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# The Evolution of U.S. Military Policy from the Constitution to the Present, Volume III

## Another World War and Cold War

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# Preface

This report documents research and analysis conducted as part of a project entitled "History of United States Military Policy from the Constitution to the Present," sponsored by the Deputy Chief of Staff, G-8, U.S Army. The purpose of this volume is to provide the Army with a history of the evolution of the major laws that govern the Army that were written between 1898 and 1940.

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# Series Introduction

The current institutional arrangement of the Army, which comprises a Regular Army and two reserve components—the Army National Guard of the United States and the U.S. Army Reserve—has been the same since 1940. As a result, a conventional wisdom has developed that this structure is appropriate to the time and unchangeable. When debating the Army's size, appropriate roles and functions, and the laws required to authorize, empower, and govern the Army, U.S. policymakers often think about evolutionary institutional modifications and rarely question the underlying assumptions that led to this structure. It is easier to tinker with the existing Army than to consider fundamental changes to the Army's statutory foundation. This four-volume history of U.S. military policy argues that little about the Army's organization is unchangeable or constitutionally mandated, a fact that should give policymakers license to explore a wider range of options for the Army of the future.[1]

The National Commission on the Future of the Army (NCFA), which Congress established as part of the National Defense Authorization Act of 2015, is a case in point.[2] Congress gave the NCFA the mandate, among other things, to examine the assumptions behind the Army's current size and force mix. Despite this mandate, the

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[1] Prominent American military historical surveys are Emory Upton, *The Military Policy of the United States*, 4th ed., Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1903, pp. 83–84; William Winthrop, *Military Law and Precedents*, Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown, and Company, 1896; Marvin A. Kreidberg and Merton G. Henry, *History of Military Mobilization in the United States Army, 1775–1945*, Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army, 1955; Richard H. Kohn, *Eagle and Sword: Federalists and the Creation of the Military Establishment in America, 1783–1802*, New York: Free Press, 1975; Allan R. Millett, Peter Maslowski, and William B. Feis, *For the Common Defense: A Military History of the United States from 1607–2012*, New York: Free Press, 2012; I. B. Holley, *General John M. Palmer, Citizen Soldiers, and the Army of a Democracy*, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982; Eilene Marie Slack Galloway, *History of United States Military Policy on Reserve Forces, 1775–1957*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1957; Russell Frank Weigley, *Towards an American Army: Military Thought from Washington to Marshall*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1962; Russell Frank Weigley, *History of the United States Army*, New York: Macmillan, 1967; Russell Frank Weigley, *The American Way of War: A History of United States Military Strategy and Policy*, New York: Macmillan, 1973; U.S. House of Representatives, *Review of the Reserve Program: Hearing Before the Subcommittee No. 1 of the Committee on Armed Services*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, February 4–8, 18–21, 1957. A reference guide for the legislation behind the military policy can be found in Richard H. Kohn, *The United States Military Under the Constitution of the United States, 1789–1989*, New York: New York University Press, 1991.

[2] Public Law 113-291, National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2015, December 19, 2014.

NCFA elected not to reconsider the Army's statutory authorities and responsibilities and instead focused on ways to refine and improve the existing force. The commission's published report argued that the nation has "one Army" and a "traditional military policy" for sound "historical, cultural, legal, operational, and strategic" reasons.[3] By using this phrasing, the NCFA reinforces the idea that a coherent and constant "traditional military policy" has governed the Army from the earliest days of the Republic. The NCFA's report offers 63 recommendations for such things as improving Army training and readiness, refining the mix of forces and capabilities, and improving personnel management. Yet none of the 63 recommendations calls for a reconsideration of the fundamental laws that authorize, empower, and govern the Army, or the Army's three-component construct.

The notion of a coherent and constant *traditional* military policy stretching from the earliest days of the Republic to today is, however, a myth. U.S. military policy evolved substantially between the writing of the Constitution and 1940, and very little has changed since. Indeed, the term *military policy* was not used in the United States until the late 19th century, when Brevet Major-General Emory Upton introduced the term to Army thinkers. As used by Upton, the term *military policy* connoted matters pertaining to the U.S. Army, such as the laws that govern the institution and the policies for wartime expansion. Today the term continues to refer to Army matters to the exclusion of the other Services. The term *traditional military policy* first appeared in the 1940 Selective Service Act.

We highlight the etymology of the term to underline the fact that today's military policy is not the result of a coherent tradition but rather the distillation of over two centuries of debates and compromises between various competing interests, many of which arguably reflected the political and cultural debates of the day at least as much as the need to meet the military requirements of the nation's security. For each generation since the writing of the Constitution, ideology, political culture, and institutional momentum have limited the discourse on military policy and constrained the range of options available for serious consideration. Indeed, the current force structure is strikingly different from anything the Framers of the Constitution imagined. Although the notion of doing so was once considered anathema, the United States now entrusts its national security in part to a standing, professional force—its Regular Army, augmented by two largely part-time yet highly professional standing reserve components. Once organized to defend a growing nation protected by two oceans, the U.S. Army today is postured to deploy globally on very short notice.

One important example of how the use of the term *traditional military policy* can be misleading is the current Title 32 of the U.S. Code, which states that "In accordance with the traditional military policy of the United States, it is essential that the strength

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[3] National Commission on the Future of the Army, *Report to the President and the Congress of the United States*, Arlington, Va., January 28, 2016, p. 1.

and organization of the Army National Guard and the Air National Guard as an integral part of the first line of defenses of the United States be maintained and assured at all times."[4] Yet the National Guard's role and status, and the laws governing it, have evolved considerably over time and cannot be regarded simply as a continuation of the 18th century method of producing military ground forces by "calling forth" various types of colonial militias, as the term *traditional military policy* implies. In fact, there is little "traditional" in the evolution of military policy.

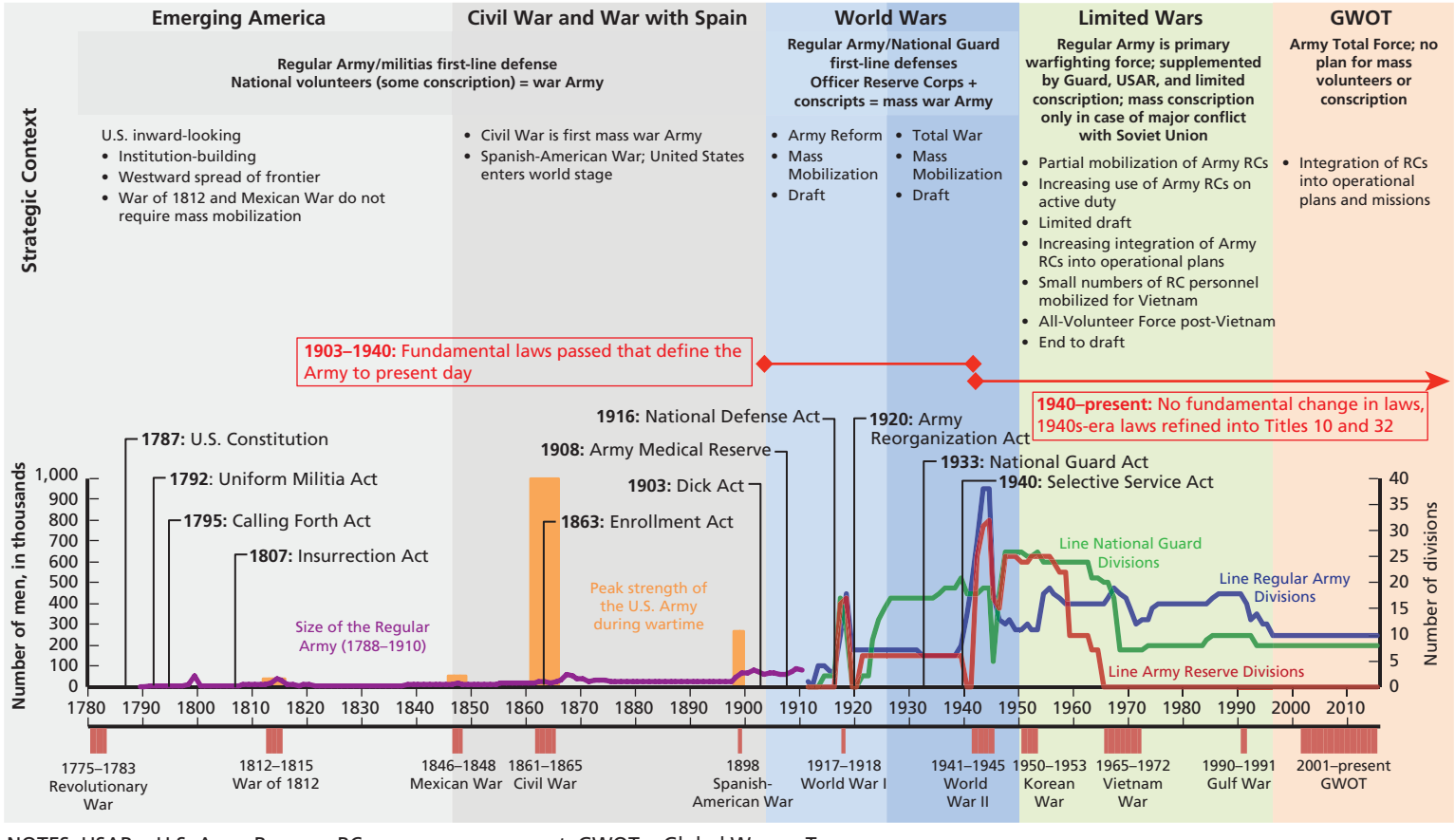
One of the more fundamental developments explored in this series of reports is the subtle yet significant shift in the constitutional basis upon which the Army is built. Simply put, the Constitution includes one clause that empowers Congress to "raise and support Armies" and two other clauses that provide for "calling forth the Militia" of the states, as well as the authority to organize, arm, and discipline them "as may be employed in the Service of the United States," for the purpose of executing the laws of the Union, suppressing insurrections, and repelling invasions. The formulation assumed—accurately, at the time—that the states maintained their own militias or at least the means to raise them, even through conscription. Thus, the basic formula was for the country to rely on the "raise and support Armies" clause to maintain a small, standing federal army, but otherwise rely on the states and their militias to provide the bulk of the Republic's fighting forces. The militias evolved, as did their relationships with federal and state governments. In brief, the missions and personnel of militia referred to by the Constitution are not the same as the missions and personnel of what eventually became the National Guard. The evolution of the latter had less and less to do with state governments (and the Constitution's militia clauses) and more and more to do with the federal government (and the "raise and support Armies" clause).

In this four-volume series, we seek to establish an authoritative foundation for the debate over the best design for the future Army force. Drawing on archival research of primary sources and a survey of the historical literature, we trace the emergence of the laws that govern the Army today. This history has policy relevance because it shows that change in military policy is both possible and perhaps appropriate. When senior political and military leaders design Army force structure, thinking should not be constrained by such historically and politically loaded terms as *traditional military policy*. When imagining a future force, senior political and military leaders should recognize that current statutory foundations could be further defined and refined to enhance the Army's ability to meet the nation's dynamic security needs.

Figure S.1 depicts the evolution of U.S. military policy across a timeline from 1775 to the present. Along the top of the figure, we provide the strategic context across five periods—emerging America, the Civil War and the war with Spain, the World Wars, limited wars, and the Global War on Terror—as well as the nature of the Army in these periods. Along the bottom of the timeline, we highlight the specific historical

[4] U.S. Code, Title 32—National Guard, Section 102: General Policy, 2012.

**Figure S.1**
**The Evolution of the U.S. Military Policy, 1775–Present**




NOTES: USAR = U.S. Army Reserve; RC = reserve component; GWOT = Global War on Terror.

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context in these periods, including the major wars fought and the size of the Army as it evolved over time in terms of the number of soldiers (the left axis) and the number of divisions (the right axis). In the middle of the timeline, we highlight the major relevant pieces of legislation that affected the evolution of the Army. The laws passed between 1903 and 1940, like the laws bearing on military policy before and after, reflect the debates and challenges of a particular historical period that differs greatly from the security environment that the nation confronts today. The laws nonetheless have remained virtually unchanged since 1940, as indicated in the figure by the thick red lines, despite significant changes in the geostrategic environment and the nation's increasing global interests and commitments.

In Volume I, *The Old Regime: The Army, Militias, and Volunteers from Colonial Times to the Spanish-American War*, we trace the history of military policy from the colonial era through the Spanish-American War. This period is critical for understanding the genesis of the basic structure of today's Army and the various factors that informed that structure. For a combination of strategic, cultural, economic, ideological, and political reasons, the Republic decided against establishing a standing army large enough to handle a major conflict and instead relied on a variety of mechanisms for raising volunteer units and marshaling state militias to expand or augment the Army. There was a basic split between proponents of a professional federal force, who judged the state-provided militias as militarily ineffective and too often contributing to an irresponsible loss of American lives, and those who opposed or feared the idea of a standing federal force (and its costs) and wanted to rely on "the people at arms," i.e., the citizenry organized by the states as militia units. The result was a compromise—an increasingly professional yet small Regular Army and various kinds of volunteer forces and state militias upon which the federal government would rely when the Nation needed to field a much larger force. However, authorities and responsibilities between the federal government and the states regarding the militias were not well established, nor were any mechanisms to ensure that the militias were ready and well trained when "called forth." Nor was there any mechanism to ensure the militia forces from one state were organized, trained, and equipped like the forces of another state to facilitate their integrated employment.

Problems with military effectiveness and recruitment contributed to an evolution in the militia system. The state militias shifted over the course of the 19th century from a colonial-era compulsory force (more compulsory in some communities than others) of all able-bodied white males between certain ages to entirely volunteer units with ambiguous relationships to their state governments. States that provided funding to their community militias tended to exercise more oversight and control. The compulsory militias were all but defunct by the time of the Mexican War (1846–1848), and volunteer militias provided much of the bulk of the Union Army during the Civil War. Postwar, those same volunteer militia units—increasingly referred to as "National Guard"—began to receive more support from state governments (with some federal

assistance) and evolved into today's National Guard. Still, their status remained vague, as did their relationship with the federal government and the Army. Mobilization remained largely ad hoc, and the country still lacked anything resembling the large and rapidly expandable militaries fielded by France and Germany in 1870.

The Spanish-American War (1898) was a major turning point. The nation mobilized much as it had for the 1846 Mexican War, using a combination of Regular Army troops, volunteers from states and territories, and state militias. Small Regular Army units were rapidly assembled from small outposts distributed mostly throughout the central and western states, where they rarely trained for any contingencies other than fighting any remaining Native Americans who had not been pushed out of the way and onto reservations and preserving the local peace. Because of concerns associated with the constitutional limitation of militia use beyond the nation's borders, some individual state militia units voted to decide whether they would be mobilized (federalized) for the war with Spain. Some agreed, and some declined. If the unit agreed, the militia unit was brought into federal service as a volunteer unit. Other units were raised purely as federal volunteers (e.g., Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders), bypassing the state militia system entirely. A large-enough Army was eventually raised under the "raise and support Armies" clause, but profound problems were identified across the force. All elements of the Army were largely unprepared for fighting as larger organized units. Many units were ill-equipped, the Army's logistical capabilities were inadequate for deploying and sustaining forces overseas, and the tiny Medical Department was overwhelmed by infectious diseases that spread quickly through the ranks. The Army's difficulties were so bad that, in spite of winning the war, the Secretary of War was dismissed.

The volunteer militia units varied considerably from state to state, with little consistency in terms of readiness, quality, equipping, tactics, etc. Interoperability among or between them and the Regular Army was far from assured. There was, moreover, no established mechanism for generating forces to serve overseas for lengthy periods of time. This became a problem when the United States found itself occupying the Philippines and then fighting an insurgency there. Now the nation required an expeditionary capability, and it needed a force large enough to sustain a long-term occupation.

Heavily influencing the military policy of the late 19th century and early years of the 20th century was the maturation of the National Guard as a political force. Influential members of the Guard in 1878 created a lobby group, the National Guard Association, that enjoyed considerable sway with the public and in Congress. Because of the Guard's political influence, military policy debates and the relevant legislation passed in the 20th century often represented political compromises between the National Guard and the National Guard Association, the Regular Army and War Department, Congress, and the President.

As we shall see in Volume II, *The Formative Years for U.S. Military Policy, 1898–1940*, the challenges associated with the Spanish-American War stimulated new Sec-

retary of War Elihu Root to promote reform through a series of laws beginning in the first few years of the 20th century. These laws, the most important among them being the Efficiency in Militia Act of 1903 (also known as the Dick Act of 1903, named for Ohio Congressman Charles Dick, who simultaneously served as chairman of the House Militia Affairs Committee; president of the National Guard Association; and commander of the Ohio Division, National Guard, with the rank of Major General), swept aside the Uniform Militia Act of 1792. They recognized the National Guard (i.e., the state volunteer militia units that had emerged after the Civil War), needed to be organized, trained, equipped, and disciplined along the lines of the Regular Army. This was the first step toward what in 1970 would become the Total Force Policy, and it added substance to the federal government's relationship to the National Guard, including both funding and regulations. These laws and subsequent legislation passed in 1916, 1920, and 1933 made the Guard largely a creature of the federal government, but one that still retained at least a formal connection to state governments—a dual status that in previous decades would have been anathema to Guard advocates. The laws of this era also established what would become today's Army Reserve, starting with a medical reserve cadre and the Reserve Officers' Training Corps. These congressional initiatives improved the Army's ability to expand and gave the Army access to trained specialists of the sort that were in short supply in the war against Spain. Although the new legislation greatly facilitated the nation's relatively rapid and orderly mobilization for World War I, some problems remained, and new ones emerged. Like all previous defense laws dating back to the Constitution, the legislation passed in 1916, 1920, and 1933 represented compromises. Debates of the era focused on how best to meet the nation's security requirements given a still deep-seated resistance to the idea (and cost) of maintaining a seemingly large standing peacetime Army, especially in light of Southern memories of federal forces being employed to enforce civil rights during Reconstruction. There was a grudging acceptance that, in the wake of the Spanish-American War, America required something more robust than the 19th century state-centric method for Army expansion; but there was little agreement over the details.

Volume III, *Another War and Cold War*, covers the period from 1940 to 1970 and examines how the Army, while retaining the basic legal underpinnings established by 1940, evolved in light of the radically different security requirements associated with the nation's emergence as a superpower and the need to maintain forces overseas and to rapidly respond in support of alliance commitments. Through this period—marked above all by the wars in Korea and Vietnam—there were vibrant debates regarding how best to generate the required forces, as well as different attempts by policymakers to balance military requirements with political concerns. These experiences led ultimately to the development of Total Force Policy, which was an effort to eliminate the need for conscription, except in special circumstances, and to further professionalize U.S. military forces.

Volume IV, *The Total Force Policy Era, 1970–2015*, covers the period from 1970 to 2015, from changes to U.S. military policy that resulted from the Vietnam War through years of persistent conflict following the September 11th, 2001, terrorist attacks. In spite of significant changes in the strategic context during this period, the fundamental laws underpinning U.S. military policy remained largely unchanged. Military policy did evolve through Army policy changes and congressional appropriations, although these generally reinforced the existing tripartite structure of the Army. To deal with the strategic, domestic, and financial constraints of the 1970s, the U.S. Department of Defense adopted the Total Force Policy. In its implementation of the new policy, the Army adapted the force mix within its three components to, when combined, fulfill the demands of war plans. The Regular Army was designed predominantly around combat forces to meet contingency timelines, while increased reliance was placed on support forces in the U.S. Army Reserve and Army National Guard to augment the Regular Army and to serve as a strategic reserve. Additional combat forces were maintained in both the U.S. Army Reserve and Army National Guard. Total Force Policy endured even as the nation's strategic circumstances dramatically changed again at the end of the Cold War.

Volume IV also discusses how the demands of persistent conflict since the 9/11 terrorist attacks have led to increased use of individuals and units from the reserve components. For example, as of June 2017, about 25,000 of the 542,000 soldiers of the Army Reserve and Guard are mobilized (federalized), with many serving in Afghanistan and Iraq. Army access to its reserve components has been simplified, and the American public largely supports their regular use, even in combat zones of the type experienced since 9/11.

# Contents

## Summary

Volume III of this series, *Another World War and Cold War*, traces the evolution of U.S. military policy from 1940 to 1970, covering U.S. mobilization for World War II through the bulk of U.S. involvement in Vietnam. During this period, the legislative changes to U.S. military policy discussed in Volume II, *The Formative Years for U.S. Military Policy, 1898–1940*, became deeply entrenched. In spite of significant strategic changes and new ideas about America's role in the world, there were very few changes to the fundamental legal framework for U.S. military policy. Instead, debates focused on how to resource and use the three components of the Army that had already been established: the Regular Army, the Army National Guard of the United States, and the Organized Reserves (which would later be renamed the U.S. Army Reserve).

The legal framework established in the first decades of the 20th century, discussed in Volume II, left the United States better prepared for the second world war than it had been for the first. Because the relationship between the components and the Department of War and the states had been delineated, U.S. planners had a clearer vision of how the Army would expand for war: by growing the small peacetime Regular Army through volunteers and mass conscription, and mobilizing the National Guard and Organized Reserves. Laws had established the National Guard as both a state force and a reserve component of the Army, meaning that it could be called into service in peacetime or during emergencies. The creation of the Organized Reserves also meant that there were well-trained officers ready to help the Army train conscripts and rapidly expand for war. As a result, the nation effectively could begin mobilizing in 1940, before U.S. entry into the war, although at the time the mobilization of reserve forces was statutorily limited to 12 months for increased training and readiness. In less than a year, the Army mobilized 1.5 million men and began training in large-scale peacetime maneuvers. However, despite of the improvements since World War I, low defense spending in the interwar years meant that training and equipping challenges across the Army slowed mobilization and building readiness.

After the Japanese surprise attack on Pearl Harbor in early December 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt ordered that all activated forces, including conscripts, would serve for the duration of the war plus six months. Providing fit and trained men for combat remained an enduring challenge throughout the war, leading to a number

of initiatives to leverage more fully the capacity of the American people. The Women's Army Corps, for example, brought women formally into noncombat positions in the Army. As it had during World War I, men who did not qualify for active service joined stay-behind state Guard forces to assume traditional National Guard state roles, such as responding to local unrest and disaster response.

The end of the war brought strategic changes, including the advent of the nuclear age and new views about America's role in the world. In the short term, however, strong public pressure again led to rapid demobilization, which nevertheless left the postwar Regular Army for the first time larger than before the war and larger than the National Guard.

In the years that followed World War II, U.S. political and military leaders tried to make sense of the new environment and what it meant for the size, mix, and employment of the Army's three components. On the one hand, many hoped that nuclear deterrence would allow the United States to maintain a smaller, less costly Army. At the same time, developments such as nuclear weapons, airborne operations, and longer-range bombers suggested that war, including attacks on the homeland or against allies overseas, could occur more quickly. To many military leaders and policymakers, these developments meant that the United States would need an Army in peacetime that could respond much more quickly than in previous decades. The United States would ostensibly no longer have the luxury of spending a year mobilizing forces for a major conflict, requiring the Regular Army to be larger, better trained, and better equipped at the outset of any conflict. In spite of this, postwar mobilization plans channeled the previous two world wars and assumed that the United States would once again have time to expand the Army through mass conscription, volunteerism, and mobilization of the Army's reserve components.

Two other issues, discussed in Volume II, reemerged during and immediately after World War II. First, thinkers such as retired Brigadier General John McAuley Palmer revisited the question of whether universal military training (UMT), which had been adopted in many European countries, could produce a sufficiently trained manpower pool of citizenry to allow for a smaller standing Regular Army. National Guard Generals Ellard A. Walsh and Milton Reckord, both former presidents of the National Guard Association, were among the most vocal of those who worried that UMT posed a direct threat to the National Guard. Others worried that UMT would militarize society without improving military effectiveness. Second, another plan called for reorganizing the National Guard and the Organized Reserves into a single reserve force entirely under federal control. The National Guard Association of the United States (NGAUS), Walsh, and others staunchly opposed such a plan, which would have undermined the Guard's peacetime autonomy as a state-based institution. Ultimately, neither proposal was adopted and the prewar statutory structure remained, but the debate revealed that the nation still had questions about whether this new era demanded changes to prewar military policy.

The North Korean invasion of South Korea in late June 1950 not only surprised the United States, it also demonstrated that the postwar demobilization had left the Army at a low state of readiness. As in earlier postwar periods, defense budget cuts had left the Army without sufficient men, training, or materiel. The 82nd Airborne, located in the United States, was the only Regular Army division deemed combat-ready by 1950. National Guard divisions were typically at about half strength. The initial U.S. force that rushed to Korea from occupied Japan, a makeshift battalion-sized formation from the 24th Infantry Division known as Task Force Smith, was unprepared for combat. It had hastily deployed from Japan to Korea with just 120 rounds of rifle ammunition per man and two days of rations, and few of its soldiers were combat veterans. In the face of North Korean assaults with superior numbers and weaponry, Task Force Smith suffered heavy losses and conducted a disorganized retreat. The United States relied on mass conscription during World War II, as its geographic isolation and powerful allies already in the fight provided much-needed time to assemble such a force. In Korea, however, the United States decided to come immediately to the aid of the militarily weak Republic of Korea, leaving no opportunity to mobilize as it had in the past.

President Harry S. Truman sought to reduce the risk of provoking a wider war with China or the Soviet Union. Believing full mobilization would signal wider U.S. ambitions, Truman only partially mobilized the National Guard and Organized Reserves. For the first time in the 20th century, the nation went to war without mass conscription. As no plan existed for mobilizing quickly for a limited war, American military and political leaders relied on ad hoc decisions. Congress approved a plan to mobilize Organized Reserve Corps individuals and units to fill holes and replace losses in deployed and deploying Regular Army units, as well as the cross-leveling of personnel, predominantly among Regular Army units. Second, the administration decided not to call up soldiers for the duration of the war. The resulting rotations of individual soldiers affected both morale and military effectiveness throughout the war. The Korean War experience demonstrated that to fulfill the new, more active U.S. role in the world, the United States needed a Regular Army that could deploy at any time, as well as selected reserve forces at higher readiness levels.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower's New Look national security policy sought to avoid limited wars like Korea and rely on the threat of nuclear weapons to deter Soviet aggression. After the Korean War, therefore, the U.S. Army began to reorganize to make the most of its smaller force structure in an era of austerity. With the Pentomic restructuring starting in 1957, it aimed to create smaller, highly mobile units capable of utilizing tactical nuclear weapons and fighting independently. Although the National Guard began reorganizing into Pentomic divisions, it also resisted other aspects of Army plans. Most notably, the National Guard sought to keep a large, undermanned force structure rather than fewer, fully manned units that would remain at a high state of readiness.

The Kennedy administration believed that the New Look policy and the Pentomic divisions were overly reliant on nuclear deterrence, which could not address all U.S. national security concerns. Problems with mobilization during the 1961 Berlin Crisis reinforced the administration's desire to build an Army that could respond to a wider range of threats around the world. The new Reorganization Objective Army Division (ROAD) abandoned what was supposed to be a single standard division structure and instead sought flexibility by returning to a range of division types—infantry, armor, airborne, and mechanized—as the United States had had in earlier periods.

Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara also pursued a number of other reforms to make the Army more efficient. First, unlike others before him, he succeeded in reducing the number of National Guard and Army Reserve units, while generally preserving personnel end strengths and increasing readiness. Second, McNamara sought to fold the Army Reserve into the Army National Guard. Unlike previous plans for a single federal reserve, he wanted to keep the dual-status combined force rather than seeking total federal control. This plan, vehemently opposed by the Army Reserve, was abandoned after President Lyndon B. Johnson began calling up more forces for Vietnam.

Rather than activate units and members of the Army National Guard and the Army Reserve, President Johnson expanded U.S. forces in Vietnam by growing the Regular Army through volunteerism and conscription until 1968. He took this decision partly in a failed attempt to sidestep political debate about the expanding U.S. role in Vietnam at a time when he was also attempting to create and sustain an ambitious domestic agenda (e.g., the Great Society). Public backlash against the war, conscription, and an unfair system of deferments and exemptions grew over time.

Johnson's decision affected the Army National Guard in two important ways. First, the National Guard became a haven for draft dodgers, although some National Guard leaders protested the perception.[5] Second, governors called on their National Guards to respond to civil disturbances of all kinds, including protests against the war. The state National Guards had not, however, trained much for this type of role. The shooting of unarmed student protestors at Kent State University in 1970 by Ohio Army National Guardsmen was one of many events that degraded the public's view of the National Guard during this period.

The Vietnam War and the way the Army expanded to fight it left a deep imprint on the institutions of government and the American public. Richard Nixon ran for the presidency in 1968 on a platform that included a pledge for peace in Southeast Asia. Upon entering office, President Nixon asked a commission to begin studying the idea of creating an all-volunteer force. This would be the first of many consequences of the war, which are discussed in more detail in Volume IV.

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[5] Major General James F. Cantwell, "The Ready Ones," *The National Guardsman*, Vol. 21, No. 2, February 1967. *The National Guardsman* covered this perception extensively throughout the 1960s.

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CHAPTER ONE

# Introduction

Volume II of this series described a series of laws adopted between 1903 and 1940 that substantially changed U.S. military policy and laid the statutory foundation for its evolution over the ensuing decades. The National Guard of the United States was statutorily recognized as a reserve component of the Army in 1933. However, National Guard units continued to be organized within states and accountable to their respective governors in peacetime, establishing the Guard's dual status, which continues today. In the same period, the United States also established the federal Organized Reserve Corps, which included the Organized Reserves, the Officers' Reserve Corps, and Enlisted Reserve Corps. The 1917 Selective Service Act gave the President the authority to draft men directly into federal service "for the period of the existing emergency," rather than going through state governors.[1] By the end of the interwar period, U.S. statutes recognized the Army as consisting of the Regular Army, the National Guard of the United States (i.e., a reserve component of the Army), the National Guard while in the service of the United States, the Officers' Reserve Corps, the Organized Reserves, and the Enlisted Reserve Corps. In the event of war, these components would combine with volunteers and conscripts to expand the Army.

This volume considers 1940–1970, a period of substantial change for both the Army and the nation. The United States fought in a second world war, facilitated the advent of the nuclear age, and took on a much more active global role. Shifts in congressional appropriations and executive action led to a larger Army and evolutions in its organization. In spite of this changing environment, there were strikingly few alterations to the statutory framework for U.S. military policy that had been established by 1940.

Chapter Two describes how the United States expanded the U.S. Army to fight in World War II. The final wartime military mobilization by Americans along 19th century lines, the nation employed a small professional Regular Army, augmented by its National Guard and Organized Reserves, and expanded by mass conscription and volunteers.

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[1] Public Law 65-12, An Act to Authorize the President to Increase Temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States, May 18, 1917.

Chapters Three and Four show how the war reignited discussion of plans for Universal Military Training and analyzes attempts at consolidating the National Guard and Army Reserve into a single, federal reserve with reduced ties to the states. Such proposals would likely have led to significant legal changes to U.S. military policy. Ultimately, however, none of these plans were adopted, at least partly due to objections from the politically powerful National Guard and Organized Reserves and the public's war weariness.

Chapters Five and Six discuss how the advent of nuclear weapons, the Korean War, and crises with the Soviet Union led to changes in Army organization; force structure; and the roles of, and resource allocation between, the Army's three components. Importantly, the need to respond to crises and limited wars led the nation to increase the size and readiness of its standing force, as well as the readiness of portions of the reserve components. Moreover, during the Korean War, President Harry S. Truman decided to expand the Army mostly through conscription, volunteerism, and mobilization of individuals, rather than fully mobilizing the reserve components in an effort to avoid provoking a wider war with the Soviet Union.

Chapter Seven discusses how the use of conscription on a relatively small scale in the Vietnam War (compared with U.S. conscription in the two world wars) still affected American society and the Army. This chapter also explains how the war in Southeast Asia launched debates about how the Regular and Reserve components of all services might be better organized, trained, and equipped. The emergence of the Total Force concept, as it relates to the Army, is discussed in greater detail in Volume IV.

CHAPTER TWO

# Mobilization for World War II, 1939–1943

In 1940, on the eve of American entry into World War II, the U.S. Army was premised on a small professional Regular Army core. Reinforcing the Regular Army were two reserve components: a comparatively larger National Guard organized into units, and a loosely skeletonized Organized Reserve that maintained a large pool of officers trained through the Reserve Officers' Training Corps program, as well as a much smaller pool of enlisted reservists.[1] Two legal changes in the interwar years gave the President and Congress a much better defined set of legal mechanisms and policies with which to mobilize the existing Army forces and the nation for war. The legal structure that existed before World War I had not allowed the Army to plan for mobilization of its reserves prior to the declaration of war. Legislation passed in 1916 and 1933 gave the President and Department of War new authorities. In execution, as a result of the 1916 National Defense Act, when federalized the National Guard would be part of the Army under the "raise and support armies" clause of the Constitution, as were the Officers' Reserve Corps and the Enlisted Reserve Corps.[2] The act's 1920 amendment combined the Officers' Reserve Corps and the Enlisted Reserve Corps into the Organized Reserves, which were trained by the Regular Army during peacetime in preparation for quick mobilization in a time of war. The act's 1933 amendment further clarified that the Guard existed as a reserve component of the Army, as did the Officers' Reserve Corps, including the Organized Reserves and the Enlisted Reserve Corps.[3] The government no longer needed to await a formal declaration of war to "call forth" the Guard, as the President could use the provisions of the 1933 act to order into the active military service of the United States "any or all units and the members thereof of the National Guard of the United States" after Congress had declared a state of national emergency and authorized the use of armed land forces. Together these laws allowed the federal government to begin planning to order the National Guard to join

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1 For a history of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, see Michael S. Neiberg, *Making Citizen-Soldiers: ROTC and the Ideology of American Military Service*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001.

2 Public Law 64-85, An Act for Making Further and More Effectual Provision for the National Defense, and for Other Purposes, June 3, 1916.

3 Public Law 73-64, An Act to Amend the National Defense Act of June 3, 1916, June 15, 1933.

the Regular Army and Organized Reserves in active federal service as war loomed in the late 1930s, before the actual declaration of war in December 1941.

World War II brought new strategic realities that led to a change in the postwar force structure. After the war, the United States rapidly demobilized the Armed Forces, as was the tradition. Civilian leadership decided to maintain an unprecedentedly large peacetime establishment, however, in part due to military occupation responsibilities in Europe and Asia, although training and modernization suffered significantly in the immediate postwar euphoria.[4] This postwar change reflected the nation's role as a leader in global affairs and the reality that it would no longer have the luxury of more than a year's time to mobilize forces for a major conflict.[5] A trend emerged whereby the Regular Army would have a more central role in shouldering the bulk of the nation's security responsibilities, albeit with the reserve components playing an important augmenting role.[6] In this chapter, we examine how this state of affairs came about. A paradigm shift occurred in the years after the end of World War II in 1945, when the primary means of expanding the Army deviated from the previous system of mass mobilization of the citizenry to one primarily reliant on the Army's two reserve components, albeit augmented by volunteers responding to the nation's call and limited conscription.

## Mobilization, 1939–1943

The American war machine began rumbling to life two years before the United States declared war in 1941. In 1939, Congress repealed the ban on the sale of materiel to nations at war. The subsequent avalanche of orders from France and Britain gave the

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[4] By 1948, the U.S. military numbered around 1.5 million, roughly four times the size of the interwar military at its largest. Despite a precipitous drop in manning levels—from 8 million personnel at its wartime height to only half a million by the late 1940s—the Army still remained its largest ever in peacetime following World War II. See James T. Sparrow, *Warfare State: World War II Americans and the Age of Big Government*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, p. 242; Russell Frank Weigley, *History of the United States Army*, Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1984, p. 486; Richard W. Stewart, *American Military History*, Volume II: *The United States Army in a Global Era, 1917–2008*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 2010, pp. 204–206; Jonathan M. House, *A Military History of the Cold War, 1944–1962*, Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012, pp. 34–36; John C. Sparrow, *History of Personnel Demobilization in the United States Army*, Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army, 1952.

[5] Russell Frank Weigley, *The American Way of War: A History of United States Military Strategy and Policy*, Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1977, p. 369.

[6] Despite its size, however, in the early Cold War era the Regular Army was not the efficient and capable organization it had been at the end of World War II. In peacetime, it lacked trained specialists, and its Regular units remained understrength and filled with under-trained recruits (Stewart, 2010, p. 205).

slumping United States munitions industry a much-needed boost.[7] The pump-priming effect benefited the U.S. Army, which took advantage of the industrial invigoration by equipping its soldiers with as much up-to-the-minute equipment as it could afford with its peacetime budget.[8] Although American industry initially struggled to keep up with demand, the aid's intent of buying the United States enough time to mobilize fully was fulfilled.[9]

With Congress's joint resolution on August 27, 1940, Franklin D. Roosevelt was authorized to order "all members and units of any or all reserve components of the Army of the United States . . . and retired personnel of the Regular Army, with or without their consent" to active duty for a period of 12 consecutive months.[10] Four days later, the President signed Executive Order 8530, which called out the first increment of National Guard personnel—elements of four divisions, 18 coast artillery units, and four observation squadrons, comprising some 63,000 Guardsmen—as part of a wider mobilization that anticipated American entry into World War II.[11] By the end of the following month, the Army had mobilized all 18 National Guard divisions, although all were undermanned and underequipped, like their Regular Army counterparts. The interwar period had not been kind to the Army, which lacked funding, officer billets, equipment, advisers, and training.

With Germany's rapid annexations, invasions, and occupations of multiple European nations beginning in 1938, American fear of war increased, and with it the population's support for military preparedness and peacetime mobilization of reserve forces.

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7 The intense demand for combat munitions caused American sales to skyrocket. Between 1935 and 1939, U.S. production totaled only $300 million. In 1940, the figure swelled to $1.5 billion, and in the following year production tripled to $4.5 billion. Even in peacetime the United States kept pace with the German war machine, which managed $6 billion in combat munitions production in 1941. No nation could match the potential or the capabilities of the American arsenal of democracy, however. The first full year at war saw American munitions sales grow to $20 billion in 1942, soaring to a staggering $42 billion in 1944 (Mark Harrison, "Resource Mobilization for World War II: The U.S.A., U.K., U.S.S.R., and Germany, 1938–1945," *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 41, No. 2, May 1988, p. 172).

8 Marvin A. Kreidberg and Merton G. Henry, *History of Military Mobilization in the United States Army, 1775–1945*, Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army, 1955, pp. 654–666; Stewart, 2010, pp. 82–83.

9 For works on America's economic mobilization, see Paul A. C. Koistinen, *Arsenal of World War II: The Political Economy of American Warfare, 1940–1945*, Lawrence, Kans.: University Press of Kansas, 2004; Jim Lacey, *Keep from All Thoughtful Men: How U.S. Economists Won World War II*, Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 2011; Mark Harrison, *The Economics of World War II: Six Great Powers in International Comparison*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998; Brian Waddell, "Economic Mobilization for World War II and the Transformation of the U.S. State," *Politics & Society*, Vol. 22, No. 2, June 1994.

10 U.S. Congress, Pub. Res. No. 96, S.J. Res. 286, 54 Stat, 858, *Joint Resolution to Strengthen the Common Defense and to Authorize the President to Order Members and Units of Reserve Components and Retired Personnel of the Regular Army into Active Military Service*, 76th Congress, 3rd Session, August 27, 1940.

11 Weigley, 1984, p. 427; Robert Bruce Sligh, *The National Guard and National Defense: The Mobilization of the Guard in World War II*, New York: Praeger Publishers, 1992, p. 126; Michael D. Doubler, *I Am the Guard: A History of the Army National Guard, 1636–2000*, Washington, D.C.: Army National Guard, 2001, p. 174.

Simultaneously, Congress and the Roosevelt administration were working out the details for a peacetime draft, what would eventually be signed into law on September 16 as the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940. This act authorized Roosevelt to induct young men between certain ages for 12 consecutive months of military service, but also authorized the President to defer induction "of those men whose employment in industry, agriculture, or other occupations or employment, or whose activity in other endeavors, is found . . . to be necessary to the maintenance of the national health, safety, or interest," among other deferment categories.[12] Realizing it did not make sense to draft citizens under one set of rules while mobilizing Guardsmen and Reservists by a different set, the Army notified the states to discharge underage Guardsmen and those who were not physically and mentally qualified for military service and to offer discharges to men who would likely qualify for a deferment under the forthcoming Selective Training and Service Act. Consequently, more than 96,000 Guardsmen—nearly half the Guard's authorized end strength—were discharged by July 23, 1940. Dependency status was the most common reason cited, while nonresidence in the unit's state and being underage ranked as the second- and third-most, but far less common, rationale for discharge. Due to the Guard's effective recruiting campaign, such as sloganeering like "Join the Guard and go with the boys you know," and the rapidly changing mood in America, most of these losses were offset by new, albeit untrained, Guard recruits before their units were federalized.[13]

As the Army's reserve components were mobilized, it became clear that many officers, regardless of component, were either physically unfit or poorly trained for combat leadership. The National Guard Bureau estimated that 20 percent of Guard staff and division officers were not qualified to hold their positions. Part of the problem was insufficient training—less than one-third of Guard officers brought onto active duty in 1940 and 1941 had completed the Army leadership course required for their assigned billet.[14] Moreover, many had no training on the more modern equipment with which they would deploy. Indeed, after the war, the Chief of the National Guard Bureau admitted that "certain deficiencies were apparent," and officers at all levels were deemed physically unfit for field duty.[15] These problems during mobilization led to changes in Guard standards. By 1944, the National Guard Bureau revised its regula-

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[12] U.S. Congress, Public No. 783, S. 4164, 54 Stat, 885, *An Act to Provide for the Common Defense by Increasing the Personnel of the Armed Forces of the United States and Providing for its Training*, 76th Congress, 3rd Session, September 16, 1940.

[13] Sligh, 1992, pp. 98-99.

[14] Christopher R. Gabel, *The U.S. Army GHQ Maneuvers of 1941*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1992, p. 16.

[15] *Annual Report of the Chief of the National Guard Bureau*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Defense, National Guard Bureau, June 30, 1946, p. 13.

tions, requiring "high professional standards, physical standards comparable to those of the Regular Army, definite age and tenure-in-grade restrictions. . . ."[16]

Because of these deficiencies, many Regular Army and National Guard officers were relieved of command during the mobilization period. Organized Reserve officers who were judged to be similarly unqualified were often simply not called to active duty. When the country finally went to war, a substantial number of these—especially colonels, lieutenant colonels, and majors—had been dismissed or reassigned. As in the initial months of mobilization for World War I in 1917, a rising level of resentment existed among some National Guard officers over the assumption that the relief or reassignment of longstanding regimental and division commanders was motivated by lack of Regular Army respect for the Guard.[17] Cognizant that there could be misconceptions about the evaluation of officers, the War Department warned against relieving Reserve officers from duty too quickly, advising that every officer would be evaluated on their merits and would have at least three months to demonstrate their efficiency. By the numbers, the Regular Army experienced a higher percentage of forced separations than the reserve components during the initial mobilization. From June to November 1941, 195 Regular Army officers were dismissed or forced to retire. Most were field grade, as 31 colonels and 117 lieutenant colonels made up the bulk of the reclassifications, totaling 1.3 percent of all Regular Army officers. In the same period, 127 National Guard and 142 Reserve officers were reclassified under the same rules. The overwhelming majority were company-grade, though, because only 28 of the 269 were above the rank of captain, equating to three-fourths of 1 percent of the Guard's officer total and one-fourth of 1 percent of the Reserve officers on active duty.[18]

While the process of mobilizing the civilian components and drafting hundreds of thousands of young men into the Army continued, there was a frenzy of camp construction as the Army worked to absorb National Guard units and members, Organized Reserve personnel, volunteers, and draftees. The Army had requested funding to permit camp construction to be complete before mobilization and conscription began, especially in cold weather states, but congressional funding was not appropriated. Many soldiers in the winter of 1940–1941 found themselves housed in unsatisfactory billets, and they were not particularly hesitant to voice their dissatisfaction to their members of Congress and the media. Regardless, in less than a year, by mid-1941 the Army had reached its initial planned strength of 1.5 million soldiers. By the fall, the Army Ground Forces had grown to 27 infantry divisions, five armored divisions, and two cavalry divisions. The quick pace was partly due to the existence of the Offi-

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16 *Annual Report of the Chief of the National Guard Bureau*, 1946, p. 14.

17 For a general history of the National Guard see Jim Dan Hill, *The Minute Man in Peace and War: A History of the National Guard*, Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 1964.

18 Mark Skinner Watson, *Chief of Staff: Prewar Plans and Preparations*, Washington, D.C.: United States Army Center of Military History, 1991, pp. 245–246.

cer Reserve Corps, which functioned as intended by providing a large pool of officers ready to step into leadership positions across the Army, including the Army Air Corps. Such a system proved valuable as the Army rapidly expanded its division structure; once a division grew to full strength, portions of its leadership were removed and given the responsibility of growing another division.[19] In spite of the quick pace of manning new and existing units, acute shortages of equipment continued to plague mobilization efforts throughout 1941.

Given the increasing likelihood that the United States would become involved in World War II, greater coordination of the air arm, the Army Air Corps, was needed. In March 1941, Secretary of War Henry Stimson directed that it be organizationally streamlined, ultimately leading to a reorganization that created the Army Air Forces on June 20.[20] By the close of 1942, the Army Air Forces consisted of 35 air groups, with numerous supporting units still in training.[21]

By the spring of 1941, many activated Reservists, Guardsmen, conscripts, and volunteers alike were halfway through their anticipated 12 months of service and growing restive. Training was proceeding apace, but events in Europe and Asia had reached a lull, and it did not appear to some as though U.S. intervention would necessarily be required.[22] The first troops ordered to active duty in September 1940 anticipated their release in October 1941, in spite of dilatory congressional debate over whether their service should be extended, and in spite of the Chief of the National Guard Bureau's May 1941 recommendation that their active duty be extended indefinitely.[23]

Despite military policy over the preceding decades that aligned the National Guard more closely with the Army, the discordance between professional federal and

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[19] Kreidberg and Henry, 1955, pp. 574–574; Weigley, 1984; Kent Roberts Greenfield, Robert B. Palmer, and Bell I. Wiley, *Army Ground Forces: The Organization of Ground Combat Troops*, Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army Historical Division, 1947, pp. 53–54.

[20] For studies of the Army Air Forces during the war, see David E. Johnson, *Fast Tanks and Heavy Bombers: Innovation in the U.S. Army, 1917–1945*, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998; Michael S. Sherry, *The Rise of American Air Power: The Creation of Armageddon*, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987; Wesley Frank Craven and James Lea Cate, eds., *The Army Air Forces in World War II*, Vols. 1–7, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983.

[21] Stewart, 2010, p. 74; Weigley, 1984, pp. 430–434.

[22] In 1940, Major General Milton Reckord of the Maryland Guard indicated his belief that the United States would ultimately not participate in the war. In describing the impact of draft legislation on the Guard, he referred to his expectation that "whatever is done . . . must be so worked out that there will be a flow of qualified junior officers into the National Guard, when we come home a year from now" (Chief of the National Guard Bureau, 1940, p. 24).

[23] The uncertainty of whether the country would go to war, and the limbo in which many in uniform found themselves, led to sagging morale. Expectations of being released after 12 months of service led to growing threats that soldiers would "go over the hill," Army slang for desertion. Thus, the slogan "OHIO"—"Over the Hill in October"—was soon painted, chalked, or scrawled on Army property across the country. See "This Is What the Soldiers Complain About: *Life* Report Finds That Many 'Gripes' Have Lowered Morale in a Sample Army Division," *Life,* Vol. 11, No. 7, August 18, 1941.

part-time state soldiers continued in the 1930s and 1940s. Even before the United States officially entered the war, there were signs of typically petty disagreements between some leaders in the Regular Army and National Guard related to mobilization. At their 1940 conference, officers from the National Guard Association of the United States (NGAUS) shared a column from the Washington *Times-Herald* predicting dire consequences from mobilization:

> A businessman with many years' knowledge of the Army checked in here last week jittering about our mobilized National Guard. "They don't know what they're doing," he said. "They haven't learned it takes a lot more than a uniform to make a soldier. . . . The basic trouble," he says, "is that the Guard doesn't realize it is in the Army now. The regulars do, and they are working their heads off. . . . We thought the Guard and the Reserve would fill the gaps when expansion time came, but if they're going to fill it the way they're doing now they'd better stay home."[24]

As Guard officers observed at the time, the article contained details proving that the author, or his source, was unfamiliar with how the mobilization was organized and camps were run.[25] However, they took strong exception to the unknown businessman's recommendation—"Transfer the higher Guard officers from their present commands to others as far as possible from their civilian bailiwicks"—and resolved to form a committee to investigate and counter such false information, which was "creating distrust and dissension among the several components of the Army of the United States."[26] Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall reported that the slow and shaky start of federalizing the National Guard was at least partly due to the "democratic processes of legislation resulted in a prolonged debate," which slowed the appropriations of funds from Congress required to build training camps and ultimately expand the Army.[27]

After observing Army stateside maneuvers in 1940 and 1941, Lieutenant General Lesley J. McNair, chief of staff of General Headquarters (GHQ) and in charge of training, was familiar with the performance of prospective division and corps commanders.[28] As a result, he became General Marshall's adviser on combat commander

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[24] Chief of the National Guard Bureau, 1940, pp. 15–16.

[25] The National Guard Association's 1940 annual report noted that hygiene and sanitation at training camps were poor and would surely lead to epidemic disease, as it had in 1918. As former NGAUS President Major General Walsh observed, Army medical inspectors surely would have called attention to that fact had it been true (Chief of the National Guard Bureau, 1940, pp. 18–19).

[26] Chief of the National Guard Bureau, 1940, pp. 17, 24; R. R. Palmer, *The Procurement and Training of Ground Combat Troops*, Washington, D.C.: Historical Division, Department of the Army, 1948.

[27] *Biennial Reports of the Chief of Staff of the United States Army to the Secretary of War (July 1, 1939, to June 30, 1945)*, Washington, D.C.: United States Army Center of Military History, 1996, pp. 7–8.

[28] Gabel, 1992.

selections. As in the last war, senior commanders who did not meet certain standards were replaced. Marshall applied roughly the same sort of standards as Pershing had Army-wide, removing officers for age, incompetence, and lack of training. All of the commanders of the Regular Army's initial 14 divisions were replaced before the divisions deployed, and 16 of the 18 National Guard division commanders experienced the same fate.[29]

At the same time, based on the mobilization and training issue, McNair offered Marshall a larger critique of the National Guard. In an October 1941 letter, he claimed that the Guard was "built on an unsound foundation, in that its officers have had little or no training as such." McNair believed this level of readiness had larger ramifications because the "Guard now is or soon will be occupying space and facilities which could be used to better advantage for new units, organized soundly, and led adequately."[30] He maintained this belief after mobilization when operations in Europe began. Two weeks before his untimely death near Saint-Lô in France from an American airstrike in July 1944, McNair wrote Marshall that the National Guard had "contributed nothing to national defense" and should "be dispensed with as a component of the Army of the United States."[31] Marshall did not agree, nor did many others in high positions within the Regular Army, but mobilization had shown many of these same officers that changes to the Guard that allowed closer federal supervision were preferable.[32]

Mobilization had further affirmed the long-held views of some National Guard officers about the supposed antagonism of Regular Army officers. Major General Ellard Walsh, president of the National Guard Association from 1928 to 1930 and again from 1943 to 1957, was particularly emphatic with his oftentimes barely veiled enmity for McNair. In the war's closing months, and less than a year after McNair's death, he argued that the "National Guard had been the object of bitter and unrelenting attack by high ranking officers of the Regular Army mostly hiding behind a cloak

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29 Mark T. Calhoun, *General Lesley J. McNair: Unsung Architect of the U.S. Army*, Lawrence, Kans.: University Press of Kansas, 2015, p. 225–226: Stephen R. Taaffe, *Marshall and His Generals: U.S. Army Commanders in World War II*, Lawrence, Kans.: University Press of Kansas, 2011, p. 6.

30 Edward M. Coffman, *The Regulars: The American Army, 1898–1941*, Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004, p. 397.

31 Edward M. Coffman, "The Duality of the American Military Tradition: A Commentary," *Journal of Military History*, Vol. 64, No. 4, October, 2000, p. 979; Edward M. Coffman, *The Embattled Past: Reflections on Military History*, Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 2014, p. 37; I. B. Holley, *General John M. Palmer, Citizen Soldiers, and the Army of a Democracy*, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982, pp. 656–657; Martha Derthick, *The National Guard in Politics*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965, pp. 78–79. In response to the last comment, delivered in a report to the General Staff, the director of the Special Planning Division of the General Staff wrote, one imagines somewhat wearily, "the War Department obviously cannot report to Congress that no National Guard system can be dependable or efficient until every effort has been made to evolve such a system" (as quoted in Coffman, 2000, pp. 979–980).

32 Coffman, 2000, pp. 979–980.

of anonymity."[33] Walsh was obviously referring to McNair, quoting him verbatim, and went on to state that, at a reunion of his West Point class, McNair had been overheard allegedly saying that "If this war had accomplished nothing else, it had got rid of the god damn National Guard."[34] Such a statement was knowingly unverifiable. Regardless, Walsh's adroitness as a lobbyist who could galvanize popular and congressional support served NGAUS's campaigns well throughout the 1940s and 1950s. At the 1946 NGAUS conference, Walsh dispensed with vague references and openly referred to the deceased McNair as "our little genius," singling him out as the man "responsible for the gospel of hate loosed against us."[35] Despite efforts since World War I to close the gap between the Army and National Guard in both relations and readiness, mobilization for the next war was revealing that there were still many difficulties to overcome.

## War Approaches

By June 1940, the German Army had occupied Denmark and Norway and Paris had fallen to the German advance. Adolf Hitler abrogated the non-aggression agreement he had made with the USSR, the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, when the German invasion of the Soviet Union began on June 22, 1941. The widening of the war caused Congress to focus immediately on whether the active military service of mobilized reserve component personnel and conscripts, as authorized in 1940, should be extended to an even longer period of service. Hearings in July 1941 further illuminated the matter. During his testimony to the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, Army Chief of Staff Marshall, who had already made his thoughts on this issue amply clear, uncharacteristically displayed his impatience:

> Mr. Chairman, I am a little at a loss as to just what you want me to address myself. You had a rather lengthy statement by me on the various questions involved in the resolutions under consideration—the retention beyond the original period of 12 months of the Reserve components of the Army of the United States, and of the selectees.[36]

When questioned further, he elaborated:

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[33] Major General Ellard A. Walsh, *Annual Report of Major General Ellard A. Walsh, President of the National Guard Association of the United States to the Sixty-Seventh Annual Conference at Des Moines, Iowa*, Washington, D.C.: National Guard Association of the United States, April 24–26, 1945.

[34] Walsh, 1945.

[35] National Guard Association of the United States, *Proceedings of the Sixty-Eighth Annual Conference, September 18–21, 1946*, Washington, D.C., 1946, p. 18.

[36] Chief of the National Guard Bureau, 1940, p. 2.

> It may clarify the atmosphere for me to explain that I made the specific recommendations regarding the extension of the 12-month period of service for the three categories [Guard, Reserve, conscripts] purely on the basis of a military necessity for the security of the country. . . . I felt that affairs had reached a critical state from a military viewpoint several months ago, and that no more time could be lost without giving the public and the Congress my military opinion of the situation . . .
>
> We are working against a time schedule. We have seen nation after nation go down, one after the other, in front of a concentrated effort, each one lulled, presumably, into negative action, until all the guns were turned on them and it was too late.
>
> We have the basis for protective action in the Selective Training and Service Act to meet this threat. There we have the foundation of the entire matter. The whole issue at stake is simply this: Is the situation critical? Is there an emergency?
>
> I say distinctly that such an emergency now exists.[37]

When questioned as to whether he believed that the security of the United States might be imperiled without the continuation of service for more than 12 months, Marshall responded, "I do, emphatically, believe that it is quite possible, that the safety of this country might be imperiled."[38]

Major General Milton Reckord, former NGAUS president and Adjutant General for the State of Maryland, and at the time commander of the recently activated 29th Division, backed Marshall's argument. "I have conferred with many of my officers upon the subject," he told the Senate committee. "Without exception they all feel—and it does not suit the convenience of some of them to remain in the service indefinitely—without exception, gentlemen, the thought is that the National Guard should be kept in the service as long as the emergency exists."[39] Since the National Guard Association is for officers only, one senator queried the general on the feelings of enlisted personnel, to which Reckord stated:

> I think with 90 percent of the men, that is true. There is always the minority in everything, but there is no so-called militant minority. There are certain individuals who feel that they would like to get out, get back home, but let me invite the attention of the committee to this fact: The law provided that every officer and

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[37] U.S. Senate, *Retention of Reserve Components and Selectees in Military Service Beyond Twelve Months: Hearing Before the Committee on Military Affairs*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, July 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, and 24, 1941, pp. 3, 6.

[38] Quoted in U.S. Senate, 1941, p. 6.

[39] Quoted in U.S. Senate, 1941, p. 52. Reckord served as president of NGAUS from 1923 to 1925 and Maryland's adjutant general from 1920 to 1966, except for a leave of absence during World War II, when he deployed to Europe as the theater provost marshal. Reckord commanded the 29th Division from 1934 until January 1942, whereup he had reached the age ceiling for the position at 63 years old.

> every enlisted man below the grade of captain had a right to ask to be relieved before they were inducted, and in my own State we cleaned house. Everyone who had any reason whatever for getting out, we let them get out.[40]

When further pressed on the percentage of Guardsmen who had been discharged in lieu of mobilization, Reckord stated:

> Only sergeants and corporals who were married and had dependents. Very few officers, but there were some weak sisters who just could not stand the gaff; they could not give up their work at home to go out in the field, and they asked to be relieved.[41]

The Chief of the National Guard Bureau would subsequently provide the nationwide facts associated with the 1940 discharges in his 1941 annual report, noting that 1,816 Guard officers and 94,227 enlisted Guardsmen were discharged in lieu of peacetime mobilization for a variety of reasons. These discharges represented just over 12 and 41 percent of Guard officers and enlisted men, respectively, who were in the Guard on June 30, 1940.

Major General William Haskell, commander of the National Guard 27th Division, was not as unequivocal as Reckord, but he also advocated extending service:

> I think, while it is just an estimate, that probably 90 percent of the National Guard would stay and see this thing through . . . if the Congressmen said that there was a national emergency it would make a great difference. . . . As for breaking faith with them, I do not believe that that will be put up by any soldier. I say "any soldier," but of course there will always be a few disgruntled men who would like to go home a month or 6 weeks after they get down there anyway.[42]

Haskell identified the main reason for congressional hesitation: fear that constituents would accuse them of having acted in bad faith, first mandating a 12-month period of service for training and subsequently switching it to an indefinite period of service. This concern was sufficient that, in spite of Marshall's forceful testimony and ample backing by others, Congress passed only a six-month extension in August

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[40] Quoted in U.S. Senate, 1941.

[41] Quoted in U.S. Senate, 1941.

[42] Quoted in U.S. Senate, 1941, p. 58. Haskell graduated from West Point in 1901 but resigned from the Regular Army in 1926, then took command of the New York National Guard and the 27th Division. Like Reckord, Haskell faced being relieved from command due to the age-in-grade limit. He opted instead to retire in November 1941.

1941, and even then by only one vote in the House of Representatives.[43] The events of December 7, 1941, were less than 90 days away.

The Army's mobilization efforts had been temporarily spared a potentially ruinous disruption, and planners doubled down on training. They scheduled the largest peacetime maneuvers in Army history for the fall of 1941, involving 500,000 soldiers. In spite of supply problems—equipment shortages still existed, and some soldiers found themselves using broom handles and logs in lieu of rifles and machine guns—the exercises proved extremely valuable. Not only did they help to identify both gifted commanders and substandard leaders, but the exercises also acted as learning opportunities for individuals and units while the young Army studied the complicated orchestration necessary in modern warfare. According to Lieutenant General McNair, the maneuvers were a crucial "combat college for troop leading"—they allowed novices to make mistakes in a simulated environment rather than battle.[44]

## The Army at War

On December 7, 1941, Japanese forces attacked Navy ships and facilities at Pearl Harbor—home to the U.S. Navy's Pacific Fleet—and Army Air Forces at Hickam, Wheeler, and Bellows Fields, catapulting America into war in the Pacific. Claiming unbearable provocation, Germany declared war against the United States four days later, on December 11. The United States responded with its own declaration that same day. The attacks put to rest most public articulations of isolationist sentiment, and American anger over the attacks prompted the War Department to begin working at a frantic pace. Army planners anticipated the eventual mobilization of a staggering 213 divisions. Such a force structure, along with its supporting forces, would require a total of 8.8 million men. As it happened, their estimates for personnel were not far off, although the number of combat divisions were eventually capped at 95.[45]

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[43] Watson, 1991, p. 230; Dean Acheson, *Present at the Creation: My Years in the State Department*, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987, pp. 21–22; J. Garry Clifford and Robert H. Ferrell, "Roosevelt at the Rubicon: The Great Convoy Debate," in G. Kurt Piehler and Sidney Pash, ed., *The United States and the Second World War: New Perspectives on Diplomacy, War, and the Home Front*, New York: Fordham University Press, 2010, pp. 25–26; Weigley, 1967, p. 434.

[44] Quoted in Gabel, 1992, p. 5. The War Department activated GHQ in July 1940 and assigned General George C. Marshall as its commander. General Headquarters was responsible for the training of the four field armies in the continental United States, the tactical units of the Air Corps (GHQ aviation), the newly formed armored units, and harbor defense troops. GHQ was replaced by Army Ground Forces (AGF) with the War Department Reorganization of March 9, 1942 (Kreidberg and Henry, 1955, pp. 581–583, 599–604).

[45] The 213 divisions of the so-called Victory Program by type were 71 infantry, 61 motorized infantry, 10 airborne, 61 armored, and 10 mountain (Kreidberg and Henry, 1955, pp. 622–624; Steven Ross, ed., *American War Plans, 1919–1941*, Vol. 5, New York: Garland, 1992; Watson, 1991, p. 331–366; Maurice Matloff, *Strategic Plan-*

U.S. entry into the war put an end to the debates about extended service tours. Within a week of the attack on Pearl Harbor, Congress voted that all soldiers, including those currently active and those to be activated or conscripted, would remain in the war for the duration plus six months. The 1942 *Annual Report of the Chief of the National Guard* mentioned one result of the legislation:

> . . . it appeared undesirable to permit citizens to enlist in the National Guard in their States for service under the State when other means and channels were available for all needed service to the Nation. Therefore, on December 31, 1941, the Chief of the National Guard Bureau instructed all State adjutants general that effective immediately all enlistments and reenlistments in State detachments or for units of the National Guard in active Federal service would be discontinued.[46]

Of the 111,000 Officers' Reserve Corps personnel eligible by mid-1941, more than 57,000 had been activated, increasing to more than 80,000 by the time of the attack on Pearl Harbor.[47] In February 1942, President Roosevelt's Executive Order 9049 put the Organized Reserves into service for the duration of the war plus six months. This was mostly a public relations document, however, given the fact that the vast majority of Reservists were already on active service.[48] By the end of that year, 142,000 Officers' Reserve Corps members were on active Army duty; roughly 12,000 had not received orders for various reasons, though, including advanced age and disability.[49] Many of these officers wrote letters demanding active duty, noting their acute embarrassment at having to explain repeatedly to friends and co-workers that they were doing everything they could to be activated. Brigadier General Edward Smith, the Executive for Reserve and ROTC Affairs, admitted to one petitioner that "It has been a problem with the War Department to place on duty all of our high-ranking Reserve officers."[50] Indeed, two years later, the number of Officers' Reserve Corps members still not placed on active duty was only minimally lower.[51]

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*ning for Coalition Warfare, 1943–1944*, Washington, D.C.: United States Army Center of Military History, 2003, pp. 114–117).

46 *Annual Report of the Chief of the National Guard Bureau*, Washington, D.C.: War Department, National Guard Bureau, June 30, 1942, p. 50.

47 *Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1941*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1941, pp. 109–110; Richard B. Crossland and James T. Currie, *Twice the Citizen: A History of the United States Army Reserve, 1908–1983*, Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief, Army Reserve, 1984, p. 67.

48 John B. Wilson, *Maneuver and Firepower: The Evolution of Divisions and Separate Brigades*, Washington D.C.: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1998, p. 169.

49 Crossland and Currie, 1984, p. 68.

50 Quoted in Crossland and Currie, 1984, p. 69.

51 Despite the many individuals awaiting active duty call-up, the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) program had already made a substantial impact by the end of 1940. Ninety percent of Army lieutenants and 60

Mobilized National Guard units deployed to the Philippines to reinforce U.S. Army and Philippine forces already there. The 200th Coast Artillery, 192nd Tank Battalion, and the 194th Tank Battalion arrived between September and November 1941.[52] U.S. and Filipino forces fought bravely against the Japanese invasion on December 8, 1941, but surrendered at Bataan and entered captivity on April 9, 1942. Back in America, mobilization of the National Guard left the state governors with no troops to conduct the Guard's normal functions. As during World War I, the authorization for creation of state Guard forces by congressional amendment of the 1916 National Defense Act on October 21, 1940, ameliorated this deficiency.[53] Men beyond conscription age or exempt from the draft for various reasons filled the state Guard units, and the War Department equipped them with surplus equipment. By the end of July 1941, these state Guard forces numbered around 90,000.[54]

Wartime mobilization and industrial production could not be divorced from national policy and strategic planning. The initial blueprint from fall 1941 for an Army with a peak strength of 215 divisions no longer seemed feasible or possible without decelerating essential wartime production when only 15–16 million men were fit for military service for all of the Armed Forces. In light of manpower problems, and given the strategic situation in the spring of 1943, Chief of Staff Marshall and Secretary of War Stimson decided to shrink markedly the Army's mobilization goals to 7.7 million men and 88 combat divisions—the number already activated—with the activation of an additional two light divisions. This was the so-called 90-Division Gamble. It assumed multiple prerequisites to succeed: If the Soviet Union could keep Germany engaged in the East, if Allied bombing could erode the German popular will to endure, and if the American industrial juggernaut continued to churn out invaluable war supplies, 90 divisions would be the "cutting edge" required to win the war. The potential inadequacy of that number tormented Army senior leaders for the remainder of the war.[55] The need for additional personnel became acute by late 1943 and early 1944, as the Army began stripping tens of thousands of soldiers from yet-to-deploy

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percent of all officers assigned to field units were graduates of ROTC courses and camps (Gabel, 1992, p. 16).

[52] Doubler, 2001, pp. 177–178.

[53] Public Law 76-874, An Act to Amend Section 61 of the National Defense Act of June 3, 1916, by Adding a Proviso Which Will Permit States to Organize Military Units Not a Part of the National Guard, and for Other Purposes, October 21, 1940.

[54] See Barry M. Stentiford, *The American Home Guard: The State Militia in the Twentieth Century*, College Station, Tex.: Texas A&M University Press, 2002. The State Guard, now the State Defense Forces, exist under the compact clause of the Constitution, which states that Congress may grant consent for the individual states to form such bodies.

[55] Maurice Matloff, "The 90-Division Gamble," in Kent Roberts Greenfield, ed., *Command Decisions*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960; Matloff, 1990, pp. 408–412; Peter R. Mansoor, *The GI Offensive in Europe: The Triumph of American Infantry Divisions, 1941–1945*, Lawrence, Kans.: University Press of Kansas, 1999, pp. 31–34.

divisions to those about to deploy or already overseas.[56] The Army also took the step of relying heavily on limited-service personnel, including women, to release men for combat duty. The Women's Army Corps, formed in 1942, represented the first time in U.S. history that women were given full legal military status, and its strength reached 100,000 by the end of the war.[57]

The Army's task of training and deploying troops was complicated briefly by concern over the possibility of homeland sabotage. At one point in early 1942, the administrative and operational organization of the Army within the continental United States resulted in significant numbers of soldiers from 19 of the Army's 34 divisions being used to guard key infrastructure, especially on the East and West Coasts. This diversion of combat forces delayed Army expansion and the production of combat-ready forces for overseas deployment. Reorganization of the Army high command in February 1942 and continental commands, coupled with completion of the relocation of Japanese-Americans, soon permitted most Army combat forces to return to preparing to deploy.[58]

Britain and the United States had agreed shortly after Pearl Harbor on a "Germany First" policy, whereby the United States would prioritize victory in Europe over victory against Japan. In spite of this decision, five of the eight Army divisions that left the continental United States in the first half of 1942 went to the Pacific, where the Army already had two divisions in Hawaii. Likewise, of the 2,200 Army aircraft deployed overseas, 1,300 were in the Pacific (including Alaska) and the Far East, and 900 were in the Western Atlantic and Latin America. About 60 percent of Army soldiers deployed overseas at this time were in the Pacific, Alaska, and the China-Burma-India theater, while nearly all of the remaining deployed soldiers were in western Atlantic and Caribbean bases. The U.S. Navy's victory at Midway in June 1942 left American leadership eager to consolidate their position in the Pacific and set the stage for later deployment of the force that would eventually advance toward the Japanese home islands.[59]

These deployments worried some planners who, as early as January 1942, had begun to think about how to mass Allied forces in Europe to defeat Germany. Buildup for such an offensive was excruciatingly slow. It would require not only 1 million American troops, but also 10 million tons, or more, of cargo. It was apparent by the

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[56] Watson, 1991, pp. 472–472.

[57] Mattie E. Treadwell, *The Women's Army Corps*, Washington, D.C.: United States Army Center of Military History, 1995. One of the Women's Army Corps' first slogans was "Free a Man to Fight"; this was soon changed when they learned that Army men did not necessarily wish to be freed from their noncombat positions in order that they might fight.

[58] Stetson Conn, Rose C. Engelman, and Byron Fairchild, *Guarding the United States and its Outposts*, Washington, D.C.: United States Army Center of Military History, 2000, p. 36.

[59] Stewart, 2010, p. 99.

end of summer 1942 that the anticipated invasion the following spring was not operationally or logistically feasible. By October 1943, however, the majority of U.S. Army troops were arriving in the European theater in anticipation of Operation Overlord, the planned Allied cross-channel invasion of Western Europe. By April 1945, just before the European war's end, more than 3 million soldiers had deployed to the theater and 1.2 million to the Pacific.[60]

## Demobilization, 1945–1948

During World War II, U.S. political leadership was careful to balance military requirements with public expectations, as must any democracy that is engaged in fighting a war. Following the Allied victory over Japan in August 1945, however, a war-weary American public demanded that a return to normalcy take place as quickly as possible.[61] Therefore, in the immediate postwar, the Army transitioned from a war machine to a peacetime establishment more suddenly than many Army leaders would have preferred.

The War Department had anticipated this public pressure long before the end of the war. In December 1942, Marshall had observed that postwar planners should assess the possibility of having to demobilize soldiers as quickly as possible, pointing out that there would be great pressure for their return home.[62] Retired Brigadier General John McAuley Palmer—whose work on postwar planning will be explored more thoroughly in the following chapter—agreed. However, he also advanced his own preference for maintaining what he termed an "emergency force." Smaller than the wartime Army but larger than the prewar peacetime Army, it would be responsible for "mopping up" during the transition period between the end of hostilities and the onset of the military, social, and economic conditions commonly understood as characteristic of peacetime. This would also allow the War Department to assess more accurately the requirements of the peacetime military. It was Palmer's preference that such an emergency force be created through legislation allowing the President to retain the necessary personnel. Not until this transition period would "it be possible to digest

60 Stewart, 2010, p. 126.

61 Members of Congress soon after V-J Day became the most vocal critics of the pace of the Army's postwar drawdowns. As historian John Sparrow points out, moral and economic motivations turned political. Congressional pressure to accelerate demobilization efforts increased as family members of servicemen threatened to make their dissatisfaction felt at the polls in future elections. Despite loud protestations from many congressmen, however, by the end of 1945 no new legislation on demobilization had managed to leave any committees (Sparrow, 1952, pp. 141–148; Charles Hurd, "The Veteran: Public Confusion and Discontentment Is Found over Slow Demobilization," *New York Times*, September 16, 1945, p. 38).

62 John McAuley Palmer, "Memorandum for the President of the Post-War Planning Board: Conversation with General Marshall, December 29, 1942," Palmer Papers, Library of Congress, Box 14, Folder 1, January 14, 1943a.

and apply the tactical and strategic experience of the officers and men who are now fighting the war," he wrote in 1943.[63]

As Palmer observed in a memorandum to Chief of Staff Marshall in April 1944, demobilization would largely involve the release of personnel and materiel deemed to be superfluous following the war, as well as the reallocation of the personnel and materiel that remained. To do this well, he reasoned, the War Department needed a clear vision of what the postwar military establishment would look like: How would it be structured? What would its missions entail? Whence would it draw its personnel?[64] Without knowing these matters, the armed forces could be pressed into a hasty, disorganized demobilization.

And indeed, despite the War Department's preference for slow and orderly demobilization, pressure from the public, Congress, and the troops themselves quickly resulted in an accelerated schedule, just as it had after World War I. Both the U.S. Navy and the Army felt this pressure, but as the service that had relied the most on conscription, the Army felt it more. By the end of 1945, the Army had released 4 million soldiers—half its entire strength, including Army Ground Forces, Army Service Forces (about 5 million combined), and the Army Air Forces (around 3 million).[65] Roughly 2.5 million of these soldiers were from the Army Ground and Service forces. Responsibilities in the Pacific, and especially in postwar Germany, meant that demobilization could not continue at this pace, and the beginning of 1946 witnessed a slowed release rate, which resulted in protests from many of the remaining troops.[66] Admitting defeat, the Army released an additional 2 million soldiers by June 1946.[67]

The Army's own preference, driven by concerns about a potential future conflict with the USSR and institutional desires, had been to maintain a postwar strength of roughly 1.5 million soldiers, with a reserve force of around 2.5 million, but this was not to be.[68] The 1947 War Department budget determined that the maximum Army

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[63] John McAuley Palmer, "Unpublished Remarks Before the Post-War Planning Board, June 28, 1943," Palmer Papers, Library of Congress, Box 14, Volume 1, 1943c.

[64] John McAuley Palmer, "Memorandum of the Chief of Staff, U.S. Army," Palmer Papers, Library of Congress, Box 14, Folder 3, April 21, 1944.

[65] The Army Service Forces formed during a 1942 reorganization of the Army. All units that did not fit into the Army Ground Forces or Army Air Forces were grouped into the Army service forces, including the Army Corps of Engineers, the Signal Corps, the Quartermaster Corps, Personnel, Supply, Materiel, and others.

[66] *Annual Report of the Secretary of Defense on Reserve Forces*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Defense, 1969; Sidney Shalett, "Eisenhower Pledges Speed in An Orderly Demobilization; Urges an End to Hysteria," *New York Times*, January 16, 1946; Sidney Shalett, "Gen. Eisenhower Wins Demobilization Battle," *New York Times*, January 20, 1946, p. 69.

[67] *Notes by the Secretaries to the Joint Chiefs of Staff on Functions of the Armed Forces and the Joint Chiefs of Staff*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Defense, 1948, p. 200.

[68] John McAuley Palmer, "Our Future Military Policy," *Infantry Journal*, August 1943b; Stewart, 2010, p. 204.

strength would be roughly 1 million soldiers. This represented a significant diminution of existing strength; Congress responded by ending the draft, releasing all draftees, and reconfiguring the Regular Army as a volunteer organization of roughly 684,000 ground troops and 306,000 airmen, setting the stage for the "hollow Army" force structure of the immediate postwar years. By mid-1946, the Army had cased the colors of 73 combat divisions, from a wartime high of 89 full-strength active divisions down to 16. At the end of the following year, when demobilization had completed, 12 active divisions remained.[69] A large number of maintenance personnel were also released, which meant that equipment soon deteriorated.[70] Units were routinely understrength, and the troops comprising them, many of whom had joined after the war, were undertrained. The Army's own historians would later characterize postwar Army units as "shadows of the efficient organizations they had been at the end of the war."[71]

While the Army grappled with drawdowns and new global responsibilities, civil and military officials made fundamental changes to the national security system with the National Security Act of 1947.[72] Looking to reorganize both the foreign policy and military establishments, reformers attempted to streamline decisionmaking at the highest levels and enhance the coordination of the armed forces and government. The act created the National Security Council (NSC) to advise the President and coordinate issues related to military and foreign policies. It also combined the War Department and Navy Department into a single National Military Establishment—renamed the Department of Defense two years later—and created a layer of civilian authority between the military and the President by subordinating the service secretaries to the Secretary of Defense. The Army Air Forces became an autonomous and equal service to the Navy and Army with the creation of the Department of the Air Force. Now with a statutory charter, the three military chiefs formed the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) inside the Office of the Secretary of Defense. Among its varied duties, the JCS advised the President and the NSC and Secretary of Defense, formulated joint plans, and gave strategic direction to various commands around the world. Most of the National Security Act's provisions took effect in September 1947, signaling a watershed moment for

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69 Wilson, 1998, pp. 208–210; House, 2012, p. 35; Steven L. Rearden, *History of the Office of the Secretary of Defense*, Vol. 1, *The Formative Years, 1947–1950*, Washington, D.C.: Historical Office, Office of the Secretary of Defense, 1984, p. 12; Elliott V. Converse, III, *History of Acquisition in the Department of Defense*, Vol. 1, *Rearming for the Cold War, 1945–1960*, Washington, D.C.: Historical Office, Office of the Secretary of Defense, 2012, p. 138.

70 House, 2012, pp. 77–78.

71 Stewart, 2010, p. 205.

72 Public Law 80-253, National Security Act of 1947, July 26, 1947.

the nation as U.S. foreign policy became militarized and the lines between military policy and foreign policy became increasingly blurred.[73]

Despite profound changes to the structure of the foreign policy and military establishments, the act resolved few of the national security problems. Given the swift and dramatic postwar drawdown, early planning stressed containment of the USSR and dictated that if the Soviets invaded Western Europe any remaining American forces would rapidly retreat. American ground forces would not play a significant role in the early phases of a Soviet attack. Instead, planners laid out guidance for destroying Soviet industrial and political centers through strategic bombing and nuclear attacks.[74] Planners assumed that, as in past American wars, if needed there would be time to mobilize the citizenry for a large ground army, but atomic weapons would be the primary military force to deal with a Soviet offensive.[75]

The possibility of war with the Soviet Union guided strategic thinking in the years following the war. President Truman regarded nuclear weapons as the nation's main means to deter potential Soviet aggression, and this view, coupled with his fear that a swelling defense budget would cripple the postwar economy, led him to decrease Army funding.[76] All military services shrank in size, except for the newly independent Air Force, whose Strategic Air Command mission insulated it from cuts.[77] Indeed, airpower, costly though it might be, came to be viewed as economical because it diminished reliance on even more-costly ground forces. By 1950, further cuts to the Army had decreased the size and the capabilities of the ground service.[78] The Regular Army shrunk to 591,000 soldiers organized into ten undermanned divisions—including soldiers deployed to occupied Germany, this number rose to 11—and five regimental combat teams. The Army National Guard augmented the Regular Army with 325,000

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[73] Public Law 80-253, 1947; Douglas T. Stuart, *Creating the National Security State: A History of the Law That Transformed America*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008; Michael J. Hogan, *A Cross of Iron: Harry S. Truman and the Origins of the National Security States, 1945–1954*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998; Rearden, 1984, pp. 23–27.

[74] On the early days of NATO, see Lawrence S. Kaplan, *The United States and NATO: The Formative Years*, Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 1984; Robert Thomas Davis, II, *The Dilemma of NATO Strategy, 1949–1968*, Athens, Ohio: Ohio University, Ph.D. dissertation, 2008; Rearden, 1984, pp. 457–484.

[75] Steven T. Ross, David Alan Rosenberg, and United States Joint Chiefs of Staff, *America's Plans for War Against the Soviet Union, 1945–1950*, New York: Garland Pub., 1989.

[76] Melvyn P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War*, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1992, pp. 272–277.

[77] House, 2012, pp. 80–82; George M. Watson, Jr., *The Office of the Secretary of the Air Force, 1947–1965*, General Histories Washington, D.C.: Center for Air Force History, 1993, pp. 24–101.

[78] Public Law 81-581, Army Reorganization Act of 1950, June 28, 1950.

men organized into 27 undermanned divisions, and the Organized Reserves added another 186,000 soldiers in skeletonized divisions.[79]

## Conclusion

Prior to World War II, U.S. Army planners had assumed that in the event of war the National Guard and Organized Reserves would reinforce the Regular Army, which would expand through mass conscription and volunteers. Time and industrial mobilization was required to mobilize, train, and equip the expanded Army. A peacetime presidential executive order in August 1940 began to mobilize National Guard units for 12 months of training. In September, Congress authorized the President to increase the size of land and naval forces and their training for 12 consecutive months, capping this conscripted land force at 900,000 soldiers and establishing limitations on its geographic deployment. This peacetime action was crucial to jump-starting U.S. mobilization efforts, although the Pearl Harbor attack still caught the nation's armed forces largely unprepared for war in distant theaters.

As the next chapter discusses, arguments over postwar military policy, often inspired by parochialism, had begun well before mobilization was complete and would continue throughout the war and beyond, presaging many of the issues that the Army, National Guard, and the Organized Reserve Corps/Army Reserve would confront repeatedly over the following 30 years. These debates were varied and complex: How much should the Army rely on reserve components? Was it pragmatic to maintain multiple reserve components? How should these reserve components be structured? What form should augmentation by the reserves take? While some participants did indeed seek to alter or shift the existing legal framework, they were met with remarkably fierce resistance, and while important details of the reserve structure would change over the 25 years following the end of the war, no fundamental alteration to their essential form succeeded.

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[79] Walter S. Poole, *The Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Policy, 1950–1952*, Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Office of Joint History, 1998, p. 71; *Annual Report of the Chief of the National Guard Bureau, 1951*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1951, pp. 4, 8; Stewart, 2010, p. 214.

CHAPTER THREE

# Planning for Postwar Military Policy: The Final Debates Over the Competing Constitutional Clauses for Organizing the Army, 1940–1945

## Introduction

The 1933 National Defense Act defined the Army as consisting of "the Regular Army, the National Guard of the United States, the National Guard while in the service of the United States, the Officers' Reserve Corps, the Organized Reserves, and the Enlisted Reserve Corps."[1] Yet on the eve of America's entrance into World War II, the question of postwar military policy, and specifically how the Army and its components should be organized, still provoked considerable discussion. A central question involving two separate factions of the Army was at the center of this debate: Should the Army, especially the National Guard, be organized solely under the armies clause of the Constitution, or should the armies clause and the militia clause remain the constitutional basis for the National Guard and a key legal basis for the Army? Each faction had a number of supporters and detractors. This chapter will examine the views of certain prominent and outspoken individuals who personified the competing views of the debate over postwar military policy. For years, the long-serving president of the National Guard Association, Major General Ellard Walsh, vocally sought to recognize the dual foundation of the Guard under both the militia and raise armies clauses. He oftentimes found himself at odds with retired Regular Army Brigadier General John McAuley Palmer, who championed a continuing central role for the National Guard but solely under the armies clause, although at times Palmer fluctuated between positions. The deliberations that occurred took place against the backdrop of the events of World War II, a conflict that naturally shaped the contours of the debate by bringing the immediate experience of another world war to bear on the arguments over postwar military policy.

[1] Public Law 73-64, 1933.

## The Return of Brigadier General John M. Palmer

Europe experienced a rapid escalation toward war in the late 1930s. Despite numerous international peace agreements, Adolf Hitler's Third Reich decided on war. The German Army invaded Poland in 1939, the Scandinavian countries in April 1940, and France and the Low Countries in May. Most shocking to U.S. leaders was the quick capitulation of France. German armor avoided the French defensive network of the Maginot Line and swept instead into northern France through the Ardennes Forest in Belgium. By June 25, 1940, France had fallen and the British Army had evacuated the continent. With Britain facing a German invasion, the British Parliament lost confidence in Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain. On the very day of Germany's invasion of France, Chamberlain resigned and veteran Tory politician Winston Churchill became prime minister. In just six weeks, Hitler had conquered Western Europe. Britain stood isolated, and Germany seemed poised to make the jump across the English Channel. The Soviet Union was a de-facto Axis ally as well, having signed a nonaggression pact with Germany in 1939 and taken part in the invasion and occupation of Poland.

In Asia, Japan continued to expand its power, conducting a war of conquest in China and signing treaties with the European Axis powers. President Franklin Roosevelt attempted to pressure Japan into ending its aggression, placing an embargo on arms sales to Japan in 1938, extending the embargo to scrap iron in 1940 and oil in July 1941, and freezing all Japanese assets in the United States. On December 7, 1941, Japanese naval forces attacked Pearl Harbor, the base of the U.S. Navy's Pacific fleet, as well as Army Air Forces installations at Hickam, Wheeler, and Bellows Fields, catapulting America into war. The American military scrambled to reform and strengthen itself to fight a global conflict in multiple theaters.[2]

Just prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor, General George C. Marshall asked Brigadier General John M. Palmer to return to Washington from his home in New Hampshire. Events in Europe made it increasingly obvious to the chief of staff and his planners that the United States would have a role to play in the war. With Marshall's time and efforts dominated by Army expansion, he asked Palmer to return from retirement to begin planning for postwar military policy.

In providing Palmer with his initial guidance for his task, Marshall wrote to Palmer that:

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[2] For works on this early period of the war and the German defeat of France, see Winston S. Churchill, *Their Finest Hour: The Second World War*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1949; Julian Jackson, *The Fall of France: The Nazi Invasion of 1940*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2003; Robert A. Doughty, *The Breaking Point: Sedan and the Fall of France, 1940*, Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1990; Gerhard L. Weinberg, *A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994; Karl-Heinz Frieser, *The Blitzkrieg Legend: The 1940 Campaign in the West*, Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 2005; E. C. Kiesling, *Arming Against Hitler: France and the Limits of Military Planning*, Lawrence, Kans.: University of Kansas Press, 1996; Ernest May, *Strange Victory: Hitler's Conquest of France*, New York: Hill and Wang, 2000.

> The understanding is . . . that you have no obligations of office or office hours, that you are merely available to me for consultation in the matter of Army organization as pertaining to the citizen forces . . .[3]

Thus, after some hesitation given Palmer's age, Marshall recalled the 71-year-old officer back to active duty on November 18, 1941, and established him at the Library of Congress, where Palmer could research and write in isolation and be spared from the frenetic activities in the War Department. Both NGAUS and the Adjutant Generals Association approved of Marshall's action, as they saw him as an ideological ally, and promised to meet with Palmer as soon as their fall maneuvers were complete.

In Palmer's own description of Marshall's request, he candidly admitted:

> I was in no sense qualified to advise on the purely military aspects of organization. . . . He called me back to active duty because he knew that I had given many years study to the evolution of political-military institutions of the United States . . .[4]

Palmer's remit was not the entirety of postwar military organization; he acknowledged that the way warfare had changed since his retirement rendered him unsuitable for that role. Rather, Marshall hoped that Palmer would formulate some means by which the transition from a wartime to a peacetime Army could be accomplished with minimal trauma. Palmer's years of study on this issue, Marshall hoped, would uniquely suit him also to define the outlines of a peacetime establishment compatible with American political traditions and philosophy, which would allow for rapid and efficient expansion in the event that another war took place.[5]

Japan attacked U.S. forces on Hawaii shortly after Palmer started work. With the daunting tasks of managing a major Army expansion and the first months of fighting a new world war, General Marshall had little time to spare for postwar planning. Palmer, however, was reinvigorated and set about pursuing his work with new energy.[6] As Volume II of this work argues, earlier in his career Palmer had been consistent in his calls for a military policy based on the idea that the Regular Army would be the "peace nucleus of a greater war army," reinforced and expanded by the citizen soldiery, includ-

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[3] General George C. Marshall, "Letter to Brigadier General John McAuley Palmer, November 13, 1941," in Larry I. Bland, Sharon Ritenour Stevens and Clarence E. Wunderlin, Jr., ed., *The Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, Vol. 2, *"We Cannot Delay," July 1, 1939–December 6, 1941*, Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986, pp. 672–673.

[4] John McAuley Palmer, "Letter to General Thomas T. Handy," Palmer Papers, Library of Congress, Box 14, Folder 4, December 13, 1945c.

[5] Palmer, 1945c.

[6] Louis Morton, *Strategy and Command: The First Two Years*, Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, 1962; Forrest C. Pogue, *George C. Marshall*, 3 vols, New York: The Vintage Press, 1963; General George C. Marshall, *The Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, Vol. 5, Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981–2003.

ing the National Guard and the Regular Army Reserve. He differed with many in the War Department who argued for a larger standing Regular Army that in the event of war would be backed up by a large pool of trained, possibly conscripted, personnel led primarily by Regular Army officers.

As a result, Palmer vacillated between two different legal approaches for his mass citizen wartime Army. The first would keep the National Guard as a dual constitutional force with ties to the militia and armies clauses. The second would be to alter the current legal status of the Guard by organizing it solely under the armies clause of the Constitution and removing its legal ties to the states, transforming it into a federalized reserve.

Within these two fluctuating views, Palmer consistently advocated for a citizen-soldier presence within the Army. He recognized that such a feat would not be easy. His solution, as he argued in the years after World War I, was universal military training (UMT). Under Palmer's definition, UMT tied military training to virtually every young and able-bodied American male. Of course, this notion did not originate with Palmer. He had long been an admirer of European nations that made military service a requisite of citizenship. Additionally, much of his early analysis sought to link concepts of UMT to the founding fathers. Yet, utilization of the system in America had many detractors, and among them were members of NGAUS, along with representatives from American political, academic, and social circles. Political leaders worried about the cost of training such an enormous manpower pool and then managing it afterward. Certain social leaders argued that training would disrupt vast numbers of American men at a time when they should be entering college or the workforce. Others were concerned about the effect of Army camp life on the morality of America's male youth.[7]

More specifically, the Guard's primary operating philosophy, firmly established in law in the 1933 and 1940 acts, was that the Guard existed under the militia clause and the raise and support armies clause simultaneously. Many in the National Guard viewed more recent attempts to "organize" it under the Constitution's armies clause as a federal-only reserve force similar to the Organized Reserve Corps as a thinly veiled attempt to abolish the Guard entirely. The Guard's principal concern with UMT was not so much about requiring all American males to have a civic duty to perform military training, but rather that the vast trained manpower pool established by UMT and always under federal control would decrease the value of the Guard as, in their minds, the primary reserve component of the U.S. Army. In essence, UMT controlled by the Regular Army would likely undercut attraction of National Guard service.

As long as Palmer was calling for UMT while simultaneously accepting the National Guard's dual constitutional status, the Guard was generally in agreement

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[7] William A. Taylor, *Every Citizen a Soldier: The Campaign for Universal Military Training After World War II*, College Station, Tex.: Texas A&M University Press, 2014, p. 11.

with Palmer. When he argued for removing its link to the militia clause while at the same time advocating for UMT, however, tensions arose. The conflicting visions came to a head in April 1942. Palmer profoundly alienated the Guard and its leadership when, speaking during the annual Adjutant Generals Association Conference he told the audience:

> [A] single citizen army should be formed under that provision of the Constitution which gives the Government power to raise and support armies, and that it should be practically a merger of the National Guard and the [wartime] National Army.[8]

This, of course, was nothing new for Palmer. As previously mentioned, he often alternated between a policy of accepting a dual constitutional status of the Guard and a policy of creating a federal reserve-only force, thus organizing the Guard solely under the armies clause. The Guard's reaction, expressed by NGAUS, was immediate. Guardsmen found Palmer's conference statement all the more bewildering and threatening, given their previous opinion of him as one of the few Regulars who was a staunch ally of the Guard.

Once fully aware of the import of his statement, Palmer took pains to specify that it had been a personal opinion only, not official War Department policy, but this did little to mitigate the damage. His close relationship with General Marshall, once a source of comfort for the Guard, now made its leadership wonder what other personal opinions Palmer might share with the chief of staff.[9] Indeed, a memo that contained assertions about the interests of the National Guard as a dual federal reserve force that Palmer submitted to the president of the Post-War Planning Board in November of that year observed that:

> Nor does there appear to be any good reason for dividing the reserve forces into two separate echelons. After the present war, there should be but one territorial reserve. The citizen officers who entered the present war army from the National Guard and those who entered it from the Organized Reserves should both be eligible as charter members of this new force. It should be organized under the army clause of the Constitution as an integral part of the Army of the United States in peacetime as well as in wartime.[10]

Palmer noted that "in recognition of a century of patriotic effort to achieve a great idea, it might be fitting to call it (the new reserve) the National Guard. Freed at

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[8] Chief of the National Guard Bureau, *Annual Meeting Conference Report Fiscal Year Ending June 30 1942*, Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army, September 24–25, 1942.

[9] Holley, 1982, pp. 623–624.

[10] John McAuley Palmer, "Memorandum for the President of the Post-War Planning Board," November 24, 1942, pp. 4–5.

last from the hampering complications of the militia status . . . it would be a National Guard indeed."[11] He went on to outline how, assuming that UMT was enacted, the total strength of this reserve could be whatever Army leadership pleased.

Later that year, however, Palmer decided to give up on his efforts to organize the Guard under the Constitution's armies clause as politically impossible, not to mention a distraction from more-urgent priorities, such as the requirement for the Guard to be commanded by competent officers, who in turn must be supported by competent staffs. Additionally, the question of postwar force structure and the possibility of instituting a requirement for UMT had begun to surface.[12]

## War Department Efforts Toward Postwar Planning on Military Policy

General Marshall and others in the War Department had learned from demobilization following the armistice in 1918 and sought to avoid a similar performance. In July 1943, Marshall established the Special Planning Division (SPD), a staff section in the War Department dedicated solely to postwar policy planning for the Army.[13] The SPD was composed of about 50 officers and directed by Brigadier General William F. Tompkins, with Palmer serving as an adviser to the agency. Given his professional stature, the SPD tended to echo many of Palmer's policy ideas. Due to his close relationship with Marshall, Palmer acted as a conduit between the SPD and the chief of staff, which almost by default meant that much the agency's work reflected many of Marshall's own views.[14] The division's mission was to prepare demobilization plans for the War Department's military and industrial activities, and along with that any legislation, regulations, and or other procedures necessary to implement demobilization.[15]

Over the next two years, the SPD wrestled with innumerable problems based largely on factors unknown or unknowable: What threats would the United States face

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[11] Palmer, 1942.

[12] Holley, 1982, pp. 617–636.

[13] Directions given to the director of the SPD in July 1943 instructed him to keep the division's work as quiet as possible: "The War Department desires to emphasize that its efforts are concentrated primarily on winning the war and that the commencement of . . . demobilization planning is in no sense a prognostication that the war is won . . ." (Robert A. Lovett, "Memorandum for the Director, Special Planning Division," Palmer Papers, Library of Congress, Box 14, Folder 2, July 22, 1943).

[14] Jeffrey M. Dorwart, *Eberstadt and Forrestal: A National Security Partnership, 1909–1949*, College Station, Tex.: Texas A&M University Press, 1991, p. 74; William W. Epley, *America's First Cold War Army, 1945–1950*, Arlington, Va.: Institute of Land Warfare, Association of the United States Army, 1999, pp. 2-3; James E. Hewes, *From Root to McNamara: Army Organization and Administration, 1900–1963*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1975, pp. 131–133.

[15] Brigadier General W. F. Tompkins, "Memorandum for All Officers, Special Planning Division," Palmer Papers, Library of Congress, Box 14, Folder 2, August 6, 1943.

after the war? What technologies or weapons would the United States and its allies—or its adversaries—bring to bear? What strategies would most effectively counter threats? Would the country adopt UMT? To what extent would the Army need to rely on its Organized Reserves? The last question, at least, seemed answerable. The Army would need to rely on its reserves a great deal, and SPD mapped out its plans with the Organized Reserve Corps and the National Guard in mind. Thus, in 1943, the War Department was investing genuine thought and effort toward a postwar military policy.

Similarly, Palmer mapped out his own plans for the postwar Army with UMT in mind. Only months after the establishment of the SPD in July 1943, he spoke with them regarding his early vision for this training. He recommended one year of training for every able-bodied man, whereupon each citizen-soldier would join a local unit of the Organized Reserve for "a reasonable period."[16] The SPD's response was not favorable. Its officers conceded that the instruction would be useful but believed that the trainees would be better aggregated in a "general pool of trained manpower," which Palmer interpreted as a grotesque expansion of a peacetime standing Regular Army, not only philosophically inconsistent with American ideals but also anathema to the National Guard and Army Organized Reserve Corps.[17] Palmer considered the concepts of the Founding Fathers to be applicable in the modern era, most notably the ideas of George Washington. He argued throughout his work that Washington and others called for a smaller peacetime fighting force that could be rapidly expanded during war by the trained citizenry who would man the bulk of the war Army and lead it as well.

Concerned about American willingness to underwrite the expense of a large peacetime Army, Palmer, and eventually Marshall, argued forcefully that UMT would serve as a cost-saving measure. "The most expensive element in our peacetime military system is the permanent or regular establishment," Palmer contended in 1943. "With great numbers of trained reserve officers and men immediately available, this regular establishment will be capable of rapid expansion."[18] He wrote to the director of the SPD in 1944 to say its "cost will be largely if not entirely offset by great resultant economies in our military budget."[19] Congressman James W. Wadsworth, Jr.—an old friend of Palmer's after the two worked closely on the National Defense Act of 1920 when Wadsworth was the chair of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs—had been following these arguments with interest. In 1943 he introduced a bill, supported by Senator John Chandler "Chan" Gurney, that left the Army Reorganization Act of

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16 Palmer, 1945c.

17 Palmer, 1945c.

18 Palmer, 1943b.

19 Michael S. Sherry, *Preparing for the Next War: American Plans for Postwar Defense, 1941–45*, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977, p. 38.

1920 in force while also establishing UMT in the service of a federal force.[20] If UMT should produce reservists, they would be absorbed into the National Guard or the Army Organized Reserve Corps, against the preferences of the SPD but hopefully more in line with what the two reserve organizations would find acceptable. Such placement, Palmer reasoned, would augment the Guard rather than diminish it.[21]

## The National Guard Pushes Back Against Palmer's Plan

NGAUS disagreed. Palmer decided to speak at the 1943 NGAUS annual conference in the hopes of allaying their fears, but found spears rather than olive branches. He had chosen a poor time to act as an ambassador. Major General Ellard Walsh was inaugurated as president at the 1943 convention, marking the "birth of a vigorous and vocal lobby" and the foundation of the "modern National Guard Association," according to political scientist Martha Derthick.[22] His incumbency also began an era of amplified tension between the Regular Army and the National Guard. Sensing artifice and subterfuge in most Regular Army actions and proposals, Walsh's aggressive defense of his institution, oftentimes using alarmist rhetoric, did little to weaken the ferocity of political battles to come.

To members of NGAUS, Palmer had omitted the Guard's critical roles as a defender of domestic soil and their charge of quelling insurrections in the service of their given state. National Guard Major General Milton Reckord—who had commanded an infantry regiment in Palmer's brigade in World War I before serving as president of NGAUS from 1923 to 1925—responded bluntly to Palmer's address. Even though the National Guard was the organized militia when federalized, he questioned how long Congress would support the National Guard when there was already an organized reserve "strictly and wholly under Federal Control" and staffed with Regular Army officers. Reckord was dubious that many citizen-soldiers would come back to the Guard after serving two years in the Organized Reserve Corps. Therefore, he declared, he would "oppose this piece of legislation if it is the last thing I do officially. It is bad

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[20] A New York Republican and son-in-law of U.S. diplomat John Hay, Wadsworth had served as a private in a volunteer unit in Puerto Rico during the Spanish-American War. When Elihu Root decided not to run for reelection, Wadsworth won the empty seat and remained in the Senate until 1927. He spent his entire legislative career principally concerned with national security issues, including his time in the House of Representatives from 1933 to 1951. A Republican senator from South Dakota, Chan Gurney was deployed overseas as a sergeant in the Army during World War I and acted as the first chairman of the Senate Committee on Armed Services from 1947 to 1949.

[21] U.S. House of Representatives, *To Provide Military or Naval Training for All Male Citizens Who Attain the Age of 18 Years, and for Other Purposes*, H.R. 1806, 1946; U.S. Senate, *To Provide Military or Naval Training for All Male Citizens Who Attain the Age of 18 Years, and for Other Purposes*, S. 701, 1946.

[22] Derthick, 1965, p. 69.

legislation. It will accomplish what I say it will accomplish whether the proponents" believed or not that it did.[23]

Like many in the National Guard, Reckord insisted on specific language that identified the National Guard as an essential component of the nation's first line of defense. The Guard had successfully inserted such wording in the 1940 Selective Training and Service Act, and they now feared that if the current bill did not it would introduce ambiguity into the relationship between the Army and the National Guard. Reckord did not advocate for similar language for the Organized Reserves. He believed that should the Army wish it might funnel UMT-trained personnel exclusively toward its federalized reserve. Some in the National Guard Bureau harbored similar sentiment at the following year's conference, expressing concern that a "simple stroke of the pen in these days of uncertainty may deprive us of those (rights) if we are not vigilant"; the legislation that "our Washington non-military representatives" were pushing was "dangerous because it not only eliminates the Guard but will injure and perhaps even destroy the prerogative to maintain a military force."[24]

Members of the National Guard had no philosophical objection to UMT, as long as it did not threaten or change their institution; many of its personnel supported the idea. However, the Wadsworth-Gurney Bill disturbed the Guard deeply. Two years later, during his testimony before Congress about UMT, Walsh stated that the Guard had "no quarrel with the principle involved or the purpose thereof." Rather, it had argued that the bill was "defective" in some areas, and if made into law would have likely meant the end of the National Guard.[25]

Walsh and the Guard feared that the bill would in effect allow the Army to create its own robust federal reserve, turning the Guard into a third-tier force—effectively negating the 1916 National Defense Act that made it explicitly a part of the Army when federalized, and the 1933 National Guard Act that made it a reserve component of the Army. If Congress and the War Department succeeded in placing the National Guard solely under the armies clause, it would lose its link to the militia clause and thus, when not federalized, forfeit its state-based autonomy and its political foundation. As Reckord averred at the 1943 conference, if UMT trainees were expected to spend a two-year period in the Organized Reserve Corps, it stretched credulity to believe that all Guard members would return to the Guard at the end of that time. Nor were their fears entirely baseless. By the fall of 1943, the SPD was musing that the

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[23] Chief of the National Guard Bureau, *Annual Meeting Conference Report Fiscal Year Ending June 30 1943*, Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army, September 24–25, 1943, pp. 69–70; Derthick, 1965.

[24] Chief of the National Guard Bureau, *Annual Meeting Conference Report Fiscal Year Ending June 30 1944*, Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army, September 24–25, 1944, pp. 8–9. Also see Stentiford, 2002, pp. 137–138.

[25] U.S. House of Representatives, *Universal Military Training Pursuant to H. Res. 465, A Resolution to Establish a Select Committee on Postwar Military Policy: Hearing Before the Select Committee on Postwar Military Policy*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, June 4–9, 11–16, 19, 1945c, pp. 52–53.

Guard's dual status rendered it neither fish nor fowl, and therefore it was less useful to the Army than the Organized Reserve Corps, organized solely under the army clause of the Constitution. An October 1943 memorandum observed:

> As the National Guard, organized under the Militia Clause of the Constitution, is primarily an aggregation of state forces subject to but limited control in time of peace, it is inherently impossible to develop it into an effective first reserve available, in whole or in part, for the immediate reinforcement of the Regular Army.[26]

Palmer stated flatly at the 1943 NGAUS conference that

> [O]ne of the questions to be raised when we come to the settlement of a future military policy is whether or not the National Guard is the first reserve of the United States and, whether the National Guard as such first reserve shall be in its same status or organized under the Army clause of the Constitution.[27]

Unlike the previous year, when he had hastened to reassure a rattled Guard that his dislike of their dual status was merely a personal opinion, he did not qualify this statement.

A year later, the SPD was still mulling over the Guard's postwar role. An April 1944 memorandum from the SPD director to the Chief of the National Guard Bureau instructed him to consider whether the Guard would be well suited for manning coastal and anti-aircraft defenses, resisting surprise attacks against the United States, or becoming "essentially a State Guard, charged with the mission generally of reinforcing State authority and police powers . . ."[28]

None of these functions aligned with Walsh's emphatic insistence that the Guard remain part of the nation's "first line of defense," capable of fighting as part of the Army as enacted in the 1916 and 1933 National Defense Acts. Proving that Palmer was not the only one who could marshal historical evidence to support an argument, Walsh's 1944 annual report to the NGAUS conference framed the issue as a century-old constitutional struggle. "Those opposed to the Militia System seemingly are obsessed with the idea that the Army Clause of the Constitution is an instrument to be invoked at will while the Militia Clauses may be ignored with impunity," he caustically observed. He then went on to differentiate between the two schools of thought that had thus

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[26] "Special Planning Division Memorandum Furnished to General Palmer," Palmer Papers, Library of Congress, Box 14, Folder 2, October 19, 1943. The memo went on to note that a Guard organized under the Militia Clause would be sufficient "for defense . . . against air-borne invasion and other threats to national security."

[27] Chief of the National Guard Bureau, 1943.

[28] Brigadier General W. F. Tompkins, "Memorandum for the Chief, National Guard Bureau, ASF," Palmer Papers, Library of Congress, Box 14, Folder 3, April 26, 1944.

far dominated national conversations about force structure.[29] According to Walsh, the first was the work and texts of Emory Upton. His ideas represented a shift in military thought that Walsh traced back to the War of 1812 and the Mexican War. As Walsh saw it, Upton's views advocated for an Army expansion scheme that was centered on the Regular Army and trained volunteers, not on the 19th century method of using the states to produce poorly trained militia units to expand the Army.

Walsh went on to critique sharply the second school of thought, that of his contemporary and recent opponent John M. Palmer. Although Walsh characterized Palmer's 1940 book *America in Arms* as "outstanding," he took issue with the work's historical arguments. "[T]he fact seems inescapable that the historical viewpoints distants [*sic*] his studies as to both the historical point of view of the Author and the personal history of the Author."[30] In particular, Walsh highlighted Palmer's repeated references to the Knox Plan of 1792 as a historical precedent for the idea of UMT. Walsh argued that the "Knox Plan provided for a universal federal militia service and was proposed at the very commencement of our Government and approved by Washington." Despite the timing and receiving such a powerful endorsement, the plan "was rejected by Congress in favor of the State Militia idea, and the retention of local leadership, and interest and pride."[31]

Walsh had put his finger on the main historical argument that Palmer had made before and would make again: that universal military training was in keeping with the revised version of the Knox Plan that Washington presented to Congress at the end of the 18th century, and was therefore in line with American political tradition. Although Walsh did not, and probably did not intend to, spend the bulk of his time providing historical counterpoints to Palmer's arguments, he did effectively convey his own argument that Palmer's use of the Knox Plan to bolster his assertions was misleading at best. Walsh believed that the Knox Plan was created in the 18th century to solve 18th century problems, and even so failed to be adopted by an 18th century Congress. Using it to justify UMT during the 20th century was, Walsh argued, a disingenuous use of the historical record. In his opinion, the rejection of the Knox Plan represented the strengthening of the relations between Congress and the state militias, and a distancing of UMT. However, Walsh apparently saw no historical inconsistency in arguing for an 18th century militia to address aspects of 20th century challenges.

Although Walsh had embraced the militia tradition as a counterpoint to Palmer and others, he did not do so unreservedly. As noted earlier, he stood firm in his belief that the Guard as an institution must exist as a fully professionalized force, able to be integrated with the Regular Army as part of the first line of the nation's defense. To

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29 National Guard Association of the United States, *Official Proceedings of the National Guard Association of the United States, Sixty-Sixth Annual Convention, May 3–6, 1944*, Washington, D.C., 1944, p. 28.

30 National Guard Association of the United States, 1944, p. 30.

31 National Guard Association of the United States, 1944, p. 30.

Walsh, the Guard's dual status was not only constitutional, it was practical. Moreover, his examination of the historical record was in some ways as parochially selective as he had accused Palmer of being. As discussed in Volume I of this series, the Supreme Court ruled in 1917 that the raise and support armies clause of the Constitution overruled the militia clause and that the militia clause did not, in fact, impose limits on Congress's ability to raise armies.

Walsh recalled that the idea of UMT had been proposed before, namely in the 1916 Continental Army scheme and the 1920 plan, which Congress had rejected. He was not hopeful about Palmer's odds of successfully implementing such a requirement: "The temper of the American people would not permit the adoption of such a [UMT] plan in 1792, in 1916, in 1920, and it is doubtful if they will permit the adoption of any such broad plan following World War II," especially given the Guard's political clout.[32] The 1916 legislation, in fact, had explicitly declared that when the President drafted members of the National Guard into the military service of the United States for the period of the war, "all persons so drafted shall, from the date of their draft, stand discharged from the militia."[33] This statutory separation of when the militia clause ended and the armies clause began for federal employment of the National Guard avoided the constitutional questions which had plagued Army operations since the War of 1812. It meant that the Guard was either serving as militia or federal troops. At no time was the Guard "dual-status," which as previously discussed was its political goal. With dual-status came both federal resources and state independence that effectively insulated it from excessive federal oversight.

More to his own point, Walsh dramatically mentioned that the previous two efforts to implement this plan "sought to eliminate the National Guard root and branch,"[34] and that the present-day plan was no different:

> In a suggested outline for a post-war military establishment prepared by General Palmer, he advocates a system of universal military training and the establishment of a great territorial reserve, organized under the Army Clause of the Constitution—freed from the hampering complications of a militia status, with its units filled under a system of universal military training and utterly divorced from the forty-eight separate State sovereignties, and ironically enough suggests that it might be fittingly called the National Guard in recognition of a century of patriotic effort to achieve a high ideal.[35]

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[32] Quoted in National Guard Association of the United States, 1944, p. 30.

[33] The relevant provision is Section 111 of the 1916 National Defense Act (Public Law 64-85), "National Guard When Drafted into Federal Service."

[34] Quoted in National Guard Association of the United States, 1944, p. 30.

[35] Quoted in National Guard Association of the United States, 1944, p. 31. After the war, Walsh mused on the changes to the military establishment that had been proposed, on NGAUS's role in stopping them, and on NGAUS's decision to deactivate itself for three critical years during the war:

The G-1 (Personnel) Post War Military Policy Planning Group, whose purpose was to devise an enduring military policy for the United States once World War II ended, concurred that UMT would be necessary after the war. Just as Walsh had feared, though, it advocated that the large pool of citizen-soldiers the system would produce should be formed and led by Regular Army divisions. Palmer actually disagreed with this plan as G-1 articulated it, believing that the Regular Army should not divide its attention between maintaining a state of general readiness and shouldering responsibility for UMT, which would require a great deal of time to train recruits. He also balked at G-1's preferred course of action, which likely would have used UMT-trained personnel to fill out federalized Organized Reserve divisions, and not the Guard. Palmer's entire philosophical argument in favor of UMT was based on his belief in a wartime Army of civilian soldiers.[36]

The political climate was not Palmer's only worry. Walsh had repeatedly stated that the Guard would never countenance any reorganization of reserve power that displaced it from its self-described role as the primary organized federal reserve to the Army and organized simultaneously and continuously under both the armies and militia clauses. Accordingly, NGAUS continued to advocate strongly that, contrary to Palmer's own preference, the National Guard should retain federal status at all times, while utilizing the authority of the militia clause to train units and appoint officers, and maintain its independence from the Army.[37]

Additionally, Guard representatives advised Palmer that the cost of UMT would soon prove unsustainable and that even the increased number of Guardsmen—to 300,000 personnel—in Palmer's plan would not garner state support, let alone convince Congress to fund it. Moreover, Guard leadership observed that given the difference in morale between volunteers and draftees, a two-year period of enlistment was probably the best the War Department could hope for. Even Palmer, with his philosophical fondness for the idea of UMT, admitted this to be true and recommended that the Guard remain as a repository for UMT graduates. Placing them with the Guard or the Organized Reserves rather than with the Regular Army would maintain

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Those of us who remained behind were not blind to what was transpiring . . . but we found it difficult indeed . . . to realize that a purge was being carried out in deadly earnest. . . . It will ever be a fixed conviction in my mind that the evils which befell the National Guard in World War II, and even in World War I, could not have befallen the National Guard had we but had the foresight to make provision whereby our Association could have continued to function during the war and while the National Guard was in the active military service of the United States. . . . After the Harrisburg Conference of April 1943, we did bring into being the semblance of an Association which functioned with some degree of effectiveness. It would have been far better had we had an Association in being from the years 1940 to 1943. (as quoted in National Guard Association of the United States, 1946, p. 17)

[36] Holley, 1982, pp. 639–640.

[37] Walsh, 1945.

the necessary space between mandatory universal training and mandatory universal service.[38]

## War Department Circular No. 347

Palmer digested this new information during the summer of 1944. It is likely that the invasion of Normandy, along with the subsequent drive eastward across France, influenced his thinking. Here was clear utility for the kinds of armies produced by the type of mass mobilization he envisioned. He produced a memorandum on postwar military policy on August 3 that he submitted to General Marshall. Three weeks later, the chief of staff signed and released the unedited statement as War Department Circular No. 347.[39] It laid out Palmer's vision for a Regular force "no larger than necessary to meet normal peacetime requirements," to "be reinforced in time of emergency by organized units drawn from a citizen army reserve." Palmer described two options, albeit not with equal objectivity, the first of which he characterized as "the standing army type." This approach would fail to develop "the latent military leadership and genius of the people as a whole," and "is the system of Germany and Japan." Comparing any military policy option to that of Germany or Japan was likely a sure way to ensure its rejection.

Palmer's characterization of the second option was more aspirational:

> The second type of military institution . . . is based upon the conception of a professional peace establishment (no larger than necessary to meet normal peacetime requirements) to be reinforced in time of emergency by organized units drawn from a citizen army reserve, effectively organized for this purpose in time of peace; with full opportunity for competent citizen soldiers to acquire practical experience through temporary active service. . . .
>
> As with a properly organized citizen army reserve, no officers or men need be maintained in the regular army to perform duties which can be performed effectively and in time by reserve officers and reservists, the dimensions and cost of the peace establishment, under such a system, are necessarily reduced to a determinable minimum.
>
> And finally, as all our great wars have been fought in the main by citizen armies, the proposal for an organized citizen army reserve in time of peace is merely a proposal for perfecting a traditional national institution to meet modern requirements which no longer permit extemporization after the outbreak of war. This is the type

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[38] Holley, 1982, pp. 648–652; U.S. House of Representatives, *Hearings Before the Select Committee on Post-War Military Policy, H.R. 465: Hearing Before the Select Committee on Post-War Military Policy*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1944.

[39] War Department, Circular No. 347, Washington, D.C., August 25, 1944; Taylor, 2014, p. 181.

> of army which President Washington proposed to the First Congress as one of the essential foundations of the new American Republic.[40]

Palmer's bias is evident, as is his incomplete and inaccurate characterization of President Washington's proposal for a peacetime military establishment. Regardless, General Marshall approved its publication as a War Department Circular to guide initial thinking for the postwar organization.

Throughout the course of his work for General Marshall, this was a theme to which Palmer returned over and over. His professional papers reveal that he pondered this argument countless times. George Washington, he maintained, had admired the Swiss military system of universal military training, and Palmer characterized Washington's 1790 request that Congress establish a militia as a sort of retroactive blessing for the idea of universal military training. Indeed, Palmer's 1930 book *Washington, Lincoln, Wilson: Three War Statesmen* devoted considerable space to a very specific characterization of Washington's 1783 *Sentiments on a Peace Establishment*. In effect, he reconstructed key arguments to make it appear as though Washington's wished-for plan served as the starting point for a "traditional military policy" which continued, unaltered and unbroken, to the 20th century. As Palmer described it, this policy was one in which a large citizen army, comprising the bulk of the nation's fighting force and greatly outnumbering the professional nucleus of the Regular Army, would respond when called forth by the President in time to defend the nation. As pointed out in Volume I, however, Washington had devoted roughly an equal share of his 13-page plan to the Regular Army and to the militia, regarding them as both necessary for national defense. Palmer, like Reckord and Walsh, chose to employ history selectively to emphasize his desired approach.

Yet, at the same time, Palmer also acknowledged that Washington believed the Swiss system to be incompatible with the United States, as it existed at the end of the 19th century. The Swiss had no standing army; America's need for one was nonnegotiable, "subject to prompt re-enforcement by all, or any necessary part, of a nationwide citizen army reserve composed of citizen soldiers . . ."[41]

From political and fiscal necessity, Washington had called for a small but highly professional Regular Army that would be backed up at a time of emergency by a "well-regulated" militia force. Palmer, too, envisioned an affordable professional force, sized to fulfill specific functions in peacetime and able to be rapidly reinforced by well-regulated militia units when required. However, what the two men had in mind were on radically different scales. Washington simply was not considering the mass mobilization of citizenry, or the kind of professionalization of the citizens that Palmer was

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[40] War Department, Circular No. 347, Washington, D.C., August 25, 1944, pp. 5–6.

[41] John McAuley Palmer, "Historical Evolution of the War Department's Plan for a Postwar Military Establishment Based Upon Universal Military Training, Including a Brief Description of the Proposed Training System," Palmer Papers, Library of Congress, Box 14, Folder 4, March 24, 1945a.

calling for. There was an important difference in scale and nature between the militia system of Washington's day and the 20th century vision of a large, UMT-trained Reserve or Guard force.

The worldview of Washington and his fellow Federalist Framers of the Constitution was very much focused on a military establishment that would be used only for the defense of the United States and responding to internal rebellion or insurrection, as with the Whiskey Rebellion and Shays' Rebellion at the end of the 18th century. The idea of employing an army to fight major wars in Europe and Asia—let alone expand it with professionalized citizens—would have been unthinkable to Washington and his philosophical allies in their time. Washington's assessment of the militia during the Revolutionary War is well established, even if peculiarly ignored by Palmer and others. Palmer's use of Washington's 1783 and 1790 plans to promote his recommendations for American military policy in the 20th century therefore distorted the historical record. Palmer unreasonably articulated his recommended policy as being one and the same with Washington's plans, as he claimed the "War Department's plan for a postwar military organization based upon universal military training is a modern adaptation of a plan prepared by General Henry Knox, our first Secretary of War."[42] A fairer reading and use of history by Palmer would have noted the significant contextual differences between his plan and Washington's and, more importantly, the substantive differences between the two.[43] Lastly, of course, was the fact that Walsh had bluntly noted in his remarks earlier that year: Congress had declined to authorize the Knox Plan, and at no point afterward had the United States adopted any similar undertaking.

Historical distortions aside, however, public and political response to Circular No. 347 was extremely positive. Palmer was encouraged by expressions of popular support he received after its publication in August 1944, believing that the American opinion of obligatory military service had shifted. For the time being, perhaps it had. As the war continued, its effect on public perception was such that UMT likely appeared a lesser evil than conscription made uneven by its many deferment categories. Neither Palmer nor his audience could know whether and how that perception might change at the war's end.

## Congress Begins to Debate Postwar Military Policy

Driving this discussion was a pervasive belief in the War Department and the Army that the nature of modern war had changed significantly since World War I. Many

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[42] Palmer, 1945a.

[43] Russell Frank Weigley, *Towards an American Army: Military Thought from Washington to Marshall*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1962; Richard H. Kohn, *Eagle and Sword: Federalists and the Creation of the Military Establishment in America, 1783–1802*, New York: Free Press, 1975; Holley, 1982.

argued that the atomic age warranted a much more ready Army, with a reserve under the armies clause rather than the militia clause. Strategic bombers had reduced the protective buffer afforded to America by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Theoretically, technological advancements allowed an enemy nation's bombers to strike the American homeland, as the Japanese Navy had done with its attack on Pearl Harbor. Even land warfare had seen dizzying technological changes. Tank and mechanized infantry, supported by close air support and mobile artillery, had allowed the American and Allied armies to rout the German Army from France and push it back into Germany.[44] The German use of long-range rockets to attack Great Britain further eroded the sense of security provided by borders, channels, and even oceans. The idea that there would be sufficient time to mobilize a mass citizen-based Army appeared increasingly outmoded. In January 1945, Vannevar Bush, the director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, described the existing perception of the ways that technology had fundamentally altered the nature of modern warfare:

> Today it is evident to all thinking people that the evolution of new weapons may determine not only the outcome of battles, but even the total strategy of war. That has always been true to some extent, but today the rate of evolution of military weapons is much more rapid than it has ever been in the history of human conflict. . . .
>
> In the past, the pace of war has been sufficiently slow so that this nation has never had to pay the full price of defeat for its lack of preparedness. Twice we have just gotten by because we were given time to prepare while others fought.[45]

Bush and Karl Compton, president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, agreed that the increasingly technological nature of modern warfare required not only continued cooperation on the parts of the military and scientific communities, but also increased training in these sophisticated weapon systems for military personnel. And, as Bush observed, a belief existed that in future wars the United States would not be allowed the luxury of time to sufficiently prepare a "hollow" force for action. The two atomic bombings on Hiroshima and Nagasaki on the 6th and 9th of August 1945

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[44] For historical examinations of the U.S. Army's approach to combined arms warfare during World War II, see Robert Stewart Cameron, *Mobility, Shock, and Firepower: The Emergence of the U.S. Army's Armor Branch, 1917–1945*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 2008; Edgar F. Raines, Jr., *Eyes of Artillery: The Origins of Modern U.S. Army Aviation in World War II*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Center of Military History 2000; Jonathan M. House, *Combined Arms Warfare in the Twentieth Century*, Lawrence, Kans.: University Press of Kansas, 2001; John R. Walker, *Bracketing the Enemy: Forward Observers in World War II*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013; Mansoor, 1999.

[45] U.S. House of Representatives, *Report of Proceedings: Hearing Held Before Select Committee on Post-War Military Policy: Hearing Before the Select Committee on Post-War Military Policy*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, January 26, 1945b, p. 995.

further strengthened the argument that the "traditional military policy" of the United States had become outdated.

In addition to a wide array of weighty issues, the House Select Committee on Postwar Military Policy—known colloquially as the Woodrum Committee after its chairman, Clifton A. Woodrum—investigated the question of how the postwar Army should be structured.[46] Palmer appeared before the committee on June 15, 1945, and presented a historical argument for the necessity of UMT that would have sounded familiar to any who had read his published works. His influence could be seen in the committee's final report, as they fell prey to many of the same historical fallacies as Palmer by claiming that "Our national freedom has been indissolubly linked with the valiant performance of our citizen-soldier."[47] Still, they also acknowledged that warfare had changed sufficiently, declaring "the time when the citizen could overnight spring to arms, and fight and win, is gone."[48] The committee's recommendation, therefore, was for UMT along the lines of what Palmer had proposed, phrased with careful consideration for existing reserve elements: "It should be consistent with the preservation of the National Guard, Officers' Reserve Corps, the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, the Enlisted Reserve Corps . . ."[49] The committee also specifically observed that while *training* should be provided, *service* could not be obligated except in the event of conscription authorized by Congress. The report quoted liberally from testimony provided by Major General William Tompkins, who lost two sons in World War II:

> From a planning standpoint the War Department wants to make it crystal clear to this committee that it does not recommend or desire that trainees be inducted into the Army for military service. They should be inducted into training organizations for training purposes only.[50]

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[46] The committee's existence was the doing of James Wadsworth. General Marshall had hoped that the first item on the agenda would be UMT. After hearing that the reorganization of the War and Navy Departments took precedence, he found it "unfortunate, but to be accepted as unavoidable." Marshall was concerned that inter-departmental relations might suffer once discussions about reorganization began, creating controversy that would affect the war effort at a time when "harmony between the Army and Navy is of paramount importance." Sending Palmer to present the historical background on military policy, as well as others discussing similar issues, would hopefully "keep the affair on a high level" and "result in burning off most of the long grass in the way of newspaper publicity" before Marshall had to appear and offer his potentially contentious proposals (General George C. Marshall, *The Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, Vol. 4, *"Aggressive and Determined Leadership," June 1, 1943–December 31, 1944*, Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996, pp. 419–421; Taylor, 2014, p. 88).

[47] *Universal Military Training: Report of the Select Committee on Postwar Military Policy*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1945, p. 3.

[48] *Universal Military Training*, 1945, p. 3.

[49] *Universal Military Training*, 1945, p. 3.

[50] *Universal Military Training*, 1945, p. 4.

In other words, inductees would be trained as all new inductees, volunteer or conscript, were trained upon entering the Army. When that training was complete, however, they would automatically become a member of the reserve pool, unless they volunteered for service in the regular establishment. Training would shorten the timeline in the event of conscription and mobilization.

A new military policy was therefore needed that would rely on a somewhat larger, albeit still relatively small, force in being, ready to respond to crises around the world, and reinforced by a trained reserve and expanded by volunteers and conscripts.[51] Although this type of thinking was still inchoate at the end of World War II, and the traditional military policy of the mass citizen army would remain predominant for the next five years after the war ended, the shock of the Korean War would bring this new thinking to the fore.[52]

## Conclusion

Planning for the post–World War II era again revealed sometimes contradictory visions of the military policy required to secure the nation, especially that of where the National Guard would fit in the military establishment. NGAUS president and Minnesota adjutant general Ellard Walsh supported the dual responsibility of the National Guard as both a state and federal force, based respectively on the militia and armies clauses of the Constitution, as outlined in the 1933 National Guard Act. He opposed suggestions, such as those offered by Brigadier General John M. Palmer, to align the Guard solely under the armies clause. Achieving Palmer's goal would not be easy. Not only did he need to perceive the type of standing army that American society would tolerate after the war, he also needed to advocate for his vision in an environment characterized by numerous competing self-interests. The Regular Army's preference for fundamental policy changes that allowed for rapid responses to global threats directly conflicted with the view of Guard representatives that the answer to the nation's postwar needs was in preserving the status quo of a dual-status National Guard. The Organized Reserve Corps took only a small part in these conversations, but they remained an active part of the reserve components, and would play a greater role in the decades to come.

Further, not only Palmer, but also the Army and the War Department were obliged to balance all of these concerns while trying to determine the extent to which, if at all, modern warfare would shift in character over the years following the war's conclusion.

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51 William F. Tompkins, "Manpower Needs of the Armed Forces," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, Vol. 238, March 1945, pp. 56–62.

52 Stephen E. Ambrose, "The Armed Services and American Strategy, 1945–1953," in Kenneth J. Hagan and William R. Roberts, eds., *Against All Enemies: Interpretations of American Military History from Colonial Times to the Present*, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1986.

The force structure options that all parties explored were informed by their perceptions of how wars would be fought in the future. In spite of the abrupt conclusion of World War II after the detonation of atomic weapons over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, consensus steadily built that future conflicts would largely resemble past wars. To that end, planners eventually settled on a force consisting of a somewhat larger Regular Army, augmented by the rapid mobilization of reserves, volunteers, and conscripts. The concept of universal military training had gained considerable popularity in some political circles, but also had powerful detractors.

In the years following the war, Congress would further investigate this proposal in an effort to determine whether the peacetime United States would continue to support the idea of UMT as it had just before the close of hostilities. War Department Circular No. 347 may have garnered enthusiasm upon its release, but arguing the benefits of UMT for all able-bodied young men during the much-desired "return to normalcy" was a different matter entirely.

CHAPTER FOUR

# The Drive for Universal Military Training, 1945–1950

> It is the traditional policy of the United States that the military establishment in time of peace is to be a small Regular Army, and that the ultimate war force of the Nation is to be a great army of citizen soldiers . . .[1]

## Introduction

The concept of universal military training did not spring fully formed from the brows of policy planners during the last year of the war. Even before the United States officially entered the conflict, issues that underlay UMT drew some attention; during NGAUS's 1940 conference, Frank McCormick, vice president of the National Collegiate Association, observed that at the close of the previous war, "little, if anything, was done relative to the physical fitness or the training of our civilian population."[2] This had changed during the intervening years. Thirty-seven out of 48 states had established physical fitness requirements for their public school systems. McCormick let it slip that the American Legion, long a proponent of UMT, was considering a comprehensive nationwide physical fitness program with the intent of ensuring that the majority of young people achieve sufficient fitness for military service. While fitness requirements were by no means equivalent to legally mandated military training, they nonetheless indicated a certain amount of public tolerance for state or federal action undertaken with an interest in maintaining a population physically suited for the rigors of military service. However, it would not be until after the war that the public's appetite for further intervention would be tested.

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1 John McAuley Palmer, "A Plan That Failed," Palmer Papers, Library of Congress, Box 18, Folder 1.

2 Chief of the National Guard Bureau, 1940.

## Congress and Universal Military Training

As the war drew to a close, the concept of UMT found sufficient support in Congress and among the public to merit further investigation. UMT was a potentially critical aspect of American military policy because it could provide a necessary manpower base. Palmer's proposed policy in War Department Circular No. 347—a standing army "no larger than necessary to meet normal peacetime requirements," reinforced by "organized units drawn from a citizen army reserve"—for example, would not work without UMT. The House Select Committee on Postwar Military Policy held hearings on UMT in June 1945 to determine the level of interest from veterans, civilians, and various educational and professional organizations. While testimony revealed there was not unanimous support for the prospect of UMT and its attendant costs, the majority believed it would enhance both the nation's military preparedness and be a useful tool for enhancing American democracy.

Colonel Jay Cooke, president of the Citizens Committee of Military Training of Young Men, not surprisingly endorsed UMT, based on his experiences during both world wars:

> In 1918 my division went overseas with 40 percent of its personnel 2 weeks from civilian life. . . . In 1941, my division entered Federal service in January. We will never forget the Carolina maneuvers that summer—trucks with signs on them reading "tank" and "antitank gun," and makeshift equipment of all kinds . . . believe me, I should have preferred a year's training when a young man than 6 years' service in the Army during two emergencies.[3]

Acting Secretary of State Joseph Grew endorsed UMT, as well. He recalled a prewar conversation with the Japanese minister of foreign affairs who had dismissed American willingness to fight a sustained war:

> If, at that time, we had been prepared, if we at least had had a pool of trained men in our country to draw from, the Japanese understood that, as they would have had to understand it—I question seriously whether they would ever have dared to attack.[4]

During the hearings, representatives from the American Legion reported that the majority of Americans supported UMT. On November 17, 1943, Gallup announced the results of its survey as compared with 1939 that showed a significant majority of

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[3] U.S. House of Representatives, 1944, p. 6. Prominent civilians formed the Citizens Committee for Universal Military Training of Young Men "to inform public opinion and to secure nationwide support in favor of the promotion of useful citizenship and the unity and security of the United States through a Federal system of universal military training" (quoted in Taylor, 2014, p. 29).

[4] U.S. House of Representatives, 1945b, p. 1178.

Americans favored UMT.[5] However, A. J. Brumbaugh, vice president of the American Council on Education, reported that his organization, along with the National Educational Association and the American Association of School Administrators, had adopted a joint resolution that "[i]n our judgment, it is unwise to commit the Nation at this time to a year of universal military service," giving their reasons as:

> [F]irst, in view of the possible extension of selective service, such action was not necessary at the time; second, our long-time military needs were not known; third, our commitments in maintaining the peace were not known; fourth, the proposal was in conflict with American military tradition; fifth, the young men fighting the war should have a voice in a decision of such moment; and, sixth, such action might adversely affect international cooperation for the maintenance of the peace.[6]

Colonel Cooke was correct that many American conscripts during World War I and World War II were unready for combat. It is possible that UMT might have addressed the perceived requirement for a common baseline of training and expertise among the citizenry who would be called to serve in the next war. Brumbaugh had highlighted a major criticism of UMT detractors, that during peacetime UMT was not part of the American political or cultural tradition. Equally important was his observation that UMT applied the mass mobilization theories of the past to future conflicts, whose characteristics were yet unknown and for which mass mobilization might be an entirely inappropriate response. In this, he gave voice to many UMT critics who had perceived that the atomic explosions at Hiroshima and Nagasaki had fundamentally changed the nature of war, shaping it into a new configuration whose lines were not yet fully discernable. If this was the case, did it make sense to press for UMT when it seemingly clashed with modern American culture and whose benefits were doubtful?[7]

Palmer knew that college and university leaders would have a powerful voice when it came to legitimizing UMT, and he argued strenuously that military training was a natural and proper component of a young man's education. In a 1945 memo on the subject to the chief of staff, he quoted 17th century English writer John Milton's *Of Education*: "I call, therefore, a complete and generous education, that which fits a man to perform, justly, skillfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and

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5 U.S. House of Representatives, 1945c, p. 35.

6 U.S. House of Representatives, 1945c, p. 92. Margaret R. Schauffler of Oberlin, Ohio, sent a letter to the committee, which she requested be entered into the hearings report. In it, she observed, "Conscription in peacetime has definitely failed to work in Germany, France and Italy. It has not kept them from war. Many young men have fled from these countries to escape it" (U.S. House of Representatives, *Statements Filed with the Select Committee on Postwar Military Policy Pursuant to H. Res. 465: A Resolution to Establish a Select Committee on Postwar Military Policy, pt. 2: Hearing Before the Select Committee on Postwar Military Policy*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1945a, p. 627).

7 U.S. House of Representatives, 1945s.

public, of peace and war."[8] A year later Palmer hit on the idea of creating a commission composed of university presidents that would study the matter and issue recommendations on it, hopefully in favor of UMT. "If, after thorough study, such a commission finds UMT an indispensable part of our long-range national defense program, we would support it," Harvard University President Conant had said before the House Military Affairs Committee. Palmer took him at his word, recommending the formation of this body in the belief that its findings—which he appears to have believed would favor UMT—would go a long way toward swaying Congress on the matter. The director of the SPD declined to form this body, noting that Congress was already deeply engaged on UMT and had commissioned its own studies.[9]

The question of how the National Guard would fit into UMT came up repeatedly during the debate. When questioned about where the Guard fit into his philosophy about UMT, Colonel Cooke replied:

> The National Guard is what is known as the second line of defense, our first line is the Regular Establishment. The National Guard, unless there is an emergency declared and they are ordered into the Federal Service, remain within the domestic borders of this country, at least that has been the law in the past, and I assume it will be in the future.[10]

This opinion, however accurate, ran directly counter to the Guard's self-described role as articulated in the 1940 Selective Service Act, which identified the Guard as "an integral part of the first-line defenses of this Nation." Eliminating the Guard from this role would have eliminated the ambiguous space between it and the militia clause, which the Guard was so used to occupying and exploiting.

Not surprisingly, NGAUS President Major General Walsh took strong exception to this view and was not hesitant to voice it to Congress in 1945:

> The National Guard has not always been in complete accord with the measures proposed for the establishment of a system of universal military training for the reason that such measures were defective in that they failed to protect the interests of the National Guard and assure a continuation of the present status of the National Guard as a component of the Army of the United States and as a first line of defense thereof.[11]

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[8] John McAuley Palmer, "Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, Thru the Director, Special Planning Division," Palmer Papers, Library of Congress, Box 14, Folder 5, January 7, 1946.

[9] Major General Ray R. Porter, "Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, U.S. Army," Palmer Papers, Library of Congress, Box 14, Folder 5, January 9, 1946.

[10] Porter, 1946; U.S. House of Representatives, 1945c, p. 8. The Guard's immediate reaction to this body of testimony is not recorded, but it is reasonable to assume that Walsh bridled at Cooke's characterization of the Guard as the second line of defense.

[11] Quoted in U.S. House of Representatives, 1945c, p. 52.

Walsh's argument revealed that at times the Guard's representatives were willing to subordinate national security and preparedness concerns to institutional interests. The Guard, he made clear, was not opposed to the idea of UMT: "We have always indorsed the principle and we do so now," Walsh reassured.[12] It would, however, bring all of its considerable might to bear against any bill that by their lights degraded their perceived status as part of the nation's first line of defense. In Walsh's view, UMT might negatively affect the Guard's ability to recruit volunteer manpower into its ranks; therefore, if the bill passed, it would require provisions that protected and ensured the Guard's access to manpower.

As this discussion took place, a larger question arose about whether modern atomic war had obviated the notion of a civilian-based Army reserve. During the waning months of the war, Palmer had repeatedly and enthusiastically evangelized that UMT would provide the same kind of mass army that the nation had used in the past and would be still relevant for the future. "The present War Department plan contemplates nothing more than the revision of the National Defense Act to meet modern requirements," he remarked to the Council on Foreign Relations in March 1945. "It is based on universal military training in order to make sure that our country shall never enter another war with an empty reservoir of trained manpower as it did in World War I and World War II."[13] At that time, this argument was understandable. Atomic weapons had not yet been used at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and there was no reason to believe that future wars might differ dramatically from war as it had so far existed during the 20th century.

However, even following Japan's surrender, individuals such as Palmer and Marshall continued to advocate vociferously for UMT as crucial to a civilian-based Army reserve, arguing that such a force was entirely in line with American political culture. Palmer, in fact, believed that modern warfare necessitated eliminating the dual status of the National Guard and bringing it solely under federal control. While the Army's old organization was based on defense against a seaborne invasion force, he pointed out well before the end of the war, in December 1943, that the greatest threat now came from the air: Bombers and paratroopers could strike deep inside the continent, hitting vulnerable and strategically significant points. Therefore, the military would need to mobilize immediately, something not possible unless a civilian army was formed under the Constitution's army clause. Palmer argued that he did "not see how a force organized like our old National Guard into conventional territorial divisions, under amateur divisional commanders and controlled in peacetime by forty-eight separate states can have any place" in the type of reserve system necessary in the age of airpower.[14]

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[12] Quoted in U.S. House of Representatives, 1945c, p. 52.

[13] Walsh, 1945.

[14] As quoted in Holley, 1982, p. 643.

The conviction that only federally supervised UMT could adequately answer these threats meant little, though, given that American political and social culture might not support it, either after the war or at any other time in American history. For all of Palmer's and Marshall's beliefs that civilian soldiers were the foundation of American defense, their logic was nevertheless flawed. Mainly, civilian soldiers had indeed fought in all American wars, but at no point had the federal government demanded that all eligible citizens *become* potential soldiers when no hint of war was on the horizon. Civilians had volunteered, or were drafted by states, during crises, but a UMT in peacetime had never existed. Moreover, as Major General Reckord had observed in 1943, the general worldwide appetite for militarism had diminished. He argued that of the four freedoms that President Franklin Roosevelt had articulated in his 1941 State of the Union address, the Fourth Freedom, freedom from fear, was by that time conceived in a global context. It included "a worldwide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor anywhere in the world."[15] His conception of freedom from fear was overly optimistic, but nevertheless, as Reckord asserted, it would be difficult for the United States as a world leader to advocate even an attenuated type of this vision while simultaneously raising "the largest army we have ever had in the history of the United States."[16]

Moreover, in spite of his repeated assurances that UMT posed no philosophical problem for the United States, hints exist that Palmer was aware that this may not have actually been the case. His writings at the time address the concern that such a system might promote a certain type of un-American militarism. Rather than substantively counter such concerns, however, Palmer more or less dismissed them with a wave of the hand. "Militarism can thrive only in great standing armies dominated by a professional officer caste," he claimed in March 1945. "There can be no place for it in a small regular army serving as the peacetime nucleus of a democratic citizen army . . ."[17]

Palmer's view in the end accounted for little, much to his dismay. The 1945 hearings had indicated significant public support for UMT; however, that support diminished rapidly in the years following the end of World War II, especially in the absence of decisive congressional action and a growing awareness of its potential costs. Walsh had alluded to this possibility in his testimony, explaining that "any system of universal or compulsory military training has in the past been generally repugnant to our ideals and traditions . . ."[18] Although servicemen had testified in favor of UMT, many others had written to their congressmen in the waning days of the war expressing their

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15 President Franklin D. Roosevelt, State of the Union (Four Freedoms) speech, January 6, 1941.

16 Chief of the National Guard Bureau, 1943.

17 Palmer, 1945a.

18 U.S. House of Representatives, 1945c, p. 51.

disfavor for any kind of compulsory military service afterward.[19] The exhilaration of impending victory masked much of the weariness felt by many about wearing the uniform. The rush of veterans impatient to return home essentially caused the Army to disintegrate. For a good number of the men who made up the wartime Army, a return to peace meant putting military service behind them for good. Some felt little loyalty to the institution, alienated and demoralized by what they had endured and satisfied that their sacrifices had earned them a return to civilian life.[20]

Although War Department Circular No. 347 had garnered great public support immediately after its release, once the war ended, the American citizenry lost interest in UMT. However strenuously its supporters argued that UMT meant training and not service, it was necessarily perceived as such by many who could not, or did not, distinguish between the two, aided continuously by anti-UMT pronouncement from NGAUS.[21] The anti-UMT critics had finally won the debate through their persistence and misrepresentations. Even among those who did support UMT, some doubt remained as to whether a single year of military training would create a valid force-in-being, particularly as service was *not* required. Additionally, the advent of the atomic age prompted many citizens to consider Palmer's question of whether mass mobilization was still necessary. Often, they came to a different conclusion than he did.

By 1946, War Department insistence on 12 months of training had shifted; sensing the changing political climate, the director of the SPD now insisted that no fewer than six months would do. In a March conference, however, representatives of NGAUS, the Reserve Officers Association, the American Legion, and similar groups advocated for a four-month training period, believing that the American public would prove unwilling to allow for longer training times now that the war was over and pressing military need had abated. The War Department held firm on six months, however. By the fall of that year, the possibility of passing UMT legislation seemed ever more remote.

Congressional leaders made it clear to the Guard that they had no intention of voting for the six-month version of UMT the War Department now advocated.[22] As we will see below, the Selective Service Act of 1948 provided for a selective draft of a small amount of American men annually relative to the larger population, but not for UMT. The critics of UMT were prescient in their understanding of how atomic

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[19] Hill, 1964, p. 494.

[20] See Brian Linn, *Elvis's Army: Cold War G.I.s and the Atomic Battlefield*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2016, pp. 12–26.

[21] General George C. Marshall, "Universal Military Training: An Extract from His Biennial Report to the Secretary of War, October, 1945," *World Affairs*, Vol. 109, No. 1, March 1946, p. 63.

[22] National Guard Association of the United States, 1946. Martha Derthick mentions that when Walsh read this part of her manuscript, he commented, "Your conclusions re UMT and the Guard are completely logical. Between the American Legion, War Department, Senators Taft, Wilson, Thye, and the Minnesota congressional delegation, the going was often times rugged and decidedly unpleasant" (Derthick, 1965, pp. 102, 192).

weapons had changed the strategic context in which American military policy rested. However, in the first five years after World War II, the debate over UMT reflected the strategic paradigm of expanding the Army by mobilizing the mass citizen base into a large war army as in both world wars. It would take the emergency of the Korean War in 1950 to change America's thinking about this new era.

## The Gray Board

In an attempt to create a revised military policy for the new era, on November 20, 1947, Secretary of Defense James Forrestal tasked Assistant Secretary of the Army Gordon Gray with conducting a study of the status and organization of the civilian components of the armed forces. Among their many conclusions, the six-member Committee on Civilian Components—known more commonly as the Gray Board—suggested in their June 1948 report that the Guard's dual loyalties to both the states and the federal government, as ensconced in statutory law, and interstate disagreements on the training of units across state lines, were unsuited to possible Cold War conflicts:

> These expedients, resulting from dual control, produce a constant turmoil of bickering, recrimination, factionalism and stalemate. . . . The present organization of the National Guard does not repose authority where basic responsibilities rest. None of the State and Territorial Governors has any direct responsibility for the national security and none is answerable to the national government. It is a tribute to their integrity that the system has worked as well as it has.[23]

The Gray Board's recommendation to solely base the National Guard on the Constitution's armies clause as a federal reserve-only force was nothing new. As we have seen, the War Department made similar recommendations on multiple occasions. Each of these previous attempts had all failed, largely due to the political influence of the National Guard and its lobbyist—the National Guard Association—and congressional resistance to increased military expenditures and increased federal influence over state authorities. The Gray Board's recommendations would be especially difficult to carry through because it would necessitate a lengthy political debate and require Congress to modify statutory law—specifically, the crucial National Guard Act of 1933 and the Selective Service Act of 1940, which bound the dual constitutional role of the Guard tightly in statutory law. Enacting the recommendations of the Gray Board would require members of Congress to vote against the wishes of their constituent National Guards, which they had rarely done.

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[23] U.S. Department of Defense, *Report of the Committee on Civilian Components: Reserve Forces for National Security*, Washington, D.C., August 11, 1948, p. 12.

Its recommendation that urged the Guard and Organized Reserve Corps—later renamed the Army Reserve by the Armed Forces Reserve Act of 1952—be merged into a single federally controlled organization to be known as the National Guard of the United States, and that its dual constitutional role be abolished, was especially controversial, though similar recommendations were made with regard to the Departments of the Navy and Air Force. This naturally resulted in immediate and strident pushback from the Guard itself, NGAUS, the Reserve Officers' Association, and some members of Congress. "[The Department of Defense] and its satellite, the Gray Board, could far better employ their time and efforts than in wasting six months laboring mightily to bring forth the vain and wishful recommendations for the destruction of the National Guard," Ellard Walsh observed years later.[24] His words at the time were less temperate, but consistently promoted the view that whatever was good for the Guard was good for the nation:

> The States and the National Guard will condemn this report as it should be condemned. We have too much faith in the Congress to swallow such drivel. While we shall remain ever vigilant and keep our powder dry. . . . I say to you that the Gray Board report is already as dead as the dodo.[25]

Ultimately, the lobbying arms of the reserve components succeeded. Now alerted to the political price attached to such an action—both with respect to their relationships with Congress and the way the merger would be perceived in the states—Forrestal and Truman were cognizant of the fallout that the recommendations, possibly the Guard-Organized Reserve merger specifically, could cause if carried out. Truman told Forrestal that though it was "a most interesting document and one that deserves a lot of study," he believed that "at this time, it is filled with political dynamite and during a Presidential campaign can defeat its own purpose." Truman tabled the report indefinitely.[26]

In the Gray Board's recommendation and in the pushback it received from the powerful National Guard lobby, one can see the legacies of the two schools of thought addressed in previous volumes of this report: the professionalist perspective and the militia tradition. From the professionalist standpoint, the Gray Board premised American military policy on "a comparatively small regular establishment, augmented by trained civilians." The civilian force would be the National Guard of the United States, created by combining the current National Guard and the Organized Reserve Corps into a single Army reserve force under the armies clause of the Constitution. The Gray

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[24] Major General Ellard A. Walsh and Edgar C. Erickson, *The Nation's National Guard*, Washington, D.C.: National Guard Association of the United States, 1954, p. 68.

[25] National Guard Association of the United States, *Annual Conference Report, September 27–30, 1948*, Washington, D.C., 1948, p. 64.

[26] As quoted in Rearden, 1984, pp. 105–106; Derthick, 1965, p. 73.

Board's recommendation was prescient in its vision of the future for American military and the Army's force structure and expansibility. The Guard, for its part, had by this point fully embraced elements of the professionalist school of thought, insisting that it be considered part of the nation's "first line" of defense, and that it be trained and equipped commensurately. The 1933 legislation had codified the Guard's dual constitutional status, but in practical terms the National Guard had left its militia role behind. Thus, the irony of a postwar National Guard was that on the one hand it was embracing elements of the professionalist tradition by continuing its own evolution into a professional reserve component of the Army, while on the other hand clinging to the militia tradition that gave it a dual constitutional role, independence from the Army, and access to federal funding. In essence, the Guard desired the choice of wearing whichever of two statutory hats best suited its purpose at any given time.

In response to the reality that UMT would not happen, and shortly after the Gray Board had made its recommendations, in June 1948 Congress passed a new Selective Service Act requiring all men ages 18 to 26 to register. The act gave the President authority "from time to time, whether or not a state of war exists, to select and induct into the armed forces of the United States for training and service . . . [for a period of 21 consecutive months] . . . such number of persons as may be required to provide and maintain the personnel strengths . . . of the respective armed forces." This period of active duty, if less than three years, would be followed by transfer to a reserve component for an additional five years. The act exempted men who were currently members of the National Guard and Organized Reserves for training and service, but not registration. Men who joined the National Guard or Organized Reserves before reaching 18 and a half years of age were also exempted from induction for training and service.

The 1948 Selective Service Act did not provide the immense and robust force envisioned by the advocates of UMT, but it also did not raise the cultural and political controversies that the idea of UMT did.[27] Rather, it authorized the President, "whether or not a state of war exists," to induct young men for training and service for up to 21 months. The act also provided safe havens from training and service for those men already in the National Guard and Organized Reserves, as well as men who joined a reserve component before 18 and a half years of age.

## Conclusion

Universal military training, while once a popular concept, eventually failed to be enacted into law for several reasons, not the least of which was vocal opposition from National Guard lobbyists and proponents who viewed UMT as challenging their per-

[27] Public Law 80-759, An Act to Provide for the Common Defense by Increasing the Strength of the Armed Forces of the United States, Including the Reserve Components Thereof, and for Other Purposes (Selective Service Act of 1948), 1948.

ceived place within the military establishment. The potential expense, as well as America's traditional postwar apathy regarding military preparedness, also played central roles in UMT's failure. As the debate progressed, it became increasingly clear that universal military training, while a means of providing a mass army for conflicts such as the two world wars, may not have been the ideal means of building a fighting force for a post–World War II world whose outlines were not yet entirely clear. The United States, previously protected by the security of two great oceans, was now theoretically within range of potential adversaries employing the technological advancements of the preceding decades; the Soviet Union's rapid acquisition of atomic weaponry showed that the United States could not rely on maintaining technological superiority in all realms.

If nothing else, the drive for UMT provided a framework for postwar policy debates. The idea of codifying UMT into law allowed the Military Departments, the National Guard and NGAUS, the Organized Reserves, Congress, and the nation itself to articulate arguments in favor of and against such concepts as universal service, mass mobilization, and how the first lines of defense should be defined and conceived. These were conversations that could take place largely because the major questions of how the Army should be governed had already been settled in the years following World War I. Although all sides presented their own arguments, the only instance when anything approaching a fundamental question of law emerged was when Palmer's preference for a single-status National Guard became public in 1942. Even then, there was only a marginal chance that legislation would alter the Guard's favored dual status—not once had NGAUS previously conveyed its displeasure to Congress so forcefully.[28]

The end of the UMT debate left the Army, albeit larger than before the start of WWII, not well suited to the new world of limited warfare which awaited it. An institution and a nation that had spent the first half of the 20th century either fighting or preparing to fight devastating unlimited wars with unlimited means was about to experience a significant shift. The advent of nuclear weapons and a concomitant change in the political nature of war had indeed moved the landscape of conflict, but not to the extremes that many people imagined. Rather than eliminating war altogether, or instituting nightmare scenarios of unlimited nuclear warfare, the postwar era ushered forth a new challenge, entirely different from any that the Army had faced in the modern age: the limited, regional war. It would prove to be more of a trial than anyone could imagine.

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[28] NGAUS remained on alert for a long time for any hint of inclination that the War Department or Congress intended to strip it of its dual status. A 1949 article in the *National Guardsman* magazine warned darkly that "the old sword of Federalization continued to hang over the National Guard" ("The Battle of Washington," *The National Guardsman*, Vol. 3, No. 4, April 1949, p. 14).

CHAPTER FIVE

# The Korean War and Changes for Army Expansion, 1950–1961

## Introduction

On June 24, 1950, North Korean troops invaded South Korea, with 150 Soviet-made T-34 tanks leading their assault.[1] The invasion was a rude surprise in a number of ways, but one thing it made painfully clear was the U.S. Army's lack of readiness. The American forces that rushed to Korea had been on occupation duty in Japan, their organization and mission tailored to maintaining law and order and demilitarizing the country rather than combat. Task Force Smith—named for its commander, Lieutenant Colonel Charles B. Smith—and other advanced elements of the 24th Infantry Division illustrated well the emergency nature of the early days of the war. These units were neither sufficient in size nor adequately equipped to stop the North Koreans, and they were forced to beat a hasty retreat after sustaining heavy losses. "No More Task Force Smiths" would later become a catchphrase for lack of preparedness and being caught off guard.[2] Indeed, American forces in Korea were to suffer a series of defeats over several weeks, making it evident that the Army had deteriorated from the force that had helped vanquish the Axis Powers during World War II. It was disorganized, badly trained, and almost completely unprepared to meet any threat that did not reveal itself months in advance. The advance of Communist troops down the Korean peninsula obliged the Army and the Truman administration to scramble to generate the forces required to meet the challenge. Their eventual response would represent the emergence of an altogether new way of thinking about Army expansion.

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1 North Korean troop-strength estimates vary widely, as low as 90,000 to as high as 165,000.

2 Army Chief of Staff General Gordon Sullivan's slogan was "No More Task Force Smiths." This philosophy was also reflected in the title of his 1996 book *Hope Is Not a Method*. Also see Roy Edgar Appleman, *South to the Naktong, North to the Yalu (June–November 1950)*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1992, pp. 60–76; Roy K. Flint, "Task Force Smith and the 24th Division: Delay and Withdrawal, 5–19 July 1950," in William Stoft and Charles Heller, eds., *America's First Battles, 1776–1965*, Lawrence, Kans.: Kansas University Press, 1984.

## Mobilization for Combat in Korea

All mobilization plans in the five years before the start of the Korean War had been made for an all-out war reminiscent of World War II. Congressional and public debate about what the postwar Army should look like had been heavily influenced by the United States' use of atomic weapons at the close of the war, and the conviction that future conflicts would require a "totally different" type of Army. No plans existed for the limited war that Korea was to become, and no plans were in place to create quickly a force that could meet the challenge of a limited war. Indeed, when North Korea first invaded its southern neighbor, vestiges of immediate postwar thinking still lingered. Some hoped U.S. involvement could be limited to "air, sea, and logistical support, leaving the ground combat to the Republic of Korea," and that U.S. participation in ground warfare could be safely relegated to a bygone era.[3] In the past, such a plan might have worked; after all, the United States had been able to keep its allies in the fight during World War II by supplying extensive material and logistical aid. Such assistance acted as a bulwark against an overpowering German war machine and afforded the United States time to prepare for its own mobilization on a years-long timeline. The world had changed since 1939, however. The poor combat performance of the Army of the Republic of Korea during the opening days of the war, in addition to its near-total lack of armor, quickly ended any hope that the Americans would have the luxury of time to prepare for this particular fight. Indeed, part of the challenge of Korea that made it distinct from most of America's previous wars was a lack of time that oceans and allies had formerly provided. Army units needed to deploy to the combat zone in days and weeks, not months and years.[4]

The Truman administration judged that the crisis in Korea should not be elevated to such a level as to trigger mass mobilization of the citizenry along the lines of the world wars; the President would need a declaration of war from Congress or declare a national emergency to react to North Korean aggression in force. Truman preferred instead to avoid escalation by crafting a measured response to the crisis.[5] He would make this point in the strongest possible terms in early 1951 by relieving General Douglas MacArthur, the Supreme Commander of Allied Forces in Korea, after the senior officer repeatedly expressed opinions about the conduct of the war that contradicted the President's policies.[6] MacArthur bridled at any strategic, tactical, or opera-

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3 Weigley, 1984, p. 506.

4 Although the Guard's own training schedule put the time from alert day to deployment anywhere from 37 to 39 weeks. Colonel T. G. Richey, "What Lies Ahead?" *The National Guardsman*, Vol. 4, No. 10, October 1950.

5 On the issue of Truman's decision not to mobilize the nation *en masse*, see Steven Casey, *Selling the Korean War: Propaganda, Politics, and Public Opinion in the United States, 1950–1953*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 19–40.

6 For works on the MacArthur Controversy, see James F. Schnabel, *Policy and Direction: The First Year*, United States Army in the Korean War, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1992, pp. 365–377;

tional limits on the war, arguing that he should be able to expand the war even if it meant bringing about World War III with China and the Soviet Union. His rhetoric risked exactly what Truman had sought to avoid when he limited American mobilization. The President wanted to circumscribe fighting to the Korean Peninsula and did not want a larger, potentially nuclear or even world war with the Soviets. He thus limited the use of the American military in it.[7]

The administration was also hindered by what forces it could throw into the fray immediately. Planners were well aware that the entire Army, including the National Guard and Organized Reserve Corps, was not prepared for immediate fighting. Only one division—the 82nd Airborne—was rated as combat-ready. Truman had sharply drawn down the defense budget soon after World War II, and nearly all Army units were badly underequipped and utilizing mostly tired or obsolescent equipment.[8] The administration's postwar reliance on the deterrent effect of strategic airpower as a solution to most national security problems meant that the Army was largely a neglected institution. On the eve of the Korean War, most of the Regular Army's divisions were experiencing the atrophying consequences of a reorganization intended to compensate for reduced readiness.

Manpower, however, was the most pressing issue. The Regular Army had ten combat divisions with an authorized strength of 630,201, but it boasted an actual strength of only about 591,000 men. Around 360,000 of those were in the United States, making up two infantry divisions, one and two-thirds airborne divisions, a single armored division, one regimental combat team, and an armored cavalry regiment. Around 231,000 men, most of whom were on occupation duty, were overseas: about 108,500 in the Far East, nearly 95,000 in Europe, 7,000 in the Pacific, 7,500 in Alaska, 12,200 in the Caribbean, and several thousand more in various military mis-

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Michael D. Pearlman, *Truman and MacArthur: Policy, Politics, and the Hunger for Honor and Renown*, Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2008; Barton J. Bernstein, "Truman and the A-Bomb: Targeting Noncombatants, Using the Bomb, and His Defending the 'Decision, " *Journal of Military History*, Vol. 62, No. 3, July 1998; John W. Spanier, *The Truman-MacArthur Controversy and the Korean War*, Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959; Casey, 2008, pp. 233–265.

[7] For histories of the first year of the war, see Allan R. Millett, *The War for Korea, 1950–1951: They Came from the North*, Lawrence, Kans.: University Press of Kansas, 2010; Schnabel, 1992. For more general histories of the Korean War, also see T. R. Fehrenbach, *This Kind of War*, New York: MacMillan Co., 1963; Clay Blair, *The Forgotten War: America in Korea: 1950–1953*, New York: Times Books, 1987; Bruce Cumings, *The Korean War: A History*, New York: Modern Library, 2010; William Stueck, *The Korean War: An International History*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995; William Whitney Stueck, *Rethinking the Korean War: A New Diplomatic and Strategic History*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002; David Rees, *Korea: The Limited War*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1964.

[8] Schnabel, 1992, p. 46; Ray S. Cline and Maurice Matloff, "Development of War Department Views on Unification," *Military Affairs*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 1949.

sions around the globe.[9] The reserve components were similarly undermanned. The Army National Guard was still in the process of rebuilding after World War II. Around 4,200 Guard units had formed in the postwar since the first was federally recognized in August 1946. These comprised parts of 27 divisions and 21 regimental combat teams, among other types of forces, but equated to only 47 percent of the fully manned requirement for an M-Day force of 610,000 Guardsmen. Aggressive nationwide adverting, state recruiting, and the 1948 Selective Service Act enabled the Army National Guard to increase from 86,474 members by mid-1948 to 325,000 men in 4,900 federally recognized units by June 1950.[10] The Army plan was to man National Guard units at about half-strength in peacetime, and then rapidly fill them when mobilized with recalled reservists, conscripts, and volunteers. There were in excess of 217,000 officers and 291,000 enlisted men in the Organized Reserve Corps at the start of the war, but only 69,785 officers and 117,756 enlisted were assigned to drilling units.[11]

Another potential source of manpower available for relatively quick deployment to East Asia was the General Reserve. The War Department developed the concept soon after the end of World War II and intended the handful of active combat-ready units to respond immediately to national security emergencies; due to postwar realities and responsibilities, that likely meant reinforcing occupation forces in either Europe or Asia. At the start of the Korean War, the General Reserve consisted of units almost exclusively in the continental United States, including the 2nd Armored, 2nd Infantry, 3rd Infantry, 82nd Airborne, and 11th Airborne Divisions, in addition to the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment, 5th Regimental Combat Team stationed in Hawaii, and the 14th Regimental Combat Team. The demobilization process had played havoc with its personnel strength, but prior to June 1950 the General Reserve stood at about 140,000 men.[12]

On June 30, 1950, Truman reacted to the United Nations resolution to respond to the invasion and restore peace by authorizing ground forces be sent to Korea. The poor readiness of Task Force Smith, the initial contingent of soldiers that preceded the arrival of Regular Army divisions from Japan, reflected the overall state of the occupying forces in Japan that were part of MacArthur's Far East Command (FECOM). Its four divisions—the 7th, 24th, and 25th Infantry, and the 1st Cavalry—and one regimental combat team were all manned at only two-thirds of authorized wartime

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9 Schnabel, 1992, pp. 43–45; John Michael Kendall, "An Inflexible Response: United States Army Manpower Mobilization Policies, 1945–1957," Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1982, p. 167.

10 *Annual Report of the Chief of the National Guard Bureau, 1948*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1950, pp. 2, pp. 9–11; *Annual Report of the Chief of the National Guard Bureau, 1950*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1951, pp. 5, 8.

11 Gordon L. Rottman, *Korean War Order of Battle: United States, United Nations, and Communist Ground, Naval, and Air Forces, 1950–1953*, Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2002, p. 4.

12 Schnabel, 1992, pp. 44–45; Wilson, 1998, pp. 212–213; Epley, 1999, pp. 18–19; Kendall, 1982, p. 170.

strength. Out of an authorized 18,500 personnel, the 24th Infantry Division could muster only 11,300 troops, many of whom were inadequately equipped and trained for combat.[13] Infantry regiments consisted of two rather than three battalions, and artillery battalions lost one of their three batteries. Equipment was inadequate. Only a single company of M24 Chaffee light tanks was available in all of FECOM; the Japanese roads and bridges would not sustain the heavier tonnage of M4 Shermans. The four divisions were also missing reconnaissance, replacement, and military police companies, as well as their medical detachments. These divisions nevertheless deployed to Korea piecemeal while the Army scrambled to bring them to full strength on the fly, plucking units, personnel, and equipment from wherever available. FECOM shuffled men between them, typically undermining unit cohesion and setting back the readiness of units like the 7th that received newly arrived replacements from the United States, only to ship a number of them out to fill the 24th and 25th.[14] Regular Army units understandably struggled in the first few weeks of fighting, as the North Korean invasion immediately revealed shortcomings generated by peacetime and the suddenness of the war's start.

Within weeks, the Army was in dire need of combat replacements. Up to that point in time, the Regular Army had provided the manpower as a matter of expediency. The General Reserve in the United States was now depleted, going from 140,000 men to 90,000 only one month into the war. Infantry units such as the 3rd Division and the 7th and 14th Regimental Combat Teams were 600 men under cadre strength. Over half of the armor strength was already deployed, and the remaining armor units were 100 men short of cadre requirements. The Reserve's total infantry strength dropped to 40,000 men by early August. Only the 82nd Airborne, the 3rd Cavalry, and some antiaircraft artillery units remained intact enough for immediate use in other contingencies. The overall result was a decline in the fighting quality of combat units and decreased morale. The loss of many of the most qualified men who normally would have trained draftees and reservists in the later phases of mobilization also directly impinged on the Army's ability to expand.[15] In a strategic sense, raiding the General Reserve for its manpower meant that for up to a year before the reserve was replenished the United States had no effective means of responding to emergency situations elsewhere in the world.

In the initial weeks of the emergency, planners focused on the immediate response to the situation in the Far East. Relatively soon, they faced the difficult matter of decid-

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[13] Thomas E. Hanson, *Combat Ready? The Eighth U.S. Army on the Eve of the Korean War*, College Station, Tex.: Texas A&M University Press, 2010; Thomas E. Hanson, "The Eighth Army's Combat Readiness Before Korea: A Reappraisal," *Armed Forces and Society,* Vol. 29, No. 2, Winter 2003; House, 2012, p. 164; Weigley, 1984, pp. 507–508; Wilson, 1998, p. 239.

[14] Kendall, 1982, pp. 165–166.

[15] Schnabel, 1992, p. 118; Kendall, 1982, pp. 170–171.

ing on the medium and long term, such as the scale of the coming mobilization and with what forces to continue fighting in Korea without damaging the nation's morale and economy or widening the war. The Regular Army had borne the brunt of the cost of responding quickly, committing its available units in the Far East and depleting the General Reserve while taking heavy losses. What the Army needed—or at least what policymakers, namely the Truman administration, wanted—was for the Army reserve components to now be the base for Army expansion by providing either trained individuals or units, or some combination of both. Some Guard leaders called for complete mobilization of all its units and doubling its budget to quicken recruiting and training. Its advocates supported removing constraints on using military force to achieve victory quickly and thus put the country, as it had in World War II, on the road to total war.[16]

Multiple issues impeded the rapid operational employment of mobilized Guard and Organized Reserve units, though. Just as with the Regular Army, the reserve components suffered from an even lower state of readiness only five years after the end of World War II. It was unrealistic to think Guard combat units could mobilize and deploy directly into combat due to how undermanned they remained. Authorized 350,000 troops against a fully manned required end strength of 626,897 soldiers to fill all of the authorized units, the Guard had organized most of the required units, albeit all undermanned by design. The Army Guard ended fiscal year 1950 with just over 50 percent of its fully manned required end strength.[17] In terms of readiness, the National Guard also did not reinstate summer training camps until 1948. The Organized Reserve Corps was hampered by the lack of qualified personnel in important specialty positions, requiring extra time to train as well as receive and process additional untrained replacements. The postwar years had not been kind to the Organized Reserve; their training for several years had consisted mainly of correspondence courses and, if funds were provided, 15 days of active duty training annually. Additionally, there had been no requirement since February 1947 for Organized Reserve soldiers to undergo physical examinations; 10 percent were reported as physically unfit to serve.[18] Even more daunting, the lack of training meant that Guard and Organized Reserve soldiers were inadequately prepared to fight as Army postwar doctrine prescribed: on the offensive, utilizing sophisticated combined arms techniques to enhance maneuver and firepower.[19]

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16 Kendall, 1982, pp. 179–180.

17 *Annual Report of the Chief of the National Guard Bureau, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1949*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Defense, National Guard Bureau, 1950, p. 3; *Annual Report of the Chief of the National Guard Bureau Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1950*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Defense, National Guard Bureau, 1951, p. 5.

18 Kathryn Roe Coker, *United States Army Reserve Mobilization for the Korean War*, Fort Bragg, N.C.: Office of Army Reserve History, 2013.

19 For a discussion of early Cold War Army doctrine and combined arms warfare see Robert A. Doughty, *The Evolution of U.S. Army Tactical Doctrine, 1946–76*, Vol. 1, The Leavenworth Papers, Fort Leavenworth, Kans.:

Additionally, despite the intention of deploying the Guard and the Organized Reserve as units, the intensity of the fighting and the time required to bring units up to strength meant that this course of action was not immediately feasible, as the pressing need was for individuals who could fill deployed and deploying Regular Army units. Undoubtedly, some in the Guard and the Organized Reserve Corps would have preferred full mobilization, with Guard units coming on line and increasing greatly the size of the force on hand to fight the war. Army Chief of Staff General J. Lawton Collins was hesitant, though, to federalize the National Guard immediately at the start of the war until it was clear there were no other options. The Guard's dual role gave him pause, and calling out the entire National Guard was not consonant with President Truman's hope of keeping the war limited. Utilizing the Guard piecemeal would go against the precedent of prior wars, as the Guard was federalized typically only during full mobilization. Collins and other members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff were also concerned that selective mobilization of particular units would place inequitable social and economical strains on certain parts of the nation.[20]

The rapid advance of North Korean forces made those concerns null and void by late July 1950, though. It would have taken far too long to organize new Regular Army and Organized Reserve Corps divisions. The Army decided as a result to federalize a handful of National Guard units, the only available source other than the General Reserve that could provide complete and relatively ready divisions.[21] Army leadership chose four divisions—the 28th (Pennsylvania), 40th (California), 43rd (Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Vermont), and 45th (Oklahoma) Infantry—for their personnel levels, the state of their equipment, and as a way to distribute the burden geographically across the United States. At the end of July 1950, while the units were in their summer camp, they received notice of their upcoming federalization the following September, giving them the month of August to fill the divisions, all of which were understrength; the 28th was the closest to the authorized strength of 19,000, with an actual strength of just 9,970. Congress had given Truman the authority to order units and individual members of the Organized Reserve Corps and National Guard into active federal service for 21 months on June 30, 1950. On August 10, the President approved inducting the four National Guard divisions and two regimental combat teams, and the Army alerted the affected units. On September 1, the 40th and 45th Divisions entered federal service, with the 28th and 43rd following four days later, bringing the Army's combat divisions on active duty up to 14.[22] Each of the mobilized

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Combat Studies Institute, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, August 1979; Walter E. Kretchik, *U.S. Army Doctrine: From the American Revolution to the War on Terror*, Lawrence, Kans.: University Press of Kansas, 2011; House, 2001, pp. 185–230.

[20] Kendall, 1982, pp. 172–173; Schnabel, 1992, p. 122.

[21] Schnabel, 1992, p. 122.

[22] Wilson, 1998, p. 243; Kendall, 1982, pp. 174–177; Schnabel, 1992, pp. 123–124.

National Guard divisions was about 50 percent strength by design, and many of their officers and enlisted personnel had not completed the training necessary to deploy. Fillers would predominantly come from activated personnel from the Organized Reserve Corps.

Broadly speaking, federalizing the National Guard units mostly took some pressure off of the General Reserve as it rebuilt from the deleterious effects of the first weeks of the war. The Army, however, still faced the immediate need for individual replacements, mostly junior officers and enlisted men. A logical source was the Organized Reserve Corps, many of them veterans of World War II who could ostensibly receive refresher training with weapons and equipment the same or similar to what they had employed only five years earlier. Like the rest of the Army, the lack of congressional appropriations and Army oversight in the immediate postwar period resulted in an Organized Reserve Corps that was not well prepared for war. Only half of its numbers were assigned to organized units, meaning that the other half of Organized Reserve Corps members had likely not received active-duty training since their demobilization after World War II. Additionally, organized units diminished the replacement pool, as Army policy held that officers and enlisted men in units would remain together in case of emergencies elsewhere in the world and thus would not be used as individual replacements in Korea.[23] To come to full strength, the Organized Reserve Corps required an additional 146,000 officers and 956,000 enlisted men. The fiscal year 1951 budget funded only 73,500 officers and 181,500 men, which the Army had not achieved by June 1950. Yet, combat losses and the developing situation in Korea meant that FECOM required 82,500 individual replacements by September 1950 to bring its units to wartime strength. The same congressional action on June 30, 1950, that authorized Truman to federalize the National Guard units under the Selective Service Act allowed him to call up Organized Reserve Corps units and individuals for 21 months.[24]

The Army also hoped to gain individual replacements to fill out Regular Army and mobilized Guard units by appealing to reservists' sense of duty, asking officers and enlisted from the Organized Reserve Corps on July 22 to volunteer for one year of active service. That approach was far too optimistic, and it engendered such an apathetic response that beginning on August 10, 1950, the Army began to recall Organized Reserve Corps members involuntarily. In the first round, 8,000 company-grade officers—mostly from the combat arms—and 1,500 medical doctors received calls for 21 months of service. Some 62,000 enlisted men from the Organized Reserve Corps were also recalled involuntarily as fillers for Regular and Guard units, soon followed

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[23] Crossland and Currie, pp. 96–97.

[24] Kendall, 1982, p. 180; Terrence Gough, *US Army Mobilization and Logistics in the Korean War: A Research Approach*, Washington, D.C.: United States Army Center of Military History, 1987, pp. 29–30; Rottman, 2002, p. 4.

by another 47,000. A controversial decision at the time, these recalls drew from the Inactive and Volunteer Reserve categories of the Organized Reserve Corps. The Army could have chosen members already assigned to units in the Organized Reserve Corps on pay-for-drill status rather than those in the Inactive and Volunteer Reserve. It might have been logical to rely upon those most prepared for service, as they drilled regularly and were receiving pay for those efforts. Planners theorized, however, that using already-formed units from the Organized Reserve Corps as replacement pools would debilitate the force. The first mission of the Organized Reserve Corps, they argued, was to organize and train for quick mobilization in times of war, should a much larger Army be needed for Korea or elsewhere. Crippling those units with a partial mobilization could potentially create a disastrous calamity if a greater national security emergency arose.[25]

Without doubt, existing plans had not anticipated a partial mobilization, and this created a startling situation for those who had joined the Reserve between the wars. Neither the Inactive or Volunteer Reserve was technically intended to be used unless there was an all-out mobilization. Men in the inactive part of the Reserve—essentially stand-by reservists—were mostly World War II veterans who had not trained regularly since the war, and whose civilian jobs were not conducive to continued service. Few expected to return to uniform for anything short of total war. The volunteers, members of the Active Reserve not assigned to mobilization troop basis units, were not any more prepared for the eventuality. The Army was at pains to remind both groups, however, that they were obligated to serve when called.[26] Regardless, the Army relied most heavily on the Inactive Reserve—the soldiers who least expected to be called.

Despite the induction of individual fillers, though, this would not alleviate the manpower situation immediately, as it took six months for replacements to complete basic training and other tasks, and be deployed to the combat zone. After four major recalls, by mid-1951 more than 43,000 Reserve officers had been recalled, and the available supply had been exhausted at year's end.[27] The Officers Candidate School and Reserve Officers' Training Corps, however, were capable of picking up the requirement and alleviating the strain. Enlisted shortages remained a problem. Around 100,000 entered active duty in two phases in 1950, with an additional 25,000 recalled in 1951.[28]

Deferments meant that the enlisted Voluntary Reserve pool had been exhausted after the third recall, forcing the Army to turn to Selective Service and the Guard. The

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25 Schnable, 1992, pp. 121–122: Kendall, 1982, pp. 182–183; Gough, 1987, pp. 29–32.

26 U.S. House of Representatives, *Hearings Before the Committee on Armed Services House of Representatives Pursuant to H.R. 4860, A Bill Relating to the Reserve Components of the Armed Forces*, Eighty-Second Congress, First Session, Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, January 8, 1951, pp. 5–6, 24–25: Kendall, 1982, p 186.

27 Kendall, 1982, p. 221.

28 Kendall, 1982, p. 222.

Army set a quota in the first half of 1951 for 340,000 men, and the Selective Service System provided 25,000 above that demand. Since it had already reached its fiscal year goal, the call in the last half 1951 was for only 143,000.[29] Given the manpower drain on the Regular Army, the cadres who normally would have conducted training were sent to Korea as replacements, necessitating National Guard divisions take over the training role for initial inductees.[30]

Given that the political, military, economic, and strategic situation was far outside what peacetime planners had anticipated, the Joint Staff mobilization plan was an ad-hoc scheme to meet an unforeseen challenge.[31] The fundamental balance of mobilization shifted. From the Revolutionary War to World War II, the United States had relied on a small Regular Army, reinforced by volunteer units and individuals and units from the National Guard—or its equivalent in the state militias—and Organized Reserves, all expanded into a mass citizen army through conscription. In Korea, the sudden emergency and reliance on a partial mobilization meant that the Army leaned on trained manpower, utilizing the Regular Army and civilian components as much as practicable, while attempting to preserve the capabilities and capacity to respond to larger and more important threats elsewhere, should the need arise. It is telling that this first incarnation took place as a result of impromptu action by the Joint Staff rather than planners in peacetime. In this sense, the philosophical shift necessary to move away from the nation's customary approach to mobilization and fix this new course of action as routine had not yet taken place. Indeed, the old way of thinking, based on outdated assumptions about the nature of war and the time available for mobilization, persisted well into the 1960s as President Lyndon B. Johnson's decisions about mobilization for Vietnam would prove. Korea, however, was the first step.

As the Army rapidly expanded and brought in thousands of individual fillers from the Organized Reserve Corps, it also recalled selected Organized Reserve Corps and National Guard support units. By the start of August 1950, the Army had recalled 202 Organized Reserve Corps and 134 Guard units and began the process to bring these up to authorized strength through recruiting volunteers, recalling reservists (active, inactive, and volunteer), and conscription.[32] All told, by the end of the first year of fighting, the Army had grown from 590,000 to more than 1,530,000, including more than 172,000 soldiers from the Inactive and Volunteer Reserves, 34,000 organized reservists, and 95,000 National Guardsmen. The Army found further sources of manpower through the draft and voluntary compulsion, inducting 550,000 draft-

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29 Kendall, 1982, p. 223.

30 Gough, 1987, p. 39; Kendall, 1982, pp. 221–228.

31 Kendall, 1982, p. 3.

32 Doris M. Condit, *The Test of War, 1950-1953*, Washington, D.C.: Office of the Secretary of Defense Historical Office, 1988, p. 61.

ees and 175,000 volunteers by mid-1951.[33] Since nearly all Army units, regardless of component, were short personnel and equipment when the war started, the Army also redistributed personnel and equipment to deployed and deploying units to fulfill the combatant commander's request for Army forces. By the end of 1950, the Guard had turned over a number of its tanks, light aircraft, and tactical vehicles to the Regular Army; after a year of fighting, nearly $200 million in equipment had been transferred.[34] The Chief of the National Guard Bureau reported that "Requests for equipment were screened by the National Guard Bureau to ascertain the effects of losses on the training program. Although losses resulted in limitations, the training program was not hampered critically."[35]

Of the four Guard combat divisions initially mobilized, two were destined for Japan—the 40th from California and the 45th from Oklahoma. The manning levels for the two divisions when they were alerted for mobilization had been just 51 and 44 percent, respectively. Upon mobilization, both received thousands of new members in several increments, typically recalled individuals from the Volunteer and Inactive Reserves or untrained conscripts. Even though the two divisions were only partially trained, General Douglas MacArthur pressured for their shipment to Japan to strengthen the defenses there, since the Regular Army division on occupation duty had been deployed to the Korean peninsula. The Secretary of Defense consented to the request in February, but MacArthur was specifically directed that the divisions would remain in Japan and not deploy to Korea.[36] By April 1951, both divisions had arrived in Japan, where they continued training and remained for nine months on occupation duty until finally reaching roughly 100 percent of their authorized men and equipment.

MacArthur's replacement in April 1951 as supreme commander of United Nations' forces in Korea, General Matthew B. Ridgway, wanted to leave the 40th and 45th in Japan on occupation duty, wishing instead to use their trained personnel as individual fillers for units fighting in Korea. Army Chief of Staff Collins refused, claiming "such a move would bring down the justifiable wrath from the National Guard Association," which had already made known its vehement disagreement with any dismantling of its units.[37] Additional personnel were needed soon, however, to backfill Guardsmen,

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[33] Robert W. Coakley, "Highlights of Mobilization, Korean War," Department of the Army Office of the Chief of Military History, Historical Manuscripts Collection (HMC), file number 2-3.7 AF.C., March 10, 1959, p. 2; Crossland and Currie, 1984, p. 99.

[34] *Annual Report of the Chief of the National Guard Bureau, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1951*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Defense, National Guard Bureau, 1952, p. 22; Crossland and Currie, 1984, pp. 96–100; Gough, 1987, p. 35; Kendall, 1982, p. 178.

[35] *Annual Report of the Chief of the National Guard Bureau*, 1952, p. 22.

[36] Schnabel, 1992, p. 345.

[37] As quoted in Kendall, 1982, footnote on p. 217.

Reservists, and conscript fillers whose enlistment contracts were set to expire or who had earned enough points to rotate out of the combat zone. Collins disagreed with Ridgway's plan to leave the 45th and 40th in Japan, believing that not employing the two divisions in combat invited recriminations from Guardsmen and their supporters in Congress, possibly worsening Army-Guard relations and implying that the Army's training program had failed. For these reasons, the Army rotated the 1st Cavalry and 24th Infantry Divisions from Korea to Japan and deployed the 40th and 45th Divisions into combat.[38] Soldiers in the 1st Cavalry Division who had not earned sufficient points to rotate out were transferred to the 45th Division as it arrived in December 1951. This battlefield influx of 36 officers and 2,411 enlisted men from the 1st Cavalry finally brought the 45th to full strength for its officers and somewhat overstrength in enlisted men. The 40th followed two months later.[39]

Thus, nearly 18 months elapsed between activation and the divisions entering combat in Korea. By spring of 1952, there were virtually no original Oklahoman Guardsmen left in the 45th, with mostly recalled Reservists, Regulars, volunteers, and conscripts providing the bulk of its manpower.[40] After less than one month in Korea, some of its members became eligible to return stateside and bid farewell to active duty. The experience of the 40th and 45th in terms of post-mobilization preparation time was similar to the other activated National Guard divisions. The 28th and the 43rd went to Europe to bolster the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) alliance in November 1951.[41] The last four remained in the states as an emergency reserve.

Planners realized that unless units and soldiers were deployed for the entire war some unit or individual rotation system would be required. The Truman administration and the Department of Defense (DoD) decided not to follow the example of World War II, where soldiers served "for the duration plus six (months)." Planners were wary of burning soldiers out by keeping them in-theater for the duration, as had been the case in World War II. As a result, the Army instead devised a system whereby it would maintain eight combat divisions in Korea—six Regular joined by two Guard divisions after nearly 18 months—with the burden spread between a rotating cast of individual Regulars, Guardsmen, Reservists, volunteers, and large numbers of conscripts. Such a system was not unprecedented. Individual replacements had been common during World War II, and would continue during the limited reserve mobilization that took place in Vietnam following the Tet Offensive in 1968. Truman extended the Guard call up from 21 months to 24 in the summer of 1951; all others were subject to a point

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38 William M. Donnelly, *Under Army Orders: The Army National Guard during the Korean War*, College Station, Tex.: Texas A&M University Press, 2001, p. 102.

39 Schnabel, pp. 344–345; Donnelly, 2001, p. 104.

40 Martin Binkin, *U.S. Reserve Forces: The Problem of the Weekend Warrior*, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1974, p. 40.

41 Wilson, 1998, pp. 246–247; Gough, 1987, pp. 44–45.

system to fix their date of estimated return from overseas, similar to that which determined demobilization status for soldiers at the close of World War II.[42]

Troops could expect an average combat tour of between 12 and 16 months.[43] For individuals to rotate out of the country rather than entire units, however, required more manpower than was available—about 1.2 million more men were conscripted to serve the rotation system. The 24-month service obligation for reservists recalled in the war's first months came to an end around the same time, creating a considerable manpower loss for the Eighth Army and compelling the command to narrow its definition of combat units. As a result of attempting to spread the combat risk, the rotation system ultimately diminished unit cohesion and morale, but it was feasible and affordable. Additionally, the Army did not articulate well enough that, despite eligibility, if there were insufficient replacements at certain times then soldiers could not rotate home. There were positive outcomes to the points system, however. Unit staff officers and logisticians tended to remain longer than front-line combat personnel, which built experience within those ranks. Rotating individuals before the end of the war also created a larger pool of combat experience from which the Army could draw.[44]

For the Guard, NGAUS president Walsh observed that "it was recognized from the very beginning that rotation of individuals would impose personnel problems that would have a serious impact." In some cases, up to 60 percent of a unit's combat-hardened soldiers were rotated out and replaced with less-experienced personnel, although he did not articulate over what period of time this occurred. Not only did this reduce unit efficiency and potentially increase casualties, it also contributed to morale problems, both in-theater and at home. One of the Guard's main recruitment points was that volunteers would be able to serve with their hometown friends, and while the Guard conceded—however grudgingly—that wartime expediency won out over Guard preference, the individual rotation policy did not find great favor with the states.[45] Regardless, the Guard was largely unimpaired by the individual rotation policy. Guard units were mobilized as units, and the individuals therein generally

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[42] U.S. House of Representatives, *Testimony of William Gibbons, United Stated Army (Ret.), Candidate for Doctor of Philosophy, at Princeton Hearings: Hearing Before the Subcommittee No. 1 of the Committee on Armed Services*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, February 15, 1955, p. 1843.

[43] To rotate elsewhere in the theater or home, enlisted men required 36 points and officers 37. Each earned four points per month on the battle line, three points per month in the combat zone, two points per month for service anywhere on the Korean peninsula, and one point per month anywhere in the Far East.

[44] Kendall, 1982, pp. 210–215; Gough, 1987, pp. 42–44; Rottman, 2002, p. 4.

[45] Somewhat exasperatedly, Walsh wrote, "The idea that all of our existing military legislation and policies were designed to cope with an emergency declared by the Congress and involving a total mobilization rather than a partial mobilization, evoked but little interest on the part of those concerned, and particularly home-town folk" (Major General Ellard A. Walsh, "The President's Page: More Problems," *The National Guardsman*, Vol. 5, No. 6, September 1951, inside cover).

accumulated the same number of rotation points, allowing them generally to redeploy from the theater together.

Partial mobilization and a considerable reliance on the reserve components brought attendant difficulties for the Army, including scrutiny at home about the Department of the Army's manpower choices. Because of post–World War II neglect, both congressional and military, many of the smaller units of the Organized Reserve Corps that deployed to Korea took anywhere from seven to nine months to prepare for combat. The 1948 Selective Service Act had allowed men to enlist in the Guard without active-duty training to avoid the draft. Partly as a result, the Guard divisions that mobilized in 1950 reported that between only a quarter and a half of their personnel were military occupational specialty–qualified, and many of the youngest Guardsmen had no active duty experience at all, apart from the two weeks of annual training.[46] A post-armistice congressional report also found that a lack of training was systemic. On average, National Guard units required an extra year of training before they were "combat worthy."[47]

Nor were these problems limited to the Army. Senator Leverett Saltonstall, chairman of the Committee on Armed Services, found that many reservists—which includes Guardsmen and Reservists from all services—served in absentia:

> Thousands of non-pay reservists, who were recalled, however, were not actively participating in any Reserve [all Services, Guard and Reserve] training program. They were merely names carried on a roll. The calling of these men for Korea in preference to those paid members of an active unit who remained at home is the most frequent criticism leveled at the Armed Forces Reserve program…The vacuum in the Reserve forces caused by the Korean recall has not been overcome in the past 2½ years.[48]

The Organized Reserve Corps faced its own problems. It was composed of both units and individuals. The individuals in the Volunteer Reserve and the Inactive Reserve were mainly World War II veterans who had not trained or been paid for many years. The Volunteer Reserves, as their name suggests, expected to be called when needed. The Inactive Reserves did not expect to be called, except as part of a full mobilization. Contrary to what would appear to be common sense in hindsight, the Army first called on the Inactive Reserves and then the Volunteer Reserves to fill deploying and deployed units, and individual vacancies created by combat casualties, before activat-

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[46] Irving Heymont and E. W. McGregor, *Review and Analysis of Recent Mobilizations and Deployments of US Army Reserve Components*, McLean, Va.: Research Analysis Corp., 1972, pp. 1–5.

[47] Leverett Saltonstall, *Status of Reserve and National Guard Forces of the Armed Services Report of the Interim Subcommittee on Preparedness of the Committee on Armed Services*, Washington, D.C.: Chairman of the Senate Committee on Armed Services, January 29, 1954b, p. 8.

[48] Saltonstall, 1954b, p. 2.

ing organized units. As one might expect, this caused significant friction in the force. A congressional report filed by House Armed Services Committee Chairman Overton Brooks argued that the Korean War

> proved beyond doubt that our present Reserve system is wrong; at least the Reserve Program is not geared to the needs of the times. Further, since the partial mobilization of the reserve components, it has been proven that they were not in a sufficient state of readiness. . . . [T]he Reserve Program is not geared to the needs of the times. [49]

The spectacle of activating these unpaid and untrained World War II veterans sooner than paid and trained organized units provoked considerable controversy and attracted congressional attention.[50] In 1952, Chief of Staff Collins testified about the strain and obstacles of mobilizing, deploying, and then demobilizing reserve component units:

> If we replace our active units with other Reserve units, the procedure would be both vastly expensive and terribly inefficient. When a National Guard or Organized Reserve unit is mustered out it takes considerable time to reconstitute it and make it as effective as when it was mustered in. . . . [I]t (is) imperative that we maintain the strength and effectiveness of our active forces. By far the most efficient and economical way to do that would be to retain the active units which we now have.[51]

Congress subsequently directed the release from active duty of all recalled members of the Volunteer and Inactive Reserves who had served at least 12 months in World War II and 17 months of active duty for the Korean conflict, with some exceptions for critical skills. This resulted in the discharge of nearly all such recalled Reservists by Christmas 1951. Looking back on the Korean War in 1965, Congressman William Bray commented that, "[b]ecause of these inequities and the lack of a genuine mobilization capability of our Reserve Forces during Korea, it was evident that additional legislative action was required by Congress."[52] Regardless, the nation did not have a system of reserve activation in place that fit the needs of the time.

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[49] Overton Brooks, *Report on the Armed Forces Act of 1951*, Washington, D.C.: Chairman of the House Committee on Armed Services, September 27, 1951, p. 11.

[50] Crossland and Currie, 1984, p. 97.

[51] U.S. House of Representatives, *Testimony of James Collins, Army Chief of Staff, at Hearings on H.R. 5472: Hearing Before the Committee on Armed Services*, Washington, D.C. U.S. Government Printing Office, May 2, 1952, p. 3858.

[52] U.S. House of Representatives, *Testimony of Senator Richard Bray on Proposed Merger of the Army Reserve Components: Hearing Before the Subcommittee No. 2 of the Committee on Armed Services*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, March 25, 1965, p. 3592.

Armistice talks commenced in November 1951, but the peace agreement was not signed until July 1953, after a year and a half of defensive combat along the 38th Parallel that often resembled the destructiveness of trench warfare in World War I. The new Dwight D. Eisenhower administration, well aware of the war's unpopularity with the public, had made it a priority to bring the war to a quick close and communicate its unwillingness to be drawn into such limited wars in the future.[53] To that end, and with the aim of downsizing ever-ballooning federal budgets, in 1954 Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles introduced the "New Look" in American foreign policy. In theory, no more would the United States involve itself in unpopular and intractable limited wars that taxed understrength Regular Army and reserve component divisions. Now, the focus would be on avoiding wars through the deterrent effect of immediate and massive nuclear retaliation: In other words, a return to the post–World War II worldview that "everything about war had changed."[54] However, as we shall see later, not everyone in the Armed Forces agreed with the New Look approach, perhaps especially Army Chief of Staff Matthew Ridgway.

## The Armed Forces Reserve Act

In 1952, Congress passed the Armed Forces Reserve Act, which created the modern United States Army Reserve out of the Organized Reserve Corps, and defined the types of reserve forces that would be maintained.[55] The act set the maximum enrollment at 1.5 million soldiers for the Ready Reserve—which consisted of personnel and units of the reserve components "who are liable for active duty either in time of war, in time of national emergency declared by the Congress or proclaimed by the President, or when otherwise authorized by law"—and mandated that they be "maintained for the purpose of providing trained units and qualified individuals to be available for active duty in the Armed Forces of United States in time of war or national emergency, and at such other times as the national security may require, to meet the requirements of the Armed Forces of the United States in excess of those of the Regular compo-

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[53] Eisenhower put the Korean War at the top of his list of priorities when campaigning for the presidency, part of his "K1C2" formula for victory: Korea, Communism, and corruption. See Chester Pach, Jr. and Elmo Richardson, *Presidency of Dwight D. Eisenhower*, Lawrence, Kans.: University Press of Kansas, 1991.

[54] See John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of American National Security Policy during the Cold War* New York: Oxford University Press, 1982; Campbell Craig, *Destroying the Village: Eisenhower and Thermonuclear War*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1998; Donald A. Carter, "Eisenhower Versus the Generals," *Journal of Military History*, Vol. 71, No. 4, October 2007; H. W. Brands, "The Age of Vulnerability: Eisenhower and the National Security State," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 94, No. 4, October 1989; Saki Dockrill, *Eisenhower's New-Look National Security Policy, 1953–61*, New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1996.

[55] Public Law 82-476, An Act Relating to the Reserve Components of the Armed Forces of the United States (Armed Forces Reserve Act), July 9, 1952.

nents thereof."[56] It also established the Reserve Forces Policy Board, a body that acted through the assistant Secretary of Defense as the principal policy adviser to the Secretary of Defense on matters pertaining to the reserve components, a role that would be re-emphasized in the 1954 Reserve Officer Personnel Act.[57]

The National Guard Association opposed elements of the 1952 act. In a statement submitted to the Senate subcommittee responsible for the bill, Major General Milton Reckord, then the chairman of the legislative committees of NGAUS and Adjutants General Association of the United States, observed with considerable hyperbole that one of the reasons for the Guard's opposition was that "the bill as written is one more attempt to federalize the National Guard."[58]

Reckord characterized the proposed Standby Reserve as "absolutely worthless" and asserted that "the Department of Defense does nothing to assist the States in maintaining the strength desired by the Congress." He argued that a section in the bill focused on integrating the functions of the Army across all components "would in a few years destroy the National Guard Bureau," and constituted "a retrograde step which would take us back 50 years to the turn of the century."[59] Reckord also strongly objected to the bill's inclusion of the National Guard in "the Reserves of the Army." He averred that in the "entire bill we find statements referring to 'Reserves of the Army.' These statements disturb us very much indeed." He admitted that the Guard realized "in a general sense the National Guard of the United States is a Reserve of the Army; but we do not look with favor upon being merely that. We are members of the National Guard and the National Guard of the United States. We are known and accepted as such. We wish that status to continue undisturbed."[60] As a senior spokesman for the National Guard, Reckord was making it clear to Congress that the National Guard was not subordinate to the Army (or Air Force), but was an independent and distinct element of the national military establishment. He may also have been reminding

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56 Public Law 82-476, 1952.

57 Public Law 83-773, Reserve Officer Personnel Act of 1954, September 3, 1954. The Reserve Forces Policy Board, as we shall see, became a matter of congressional interest the following decade, as Robert McNamara attempted to reorganize the reserve components without the benefit of their counsel. See Chapter Five.

58 U.S. Senate, *Hearings Before a Subcommittee on Armed Services on H.R. 5426: An Act Relating to the Reserve Components of the Armed Forces of the United States*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, May 26–29, pp. 114–115.

59 U.S. Senate, 1952, pp. 115, 120. In testimony following Reckord's, Colonel Charles Stevenson, State judge advocate and judge advocate general of the New York National Guard, made it a point to observe that "The bill has created a vast misconception in many people's minds, which is that the Ready Reserve is an organization. It is not. It is a status which the individual reservist has." Record recommended "[Section 215 of the legislation] should be deleted in its entirety," and he got his wish. The National Guard Bureau continues to exist to this day (U.S. Senate, 1952, p. 131).

60 U.S. Senate, 1952, p. 130.

Congress that the National Guard, as a state-controlled institution, was also not subordinate to Congress.

The overall focus of the 1952 act was to improve the readiness of the state Guards and federal reserves and to codify the requirement to mobilize members of units with their units, "Insofar as practicable." The 1952 act further stated that "This shall not be interpreted as prohibiting the reassignment of personnel of such units after being ordered into the active military service of the United States."

A 1955 amendment to the Armed Forces Reserve Act targeted specific problems identified in congressional reports issued throughout the course of that year.[61] Senate reports from January and December 1954 noted that the 1952 act had not resolved many personnel problems. Army reserve forces, in particular, were plagued by too many officers and too few enlisted personnel, many of whom left the reserve components at the end of their active service due to the ambiguity of what might await them. "The sudden call to active duty which confronts reservists operates in many instances as a hazard to the planning of their lives," a Senate report from January 1954 observed.[62] Turnover, too, was an issue for all reserve components, with some units reporting 50 percent in the course of a year.[63] This improved somewhat by the end of 1954, but the subsequent report in December recognized that the Army National Guard in particular continued to suffer from high turnover, which contributed to significant problems maintaining a high level of skill in its enlisted ranks.[64]

Additionally, Congress found that the activation of unpaid reservists who participated in no reserve training programs, rather than paid members of active reserve units, created "distrust and resentment on the part of the nonpaid reservists."[65] The Senate observed that "These men were World War II veterans who joined the Reserves to retain their rank with the thought of service only upon the declaration of war. They concluded that only units on a drill pay status would be subject to being called first in the event of an emergency declared by Presidential proclamation."[66] However, the Truman administration supported a limited war with limited objectives and, therefore, partial mobilization. Truman explicitly wanted to avoid communicating panic to the American people or weakness to enemies (i.e., North Korea, China, and the Soviet Union), so he limited mobilizations.

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61 Public Law 84-305, Reserve Forces Act of 1955, August 9, 1955.

62 Saltonstall, 1954a, p. 3.

63 Saltonstall, 1954a, p. 4.

64 Leverett Saltonstall, *Status of Reserve and National Guard Forces of the Armed Services: Second Report of the Interim Subcommittee on Preparedness of the Committee on Armed Services*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Senate, December 28, 1954b, pp. 2, 6.

65 Saltonstall, 1954a, p. 2

66 Saltonstall, 1954a, p. 2.

Korea was merely one theater in a larger cold war, and as such the White House and Pentagon faced few good options in the early months of the conflict. Initially, mobilized understrength Regular, Guard, and Reserve units were exempt from transferring personnel from one unit to another, but required thousands more to fill them to authorized strength levels. Untrained men inducted via conscription could not provide those numbers quickly and volunteers, especially for the Army, were not initially forthcoming in needed quantities. Stripping personnel from follow-on units from all components was not ideal, as it would only delay their availability for combat operations in Korea or Europe. There was also the potential option of calling up Volunteer and Inactive Reserves, many of whom were combat veterans with at least some immediate utility. The National Guard lobby had consistently opposed mobilizing Guard units as fillers for other units, although this was eventually done to a very limited extent.

Typically, the Army levied National Guard units for Regulars, volunteers, reservists, and conscripts that had been assigned to the unit upon/after mobilization, leaving Guardsmen in Guard units. Truman and his advisers were reluctant to utilize the units of the Organized Reserves, as they were the strategic reserve that would face potential Soviet aggression in Europe. In retrospect, the Department of the Army chose the only available option: calling up veterans from the Volunteer and Inactive Reserves, at least until adequate conscripts had been inducted and trained. Yet, the Senate report characterized this policy as "inexplicable," and observed that the "vacuum in the Reserve forces caused by the Korean recall has not been overcome in the past 2 1/2 years."[67] In reality, however, given the challenges the Army already faced mobilizing personnel between 1950 and 1953, filling reserve personnel shortages during the war was impracticable. With World War II veterans largely exempt from the draft, a military and diplomatic stalemate by 1952, and a new presidential administration taking office in early 1953 committed to ending the war, there was little incentive for young men to join the reserves.

The 1955 legislation, known as the Reserve Forces Act, therefore, sought to remedy many of these problems. It increased the Ready Reserve ceiling from 1.5 million men to 2.9 million, although it did not explain how previous policies that failed to create a Ready Reserve of 1.5 million would now be able to create a Ready Reserve nearly twice that size. It also authorized the President to order up to 1 million reservists in time of emergency. He could do so without having to wait for congressional consent, a major shift from prewar policy, which provided for no such partial mobilization and allowed either full mobilization for a national emergency or nothing at all. It was also a significant shift in that it located this power in the office of the President, rather than allowing it to remain with Congress as it had in the past. Further, the act defined more clearly the obligations that those entering the Ready Reserve had to participate in drills and annual training, and established ways of compelling such service from the obli-

[67] Saltonstall, 1954a, p. 2.

gated. Finally, it reduced the scope of military obligation from eight to six years.[68] In 1955, the Army adopted centralized initial entry training. For the first time in history, units were not responsible for transitioning recruits into soldiers in peacetime. While the training process was initially voluntary, it became mandatory in the late 1950s.[69]

The 1955 Reserve Forces Act had mixed success in achieving its goals. A 1956 report of the Reserve Forces Policy Board found that units of the National Guard had been able to man itself at 98 percent of their authorized strength as of June 30 of that year, while more broadly speaking the Chief of the National Guard Bureau reported in the same period that the federally recognized strength of the Army National Guard of 404,403 personnel "represented nearly 64 percent of authorized strength."[70] However, 50 percent of its enlisted men had not yet completed basic training, showing that the previous year's legislation had not yet fully succeeded in its goal of ensuring availability of fully trained and deployable Ready Reserve units.[71] The Army Reserve, for its part, struggled to meet some of its requirements through voluntary enlistment. After the Reserve Forces Act of 1955, the Army Reserve offered the choice of either a six-year enlistment broken down into two years active duty, three years Ready Reserve, and one year Standby Reserve (known as Section 261), or an eight-year enlistment with six months active duty training and seven and a half years in the Ready Reserve (known as Section 262). Hoping to gain 90,000 recruits in the Section 262 program alone by June 1956 with an additional 100,000 each year thereafter, only 27,272 men signed up for the six-month active duty training choice, with another 13,012 choosing Section 261 in that time.[72] Meeting its target of an additional 100,000 recruits per year continued to be a problem for the Army Reserve: By the end of fiscal year 1960, only 177,712 individuals had enlisted under the six-month active duty training option. The slow

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[68] Public Law 84-305, 1955. In an August 1955 statement, President Eisenhower expressed reservations with the way the Reserve Forces Act of 1955 addressed training: "I am, however, concerned by the failure of the bill to afford the same guarantees of prior training for the National Guard as it has done for the Reserves" (Dwight D. Eisenhower, "Statement by the President Upon Signing the Reserve Forces Act of 1955," Washington, D.C., August 9, 1955).

[69] *Semiannual Report of the Reserve Forces Policy Board*, Washington, D.C.: Reserve Forces Policy Board, Department of Defense, June 30, 1956.

[70] *Semiannual Report of the Reserve Forces Policy Board, June 20, 1956*, p. 5; *Annual Report of the Chief of the National Guard Bureau, 1956*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1957, p. 15.

[71] Public Law 82-476, 1952; Chief of the National Guard Bureau, *Annual Meeting Conference Report Fiscal Year Ending 30 June 1956*, Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army, 1956, pp. 23–24; Chief of the National Guard Bureau, *Annual Meeting Conference Report Fiscal Year Ending 30 June 1958*, Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army, 1958, p. 38; U.S. House of Representatives, *National Reserve Plan Hearings: Hearing Before the Subcommittee No. 1 of the Committee on Armed Services*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, February 8–March 25, 1955, pp. 1483–1496; Crossland and Currie, 1984, pp. 96–100.

[72] *Semiannual Report of the Reserve Forces Policy Board*, June 30, 1956, pp. 6–7. A copy of the Report of the Reserve Forces Policy Board can also be found in the *Semiannual Report of the Secretary of Defense, 1956*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1957, p. 66; Crossland and Currie, 1984, pp. 125–126.

trickle of enlistments could be seen in Army Reserve units. Only 5,284 of the 7,200 authorized company-size units were in active status in June 1956, meaning that only 180,000 of the required 618,000 personnel required for these were actually assigned. As the Reserve Forces Policy Board asserted at the time, voluntary enlistments in the reserve components were often high at peak times for the draft and likewise low when the draft rate was low.[73]

Whatever the shortcomings, in the first full decade after the end of World War II, a momentous change had taken place. The debate within the Army and DoD would no longer be over American military policy; over whether the nation needed a National Guard, and, if so, what statutory form it should take; over whether a federalized Army Reserve should exist; over what kind of relationship each of these entities should have with the Regular Army. Those arguments had been settled, at least for the time being, and the resultant policy had been largely shaped between 1903 and 1940. As the 1950s progressed, the debate would be over how resources would be balanced within the basic military policy that had been set by 1940 and the relative size of the Army's components, along with the mix of types of units and organizations within the Army's overall force structure.[74]

## From Korea to the Berlin Crisis

At the conclusion of the Korean War, the Regular Army consisted of more than 1.5 million men in 20 combat divisions with a budget of nearly $13 billion, although it was in the process of falling to just $8.7 billion by 1956.[75] The Korean armistice and the death of Soviet premier Joseph Stalin in the same year had eased American concerns about international affairs somewhat, giving President Eisenhower and DoD some space to determine how best to counter the communist threat. Recent events had driven home to defense planners that the pre–World War II structure of a smaller Regular Army and a larger Army National Guard no longer made sense. New realities required a Regular force-in-being that could deploy to a conflict zone very quickly. Confronting the allies of communist China and the Soviet Union in proxy wars and potentially fighting a

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73 Crossland and Currie, p. 126.

74 *Semiannual Report of the Reserve Forces Policy Board*, 1957. Also see G. Sinks, *Reserve Policy for the Nuclear Age: The Development of Post-War American Reserve Policy, 1943–1955*, Ph.D. dissertation, Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, 1985; Joshua E. Klimas, "Balancing Consensus, Consent, and Competence: Richard Russell, the Senate Armed Services Committee & Oversight of America's Defense, 1955–1968," Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 2007.

75 Donald A. Carter, *The U.S. Army Before Vietnam, 1953–1965*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 2015b, p. 11.

ground war with the Soviet Union involving tactical nuclear weapons meant that old paradigms no longer applied.[76]

In short, the older Palmer-esque military policy that involved a small, ready Regular Army and a larger, less ready National Guard—and both as the base for a mass mobilized civilian Army—was obsolete. Instead, the Korean War experience showed the required capability for near-immediate deployment of a fully manned and equipped Regular Army and the concomitant demand for higher readiness levels in all of the Army's components, would take hold and shape the Army for the next three decades. Accordingly, even though there was a shift in how the Army would expand in wartime, there was not a related change in the basic statutory laws that governed the U.S. Army. At this juncture, the challenges of the post–Korean War world and the ongoing larger Cold War required a serious reassessment of the Army's overall force structure. The ensuing decades would highlight that the total force had moved almost completely toward the professionalist school, with the overriding focus on readiness and preparedness. However, and as it had been since the formative years between 1903 and 1940, the "militia tradition" would continue in statutory law and lore, even though its relevance to the Army's total force and the nation's defense had largely disappeared.

During the 1950s, the Regular Army was much larger than the Army National Guard, as defense planners and policymakers discerned the need to have large forces at a relatively high state of readiness to counter a Soviet assault into Western Europe or thwart Soviet expansion elsewhere. The Regular Army averaged nearly 1.2 million soldiers, while the Army National Guard averaged just over 330,000. This amounted to an important shift in Army organizational structure and expansibility—during the 18th and 19th centuries, the Regular Army was significantly smaller than the militia. From 1903 to 1940, the difference narrowed, but the Regular Army remained the smaller force. In 1939, for example, the Regular Army stood at 130,000 and the National Guard at 180,000.

Thus, within the first 15 years of the Cold War, the relative size of the Regular Army and the Army National Guard had flipped, and they have stayed that way since World War II. This change reflected the historical evolution of moving away from relying on the militia clause of the Constitution as a means of augmenting and expanding the Army in war. The reforms of the National Guard, started in 1903 by Elihu Root and then continued in the subsequent changes in statutory law from 1903 to 1940 that organized the Guard as a reserve component of the Army under the armies clause of the Constitution, sounded the death knell of the older militia tradition.[77]

At the same time, DoD spent several years pressuring the Army National Guard of the states and territories either to bring their divisions up to full strength or to com-

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[76] Stewart, 2010, p. 261.

[77] H. Richard Uriller and William G. Merkel, *The Militia and the Right to Arms, or, How the Second Amendment Fell Silent*, Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2002.

bine them with the intent of halving the overall number. NGAUS President Walsh resisted strenuously. He clearly understood the political influence of many Guard divisions across the country, regardless of their authorized manning levels, and the many general officers who would be required to lead those divisions. Bringing all divisions up to full strength was likely impossible—i.e., states and communities could not provide twice the personnel—in addition to being quite costly, and a number of administrative problems were entailed in combining divisions manned at 50 percent, which Army Guard divisions in the 1950s were. As he asserted in a 1954 address to the adjutants general:

> On February 3, 1954, the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Personnel emphasized that the National Guard, Army National Guard, had to be made stronger by being brought up to full strength in order to be ready immediately for combat. When he was questioned as to how he proposed to accomplish this in the absence of a system of national security training and the probable refusal of Congress to appropriate more money . . . he replied by compulsory inductions by Selective Service and, if necessary, he would go so far as to combine two divisions in order to bring one up to full strength . . .
>
> Relative to the matter of combining two divisions . . . it was pointed out to the Secretary that this would accomplish precisely nothing, as the degree of maturity or experience would remain precisely the same, since the personnel of one division was identical with another, and the net result would be the loss of one division and the rendering of some 900 officers surplus.[78]

Although he focused on the degree of training and experience resident within existing Guard divisions, Walsh also recognized the bureaucratic and political implications of the DoD's requests. Realigning existing units and individuals into fewer fully manned and equipped units would improve the readiness of the Guard, albeit with some turbulence as units were reorganized into other types of units. Additionally, for example, using the leadership of 27 partially manned Guard divisions to create 13–14 full-manned Guard divisions would result in the loss of 13–14 division flags and their 40 or so general officers. Determining which flags and general officers stayed and which would be eliminated would have been an emotional journey that the Guard would most likely have wanted to avoid. Additionally, the loss of division flags and one or more general officers from one state would have deleterious effects on the state Guard's relationships with state political leadership. Such officers were oftentimes influential citizens, and state governors, as the commanders-in-chief of their Guards, would likely have protested vociferously at what they would have perceived to be an

[78] Walsh and Erickson, 1954, pp. 80–81.

unforgiveable act of disloyalty.[79] But as we shall later see, the Army eventually did successfully combine the Guard into a more compact and readier force when the political will so permitted.

## The Pentomic Division

Eisenhower's "New Look" national security policy, centered on an air-delivered nuclear capability instead of a conventional military, gathered much of its appeal from its cost-saving measures. The administration relied on the threat of employing nuclear weapons in the event of any provocation—otherwise known as "Massive Retaliation"—to deter Soviet belligerence, as well as to provide a cost-effective means of response if deterrence failed. The policy found approval with a public that had spent several years underwriting an expanded military to fight global war. In line with the policy's goals, DoD sought to trim and restructure Army ground forces.

Additionally, there still existed a perception that nuclear weapons had fundamentally altered the nature of war. We have seen how this impression affected postwar attitudes with respect to the question of universal military training. Nuclear weapons also forced alternative thinking about ways of war, as the upper echelons of military leadership not only in the United States but also in Moscow began contemplating new approaches to warfare. Soviet Marshal of Armored Forces Pavel Rotmistrov promoted such thinking in 1958, arguing that troops now needed to group quickly to attack and then disperse rapidly to avoid becoming the target of a nuclear counterattack. "High mobility of troops on the battlefield is one of the most important features of modern combined arms warfare," he advised.[80] However, no other army in the world undertook any sort of substantive reorganization along the lines of the U.S. Army.

Within a year of the armistice in Korea, the writing was on the wall for a downsized Army. After an unsettlingly inconclusive end to the war, in the halls of the Pentagon and in popular opinion the utility of ground forces was seriously in question. The White House, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Secretary of Defense were all proponents of nuclear deterrence, and thus opposed a large Army. NATO chose to transition to Massive Retaliation in 1954, abandoning conventional rearmament for nuclear deterrence. In the minds of Army Chief of Staff General Matthew Ridgway and his successor General Maxwell Taylor, however, Massive Retaliation was inherently inflexible, as it supposed that the deterrent power of nuclear weapons would prevent any war from occurring. Army leadership began articulating a countervailing

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[79] Indeed, in 2007, when Congress changed the law such that the President would be able to take control of a state's Guard without the governor's consent, all 50 governors signed a letter to Congress opposing the change.

[80] As quoted in Kalev I. Sepp, "The Pentomic Puzzle: The Influence of Personality and Nuclear Weapons on U.S. Army Organization, 1952–1958," *Army History*, No. No. 51, Winter 2001, p. 2.

vision, one that stressed a balance between conventional and atomic forces to meet threats with a commensurate response.[81]

To meet the demands of limited warfare in the nuclear age and a potential major ground war with the Soviet Union in eastern Europe while functioning under austere defense budgets, General Taylor ordered a series of studies intended to determine the best way to maintain combat strength despite budget reductions. These efforts resulted in the formation of the "Pentomic" division to meet better the perceived challenges of nuclear warfare. Each division consisted of 13,500 soldiers, some 3,500 fewer than the triangular divisions they replaced. They would also now comprise five self-sufficient battle groups rather than regiments ostensibly capable of operating independently. In 1957 testimony before the House Armed Services Committee, Taylor harkened back to his experience as an airborne commander during World War II when explaining the virtues of the new organization:

> . . . all Army units must be trained for all-around combat in the same way we trained and fought our airborne divisions in World War II. . . . The [five Pentomic] infantry regiments . . . are administratively self-contained, air-transportable units organized essentially like the groups in the airborne division.[82]

The proposed divisions were to have artillery and missile support, both conventional and nuclear. Each division would be able to concentrate quickly, execute its mission, and then disperse before a nuclear counterattack, similar to the proposal of Soviet armor commander Pavel Rotmistrov.[83] The new formation would potentially capitalize on improvements in communications equipment (which allowed commanders better control over their units), armored personnel carriers (which would allow greater mobility and greater exploitation of targets of opportunity), and tactical aircraft (which would provide crucial battlefield surveillance as well as rapid aerial mobility).[84] Thus, the Regular Army shrank from about 1.6 million men personnel in 1952 to around 860,000 in 1959, and 15 Regular divisions, compared with the 19 it maintained at the end of the Korean War.[85]

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[81] Ingo Trauschweizer, *The Cold War Army: Building Deterrence for Limited War*, Lawrence, Kans.: Kansas University Press, 2008, pp. 28–33.

[82] As quoted in Sepp, 2001, p. 9.

[83] Andrew J. Bacevich, *The Pentomic Era: The U.S. Army Between Korea and Vietnam*, Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 1986, p. 28.

[84] Bacevich, 1986, p. 28; Wilson, 1998, pp. 270–278.

[85] The Army's budget shrank commensurately, as well, from $13 billion—38 percent of the total defense budget—to $9 billion in FY1959, 22 percent of the defense budget. The defense budget itself climbed from $34 billion in 1954 to $41 billion in 1959, in part the result of a foreign policy that relied heavily on expensive nuclear weapons systems (Robert J. Watson, *The Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Policy, 1953–1954*, Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Office of Joint History, 1998, pp. 82–84; Byron R.

Reorganization to Pentomic divisions met with some resistance from senior Army officers who were doubtful as to whether the new equipment could live up to its promises. General Taylor overruled all objections, however, and pushed forward with a test case of the 101st Airborne Division at Fort Campbell in 1956. He announced a year later that all infantry and airborne divisions would reorganize under the new structure by 1958 and embarked on a campaign to shift the thinking of skeptical officers.[86] Taylor believed that the new structure would allow the Army to meet the challenge of the atomic age—both in combat and on Capitol Hill when it came time to battle for its share of the defense budget—and act as a catalyst for new technology and doctrine. In his mind the reorganization would allow the nation to fight smaller, non-nuclear, limited wars such as Korea, providing flexibility of response where nuclear deterrence had provided none. "To support the deterrent philosophy," he argued in June 1956, "the Army—indeed the entire national military program must be suitable for flexible application to unforeseen situations, not frozen to any one concept of future war."[87]

The new structure, however, soon showed serious cracks. Some appeared comparatively minor, but had great symbolic importance—the disposal of regimental affiliations, for example, which left soldiers without unit identities that had existed, in some cases, for generations. Some posed more immediate concerns. The technology that Taylor had relied on for communications and rapid dispersal—the radios and armored personnel carriers—was available only in short supply due to austere budgets, leaving company commanders uncertain as to how to either attack or defend their positions. Pentomic units lacked tactical mobility, as well, making maneuver difficult.

More troubling, however, was the way in which exercises held in Europe by the Seventh Army revealed the extent to which the use of nuclear weapons would actually alter the nature of warfare. Exercise Sabre Hawk, held in February 1958, instructed that each corps should plan for the evacuation of 2,000 casualties per day. Exercise operators were unable to comply with this directive, as they would not have had adequate resources remaining to complete the actual exercise. Not only did the new structure not provide enough transportation capabilities, but division artillery also lacked sufficient conventional or atomic firepower.[88] Exercise Bounce Back, held in December

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Fairchild and Walter S. Poole, *The Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Policy, 1957–1960*, Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Office of Joint History, 2000, p. 38; Carter, 2015b, p. 10).

[86] Unease about the efficacy of the new organization remained muted as Army leadership advised those with concerns to belay their criticism and endorse the Pentomic restructuring, which many did begrudgingly (Paul C. Jussel, *Intimidating the World: The United States Atomic Army, 1956–1960*, Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, 2004, pp. 100–111, 178; Wilson, 1998, p. 271).

[87] Quote from General Maxwell D. Taylor, "Address by General Maxwell D. Taylor to the National Strategy Seminar at the Army War College," June 6, 1956. See also Trauschweizer, 2008, pp. 58–70; Linn, 2016, pp. 86–88; Brian Linn, *Echo of Battle: The Army's Way of Way*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009, pp. 167–181; Maxwell D. Taylor, *Swords and Plowshares*, New York: Da Capo Press, 1972, pp. 164–173.

[88] Carter, 2015b, pp. 29–30; Trauschweizer, 2008, pp. 94, 107.

and involving 49 theoretical nuclear strikes ranging from five to 100 kilotons, turned out to be even more surreal. Lieutenant General Arthur Collins later recalled:

> They were talking about a tactical nuclear war . . . in Germany somewhere between Stuttgart and Munich. I raised the question, "Do you have any idea of the amount of damage that would result from that size bomb?" Having seen what one small 20KT [20 kiloton] weapon had done to Hiroshima and the countryside, I could imagine what a 500KT bomb would do in the Munich area. They just brushed the damage question aside, and I did not consider the reply adequate. . . . The Army never related the weapon to the battlefield, and how you were going to fight under the conditions that a nuclear war would create in a forward area.[89]

Collins was not the only one who believed the Army to be dismissing the full implications of nuclear war; Exercise Bounce Back observers recognized how difficult it was for participants to proceed with any sense of realism.[90] What had begun as an earnest attempt to determine how the advent of nuclear weapons would transform modern warfare had turned into an offhanded, even bizarre expectation that the Army would be able to continue coherent operations during a nuclear war.

Apart from these larger considerations, the exercises also revealed more prosaic flaws in the Pentomic structure. With intermediate brigades or regimental echelons removed in the name of sleekness and flexibility, division commanders were now directly tasked with the command and control of up to 16 subordinate units.[91] Moreover, although the new design had been intended to provide for both conventional and nuclear conflicts, exercises showed that the Pentomic divisions' ability to meet a conventional threat was greatly diminished. The reorganized divisions were designed almost solely for nuclear war. Many soldiers and officers never really accepted the new Pentomic organization. Criticisms abounded in tactical units where soldiers recognized they did not have the mobility or communications they required.

In keeping with its operating philosophy of mirroring the structure of the Regular Army, the Guard was impatient to reorganize along the same lines. "The Army National Guard has been anxious, in fact, we urged long ago that our units be reorganized into the type of units necessary to complement our active Army," NGAUS president Major General William Harrison said in September 1958. "We are hopeful

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89 Bacevich, 1986, p. 133.

90 Donald A. Carter, *Forging the Shield: The U.S. Army in Europe, 1951–1962*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 2015a, p. 311.

91 As the 1958 exercises pointed out, it was dubious whether they would have been able to meet this challenge adequately. Journalist S. L. A. Marshall observed in 1957 that existing Army doctrine emphasized nuclear weapons to the point that "one might think that the whole future is to be won through the augmenting of fire power," in spite of the fact that, since the close of World War II, most conflicts featured adversaries reluctant to serve as open targets. "To go after such forces with atomic weapons would be like hunting fleas with an elephant gun" (as quoted in Bacevich, 1986, p. 131).

that there be no unreasonable delay in the application of the Pentomic concept to our divisions."[92] The Army Reserve also made a start on reorganizing according to the Pentomic structure but, as with the Regular Army, did not complete this conversion before the entire scheme was abandoned in the early 1960s.

The Army National Guard spent some time in the 1950s shifting divisions and personnel to consolidate units across states. Some state Guards reported gains from these actions. North Carolina, for example, which had previously shared the 30th Infantry Division jointly with Tennessee, received the entire division for itself in 1953, boosting its numbers with members from nondivisional units.[93] Its membership rose steadily through the 1950s, from 5,645 Guardsmen in December 1952 to 7,977 personnel two years later, before rising to 10,766 by December 1958.[94] Some of this growth was a result of increased recruiting following the Reserve Forces Act, which allowed men to reduce their service obligation to eight years by volunteering for and completing six consecutive months of active-duty training. "All commanders are aware that we must get more men into the active duty for training program if we are to raise the level of training of our National Guard units," the 1955–1956 North Carolina adjutant general's report observed.[95]

These numbers are revealing. The Regular Army, and DoD in general, were moving toward a new strategic approach for Army expansion. The Guard resisted strenuously the New Look's reliance on nuclear deterrence and less on mass mobilization, and fought to keep the structure it developed in the 1920s and 1930s: a large force structure manned at roughly 40–60 percent. In a 1954 speech to the Army War College, Ellard Walsh shed some light on this resistance, noting that just as Congress had drawn down troop allocations to the National Guard after World War I, so had it tried to do the same following World War II:

> Congress in the fiscal years 1950 and 1951 limited the strength of the Army and Air National Guard to 399,500. . . . For the fiscal year 1954, the Bureau of the Budget has limited the year-end strength of the Army National Guard to 303,000, exclusive of (divisions) in active Federal service.[96]

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[92] Major General William H. Harrison, Jr., "The President's Report," *The National Guardsman*, Vol. 12, No. 11, November 1958, inside cover.

[93] Harrison, November 1958; *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of North Carolina, 1 January 1953–31 December 1954*, Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina National Guard, 1954.

[94] Figures for 1952 and 1954 from *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of North Carolina, 1 January 1953–31 December 1954*, p. 14. Figures for 1958 from *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of North Carolina, 1 January 1957–31 December 1958*, Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina National Guard, 1958, p. 8.

[95] *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of North Carolina, 1955–1956*, Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina National Guard, 1956, pp. 9–10.

[96] Walsh and Erickson, 1954, p. 48.

Dryly characterizing these troop allocations as "unduly optimistic," Walsh went on to detail how from 1946 to 1949, the Guard was able to organize fully 5,150 units "with a strength slightly in excess of 350,000," as required by the Department of the Army. In an Army that was unable to avail itself of the UMT-trained pool that planners had counted on, the Guard would continue to resist pressure to streamline its structure.[97] In 1958, NGAUS president, and the Massachusetts Adjutant General since 1946, Major General William H. Harrison, Jr., referred to the National Guard's efforts to sustain its 400,000-man strength, including both Army and Air Guards. "[T]here must be permitted enlistment of young, non-prior service men in adequate numbers," he pointed out. "This, of course, will require that an Army program for increased inputs into the six-months training program. . . . Our experience in this effort—and it has been a strenuous effort—has been most discouraging."[98]

Some states tried to be philosophical about their losses. In 1958, Arizona characterized the new Pentomic structure as "a powerful and versatile fighting force under inspired and trained leadership" and rationalized the loss of 470 officers and enlisted men as enabling "the Army National Guard to reorganize into the new Pentomic Army structure."[99] By the following year, the adjutant general reported in glowing, but overstated, terms that

> This reorganization has transformed the Guard into a faster moving, harder hitting, more self-sustaining and efficient organization. It has also brought about a noticeable improvement in morale and esprit de corps, due to the fact that it pointed out the important role played by the Guard in the military scheme of the United States and the State of Arizona.[100]

The Chief of the National Guard Bureau stated in his 1960 report that a National Guard Battle Group, the Pentomic division version of a brigade combat team, consisting of around 3,000 soldiers, once mobilized would be ready for overseas deployment after nine months of post-mobilization training. The first four months would focus on individual basic and advanced training. This was needed because the Guard's manning levels were still at around 55 percent strength and because new soldiers brought into the Guard, either through enlistment or conscription, would need that time to be trained. The remaining five months would be devoted to unit training from platoon through battle group. However, the Guard's mobilization objective was to complete 26

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97 Walsh and Erickson, 1954, p. 48.

98 Harrison, November 1958.

99 *Report for the Biennium of the Adjutant General of the State of Arizona, July 1 1956– July 30 1957 and July 1 1957–June 30 1958*, Phoenix, Ariz.: Arizona National Guard, 1958, pp. 7, 11.

100 *Annual Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Arizona, July 1 1958– June 30 1959*, Phoenix, Ariz.: Arizona National Guard, 1959, section III.

of the required 36 weeks of training prior to mobilization."[101] Although the experience in the Korean War suggested a much longer post-mobilization training time, the Chief of the National Guard Bureau's prediction was understandable at that time because of the recent change by the 1955 NDAA that required individual Guardsmen to receive basic and individual training before joining a Guard unit, and the Guard's intent to incorporate small unit training in drills and annual training.

## Conclusion

The Army's first post–World War II mobilization revealed critical weaknesses in the policies that had evolved since the end of World War II. While the concept of a larger Regular Army augmented by reserve components—as opposed to an Army largely based on mass conscription—eventually proved to be a solid one, the low state of readiness across the Army, largely a result of public and political disinterest and inadequate funding, caused considerable trouble at the war's outset. Fighting a limited war in East Asia soon after a decisive world war while maintaining high readiness levels in other potential theaters of the Cold War constituted a significant challenge. Additionally, Korea set the stage for many future conflicts in the immediacy of its requirements: The United States did not have the luxury of months or years to gather and train its soldiers. In many ways, Korea was the first "come as you are" war of the 20th century, not including the expedition into Mexico in 1916–1917, and the difficulties with mobilization reflected that.[102]

It is therefore not surprising that the Eisenhower administration's reflexive reaction to Korea and its attendant expense was simply to end the conflict as soon as possible and broadcast U.S. unwillingness to be drawn into similar scenarios any time soon. It would take some years to gain enough distance from Korea to assess impartially the lessons it had to offer. While mobilization had proceeded imperfectly, at no point did it evoke any sort of national conversation of the sort that emerged toward the end of World War II about whether the fundamental legal structure of the Army should be altered. Rather, discussion centered around optimizing the existing system within the legal frameworks that had been established between 1916 and 1940.

While the Army's reorganization into the Pentomic structure remained incomplete, the experiment with the new divisions, and the subsequent exercises, demon-

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[101] *Annual Report of the Chief of the National Guard Bureau, 1960*, Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army and the Air Force, National Guard Bureau, June 30, 1960, p. 35.

[102] It could be argued that the Army had actually engaged in "fight tonight" conflicts during the previous century—the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, and many engagements of the Plains Wars all began far more abruptly than did the world wars. However, the Army experienced significant difficulties at the outset of those wars, and expectations for 19th century conflicts were no longer in line with conditions that existed during the mid 20th century.

strated that ultimately it was intellectually and philosophically impossible for the Army to plan for nuclear war the same way that it planned for other contingencies. The characteristics that made nuclear retaliation an act to be avoided at all costs—its very unthinkability—were the same characteristics that made nuclear war nearly impossible to plan for. Nuclear war theorists such as Albert Wohlstetter and Herman Kahn built careers conceptualizing the broad strokes of nuclear war and nuclear deterrence. Army planners, however, were tasked with figuring out how to perform maneuver and fire, communications, logistical supply, and casualty evacuation on a nuclear battlefield. Exercises showed that these tasks were almost impossible to execute during nuclear scenarios.

Not everyone believed that the New Look aided U.S. security. High-profile Army leaders like Generals Matthew Ridgway and Maxwell Taylor, both former commanders of the Eighth Army in Korea and Army chiefs of staff, retired in the 1950s and publicly expressed their concerns about the deleterious effects that the emphasis on nuclear deterrence had on the Army. The influential Lieutenant General James Gavin resigned in 1958 as director of Army Research and Development, citing disagreements with defense policy. In the run-up to the 1960 presidential election, Ridgway, Taylor, and Gavin all wrote books outlining their views on national security, including their opposition to a near-exclusive reliance on a nuclear deterrence.[103] President John F. Kennedy and his Secretary of Defense, Robert S. McNamara, would soon embark on a bold series of reorganizations intended to enable the Army to meet any threat, regardless of where it fell on the force spectrum. Their concept, called Flexible Response, would soon be tested after Kennedy's inauguration.

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[103] Free to express their frustrations as civilians, Ridgway and Gavin offered the most acidic evaluations of the Army's poor state due to the national security policies of the day. See Matthew B. Ridgway, *Soldier: The Memoirs of Matthew B. Ridgway*, New York: Harper, 1956; James M. Gavin, *War and Peace in the Space Age*, New York: Harper 1958; Maxwell D. Taylor, *The Uncertain Trumpet*, New York: Harper, 1960. For secondary source works about the officers, see George Charles Mitchell, *Matthew B. Ridgway: Soldier, Statesman, Scholar, Citizen*, Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 2002; T. Michael Booth and Duncan Spencer, *Paratrooper: The Life of Gen. James M. Gavin*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994; John Martin Taylor, *General Maxwell Taylor: The Sword and the Pen*, New York: Doubleday, 1989; Andrew J. Bacevich, "The Paradox of Professionalism: Eisenhower, Ridgway, and the Challenge of Civilian Control, 1953–1955," *Journal of Military History*, Vol. 61, No. 2, April 1997.

CHAPTER SIX

# The Berlin Crisis and McNamara's Reforms, 1961–1967

## Introduction

Mobilization for the Korean War had exposed great flaws in the planning assumptions that drove the postwar organization of the Army—among them, that the reserves would be fully trained and ready to deploy when needed. A different Army, however, entered the 1960s, reorganized to meet the threat of nuclear war. Its Regular forces outnumbered its standing reserve forces for the first time in modern American history. Those standing reserves had been the subject of considerable legislative effort, intended to provide for standardized training levels that would allow them in the event of an emergency to deploy with considerably fewer headaches than during the mobilization for Korea. Congress had striven to clarify service obligations as much as possible, not only for the benefit of DoD planners but also so that their constituents would better be able to plan their own lives; the public's distaste for the activation of unpaid reservists vice paid reservists for Korea had left a deep impression. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that mobilization for the Berlin Crisis of 1961 proceeded more smoothly than Korea's. While some problems remained,[1] the postwar Regular Army had by now accustomed itself to relying on augmentation from the reserve components in wars and crisis that were limited and not total, as World War II had been.

Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara emerged from the Berlin Crisis with a new vision for how the reserve forces should look. Believing it clumsy and inefficient to have two separate reserves—a National Guard beholden to the states and an anemic and understrength Army Reserve—he set about trying to combine the two into a single state-based entity that would, in deference to the Guard's historical role, be known as the National Guard. To McNamara, the plan was sensible on its face; it would save valuable taxpayer dollars and streamline the existing structure of the reserve forces. However, he did not count on the extent to which the existing legal structures had become entrenched. While the National Guard had no particular objection to the merger—largely because it would continue to exist under the same name,

[1] And would persist for decades. See Volume IV for a detailed description of mobilization for Operation Desert Shield in 1990.

augmented by personnel from the newly dissolved Reserve—proponents of the Army Reserve fought back with every tool at their disposal, just as the National Guard and its lobbying arm, the National Guard Association of the United States, had opposed for several decades any changes to the Guard with which they disagreed. To his chagrin, McNamara eventually yielded to the stubbornness of a force structure designed some 40 years prior.

## The Berlin Crisis

The Berlin Crisis was the first semi-serious test of the Army's training and readiness levels since the Korean War. In 1961, Soviet Chairman Nikita Khrushchev renewed demands originally made in 1958 that Western forces withdraw from West Berlin, and threatened to renege on the Soviet postwar agreement to allow continued Western access to the city. In response, President Kennedy authorized the July 1961 call-up of up to 250,000 members of the Ready Reserve. The crisis continued throughout the summer and into the fall, with refugees from socialist East Berlin streaming to the western side of the city. The Soviet-backed German Democratic Republic answered this with the construction of the Berlin Wall. By September, Kennedy decided to augment American troops in Berlin with additional ground and air units. To replace Regular Army divisions that comprised the strategic reserve, Kennedy ordered to active duty for training the 32nd Infantry (Wisconsin) and 49th Armored (Texas) National Guard divisions, the 100th USAR Training Division (to establish a new training center at Fort Chafee to increase Army basic training capacity of conscripts), and other nondivision units from the reserve components. In total, 84 National Guard and 166 Army Reserve units were mobilized.[2]

Initial JCS plans called for a tiered response: growth of the Regular Army by bringing existing divisions to full strength, mobilization of Guard and Army Reserve support units for employment in a variety of roles, and mobilization of individuals to fill out units from all components. All told, this would have mobilized approximately 500,000 soldiers from the Guard and Army Reserve. However, President Kennedy chose not to expand the Regular Army with full-time, professional soldiers. While he did call up a significant number of Reservists and Guardsmen, he did so at a lower level than what the JCS had recommended. On July 25, 1961, Kennedy asked Congress for the authority to mobilize 250,000 Army reserve component soldiers. Although the President was not legally obligated to seek congressional permission, Kennedy's decision was congruent with his desire to signal American resolve in Berlin. It was also the

[2] Carter, 2015a, pp. 403–420; Lawrence S. Kaplan, Ronald D. Landa, and Edward J. Drea, *The McNamara Ascendancy, 1961-1965*, Washington, D.C.: Historical Office of the Office of the Secretary of Defense, 2006, pp. 67–70; Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, "U.S. Army Expansion, 1961–62," Washington, D.C., 1963, p. 94.

beginning of a campaign of escalating pressure on the Soviets to compel a reconsideration of their actions as part of Kennedy's new Flexible Response strategy.[3] Plans called for four Army National Guard divisions to mobilize as Strategic Reserve backfills. In the end, about 250 reserve component units mobilized.[4]

Mobilization for the Berlin Crisis in 1961 revealed that some problems from the mid-1950s lingered. As with Korea, many mobilized units were, by design, below 50 percent strength in peacetime; nearly a third of the personnel were unqualified for their positions. The 32nd Infantry Division, for example, learned of its mobilization on September 19, 1961, and began to report to Fort Lewis for training a month later; it was significantly below authorized strength and had to be assigned 4,500 fillers during training. By the end of February 1962, the division was officially made part of the Strategic Reserve in the United States, meaning that it was prepared for joint deployment on short notice; whether it was trained and ready for deployment was a different matter. The Army was obliged to put together a dramatically abbreviated 13-week training plan for mobilized units, including three weeks to absorb filler personnel from other units, brought in to augment shorthanded units.[5] Secretary of the Army Elvis Stahr announced his intention send 3,000 troops to American units already stationed in Germany, bringing them up to full strength. In January 1962, the Army conducted an exercise to test its ability to deploy battle groups from the United States to Germany. Following the exercise's conclusion, two of the three battle groups remained in Europe to reinforce the Berlin garrison.[6]

By summer 1962, the Soviets had backed down on Berlin and had lifted their blockade of the city.[7] Kennedy ordered the federalized Guard and Reserve units to

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3 Walter S. Poole, *The Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Policy, 1961–1964*, Volume VIII, Washington, D.C.: Office of Joint History, Office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 2011, pp. 139–157; Marc Trachtenberg, *A Constructed Peace: The Making of the European Settlement, 1945–1963*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999, pp. 286–287; Murrey Marder, "Flexible U.S. Policy Seen in Berlin Crisis: U.S. Mapping Flexible Policy on Berlin Crisis," *Washington Post*, July 30, 1961.

4 Maxwell D. Taylor, "Our Changing Military Policy: Greater Flexibility, Speech on January 15, 1962," *Vital Speeches of the Day*: McMurry Inc., 1962; Crossland and Currie, 1984, pp. 135–139; Doubler, 2001, pp. 217–219; Stewart, 2010, p. 265; Chief of the National Guard Bureau, *Annual Meeting Conference Report Fiscal Year Ending 30 June 1960*, Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army, 1960.

5 Of note, two of the replacements it received were Green Bay Packers linebacker Ray Nitschke and wide receiver Boyd Dowler. Vince Lombardi petitioned Brigadier General Francis Schweinler, Commander of 32nd Division Artillery, to release them for weekend practice. Schweinler consented, with the condition that Lombardi provide the division with game films ("History of the 32D 'Red Arrow' Infantry Division During the Berlin Crisis," September 5, 2014; Heymont and McGregor, 1972, pp. 4–6; Crossland and Currie, 1984, p. 97).

6 Donald A. Carter, *The U.S. Military Response to the 1960–1962 Berlin Crisis*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Center of Military History, no date, pp. 1–4.

7 For histories of the U.S. military in Berlin, see Robert P. Grathwol and Donita Moorhus, *Berlin and the American Military: A Cold War Chronicle*, New York: New York University Press, 1999; Robert P. Grathwol and Donita Moorhus, *American Forces in Berlin: Cold War Outpost, 1945–1994*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Defense, Legacy Resource Management Program, 1994; Jean Edward Smith, *The Defense of Berlin*, Baltimore,

demobilize and return home. Although no Guard or Reserve units had deployed overseas, the mobilization had met its goal: communicating to the Soviet Union, and to America's allies, that the United States was committed to defending Berlin.[8]

The Berlin Crisis' implications for war in general began to be debated even before it was over. A 1961 American Enterprise Association report, written at congressional behest, observed:

> It is not hard to convince an aggressor that an all-out nuclear attack on the United States would produce an all-out response. But a second type of deterrence is more complicated—deterrence of extreme provocation or aggression which nevertheless does not involve a direct attack on the United States. When the Soviets contemplate an extreme provocation or aggressive act, they must evaluate whether it would lead the United States to strike at Russia. Hence, a situation in which we are trying to deter extreme provocation is also a situation in which the Soviets are trying to deter our direct attack upon them in retaliation. . . .
>
> There is . . . a school of thought which maintains that retaliatory and mobilization measures merely accelerate the conflict; that such acceleration could lead to nuclear war; and, hence, that any such measures should be avoided.[9]

As with Korea, the U.S. President elected, sensibly, to resolve the crisis with measures short of nuclear war. As with Korea, he also elected to mobilize portions of the reserve components, but in this case none were deployed overseas.

## The ROAD Division

The response to the Berlin Crisis indicated that measures well short of nuclear war could serve as a valuable tool in America's foreign policy kit. In keeping with the continued shift away from the New Look, Secretary of Defense McNamara was determined to reorganize the Army away from the Pentomic divisions. In keeping with the concept of Flexible Response, divisions themselves would be reorganized to provide more conventional firepower and maneuverability while offering flexibility in operation types and environments. While in theory the Pentomic structure had ostensibly

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Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1963; Henrik Bering, *Outpost Berlin: The History of American Military Forces in Berlin, 1945–1994*, Chicago: Edition Q, 1995; Ingo Trauschweizer, "Tanks at Checkpoint Charlie: Lucius Clay and the Berlin Crisis, 1961–62," *Cold War History*, Vol. 6, May 2006.

[8] For the symbolic importance of defending Berlin in 1961, see Kevin W. Dean, "'We Seek Peace—But We Shall Not Surrender': JFK's Use of Juxtaposition for Rhetorical Success in the Berlin Crisis," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 21, No. 3, Summer 1991.

[9] *Elements of U.S. National Strategy*, Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Association, 1961.

provided those capabilities, exercises had demonstrated that organization was good for little but tactical nuclear war, and possibly not even for that.

The Reorganization Objective Army Division (ROAD) concept required four types of divisions: infantry, armor, airborne, and mechanized. The standard ROAD division would contain three brigades (plus headquarters and support units), shifting its composition to reduce infantry, add armor, or adjust composition as necessary to meet the terrain and threat: more or less, the same structure that the Army had used in World War II and Korea, with additional flexibility built in for infantry units.[10] This reorganization proceeded much more smoothly than the shift to Pentomic divisions, partly because many units had not changed to the Pentomic concept, and partly because the Army had actually successfully tested the concept in 1962. Division conversions began in 1963 and all Army divisions were converted by the middle of the following year.[11]

## Robert McNamara's Reorganization of the Army

The Berlin Crisis mobilization had been a success in the sense that Kennedy had called the Soviet bluff. The experience, coupled with the October 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, however, alarmed McNamara. These two events added to the urgency with which he approached reorganization, but they did not precipitate it. On May 25, 1961, months before the July reserve call-ups, Kennedy stated in an address to Congress that he had directed McNamara to modernize the Army's structure, including increased focus on nonnuclear firepower, improved tactical mobility, and, most importantly, "a much more rapid deployment of a major portion of its highly trained Reserve Forces."[12]

For McNamara, Berlin and Cuba had made it even more clear that the entire Army needed profound structural reforms.[13] The 32nd Division, for example, had been at only 69 percent of its wartime strength, and the 49th had been at 62 percent, although this was by design during peacetime as the preferred approach by the National Guard; both divisions had to be brought to full strength with fillers. A later study by Congress outlined several other flaws in the 1961 mobilization, including

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[10] Wilson, 1998, pp. 296–297; John J. McGrath, *The Brigade: A History*, Fort Leavenworth, Kans.: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2004, pp. 61–64.

[11] Stewart, 2010, pp. 277–278; Wilson, 1998, pp. 308–318; Trauschweizer, 2008, pp. 114–120.

[12] This was also the speech in which Kennedy proclaimed the United States would put a man on the moon and return him to earth before 1970 (John F. Kennedy, "President John F. Kennedy's Special Message to the Congress on Urgent National Needs," May 25, 1961).

[13] U.S. House of Representatives, *Hearings on Proposed Merger of the Army Reserve Components: Hearing Before the Subcommittee No. 2 of the Committee on Armed Services* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, March 25, 1965a, pp. 19–20; George Fielding Eliot, *Reserve Forces and the Kennedy Strategy*, Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Co., 1962.

selection of units for call-up, issues with filler personnel, low operational readiness, and equipment shortages.[14]

McNamara would use these problems to justify pushing hard for reorganization. As the first Secretary of Defense to force an alignment between Army force structure and actual planning scenarios with assigned missions, he determined that far too many Guard and Army Reserve units did not actually have a wartime mission, and he set out to eliminate them. At the same time, McNamara sought to compress National Guard and Army Reserve force structure to increase the manning levels of the remaining units, making them more ready with higher levels of manning when mobilized. McNamara wanted to increase the responsiveness and readiness of reserve component units. In addition, he looked to reduce lengthy delays between mobilization and deployment for combat that had been the norm during mobilizations for World War I and World War II. McNamara believed that changes in the reserve component structure were needed "to bring manpower and equipment into balance with each other and with our contingency war plans" in order to "increase combat readiness and streamline management."[15]

McNamara was not the only one concerned with manning levels in the reserves. The Chief of the National Guard Bureau reported that from September to December 1961 Department of the Army policy did not allow for procurement of non–prior service personnel under 20 years old. On November 21, 1961, this policy was changed to allow for the procurement of personnel under 22 years old at the time of their enlistment.[16] This apparent effort not to undercut conscription efforts complicated Guard recruiting. In November 1961, the president of NGAUS wrote that:

> It will not, in my opinion, be possible to maintain authorized strengths of organizations remaining in the States unless we are permitted to recruit young men at least through age 21. . . . We no longer can live from crisis to crisis. It is imperative . . . that with the strengthening of our Active Forces, there must be no lessening of the strength and readiness of the Reserve Components.[17]

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[14] Eliot, 1962, p. 40.

[15] U.S. House of Representatives, 1965a, p. 3636; John D. Stuckey and Joseph H. Pistorius, *Mobilization of the Army National Guard and Army Reserve: A Historical Perspective and the Vietnam War*, Carlisle Barracks, Pa.: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, DTIC ADB 086430, 1984.

[16] *Annual Report of the Chief of the National Guard Bureau, 1962*, Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army and the Air Force, National Guard Bureau, June 30, 1962, p. 41.

[17] Colonel Allan G. Crist, "The President's Report," *The National Guardsman*, Vol. 15, No. 11, November 1961, p. 2. For useful contemporary news accounts of the controversy that McNamara created with his reorganization plan, see "'Disgusted' Officers Assert McNamara Bypasses Congress," *New York Times*, December 13, 1964, p. 83; "Streamlining the Reserves," *New York Times*, December 14, 1964, p. 34; Jack Raymond, "States to Share Guard Divisions: Revamping to Spread Out All Units," *New York Times*, December 16, 1964, p. 1; Arthur Krock, "In the Nation: The Muscle Behind the McNamara Program," *New York Times*, December 17, 1964, p. 40; "State Chief of Staff Fears Loss of Identity for Three Divisions," *New York Times*, December 13, 1964, p. 84;

Some of the Guard's manning challenges were a result of internal issues. Of the 3,134 Army National Guard officers selected for promotion in fiscal year 1962, only 23 percent accepted, while 62 percent declined the promotion and 15 percent resigned to accepted a promotion in the Army Reserve. According to the Chief of the National Guard Bureau, an insufficient number of "appropriate unit position vacancies in the higher grade is the reason for the large percentage of declinations and resignations. It is anticipated that the continued lack of appropriate ARNG unit vacancies will require many of those officers who declined promotion to resign during FY1964 in order to accept promotion in the USAR."[18] Furthermore, 2,647 personnel in Army National Guard mobilized units did not mobilize, but "were offset by 1,900 men recruited between alert and mobilization." Of the 1,558 requests for mobilization delay or exemption, States approved 793 of them.[19]

Contrary to NGAUS's conclusion, however, McNamara had no intention of augmenting the reserves, either Guard or Army Reserve. His basic premise was that there should be only enough units in both the Guard and Reserve to meet war-planning demands; any units beyond those needed to meet those levels of demand were both unnecessary and costly. He aimed to reduce force structure at least by half to reach near-85 percent equipping and manning levels.[20] Speaking before Congress in 1965 on his controversial plan on folding the Army Reserve into the National Guard, he made the biting observation that:

> . . . there is no requirement for [21 Reserve and National Guard divisions manned at 168,000 men and for which we have no equipment] in the contingency war plans. That is why they are not manned at the higher levels. . . . There is no equipment being purchased for these 21 divisions and quite clearly they are not manned in a way that would permit their deployment. As a matter of fact, we could start from scratch, organize the divisions, recruit the personnel, and train the men in less time than it would take to produce and distribute the equipment. So, these men are being wasted and the funds that are being expended to support them are being wasted.

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Jack Raymond, "M'Namara Argues His Reserves Cut: Runs into Tough Questioning as Senate Hearings Open," *New York Times*, March 2, 1965, p. 10; Jack Raymond, "Pentagon Scored in House on Reserves Merger," *New York Times*, March 26, 1965, p. 17; Jack Raymond, "Reserves Plan Is Delayed; Congress Action Awaited," *New York Times*, May 16, May 16, 1965, p. 1.

[18] *Annual Report of the Chief of the National Guard Bureau, 1962*, p. 45.

[19] *Annual Report of the Chief of the National Guard Bureau, 1962*, p. 107.

[20] U.S. Senate, *Testimony of Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara: Hearing Before the Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee of the Committee on Armed Services*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, March 1, 1965; William F. Levantrosser, "The Army Reserve Merger Proposal," *Military Affairs*, Vol. 30, No. 3, Winter 1966.

It was DoD's intention, McNamara concluded, "to eliminate that waste."[21] The Guard, for its part, objected to the Secretary's characterization. It pointed out that its portrayal as hidebound and resistant to change was unfair, that it had uncomplainingly adopted the ill-fated Pentomic structure (and had lost 900 units in the process), and that it accommodated Army requests for change "almost on a week-to-week basis."[22] This contrasts with the Chief of the National Guard Bureau's annual report for fiscal year 1962 in which he characterizes the Pentomic structure as "light, mobile, hard hitting . . . ready to fight on nuclear or conventional battlefields."[23] The Guard did indeed make profound alterations to its structure upon Army direction; it added units, dropped units, and reconfigured divisions in the years since the close of World War II. However, it did so in exchange for significant federal funding and recognition that it did not enjoy before it became a reserve component of the Army.

Shifts such as the adoption of the Pentomic structure had left the Guard's fundamental composition unchanged. The configuration of those divisions may have altered, but their numbers remained the same even with the reduction of 900 units, and their peacetime manning levels remained low by design. However, the Guard asserted that manning levels were not necessarily a good indicator of readiness. Major General Harrison inexplicably argued that greater manning could lead to *less* readiness, claiming that somewhere between a 10 or 15 percent increase in manning levels "will add very slightly to the levels of readiness. This increase would be offset . . . by greater demands on the commander's time and on the administrative staff." The result would be that "less time would be available for training and the preparation of training."[24] As laborious as the Pentomic reorganization had been, it was mere window dressing compared with the elimination of Guard divisions wholesale, and to the merger of remaining divisions into more fully manned entities. McNamara's plan represented a significant shock to an organization accustomed to a certain amount of deference in these matters.[25]

In the end, although McNamara did not get everything he wanted, the objections of the Guard were not convincing. As we shall see, by the close of 1968, McNamara had completed the most sweeping reforms of the Army reserve components since 1940.

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[21] U.S. House of Representatives, 1965a, p. 3576; Crossland and Currie, 1984, p. 148.

[22] Colonel Allan G. Crist, "The Guard and 'Realignment,'" *The National Guardsman*, Vol. 17, No. 1, January 1963, inside cover.

[23] *Annual Report of the Chief of the National Guard Bureau, 1962*, p. 6.

[24] Major General William H. Harrison, Jr., "What Do We Mean by Ready?" *The National Guardsman*, Vol. 16, No. 8, August, 1962, p. 2.

[25] The Guard would not be mollified for some time. In March of 1963, upon notification that six Guard divisions would be given elite status, the editor of *The National Guardsman* rather snidely observed that "It's nice to know that the "realignment" and discard of four Divisions supposedly is balanced by the elevation of six Divisions among those remaining" (Colonel Allan G. Crist, "The Gap Between Plans and Actuality," *The National Guardsman*, Vol. 17, No. 3, March 1963, inside cover).

### Reducing Force Structure

As his generals arranged their 1962 ROAD test cases, McNamara floated a plan that would have eliminated four National Guard divisions and four Army Reserve divisions. The cuts would eliminate 58,000 personnel from a force of 700,000 and leave 29 divisions, with the aim of their being ready to deploy with between eight to 34 weeks of mobilization. The six high-priority divisions, deployable in eight weeks, would be manned at 100 percent, or close to it, with 462,000 soldiers. The low-priority units would be manned at much lower strength, with a total of around 180,000. Congress, however, was hostile to this plan, largely because it believed McNamara had bypassed Congress's constitutional duty of raising and supporting armies, including the organization of the reserve forces.[26] A subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee—known as the Hébert Subcommittee after its chair, Representative F. Edward Hébert of Louisiana, who had signed the "Southern Manifesto" in 1956 opposing racial integration of public spaces in response to the 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*—examined McNamara's proposed reorganization and issued sharply critical recommendations in August 1962. While it acceded to McNamara's proposition that the Army eliminate undermanned units, it also recommended that it not deactivate any divisions in the Army Guard or Army Reserve until the ROAD structure was fully implemented within the reserve components. Further, it pointedly advised "That the Secretary of Defense and the Secretaries of the military departments utilize the advisory boards on reserve matters in the establishment of reserve policy *as originally intended by Congress*" [emphasis added].[27] The subcommittee went on to detail bitingly its concern that the bodies it had established as part of the Armed Forces Act of 1952, originally with the intent of providing advice and guidance on precisely these matters, now found their influence deteriorating because the offices intended to consult with them were not doing so.

Some state governors also opposed McNamara's plan, primarily because the reductions in strength would have reduced the number of Army Guard units nationwide from 8,734 to 8,017. Governors articulated their distaste for what they perceived to be both a diminishment of the Guard itself and lessened capability for the local duties that they relied upon the Guard to perform, even though historical usage of National Guard troops for state missions strongly suggested that the recommended smaller force

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[26] "It offers no concrete solution to the equipment problem which was so manifest during the recent mobilization," the Subcommittee on Military Reserve Posture observed as part of its critique (Robert S. McNamara, "Remarks Before the Economic Club of New York," New York: Department of Defense News Release, November 18, 1963).

[27] U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Armed Services, Subcommittee No. 3, Military Reserve Posture (report), 87th Congress, Second Session, August 17, 1962, reprinted in Alice Buchalter and Seth Elan, *Historical Attempts to Reorganize the Reserve Components*, Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, October, 2007, p. 8.

would still be more than adequate for state needs. The plan "shows clearly," Ernest Vandiver, governor of Georgia and longtime Air National Guardsman, noted, that it:

> would result in unrealistic reductions in strength; elimination of substantial numbers of units; relocation of many of the units remaining. . . . The result of this would be to deprive a great many States of existing trained and equipped units now available to serve in local disasters or emergencies.[28]

McNamara backed off his original plan to combine the Army National Guard and Reserve and in December 1962 reorganized the Army Reserve in a more limited fashion, using a plan he would later implement for his 1964 reorganization of the Army National Guard. Secretary of the Army Cyrus Vance testified before Congress that the Army Reserve reorganization had eliminated four divisions and several nondivisional units, some of which were extremely small, and added new ones better suited to the Army's new ROAD structure (for a total loss of 428 units), thereby saving money and with the aim of increasing readiness. The National Guard watched the Army Reserve's reorganization very closely, with the intention of using any time they were granted to consolidate their support among the governors and in Congress. Early indications that the Department of the Army would eliminate four Army Guard divisions and call for 80 percent manning strength of high-priority units met with dissatisfaction.[29] At a January 1963 meeting of the Governors' National Guard Advisory Committee, Secretary Vance and Under Secretary Stephen Ailes flatly informed the group that the four divisions would go, but those that remained would be reorganized as ROAD divisions as soon as possible.[30]

### Merging the Guard and Reserve

Undaunted by congressional dislike of his 1962 plan, McNamara tried a different approach in 1964, announcing at a December press conference that he intended, on his authority as Secretary of Defense, to merge the Army Reserve into the National Guard. Convinced that the Guard/Reserve management was duplicative, and wishing to eliminate 15 Guard and six Reserve divisions "for which there was no military requirement,"[31] McNamara determined to subsume the remaining Army Reserve units under the Army National Guard in an even more ambitious action than his original plan to eliminate four divisions from each.

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[28] "1961: Mobilization! . . . 1962: Mobilization?" *The National Guardsman*, Vol. 16, No. 10, October 1962. Vandiver also heartily endorsed the Guard as the Army's first-line reserve, winning him support in NGAUS.

[29] "Realignment!" *The National Guardsman*, Vol. 17, No. 1, January 1963.

[30] "The Guard Goes 'ROAD!'" *The National Guardsman*, Vol. 17, No. 2, February, 1963.

[31] As quoted in Buchalter and Elan, 2007, p. 10.

The Guard, not surprisingly, had no objections to this plan, as it would eliminate their principal competitor and assure additional federal funding. "This is certainly the most drastic move yet toward attainment of maximum combat readiness," NGAUS president Major General James Cantwell observed mildly, endorsing the plan as the natural continuation of postwar hope that M-Day units—technically "mobilization day," but the term colloquially refers to non–active duty soldiers and units—would be located almost exclusively within the Regular Army and the National Guard. NGAUS's magazine *The National Guardsman* published a sanguine article in January 1965 detailing how the Guard would absorb Reserve units.[32]

Congress, however, was caught unaware, and disapproved. It insisted on hearings in early 1965, telling McNamara he had violated the Constitution and laws delegating responsibility for the reserve forces to Congress. McNamara's testimony restated the issue in somewhat softer terms than he had used at the December press conference:

> Our proposal to transfer the Army Reserve units to the Army National Guard should not be interpreted to mean that we consider the former inferior to the latter. Rather, our selection of the Army National Guard is based on two major considerations. First, each of the States has a continuing need for a military force responsive to its Governor. . . . Second, the State National Guard organizations, as the lineal descendants of the State militia, are deeply embedded in our constitutional tradition and in our country's history, and are entitled to preference as the senior Reserve component.[33]

The National Guard continued to react blandly to the proposed reorganization. Major General Winston Wilson, Chief of the National Guard Bureau, used his testimony to outline the details of the Guard's plan to distribute equipment and personnel it expected to gain from the Reserve. "We, of course, realize that congressional approval of the proposed realinement [*sic*] is necessary before implementing action can be initiated," he assured the committee members.[34]

The Army Reserve, however, used its time before Congress to strike back as hard as it could at McNamara's plan, and in the strongest possible terms. The Reserve Officers Association of the United States (ROA)—the Army Reserve's counterpart to NGAUS, albeit with much less influence—objected not only to the substance of the proposal, but also the way in which it was formulated. Echoing the 1962 criticisms of

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[32] The article did caution that "More sweeping and controversial than any since the Gray Board proposals to Federalize the entire Guard in 1948, (the plan) needed selling to Congress, though Mr. McNamara emphasized a savings of $150,000,000 a year in addition to producing increased combat-readiness" ("One Reserve Force: The Army National Guard," *The National Guardsman*, Vol. 19, No. 1, January 1965, p. 16).

[33] U.S. Senate, *Proposal to Realine the Army National Guard and the Army Reserve Forces: Hearing Before the Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee of the Committee on Armed Services*, Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, March 1, 11, 18, 23, 1965b, p. 6.

[34] U.S. Senate, 1965b, p. 346.

the Hébert Subcommittee, ROA charged that McNamara had not availed himself of the expertise resident in the Reserve Forces Policy Board within the Office of the Secretary of Defense. Congress had established the body in 1952, a point which Colonel John T. Carlton, executive director of ROA, was careful to remind the members. It was intended to act "as the principal policy advisor to the Secretary of Defense on Reserve matters, " although it was not intended to displace the leaders or staffs of the components of the Armed Forces.[35] According to Carlton, however, McNamara foregoing any consultation of the board before making his decisions public revealed that "the plan was incompletely staffed," and the secretary failed to appreciate or "welcome the statutory assistance provided him by Congress" to determine the size, shape, and scope of the military. "This raises the question," Carlton quipped, "why was he so anxious to get his plan before the public before any hint of it reached Congress?"[36]

After characterizing McNamara's plan, rather luridly, as "soaked in the blood of the Army Reserve," Carlton outlined the practical and philosophical cases against dissolving the Army Reserve to fill out understrength Guard units.[37] The practical case leaned heavily on the fact that Army Reserve forces required a proper ratio of noncommissioned officers (NCOs) with active duty experience to troops without such a background. These personnel should make up the backbone of a reserve structure, but Carlton pointed out the National Guard's campaign to attract them had failed so greatly that they composed only 4 percent of the Guard.[38] These NCOs tended to gravitate toward the Army Reserve rather than the Guard, according to Carlton, and the reason touched upon the philosophical case against merging the two:

> The reason is very fundamental—they are oriented to the Army, not to the States. Many of them acquire valuable technical skills and are employed in important jobs in industry with good pay. They are willing to serve their country in event of national emergency but they simply cannot afford to jeopardize their civilian jobs by subjecting themselves to frequent callups for police duty by the States, or the Federal Government, for that matter. . . .[39]

It is self-evident why a lobbying organization would appear before Congress to testify that the entity for which it lobbies should not cease to exist. Self-interest aside,

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35 U.S. Senate, 1965b, p. 534.

36 U.S. Senate, 1965b, pp. 534. Carlton's observation did not go unheeded; Senator Saltonstall later wondered aloud "Does the Secretary, under the law, have authority to carry out this reorganization?" His remark was followed by much debate over whether that was the case, how Congress was to exercise its authority over a reorganization through appropriations or lack thereof, and whether McNamara had failed to consult adequately—or at all—with the appropriate congressional committees (U.S. Senate, 1965b, p. 556).

37 U.S. Senate, 1965b, p. 536.

38 U.S. Senate, 1965b, p. 539.

39 U.S. Senate, 1965b, p. 539.

however, Carlton's point about the federal orientation of the Reserve, as opposed to the state orientation of the Guard, was a valid one. Indeed, McNamara himself had related a version of it in his own testimony when he noted that one reason for keeping the Guard was that exact orientation, as a "military force responsive to its Governor."[40] While McNamara believed that "federal control of the National Guard [was] sufficient to render outmoded the old Army fears of dual federal and state control," and while even Colonel Carlton admitted that the dual-reserve structure was "a cumbersome and inefficient system," the fact remained that the Army Reserve, by virtue of its creation in 1908, was "an exclusively Federal force with a single-purpose mission" and therefore attracted a different type of volunteer than did the National Guard.[41] Carlton cited a report that indicated that only 15 percent of reservists would be willing to transfer to the Guard.[42] "Thirty-six percent of the enlisted men in the Army Reserve divisions have had two or more years of active duty and the majority of them are ex-regulars with over 3 years of active duty who are volunteers," he stated, making the point that such a merger would likely result in the loss of some sorely needed experienced personnel.[43] The nation could ill afford to lose the reservists it had, or to create the type of negative reaction that the proposed merger had engendered among the Regular Army, the Army Reserve, and the National Guard, particularly in light of escalating U.S. involvement in Vietnam.[44]

Yielding to congressional pressure, McNamara agreed to resubmit the merger as a legislative proposal. However, that very escalation in Vietnam would contribute to the merger's undoing. In July 1965, President Johnson committed another 50,000 troops there, choosing to use the draft rather than call up reserve forces.[45] Congress, alarmed that use of the reserve components had been considered, grew reluctant both to tamper with the structure of the reserve components or to approve any reorganization which might result in reductions of strength levels.[46] Army Secretary Vance protested, saying

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[40] U.S. Senate, 1965b, p. 6.

[41] U.S. Senate, 1965b, pp. 532, 544–545.

[42] U.S. Senate, 1965b, p. 570.

[43] U.S. Senate, 1965b, p. 539.

[44] At the time of the hearings, U.S. involvement had increased over the past 20 months from 300 U.S. troops to 25,000 (U.S. Senate, 1965b, p. 553).

[45] Robert D. Schulzinger, *A Time for War: The United States and Vietnam, 1941–1975*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, pp. 174–181; Fredrik Logevall, *Choosing War: The Lost Chance for Peace and the Escalation of War in Vietnam*, Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1999. Chapter 6 explains Johnson's actions in more detail.

[46] U.S. Senate, 1965b; Levantrosser, 1966.

that "we must go forward with the plan in order to give us increased combat power," but Congress balked.[47]

By August 1965, the House subcommittee convened to determine the fate of the merger and issued a statement that the reorganization was not in the national interest, since it would compromise the combat readiness of Army Reserve units.[48] McNamara's objective was not totally thwarted, however. While accepting that he would be unable to eliminate completely the Army Reserve, he nevertheless pressed on with his goal of dramatically restructuring the reserve components. In an early 1967 statement to the House Armed Services Committee, he continued to argue that "the Army still has units in its reserve components which it doesn't need and still lacks units which are required."[49] This imbalance, McNamara stated plainly, prevented the Army from achieving the "balanced and ready posture" that it required to meet increasing global threats. "In light of the strong objections raised against the reorganization plan proposed in 1965 and 1966 to alleviate these organizational and structural problems," he declared in circumspect reference to the Army Reserve's vehement protests, the Army and DoD would pursue alternate means of resolving the situation.[50]

McNamara also intended to continue drawing down the reserve components. Whereas the Army National Guard's actual strength in 1967 was estimated at 418,500, he planned to bring it down to a paid drill training strength of 400,000 for fiscal year 1968. The Army Reserve would hold steady at 260,000. "Even so, the total strength of 660,000 is still more than we believe to be required to support our current contingency plans," he averred.[51]

The means by which these problems would be resolved, of course, amounted to elimination and compression of existing Army Reserve and Army National Guard divisions. McNamara managed to eliminate all six Army Reserve combat divisions by 1965, along with around 750 other company- and detachment-sized units.[52] By 1967, Congress and DoD had compromised on a plan whereby the Army Reserve would keep training and support units, but only three combat brigades. Army National Guard force structure was compressed from 27 divisions to eight. The divisions that were eliminated were compressed into single brigades, as was reflected in the fact that the number of the Guard's separate brigades rose from seven to 18. By 1969, these

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47 "The Viet Nam Buildup and the National Guard," *The National Guardsman*, Vol. 19, No. 9, September 1965, p. 10.

48 Levantrosser, 1966, p. 142.

49 Robert McNamara, "Statement of Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara Before the House Armed Services Committee on the Fiscal Year 1968–72 Defense Program and 1968 Defense Budget," Washington, D.C., Department of Defense, 1967, p. 166.

50 McNamara, 1967, p. 167.

51 McNamara, 1967, p. 167.

52 Stewart, 2010, p. 279.

changes were complete, and this structure generally persists to this day. Many Army National Guard brigade combat teams have distinctive patches that derive from the division headquarters that were eliminated under this reorganization.

Although chagrined by the loss of so many divisions, Johnson's decision not to mobilize the Army National Guard for Vietnam left it in an odd and uncomfortable position.[53] NGAUS president Major General Cantwell wrote in April 1966 that the force had "been cast in a role, in the Viet Nam emergency, to which it is not accustomed. It has been kept on the sidelines, in a backup status, while the Active Forces have been augmented the slow and difficult way, with untrained draftees."[54] In light of this fact, it was perhaps not the best time for the Guard to press its case with Congress or the public, particularly when doing so would have called additional attention to its non-mobilization and the safe haven the Guard provided to many young Americans wishing to avoid the Vietnam draft. It was one thing to provoke such a debate during a time such as the mid-1950s, when the nation was not at war and contingency plans clearly relied on Army National Guard mobilization in the event of an emergency. By the mid-1960s, however, with an emergency declared and the President opting to meet personnel requirements via conscription instead of reserve component mobilization, the situation had shifted. Had Ellard Walsh still been president of NGAUS, he may well have pressed the issue.[55] However, recall that Walsh had previously asserted to Congress that volunteers from the Guard would have met the Army's personnel needs during Korean mobilization if they had had such a chance. This counterfactual argument seemed to be disproven by the lack of Guard volunteers for service in both Korea and Vietnam. Regardless, Cantwell opted for the more politic route, making it clear that the Guard was unhappy with McNamara's directives while more or less yielding quietly.[56]

Annual reports from state adjutants general reflected the Army National Guard's compression. In Arizona, the 1969 report blandly summarized "[t]he reorganization of Army and Air Force units from the previous year has been followed by a year of

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53 *National Guardsmen* magazine asserted in July 1966 that "No matter how much the reorganization might be . . . objectively accepted as necessary by Guardsman and Reservists, it still hurt" ("The Guard-Reserve Reshuffle," *The National Guardsman*, Vol. 21, No. 7, July 1967, p. 2).

54 Major General James F. Cantwell, "The Guard and Viet Nam," *The National Guardsman*, Vol. 20, No. 4, April 1966, inside cover.

55 Or he may not have pressed it. Walsh was a canny assessor of public appetite for this sort of debate, and he may have stood down in the interests of avoiding an argument that could have ended badly for the Guard, and would have been very unpopular with the many Guardsmen who had explicitly joined the Guard to avoid the draft for Vietnam.

56 Although, when talking among itself, Guard leadership expressed its dissatisfaction with the compression candidly, if sometimes confusingly. "DoD is obdurate in its intention of reorganizing the Reserve Components along lines that blend with its strategic plans," Major General Cantwell wrote in 1967, turning a fairly self-evident statement of fact into a rather peevish complaint (Major General James F. Cantwell, "Defense Drops the Other Shoe," *The National Guardsman*, Vol. 21, No. 6, June 1967, inside cover).

intensive training to meet prescribed standards."[57] In North Carolina, for example, the Adjutant General noted in 1968 that:

> During this biennium, nation-wide attention was focused on the National Guard of the United States: first, because of a proposed merger with the Army Reserve which was discarded in favor of a reorganization of the Guard and Reserve separately . . .[58]

As an example of what ensued, the North Carolina Army National Guard would go on to lose a medical detachment, a special forces group, and a signal detachment, comprising 65 officers and 337 enlisted men. By 1970, it would consist entirely of its state headquarters and headquarters detachment, some major elements of the 30th Infantry Division (acquired in the 1950s), and the nondivisional troop command.[59]

## Conclusion

McNamara's plan to reorganize the Army National Guard and the Army Reserve was similar to the Department of War plan in 1915—militarily, analytically, and fiscally sound, but politically ill-considered. The Berlin Crisis served as an example both of the virtues of Flexible Response and of the problems inherent in relying on the reserve components for rapid wartime expansion, especially those significantly undermanned, underequipped, and undertrained in peacetime. While the 1961 mobilization was much smaller and proceeded somewhat more smoothly than that which took place during the Korean War—it could hardly have gone less smoothly than Korea's—and ultimately resulted in the desired outcome, it still did not produce the type of forces that could deploy quickly with relatively short notice that were so necessary in this new world of smaller, limited warfare. McNamara's point that "we could start from scratch" and create a more efficient and sensible reserve system may have been sharply phrased, but it contained some truth; although Colonel John Carlton of the ROA made good arguments during his testimony about the federal orientation of the Army Reserve, as opposed to the state orientation of the Guard. Still, McNamara's reorganization had

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57 *Annual Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Arizona, July 1 1968– June 30 1969*, Phoenix, Ariz.: Arizona National Guard, 1969, cover letter.

58 *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of North Carolina, 1 January 1967–31 December 1968*, Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina National Guard, 1968, p. 10.

59 *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of North Carolina, 1 January 1965–31 December 1966*, Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina National Guard, 1966; *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of North Carolina, 1 January 1967–31 December 196*8, 1968; *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of North Carolina, 1 January 196– 31 December 1970*, Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina National Guard, 1970.

effectively weakened the Army by sowing organizational confusion into units that rendered them less effective.

The effort to consolidate the reserve components ultimately foundered on what could be characterized as the intractability of the existing political regime. The United States of the mid-to-late 1960s was very different from that of the 1920s, with completely transformed security concerns. Yet the reserve structure, conceived in the years following World War I, had had four decades to accumulate support in Congress and among state governors, foster familiarity on the national public landscape, and undergo entrenchment in DoD. As Secretary of Defense McNamara found, to his irritation, it was nearly impossible to formulate a restructure that did not disturb one or more of these elements. Indeed, as we have seen, although he was finally able to win the day on some restructuring, the final plan was not nearly as transformative as his original vision of merging the two components.

As U.S. involvement in Vietnam increased, as draft calls continued to rise, and as the reserve components continued to remain havens from the draft, McNamara's points would be illustrated in ways that no Reservist or Guardsman wished. "These men are being wasted," the Secretary had told Congress in 1965, force-in-being arguments notwithstanding, "and the funds that are being expended to support them are being wasted."[60] Johnson's refusal to activate these components for the very purpose for which they were created would lend greater weight to McNamara's words than probably even he had intended. The consequences of that refusal would have grave implications for the Regular Army, for the Army's reserve components, and for the country as a whole.

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[60] U.S. House of Representatives, 1965a, p. 3576.

CHAPTER SEVEN

# Vietnam and the Early Movement Toward the All-Volunteer Force, 1965–1970

Although the American military had been serving in Vietnam since the 1950s, the gradual escalation of the American engagement there during the mid-1960s required more ground forces.[1] In 1965, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara favored augmenting existing forces with 235,000 members of the Army National Guard and Army Reserve. South Vietnam's Army of the Republic of Vietnam experienced several defeats in May and June 1965 at the hands of the communist North Vietnamese Army and its Viet Cong allies in the south. As a result, General William Westmoreland, commander of U.S. forces in South Vietnam, requested more American troops in early June 1965. In turn, McNamara issued a recommendation to President Lyndon Johnson following a fact-finding mission to Vietnam to expand "promptly and substantially" the American troop commitment to Vietnam. The Secretary's plan would increase immediately combat battalions in-country from 15 to 34 and raise the number of American troops from 75,000 to 175,000 by the end of the year. Continued deployments would increase

[1] For histories of America's involvement in Vietnam prior to 1965, see Mark Atwood Lawrence, *Assuming the Burden: Europe and the American Commitment to War in Vietnam*, Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2005; James M. Carter, *Inventing Vietnam: The United States and State Building, 1954–1968*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008; Philip E. Catton, *Diem's Final Failure: Prelude to America's War in Vietnam*, Lawrence, Kans.: University Press of Kansas, 2002; Ronald H. Spector, *Advice and Support: The Early Years, 1941–1960*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1985a; Jessica Elkind, *Aid Under Fire: Nation Building and the Vietnam War*, Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 2016; Kathryn C. Statler, *Replacing France: The Origins of American Intervention in Vietnam*, Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky 2007; J. P. Harris, *Vietnam's High Ground: Armed Struggle for the Central Highlands, 1954–1965*, Lawrence, Kans.: University Press of Kansas, 2016.

the number to 275,000 by early 1966.[2] The JCS concurred with McNamara's proposal.[3] Its chairman, General Earl Wheeler, later recalled:

> [w]e felt that it would be desirable to have a reserve call-up in order to make sure that the people of the U.S. knew that we were in a war and not engaged at some two-penny military adventure. Because we didn't think it was going to prove to be a two-penny military adventure by any manner of means.[4]

## The Draft, the Army National Guard, and the Army Reserve

Johnson decided early on not to activate reserve forces for the American engagement in Vietnam. Although he would eventually authorize a very limited partial mobilization after the Tet Offensive in early 1968, in his memoirs he articulated his concerns that a call-up would impose too much of a burden on the American public, financially and otherwise. He also recalled the Berlin Crisis and was wary that a call-up might communicate too much aggression to Russia and China and risk a wider war, as had occurred in Korea. Historians have also made the valid argument that the President resisted activating the reserves primarily out of political concerns. Johnson hoped to avoid a public debate on whether the nation should intervene in Southeast Asia at all. The decision was politically selfish, but astute, given that some congressmen were reporting heavy pressure from families potentially affected by reserve activation.[5] Johnson informed the JCS that, if he were to characterize Vietnam as a dire situation or declare a national emergency, it would lead to antagonism at home that would make him a "lonely man." As such, the military was to limit the "political noise level" of the

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[2] Lyndon B. Johnson, *The Vantage Point: Perspectives of the Presidency, 1963–1969*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971, p. 145; James T. Currie, "The Army Reserve and Vietnam," *Parameters*, Vol. 14, No. 3, Fall 1984, p. 75. Military Assistance Command, Vietnam Commander General William Westmoreland was wary of a reserve call-up partly because public pressure to bring reservists home during the Berlin Crisis had made a deep impression on him.

[3] H. R. McMaster, *Dereliction of Duty: Lyndon Johnson, Robert McNamara, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Lies That Led to Vietnam*, New York: Harper Perennial, 2007.

[4] Larry Berman, *Planning a Tragedy: The Americanization of the War in Vietnam*, New York: Norton, 1982, p. 126.

[5] E. W. Kenworthy, "Most In Congress Relieved by the President's Course," *New York Times*, July 29, 1965, p. 11; Lloyd C. Gardner, *Pay Any Price: Lyndon Johnson and The Wars for Vietnam*, Chicago: I.R. Dee, 1995; George C. Herring, *LBJ and Vietnam: A Different Kind of War*, Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press, 1994. As the Guard observed the following year, though, while the precedent was for a one-year call-up, there was no law prohibiting longer activation ("The Viet Nam Buildup and the National Guard," 1965; "Why No Call-Up?" *The National Guardsman*, Vol. 20, No. 4, April 1966, p. 12; Crossland and Currie, 1984, p. 194).

war's escalation. Johnson instead relied on a limited draft and large numbers of volunteers to expand the Army to fight the war.[6]

Secretary of the Army Cyrus Vance appeared before Congress to explain the decision not to activate the reserve forces. He rather sharply observed that congressional reluctance to activate reserve components for longer than one year played its part:

> With the uncertainties of today, it seemed desirable to us to add temporary units to our structure which could stay on to active duty for more than a year, to make it unnecessary to call up Reserve Forces which might have to be released after a year.[7]

Instead, the President decided to use the limited draft as authorized in the 1948 Selective Service Act to expand the Regular Army so it could fight in Vietnam. Monthly draft calls were doubled, from 17,000 to 35,000 as the Army progressively increased the size of its force in Vietnam.[8] Ultimately, however, it did not insulate Johnson from public debate on American intervention in Vietnam. Indeed, the war, and especially the drafting of American young men to fight it, became a major issue on college campuses across America, resulting in waves of protests that quickly embroiled the public.[9]

### The Draft

Conscripts, bound to the Army for two years of active duty service, were given no choice as to their assignments and were therefore disproportionately funneled toward armor, infantry, and field artillery—the most hazardous duties. While every American male between the ages of 18 and 26 was eligible for the draft, a 1967 study by the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service found that, in practice, anywhere from a third to a quarter of draftees proved ineligible due to educational deferments or physical deficiencies.[10]

Inductions of conscripts rose sharply through 1965 and 1966: 102,600 in the former year, 339,700 in the latter.[11] Voluntary enlistments across all branches increased

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6 As quoted in McMaster, 2007, p. 316. Along with not calling up the reserve components, the White House limited funding for deployments to the $1 billion already included in the defense appropriations for 1966 rather than the $12.7 billion the JCS estimated the escalation would cost.

7 "The Viet Nam Buildup and the National Guard," 1965, p. 10.

8 Edward J. Drea, *McNamara, Clifford, and the Burdens of Vietnam: 1965–1969*, Vol. 6, Secretaries of Defense Historical Series, Washington, D.C.: Historical Office, Office of the Secretary of Defense, 2011, pp. 261–262; Currie, 1984, p. 75.

9 Kenneth J. Heineman, *Campus Wars: The Peace Movement at American State Universities in the Vietnam Era*, New York: New York University Press, 1994; Marc Jason Gilbert, ed., *The Vietnam War on Campus: Other Voices, More Distant Drums*, Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2001; William J. McGill, *The Year of the Monkey: Revolt on Campus, 1968–1969*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1982.

10 Drea, 2011, p. 272.

11 Drea, 2011, p. 262.

at the same time, largely because volunteers received a greater say in their military occupational specialty than did conscripts and could therefore avoid the infantry. Johnson's decision not to mobilize the reserve components resulted in a considerable training backlog; as the Army was unable to mobilize already-trained reservists, it needed to grow nearly 25 percent to meet escalating needs in Vietnam. Much of this expansion of capability was drawn from European units, which lost most of their officers and NCOs along with some equipment by early 1966. Training facilities operated nearly at full capacity, and eventually even the reserve components felt the pinch as Regular recruits and conscripts claimed priority for training, leaving reserve volunteers idle until the congestion lessened.

A report from the President's Task Force on Manpower Conservation in early 1964 found that one-third of America's young men soon to turn 18 would be unfit for military service—half of this number would fail for medical reasons, while the other half would not meet mental requirements.[12] In response, McNamara called for the establishment of the Special Training and Enlistment Program (STEP) in August 1964, whereby the Army would provide six months of instruction and training to address deficiencies in a selected group of volunteers. Congress, however, demurred, viewing STEP as little more than an extra burden on an Army already stretched to the breaking point by Vietnam, and forbidding McNamara from using any money in the fiscal years 1966 or 1967 budgets to fund it.[13]

While STEP never got off the ground, it turned out that the original high conscription standards could not be maintained if there were to be any hope of answering Army requirements for its troop levels in Vietnam. As the 1960s wore on, hindrances to mass conscription were removed, one by one. In 1965, the White House eliminated the deferments for married men, and McNamara instituted a policy to use civilians, rather than military personnel, in noncombat jobs whenever possible, freeing those men to fight.[14] "Mental" standards, as they were then called, were lowered in 1965, and again in 1966. The conscripts ushered in under these new standards became the subjects for McNamara's new version of the defunded STEP, called "Project 100,000," so named for his belief that 100,000 men each year who did not qualify under fitness

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[12] Irvin G. Katenbrink, Jr., "Military Service and Occupational Mobility," in Roger W. Little, ed., *Selective Service and American Society*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1969, p. 163.

[13] An ugly racial tone overlay the objections of Senator Richard Russell, from South Carolina, who did not wish large numbers of African-American would-be soldiers trained and educated at Army expense. He changed his mind in 1965, telling the President to lower induction standards and keep the "damn dumb bunnies" from avoiding the draft (Drea, 2011, p. 266).

[14] This was the exact rationale under which the Women's Army Corps had been established in 1941: to place women in all possible noncombat positions in order to "Free a Man to Fight," as one of their early recruiting slogans put it. The WAC soon retired this slogan, as it engendered ill will among male soldiers in noncombat jobs who did not necessarily wish to be freed to fight.

and mental standards could nevertheless be accepted and transformed into adequate soldiers.

McNamara touted Project 100,000 as a means by which underprivileged men could receive training and education, a stepping stone to civilian careers otherwise unreachable. Roughly 350,000 "New Standards" men were accepted for military service from 1966 to 1969 under the program. Seventy percent were draftees rather than volunteers, and most of them were bound for the Army. More than a third went into combat arms, and thus their military training was not readily translatable into the civilian world. Given that one of the stated purposes of the program was to prepare them for more productive lives after returning to civilian life, this was a distressing reality, especially when the median Armed Forces Qualification Test score for the participants was only 13 out of 100.[15] Very few—only about 3 percent—ended up washing out, largely because the Army was the service branch least particular about its recruits, be they volunteer or conscript.[16]

The U.S. Army's Center of Military History found that volunteers who could choose their own assignments oftentimes elected for the technical specialties, while draftees "were more likely to be shunted to combat assignments." Of the Army's battle deaths in 1965, around 28 percent were draftees. This number rose to 34 percent the following year and rose to 57 percent by 1967.[17] Of the 29,150 Army personnel deaths due to hostile action in Vietnam from January 1, 1961, to December 31, 1970, some 26,000 were enlisted personnel, 14,324 of whom were draftees.[18] By spring 1970, the Pentagon reported that roughly 40 percent of the Army's enlisted ranks in Vietnam were two-year draftees.[19] The casualty rate, coupled with a popular perception that the Army was relying on a steady stream of men with comparatively few educational or economic advantages, began to create an ugly impression regarding the perceived priorities and values of the President, DoD policymakers, and military leadership.[20]

Although the American engagement in Vietnam did not fully end until early 1973, it was clear earlier that conscription would need to cease. President Johnson's plan of relying solely on the Regular Army augmented by volunteers and conscripts,

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[15] Sixty-six percent of the Project 100,000 participants joined the Army, and 34 percent were divided fairly equally between the Air Force, Navy, and Marine Corps (Beth Bailey, *America's Army: Making the All-Volunteer Force*, Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009, p. 95).

[16] Drea, 2011, p. 270.

[17] Robert K. Griffith, Jr., *The U.S. Army's Transition to the All-Volunteer Force, 1968–1974*, Washington, D.C.: United States Army Center of Military History, 1997, pp. 11, 18.

[18] 11,694 were Regular Army enlistees while 114 were Reserve and National Guard enlisted (U.S. House of Representatives, "Hearings on Military Posture and H.R. 3818 and H.R. 8687," Part 1, House Committee on Armed Services, Ninety-Second Congress, First Session, March 10, 1971, p. 2612).

[19] Peter Baestrup, "All Volunteer Viet Force Unlikely Soon," *The Washington Post*, May 12, 1970, p. A4.

[20] Also see Lawrence M. Baskir and William A. Strauss, *Chance and Circumstance: The Draft, the War, and the Vietnam Generation*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978.

rather than calling in the Army National Guard and Army Reserve, to avoid public controversy over the war had failed badly. The Regulars required significant augmentation to meet increasing needs in Vietnam—if it did not come from the reserves, it would have to come from conscripts and volunteers. Johnson may have avoided push-back from the political institutions associated with the National Guard—from the governors, adjutants general, and congressmen whose states and districts housed the Guard units—but he eventually faced the indignation and outrage of families and loved ones of the conscripts who were sent in their place, not to mention that of the conscripts themselves. As in the Korean War, much of the National Guard and somewhat less of the Army Reserve remained stateside. Once again, men who were not paid in peacetime to be ready to fight were sent to the war instead of those already on the military payroll in the reserve components. In 1965, the Regular Army comprised 970,000 soldiers; three years later, it had increased to 1.5 million, via a combination of voluntary enlistments and greatly expanded draft calls.[21] Playing to the perceptions of the public and Congress that the draft's sanction of exemptions and deferments was inherently unfair, Richard Nixon campaigned in 1968 on a promise to end the draft and the war, a pledge he kept after taking office in 1969. The 1970s and the legacy of the American involvement in Vietnam would provide enough challenges and lessons to keep the Army occupied for the next two decades.

### The Guard and Reserve

Johnson's decision had come as a shock to some in the Guard, and a relief to others. In January 1965, several months before the call-up, *National Guardsman* magazine published a long article entitled "Is the Draft Doomed?" arguing that "No one in Washington . . . would be surprised if he (Johnson) killed the Draft outright . . . after the law expires in June, 1967."[22] "[D]windling Draft [*sic*] needs at the very time when the post-war baby boom is reaching age and industry" meant that only 10 percent of draft-aged men were being inducted into the Army.[23] In September 1965, the Guard characterized Johnson's policy as "a complete surprise," observing that "At least partial mobilization of Army and Air Guard units and some of the Reserves had been expected in light of history up to and including the Berlin and Cuban crises."[24] Regardless, members of the National Guard did not volunteer in mass, as former NGAUS president Walsh had assured Congress, in some ways making conscription and volunteers the only viable options.

The National Guard did not replicate the decision it made in World War II, when the Chief of the National Guard Bureau closed enlistment for the duration of the war

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21 Stewart, 2010, p. 285.

22 William Beecher, "Is the Draft Doomed?" *The National Guardsman*, Vol. 19, No. 1, January 1965, p. 3.

23 Beecher, 1965, p. 3.

24 "The Viet Nam Buildup and the National Guard," 1965, p. 10.

for the reason that anybody who wished to enlist voluntarily would do greater service to their country by joining the Regular Army instead of the Guard. On the contrary, in 1965 McNamara authorized 18,500 new billets for the Army National Guard as part of the new Selected Reserve Force of 150,000 soldiers, to be manned and equipped at full strength levels. The Guard promptly began aggressive recruiting for the new Selected Reserve Force, competing with the Regular Army for volunteers. Not surprisingly, many draft-eligible men chose the Selected Reserve Force to avoid the draft and combat duty by remaining stateside. By September 1966, 80 percent of the Selected Reserve Force was composed of Guardsmen, a fact that NGAUS president Major General James Cantwell spoke of proudly at the time. The Guard would develop a different perspective on this issue as the war in Vietnam stretched on—by 1970, the National Guard Association was claiming that draft-motivated volunteers had reached upward of 90 percent in some units.[25]

Eagerness to join the reserve components, whether or not motivated by a desire to evade the draft, also led to significant backups in reserve training. In a 1966 statement to Congress, Deputy Secretary of Defense Cyrus Vance pointed out that individuals enlisting in either the Army Reserve or the National Guard without any prior military service needed to complete four months of training. The expansion of the Regular Army via conscription, however, had absorbed nearly all training capacity while also creating a larger pool of volunteers eager to join the reserve components.[26] "The resulting backlog . . . awaiting training amounted to about 133,000 as of June 30," Vance stated. He went on to report that "in the last year [the Army] more than doubled the input capability of the Army training base. Nevertheless, the training demands . . . are still so great that we have not yet been able to substantially reduce the backlog."[27]

As Congress had established certain minimum strength mandates for both the Army National Guard and the Army Reserve, requiring them to maintain a baseline number of personnel, the Department of the Army was unable to turn away excess untrained personnel interested in joining the reserve components. This led to a number of unwanted outcomes, the first obviously being that these reserve volunteers remained untrained, and therefore unusable in the event of a reserve mobilization. Finally, in spite of the fact that these men were untrained, their reserve status exempted them from the draft. "Clearly this is neither an equitable solution from the point of view of sharing military obligations nor, in the light of the increasing claims of the active forces

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[25] Major General James F. Cantwell, "Immediately Responsive," *The National Guardsman*, Vol. 20, No. 9, September 1966, inside cover; Drea, 2011, p. 263; Griffith, 1997, p. 264.

[26] Including taking senior NCOs from line units and sending them to training units, thereby leaving line units with even less experience and capability.

[27] Statement of Deputy Secretary of Defense Cyrus R. Vance before Subcommittee No. 2 of the House Armed Services Committee, August 4, 1966, on H.R. 16435; text of statement included in U.S. House of Representatives, *Reserve Bill of Rights Report*, Washington, D.C.: 90th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, Report No. 13, February 13, 1967, p. 18.

on the draft age manpower pool, is it a satisfactory way of dealing with military manpower needs," Vance observed.[28]

By the end of 1967, about half a million American troops were deployed to Vietnam, and the JCS continued to press the Secretary of Defense for reserve component activation. The capture of the environment research ship USS *Pueblo* by North Korea in January 1968, along with the opening moves of the Tet Offensive that same month, provided the impetus for Johnson to finally acquiesce to his military leadership and call up the reserve components, albeit in a very limited fashion.[29] The first call-up was announced on January 25, 1968. Some 14,000 Air Force and Navy reservists were activated for possible reinforcement of South Korea: 10 tactical fighter and four tactical reconnaissance units from the Air National Guard; seven military airlift and one aerospace rescue and recovery unit from the Air Force Reserve; and six Naval Air Reserve fighter squadrons. Press reports criticized their preparedness, quoting military officials who disparaged the activated units' equipment and training.[30]

The Tet Offensive began in full on January 31, 1968. Although the popular uprising that communist leaders had hoped for in the south had not materialized, and Viet Cong and North Vietnamese Army forces were decimated, the United States found it difficult to capitalize on the military victory. In the face of various crises around the world—among them, the recent offensive, the *Pueblo*, and continued concerns about Soviet threats to Berlin—President Johnson and his military leaders reevaluated their approach and objectives. Westmoreland wanted more troops, but was persuaded to revise his estimates downward several times. The first requests were as high as 200,000 troops, meant to bolster forces and build up an essentially empty strategic reserve. Such a large number would not have been logistically supportable, however, let alone politically feasible. Between Tet and the decision to deploy reinforcements, McNamara's tenure as Secretary of Defense came to an end. By early April, his successor, Clark M. Clifford, and others helped President Johnson settle on a sizably scaled-down request for reservists. The last deployment plan for the Vietnam War, about 24,500 reservists, were to be recalled to active duty with around 10,000 of those slated to head to Vietnam and the remainder entering the strategic reserve but still available for deployment to Southeast Asia. By April 11, this authorized number had been reduced by 1,262.[31] On the same day, Army National Guard units from 17 states received alerts and one

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[28] Quoted in U.S. House of Representatives, 1967, p. 18. The subcommittee accepted Vance's recommendation that these volunteers be ordered to begin training within 120 days of their enlistment, but refused to suspend enlistments when training space was unavailable, reasoning that McNamara himself had informed the Senate Appropriations Committee that training capacity for fiscal year 1967 would be vastly expanded.

[29] Currie, 1984, p. 78.

[30] Martin Binkin and William W. Kaufmann, *U.S. Army Guard and Reserve: Rhetoric, Realities, Risks*, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1989, p. 55.

[31] Drea, 2011, p. 184–193.

month later more than 12,200 personnel entered active duty with their units.[32] By the end of FY 1969, just over 7,000 Army National Guardsmen had reported to Vietnam.[33] As a result of the April 11 call, 42 Army Reserve units were called up in increments. More than 5,000 men reported on May 13 to their home stations, and as a result of the 1968 mobilization 35 USAR units deployed to Vietnam.[34]

Pre-Tet projections for post-mobilization preparation times of Army Guard and Army Reserve units varied depending on the size and type of unit and, most importantly, on the assumptions about future readiness and equipping levels.[35] For example, in 1962 McNamara told Congress that "any element of the active army can be moved with the first 30 days of a 'go' order." Accordingly, noted the Secretary, the Army Reserve components needed to be ready to deploy into "an area of conflict" very soon after the active component had deployed, roughly 30 to 45 days after mobilization. Three years later, in 1965, NGAUS president Major General Cantwell told Congress that if the McNamara reforms were carried through, the plan was to have all eight National Guard Divisions in a "high priority status," manned at 80 percent personnel and 100 percent equipped. These divisions would be ready "for deployment to an overseas theater with 4 to 8 weeks" of post-mobilization training.[36]

Cantwell's projection was based on the assumption that Congress would provide the funding required to improve National Guard training and readiness. However, in 1968 the actual activation of Army Reserve component units revealed that the usual problems persisted with equipment, training, and readiness. A combined total of 76 Army Reserve and National Guard units were called up, and Army planners had optimistically assumed that these units were combat-ready. Proving the flaws in those previous assumptions, not a single one met that standard; all were rated deficient in terms of the amount and condition of its equipment. Personnel did not fare any better: 49 percent of all unit personnel were only partially trained or qualified for their assigned position, and 17 percent were totally unqualified.[37]

By the beginning of 1969, 35 Army Reserve units of varying types of support outfits from transportation companies to medical detachments eventually deployed to

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[32] *Annual Report of the Chief of the National Guard Bureau, 1968,* p. 10.

[33] *Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1969, Chief, National Guard Bureau*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Defense, National Guard Bureau, 1969, p. 9.

[34] Crossland and Currie, 1984 pp. 203–207.

[35] U.S. House of Representatives, *An Overview of U.S. Commitments and the Forces Available to Meet Them: Hearing Before the Military Personnel and Compensation Subcommittee of the Committee on Armed Services*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, October 19, 20, 26, 31, and November 9, 10, 15, and 17, 1983, p. 221.

[36] U.S. House of Representatives, 1965a; Chief of the National Guard Bureau, *Annual Meeting Conference Report Fiscal Year Ending 30 June 1965*, Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army, 1965, p. 30.

[37] Binkin and Kaufmann, 1989, p. 57.

Vietnam, but only after as much as six to seven months of post-mobilization training.[38] Two Army National Guard brigades, the 29th Infantry Brigade from Hawaii and the 69th Infantry Brigade from Kansas, were activated; however, after mobilization, they provided individual replacements for other deploying Guard and Reserve units and Regular Army outfits fighting in Vietnam. By 1969, Army National Guardsmen individually assigned to the combat zone had reached 4,311.[39] This breach of unit integrity met with the usual grumbling from the Guard. However, some of its leadership had come to realize that unit integrity, while a worthy goal, was often wholly unrealistic given the chaotic system of the era. "Partial mobilizations . . . differ vastly from all-out mobilizations of the World War II type," Major General Cantwell observed, "Unit integrity is an article of faith to the Guard. . . . But the traditional answers don't always suffice in a partial mobilization . . . flexibility in manpower utilization frequently becomes a critical factor in our ability to maintain adequate forces."[40] Later, at the 1969 NGAUS conference, he noted that the Guard "must not expect the men responsible for conducting combat operations to sacrifice effectiveness for the sake of a principle, however desirable it might be from our point of view."[41]

For the Guard, this was a significant admission. Its longstanding claim of unit integrity had served as one of its abiding principles since the 1920s; all training was designed around the understanding that unit integrity at the local level would be maintained, and recruiters advised potential enlistees that they would fight with their hometown friends. This Guard narrative was inconsistent with evidence. Since Guard units were typically maintained at half-strength or less during peacetime, by the time Guard units were mobilized, their unfit members sent home, and personnel shortages filled by federal volunteers, conscripts, and Regular Army and Reserve officers and enlisted men, many units had lost their Guard character. The longer the unit was on active duty, the more diluted its composition became. Regardless, the Guard has historically opposed any suggestion of its personnel being used as individual fillers, seeking guarantees against such practices. NGAUS leadership's concession that unit integrity must occasionally be sacrificed on the altar of wartime expediency was a major break with its philosophy of previous decades, if only a temporary break. It was also probably one that would not have come without the tension resulting from its standby status during most of American involvement in Vietnam.

In light of increased international tensions and the 1968 Tet Offensive, President Johnson consented to deploy a very small part of the Army reserve components, relative

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38 Crossland and Currie, 1984, pp. 207, 278.

39 McGrath, 2004, p. 100; *Annual Report of the Chief of the National Guard Bureau, 1969*, p. 9.

40 Major General James F. Cantwell, "Callups and Complaints," *The National Guardsman*, Vol. 22, No. 12, December, 1968, inside cover.

41 National Guard Association of the United States, *Official Proceedings of the National Guard Association of the United States, Ninety-First General Conference, October 13–16, 1969*, Washington, D.C., 1969.

to their size, with the stipulation that deployment would last no longer than 24 months and be kept as small as possible, which became just 19,874 personnel of the more than 2.7 million Americans who served in Vietnam. As a result, while 76 Army Guard and Reserve units mobilized, 43 went to Vietnam and 33 remained in the United States as part of the strategic reserve.[42] Similar to mobilization during the Berlin Crisis of 1961, the reserves fell short on training and equipment; most did not meet readiness objectives when activated. Units that had been maintained with 100 percent manning and equipment authorizations were available within 48 to 72 hours, deployable with "minimal" time and effort; units that had been maintained at less than 100 percent required "considerable time"—weeks or months—to reach deployable status.[43] The call-up ended by December 1969, and all units were placed back on reserve status.

In assessing the effectiveness of the 1968 call-up, DoD issued a mixed verdict. The political climate in 1968 was considerably different from that during the Berlin Crisis, the last time reserve elements had been activated. Congress issued a joint resolution in favor of the 1961 call-up, an action that it did not repeat in 1968. "[T]he 1968 call-up was affected by the United States involvement in the Vietnam conflict which was becoming unpopular with a large segment of the population," the Secretary for Reserve Affairs noted dryly in his 1969 annual report, adding that domestic civil disturbances had placed an additional burden on the Guard, constraining DoD planners.[44]

In spite of the hostile political climate and the strain that riot control and civil defense put on the Guard (discussed in more detail in the following section), DoD considered the 1968 call-ups with hyperbolic assuredness as "the best our Nation has experienced," proving beyond a doubt that "there is a direct relationship between support provided reserve units and their readiness time for deployment subsequent to mobilization."[45]

### The Guard and Vietnam

President Johnson's unwillingness to call up the National Guard for duty in Vietnam, apart from the very limited 1968 call-up, resulted in a severe body blow to both the Guard's reputation and its morale. We have already seen that, as early as 1966, the Guard was beginning to question why the President would opt for what was perceived as the "hard way"—increased conscription—over mobilization of somewhat-trained volunteers for duty in Southeast Asia. As the war progressed and General Westmoreland called for ever-increasing numbers of soldiers, the Guard's discomfort with its awkward position intensified. NGAUS president James Cantwell wrote an emotional

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[42] Stewart, 2010, p. 284. Three of these were National Guard infantry units; it is unclear how many Army Reserve infantry units were mobilized.

[43] *Annual Report of the Secretary of Defense on Reserve Forces*, 1969, p. 9.

[44] *Annual Report of the Secretary of Defense on Reserve Forces*, 1969, p. 8.

[45] *Annual Report of the Secretary of Defense on Reserve Forces*, 1969, p. 8.

piece in early 1967 listing a number of keenly felt insults to the National Guard's honor:

> A national magazine devotes several pages to a feature which suggests that favored persons use the National Guard as a "safe haven" from the Draft.
>
> A Nationally-known columnist inserts a gratuitous jab at the National Guard in an article on the Army's fine performance in Vietnam.
>
> The U.S. Senate approves a proposal to draft men out of Guard units, thus challenging the concept of unit integrity. . . .
>
> One Senator, in a speech, even makes uncalled-for and inaccurate reference to Guard units "which neither train nor guard."[46]

The official reasons given at the time for Johnson's reluctance to activate the reserve components, obviously, had little to do with political concerns that such activation would result in a wide public debate over the war. Instead, DoD officials maintained that the Guard and Army Reserve both needed to exist as a "ready force in being," able to respond to contingencies elsewhere in the world.[47] Keeping them on standby status, so to speak, sent the message that in spite of its considerable personnel and materiel commitment in Vietnam, the United States remained ready to deter aggression, communist or otherwise, in other locations.

This political rationale was a fairly neat inversion of Truman's and Kennedy's logic during the Korea and Berlin emergencies. Each had independently arrived at the conclusion that activation of the Army National Guard and Army Reserve sent a convincing message that the United States was serious about its commitments to its allies. In the case of Vietnam, the President argued instead that *not* activating the reserve components, in this particular instance, sent the message that they remained available for duty elsewhere, deterring adversary action. This may have been the case, but, as always, negatives are hard to prove. At the very least, no other contingency arose during Vietnam which merited activation of the reserve components. In 1970, Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird reinforced this rationale when he issued a memorandum referred to in a speech by Major General Joe Moffitt of the Colorado Army National Guard:

> He said very clearly that the Guard and other Reserve forces will be our first recourse in any future emergency. He directed the Services to base their planning

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[46] Major General James F. Cantwell, "The Ready Ones," *The National Guardsman*, Vol. 21, No. 2, February 1967, inside cover.

[47] Cyrus Vance, "1 March 1967 Memorandum for Secretaries of the Military Department, republished in "Recognition from the Top,"" *The National Guardsman*, Vol. 21, No. 3, April 1967, inside cover.

> . . . on that policy, and to provide the reserve components with the support and resources that will make them first-line forces in fact as well as in name.[48]

This rationale may have served to placate the Guard, who did not volunteer for service in Vietnam, and the families of conscripted soldiers toward the beginning of serious U.S. engagement in Southeast Asia. However, as the 1960s wore on, as more draftees were called up and television reports of combat in Vietnam made their way into American living rooms, the idea of the reserve components serving a crucial role as a force-in-being was wearing thin.

Some Guardsmen did volunteer for duty in Vietnam. Their paths are difficult to trace, as any Guard member who enters active service, by definition, is no longer a Guardsman and is therefore not identifiable as such in reports. However, some served with great distinction; Captain John Dieckmann, for example, volunteered out of the Ohio National Guard and posthumously received the Distinguished Service Cross following his death in action in 1966.[49] Many others followed similar paths; as of March 1968, at least 23 Guardsmen had been killed in action, and another was missing in action.[50]

It was during the American engagement in Vietnam that Army National Guard returned to its civil disturbance role that was so unpopular in labor disputes in the previous century. During Vietnam, it was primarily riot control resulting from racial tensions and popular opposition to the Vietnam War. Significant civil disturbances in the late 1960s overwhelmed local police departments, even those in such major metropolitan areas as Newark and Detroit. More than 150 cities experienced some degree of lawlessness during the first nine months of 1967.[51] In response, state governors called out Army and Air National Guard units, and in some cases Regular Army units were sent in by the President to restore order. This was not a new role for federal forces, as the Regular Army had answered similar calls from the executive during times of strife over civil rights in the Eisenhower and Kennedy presidencies.[52] When calling out reserve forces, however, this duty was particular to the Guard, of course, as the purely federal Army Reserve had no legal authority to perform local law-enforcement duties among U.S. civilians at the behest of state governors. The Guard's dual status—the very status that it had spent the past 60 years working so diligently to preserve—made

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[48] National Guard Association of the United States, *Official Proceedings of the National Guard Association of the United States: Ninety-Second General Conference, September 14–17, 1970*, Washington, D.C., 1970.

[49] Major Corb Sarchet, "Guardsmen in Viet Nam," *The National Guardsman*, Vol. 22, No. 3, March 1968, p. 23.

[50] Sarchet, March 1968, p. 22.

[51] Drea, 2011, p. 272.

[52] For an in-depth examination of the role of federal forces in civil disturbances, see Paul J. Scheips, *The Role of Federal Military Forces in Domestic Disorders, 1945–1992*, Washington, D.C.: United States Army Center of Military History, 2012.

it ripe for this role, and it was under the militia clause of the Constitution that state governors exercised their authority to press Army Guardsmen into riot control duty or to deny civil rights to minority Americans.

The events for which Army National Guard units were called out across the country had widely disparate origins. Some, such as the 1967 Newark riots, resulted from racial tension. Others, such as the 1968 Akron disturbances, were union demonstrations that turned violent. Still others, such as the infamous encounter at Kent State University (discussed in detail below), grew out of antiwar protests. Guard units responded as best as they were able to these events, but little to any of their training had focused on law enforcement practices. The previous decades had seen National Guard units respond to natural disasters within the United States, but as was usual for the Guard, military training and education had made up the bulk of their time. Riots in Detroit, Watts, and Newark in 1967 made clear that this would need to change. "In the gunfire and flames of Detroit and Newark, mistakes inevitably were made," conceded Major General Cantwell.[53] Army National Guard units took part in riot control and civil disturbance training during August and September 1967, and took delivery of "special civil disturbance equipment" that had not previously been authorized for Guard use: Gas agent dispersers, grenade launchers, and sniper rifles were some of the items distributed.[54] Some believed that charging the Guard with the responsibility to maintain law and order posed a greater challenge than counterinsurgency in Southeast Asia. A retired Guard colonel argued in early 1968 that "We are fighting a similar war in Viet Nam today, but the swamps, jungles, and mountains out there are simple compared with what urban guerrilla warfare could offer in the Continental USA." The manufactured environment, he posited, is "more formidable than nature's, if determined rioters and guerrillas choose to use it properly."[55] The real challenge, however, was restraint. The Army National Guard understood the necessity of using nonlethal force in the face of violence and disorder. Just as the environment posed a great challenge, so did the psychological strain. The Guard colonel offered that "Guardsmen have shown time and again that they can adjust mentally to distasteful riot duty." Given the "kind of organized conflict which they now face," though, required "even more careful, thorough psychological conditioning."[56]

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[53] Major General James F. Cantwell, "From the Flames," *The National Guardsman*, Vol. 21, No. 9, September 1967, inside cover. This report also notes that at this time, selected Army Reserve units were to be trained to respond to civil disturbances in the event that sufficient National Guard units were unavailable. "When so employed," the report was careful to note, "these units would be on active duty under active Army command and control." As the militia force, the National Guard would remain the first choice for response to civil disturbances.

[54] *Annual Report of the Secretary of Defense on Reserve Forces*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Defense, 1968.

[55] Colonel Robert Rigg, "War in the Cities: The Guard's New Challenge?" *The National Guardsman*, Vol. 22, No. 1, January 1968, p. 3.

[56] Rigg, 1968, p. 6.

### The Kent State Shootings

On May 4, 1970, in the small university town of Kent, Ohio, restraint and psychological conditioning failed the Ohio Army National Guard. No event has defined the height of American unrest over the Vietnam War like National Guardsmen firing into a crowd of unarmed student demonstrators at Kent State University. Nixon's announcement of U.S. intervention in Cambodia had motivated peaceful protests on the small campus starting on April 30. Widespread demonstrations followed that evening, however, with a crowd of several hundred students moving through town, breaking windows. The following evening, protestors set fire to the Kent State University ROTC building, prompting the town's mayor to request Ohio Army National Guard intervention from Ohio Governor Jim Rhodes.

The governor obliged immediately, calling in the 107th Armored Cavalry Regiment and the 145th Infantry Battalion and declaring martial law. Later that month, *Newsweek* reported:

> . . . Rhodes all but took personal command of the guardsmen. Without consulting top guard officials or the university administration, he reportedly ordered that all campus assemblies—peaceful or otherwise—be broken up and said that the troops would remain on campus 12 months a year if necessary.[57]

The Army Guardsmen in question arrived at Kent State from Akron 10 miles away, where they had spent five days trying to quell a violent Teamsters strike; many were weary and on edge. In spite of Rhodes's prohibition against campus gatherings, antiwar students gathered for a rally at noon on Monday, May 4. When they ignored repeated police calls to disperse, the fully armed Guardsmen began to advance on the students, firing tear gas grenades into the crowd. The protestors responded by throwing rocks and gas grenades picked up from the ground. One Guardsman was wounded seriously enough to require medical treatment.

About 25 minutes after noon, out of tear gas and still confronted by angry unarmed protestors, the Ohio Army National Guardsmen began firing into the crowd. Some later said that they were responding to sniper fire, although a subsequent FBI investigation found no such evidence.[58] Four students were killed and nine wounded by Ohio Army National Guardsmen.

Although a Gallup poll would later reveal that 58 percent of Americans placed the blame for the shootings on the students—only 11 percent blamed the Guardsmen—the event was nevertheless a catastrophe for the Guard's reputation. Two years later, the President's Commission on Campus Unrest could not confirm that the Guardsmen

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[57] "'My God! They're Killing Us': Newsweek's 1970 Coverage of the Kent State Shooting," *Newsweek*, May 18, 1970, p. 279.

[58] Chairman William W. Scranton, *The Report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest*, Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970, p. 282.

sent to Kent State had been briefed on civil disorder procedures, as per Ohio Guard procedure,[59] and questioned the decisions of Guard leadership on that day:

> . . . [T]he Guard's decision to march through the crowd for hundreds of yards up and down a hill was highly questionable. . . . Guardsmen had been subjected to harassment and assault, were hot and tired, and felt dangerously vulnerable . . . . When they confronted the students, it was only too easy for a single shot to trigger a general fusillade.[60]

The commission further found that, while the actions of some of the protesting students were "violent and criminal," the "indiscriminate firing of rifles into a crowd of students and the deaths that followed were unnecessary, unwarranted, and inexcusable."[61] The commission further faulted the National Guard for failing to adhere to law enforcement guidelines regarding the issuance of loaded weapons to those charged with this type of disturbance control, and noted that the Guardsmen had met perceived danger to themselves with completely disproportionate and lethal force. All of these findings would reflect poorly on the Army National Guard for years to come, and remain in the memory of many Americans.

### The Beginning of the End of the Draft

Richard Nixon's 1968 presidential campaign included a promise to reform substantially, if not end, the draft; keeping his word, shortly after his inauguration he commissioned a series of studies to determine which goal he should pursue and how he should go about pursuing it. Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird issued a statement in September 1969 announcing the President's intention to move forward on certain elements of draft reform, most notably reducing the period of prime eligibility from seven years (ages 19 to 26) to one (ages 19 to 20). H. R. 14001 did just that, and Nixon signed it into law in November 1969.[62]

Nixon also formed the Gates Commission, headed by former Secretary of Defense Thomas Gates, to examine the question of whether an all-volunteer force was desirable or practical. The commission's first meeting took place in May 1969. By February 1970, it had completed its work and presented the President with a final report, recommending that the United States abandon conscription and transition to an all-

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[59] Scranton, 1970, p. 288.

[60] Scranton, 1970, p. 289.

[61] Scranton, 1970, p. 289.

[62] Public Law 91-124, An Act to Amend the Military Selective Service Act of 1967 to Authorize Modifications of the System of Selecting Persons for Induction into the Armed Forces Under This Act, November 26, 1969.

volunteer military, recognizing that the lottery draft was "at best an expedient" and essentially advising that all forms of compelled service cease.[63]

The Gates Commission recommendations were not met with unconditional approbation. Many in the Regular Army opposed such a change; General Westmoreland, now Army chief of staff, commented acerbically that he would not choose to command "an army of mercenaries."[64] NGAUS, too, took a very strong stand against an all-volunteer force.[65] While some of their objections were philosophical—"It is . . . a moral obligation of all members of a free society to help defend that society when necessary"[66]—others had a more practical basis, namely, doubts that the National Guard would be able to maintain its size in a world where the draft did not exist.[67]

The Gates Commission, however, disagreed. As far as philosophical objections to an all-volunteer force were concerned, it pointed out that "Compelling service through a draft undermines respect for government by forcing an individual to serve when and in the manner the government decides, regardless of his own values and talents."[68] While it did not directly address the problem of reserve component enlistment strength, it did find that an all-volunteer military, while slightly costlier than a conscripted military, was actually cheaper than the existing mix of conscripts and volunteers. Moreover, the commission also noted how impressed it was "by the number and quality of the individuals who, despite conscription, now choose a career in the military. . . . A force made up of men freely choosing to serve should enhance the dignity and prestige of the military."[69]

The Gates Commission's findings did not immediately translate to the elimination of the draft and to the formation of an all-volunteer military, but it did add intellectual heft to the diminished draft calls which continued through 1970. As NGAUS had worried in January of that year, it soon found itself with dwindling waiting lists

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63 Thomas Gates, *The Report of the President's Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force*, Washington, D.C., 1970, p. 175.

64 John Thorlin, "Drafts and Mercenaries," 2011. To which economist Milton Friedman replied, "Would you rather command an army of slaves?" (as quoted in Bernard Rostker, *I Want You!: The Evolution of the All-Volunteer Force*, Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND Corporation, MG-265-RC, 2006).

65 "All-Volunteer Armed Forces," *The National Guardsman*, Vol. 24, No. 1, January 1970.

66 The Guard was pessimistic about competing with the regular Army for recruits, observing that "In the National Guard and Reserves, we are not competing with civilian industry for the same high-caliber men as the Active Services are." The reserve components, rather, competed for the free time of men already engaged in civilian occupations; NGAUS did not believe that the Guard would prove to be all that attractive an option when compared to an "expanding variety of other attractive leisure time activities" ("All-Volunteer Armed Forces," 1970, p. 10.

67 "All-Volunteer Armed Forces," 1970.

68 Gates, 1970, p. 14.

69 Gates, 1970, p. 19.

for enlistment. "We will soon face a buyer's market in our search for qualified men," NGAUS President James Cantwell fretted in April.[70]

### Johnson's Policy in Review

Mobilizing existing National Guard and Reserve forces and cross-leveling their personnel and equipment to create fully manned and equipped units would have been the easiest approach for the Army during Vietnam. Most members of the Ready Reserve had at least some training, although many were still nondeployable until they completed their Initial Entry Training, and would have been easier to fully train than draftees. This would have reduced the intense pressure on training facilities which struggled to train hundreds of thousands of conscripts. Additionally, as most of the reserve structure was combat support, failure to mobilize them required the Regular Army to create a duplicate support force structure to compensate for their absence. And, indeed, following the American withdrawal from Vietnam, part of this additional support force structure was placed into the reserves.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the Army National Guard and the Army Reserve faced a significant amount of institutional embarrassment because of the President's political unwillingness to mobilize the reserve components, although the President did not inhibit volunteers from the Ready Reserve from stepping forward. A view had evolved that the Guard, and to a lesser extent the Army Reserve, "became havens for those seeking to avoid active military service in that war."[71] This argument has significant merit, although it is not universally applicable. The Guard's own willingness to accept large numbers of volunteers with no prior military experience exacerbated this perception, until the training problem became so acute that they were obliged to cease the practice. A 1967 United Press newspaper article noted that "National Guard units are under orders to stop accepting recruits seeking to avoid the Vietnam draft. Until further notice, the National Guard Bureau announced Thursday that no recruits would be accepted without prior military experience."[72]

## Conclusion

As noted at the beginning of this volume, the U.S. Army as it existed in Vietnam was, in many ways, a very different institution than what had existed during World War II. Both relied heavily on the draft and volunteers, but with significant differences. Con-

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[70] Major General James. F. Cantwell, "Manpower Problems Mount," *The National Guardsman*, Vol. 24, No. 4, April 1970, inside cover.

[71] Lewis Sorley, "Reserve Components: Looking Back to Look Ahead," *Joint Force Quarterly*, Vol. 36, 19–20, 2005, pp. 19–20.

[72] Sorley, 2005, pp. 19–20.

scripts in World War II, for better or for worse, were bound to serve for the duration plus six months, although in many cases they were demobilized well before the war had been over for six months. Vietnam-era conscripts, on the other hand, served limited tours, a concept first devised during U.S. involvement in Korea. Limited tours had the result of not only increasing the need for more draftees to replace those lost when their rotation ended, they also greatly diminished the aggregate experience level resident in junior U.S. combat troops. Army NCO casualties significantly reduced the quality of the NCO corps over the course of the war. As a result of mobilization policies and the loss of so many seasoned Army NCOs, the combat experience of the Vietnam War was largely retained in the Regular Army's officer corps.

It is difficult to overstate the impact of President Johnson's decision on both the Army and the American public. An Army that had developed the personnel and infrastructure to absorb a certain number of conscripts each year under the Selective Service Act of 1948 was suddenly required to absorb many times that number, creating not only the aforementioned training problems but also discipline problems once the conscripts arrived in theater and did not have sufficiently experienced NCOs and officers to guide them, especially in the later years of the war. Mobilization of the reserve components may have temporarily alleviated this problem and many others, although likely creating other problems both at home and overseas. And while Johnson may have avoided a national debate on Vietnam in the early years of U.S. commitment in Southeast Asia, as he wanted to keep the nation's attention on his domestic agenda, the ever-expanding draft meant that the debate was only deferred indefinitely. When it did emerge, both the President and Secretary of Defense McNamara were shaken by the vehemence, and sometimes rage, expressed by those opposed to continued involvement in Vietnam and those who did not wish to go in the first place—not all of which were readily dismissible, even to senior policymakers, as 1960s counterculture foolishness. As Secretary McNamara reported to Congress in 1968, 590,000 officers and enlisted men volunteered for military service in Fiscal Year 1967, while fewer than 300,000 were required to be drafted. He expected these general trends to continue in 1968, which meant that the military was largely being manned by volunteers, not draftees, when opposition to the draft was reaching its peak.

Counterfactuals are not generally a productive use of the historian's time. However, it is difficult to see how Johnson's heavy use—some would say abuse—of the draft could have led to anything but its diminishment and eventual dismantlement. This process will be covered in detail in the following volume, but it is sobering to realize that an American tradition which had for decades been accepted as a means of expanding the military in time of war could, in five short years, be so ill-used as to render it undesirable—so much so that recommendations should be issued for its abolition.

It would take the Army about a decade to recover from Vietnam, most notably the rebuilding of its NCO corps. Senior officers of the mid-to-late 1970s would repeat over and over their unwillingness to go to war in the future without the reserves—

although, as we shall see, not necessarily for reasons of ensuring broad public support for American military intervention.

CHAPTER EIGHT

# Volume Conclusion

At the end of World War II, the United States faced a fundamentally new strategic context and a more expansive view about its role in the world. Although these changes led to important debates about U.S. military policy, ultimately, there were no significant changes to the fundamental laws governing U.S. military policy. Instead, policymakers made refinements and adjustments to U.S. military policy primarily through resource allocation, force structure, and executive action. It is, in retrospect, rather remarkable that the prewar legal structure had so fundamentally settled questions that had bedeviled Army planners since the American Revolution.

The Korean War revealed that the United States needed to be able to quickly deploy large and capable formations. The mechanisms in place to generate new forces or to train and prepare existing Army National Guard and Army Reserve units were too slow responding to this type of crisis, especially if they were to be undermanned and underequipped in peacetime. After the shock of the Korean War, the Army's plans for expansion changed from the mobilization of the mass citizen base along the lines of World Wars I and II to a new one that relied primarily on the Army's two reserve components, supported by a draft. However, these plans were not ultimately followed. Instead, as with the Korean War and the Berlin Crisis, the sitting President decided not to mobilize the reserve components *en masse*. President Lyndon B. Johnson stayed his hand to avoid congressional and public debate about U.S. involvement in Vietnam, and to keep the American public focused on his domestic agenda. As a result, the Regular Army, augmented heavily by conscripts, carried the Army's load in Vietnam.

As Volume IV will discuss in greater detail, the consequences these mobilization decisions are difficult to overstate, and continued to influence the psychology and decisionmaking of Army components for decades. As the Vietnam War came to an end, so too did the tradition of universal male conscription. The degree to which conscription was used to form the bulk of the fighting force initiated a nationwide conversation on the justness and utility of a draft in the modern era. In 1970, the Gates Commission, a group convened to examine the possibility of transitioning to an all-volunteer military, found that not only would it be possible to do so, but also that the Armed Forces would likely be of a higher quality than one that relied on conscription. The commission's report did not end the debate. Many, both in the Army and out of it, still believed the

draft to be crucially important to defense planning. However, the group's recommendations substantially advanced the idea throughout the nation that an all-volunteer force was well within the realm of possibility.

APPENDIX A

# Summary Table of Legislation Pertaining to the Evolution of U.S. Military Policy

**Table A.1**
**Summary Table of Legislation Pertaining to the Evolution of U.S. Military Policy**

| Statute/Act | Historical Context | Significance | Links to Titles 10 and 32 |
|---|---|---|---|
| U.S. Constitution: Militia, Raise/ Support Armies, and President as Commander in Chief Clauses | • 1787: Framers want small standing army<br>• Framers envision a select portion of the militia as a federal reserve<br>• Framers also envision the militia as the military force to deal with domestic issues such as insurrection and enforcement of laws | • The constitutional basis for Regular Army, federal army reserve, and militias<br>• No constitutional link between Regular Army and militia<br>• Future policy—laws enacted—would therefore define roles of militia and Regular Army | • Title 32 states National Guard is trained and has its officers appointed under militia clause<br>• Title 10 organized current U.S. Army under raise/ support armies clause |
| 1792 Uniform Militia Act | • George Washington wants militia organized on his 1783 "Sentiments on a Peace Establishment" | • Congress passes militia law with no mechanism for federal enforcement<br>• Is based on militia clause of Constitution<br>• Only militia law until 1903 | • Title 32 acknowledges 1792 act and that National Guard is organized under the militia clauses of the Constitution |
| 1795 Amendment to the 1792 Calling Forth Act | • Concern over 1794 Whiskey Rebellion and possible future rebellions<br>• Congress's trust in Washington allows them to give Executive control over militia to deal with domestic problems | • Gives President power to call forth militia without restrictions placed by the 1792 act<br>• Starts the statutory movement away from the militia envisioned in Constitution | • Title 10 gives President authority to either "call forth" or "order" National Guard without congressional authorization per 1795 act |

**Table A.1—continued**

| Statute/Act | Historical Context | Significance | Links to Titles 10 and 32 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1799 "Augment the Army" Act | • Failure of negotiations with France increased fear of war between the two nations<br>• Domestic unrest at home over taxes to pay for military mobilization increases need for expanded military to deal with insurrections | • Gives President power to expand temporarily the Regular Army by 24 regiments<br>• President given authority to accept organized companies of volunteers from the militia into federal service<br>• 1799 act gives President authority to use this expanded Army for the same purposes when "calling forth" the militia | • Title 10 gives President power to expand Regular Army and use it for domestic problems in combination with National Guard per the 1795 act |
| 1807 Insurrection Act | • With frontier expanding and continuing domestic unrest, there is need for Regular Army for internal problems in addition to Militias | • Gives President authority to use the Regular Army and Navy for internal rebellions and other problems<br>• Completes the statutory movement away from militia envisioned in Constitution | • Title 10 gives President authority to use Regular forces for domestic problems |
| 1863 Enrollment Act | • American Civil War. Union Army having trouble relying on states to bring men and units under federal control to meet manpower demand after two years of war with high casualties | • First federal statutory law that authorized a federal draft premised on universal military duty under the "raise and support armies" clause | • Title 10 relies on the Constitution to give it the statutory means to raise and support an army<br>• Implicit is the assumption that a national draft might be necessary to do so, as stipulated in Title 50 |
| 1898 Act to Provide for Temporarily Increasing the Peace Establishment of the United States in Time of War | • Spanish-American War. Regular Army and state National Guards largely unprepared for expeditionary warfare<br>• Debacle of deploying the Army to Cuba to fight Spain spurs significant postwar Army reforms | • Continues Congress on path increasing reliance on armies clause to organize army for war and maintains precedent for American men liable for service in "national forces" | • Same as 1863 Enrollment Act |

**Table A.1—continued**

| Statute/Act | Historical Context | Significance | Links to Titles 10 and 32 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1903 Act to Promote Efficiency of Militia (Dick Act) | • Spanish-American War reveals problems expanding Army and its readiness<br>• Secretary of War (Elihu Root) implements major reforms for U.S. Army<br>• United States enters world stage as new global power<br>• Perceived need for major Army reform to fight 20th century industrial wars | • First update to Uniform Militia Act for federal organizing of militia since 1792<br>• Is based on militia clause<br>• Is statutory birthday of modern Guard<br>• Federal government recognizes state Guards as "organized militia"<br>• Directs state Guards to be organized like Regular Army<br>• Establishes federal oversight<br>• Formalizes process of trading autonomy for federal aid<br>• Directs Guard units to train for a minimum of 24 drill periods per year, including a 5-day summer encampment<br>• Funds Guard 5-day encampments | • Title 32 refers to Guard as "organized militia" and directs state Guards to be organized like Regular Army<br>• Title 32 is premised on militia clause and armies clause of Constitution |
| 1908 Army Medical Department Act (April) | • Experience In Spanish-American War with casualties because of poor sanitation and health issues drives need for reform in Army medical care | • Establishes Medical Reserve Corps<br>• Statutory birthday of Army Reserve | • Title 10 Army Reserve premised on armies clause |
| 1908 Dick Act Amendment | • Growing tension between Regular Army and War Department and state Guards<br>• Constitutional debate over use of state Guards in foreign wars as organized militia<br>• State Guards worry federal volunteers will eclipse their desire to be in first line of defense | • Establishes state National Guards as Organized Militia of Several States when called to federal service before any volunteers (individuals or units) and can deploy overseas<br>• Further stokes legal debate over constitutionality of deploying the state Guards, organized on the militia clause, outside of United States | • Title 32 stipulates state Guards are trained and have their officers appointed under the militia clause |

**Table A.1—continued**

| Statute/Act | Historical Context | Significance | Links to Titles 10 and 32 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1916 National Defense Act | • World War I underway for two years<br>• Mexican border issues<br>• Debate over whether to have federal-only reserve or state National Guards as reserve in first line of defense<br>• Need to reorganize Army for industrial-age warfare<br>• Preparedness movement led by Elihu Root and other leading progressives argues for centralization of Army, universal military training for all American adult males, and rejection of state Guards as reserve force to Army, calls for federal reserve force envisioned in the War Department's "Continental Army Plan" | • Establishes National Guard as component of Army when federalized and in service of the United States<br>• Constitutional premise is armies clause<br>• Directs state Guards to be organized like Regular Army<br>• Gives detailed organization direction for Army<br>• Establishes Organized Reserves and Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC)<br>• Funds Guard for weekly armory training<br>• Is major increase of federal oversight and control of Guard<br>• Sets end strength goal for state Guards at 435,000 and Regular Army at 280,000<br>• States that Guards when federalized will be drafted as individuals<br>• Establishes Militia Bureau under Secretary of War, not Army Chief of Staff | • Title 10 recognizes the Army National Guard of the United States as a standing reserve component of the Army<br>• Virtually all funding for National Guard under Title 10 is based on Congress organizing the Guard for war under the armies clause<br>• Title 10 allows for Reserve Officers Training |
| 1917 Selective Service Act | • U.S. enters World War I, needs to form quickly a mass citizen-based war army<br>• Selective Service national draft is the means to provide manpower | • First major national draft in American history<br>• Draws on 1898 act and 1863 Enrollment Act that virtually all adult males are susceptible to federal military service<br>• First time Army receives major amounts of manpower without using the state militia systems | • Title 10 is statutory framework to carry out constitutional provision to raise and support armies<br>• National conscription is an implicit mechanism in Title 10 and explicitly stated in Title 50, to carry out that function, if needed<br>• Conscription into federal forces premised on armies clause |

**Table A.1—continued**

| Statute/Act | Historical Context | Significance | Links to Titles 10 and 32 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1920 Army Reorganization Act (amendment to 1916 National Defense Act) | • End of World War I yields more debate on how to organize peacetime army<br>• War Department produces plan similar to 1915 Continental Army Plan that calls for federal-only reserve to Army<br>• Backlash from Congress<br>• John M. Palmer becomes key adviser to Senate Military Affairs Committee<br>• Demobilization of Guard as individuals not units embitters Guard toward Regular Army | • Continues much of 1916 National Defense Act<br>• Sets end strength goal for Guard 435,000, Regular Army 280,000 (but over next 20 years, neither is funded to those levels)<br>• Word *draft* used to bring Guard to federal service but says Guard can be used for any mission (implying foreign wars)<br>• Makes Chief of Militia a Guard officer (formerly a Regular Army officer); also says if Guard demobilized from federal service will be by units, not individuals | • Title 10 National Guard Bureau headed by Guard officer |
| 1933 National Guard Act (amendment to 1916 National Defense Act) | • Main problem is how to mobilize mass citizen-based war army<br>• Both Regular Army and Guard at 50%<br>• Organized Reserve units are manned at skeleton levels<br>• Based on World War I experience, National Guard Association of the United States and Guard lobby Congress hard for Guard to be made reserve component of Army at all times.<br>• National Guard had sought this kind of legislation since the years following end of World War I | • Is statutory birth of modern guard as dual state and federal reserve force<br>• Establishes U.S. Army as the Regular Army, the National Guard of the United States, the National Guard while in the service of the United States, the Officers Reserve Corps, the Organized Reserves, and the Enlisted Reserve Corps<br>• Says Guard is reserve component of U.S. Army at all times; because Guard is permanent reserve of Army the word *ordered* is used for first time<br>• The statutory birthday of the modern Army Total Force | • Title 10 defines U.S. Army as Regular Army, Army National Guard of the Several States, the Army National Guard while in the Service of the United States, and the Army Reserve<br>• Title 10 uses "call forth" and "order" to federalize Guard<br>• Joins the armies and militia clauses into statutory law.<br>• Title 32 reflects "joining" by stating Guard is trained and has officers appointed under militia clause; however, it is organized and equipped under the armies clause |
| 1940 Selective Service Act | • World War II looms<br>• Regular Army, Guard, and Organized Reserves mobilizing and preparing<br>• Palmer brought back by Marshall to think about postwar military policy<br>• Guard worries again about being eclipsed by War Department relying on Army Reserve before Guard | • Stipulates explicitly the term "traditional military policy of the United States" is to maintain "at all times" the National Guard as "integral part of first line defenses" | • Title 32 (as does Title 50) stipulates almost verbatim the term "traditional military policy" as stated in the 1940 Selective Service Act |

APPENDIX B

# Taxonomy of Important Terms

**Active component:** This term is often used as a substitute for the Regular component of any of the military Services, and is often confused with *active duty*.

**Active duty:** The term *active duty* means full-time duty in the active military service of the United States. The term includes full-time training duty, annual training duty, and attendance, while in the active military service, at a school designated as a service school by law or by the Secretary of the military department concerned. The term does not include full-time National Guard duty (10 USC 101(d)(1)).

**Armies clause:** Article I, Section 8, of the U.S. Constitution states that Congress "shall have the power to," among other things, "raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than Two Years."

**Army National Guard (ARNG):** ARNG is defined in 32 USC 101 as "that part of the organized militia of the several States and Territories, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia, active and inactive that a) is a land force; b) is trained, and has its officers appointed, under the 16th clause of section 8, article I, of the Constitution; c) is organized, armed, and equipped wholly or partly at Federal expense; and d) is federally recognized." The National Defense Act of 1916 introduced the use of the term *National Guard* for the organized militia. After the National Security Act of 1947 created the Air Force, the term *Army National Guard* was established to distinguish the land force. When referring to the Army National Guard as a reserve component of the Army, either of the terms *reserve component* (singular) or *reserve components* (plural) should be used. Title 10 of the U.S. Code generally uses the plural term, but it also uses the singular term, which is why either of the two can be used. See also *Army National Guard of the United States* and *National Guard*.

**Army National Guard of the United States (ARNGUS):** The ARNGUS is the reserve component of the Army all of whose members are members of the Army National Guard (10 USC 101(c)(3)). See also *Army National Guard* and *National Guard*.

**Army of the United States** divisions, World War II: Formed by the War Department starting in 1943, these were divisions formed in excess of what the 1920 amendment had established: 9 Regular Army, 18 National Guard, and 36 Organized Reserve divisions.

**Army Total Force Policy:** This is a formal term adopted in DoD and Department of the Army policy (not statutory law) documents starting in 1970 with Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird's "Total Force Policy" for the entire DoD. It would be incorrect to apply this term to the U.S. Army of 1936, or even 1966, since it is a specific historical term that emerged in a specific historical context. This term was created in an attempt to characterize a shift in DoD thinking, which included higher expectations for the annual investments made in reserve forces and resulting higher levels of readiness.

**Calling forth militia clause:** Article 1, Section 8, of the U.S. Constitution states that Congress "shall have the power to," among other things, "provide for calling forth The militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions."

**Chief of the National Guard Bureau (CNGB):** The CNGB is responsible for the organization and operation of the National Guard Bureau but does not exercise command over the Army and Air National Guards of the States and Territories. The CNGB serves as a principal adviser to the Secretary of Defense, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Secretaries and Service Chiefs of the Army and Air Force on issues related to the nonfederalized National Guard. In 2011, Congress revised 10 USC 10502 to include the CNGB as a four-star general and as a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

**Commander-in-chief clause:** Article II, Section 2, of the U.S. Constitution states that "The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States . . ."

**Director of the Army National Guard (DARNG):** Since 1948 and under 10 USC 10506, the DARNG is appointed by the President and is tasked with assisting the Chief of the National Guard Bureau in carrying out the functions of the National Guard Bureau related to the Army National Guard. To be eligible for this four-year post, the officer must be an active member of the Army National Guard and have been nominated for selection by his or her governor or, in the case of the District of Columbia, the commanding general of the District of Columbia National Guard. The President may, with or without the Secretary of Defense's recommendation, appoint the DARNG from general officers of the Army National Guard.

**Enlisted Reserve Corps (ERC):** Established in federal law by the 1916 National Defense Act, the ERC comprised prior enlisted men from the Regular Army and new enlistees who would receive specialty skills training in the Regular Army. It was similar to the Officers' Reserve Corps in that it was intended to provide a manpower replacement pool of enlisted soldiers with special skills for Engineers, Signal, Quartermaster, and Medical Corps to expand the Regular Army when needed. But, like the Officers' Reserve Corps, the law allowed the President to assign ERC members as reservists to the Regular Army or to form new reserve organizations. Only a handful of men came into the ERC.

**First-line defenses** and **second-line defenses:** *First-line defenses* refers to U.S. ground and naval forces that will first meet an enemy of the United States in combat. *Second-line defenses* refers to follow-on forces that will take much longer to mobilize and prepare for battle. For example, in the 19th century, the first line of ground defenses against an invasion from a foreign power was the small Regular Army scattered throughout the country alongside the state militias. The second line in this context would have been a larger volunteer army that would be mobilized by the several states and provided for federal service. In the 20th century, which ground forces were in the first and second lines of defense became the subject of debate among the War Department, Regular Army, and National Guard proponents. Guardsmen saw their organized state militia units as being a part of the first-line defense with the Regular Army. In their view, the Regular Army would respond first but would be quickly joined by ready National Guard units. In this view, the second line would have been the larger volunteer or conscript army. Many Regular Army officers contested this view, arguing that the first-line defenses ought to comprise only the Regular Army and a federal reserve force. The second line of defense, in their view, would have been the larger militia and volunteer army that would take time to mobilize and train. In this view, the state National Guards would be dedicated to state missions, and not typically part of the larger war army, which many Regular Army officers believed must be under the command of one commander-in-chief, namely the President, and not subordinate to state governors, as were the state National Guards.

**Inactive Duty for Training (IDT):** First codified in 1952, this term refers to authorized training performed by a member of the Army Reserve or National Guard not on active duty or active duty for training. Commonly known as "weekend drill," IDT includes regularly scheduled unit training assemblies, equivalent or additional training, and any special duties authorized for reserve component personnel by the Secretary concerned.

**Medical Reserve Corps:** Established in federal law on April 23, 1908, in response to capability shortfalls during the 1898 Spanish-American War, the Medical Reserve Corps was the first federal reserve to the U.S. Army organized under the armies clause.

It was to be made up of certified medical doctors who had volunteered to serve in the Medical Reserve Corps and be called to active service when the need was determined by the Secretary of War. This Medical Reserve Corps was the forerunner of the modern Army Reserve of today.

**Military policy:** Refers to the foundational laws that govern the U.S. Army by defining what the Army consists of—its component parts—and the relationship between those component parts. The first true legal statement of a military policy to govern the Army was the 1916 National Defense Act, although that law did not use the term explicitly. See also *traditional military policy*.

**Militia:** See Appendix A: Summary Table of 19th Century Militias and Volunteer Forces. Also see *organized militia*.

**Militia clause:** Article 1, Section 8, of the U.S. Constitution states that Congress "shall have the power to," among other things, "provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress."

**Mobilize or mobilization:** Refers to either calling forth militias of the several states or ordering the reserve components to federal service to augment the Regular Army.

**National Army** divisions, World War I: Established by the War Department in 1917 to designate newly formed Army divisions that were made up of draftees (and cadres from Regular Army and National Guard formations) that were created in addition to Regular Army and National Guard divisions.

**National Guard:** The National Guard evolved out of the volunteer uniformed militias that developed prior to the Civil War. After the Civil War, starting in the 1870s, volunteer uniformed militia units increasingly called themselves National Guard or National Guards. Until the early 20th century, these National Guard units were state entities unto themselves with little or no federal oversight or authority. With the Dick Act in 1903 came federal recognition of the National Guard units as the "organized militia" of the several states. Over the course of the 20th century, the level of federal funding for the National Guard increased to the point that, today, virtually all of the funding for the National Guard comes from the federal government. See also *Army National Guard* and *Army National Guard of the United States*.

**Officers' Reserve Corps:** Established in federal law by the 1916 National Defense Act to facilitate the rapid expansion of the Army, the Officers' Reserve Corps was to consist of men who had volunteered to be in it, had received the appropriate level of

training as further stipulated by the 1916 act, and would be liable to be ordered by the President to federal service to fill out and expand the ranks of the Regular Army. The Officers' Reserve Corps was premised on the armies clause. Its historical use was generally during the period between 1916 and 1941.

**Organized militia** and **unorganized militia:** The first use of the term *organized militia* in federal law was in the 1903 Dick Act, which recognized the National Guards of the several states as the "organized militia" and premised on the militia clauses. This statutory term should not be confused with various militia units in 18th and 19th century America that were organized, either under compulsory service or volunteerism.

The term *unorganized militia* was first stipulated in federal law in the 1903 Dick Act to refer to men between ages 18 and 45 who were not members of the state National Guards or "organized militia."

**Organized Reserve Corps:** This term is often used in post–World War II writings to describe the "Organized Reserves" during the interwar years from 1920 to 1940. The term *Organized Reserve Corps* was not used during those interwar years unless someone was referring to an actual "corps" formation in the Organized Reserves. The term *Organized Reserve Corps* came into use during the World War II years, especially when planners were writing about postwar Army organizations. However, the term was first stipulated in federal law in the Army Organization Act of 1950. The 1952 Armed Forces Reserve Act then stipulated the term *Organized Reserve Corps* would be replaced with *Army Reserve*. Therefore, the term *Organized Reserve Corps* should be used carefully and only when referring to the years between roughly 1944 and 1952. Unfortunately, many secondary sources use *Organized Reserve Corps* interchangeably with *Organized Reserves* to describe the Organized Reserves during the interwar years. One other point of confusion is that the abbreviation *ORC* is also used for the Officers' Reserve Corps; the two organizations are obviously quite different and distinct.

**Organized Reserves:** Established in the 1920 amendment to the 1916 National Defense Act, the Organized Reserves consisted of the Officers' Reserve Corps and the Enlisted Reserve Corps. The 1920 law added this new term from the 1916 National Defense Act for organizational purposes, because when World War I ended in 1918, the Department of War intended to maintain in peacetime an organized Army reserve, under the armies clause, that had actual "in being" corps, divisions, regiments, etc. A big difference from the National Guard was that the Organized Reserve units were of skeletal strength, consisting only of officers. Importantly, the 1920 amendment designated nine corps regional areas in the United States responsible for training and recruiting for the Regular Army, National Guard, and Organized Reserve divisions in it. The 1920 amendment stipulated that each corps area would have one Regular Army division, two National Guard divisions, and three Organized Reserve divisions.

This force structure would become the nucleus for a greater Army expansion in World War II.

**Regular Army:** In continuous existence since 1788 as stipulated in federal law, the Regular Army is the full-time, standing component of the Army. The term *active duty* is often used as being synonymous with the Regular Army, but it is not. The confusion comes from the premise of the Regular Army being a full-time "active" force.

**Reserve component:** This singular term may refer to any of the reserve components of the military services or the Coast Guard described below under *reserve components*. With regard to the Army, *reserve component* may refer to either the Army Reserve or the Army National Guard of the United States. The term first appeared in the Code of Federal Regulations in 1926, when Title 32 defined the National Guard as the United States' reserve component. It has since expanded in line with the emergence of additional reserve forces.

**Reserve components:** As codified in 1994 in 10 USC 10101, *reserve components* is the collective term for the seven individual reserve components of the U.S. military: Army National Guard of the United States, Army Reserve, Marine Corps Force Reserve, Navy Reserve, Air National Guard of the United States, Air Force Reserve, and Coast Guard Reserve. Under 10 USC 10102, the purpose of the reserve components is to "provide trained units and qualified persons available for active duty in the armed forces, in time of war or national emergency, and at such other times as the national security may require, to fill the needs of the armed forces whenever more units and persons are needed than are in the regular components."

**Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC):** The ROTC was established in statutory law by the 1916 National Defense Act. The law authorized the President, under the armies clause, to establish ROTC detachments at U.S. colleges granting four-year degrees. The law also mandated ROTC detachments at U.S. colleges and universities that were established by the 1862 U.S. land grant (Morrell Act), which provided federal land to newly formed states to build colleges and universities. A provision of the Morrell Act directed that military tactics and sciences be taught at these land grant institutions. Hence the connection between the 1916 National Defense Act establishing the ROTC and the 1862 Morrell Act.

**Traditional military policy:** A term created by an important Army reformer of the first half of the 20th century, John McAuley Palmer. Palmer first used the term in a report he wrote for the Secretary of War Henry Stimson in 1912. In Palmer's view, the "traditional military policy" of the United States was to have a small Regular Army in peacetime that would be expanded by mobilizing the mass of the citizenry into a war army that was also led by "citizen soldiers." Palmer also began, in the years prior

to World War I, to add an additional tenet of this "traditional military policy," which was to have this citizen army in place in peacetime so that it could be equipped and trained. In 1940, Congress applied the term *traditional military policy* in statutory law to the National Guard, by stating "in accordance with the traditional military policy of the United States, it is essential that the strength and organization of the National Guard as an integral part of the first line defenses of the United States be maintained and assured at all times . . ."

**U.S. Army** or **Army:** The term *Army* refers to the totality of the U.S. Army at any given time in U.S. history—that is, the Regular Army and whatever type of force has been added to expand it. It is incorrect to assume that the term *Army* is synonymous with *Regular Army*; *Army* refers to the Regular Army *and* the actual or potential means to expand it. For example, one could use the term *Army* during the War of 1812 to mean the Regular Army, compulsory militia units provided by the several states to expand the overall size of the Army, and volunteer militia units from the several states. Or, by way of another example, the term *Army* in 1944 meant units of the Regular Army, Organized Reserves, the National Guards of the states and territories, and the Army of the United States. As a more recent example, the term *Army*, as stipulated in Title 10 of the U.S. Code, means the Regular Army, the Army National Guard of the United States, the Army National Guard while in the service of the United States, and the Army Reserve (i.e., the U.S. Army Reserve). The Army recognizes its birthday as occurring in 1775, when the Continental Congress established the American "Continental" Army.

**U.S. Army Reserve:** The 1952 Armed Forces Reserve Act, a major piece of legislation reforming all of the military services' reserve components, largely based on the experience of the partial mobilization during the Korean War, replaced older terms for the Army, such as *Organized Reserves* and *Organized Reserve Corps* with the new term *Army Reserve*. It is important to note that this legal title should be used in singular form and not in the plural—*Army Reserves*—since in its singular form, as stipulated in law, it refers to the individual members and units of the Army Reserve. At the Department of Defense (DoD) level, it is typical to refer to the *reserves* (plural and lowercase) when referring collectively to the Army Reserve, Navy Reserve, Air Force Reserve, Marine Corps Forces Reserve, and Coast Guard Reserve—but, importantly, not the Army National Guard. When referring to the Army Reserve as a reserve component of the Army, the term *reserve component* should be used; the *Army reserve components* are the U.S. Army Reserve and the Army National Guard of the United States.

## Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| AGF | Army Ground Forces |
| ARNG | Army National Guard |
| DoD | U.S. Department of Defense |
| GHQ | General Headquarters |
| JCS | Joint Chiefs of Staff |
| NCFA | National Commission on the Future of the Army |
| NCO | noncommissioned officer |
| NGAUS | National Guard Association of the United States |
| ROA | Reserve Officers Association of the United States |
| ROAD | Reorganization Objective Army Division |
| ROTC | Reserve Officers' Training Corps |
| SPD | Special Planning Division |
| STEP | Special Training and Enlistment Program |
| UMT | universal military training |
| USAR | U.S. Army Reserve |

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