 1977. The case of Korean Orphans collecting scrap despite strong danger in order to make “souvenirs” to sell is featured in newspapers as well such as: “Red Tape Cut to Aid Korean War Waifs: U.N. Aides Set Up Orphanages as Extracurricular Activity and Appeal for Donors,” *The New York Times*, July 28, 1951, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

role of hustler. The GI is selling jewelry and other trinkets made from scrap metal that is collected by local children in minefields.⁸⁰ The children who are in need of an income put themselves in danger to allow the GI to profit, outraging Hawkeye and Trapper, who eventually threaten the GI pilot with medical reasons for grounding him in order to force him to stop his side business.⁸¹ Again, American characters are placed in a protecting role over weak and docile Asian characters forced into dangerous situations to survive. The GI who is disregarding this need to protect local children and their families in favor of personal gain is immediately looked down upon and viewed as a problem in need of correction, despite the reality that some locals may rely upon such types of income to survive regardless of danger.

The role of peddler hustler has been nearly reversed from a stereotypical Asian businessman to a profit-oriented immoral American by season five. However, the message remains the same: participation in the black market is acceptable by both groups as long as it is for legitimate reasons. Since Asian characters are already presented as weak and desperate, their role in the black market is acceptable as a means of survival overall regardless of intent, while the American character must legitimize his role as a peddler/ hustler or risk being ridiculed and ostracized for his actions.

Farmer/ Villager

Farmers and villagers are perhaps the most prevalent stereotypical Asian characters in *M*A*S*H* throughout the entire series.⁸² The image of a poor, desperate, uneducated and unsophisticated villager with a livestock animal, often a cow/oxen, as his primary possession and means of sustenance is common. Again, these characters are understandably exclusively Asian

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² See appendix A for complete list of all episodes with Farmer/villager as a significant part of the episode's plot.

on the show, and are typically dependent on American assistance (regardless of the probability of American involvement in the need for such assistance). Villagers in the show tend to reflect stereotypical views of Asian culture as well as a disregard for women (linked to Confucianism), superstition (linked to shamanist and other religious beliefs), and an envy of America. They are often depicted speaking broken English, wearing tattered clothing, being led by an older man, and they are often nameless characters with very few lines.

Life in Korea and Vietnam prior to the wars and American influence was heavily reliant upon rice cultivation and agriculture with most people living in rural areas.⁸³ However, the notion that all Korean or Vietnamese were impoverished farmers is inaccurate. Efforts were made in Korea to improve agriculture in the 1960s under the Saemaul Movement, leading to improvements in health, agricultural production and living standards.⁸⁴ Confucian values and the five-relationships (father-child, ruler-subject, husband-wife, elder brother- younger brother, friend-friend) were foundations of Korean and to a lesser extent the Vietnamese culture. In Vietnam, Confucianism was largely a religion of the elites, and most Vietnamese practiced Buddhism, animist faith, Taoism or Catholicism. Women, in accordance with Confucian values, especially in Korea, tended to be viewed as subordinate to men with older males at the head of the family, but this does not automatically imply that women were viewed as unvalued. As Diane Hoffman has suggested, women merely filled a different, less public role than men.⁸⁵ Shamanism is often seen as the “original” Korean religion, predating Buddhism and Confucianism, and contributed in part to characters in *M*A*S*H*, but this religion was not particularly popular in

⁸³ Donald N. Clark, *Cultures and Customs of Korea* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2000), 120.

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 129-33.

⁸⁵ Ho-Youn Kwon ed., “Blurred Genders: The Cultural Construction of Male and Female in Korea and the United States” in *Korean Cultural Roots: Religion and Social Thoughts*, (Chicago, Ill.: Integrated Technical Resources, 1995): 213-244.

Vietnam. Constant war caused upheaval for many, and the years of war caused a great deal of poverty and displacement depicted in *M*A*S*H*. Overall, it is accurate that many Korean and Vietnamese citizens were farmers in the 1950s and 1970s respectively, and most looked to older men as the heads of household (this changed as men were sent to war), but it is too simplistic to present locals as exclusively poor, uneducated farmers, leading around an ox.

From the perspective of those in the U.S., “Orientals” are hard to classify. According to a *New York Times* article from 1970, “oriental” bias was thought to be declining as Asian-Americans who are usually discriminated against for cultural differences became more assimilated.⁸⁶ The supposed “gook complex” (“gook” is a racial slur, the “gook complex” refers to the negative feelings that many Americans held towards Vietnamese) surrounding the Vietnam War was seen as receding, to be replaced by improved relations in 1970 as well.⁸⁷ However, Vietnamese citizens when they first arrived in the U.S. were initially classified as “Chinese” by immigration, and met with restrictions.⁸⁸ By 1975, newspapers were again overflowing with articles on ill-received Vietnamese refugees struggling with persecution in the U.S., a trend which continued for several years after.⁸⁹ Overall, the reception of Asian refugees was mixed with many facing persecution rather than salvation in the U.S. “Honorary whiteness”

⁸⁶ “Orientals Find Bias Is Down Sharply in U.S.,” *The New York Times*, December 13, 1970, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁸⁷ The use of “gook” as a racial slur predates the Vietnam War, possibly predating the Korean War but most likely arose due to the Korean word “Hanguk” meaning Korean or “mi-gug” meaning American, from which was derived “me gook” For more about racial slur see: Asian American Journalist Association.

<http://www.aaja.org/coverageguide/>. “War’s Vietnamization Seen as Boosting Good Relations,” *Don Tate El Paso Herald Post*, Jan. 3 1970, Access Newspaper Archive.

⁸⁸ “Vietnamese Called Chinese by U.S. Immigration Service,” *The New York Times*, October 23, 1962, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. “The Law Changed in 1965: Immigration is at its Highest Point in Half a Century,” *The New York Times*, June 8, 1975.

⁸⁹ “Vietnamese are Coming to Town and the Town of Niceville, Fla. Doesn’t Like It,” *The New York Times*, May 1, 1975, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. “Wide Hostility Found as First Exiles Arrive,” *The New York Times*, May 2, 1975, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. “The Old Dream of a New Life Does Not Come Easy to Vietnamese Refugee,” *The New York Times*, April 30, 1976, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. “Studies Report Refugees Plagued by Persistent Stress,” *The New York Times*, September 11, 1979, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

and the “model minority” image of Asian-Americans only took hold for those who were seen as assimilated, thus eliminating the initial cultural differences that had labeled them as “other”.

Newly arrived refugees however, who were not familiar with American culture, were likely to be ostracized once in the U.S., effectively creating a hierarchy among Asian-Americans.

Locals in *M*A*S*H* are present in nearly every episode, typically appearing for a few moments in the background or as part of a side story. A handful of episodes feature the plight of citizens living in a war torn country. “The Choson People,” in season two is one of the first episodes dedicated to locals and the problems they face, specifically displacement.⁹⁰ A Korean family, after being forced from their home, have set-up camp in the middle of the 4077th and are intent on staying. Bringing the stereotypical oxen along with them, they appear on screen sporadically as an older man building a shack-like structure and a young boy who follows campers around shining their shoes. Eventually, the family is loaded into a truck and relocated. Foiled against these villagers is an R.O.K doctor visiting the 4077th, an educated man who speaks fluent English. He is treated with greater respect and serves as something of a go-between and translator to explain and defend the villagers’ position. The view that “if you have the ability and can adapt to the American way...then it doesn’t matter anymore if you are Chinese,” or in this case Korean, appears to be true, but if you do not have this ability, your background does cause concern.⁹¹ A hierarchy appears: those who are “American” and fully immersed into the society are at the top, those who are a first or second generation immigrant, can speak English, and are aware of the American culture are next and finally at the bottom are new immigrants and non-citizens, viewed with continued bias both in the U.S. and abroad.

⁹⁰ *M*A*S*H*, “The Choson People,” season 2 ep.19, directed by Jackie Cooper, written by Laurence Marks, Sheldon Keller, and Larry Gelbart, 20th Century Fox, January 26, 1974.

⁹¹ “Orientals Find Bias Is Down Sharply in U.S.,” *The New York Times*, Dec. 13, 1970, ProQuest.

Later episodes like “Hawkeye” from season four and “Exorcism” from season five are similar in their presentation of locals. In “Hawkeye,” Hawkeye stays with a Korean family after overturning his jeep in order to avoid hitting children who were playing in the road.⁹² The family speaks no English, so Hawkeye is conversing with himself for much of the episode. Again, the ‘villagers’ are given no voice; they are speaking Korean but no subtitles are provided. As the title of the episode suggests, the family becomes mere background characters to Hawkeye. The family is living in a shack, and they have a stereotypical ox outside surrounded by chickens and a dog, which Hawkeye later fears was used for dinner though its bark ensures it was not (invoking yet another Korean stereotype).⁹³ “Hawkeye” is surprising as it features Hawkeye alone with a Korean family for the entire episode but it is also similar to other episodes in how it presents the “stock” villager role.

Unfortunately, the presentation of stereotypical Asian roles continues into season five in much the same manner as previous seasons. “Exorcism” features an old man stubbornly refusing treatment after being hurt walking in front of a jeep while he was attempting to scare away evil spirits. The old man refuses to enter the hospital without it first being cleansed of bad spirits by a Shaman priestess; after debate in the camp (mostly Frank arguing against giving into a ‘whiplash hustler’), a colorfully dressed priestess arrives to cleanse the area. The surgery is performed and the camp returns to normal, though a little more accepting of different beliefs than before. The backward ways of the Korean villager are presented in contrast to the superior medical technology of the 4077th with America as the sympathetic hero, causing but then fixing injury.⁹⁴

⁹² *M*A*S*H*, “Hawkeye,” season 4 ep. 19, directed by Larry Gelbart, written by Larry Gelbart and Simon Munter, 20th Century Fox, January 6, 1976.

⁹³ Hye Seung Chung, *Hollywood Asian: Philip Ahn and the Politics of Cross-Ethnic Performance* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006): 137-140.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

Ultimately, the stereotypical role of a villager and farmer in *M*A*S*H* during the first half of the series is interchangeable; a villager is depicted as a farmer and vice versa but both roles typically function as background characters. Farmers and villagers are presented as undereducated, impoverished, backward (superstitious) and dependent upon America.

“Moose”/ Prostitutes

Prostitution during the Korean War was officially illegal, as the U.S. occupational government had outlawed it shortly after the end of WWII in 1946.⁹⁵ However, hundreds of thousands of Korean prostitutes are estimated to have surrounded U.S. bases in the 1950s and 1960s, explaining its prevalence in *M*A*S*H*.⁹⁶ The war had created massive displacement; young women and girls unable to support themselves and often cut off from their families, which forced many into prostitution as a means of survival. This large number of camp followers contributed to the formation of R&R (rest and relaxation) boomtowns that sprung-up around American bases during the war.⁹⁷ “Moose,” as they came to be known by American GIs, were prostitutes, often thought of as female slaves, who followed U.S. camp towns despite them often being near the border of North Korea. These previously sparsely populated agricultural villages grew massively with little to no interference from the U.S. government.⁹⁸ The end of the Korean War led to the signing of the U.S.-R.O.K (Republic of South Korea) defense treaty in 1954, which allowed for the continued stationing of U.S. forces with the intention of ensuring the security of South Korea.⁹⁹ This treaty ensured the survival of military prostitution in Korea, and by the early 1970s the Korean government had begun officially sanctioning prostitutes in the

⁹⁵ Grace M. Cho, *Haunting the Korean Diaspora; Shame, Secrecy, and the Forgotten War* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2008): 104.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Katharine H.S. Moon, *Sex Among Allies; Military Prostitution in U.S.-Korean Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997): 28.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

hopes of strengthening relations with the U.S.¹⁰⁰ The Korean government, with the silent support of the U.S., claimed prostitutes as “sexual ambassadors,” instituting the “camp town cleanup campaign” or “camp town purification movement” to reiterate this claim.¹⁰¹

The Vietnam War faced similar concerns regarding prostitution. However, strong resentment, fear and distrust of Vietnamese citizens by U.S. officials created a far different atmosphere. Though it is certain that similar institutions surrounded prostitution in the Vietnam War (by the end of the war an estimated 200,000 prostitutes existed in Vietnam), government sanctioning and support was absent.¹⁰² Prostitution was still illegal yet widespread, and venereal diseases were a major concern. Unlike Korea, however, Vietnam saw a sharp rise in the popularity of the “contract” girlfriend, a woman who agrees to a long-term, often exclusive relationship with an American GI in exchange for economic security.¹⁰³ Vietnam, like Korea, saw a rise in prostitution and the exploitation of women surrounding the war, and women were often forced into such roles as a means of survival whereby GIs became a pathway to American goods.

Back in the U.S. at this time, views on prostitution were also being challenged. Newspapers from the 1970s featured articles voicing increasing concerns on the legal position of prostitutes.¹⁰⁴ Prostitution to some observers was seen as a major factor contributing to other crimes such as drugs and theft, and argued for greater enforcement.¹⁰⁵ Still others asserted that

¹⁰⁰ Katherine Moon, *Sex Among Allies*, 28. “Ex-Prostitutes Say South Korea and U.S. Enabled Sex Trade Near Bases,” *The New York Times*, January 7, 2009, http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/08/world/asia/08korea.html?_r=0.

¹⁰¹ Grace M. Cho, *Haunting the Korean Diaspora*, 107.

¹⁰² Susan Zeiger, *Entangling Alliances; Foreign War Brides and American Soldiers in the Twentieth Century* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2010): 217-8.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 218.

¹⁰⁴ “Police Finding That Prostitution Is No Longer a Victimless Crime,” *The New York Times*, Oct. 9 1971, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. “Decriminalization of Prostitution Urged,” *The New York Times*, June 23 1975, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

the complete elimination of prostitution was impractical and instead suggested a licensing system, decriminalizing prostitution.¹⁰⁶ However, these trends appear as a reaction to increasingly visible prostitution in the U.S. rather than any substantive connection to the military prostitution prevalent in Asia. Overall social movements and unrest, specifically increasing concerns regarding the treatment of women, contributed to larger discussions such as those regarding prostitution.

During its first five season, *M*A*S*H* featured two episodes where a “moose” was central to the plot, and there were also a handful of episodes featuring prostitutes.¹⁰⁷ These women, as with almost all Asian characters on the show, are not typically given names and are designated to pre-determined roles where the U.S. is presented as the “savior” despite involvement in the war effort. *M*A*S*H* is accurate with regard to the military negligence of prostitution as expected from a show critical of the military overall, but it is surprisingly light-hearted in presenting prostitutes themselves. The show presents prostitution as perhaps a necessary evil, whereby women gain the means of survival and men a needed distraction from war. The first appearance of a “moose” on the show in “The Moose,” for example, presents a woman reluctant to leave her role. She is presented as happy and even grateful for her position, while her family members, in this case a much younger brother who is the head of the household, are encouraging her to remain a “moose” for the sake of her family’s prosperity.¹⁰⁸ As a woman, she is not given a choice in her role, and is seen as being “sacrificed” for the good of the family, but oddly is also presented as happy to be such a “sacrifice.” In this regard, *M*A*S*H* during its

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ See Appendix A for other *M*A*S*H* episodes within the first five seasons with prostitution as a significant part of their plot.

¹⁰⁸ *M*A*S*H*, “The Moose,” season 1 ep.5, directed by Hy Averback, written by Laurence Marks, 20th Century Fox October 15, 1972. Even after being “set free” by Hawkeye she (the moose) is reluctant to leave and tries to return, even if she leaves it is explained that she will likely just be “sold” again.

early seasons conforms to the stereotypical presentation of an undereducated, lower-class, poor prostitute dependent on those around her.¹⁰⁹

“Moose” and prostitutes appear sporadically often dropped into episodes as a side point or for a laugh. In episodes such as “Iron Guts Kelly” and “Bug Out,” prostitutes appear as an anonymous group that creates problems for the 4077th.¹¹⁰ By being in the wrong place at the wrong time, they end up foiling elaborate schemes to glorify a general and ruin Klinger’s wardrobe. In season four, a ‘moose’ is mentioned again in “Of Moose and Men.” Unlike in season one, she is given no lines, explained by the fact that she cannot speak English. Instead, she represents more of the idea of a ‘moose’ and is used as a means of showing the fragility of males; when Sargent Zale is written about the infidelity of his wife, the fact that Zale has a ‘moose’ is used to show his need for mutual understanding. The woman herself is not given a voice, but instead is used as part of a larger life lesson, but again she is presented as literally dependent upon the American Zale. Women overall will gain more importance and depth of character in later seasons as the power of the women’s movement takes hold in America, but female Asian characters appear to be somewhat behind in these advancements compared to their white counterparts.

¹⁰⁹ Katharine H.S. Moon, “South Korean Movements against Militarized Sexual Labor.” *Asian Survey* 39, no.2 (1999):310-327. Korean prostitutes similar to the “comfort women” before them were in fact often uneducated or undereducated, young and thus vulnerable, and often worked to support impoverished families.

¹¹⁰ *M*A*S*H*, “Iron Guts Kelly,” season 3 ep.4, directed by Don Weis, written by Larry Gelbart and Sid Dorfman, 20th Century Fox, October 1, 1974. *M*A*S*H*, “Bug Out part 2,” season 5 ep.2, directed by Gene Reynolds, written by Jim Fritzell and Everett Greenbaum, 20th Century Fox, September 21, 1976. (In “Iron Guts Kelly,” prostitutes are mentioned as being in a Jeep intended to be part of the heroic staging of a general’s death, so he can die with honor in battle despite having actually died in a far less valiant manner. In “Bug Out,” the camp is forced to leave or “bug out” and relocate once they reach their new destination however they come across a group of prostitutes refusing to leave. In order for them to leave Klinger trades his wardrobe, but soon after the 4077th is sent back to its original location anyway.)

War Brides

Asian war brides had a place in the American consciousness that grew from the end of WWII and the arrival of thousands of Japanese women married to American GIs. In fact, Asian immigration during the post WWII era was largely female.¹¹¹ Entering the country as “non-quota immigrants” (the spouses of American citizens) Korean War brides made up almost 40 percent of Korean immigrants to the U.S. between 1950 and 1964, while Japanese war-brides had accounted for nearly 80 percent of Japanese immigrants in the 1950s.¹¹² However, this number is still small overall. Only about 10,000 Korean women entered the U.S. as a spouse of a GI during this period; thus despite war brides being significant with regard to Asian immigration they are largely ignored in American culture overall.¹¹³

When Asian war brides are considered in American popular culture they often are placed in a dualistic stereotypical role as both seductress and/or docile flower.¹¹⁴ This role can be seen reflected in *M*A*S*H*, challenged by Hawkeye, who goes to great lengths to see that American GIs wishing to marry can do so despite extensive military ‘red tape.’ This challenge, however, does not involve the presentation of the war bride herself. War brides in *M*A*S*H* are usually presented as an idea rather than a person; they are nameless and/or faceless entities that must be defended. They are discussed extensively by other characters but appear on screen for only moments, and in some cases they are simply suggested to exist, never seen at all.¹¹⁵ As with other roles, the war bride role in *M*A*S*H* is understandably an exclusively Asian role, but also a role that is entirely dependent upon America; represented by women seeking assistance to

¹¹¹ Espiritu, *Asian American Women and Men*, 63.

¹¹² Ibid, 65.

¹¹³ Zeiger, *Entangling Alliances*, 211.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 216. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

¹¹⁵ See Appendix A for all episodes with war brides as a significant part of an episodes plot during the first five seasons of *M*A*S*H*.

ensure prosperity/security more than relationships based on mutual respect/caring. In this aspect, *M*A*S*H* conforms to the Asian war bride stereotype by depicting women who ultimately seek prosperity in the U.S. through American GIs but problematizes the image of a war bride as inherently untrustworthy and sexually deviant. It is not until later seasons that Asian war brides are featured as fully fleshed-out people with aspirations beyond physical/economic security.

For Korean women in particular, the assumed connection between a war bride and a prostitute was high, and this view carried over to the Vietnamese war brides that followed. The relationship between the U.S. government and South Korea supported the institution of prostitution and the prevalence of camp towns.¹¹⁶ In order to ensure the continued assistance of American forces, South Korean officials encouraged camp towns, or ‘entertainment’ districts surrounding U.S. bases, while U.S. officials chose to not interfere. Rather, the U.S. simply began instituting “checks,” mainly operation clean-up, to ensure that STDs were not present.¹¹⁷ The prevalence of U.S. bases throughout Korea even after the Korean War ended (still existing today) ensured the continuation of this practice, and the connection of prostitution to Korean War brides, many of whom sought marriage as a means of escaping such a position.¹¹⁸ This connection to prostitution greatly contributed to negative views of war brides that were denounced by Hawkeye.

Added to these sexualized notions surrounding war brides constructed from the Korean War, the Vietnam War brought strong mistrust. The persistent fear of the Viet Cong led to a mistrust of all citizens in Vietnam and strong military discouragement of relationships of any kind between GIs and locals.¹¹⁹ Vietnamese women were considered by American military

¹¹⁶ Moon, *Sex Among Allies*.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Zeiger, *Entangling Alliances* 209-213.

¹¹⁹ Ibid, 214.

personnel as deceitful and a threat to security, and thus extensive red tape was placed around marriage. It is this red tape which is constantly referenced in *M*A*S*H*, despite this being a phenomenon of the Vietnam War not prevalent during the 1950s. In the face of this opposition, many American GIs still managed to marry Vietnamese women despite the discrimination and financial strain that followed. Thus the feature of war brides in *M*A*S*H* is a presentation of Korean War brides that reflects the realities of later restrictions.

The first appearance of a war bride in *M*A*S*H* is in season two, episode seven, “L.I.P” (Local Indigenous Personnel).¹²⁰ In this episode, Hawkeye is asked by fellow GI Walker to help him marry a Korean woman, Kim (a common Korean name used often and exclusively for Korean characters in the show) with whom he has a baby before being sent home. Hawkeye agrees to help, but warns of the arduous nature of the process. Shortly after a “C.I.D. man” arrives to investigate the marriage and begin the paperwork, and eventually after some trickery the C.I.D. official agrees to let the marriage go through. In the entirety of this process the Korean woman has no lines. She is shown on screen briefly but talks to no one, and we only learn that her name is “Kim” later, but again this is a very common Korean surname similar to the U.S. “Smith” or “Jane Doe.” She is referred to as almost a possession when Hawkeye is asked to help arrange the marriage he asks (albeit jokingly); ‘you couldn’t just go home with a Japanese bath towel or a turtle with McArthur painted on its back.’¹²¹ In the role of a war bride, “Kim” is presented as secondary in her own story, at the mercy of the decisions of ‘more significant’ characters. Despite being defended by Hawkeye as having a right to marriage and a better future

¹²⁰ *M*A*S*H*, “L.I.P. (Local Indigenous Personnel),” season 2 ep.7, directed by William Wiard, written by Marc Mandel, Larry Gelbart and Laurence Marks, 20th Century Fox, October 20, 1973.

¹²¹ *Ibid*, 5:38 (time stamp for quote).

in America she is not given her own voice and at times appears as more of a possession than a person.

By season five, the atmosphere had changed, and women overall, including Asian characters, began to receive greater focus. Frank Burns is the only strong voice that remains in opposition of “Orientals” marrying Americans. In both “The General’s Practitioner”, and “Ping Pong,” each of which featured a wartime relationship with a local, the war bride was given a name and several lines in broken English. “Ping Pong” is surprising as it features a wartime marriage between two Koreans, one an American named Joe, and the other a local named Sue. The wedding is shown in the traditional Korean style with the whole of the 4077th in attendance. Unlike marriages between a white American and a Korean local, the notion of “red tape” is largely absent, the match is less about the “promised land” of America in this episode and more about a caring relationship. “The General’s Practitioner,” only a few episodes later is similar in this regard, but as Mai Ping is dating a white American she is faced with the reality of her partner leaving her behind to return home.¹²² In this case Radar, a friend of the GI, has been left to look after Mai Ping and her child but at the last moment he returns to sweep Mai Ping away to the States and implied prosperity. Women overall in are advancing, but Asian women, especially when they are in a relationship with an American, remain dependent on others, depicted in lower-class settings and often either undereducated or uneducated.

Orphans

War orphans were a highly visible aspect of both the Vietnam and Korean Wars with far reaching U.S. campaigns to raise funds for aid and adoption efforts. However, children of GI’s

¹²² *M*A*S*H*, “The General’s Practitioner,” season 5 ep.21, directed by Alan Rafkin, written by Burt Prelutsky, 20th Century Fox, February 15, 1977. This episode is probably suggesting the “contract girlfriend” relationship common to the Vietnam War, as the couple appear to have been living together and have a child, though this is never explicitly stated in the episode itself.

who often became orphans themselves were less visible in the media during the Korean War despite the fact they were the majority of those children being adopted at this time.¹²³ By the Vietnam War, children of GI's had become more visible. Within *M*A*S*H*, orphans reinforce the image of an American “hero” by providing an ideal character in need of a “savior.” They often appear as a large group of Asian children who are given no personal names or very generalized names such as Kim. These children are shown as being cared for exclusively by Americans, whether this would be members of the 4077th or characters such as nurse Cratty, an elderly American woman who heads an unnamed orphanage not far from the camp.

The narrative of “saving” orphans through adoption was strongly established during the Korean War with the creation of both government and private adoption agencies. A presidential order in January 1954 created Child Placement Services allowing for international adoption. A year later, a private group, the Holt Adoption Agency was founded.¹²⁴ The Holt agency begun by Harry and Bertha Holt made Korean adoption accessible and by 1956 the agency had sent nearly 100 Korean orphans to the U.S.¹²⁵ The Holt Agency, utilizing what Arissa H. Oh defines as Christian Americanism or “a fusion of Cold War patriotism and vaguely Christian values,” equated international adoption with upholding Christian world views.¹²⁶ Overlooking the underlying social and economic constraints contributing to many mothers relinquishing their children to adoption, these early agencies began and upheld the “savior” narrative which has

¹²³ Sandra Patton-Imani, “Orphan Sunday: Narratives of Salvation in Transnational Adoption,” *Dialog: A Journal of Theology* 51, no.4 (2012): 294-304.

¹²⁴ Patton-Imani, “Orphan Sunday.” Rosemary Sarri C., Yenoak Baik, and Marti Bombyk, “Goal Displacement and Dependency in South Korea-United States Intercountry Adoption,” *Children and Youth Services Review* 20 (1998):87-114. Arissa H. Oh, “From War Waif to Ideal Immigrant: The Cold War Transformation of the Korean Orphan,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 31, no.4 (2012): 34-55.

¹²⁵ “An Airlift for 89 Orphans Flies Korean children ‘Home’ to U.S.,” *The New York Times*, Dec. 18, 1956, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Arissa, “From War Waif to Ideal Immigrant.”

¹²⁶ Arissa, “From War Waif to Ideal Immigrant.” This description by Arissa Oh can be supported by newspaper articles on Holt’s efforts and views such as: “8 Korean Orphans in Oregon Family; Children of U.S. Soldiers are Adopted by Couple Who Now Have Six,” *The New York Times*, Dec. 4, 1955, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. where prayers for Korean children without rice are encouraged by Holt without mention of Korean mothers

survived to the current day.¹²⁷ The mothers of these children are typically ignored within this narrative, efforts are made to “save” the children, but no efforts are made to address means for single mothers to overcome social constraints to retain custody.¹²⁸ In *M*A*S*H* this can be seen by the lack of mothers in episodes referencing orphans, and the struggles of being a single (Korean) mother are not typically shown, but even when a mother is represented she retains almost no agency.¹²⁹

Within Korea, the difficulties faced by single mothers, especially those with a Korean-American child, would likely have been severe. The social prejudice against mixed-race children was a large factor in the creation of American adoption agencies, as these children were likely to face ridicule or even death, a problem which though less severe still exists today.¹³⁰ Within Korea there was also a strong stigma surrounding adopted children as they were seen as outsiders or illegitimate members of the family.¹³¹ These social stigmas combined with a lack of steady income or welfare programs for women in Korea forced many mothers to unwillingly relinquish their children to American adoption programs.¹³² The ‘easy answer’ of sending orphans to other countries rather than addressing these underlying problems is still a concern in Korea and the U.S. today.¹³³ The practices established during the Korean War to address large numbers of abandoned children was carried forward to the Vietnam War, but again, the real social problems were never addressed.¹³⁴

¹²⁷ Patton-Imani, “Sunday Orphans.”

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ *M*A*S*H*, “The General’s Practitioner.”

¹³⁰ Mary Lee, “Mixed Race Peoples in the Korean National Imagery and Family,” *Korean Studies* 32 (2008):56-85.

¹³¹ Patton-Imani, “Sunday Orphans.”

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Sarri, “Goal Displacement and Dependency.”

¹³⁴ After the Vietnam War some Vietnamese mother’s filled a class action suit in the U.S. claiming that their child was adopted from an orphanage without their permission and taken to the United States, arguing that they had only left the child in an orphanage while they resettled after the war. Many of the children who were orphans in the Vietnam War similar to the Korean War were Amerasians (American-Asian) and faced similar discrimination as in Korea, again the social and economic problems faced by these mothers were not addressed leading to many children

In newspapers during and shortly following the Korean War, this savior narrative is repeated. Americans at home are brought stories of GI's who either entertain or rescue orphans "from the grasp of starvation and death through the generosity of battle-hardened United States soldiers."¹³⁵ GIs throw Christmas parties, provide food and protection for orphans when possible, while those at home are reminded that in the "rehabilitation" of Korean children "rests the future of Korean democracy" and are encouraged to get involved.¹³⁶ As Korean orphans begin to arrive stateside, articles proclaiming their musical talents begin to surface. In 1954, Korean orphans are reported to have "serenaded" the First Lady, a trend that increases in the 1960s with several articles featuring Korean children's choirs.¹³⁷ It is not until the mid-1970s that stories on the acceptance and prosperity of these children arises in the U.S.¹³⁸ The notion of a "fresh-start" began to be challenged as some advocated education on Korean culture, for those adopted and relocated to America.¹³⁹ A study in 1977 on the topic determined that most Korean adoptees saw

placed in orphanages, either as a temporary or permanent "solution" for desperate mothers. Trin Yarborough, *Surviving Twice: Amerasian Children of the Vietnam War*, (Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books Inc., 2005).

¹³⁵ "1,100 South Korean Waifs Saved by G.I Generosity," *The New York Times*, Dec. 17, 1950, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹³⁶ "Young Marine Adopts South Korean Orphan Who Refuses Rice After Tasting GI Food," *The New York Times* Aug. 22, 1950, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. "946 Korean Waifs Flow to Safety: Orphans Found by Soldiers Taken to Secret Island by U.S. Transport," *The New York Times*, Dec. 21, 1950, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. "Army Fetes Korea Waifs: GI's Share Expenses for a Christmas Party in Taegu," *The New York Times*, Dec. 25, 1950, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. "Operation Santa Clause," *The New York Times*, Dec. 3, 1954, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. "2,000,000 Reasons to Help South Korea," *The New York Times*, Aug. 2, 1953, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹³⁷ "First Lady Serenaded by 25 Korean Children," *The New York Times*, May 12 1954, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. "Korean Orphans Display Talents: Children in Home Near Seoul. 'Adopted' by U.S. Army, Give Inspired Concert," *The New York Times*, June 18, 1955, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. "Korean Orphans Sing: World Vision Choir of 32 is Heard at Carnegie Hall," *The New York Times*, Dec 25, 1961 ProQuest Historical Newspapers. "Choir of Korean Orphans Serenades City Hall," *The New York Times*, Dec. 4 1962, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. "33 Korean Orphans Give Song Program," *The New York Times*, Dec, 7, 1962, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹³⁸ "America Is All They Know, But They're Not Quite at Home," *The New York Times*, March 1 1977, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. "For Korean Leper's Children its America the Beautiful," *The New York Times*, April 4 1977, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. "In loving Homes, Korean Orphans Outgrow Effects of Early Deprivation," *The New York Times*, Dec. 31, 1975, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. "Korean Orphan, 9, Gets Fresh Start," *The New York Times*, Jan 21, 1958, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

themselves as Americans and had little interest in Korean culture, stating that only their physical features and the label of “Asian” made them feel like outsiders.¹⁴⁰

This criticism continued into the Vietnam War as the problems of international adoption were brought to public awareness. Unlike Korea, where newspapers appeared reluctant to openly address the prevalence of Korean-American children, Vietnamese-American children were described as the “big problem,” one that was only expected to get worse as the war continued.¹⁴¹ Vietnamese- American children were often compared with French-Vietnamese children from previous conflicts, and observers pointed to the gaps in American laws on the treatment of these children compared to France.¹⁴² Unlike France, the U.S. in general (laws can vary from state to state) required marriage for a child to be considered an American citizen, which led to ambiguous citizenship even once a child was in the U.S. and complicated adoption requirements for many of these children.¹⁴³

By 1975 the *New York Times* featured a lengthy article on “The Business in Babies” where the realities of the “adoption market” were revealed to the public.¹⁴⁴ While 2,000 Vietnamese orphans had been brought to the U.S., thousands of “hard-to-place youngsters” were in the U.S. foster care and adoption system but were being overlooked due to either their minority background or a physical, emotional or mental handicap.¹⁴⁵ The inequality within the adoption system was revealed to favor white children, and as there had been a decline in adoptable white children many had turned to war orphans as an alternative option overlooking

¹⁴⁰ “America Is All They Know, But They’er Not Quiet at Home,” *The New York Times*.

¹⁴¹ “Americans’ Illegitimate Babies Called ‘Big Problem’ in Vietnam,” *The New York Times*, Nov. 1, 1966, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. “Efforts Grow to Bring Here Babies That GI’s Left in Vietnam,” *The New York Times*, Jan. 3, 1972, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ “Parent and Child; The Business in Babies,” *The New York Times*, Aug. 17, 1975, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

minority (usually black) children in the American system.¹⁴⁶ Despite such criticism, the “savior” narrative remained prevalent and international adoption continued.

Orphans first appear as a central part of an episode of *M*A*S*H* half-way through season one in “Dear Dad.”¹⁴⁷ Set during the Christmas season, Hawkeye is narrating a letter home when he is called upon to dress as Santa for the camp’s Christmas party for Korean children.¹⁴⁸ Shortly after donning a red Santa suit, Hawkeye is “flying into battle dressed as Chris Cringle” to help a wounded soldier.¹⁴⁹ The common image of GIs throwing Christmas parties for orphans as constructed in newspapers is repeated here in *M*A*S*H*. The 4077th gets into the Christmas spirit by reaching out to the local children, providing gifts and what appear to be vaccinations to those who arrive at the camp.¹⁵⁰ This Christmas tradition will continue to later seasons as well, firmly connecting orphans with the generous nature of the holiday season.¹⁵¹

“Tuttle” and “The Trial of Henry Blake” maintain the ‘savior’ narrative, but do so by subverting the American military system. In “Tuttle,” Hawkeye creates a fictional captain in order to get supplies and money (back pay) for a local orphanage.¹⁵² When others begin asking about the extremely generous, fictional Captain Tuttle Hawkeye announces his heroic but comical death to the camp.¹⁵³ In order to help orphans, Hawkeye creates a fictional but idealized character that can be entirely devoted to others. This earns “Tuttle” a great deal of admiration both within and outside the camp, but suggests that this is an unachievable ideal-character to

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ *M*A*S*H*, “Dear Dad,” season 1 ep.12, directed by Gene Reynolds, written by Larry Gelbart, 20th Century Fox, December 17, 1972.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ *M*A*S*H*, “Death Takes a Holiday,” season 9 ep.5, directed by Mike Farrell, written by Mike Farrell, 20th Century Fox, December 15, 1980.

¹⁵² *M*A*S*H*, “Tuttle,” season 1, ep.15, directed by William Wiard, written by Bruce Shelly and David Ketchum, 20th Century Fox, January 14, 1973.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

uphold in reality for any length of time. In “The Trial of Henry Blake,” a similar case of subversion is required when Henry is charged with giving ‘aid and comfort’ to the enemy due to supplies he sent to a local orphanage.¹⁵⁴ Eventually these charges are dismissed, but again (as with “Tuttle”) the military is presented as a roadblock that must be tricked into giving aid. The GI is presented as a hero because he not only gives aid, but gives aid regardless of the obstacles he faces by doing so. Again, the American GI is challenging military bureaucracy in order to do what is ‘right,’ but he maintains a moral responsibility towards those in need to save and protect regardless of the views of authority.

“Kim” is perhaps the most inspirational episode centered on orphans during the first five season of *M*A*S*H*. This episode from season two is the first extensive one-on-one exposure between an orphan and the camp.¹⁵⁵ A young Korean boy is brought to the camp to be treated for minor shrapnel wounds and soon the entire camp loves him, so when his relatives cannot be found, Trapper agrees to adopt him.¹⁵⁶ Adoption is presented as the most logical alternative to an orphanage and the main reason why Trapper decides to write home asking to adopt Kim. Shortly after receiving a letter stating that his wife agrees to the adoption, Trapper goes so far as to exclaim “maybe this is why were sent to Korea,” but by the end of the episode the boy’s mother has been found and leaves with the young Kim.¹⁵⁷ This comment suggests a feeling of ‘manifest destiny’ behind being sent to Korea or a larger moral goal of ‘saving’ others which further supports the notion that Christian values obligate the ‘saving’ or adopting of orphans. Similar to newspapers, the focus is entirely on the child, the mother is on screen for only a few moments,

¹⁵⁴ *M*A*S*H*, “The Trail of Henry Blake,” season 2 ep.8, directed by Don Weis, written by McLean Stevenson, Larry Gelbart, and Laurence Marks, 20th Century Fox, November 3, 1973.

¹⁵⁵ *M*A*S*H*, “Kim,” season 2 ep.6, directed by William Wiard, written by Marc Mandel, Larry Gelbart, and Laurence Marks, 20th Century Fox, October 20, 1973.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.* – The quote is from about half-way through the episode at the 14min mark.

she has no name and says only one word; “Kim.”¹⁵⁸ The camp is disappointed that the mother has returned, but personnel are ultimately accepting and life continues.

By season five, the presentation of a Korean-American child appears in “The General’s Practitioner.”¹⁵⁹ Radar is asked by a fellow GI to care for his Korean girlfriend when he returns to the States but soon learns that the couple has a child as well.¹⁶⁰ As Radar grows more comfortable in his role as caregiver, the GI suddenly returns having realizing he could not leave his girlfriend, Mai Ping and child behind.¹⁶¹ This episode presents a brief suggestion of the hardships faced by single mothers when Mai Ping asks Radar “shall I show you my hut” which is as it sounds, a dirt floor small one bedroom dwelling.¹⁶² However, once again the solution is to ‘save’ the child and mother by bringing them to the States, in this case Bittercreek, Iowa, where the family is presumed to live happily ever after.¹⁶³ The fates of both the mother and her child rest on the decisions of the American GI who had presumably been bringing them food as Radar does in this episode. The suggested inability of the mother, Mai Ping, to survive on her own, leaves room for an American hero to save both her and her child, but suggests no other alternatives (such as staying in Korea) except leaving for the States.

The “Enemy”

Unlike most depictions of a violent and fearsome enemy, the role of an enemy in *M*A*S*H* is surprisingly nonthreatening. North Korean and Chinese soldiers are often shown as incompetent, surrendering to an unarmed American even though they themselves have weapons, unable to hit a target in spite of repeated attempts, or wounded and at the mercy of American

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ *M*A*S*H*, “The General’s Practitioner.”

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Ibid. – quote from about 10min into the episode.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

assistance. The presentation of even a dominant character role as weak and docile strengthens the underlying message the show conveys: America is needed and superior, the standard others should follow. Americans in this case are not only trying to save the local villages and non-combatants, but the communist forces as well.

According to the show, it appears they do so with good reason, as the ‘communists’ are just as in need of help as their non-combative counterparts. At the same time, the U.S. military is presented as far more menacing. Even though Americans are presented as benevolent, moral and peaceful at the individual level, the American military bureaucracy itself is thought to be bungling to the point of becoming its own enemy. “Friendly fire” often surrounded by woeful incompetence and a lack of concern is a major and consistent worry for both the 4077th *M*A*S*H* and Korean locals. During later seasons, the enemy does become more competent, less prone to surrender and less likely to miss targets, but remains largely docile. Overall, the “enemy” role is the most consistent and common throughout all seasons of the show but changes very little.

Episodes such as “Five O’clock Charlie,” “The Sniper” and “The Bus” suggest an incompetent and nonthreatening ‘enemy’. In “Five O’clock Charlie,” Charlie, a bomber who arrives every day at 5pm attempting to blow-up an ammunitions dump beside the camp but becomes entertainment as the 4077th begins taking bets on how far away that day’s attempt will be.¹⁶⁴ Eventually it is Frank Burns who destroys the ammunition dump while attempting to down the enemy bomber. This “friendly fire” situation becomes a common theme, often shown side-by-side the (foreign) “enemy” role. Americans destroying themselves arises in the second season and remains through the show’s existence. A few episodes later, the camp is again under siege

¹⁶⁴*M*A*S*H*, “Five o’clock Charlie,” season 2 ep.2, directed by Norman Tokar, written by Larry Gelbart and Laurence Marks, 20th Century Fox, September 22, 1973.

this time from an enemy sniper in “The Sniper.” Eventually, the sniper surrenders (by raising a white flag) after being wounded, revealing that he thought he was firing upon McArthur’s headquarters, only the camp generator becomes a casualty. “The Bus” features a similar case, as Hawkeye, B.J., Radar, Major Potter and Frank are stranded in a bus on their way back to camp and come across an armed North Korean soldier who not only surrenders to them (a group of unassuming doctors) but helps them fix the bus and willingly goes back to camp with the group (suggesting his willingness to literally ‘follow’ America). In all of these episodes, a North Korean soldier is presented as the enemy but one which can be overlooked, an enemy which secretly wishes or openly seeks American help and/or mercy assuming without worry that they will receive it.

Episodes such as “Germ Warfare,” and “Officer of the Day” show reactions to the arrival of wounded enemies into the 4077th and a strong desire to protect them even from other U.S. personnel. In “Germ Warfare,” for example, Hawkeye and Trapper delay the transfer of a North Korean soldier who is in need of blood which is the same type as Frank’s, AB negative.¹⁶⁵ When Frank refuses to help by providing blood willingly Hawkeye and Trapper take it covertly while he sleeps.¹⁶⁶ This willingness to go to great lengths and face great risks (court martial) to help the enemy reinforces the “hero” role of the ideal American GI, in this case Hawkeye. Hawkeye protects those in need regardless of the war by literally giving American life-blood to “save” the enemy even though that blood was unwittingly provided. In a similar episode during season three, “Officer of the Day,” Colonel Flagg, an intelligence officer, brings in a wounded North Korean whom he asks Hawkeye to “fix-up” in order for him to be taken to Seoul and

¹⁶⁵ *M*A*S*H*, “Germ Warfare,” season 1 ep.11, directed by Terry Becker, written by Larry Gelbart, 20th Century Fox, December 10, 1972.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

executed.¹⁶⁷ Hawkeye as the Officer of the day along with Trapper, stalls Flagg until he is forced to release the prisoner by covertly replacing the prisoner in the ambulance headed for Seoul with Klinger.¹⁶⁸ Again, the heroic GI is set against the backwards bureaucracy of war to show that the U.S. can and should help other nations but in a benevolent and constructive manner. The “ideal” American in this case must overcome the military administration in order to fulfill the expected role of a protector fighting towards peace and a better, more democratic and liberal, world.

The notion that the U.S. is and possibly should be envied by the world arises in *M*A*S*H* in “Dr. Pierce and Mr. Hyde,” but is presented as something of a joke to the audience. In this episode, Hawkeye (after days without sleep) comes to the conclusion with the help of Frank that the enemy is fighting because they are envious of U.S. hygiene.¹⁶⁹ In order to remedy this, Hawkeye attempts to bring an officers’ latrine to the North as a peace offering before finally going to sleep.¹⁷⁰ Again the enemy is presented as child-like, fighting over what others have. Hawkeye’s innocent question of “why is North Korea shooting at us” presumes America innocent, which contributes to a ridiculous answer to his question. The enemy is shown as envious and backward, unable to obtain the superior U.S. hygiene and fighting as a result. Though this episode is comical, the presentation of a weak, incompetent and envious enemy remains prevalent while the U.S. becomes the superior “voice of reason.” In later seasons this desire to be similar to Americans becomes further pronounced and less comical.

“Friendly fire” in both a covert (as with the “Five O’clock Charlie” episode) and overt presentation can be found in *M*A*S*H*, but this was an aspect of the Vietnam War that become

¹⁶⁷ *M*A*S*H*, “Officer of the Day,” season 3 ep.3, directed by Hy Averback, written by Laurence Marks, 20th Century Fox, September 24, 1974.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ *M*A*S*H*, “Dr. Pierce and Mr. Hyde,” season 2 ep.5, directed by Jackie Cooper, written by Alan Alda and Robert Klane, 20th Century Fox, October 13, 1973.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

iconic in representation of the war in print and other media for generations.¹⁷¹ The attempted separation of the Vietnam War from the U.S. as an anomaly or outlier likely contributed to the consistent prevalence of “friendly fire” surrounding the War.¹⁷² This, combined with a sharp-increase in the number of “friendly fire” or non-hostile deaths during the Vietnam War from 8% during the Korean War to more than double at 19% during Vietnam supported this trope.¹⁷³ However, it is also important to note that these numbers have continued to rise in more recent wars, reaching just over 20% for the War on Terror.¹⁷⁴ As with other media dealing with the topic, *M*A*S*H* includes this concept of Americans destroying themselves, participating in an internal struggle in several episodes. This internal struggle hints at the social conflict within America at this time while also reflecting the realities and violence associated with modern warfare. *M*A*S*H* -despite being a comical show - embraces this internal struggle by including “friendly fire.”

“As you Were” in season two and “Bombed” in season three feature cases of miscommunication and “friendly fire.” “As You Were,” begins with a ‘break’ in the war as the camp expects a peaceful day without the arrival of wounded, but by the afternoon wounded have flooded the camp in the midst of heavy “friendly” shelling.¹⁷⁵ While Radar works frantically on the phone to get the shelling stopped, the ER works on, eventually losing the generator to the shelling but ultimately able to pull through.¹⁷⁶ Similarly, in “Bombed,” the camp once again faces heavy “friendly” shelling during a deluge of incoming wounded. This layering of events

¹⁷¹Katherine Kinney, *Friendly Fire; American Images of the Vietnam War*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Eric Steigleder and Doug Callahan, “21% of Fallen Soldiers Die ‘Non-Hostile’ Deaths,” December 6, 2010, <https://mmj.vcu.edu/2010/12/06/non-hostile-deaths-common-in-iraq-afghanistan/>.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ *M*A*S*H*, “As You Were,” season 2 ep. 20, directed by Hy Averback, written by Larry Gelbart and Laurence Marks, 20th Century Fox, February 2, 1974.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

where *M*A*S*H* doctors are working to save American wounded while being confronted with shelling themselves highlights this struggle between Americans and “the world,” Americans and other ideologically opposed Americans, and life and death.

The enemy role is similar to other character roles in that America is presented as the ‘savior’ and voice of reason both metaphorically and literally. However, within this role Americans become an enemy to themselves by allowing the military monotony to overshadow the better judgement of the individual, who for the most part is understood as morally sound in seeking a ‘better’ or more American (democratic and liberal) world for all. The enemy allows for an exploration into the internal struggles facing Americans at this time while assuring the audience that the U.S. is still superior and able to overcome to spite these concerns.

Conclusion

*M*A*S*H* during the first five seasons presents the audience with weak and docile Asian characters which allow for the presentation of a benevolent, heroic and necessary American character to emerge. As the Vietnam War dies down, however, *M*A*S*H* also changes, turning inwards and allowing greater criticism and exploration of previously established Asian character roles in response to social movements. The message of American superiority remains throughout the show but is shown in later seasons through Asian characters’ willingness and even eagerness to embrace all things American. Asian characters become less defined by the roles they play and more focused on the individual’s stories and goals similar to the main cast in later seasons.

CHAPTER TWO: SEASONS 6-11 (1977-83) “OPERATION FRIENDSHIP”¹⁷⁷*Overview and Introduction*

Later seasons of *M*A*S*H*, following the end of the Vietnam War, the fall of Saigon, and the departure of writer and producer Larry Gelbart, featured noticeable changes in the representation of Asian characters. Many Asian-centered stereotypical roles within *M*A*S*H* disappeared as the show entered into a period focused on individuals, their personal struggles and changing social views. This chapter explores this change; in particular, this chapter emphasizes how the representation of Asian characters evolves in comparison to the main cast and earlier seasons. Exploring what might be contributing to these changes within *M*A*S*H* (though this is impossible to determine with certainty) such as social movements, increased Vietnamese and Korean immigration/adoption to the America and changing American Cold War policies.

Women in later seasons, both Asian and American, began to be presented as assertive decision-makers, capable of making their own choices, and as leaders who could be followed even when in opposition to authority. Asian characters begin to appear in more realistic roles, speaking English, speaking more lines, with more complex personal backstories, and interacting with the main cast more often. Asian-centered character roles, especially those that are gender-specific or occupation-based, began to challenge elements of the stereotypes on which they were originally structured. Though the stereotype of a weak, docile, and reliant (upon the U.S.) yet subversive Asian character remains in *M*A*S*H* throughout the series, the image of an uneducated, uncivilized and overwhelmingly poor Asian character is challenged in later seasons.

¹⁷⁷ This title is derived from: *M*A*S*H*, “Operation Friendship,” season 9 ep.10, directed by Rena Down, written by Dennis Koenig, 20th Century Fox, January 26, 1981. In latter seasons the main cast becomes a close family, the 4077th begins to see locals in a more favorable light (as “friends”) and even the enemy begins to be depicted favorably.

The economic boom following WWII allowed many Asian-Americans, especially second generation Chinese and Japanese Americans, to enter the work force as skilled middle-class laborers. This economic boom, combined with the rising civil rights movement, led to greater acceptance of minority groups in mainstream America and an expanding Asian voice among the middle class. As Korean and Vietnamese immigrants began to arrive following both wars, the visibility of Asian-Americans as a small but growing and vocal minority group rose.¹⁷⁸ Despite a decline in the economy, Asian-Americans had established a lingering voice within the American middle class. With the added help of increasing upward socioeconomic mobility, improved education opportunities and other increasingly vocal social movements, Asian-Americans surged ahead; now with a growing social platform to voice their grievances. Student organizations on college and university campuses strengthened activist groups, and under Title VI (passed in 1964), began founding Asian and ethnic studies programs.¹⁷⁹ In addition, immigration laws began to be altered and nationwide campaigns and conferences reappeared in support of Asian-American rights and recognition.¹⁸⁰ By the end of the Vietnam War Asian-

¹⁷⁸ Many newspaper articles reported Asian-Americans as a growing and increasingly vocal group during this period, but also pointed to the fears and anxieties that arose due to this increasing activism from white Americans. While the Asian-American voice became more pronounced through these continually released articles, aid efforts and rising immigration, and reports of discrimination also increased. "Asian-Americans in New York Fund 'Dynamic' and 'Growing'," *The New York Times*, May 30, 1976, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. "Korean Unity: A Small Beginning; Tension is Relaxed but Settlement is Still Far Off," *The New York Times*, June 26, 1972, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. "Orientals Find Bias is Down Sharply in U.S.," *The New York Times*, December 13, 1970, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. "South Korean's Effort to Tell His Story," *The New York Times*, July 18, 1989, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁷⁹ Title VI is part of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and prohibits education discrimination based on color, race or national origin for any activity or program receiving federal funds (this included State universities) for more information on this title see: The U.S. Department of Education, "Education and Title VI," *office of Civil Rights*, accessed March 31, 2016. <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/hq43e4.html>.

¹⁸⁰ Though Asian rights efforts date back much further than the 1970s, (the Association for Asian Studies was formed in 1941), the ability to combine their voice with the Civil Rights and women's rights efforts led to a surge in Asian-American rights efforts during this period. The main Asian student organizations at this time formed at Berkeley, The University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA – still well known for its Asian studies program today), the University of Hawaii, San Francisco State and the City College of New York according to: "Expansion of Asian-American Studies on U.S. Campuses Reflects Growth of ethnic Consciousness," *The New York Times*, July 26, 1973, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Steve Louie and Glenn K. Omatsu, ed. *Asian Americans; the Movement and the Moment*, (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center Press, 2001). Many of the national

Americans had made significant advancements in U.S. social, educational, and legal policies. *M*A*S*H*, appears to have followed these now (in the late 1970s) well established social trends, and incorporating them into the series to address previous Asian stereotypes that were now (in the late 1970s and early 1980s) being challenged.

Unlike seasons one through five, later seasons saw few major cast changes. With the exception of Corporal Radar O'Reilly (Gary Burghoff), who departed early in season eight on a hardship discharge, no major cast member left or was replaced on the during this period. The main cast does, however, confront many personal crises. These include such story arcs as Major Margaret Houlihan (Loretta Swit) getting married in season five but divorcing by midway through season seven and the continued antics of Corporal Klinger (Jamie Farr) acting insane in attempt to be discharged but also facing relationship problems like much of the main cast. Staring in season six (1977), this latter half of *M*A*S*H* also corresponded to the election of President Jimmy Carter, and later the arrival of President Ronald Reagan who was president until the show ended in 1983. This contributed to the individual focused shift in the show as America recovered from economic decline, increasing social activism and continued foreign soil Cold War conflicts.

Houseboy/ Housekeeper

The role of a houseboy had largely disappeared by the end of season seven (1978-79), though the role of housekeeper remains a constant in the background of the series overall. The

campaigns during this period were focused on the "boat people" or the second wave of Vietnamese immigrants following the fall of Saigon and anti-discrimination: "Asians Picket Building Site, Charging Bias: City Sees Compliance Traditions Jobs Dwindling," *The New York Times*, June 1, 1974, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. "Protest Set Tomorrow to Help the 'Boat People'," *The New York Times*, July 3, 1979, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. One of the largest conferences was held in 1979, which luckily published the lectures and essays presented: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Civil Rights Issues of Asian and Pacific Americans: Myths and Realities, May 8-9, 1979 Washington DC, A Consultation Sponsored by the United States Commission on Civil Rights*, (N. Manchester, Indiana: The Heckman Bindery Inc., 1979).

departure of Ho-Jon, though the most dynamic character to fill this role, did not significantly reduce the number of Asian characters (both male and female) represented in domestic housekeeping roles. However, Ho-Jon did make this role more visible, directly impacting the daily lives of the main cast, an aspect which *did* disappear with his departure. Later, Asian characters in this role were unlikely to be significant to the plot, be on screen for more than a few minutes or have a meaningful (plot-focused) conversation with the main cast. Out of these six later-series seasons (6-11), only one episode features a Korean houseboy as central to the advancement of the episode's plot.¹⁸¹ Though these roles remain prevalent, appearing briefly but frequently, their significance declined in the overall presentation of the series after season five.

The housekeeper role appears more frequently in later seasons but is largely used as a means of introducing Asian characters to the 4077th camp members. The housekeeper role typically appears as a secondary aspect of an Asian character's backstory, showing the character's connection to American military personnel. With regard to later seasons, this concept appears in the season seven episode "The Price" and in the season eight episode "Private Finance."¹⁸² In both of these episodes a local is first introduced as a laundry man or woman before then introducing their personal problems to the 4077th, who then endeavor to solve them. In "Private Finance," this "problem" takes the form of a young woman in need of money, who as a result considers prostitution. Meanwhile "The Price" concerns an elderly Korean officer trying to regain his former military glory and respect.¹⁸³ In both of these episodes, the audience is led to all but ignore the housekeeper role in order to focus on the personal narrative of each character.

¹⁸¹ *M*A*S*H*, "Dear Comrade," season 7 ep. 12, directed by Charles S. Dubin, written by Tom Reeder, 20th Century Fox, November 27, 1978. *M*A*S*H*, "The Price," season 7 ep. 18, directed by Charles S. Dubin, written by Erik Tarloff, 20th Century Fox, January 15, 1979.

¹⁸² *M*A*S*H*, "The Price." *M*A*S*H*, "Private Finance," season 8 ep. 8 directed by Charles S. Dubin, written by Dennis Koenig, 20th Century Fox, November 5, 1979.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

Regarding houseboys, it is important to note that though the image of a Korean houseboy was popular in newspapers during the Korean War, the image of a Vietnamese houseboy is virtually non-existent. Out of seventeen articles on houseboys between 1950 and 1976, twelve featured a Korean houseboy, and none featured a Vietnamese houseboy.¹⁸⁴ While articles in the 1950s are hopeful, generally expressing the bright future that a typically Korean houseboy could achieve with American support, by the 1960s this had changed.¹⁸⁵ Later newspaper articles show houseboys as murder suspects and victims of physical violence, both within the U.S. and abroad.¹⁸⁶ Likely due to the type of warfare (guerilla warfare) utilized during the Vietnam War, and the increasing mistrust of Vietnamese people by Americans, the image and occurrence of houseboys took a drastic downward turn going into the 1970s, a trend which *M*A*S*H* appears to have slowly followed. Houseboys became represented as either victims or as subversive aggressors in media surrounding the Vietnam War, until disappearing from the American focus entirely.

This altered image of a houseboy is repeated in *M*A*S*H* in season seven, episode twelve, which is titled “Dear Comrade.”¹⁸⁷ In this episode, Hawkeye and B.J. arrive at the

¹⁸⁴ “Houseboy Held in Double Murder,” *Humboldt Standard*, Eureka, California, Saturday evening September 25, 1954, Access Newspaper Archive. “Star One of 5 Slain in Bizarre Mystery,” *Burlington Hawkeye*, Burlington Iowa, August 10, 1969, Access Newspaper Archives. “Sergeants Give New Arm, Eye to Korean Youth,” *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, September 28, 1957, Access Newspaper Archives. “General, Houseboy in Same Unit Again,” *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, July 12, 1951, Access Newspaper Archives. “Korean Houseboy Helps Tankers As Interpreter,” *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, April 15, 1953, Access Newspaper Archives. “Officers Fined in Beating,” *The Daily Independent*, Kannapolis N.C., June 14, 1962, Access Newspaper Archive. “Houseboy Held in Congo Aide Slaying,” *Daily News-Record*, Harrisonburg Virginia, February 17, 1962, Access Newspaper Archive. “2 U.S. Officers Charged in Beating of Houseboy,” *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, June 5, 1962, Access Newspaper Archives. “Former Korean Houseboy Writes to Ex-Employer,” *The Salt Lake Tribune*, March 18, 1951, Access Newspaper Archive. “Korean Youth Wants to Go to ‘Amelica’,” *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, February 7, 1951, Access Newspaper Archives. “Promise of 3 Years Ago is Fulfilled,” *Post-Tribune Jefferson City Mo.*, August 1, 1955, Access Newspaper Archives.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ *M*A*S*H*, “Dear Comrade,” directed by Charles S. Dubin, written by Tom Reeder, 20th Century Fox, November 27, 1978.

Swamp (their barracks) to discover that Charles has hired a houseboy, who is actually a Chinese spy sent to discover why the 4077th is so successful.¹⁸⁸ Though this spy/houseboy helps the 4077th with a rash that breaks out across the camp by providing a local remedy, he is distinct from earlier images of houseboys in that he is an “enemy.” Unlike Ho-Jon, who appears in the background as a positive force, trying to help his family and working together with the 4077th to solve problems, this houseboy arrives as a subversive force, there to disrupt the 4077th and share its secrets. Though he ultimately determines that the 4077th cannot be replicated and departs the camp, it is clear that the image of a docile and supportive houseboy has been replaced by a more subversive and untrustworthy character, if appearing at all.

However, the concept surrounding a houseboy – that of Americans helping a young, in this case Korean, man reach his future goals and potential by providing him an American education remains, even though the character of a live-in housekeeper/houseboy all but disappears, after season five. The American role as a “protector” and moral role model of the free world remains, as does the image of America taking in the youth of other countries to ensure their future. The houseboy stereotype changed in relation to the increased hostilities and brutality which surrounded the Vietnam War and the fearsome Vietcong, but the central role of the U.S. in relationship to Asian characters remains as “protector” and “enforcer” of the free world. This preservation of the houseboy concept can be seen in *M*A*S*H* in season nine, “The Foresight Saga.”¹⁸⁹ In this episode, a Korean family graciously provides cabbage to the 4077th but by the end of the episode the family, all but a young boy, Park Sun, have been bombed and fled the area.¹⁹⁰ Park Sun returns to the 4077th, where it is determined that he is a skilled farmer, resulting

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ *M*A*S*H*, “The Foresight Saga,” season 9 ep. 19, directed by Charles S. Dubin, written by David Pollock and Elias Davis, 20th Century Fox, April 13, 1981.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

in the camp sending him to Radar's farm in Iowa.¹⁹¹ Though not formally labeled a houseboy, Park Sun's storyline is nearly identical to that of Ho-Jon in the "Pilot." The main difference is that housekeeping is removed, but the final "ideal" outcome remains the same: arrival in the United States and assumed prosperity.¹⁹²

Peddlers and Hustlers

The role of peddle/hustler does not significantly change following season five. The dichotomy between American and Asian characters remains. Asian characters fare still generally seen as justified when participating in the black market, viewed as needing the market to survive, while Americans are seen as immoral war profiteers when using the market for *personal* gain. However, later seasons also see the arrival of Rosie's bar, run by an assertive Korean business woman, who provides a haven of good food, alcohol and good times for American GIs. Unlike previous seasons, women, through the addition of Rosie's bar, become a noticeable part of the previously male-dominated peddle/hustler, and more generally adopt an entrepreneurial role. The stereotype of a clever but untrustworthy Korean merchant, typically a man with a kind demeanor but keen money sense, is less prevalent after season five, while the stereotype of a western war profiteer, stealing medical supplies, becomes more common.

Surprisingly, Father Mulcahy also appears in the black market and the peddler/hustler role following season five, as an example of a "good" American in the role. In "Tea and Empathy" in season six, Mulcahy comes to the rescue of the 4077th by retrieving stolen penicillin with the help of Klinger.¹⁹³ Later, in "Out of Gas," it is Mulcahy who suggests that the camp turn

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² *M*A*S*H*, "The Foresight Saga." *M*A*S*H*, "Pilot," season 1 ep.1, written by Larry Gelbart, directed by Gene Reynolds, 20th Century Fox, September 17, 1972.

¹⁹³ *M*A*S*H*, "Tea and Empathy," season 6 ep. 17, directed by Don Weis, written by Bill Idelson, 20th Century Fox, January 17, 1978.

to the black market in order to get pentothal (an anesthesia), using Charles's fine wine to trade with.¹⁹⁴ When Charles causes the deal to go south, after insisting that he attend, they resort to stealing the needed medication from the now drunk marketers.¹⁹⁵ In both of these episodes, Mulcahy, despite being a Christian priest, engages in the black market (and even theft), utilizing it as a legitimate means of obtaining the medical supplies the camp needs. Americans in this role are no longer universally disparaged, but are now divided into those who use the role for the good of others, and those who use it for personal gain, typically monetary in nature.

Meanwhile, Charles becomes an example of a "bad" or selfish American in this role. Charles is not the only American misusing the black market and acting as a war profiteer, but he is the only member of the main cast to do so.¹⁹⁶ In "Change Day," Charles decides that in order to make extra cash, he will buy old scrip from local Koreans for pennies on the dollar, and then exchange it for new scrip at full value, later.¹⁹⁷ Since the scrip can only be exchanged by American military personnel, many locals agree to sell their (now worthless) scrip at a loss.¹⁹⁸ Learning of this scheme, Hawkeye and Klinger then trick Charles out of his ill-gained profits, eventually giving the proceeds to Mulcahy for the local orphanage.¹⁹⁹ While Mulcahy was praised and respected for his ingenuity and swift actions with regard to the black market, Charles is berated; the only significant difference between them, though, is their intentions. Though

¹⁹⁴ *M*A*S*H*, "Out of Gas," season 7 ep. 13, directed by Mel Damski, written by Tom Reeder, 20th Century Fox, December 4, 1978.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ An American MP, who had attempted to bribe Klinger for the crime, is caught stealing and selling stolen goods in this two-part episode in season ten. *M*A*S*H*, "Snap Judgement," season 10 ep. 8, directed by Hy Averback, written by Paul Perlove, 20th Century Fox, December 7, 1981. *M*A*S*H*, "Snappier Judgement," season 10 ep. 9, directed by Hy Averback, written by Paul Perlove, 20th Century Fox, December 14, 1981.

¹⁹⁷ *M*A*S*H*, "Change Day," season 6 ep. 8, directed by Don Weis, written by Laurence Marks, 20th Century Fox, November 8, 1977. Charles also appears in the peddler/hustler role in season ten, when he, like Frank Burns before him, finds himself in possession of a rare "antique" vase which he had intended to turn into a large profit (though later he later learns that it is actually a cheap copy). *M*A*S*H*, "That Darn Kid," season 10 ep. 21, directed by David Ogden Stiers, written by Karen L. Hall, 20th Century Fox, April 12, 1982.

¹⁹⁸ *M*A*S*H*, "Change Day."

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

Charles is not causing physical harm as was seen in previous episodes like “Souvenirs,” the message remains; the black market is acceptable as a means of providing necessary items but when used for profit is immediately judged.²⁰⁰

Rosie and her bar, along with Ho-Jon, is one of the only reoccurring Asian characters in *M*A*S*H*. Played by several actors, including Frances Fong and Eileen Saki, Rosie’s character is known for being assertive and independent.²⁰¹ Though appearing before season eight, Rosie herself is not the focus of an episode until “Captains Outrageous,” when she is injured in a bar fight and forced to allow the members of the 4077th to look after her bar.²⁰² Due to this, we as the audience learn that Rosie performs many “tricks” to survive, including watering down drinks, taking a 30% cut from waitresses’ tips, and bribing an American military officer to keep the military away and the bar open.²⁰³ This episode reveals Rosie as a keen business woman, able to manage her rowdy, typically male customers, and turn a profit at the same time. Unlike “To Market to Market” in season one, Rosie, is not a well-dressed, smooth-talking man with a stereotypically Asian name, and she is surprisingly the only significant female character in this role throughout *M*A*S*H* despite this.²⁰⁴

Rosie breaks not only the stereotype of what a “typical” Asian peddler/hustler looks like, but what a “typical” Asian women looks like in the show. She is not presented as a temptress or sexually deviant, though she does allow “business girls” in her bar, and she is far from docile. In “Captains Outrageous,” she goes so far as to complain about the food and service she is provided

²⁰⁰ *M*A*S*H*, “Souvenirs,” season 5 ep. 23, directed by Joshua Shelley, written by Burt Prelutsky, 20th century Fox, March 1, 1977.

²⁰¹ Wittebols, *Watching M*A*S*H, Watching America*, episode guide.

²⁰² *M*A*S*H*, “Captains Outrageous,” season 8 ep. 13, directed by Burt Metcalfe, written by Thad Mumford and Dan Wilcox, 20th Century Fox, December 10, 1979.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ *M*A*S*H*, “To Market to Market,” season 1 ep.2, directed by Michael O’Herlihy, written by Burt Styler, 20th Century Fox, September 24, 1972.

(at no cost) while recovering in post-op at the 4077th, and voices her anger when the camp members (who are graciously running her bar), return with less cash for the day than she expected. Though Rosie does rely upon GIs for much of her business, suggesting her reliance upon the American military to survive, she is not presented as “typical”: docile, weak, dependent, or sexually deviant, though she is depicted as perhaps not entirely trustworthy. Overall, Rosie presents the most significant change to this role, and I would argue that this change was created in part due to the emergence of the women’s rights movement in the United States.

Farmer/Villager

The stereotype of an uneducated, poor, typically male and often desperate farmer leading around an ox/cow as his central means of survival is the typical image that arises when considering the early seasons of *M*A*S*H* and the farmer/villager role. Older Korean men in these early seasons are overwhelmingly presented as the heads of Korean households - the decision makers - while women are relegated to the background regardless of their age. However, this image changes by season six, when women and those of higher socioeconomic status begin to appear in the role, and overtake the head-of-household position. Similar to most roles discussed in this chapter, the changing social views regarding women in America greatly impacted its representation. However, the realities of a changing family dynamic within Korea undoubtedly also contributed. A love of America and a desire to be like Americans also begins to appear much later in the series, reinforcing the belief that America was the model of the free world that surrounded American Cold War policies of the time.

Rather than relying only on stereotypes, later *M*A*S*H* seasons began to present more realistic Korean families, likely due to the producers and writers visiting Korea themselves.²⁰⁵ The Korean War contributed to a shift in the traditional Confucian-based Korean family structure, a fact that was noticed in America as evidenced by articles in *The New York Times*, though attributed to ‘modernization.’²⁰⁶ The war (though not explicitly stated as the cause in the article), had removed many adult men from the Korean family dynamic, leaving women in charge of multi-generational households that were traditionally headed by the grandfather, father or eldest son.²⁰⁷ Meanwhile, the image of a poor farmer in tattered clothing leading an ox remained relatively unchallenged in American media. The oxen, as rural Koreans’ primary means of transportation, remained, as did the image of rural families living in thrown together shelters along roads after their villages were bombed, both relatively accurate representations for the war period but not necessarily the years that followed.²⁰⁸ Established during the Korean War, this image persisted into the Vietnam War era when the image of the rice paddy was added.²⁰⁹ Overall, the notion remained that all rural villagers were farmers, poor, uneducated, living in shacks and heavily male-centered. However, the reality surrounding this stereotype was

²⁰⁵ Larry Gelbart and Gene Reynolds went to Korea in season three, and in season nine Burt Metcalfe went as well following the departure of Gelbart in season four. James H. Wittebols, *Watching M*A*S*H, Watching America: A Social History of the 1972-1983 Television Series*, (Jefferson, North Carolina, and London: McFarland and Company Inc, Publishers: 1998).

²⁰⁶ “Ancient Korean Family Ethics Yielding to Modern Pressures,” *The New York Times*, September 19, 1971, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ “Korean Civilians Make the Best of War Conditions,” *The New York Times*, April 17, 1951, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. “Korean Oxen Keep U.S. Planes Flying; Animals are Used to Bring up Material to Fill in Airstrips When Truck Stalls in Mud,” *The New York Times*, April 18, 1951, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. “Korean Cow Gets Refugee Status: Washday Along the Songchon River in North Korea,” *The New York Times*, November 5, 1950, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. “The Pak Saga: Story of a Korean Family,” *The New York Times*, May 6, 1951, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

²⁰⁹ “Life and Death of a Vietnamese Village,” *The New York Times*, September 4, 1966, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. “‘A Grain of Rice is Worth a Drop of Blood’: Nations that Cannot Grow Enough to Feed their People,” *The New York Times*, July 12, 1964, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

challenged with the end of the Korean War and continued American aid, resulting in changes that were incorporated into *M*A*S*H*, in the mid-to-late 1970s.

In the United States, increased immigration and continued calls for aid contributed to changing views of Korean and Vietnamese farmers and villagers as the American public was inundated with articles on their customs, traditions, families and wartime suffering. The U.S. presented itself as a place of refuge for those fleeing Communist Vietnam, while acknowledging the fears and anxieties that their arrival in the states often provoked among Americans. The villager, understood as the common man with regard to East Asia, was often the central topic of aid campaigns which in the 1970s shifted to refugee campaigns.²¹⁰ Americans often responded to refugees with hostility though, fearing the loss of their jobs and livelihood, changes in housing and/or education, and the disease or other maladies their presence may bring.²¹¹ Within *M*A*S*H*, some of these hostilities were subtly challenged by the main cast, but in general the American response is mixed; continued misunderstandings and stereotypes remained prevalent but changed slowly in the 1970s as more refugees arrived in America to voice their stories.

²¹⁰ Both the Korean and Vietnamese War saw nationwide campaigns to raise foreign aid dollars, often supported by the president or other public institution, but the Vietnam War being less popular saw far fewer calls for aid than the Korean War. However, by 1975 these campaigns had changed to asking for the country to accept refugees (with mixed results). “Eisenhower Opens Korean Aid Week; Appeal for \$5,000,000 Backed by Report Showing Urgent Needs of Suffering People,” *The New York Times*, June 7, 1953, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. “\$5,000,000 is Sought for Korean Relief: Foundation Here to Raise Fund for Immediate Help – Plans Study of Long-Range Aid,” *The New York Times*, April 9, 1953, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. “President Bids U.S. Give to Korea Fund; He Says GI’s on Scene Have Donated More Than Public at Home – Drive June 7 to 14,” *The New York Times*, May 6, 1953, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. “Farm Aide Hails Vietnamese Gains; Ladejinsky Reports Marked Progress in the Southern Area’s Reform Program,” *The New York Times*, October 15, 1959, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. “Ford Asks Nation to Open its Doors to the Refugees; President in TV Plea, Cites Hungarian and Cuban Aid, Vowing to Do the Same,” *The New York Times*, May 7, 1975, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

²¹¹ “The Vietnamese are Coming – and the Town of Niceville, Fla., Doesn’t Like It,” *The New York Times*, May 1, 1975, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. “Wide Hostility Found to Vietnamese Influx,” *The New York Times*, May 2, 1975, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. “Americans, Vietnamese: Mutual Misconceptions,” *The New York Times*, May 1, 1975, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. “U.S. is Struggling to Resettle the Vietnamese Refugees,” *The New York Times*, April 24, 1975, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. “The Old Dream of a New Life Does Not Come Easy to Vietnamese Refugees in U.S.,” *The New York Times*, April 30, 1976, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. “The Refugees’ Long Passage,” *The New York Times*, August 29, 1979, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

Within *M*A*S*H*, this shift in the representation of the Korean farmer/villager stereotype arises early in season six, when Hawkeye is confronted with a well-dressed, English- and French- speaking Korean woman driving an expensive car. “In Love and War,” Hawkeye is initially angered by the arrival of this woman, who takes him away from the wounded to help her elderly mother who has pneumonia.²¹² Once he arrives, however, the “estate” is little more than a bombed out building, the family is growing plants and raising chickens to survive, and Hawkeye soon learns that she has also taken in eight other war refugees to stay with her.²¹³ Hawkeye quickly apologizes for his rude behavior and compliments her for her efforts, and by the end of the episode she has reverted to a more typical image of a Korean villager.²¹⁴ After her mother passes away, she decides to sell her nice clothing and car, buy an ox, pack up and head south to relative safety, returning to wearing tattered clothing.²¹⁵ This episode, though it does revert to stereotypes by the end, shows the shift that occurs after season five; advancing the role of women and diversifying Asian characters. Despite reverting to stereotypes, she remains a well-educated, once-wealthy woman heading a household, which had not been previously seen in *M*A*S*H*.

This progress, however, does not remain strong throughout the entire latter half of *M*A*S*H*. Episodes such as “B.J. Papa San” in season seven, “Oh, How We Danced” in season nine and “The Birthday Girls” in season ten, revert to male-centered images of Korean villagers, with a heavy reliance upon the American military in order to survive.²¹⁶ “B.J. Papa San” features

²¹² *M*A*S*H*, “In Love and War,” season 6 ep.7, directed by Alan Alda, written by Alan Alda, 20th Century Fox, November 1, 1977.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ *M*A*S*H*, “Oh, How We Danced,” season 9 ep.14, directed by Burt Metcalfe, written by John Rappaport, 20th Century Fox, February 23, 1981. *M*A*S*H*, “B.J. Papa San,” season 7 ep. 16, directed by James Sheldon, written by Larry Balmagia, 20th Century Fox, January 1, 1979. *M*A*S*H*, “The Birthday Girls,” season 10, ep.12, directed by Charles S. Dubin, written by Karen L. Hall, 20th Century Fox, January 11, 1982.

a homesick Hunnicutt tending to a Korean family whose elderly father is ill, going so far as to repair their ‘hut’ and track down their son, (who was ‘taken’ by the military) though the family leaves before reuniting.²¹⁷ Again, the family is structured around an elderly male-head of the household, (though the mother is given greater significance than in previous seasons), living in a hut near the road, and speaking broken English.²¹⁸ However, unlike previous episodes such as “Hawkeye,” where the family was a silent backdrop, this family is not surrounded by chickens or other livestock, and they are given lengthy dialogue with B.J., who learns a lot about the family and their hardships.²¹⁹

Even when a villager is presented as a nomadic war refugee, the stereotype of an elderly man as the leader, wearing tattered clothes and speaking broken English remains, as seen in “Oh, How We Danced” in season nine.²²⁰ By season ten, “The Birthday Girls,” this stereotype is again reused when an older Korean man, again speaking broken English and wearing tattered clothing, arrives in the 4077th with a wounded and pregnant cow, which his family desperately needs to live in order for them to survive.²²¹ The camp contacts a veterinarian, while Klinger starts a betting pool on when the calf will be born, which Margaret wins.²²² The stereotype of a poor, uneducated, male farmer in tattered clothing, living in a hut, and speaking broken English remains throughout *M*A*S*H*, despite promising changes in select episodes. However, after season five, all Korean locals are given more lines, are more likely to have personal names and typically have some form of a backstory.

²¹⁷ *M*A*S*H*, “B.J. Papa San.”

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ *M*A*S*H*, “Hawkeye,” season 4 ep.19, directed by Larry Gelbart, written by Larry Gelbart and Simon Munter, 20th Century Fox, January 13, 1976. *M*A*S*H*, “B.J. Papa San.”

²²⁰ *M*A*S*H*, “Oh, How We Danced.”

²²¹ *M*A*S*H*, “The Birthday Girls.”

²²² *Ibid.*

Contrasting with previous seasons, later seasons of *M*A*S*H* also begin to reference Americanization, or the tendency of immigrants arriving in America to take on American beliefs, customs and traditions. In “Give’em Hell Hawkeye,” in season ten, a young Korean man expresses a strong desire to be like Americans, learning English, and seeking to get an operation on his eyes to make them rounder (more European), and thus more attractive.²²³ Though he is not an immigrant, the message that Asians (specifically Koreans) desire to be like Americans, embracing American culture and customs, is evident. The notion that Asians are glad to have American assistance, and accept America as an ideal to live up to – a role model – is suggested in this episode. This newly formed aspect of the local, farmer/villager role was probably a result of the increasing number of Asian immigrants in America and the resulting years of adjustment and adaptation that followed. However, as this is the only episode strongly depicting this concept it is difficult to determine its intended message, or the motivations behind this message with certainty, especially since the idea of Americans imposing their way of life on Korea had been challenged in previous seasons.

In direct conflict with “Give’em Hell Hawkeye,” was the previous episode, “Our Finest Hour,” from season seven, where Hawkeye challenged the concept of America conveying American customs and values to Korea - presenting them as the ideal standard - stating;

“I don’t know why their shooting at us, all we want to do is bring them democracy and white bread, transplant the American dream – freedom, achievement, hyper acidity, affluence, flatulence, technology, tension – the unalienable right to an early coronary sitting at your desk while plotting to stab your boss in the back. That’s entertainment!”²²⁴

²²³ *M*A*S*H*, “Give’em Hell Hawkeye,” season 10 ep. 5, directed by Charles S. Dubin, written by Dennis Koenig, 20th Century Fox, November 16, 1981.

²²⁴ *M*A*S*H*, “Give’em Hell Hawkeye.” *M*A*S*H*, “Our Finest Hour, Part 1 and 2,” season 7, ep. 4 and 5, directed by Burt Metalfé, written by Ken Levine, Ronny Graham, David Isaacs, and Larry Balmagia, 20th Century Fox, October, 9, 1978. – this quote is from about 18 minutes into part two of this episode.

It is evident that *M*A*S*H* does not present a blind love of America, at least by Americans, but does suggest that America is respected, and held up as a standard by many. Villagers and farmers (locals in *M*A*S*H*) are seen as respecting the modernity of America, while Hawkeye points out the costs of such modernity including stress, violence, and “tension.” Overall, the representation of locals with regard to America is mixed in later seasons, with both a love (mostly from locals) and disdain (mostly from the enemy, as discussed below) of America appearing in later episodes.

“Moose”/ Prostitute

Prostitutes, similar to other Asian-specific character roles in later seasons, had all but disappeared after season eight. After season five, prostitutes are no longer “drop-in” characters; when they appear, their role is central to the episode’s plot. Women overall in later seasons are given greater agency and authority, and are more likely to make decisions without the input of men. Though the realities surrounding military prostitution changed little in the late 1970s and early 1980s, social views on the rights of women changed significantly.²²⁵ Prostitutes within *M*A*S*H* are no longer referred to by the derogatory term “moose” and they speak English well. They also have extended dialogue with the main cast and are given their own voices, but they

²²⁵ Katharine H.S. Moon, *Sex Among Allies; Military Prostitution in U.S.-Korean Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997). Though U.S.- Korean relations improve and many U.S. troops leave, causing some camp-towns to disappear and other to grow, the general position of the Korean and American government with regard to military prostitution remains the same; overlooked as a means of maintaining friendly relations by the U.S. and regulated by the South Korean government. In Vietnam, Yarborough, describes the area around U.S. camps as basically “one big party,” with drugs and prostitution, despite these practices still being “officially” illegal; this was mostly how it remained until U.S. troops were withdrawn at the war’s end. Trin Yarborough, *Surviving Twice; Amerasian Children of the Vietnam War*, (Washington, D.C.: Potomac books, Inc., 2005). In America, women are drastically changing the work force and though no official Asian-American women’s rights movement forms collective goals are being reached. Prostitution in the U.S. is also under scrutiny, as decriminalization is considered as part of a women’s right over her own body (and the idea that it is a victimless crime). “Vast Changes in Society Traced to the Rise of Working Women,” *The New York Times*, November 29, 1977, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. “Asian Women Nurture a Growing Consciousness and Activism in Chinatown,” *The New York Times*, November 14, 1977, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. “Police Finding That Prostitution Is No Longer a Victimless Crime,” *The New York Times*, Oct. 9 1971, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. “Decriminalization of Prostitution Urged,” *The New York Times*, June 23 1975, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

only appear in three more episodes.²²⁶ Unlike previous episodes, such as “The Moose” in season one and “Of Moose and Men” in season four, prostitutes in later seasons are more realistic. A woman’s family is not presented as pressuring her towards prostitution in order to provide an income, as seen by the younger brother in “The Moose” (unlikely in reality due to the heavy stigma surrounding any association by Korean women with GIs) nor is she presented as being at the mercy of men (property), as seen in “Of Moose and Men.”²²⁷

Instead, episodes such as “Ain’t Love Grand” in season seven present “business girls” as personally motivated, with the power to choose whom they associate with and what they gain. In this episode, for example, Charles attempts to make friends with a Korean “business girl,” endeavoring to teach her about classical music and literature, but fails miserably as she is not interested in learning. Eventually, she “dumps” Charles, calling him ‘weird’ and leaves to find a “normal” GI to provide her meals.²²⁸ Similar to previous seasons, she is presented as an undereducated country girl, surviving through the assistance of GIs, which reflects the reality of many of the women who surrounded American camps.²²⁹ However, unlike previously, it is clear that she is very vocal about what she wants, in this case food and entertainment (not lessons) and how she spends her time. She is not dictated to by the men around her and is presented as being independent (no family or friends are mentioned).

²²⁶ Repeated here from chapter one, the term “moose” was used to refer to Asian women who acted as live in girlfriends, housekeepers (cooking, cleaning, doing laundry), or a prostitute in order to survive and lived in the ‘camp-towns’ surrounding American bases.

²²⁷ *M*A*S*H*, “The Moose,” season 1 ep.5, directed by Hy Averback, written by Laurence Marks, 20th Century Fox, October 15, 1972. *M*A*S*H*, “Of Moose and Men,” season 4 ep. 11, directed by Burt Metcalfe, written by Jim Fritzell and Everett Greenbaum, 20th Century Fox, November 21, 1975.

²²⁸ *M*A*S*H*, “Ain’t Love Grand,” season 7 ep. 25, directed by Mike Farrell, written by Ken Levine and David Isaacs, 20th Century Fox, March 5, 1979.

²²⁹ Moon, *Sex Among Allies*.

Meanwhile, episodes such as “Private Finance” feature the opposite: young women feeling compelled to engage in prostitution in order to survive.²³⁰ In this case, Song Lee, a young Korean laundry woman for the 4077th, arrives at Rosie’s bar dressed in bright clothing and high heels and starts a conversation with a GI, but is rescued by Klinger.²³¹ When Song Lee explains that she needed the income, as the money made washing laundry was inadequate, he attempts to give her money but is caught by Song Lee’s mother. Her mother immediately assumes the worst and Klinger spends the rest of the episode hiding from her and her broom until the 4077th provides them both (mother and Song Lee) the funds to leave the war zone.²³² Unlike in previous episodes, the family of Song Lee is adamant that she not associated with GIs, despite needing the income. This view is supported by Margaret, who openly defends Song Lee’s mother stating “this woman is fighting for the survival of her family...her actions are understandable, they’re heroic, she doesn’t just stand there she fights back!”²³³ It is clear from this statement that women in *M*A*S*H* are understood as dynamic and powerful characters by season eight, but this message is delivered by a white woman in defense of the actions of a Korean woman, suggesting that a hierarchy still exists. Margaret can speak in defense of Song Lee’s mother, but the Korean woman herself remains silent in this regard.

Surprisingly, by season nine Margaret herself is mistaken as a “business girl” in “No Laughing Matter” when Charles attempts to please a colonel from Tokyo by finding him a ‘companion’ for the evening.²³⁴ Charles, hoping to return to a station in Tokyo, attempts to appease the visiting colonel by heading to Rosie’s bar to find a “business girl” at the colonel’s

²³⁰ *M*A*S*H*, “Private Finance,” season 8 ep.8, directed by Charles S. Dubin, written by dennis Koenig, 20th Century Fox, November 5, 1979.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Ibid. - quote from 18:30-18:50

²³⁴ *M*A*S*H*, “No Laughing Matter,” season 9 ep.13, directed by Burt Metcalfe, written by Elias David and David Pollock, 20th Century Fax, February 16, 1981.

request.²³⁵ Unfortunately, Margaret stops by the colonel's tent at the wrong time with files to deliver, and is mistaken as the "business girl" sent by Charles. Eventually, the real "business girl" Charles had hired arrives and demands pay; needless to say Charles does not return to a station in Tokyo.²³⁶ This is the first and only instance of an American women being, even mistakenly, presented as a prostitute in *M*A*S*H*.

All three of these episodes present independent and realistic female characters that choose their own means of survival. Unlike in previous seasons, women are now given a greater voice; the reality of their struggle, as put by Margaret, to protect their family at possibly great personal cost can be seen reflected in *M*A*S*H*. "Business girls" are shown as being dynamic, with many reasons for choosing their path, from financial necessity to simple convenience; they are presented as individuals with names, personal motivations and stories rather than a relatively voiceless Jane Doe or "Kim." Margaret is presented as a voice for those women who cannot voice their concerns themselves, American and Korean woman included, which results in changes for all gender-based character roles. Margaret and especially her nursing staff are no longer raffled away as in the "pilot" or presented as a comical side-romance, and these changes are extended to the background Asian-characters as well.²³⁷

War Brides

The role of a war bride vanishes from *M*A*S*H* after season five, but resurface for the series finale "Goodbye, Farewell and Amen."²³⁸ In this episode, *M*A*S*H* continued to challenge the stereotype of Asian (specifically Vietnamese) war brides being sexually deviant

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ *M*A*S*H*, "Pilot."

²³⁸ *M*A*S*H*, "Goodbye, Farewell and Amen," season 11, ep.16, directed by Alan Alda, written by Alan Alda, Burt Metcalfe, John Rappaport, Karen Hall, Thad Mumford, Elias Davis and David Pollock, 20th Century Fox, February 28, 1983.

and untrustworthy, but added to that a challenge of the image of war brides as women desperate to reach the States and attain prosperity through a relationship with an American GI. This role in later seasons does not present a voiceless woman, but rather a fully fleshed-out character with her own motivations and backstory, and willing to voice her grievances. The disappearance of this role, though, is not surprising considering the relative disappearance of war brides from the American consciousness altogether following the Vietnam War. The American media shifted away from war brides as a signifier of U.S. foreign policy to focus instead on the children of GIs.²³⁹

Unlike Japanese or Korean war brides, Vietnamese brides were less vocal in the American media, tending to not share their stories and leaving much unknown about their circumstances, which further contributed to the disappearance of the role overall. Even today little is known about the personal stories of these women, as they did not set up a national or regional community.²⁴⁰ The Korean war brides that had preceded them, however, often shared stories of heartbreak, discrimination, or unsupportive husbands upon arriving in the U.S.²⁴¹ This, combined with increasingly complex “red tape” surrounding military marriages, and the extensive months-long process it entailed, led many to “marry” outside of official channels, usually not returning to the U.S., further contributing to the disappearance of the role in American media.²⁴² Added to this complex process and “red tape” was the American military’s attempt to present Vietnamese women as a threat, often citing “security” as a reason for denying such marriages, but few American GIs agreed. In fact, some may have seen relationships with

²³⁹ Susan Zeiger, *Entangling Alliances; Foreign War Brides and American Soldiers in the Twentieth Century*, (New York and London: New York University Press, 2010): 231.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Grace M. Cho, *Haunting the Korean Diaspora; Shame, Secrecy, and the Forgotten War*, (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2008). Amy Lee and Joseph Tse-Hei Lee, “Korean Military Brides in New York,” *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 8, no.3 (2007):458-465.

²⁴² Zeiger, *Entangling Alliances*, 225 -231.

Vietnamese women as a way to resist the military's rule.²⁴³ *M*A*S*H* later challenged this stigmatized representation of Vietnamese women that was generally upheld by the U.S. military.

“Goodbye, Farewell and Amen,” is the two and a half hour series finale, and the episode became the most-watched American sitcom final episode to date.²⁴⁴ In a side-story in the episode, Klinger asks a Korean woman, Song Lee, to marry him, but when asked she declines, stating that she needs to stay in Korea in order to find her family and she cannot leave.²⁴⁵ Later, Klinger ironically announces that he will be staying in Korea after the war to marry Song Lee and help her find her family, even though he was once the most motivated to leave.²⁴⁶ Rather than carrying her away to America, as previous episodes have shown, Klinger is the one who remains; Song Lee is not presented as a damsel in distress that needs an American to “save” her, rather her personnel problems are given precedence. Song Lee is also not shown as a sexual deviant, a “gold-digger,” or untrustworthy; she has her own opinions but is not subversive in how she reaches her goals, getting angry at Klinger for not helping as fully as she would like in finding her family, but not stealing a jeep herself.²⁴⁷ She speaks often with the main cast in fluent English and is not presented as a prostitute or contract girlfriend at any time, and decides to overlook fortune in the U.S. in order to reunite her family.²⁴⁸

The fact that Klinger remains in Korea could suggest an attempt to reflect the reality that many American GIs did stay in Vietnam with their newly formed families rather than return home.²⁴⁹ Though it is not stated as a reason for staying in the episode, Klinger does not even attempt to go through the official military channels to marry Song Lee (likely due to the war's

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ *M*A*S*H*, “Goodbye, Farewell and Amen.”

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Zeiger, *Entangling Alliances*, 223-228.

end and having no intention of returning stateside anyway).²⁵⁰ The role of war bride by the end of the series has almost reversed, from tricksters using marriage as a way to send women to the U.S. or a voiceless nameless entity that is seen almost as property, to a fully-formed character with her own motivations and goals. The stereotype of a weak, docile and dependent (on the U.S.), yet untrustworthy war bride, is replaced by one who is virtuous, family-oriented and independent.

Orphans

The orphan stereotype remains similar to previous seasons following the shift after season five. Americans retain the role as “savior,” but problematize the American government’s approach, and restrictive policies, regarding the adoption of war orphans. Orphans continue to be presented as pitiful and abandoned, with mothers happy to see their children sent to the U.S. and an assumed “better life.” Christmas parties and aid campaign efforts to “save the children” continue, while the social and economic constraints that are contributing to mothers leaving their children in the care of orphanages are overlooked. Americans at home are encouraged to be “moral, upholding Christian values” accepting of the newly arriving refugees and willing to send money abroad for those who cannot be sent to the U.S.²⁵¹

The reality, however, was different than the imagined ideal, as many U.S. policies put roadblocks against those wishing to adopt orphaned Korean, Vietnamese, or Amerasian (Asian-American, “mixed” children of GIs) children. During the Korean War, it was private

²⁵⁰ *M*A*S*H*, “Goodbye, Farewell and Amen.”

²⁵¹ “964 Korean Waifs Flown to Safety; Orphans Found by Soldiers Taken to Secret Island by U.S. Transports,” *The New York Times*, December 21, 1950, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. “Red Tape Cut to Aid Korean War Waifs; U.N. Aides Set Up Orphanage as Extracurricular Activity and Appeal Donors,” *The New York Times*, July 28, 1951, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. “2,000,000 Reasons to Help South Korea; They are Her Children, Whom the War has Orphaned, Disabled and Deprived. In their Rehabilitation rests the Future of Korean Democracy,” *The New York Times*, August 2, 1953, ProQuest Newspaper Archives. “8 Korean Orphans in Oregon Family; Children of U.S. Soldiers are Adopted by Couple Who Now Have Six,” *The New York Times*, December 4, 1955, ProQuest Newspaper Archives.

organizations such as the Holt Agency and churches that organized the majority of international adoptions, rather than the American government, and often these groups described the process as being lengthy, with a great deal of “red tape” and restrictions.²⁵² Though many Korean children were adopted and arrived in the U.S. both directly following the Korean War (1950-53), and after the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965 was passed, the image of America freely opening its doors is inaccurate, despite being widely seen and repeated.²⁵³

The end of the Vietnam War, the fall of Saigon and the rush of refugees contributed to these pre-existing “red tape” struggles, as thousands of Amerasian children were abandoned in Vietnam when American troops returned stateside. The ‘boat people,’ referring to a wave of Southeast Asian refugees (approximately 60% children) who fled communist Vietnam and the war torn region, added to this rising number of orphans.²⁵⁴ The U.S. government, however, had no desire to become involved in the increasing number of orphans and refugees. In fact, the U.S. Department of Defense (DOD) in 1970 stated that the care of these orphans was not “...an area of government responsibility, nor an appropriate mission for the DOD to assume.”²⁵⁵ In 1975 President Ford was asked about this continued “red tape” surrounding the adoption of war orphans to which he replied “...having had similar problems involving Korean orphans I am

²⁵² “8 Korean Orphans in Oregon Family: Children of U.S. Soldiers are Adopted by Couple Who Now have Six,” *The New York Times*, December 4, 1955, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. “Transcript of President’s News Conference on Foreign and Domestic Matters,” *The New York Times*, April 4, 1975, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

²⁵³ Harry H.L. Kitano and Roger Daniels, *Asian Americans Emerging Minorities*, 3rd ed. (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 2001). This provides an overview of the immigration history of both Korean and Southeast Asian immigrants, prior to, including and following the Cold War, covering occupation, family and adaptation as well as “waves” of immigration and statistics, for further context.

²⁵⁴ “Ford Asks Nation to Open its Doors: President in TV Pleas, Cites Hungarian and Cuban Aid, vowing to do the Same,” *The New York Times*, May 7, 1975, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

²⁵⁵ Yarborough, *Surviving Twice*, 20. “Transcript of President’s News Conference on Foreign and Domestic Matters,” *The New York Times*, April 4, 1975, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

assured that all bureaucratic red tape is being eliminated to the maximum degree...” going on to ensure that all South Vietnamese war orphans will get to the U.S.²⁵⁶

The result came to be known as “Operation Babylift.” Announced on April 2, 1975, two days before his news conference promise, President Ford pledged \$2 million dollars to be used in flying two thousand South Vietnamese orphans to the U.S. to be adopted.²⁵⁷ The campaign, though, was met with criticism and many saw it as a publicity stunt, possibly confirmed by the arrival of President Ford personally carrying orphans from the first plane when it arrived.²⁵⁸ The crash of the first plane and death of over a hundred orphans only added to public criticisms of the operation but over the course of a month, over two thousand South Vietnamese orphans were “rescued,” and brought to the U.S., or less commonly, Australia or Europe, to be adopted.²⁵⁹ Soon it was revealed though, that many of the orphans “saved” by Operation Babylift were “stolen” instead, taken from orphanages without the knowledge and/or permission of their mothers, leading to a class action suit filed in the U.S. on behalf of these mothers.²⁶⁰ In the end, notwithstanding the failure of Operation Babylift and the original ambivalence of the U.S. government towards war orphans, Americans remained determined to “save the children” and bring them to the U.S. to be adopted; the “savior” narrative remained prevalent as did international adoption.

Within *M*A*S*H*, the prevalence of the “savior” narrative continues, but the absence of assistance from the American government in “saving” orphans, particularly children of GIs, is strongly criticized. “Yessir, That’s Our Baby” in season eight, directly confronts American

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ Jodi Kim, *Ends of Empire: Asian American Critique and the Cold War*, (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2010): 203.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ Kim, *Ends of Empire*, 203. “3 Orphans Land Here Amid Grief Over Saigon Crash,” *The New York Times*, April 5, 1975, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

²⁶⁰ Kim, *End of Empire*, 203. Yarborough, *Surviving Twice*, 36.

policies towards war orphans when the camp finds an Amerasian (Korean-American) baby girl left outside the Swamp (Hawkeye's barracks), forcing them to fight military "red tape" in order to find her a home.²⁶¹ Unfortunately, according to Father Mulcahy, since she is Amerasian, she is likely to be ridiculed at an orphanage, and he suggests that instead the camp send her to a group of monks who will raise her, hidden away, until she can leave the country.²⁶² When both options are met with displeasure, Hawkeye and B.J. head off to talk to U.S. officials, even the Red Cross, in the hopes she can be sent to the U.S., but their efforts meet with no success.²⁶³ Eventually, seeing that there is nothing that can be done after being informed by a South Korean official that the U.S. is the only nation in Korea that is not taking responsibility for the children of its GIs, the 4077th is forced to leave her with monks and hope she will avoid a life of ridicule, but instead live in isolation.²⁶⁴

This episode, "Yessir, That's Our Baby," though it is critical of the how the U.S. approaches the treatment of the children of GIs, continues to support the view that orphans should be sent to the U.S. and assumed prosperity rather than address underlying social and economic problems. Though the child is left with a note from her mother, ensuring the camp that she is well loved but can no longer be properly cared for, the reasons for her being left behind and how to address them are not considered. The reality that Amerasian children in Korea faced ridicule is accurate, as is the presentation that America - unlike France, Britain or other U.N. countries – did not take responsibility, or provide care, for children of GIs.²⁶⁵ But *M*A*S*H*

²⁶¹ *M*A*S*H*, "Yessir, That's Our Baby," season 8 ep.15, directed by Alan Alda, written by Jim Mulligan, 20th Century Fox, December 31, 1979.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Mary Lee, "Mixed Race Peoples in the Korean National Imagery and Family," *Korean Studies* 32 (2008):56-85. Yarborough, *Surviving Twice*, 16-46.

appears to perpetuate the idea that “saving the children” by sending them to the U.S. is the ideal solution and moral obligation of the U.S., continuing to remove the role of the mother entirely.

By season nine, *M*A*S*H* has returned to the presentation of orphans seen in previous seasons: a group of unnamed children in tattered clothes, who generally do not speak English and are in need of care and protection from the U.S. “Death Takes a Holiday” and “Run for the Money” continue the tradition of GIs hosting Christmas parties for orphans, and the episode voices the call for American aid to those in need. Similar to “Dear Dad” in season one, “Death Takes a Holiday” features the 4077th pulling together their Christmas treats to provide a party for local orphans.²⁶⁶ Meanwhile, Charles “anonymously” delivers candies to the orphanage, but learns they were sold on the black market for rice; after initially being angered by this, he apologizes for giving dessert to children who had not yet had their meal.²⁶⁷ The episode “Run for the Money” in season eleven, though no orphans are featured in screen, also presents similar acts of charity, when Mulcahy wins a race and forces those who bet on it to give their winnings to the orphanage, though Klinger is reluctant.²⁶⁸ In both of these episodes, the American obligation to be generous, even when they themselves may have little to give, is presented. America continues to be represented as the “hero” or “savior” of helpless orphans, despite attempting to avoid responsibility for them in reality. The image that orphans should be protected and provided for by Americans both at home and abroad is upheld, but this message again does not reflect the real policies of the U.S. at this time or extend to the creation or support of economic, or social welfare programs.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁶ *M*A*S*H*, “Dear Dad,” season 1, ep. 12, directed by Gene Reynolds, written by Larry Gelbart, 20th Century Fox, December 17, 1972. *M*A*S*H*, “Death Takes a Holiday,” season 9 ep. 5, directed by Mike Farrell, written by Mike Farrell, 20th Century Fox, December 15, 1980.

²⁶⁷ *M*A*S*H*, “Death Takes a Holiday.”

²⁶⁸ *M*A*S*H*, “Run for the Money,” season 11 ep. 9, directed by Nell Cox, written by David Pollock Mike Farrell and Elias Davis, 20th Century Fox, December 12, 1982.

²⁶⁹ Yarborough, *Surviving Twice*, 16- 63. Kim, *End of Empire*, 202-235.

The “Enemy”

The “enemy” in *M*A*S*H* becomes an increasingly complex role after season five, with multiple points of view regarding the war being depicted. Similar to previous seasons, a weak, docile and incompetent enemy returns, as does “friendly fire” and the concept of Americans fighting themselves. Characters in this role remain overwhelmingly Asian (though “friendly fire” is an exception to this), but after season five they become more realistic. They are presented as similar to American GIs in many cases, fighting to survive and doing whatever that requires. However, hostilities towards America also begin to appear in the role, as some enemy characters express a love for their own customs and country, openly rejecting America. The role becomes less stereotypical as it increases in complexity, but in general, the enemy remains non-threatening.

“Friendly fire,” is a reoccurring theme in media surrounding the Vietnam War, and *M*A*S*H* is no exception.²⁷⁰ Episodes such as “C*A*V*E” in season seven show the 4077th forced to retreat (or “bug out”) to a nearby cave due to shelling from their own military, which reveals that Hawkeye has severe claustrophobia.²⁷¹ *M*A*S*H* shows “friendly fire” as more complex than simply Americans firing upon other Americans, rather *M*A*S*H* suggests an internal struggle as well, with Americans battling their own consciences. “Goodbye Cruel World” in season eight portrays a decorated Chinese-American GI, who Sidney Freedman (a military psychiatrist) reveals has been trying to kill himself since arriving in Korea, citing his

²⁷⁰ For more information on “friendly fire” in Vietnam War media see: Lisa M. Munday, *American Militarism and Anti-Militarism in Popular Media, 1945-1970*, (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland and Company Inc. Publishers, 2012): 159- 202. Katherine Kinney, *Friendly Fire: American Images of the Vietnam War*, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2000).

²⁷¹ *M*A*S*H*, “C*A*V*E,” season 7 ep. 21, directed by William Jurgensen, written by Larry Balmagia and Ronny Graham, 10th Century Fox, February 5, 1979.

mixed ancestry as the cause.²⁷² According to Freedman, he is conflicted as he cannot be both a “good” American and a “good” Chinese – killing Chinese is asked of him by America while killing Americans is the (assumed) prerogative of Chinese – leading to an internal unresolved conflict and his suicidal actions.²⁷³ Thus, “friendly fire,” after season five, becomes a personal struggle as well as physical reality of war. *M*A*S*H* suggests that America may not only be battling itself physically, but emotionally and metaphorically as well.

Incompetence, common in the enemy role in earlier episodes such as “Five O’clock Charlie” and “The Bus,” returns in season eight with “The Yallu Brick Road.”²⁷⁴ While Hawkeye and B.J. are on their way back to camp, a North Korean soldier surrenders to them, even though B.J. and Hawkeye do not have a gun and he does.²⁷⁵ Not only does he surrender when he could have taken B.J. and Hawkeye prisoner, but he also helps them escape being captured by a fellow group of North Korean soldiers that they meet along the road later on.²⁷⁶ Thus, the image of a docile enemy that is willing and even eager to embrace the U.S. - at times becoming a friend – resurfaces, maintaining the stereotype. However, this stereotype is also challenged in later seasons.

An openly hostile enemy does not appear until season eight’s “Guerilla of My Dreams,” when an injured Korean woman arrives at the camp, followed by a South Korean officer who claims she is an enemy guerilla.²⁷⁷ Hawkeye is told by an American GI, Scully, that the South

²⁷² *M*A*S*H*, “Goodbye Cruel World,” season 8, ep. 21, directed by Charles S. Dubin, written by Thad Mumford and Dan Wilcox, 20th Century Fox, February 11, 1980.

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ *M*A*S*H*, “The Yallu Brick Road,” season 8 ep. 10, directed by Charles S. Dubin, written by Mike Farrell, 20th Century Fox, November 19, 1979. *M*A*S*H*, “Five O’clock Charlie,” season 2 ep.2, directed by Norman Tokar, written by Larry Gelbart and Laurence Marks, 20th Century Fox, September 22, 1973. *M*A*S*H*, “The Bus,” season 4 ep.7, directed by Gene Reynolds, written by John H. Hess, 20th Century Fox, October 17, 1975.

²⁷⁵ *M*A*S*H*, “The Yallu Brick Road.”

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ *M*A*S*H*, “Guerilla of My Dreams,” season 8, ep.3. directed by Alan Alda, written by Bob Colleary, 20th Century Fox, October 1, 1979.

Korean officer who arrived is known for being cruel to prisoners, motivating Hawkeye to try to protect her.²⁷⁸ When attempts to “save” her fail, it is revealed that she has no sympathy towards America when she states to Hawkeye (translated by the South Korean officer): “you save lives of those who kill my people and rape my land. I would kill you as I tried to kill my enemy in your hospital.”²⁷⁹ Despite these openly unreceptive comments, Hawkeye still tries to protect her, but he fails.²⁸⁰ This episode is surprising in that it is not only the first appearance of a hostile, anti-American enemy, but also features a woman in this previously male-dominated role. She challenges the stereotype of a weak enemy by fiercely voicing her opinions against America, and bravely facing the consequences of doing so. The brutal counterinsurgency and guerilla warfare that marked the Vietnam War years later appears in *M*A*S*H*, suggesting that the Vietcong challenged the “feminine” Asian enemy stereotype in American media.

Though not as openly hostile towards America, this concept is repeated in season ten, “Foreign Affairs,” when a (North) Korean pilot is praised for landing an intact Russian plane in the South.²⁸¹ An American PR man arrives with a Korean translator to inform the pilot, who is assumed to have defected to the South, that he has won an award of \$100,000 and U.S. citizenship for his efforts.²⁸² However, the pilot announces that he thought he was landing in the North and does not wish to leave his home country or defect to the South.²⁸³ Eventually, the translator is sent to America as his replacement.²⁸⁴ Rather than voicing hatred towards the U.S. or American GIs, the pilot simply refuses to leave his home country, but again the image of an

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ Ibid. – Quote from 20 minutes into the episode

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ *M*A*S*H*, “Foreign Affairs,” season 11 ep. 3, directed by Charles S. Dubin, written by David Pollock and Elias Davis, 20th Century Fox, November 8, 1982.

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

enemy that is willing to defect to the U.S. is tested. The notion that America is superior because it has better “stuff” is rejected by this North Korean pilot, who rejects not only American dollars, but also a fine suit and cigars. This new, more assertive “enemy” that arises in later seasons problematizes and diversifies the enemy role to reflect a more realistic worldview— an enemy that does not constantly surrender or fumble attacks, rely on American benevolence, or embrace American culture once exposed to it.

Adding further complexity to this role was the tendency to link American GIs with the enemy, to suggest that they, like many American draftees, may just be doing whatever they can to get through the war alive, ideologies aside. Possibly a result of increased exposure to Vietnamese and Korean stories after extensive immigration in the U.S., the enemy becomes almost an extension of the *M*A*S*H* family. Episodes such as “Communication Breakdown,” in season ten, and “Give and Take,” in season eleven, feature an enemy that is neither hostile nor weak and docile, but is an “average Joe.”²⁸⁵ “Communication Breakdown” equates the Korean War to the American Civil War, when two brothers, one on the North Korean side and the other on the South Korean side, meet at the 4077th.²⁸⁶ Hawkeye learns from the brother on the South Korean side, acting as an MP and guard to his wounded North Korean brother, that their father had intentionally separated the two brothers to ensure that at least one would be on the winning side and able to continue the family name.²⁸⁷ After learning this, Hawkeye (with some help) stealthily arranges for the two brothers to talk in private without facing the possibility of being labeled a traitor by either side.²⁸⁸ Family is a central focus of this episode, and the ideological

²⁸⁵ *M*A*S*H*, “Communication Breakdown,” season 10 ep. 7, directed by Alan Alda, written by Karen L. Hall, 20th Century Fox, November 30, 1981. *M*A*S*H*, “Give and Take,” season 11 ep. 14, directed by Charles S. Dubin, written by Dennis Koenig, 20th Century Fox, February 14, 1983.

²⁸⁶ *M*A*S*H*, “Communication Breakdown.”

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

conflicts between democracy and communism are ignored. The enemy, like the rest of *M*A*S*H*, becomes part of the family dynamic, despite the role's late inclusion.

A similar connection is made in "Give and Take," when an American is placed next to a wounded North Korean he shot for attempting to take his shoes.²⁸⁹ Initially the American was glad to have shot the enemy; when it is revealed the North Korean soldier had severe frostbite on his feet, hence his attempt to steal the GI's shoes, this excitement fades.²⁹⁰ The GI explains that he would have done the same as his enemy if faced with those circumstances and begins to sympathize with him, regretting his actions.²⁹¹ When the North Korean soldier dies from his wounds, the GI breaks down, explaining that now he will always see the man's face when putting on his shoes.²⁹² Again, the message is that though these "enemies" are on the other side, they are just like "us." Possibly a reaction and critique on the hostilities faced by refugees after arriving in America, the enemy as a "friend" suggests increased acceptance of Asians (Korean and Vietnamese) - their culture and customs - within the American consciousness.

Conclusion

Seasons six through eleven of *M*A*S*H* challenge previous stereotypes, and there is greater diversity of Asian-specific character roles that better reflects reality. Asian characters after season five are more assertive, independent and individualized; they are more likely to speak English and engage at length with the main cast, sharing their personal stories and problems which then need to be resolved. Though subtitles are not used at any time during *M*A*S*H* - effectively making Korean-speaking characters silent to the audience - the increasing use of English by Asian characters in later seasons suggests an attempt to avoid such

²⁸⁹ *M*A*S*H*, "Give and Take."

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² Ibid.

silences. Meanwhile, Korean women begin to appear more frequently, and they are no longer relegated to the background or acting strictly under the guidance of men.

Possibly a consequence of increased Asian immigration, and a vocal minority community in the 1970s and early 1980s, *M*A*S*H* slowly moves away from presenting “stock” Asian characters. Though the message remains throughout that America is a model for the free world and a “protector” against communism, a blind faith in America is at no time presented in *M*A*S*H*. America instead is presented as moral and superior, but the United States is also criticized for its at times overly forceful approach towards other nations. Overall, *M*A*S*H* in later seasons reflects the inward turn that America experienced following the Vietnam War, and the social changes that the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s brought to America.

CONCLUSION: THE LEGACY OF *M*A*S*H*

*M*A*S*H* began by presenting Asian characters in stereotypical roles. They were shown to be overwhelmingly undereducated, lower class, poorly dressed, speaking almost no English and reliant upon the U.S. (and by extension American GIs) for survival. This image supports the community belief of the 1960s and 1970s, which was centered on the Cold War ideology that the U.S. was a culturally superior “protector” of the free world. In early seasons, Asian characters appeared as weak and docile yet subversive. Though *M*A*S*H* did appear to follow many of the trends in newspapers of the time period, these early Asian characters were usually one-dimensional and often unrealistic in their portrayal. Enemy characters were non-threatening and accepting of the U.S., prostitutes and “moose” were encouraged by their family to continue in order to provide an income, and orphans were abandoned by their mothers who want them to be taken to the U.S. and an assumed better life; all of these portrayals supported the image of a culturally superior American society but were unrealistic. *M*A*S*H*, though critical of the way America is “protecting” the free world (through war), supports the message that America is superior by presenting a flawed military bureaucracy but competent GIs willing and able to “save” locals (Koreans) from the poverty, violence and the backwardness of communism and war.

Following season five and the end of the Vietnam War, *M*A*S*H* shifted to focus on individuals, rather than military and ideological conflicts. This shift coincided with increased immigration (the “boat people” arriving from Vietnam following the war) and successful social movements, ultimately contributing to more vocal minority groups, and subsequent changes in both American society and American television. Women, both American and Korean, became more assertive decision makers in latter seasons. Meanwhile, Asian characters gained complexity

and began to better reflect reality. They began to use English more often, frequently interacted with the main cast, and were more likely to be provided backstories, and personal names. Despite initial hostility towards newly arriving immigrants, *M*A*S*H* suggests that social movements and increased visibility helped Asian character roles progress in the American media. However, these roles are never equal to the (all-white) main cast, and continue to appear as weak and reliant upon U.S. assistance for survival. Overall, *M*A*S*H* makes many advances in its representation of Asian characters over the course of eleven years, reflecting the progressive social changes in society at the time but improvements are still needed.

American media today continues to struggle to diversify, despite many in America calling for such changes. The recent (2015) controversy over the Oscars, pointed to the overwhelmingly white focus of this awards ceremony, calling it a “white industry,” that tends to exclude black actors.²⁹³ But it is important to note that Asian actors are generally excluded from even this conversation, remaining the “minority of minorities,” in the American media.²⁹⁴ As actress Tao Okamoto explains;

“This time, people were talking about there’s no black people for the [Oscar] nominees and all that, but we’re not even in the game. People don’t even talk about us, meaning Asian or Japanese or other ethnicities.”²⁹⁵

Women and minorities, especially Asian-Americans, continue to be excluded from the American media. Even today, women and minorities are underrepresented as directors, writers, and producers as well as actors.²⁹⁶ Though *M*A*S*H* is now over 30 years old, the social concerns

²⁹³ “Why It Should Bother Everyone That the Oscars Are So White,” *The Huffington Post*, February 20, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/02/20/oscars-diversity-problem_n_6709334.html.

²⁹⁴ “Tao Okamoto Believes Asian Actors Are The ‘Minority Of The Minorities’,” *The Huffington Post*, March 10, 2016, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/tao-okamoto-asian-actors-in-hollywood_us_56defd3de4b0000de406026f.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ Ralph J. Bunche Center for African American Studies at UCLA, “2015 Hollywood Diversity Report; Flipping the Script, accessed March 28, 2016. <http://www.bunchecenter.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/2015-Hollywood-Diversity-Report-2-25-15.pdf>.

and diversity issues surrounding the show remain a focus of American media, suggesting that though America has progressed many social issues remain. As a review of *M*A*S*H* shows, progress has been made, slowly, but further progress is still needed.

*M*A*S*H* was not the only American television show to feature Asian characters in the 1970s and early 1980s. However, *M*A*S*H* was the longest running and most popular show to do so at the time. Shows such as *Mr. T and Tina*, which aired for one season in 1976, and *Kung Fu* which aired for three seasons from 1972 to 1975, prominently featured Asian characters.²⁹⁷ However, these shows depicted Asian characters in a heavily stereotypical manner and were both short lived. Of these two shows, *Kung Fu* was the most commercially successful but the main actor playing Kwai Chang Caine, a half-Asian, half-white, Shaolin monk was not Asian himself.²⁹⁸ Instead, the main actor, David Carradine, was an American born in California.²⁹⁹ Despite this, *Kung Fu* received two Emmys in 1973; for best director and best cinematography.³⁰⁰ Both shows did little to challenge Asian stereotypes.

After *M*A*S*H*, the position of Asian- Americans in American television had not greatly improved, but attempts to include Asian-American voices were being made. In 1994, ABC attempted to launch the first American television show to present an Asian-American family as the main cast.³⁰¹ However, *All-American Girl*, featuring the comedian Margaret Cho, was cancelled by 1995.³⁰² It would take 20 years before ABC would again present an Asian family as

²⁹⁷ Kat Chow, "A Brief, Weird History Of Squashed Asian-American TV Shows," *NPR*, accessed March 31, 2016. <http://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2015/02/05/383520596/a-brief-weird-history-of-squashed-asian-american-tv-shows>.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

³⁰¹ Traci G. Lee, "2015 Was More Than Just a Banner Year for Asian Americans on Television," *NBC*, accessed March 31, 2016. <http://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/2015-year-in-review/2015-was-more-just-banner-year-asian-americans-television-n485426>.

³⁰² Ibid. Just after the cancelation of "All-American Girl" Julie (Lauren Tom) appeared on NBC's *Friends*, as the girlfriend of Ross after he returns from China. Again, stereotypes are maintained when Rachel greets Julie with loud, slowly-spoken English, assuming that Julie does not understand the language.

the main cast of a show. In 2015, ABC aired *Fresh Off the Boat*, currently still airing (as of 2016), the show features a Vietnamese family trying to survive in America during the 1990s.³⁰³ Though Asian-Americans are still drastically underrepresented in American television, *M*A*S*H* over its eleven year run shows that gradual changes have been made and continue to appear.³⁰⁴ *M*A*S*H*, similar to *Kung Fu* and *Mr. T and Tina*, started with heavily stereotypical depictions of Asian characters but gradually added complexity to Asian roles. *M*A*S*H* reveals how American television has progressed, from the stereotypical Asian characters of the 1970s to the main cast Asian family seen today, on *Fresh Off the Boat*.

³⁰³ Molly Fitzpatrick, "Of 800 main cast members on 100 network TV shows, just 52 (6%) are of Asian descent," *Fusion*, accessed March 31, 2016. <http://fusion.net/story/119292/we-crunched-the-numbers-asians-are-severely-under-represented-on-tv/>.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

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*M*A*S*H, Season Two*. Produced by Gene Reynolds and Larry Gelbart. Aired 1973-1974. Beverly Hills, CA: Twentieth Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2002. DVD.

*M*A*S*H, Season Three*. Produced by Gene Reynolds and Larry Gelbart. Aired 1974-1975. Beverly Hills, CA: Twentieth Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2002. DVD.

*M*A*S*H, Season Four*. Produced by Gene Reynolds and Larry Gelbart; associate producer, Burt Metcalfe. Aired 1975-1976. Beverly Hills, CA: Twentieth Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2003. DVD.

*M*A*S*H, Season Five*. Produced by Allan Katz, Don Reo, John Rappaport, et. al. Aired 1976-1977. Beverly Hills, CA: Twentieth Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2003. DVD.

*M*A*S*H, Season Six*. Produced by Stanford Tischler, John Rappaport, and Burt Metcalfe, et. al. Aired 1977-1978. Beverly Hills, CA: Twentieth Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2004. DVD.

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*M*A*S*H, Season Nine*. Produced by Burt Metcalfe, et. al. Aired 1980-1981. Beverly Hills, CA: Twentieth Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2005. DVD.

*M*A*S*H, Season Ten*. Produced by Burt Metcalfe, et. al. Aired 1981-1982. Beverly Hills, CA: Twentieth Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2006. DVD.

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APPENDIX A: SEASONS 1-5 CHARACTER ROLES EPISODE GUIDE

*Note that each episode is listed with first the season, and then the number that the episode was within that season for example (1:1) refers to season one, episode one. Some episodes are listed under multiple categories. Also note, that a summary of all episodes can be found in James H.

Wittebols, *Watching M*A*S*H, Watching America; A Social History of the 1972-1983 Television Series*, Episode Guide, pages 161 to 242. *

Houseboys/Housekeeper:

1. Pilot (1:1)
2. The Moose (1:5)
3. Cowboy (1:8)
4. Henry, Please Come Home (1:9)
5. I Hate a Mystery (1:10)
6. Germ Warfare (1:11)
7. Cease Fire (1:23)

“Moose” or Prostitutes:

1. The Moose (1:5)
2. Iron guts Kelly (3:4)
3. Love and Marriage (3:20)
4. Of Moose and Men (4:12)
5. Bug out (2 parts -5:1-2)

War Brides (Marriage): (*note that several main characters either get married (Margaret and Klinger) or face concerns regarding marriage (Hawkeye, B.J., Henry) but these episodes have not been included here as they do not express the “war bride” role in relationship to Asian characters.)

1. L.I.P (2:7)
2. Life with Father (3:8) (*though the father is not actually seen in this episode it is made known to the audience that he exists is an American, and is at the front lines.)
3. Love and Marriage (3:20)
4. Ping Pong (5:17)
5. The General’s Practitioner (5:21)

Orphans:

1. Dear Dad (1:12)
2. Tuttle (1:15)
3. Kim (2:6)
4. The Trial of Henry Blake (2:8)
5. Bulletin Board (3:16)
6. Payday (3:22)
7. The Kids (4:9)

8. The General's Practitioner (5:21)

Farmers and Villagers:

1. To Market to Market (1:2)
2. For the Good of the Outfit (2:4)
3. Deal Me Out (2:13)
4. The Choson People (2:19)
5. Welcome to Korea (2 parts 4:1-2)
6. Of Moose and Men (4:11)
7. Hawkeye (4:19)
8. Some 38th Parallels (4:20)
9. The Abduction of Margaret Houlihan (5:6)
10. Exorcism (5:13)
11. Souvenirs (5:23)

Peddlers and Hustlers:

1. To Market to Market (1:2)
2. I Hate a Mystery (1:10) (*there is a similar case of theft in "The Gun" (4:14) where Frank steals a gun but does not do so with the intention to sell or trade it; he steals for personal gain thus this episode was excluded from this category despite similarities.)
3. Germ Warfare (1:11)
4. The Incubator (2:12)
5. Deal me Out (2:13)
6. White Gold (3:23)
7. Some 38th Parallel (4:19)
8. Souvenirs (5:23)

The "Enemy" (North Koreans, Chinese and Friendly Fire):

1. Germ Warfare (1:11)
2. Five O'clock Charlie (2:2)
3. Radar's Report (2:3)
4. Dr. Pierce and Mr. Hyde (2:5)
5. The Sniper (2:10)
6. As you were (2:20)
7. Rainbow Bridge (3:2)
8. Officer of the Day (3:3)
9. Bombed (3:15)
10. The Bus (4:7)
11. Dear Ma (4:17)
12. Margaret's Engagement (5:3)
13. The Korean Surgeon (5:10)
14. Post Op (5:24)

APPENDIX B: SEASONS 6-11 CHARACTER ROLES EPISODE GUIDE

Houseboy/Housekeeper: (Several episodes, feature a very brief appearance of a Korean laundry woman, or housekeeper but as they are not significant to the plot and appear for a minute or less in the episode, as a result these episodes have been excluded here.)

1. Dear Comrade (7:12)
2. The Price (7:18)
3. The Foresight Saga (9:19) (*Though this episode does not deal directly with a Korean houseboy the concept of sending a young Korean man to America to be educated and hopefully have a better future – an idea central to the houseboy role - is repeated here; suggesting that though the houseboy role disappears the concept remains.)

“Moose” or Prostitutes:

1. Ain't Love Grand (7:25)
2. Private Finance (8:8)
3. No Laughing Matter (9:13)

War Bride (Marriage): (Many episode during these later seasons also focus on marriage with regard to the main cast but as this is outside my focus these episodes have not been listed here.)

1. Goodbye, Farewell and Amen – 2 ½ hour series finale

Orphans:

1. Yessir, That's Our Baby (8:15)
2. Heal Thyself (8:17)
3. Old Soldiers (8:18)
4. Death Takes a Holiday (9:5)
5. Run for the Money (11:9)

Farmers and Villagers (Americanization):

1. In Love and War (6:7)
2. Change Day (6:8)
3. Our Finest Hour (7:4/5) – this is a two-part episode
4. B.J. Papa San (7:16)
5. The Price (7:18)
6. Back Pay (8:24)
7. Oh, How We Danced (9:14)
8. The Foresight Saga (9:19)
9. Give'em Hell Hawkeye (10:5)
10. The Birthday Girls (10:12)
11. A Holy Mess (10:14)

Peddlers and Hustlers:

1. Change Day (6:8)

2. Patent 4077 (6:16)
3. Tea and Empathy (6:17)
4. None Like it Hot (7:6)
5. Out of Gas (7:13)
6. A Night a Rosie's (7:24)
7. Captains Outrageous (8:13)
8. Death Takes a Holiday (9:5)
9. Snap Judgement (10:8)
10. Snappier Judgement (10:9)
11. That Darn Kid (10:22)

The "Enemy" / Friendly Fire

1. Comrades in Arms (6:12)
2. What's Up Doc (6:19)
3. Peace on Us (7:2)
4. Dear Comrade (7:12)
5. The Price (7:18)
6. C*A*V*E (7:21)
7. Rally Round the Flagg Boys (7:22)
8. Guerilla of My Dreams (8:3)
9. The Yallu Brick Road (8:10)
10. Goodbye Cruel World (8:21)
11. The Best of Enemies (9:1)
12. The Life You Save (9:20)
13. Communication Breakdown (10:7)
14. Foreign Affairs (11:3)
15. Settling Debts (11:7)
16. Give and Take (11:14)
17. As Time Goes By (11:15)
18. Goodbye, Farewell and Amen (Final 2 ½ hour episode, season 11)