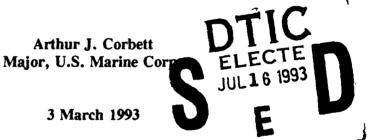


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WOMEN IN COMBAT: THE CASE FOR COMBAT EXCLUSION

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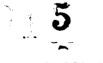






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Major, United States Marine Corps

A paper submitted to the Faculty of the Naval War College in partial satisfaction of the requirements of the Advanced Research Program.

The contents of this paper reflect my own personal views and are not necessarily endorsed by the Naval War College or the Department of the Navy.

Signature: A. J. Calif

3 March 1993

Paper directed by Lieutenant Colonel David Burgess Joint Military Operations Department

Approved by:

David Burgess, LTC, USMC

ABSTRACT

This paper responds to the assertion that the current combat exclusion policy is arbitrary and unjustly discriminatory. The paper presents information that documents the differences that naturally occur in the sexes and justify distinctions in policy. The differences in men and women are examined from biological and other scientific perspectives. The philosophical distinction between the proponents and opponents of women warriors are also examined. The writings of Clausewitz and Sun Tsu are examined in light of the proposal to place women in combat. The dilemma between trade-offs in military efficiency and political expediency are considered.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Preface and Chapter I

This paper addresses the issue of women in combat and provides a defense of the current policy of combat exclusion for women. The services are under political pressure to change the current exclusion policy to a new policy that would reflect contemporary egalitarian social principles. To successfully defend the current exclusion policy it is necessary to demonstrate that the difference in assignment policies for men and women derives from a significant difference in the sexes that effects combat efficiency. A successful defense also requires an understanding of the philosophical and ideological currents that surround the issue. This paper attempts to answer the following questions:

1. Philosophically, what differentiates the proponents from the opponents of women in combat?

2. Socially, how mutable is human nature? To what extent is androgyny possible in the military?

3. Biologically, how are men and women different? Are these differences significant in terms of combat capability and cohesion?

4. Culturally, how significant are these differences in contrast with American values of equality, equal opportunity and national defense?

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Chapter II

There are various reasons why some military women and other persons wish to eliminate the combat exclusion policy. They include:

1. Career Opportunity and Promotion

- 2. Acceptance by Peers
- 3. Ability to do the Job
- 4. Social Equality and Responsibility
- 5. Reduce the Probability of War
- 6. Inevitability of Combat Assignment
- 7. Need For Woman Power

8. Technology Has Changed The Nature Of War

There are numerous arguments that support these various reasons. They are detailed in the words of military women themselves.

Chapter III

The current understanding of what differentiates men and women from each other is significantly different than the conventional wisdom that was popular in sociology classrooms twenty years ago. Although the nature or nurture debate still rages, there is substantial evidence to conclude that hormonally induced behavioral differences in the sexes are quite profound. These differences have a biological origin that is largely due to the interaction of hormones with the human brain. This interaction takes place in two ways. The first is an <u>inductive</u> process that occurs early in fetal development. It involves the interaction of the hormones upon the developing brain. The female brain develops in a normal manner analogous to a default format, but the male brain undergoes a differentiation process where the hormones "wire" the brain in a uniquely masculine manner. In short, the male brain develops differently in form, and later operates differently in function, than the female brain. The male and female brain are not analogous, as are, for example, the male and female arm. Hormones also have activational effects on the brain. This occurs when different female hormones male and interact with the hormonally differentiated structures of the male and female brain and, consequently, produce different behavioral results. The hormones not only shape the human brain, but they revisit often to influence behaviors and tendencies according to the wiring diagram they imparted during fetal development.

These differences in the human brain are every bit as significant as the differences in the human body. Perhaps even more significant, since they influence not only our talents and abilities, but also our motivations and preferences.

Both men and women benefit from this differentiation process, and in overall intelligence the sexes are quite similar. However, certain traits show a marked difference by gender and would have significant impact upon combat capability:

1. Aggression. Men are far more aggressive than women.

2. Risk. Men are far more likely to risk than women.

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3. Spacial perception. Men have a better understanding of the relationship between locations and the ability to orient to terrain. They can mentally manipulate objects with greater ability.

4. Dominance. Men will invest great energy to assure their position in the male dominance hierarchy. Men have a different achievement orientation than women and will forgo more pleasures to meet their achievement needs. Dominance and achievement are part of a man's emotional needs and needs are at the root of motivation.

5. Many differences, such as small motor skills, early maturation, and verbal ability favor women. However, these traits are not as readily applicable in a combat environment as aggression, risk and dominance.

In summary, there are significant gender differences that differentiate the traits and behaviors of men and women, and more favorably differentiate men for combat related tasks. It is important for leaders to understand these differences, and account for them, so that they can maximize the personnel resources at their disposal.

The focus in reflecting on these differences is often to determine what sex has the highest propensity or aptitude for a given task. However, in this study the focus included how these differences would influence cohesion. The contention being, the difference between men and women in terms of ability may not be as significant as the difference in compatibility.

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Chapter IV

Chapter Five approached the question of gender differences from a biological perspective. This chapter focuses on information that sociobiology and anthropology reveal concerning gender differences in behavior and aptitude. The primary areas of interest are:

 Male Bonding. This is an important social process common to all mammals. Men who do not bond will not risk as a group. Male bonding takes place in the absence of women.

2. Female Antagonism. Both women and men prefer male leadership. Women seem to have an even greater preference than men for male leadership, and there are strong indicators of mutual mistrust and antagonism among female co-workers in military environments.

3. Historic Experiments with Social Androgyny. The Kibbutz provides a model of what actually occurs when an idealistic nonpaternal social structure is attempted.

Chapter V

Using the writing of Thomas Sowell as a framework, the philosophical underpinnings of the proponents and opponents of women in combat are examined. In conflict are two different visions of human nature. What Sowell calls the "constrained vision" sees man as an imperfect being, who should value prudence and the wisdom found in tradition to supplement his limited knowledge. Life's tragic nature often defies solutions and constrains us to trade-offs in social policies. In contrast the "unconstrained vision" has a highly idealized vision of man as a ever more perfect being who can and should seek to solve life's many problems. Examining the topic of women in combat in the light of these contrasting visions probes the current political and social controversy concerning women warriors. Contrasting the admonishments of Clausewitz and Sun Tzu in light of women as warriors helps reveal the appropriate course of action for military commanders who advise policy makers.

<u>Conclusion</u>

The military services serve the nation as both the sharp, swift sword of national will and resolve and as an institution of considerable social consequence. Which of these roles has priority? What is the proper course of action to the military leadership when competing political and military priorities demand trade-offs? How does the military best serve the nation, as instrument of war or implement of social change?

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PREFACE

In several public lectures, and also in a contribution appearing in <u>Minerva</u> entitled "Combat Exclusion: Military Necessity or Another Name For Bigotry", Dr. Paul E. Roush, a retired Marine officer who directs the leadership department at the Naval Academy, makes the following assertion concerning the combat exclusion policy for women and those who support it:

The issue is really one of bigotry. Webster's definition of a bigot is one obstinately devoted to his own opinions and prejudices. Somehow that seems too gentle. For me the term involves invidious discrimination--practicing unequal treatment on the basis of some quality or characteristic that has nothing to do with the issue at hand and which can't be changed at any rate--race and gender would be examples.¹

Now these are harsh words. They certainly have impact. I was directed to these comments by a fellow officer who, if her agreement with these sentiments is indicative, believes herself and other military women to be victims of a system based upon such bigotry. Could this be true? It certainly made me think. In a phone conversation with Dr. Roush, he expanded his comments to term those who resist the full integration of women as engaged in "sabotage." By not allowing women to maximize their potential for service and by impeding their ability to function by asserting negative attitudes, those who resist the integration of women into combat arms are, in fact, sabotaging Navy personnel policies as surely as one might sabotage a piece of equipment. Now I was really concerned.

Most of the people I care deeply about are women. I cannot claim any greater enlightenment than any of my peers, nor any great works of social change, but I have moral principles that tell me to treat everyone with fairness, and like most men my age, to treat women with deference. I too would like to be thought of as a fair and generous person. But Dr. Roush, for all my good intentions, has cast a considerable cloud on my selfimage. Like most of my peers in uniform, I harbor a dark secret. No matter how I look at the issue, there is no way I can see how a mixed gender unit would be superior in combat to a male only unit, and I can think of a lot of ways in which it would be worse. It's not that I do not hold the talents of women in high regard, nor that I think they are deficient in character. In my most ingenuous moments, I find myself in admiration of the superior character and moral attributes of women. Still, combat is fighting, and I do not believe women fight nearly as well as men.

There are many talents that women bring to the military. Some, such as small motor skills, are unique to women and make them superior at such tasks as radio component repair, but these skills do not differentiate women for combat. After all, women are considerably weaker than men in physical ability and do not seem to be nearly as aggressive. These are important factors in war. For some reason, these types of facts stick in my mind. I know I shouldn't think this way. Every military publication I pick up tells me that this information and my feelings are old

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fashioned and out of date. Women are equal they tell us. The word equal is rather blunt. They are not similar, equivalent, or approximate--they are <u>equal</u>. Like some unregenerate character in an Orwell novel, I find myself drawn to notice the differences. Maybe Dr. Roush is right, perhaps I'm a bigot. Am I the one who is out of step with "progress," even though my opinions reflect the current policy?

Sometimes, I resort to rationalizing my dark secret. Perhaps it is really not so dark a secret after all. All the Joint Chiefs of Staff feel the same way, as do nearly all of my fellow Marines. The most decorated heroes from several wars firmly dissent with the feminist position, as do many other Americans. Perhaps I'm not such a bigot after all. I have never been one to decide my moral convictions on the basis of popular vote. Where lies the truth?

In the same <u>Minerva</u> article, Dr. Roush makes this challenge to those of us he has attempted to marginalize as bigots:

The burden of proof, it seems to me, should fall squarely on the proponents of exclusion to show that the unequal treatment derives from unequal ability, and is therefore justified.²

Dare anyone take up the gauntlet? Wear the hair shirt of bigotry, probe the dank corners of biological facts and ultimately, if successful at enumerating differences that merit distinctions, be accused in more vile terms to ensure more complete marginalization? Clearly this is not an argument that everyone endeavors to resolve by reasoned thought. There is a consistent effort by some to claim moral high ground from which

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to decorate dissenters with epithets that demean character and degrade strongly held values.

I am one to admire a tenacious argument. This modest endeavor has only enhanced my appreciation for the truly talented. Yet the ground rules for dealing with topics of this nature are decidedly different from those that argue for a new missile system or a change in budget priorities. There is no attempt to demean the character of those who disagree with systems management or hardware procurement, only the thought process is questioned. In the controversy concerning women in combat, the context in which the argument is formed places one who dissents on tenuous ground.

The argument does not revolve around mere utility, but has been driven to incorporate vice and virtue. Tenaciously asserting equality as the highest ideal, the proponents of women in combat wrap themselves tightly in the righteousness of their cause. Those of us who disagree must first stand in the mud of condescension, accused of bigotry. All for the right to speak the truth as one sees it.

I offer a defense of the combat exclusion laws and other rules that restrict women from combat. As Dr. Roush suggests, I intend to prove that there are natural differences between men and women that merit distinctions, including combat exclusion. Still, much will go unsaid. At best, I hope to encourage others to examine further some of the facts I have uncovered. My argument is built on as much scientific information as possible,

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but ultimately I need to grapple with the premises that cloak the ideology of those who have moved the argument on to a philosophical footing. Still, I do not want to disparage the virtue and professionalism of any one. Any officer who gives first priority to the accomplishment of the mission is a loyal member of the Armed Forces and not one to be derogated for having a divergence of opinion. I have been fortunate, in writing this paper, to encounter professional military women who disagree heartily with my opinion, and just as heartily, they have encouraged me to air my views for further discussion. Their help has caused me to hold the professionalism of military women in ever higher esteem. Let nothing that follows be misconstrued to belittle in any way those women who have dedicated their military careers to making America a safer place.

NOTES

1. Paul E. Roush, "Combat Excllusion: Military Necessity or Another Name for Bigotry," <u>Miranda</u>, Fall, 1990. p. 1.

2. <u>Ibid</u>. p. 2.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Women in combat: Three short words that convey different meanings to different people. There are a multitude of connotations depending upon one's historic perspective and social values. These connotations are laden with emotions founded in ideologies and supported by movements that exceed the bounds of the proposal itself. The issue is a divisive one for society--the Armed Forces in particular. The contemporary social rancor triggered by the topic concerns not only the utility or fairness of the proposal, but connects with a wider social dimension, within which the issue of "women in combat" is perceived as a benchmark. This study, therefore, includes reflections on the social, as well as the military ramifications of using woman in a combat role. A role which effects all facets of the Clausewitzian Trilogy--the People, the Army and the Government.

Most members of the military know where they stand; and few civilians are without opinions concerning women combatants. The recent Gulf War did much to popularize the controversy. Unfortunately there is a mixed message. The media portrayed the

sexual misconduct at the 1991 Tailhook Convention along with combat exclusion as two sides of the same coin. Feminist leaders skillfully crafted a portrait of combat exclusion begetting sexual harassment and misconduct within the Navy, and by association the Armed Forces. This action served to obfuscate the issues of women as combatants with indignation at their treatment by servicemen. The Report to the President of the Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed feminists Forces frustrated with its conservative recommendations even as it threw a curve to the Navy by recommending the integration of women on surface combatants. Opinions proliferate and in most quarters conclusions have already been drawn. Yet much controversy remains. Since this issue has drawn so much exposure in media short stories, the ground that remains contestable is that based on critical examination of basic facts and premises. Consequently, this paper does not seek merely to present conclusions, but also to provide an examination of facts and the different interpretations of those facts.

There is considerable ground that has already been trampled concerning this issue. The 1992 <u>Report to the President</u> of the Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces is the most recent, and perhaps, the most definitive study to date. Despite the controversy that surrounds its conclusions, there is much unanimity of opinion concerning its research and data collection. When germane, I will cite the pertinent research of this and other reports, but I hope to restrict my inquiry to less beaten paths.

The purpose of this paper is to determine if there is merit to the combat exclusion laws. Are there genuine differences between men and women sufficient to fairly merit excluding women from combat?

In the next chapter, the reasons and arguments for women in

combat are identified. In order to present a less biased examination of these motivations, I have relied heavily upon quotations from the advocates of women in combat themselves. I received assistance from several spirited proponents of women in combat who helped to keep me honest. Including these arguments helps to define the issue and avoids throwing half answered solutions at straw man objections.

Two of the many facets that define this issue are worthy of additional attention and will circumscribe the parameters of my research. Both deal with human nature, either in its essence or our perceptions of that essence. These are issues that defy the thirty second sound bite and require detailed discussion. Consequently, they are largely unexamined in the popular discussion. More importantly, some of the assumptions routinely asserted by pundits concerning human nature are simply misleading. This paper will question many fundamental assumptions.

The first area of research attempts to uncover the actual constraints that limit human nature and are currently construed to exclude women from combat. Are we subject to the same biological limitations as our forefathers, or might we transcend our current condition, once perceived biological, social and cultural constraints are demythologized? What does science tell us about the actual physiological and biological differences between men and women? Are we indeed different, or have our impulses, history and traditions conspired to render women

unjustly appreciated for social contributions and excluded from offensive combat? Is there truth in the contemporary academic orthodoxy that all people are created equal but we have senselessly socialized ourselves into unjust cultural patterns? Or is nature "sexist," and does the current combat exclusion reflect a social trade-off to best, though imperfectly, accommodate the natural order of things? Chapter Three will examine gender differences from a biological perspective while Chapter Four will look at sociological and anthropological observations as they pertain to women combatants.

The second area of research endeavors to discern and define the fundamental points of disagreement between the proponents and opponents of women in combat. Unless one is to believe the extreme positions, that all those who favor the exclusion of women from combat are derelict proponents of invidious and knowingly senseless discrimination, or that all those who favor placing women in combat are militant feminists ruthlessly exploiting and bastardizing the military to achieve over-arching ideological ends, then a more rational point of departure must be found. Once this fundamental point of disagreement is identified, we can begin the process of critical examination on more rational less emotional footing. Arguably, and identifying this primary point of disagreement is a worthy goal in itself, and may constitute progress in reconciling the current climate of rancor within the military concerning this issue. I assert that this point of departure is a fundamental

disagreement on the malleability of human nature. After examining this difference of opinion, Chapter Five concludes by contrasting the respective visions with the ideas of some leading military theorists.

At question, throughout this discussion, are the natural limits on human nature and the consequent potential for society to devise highly effective institutions based on the premise that we can develop more androgynous human behavior characteristics. In short, the question is whether the physical and behavioral differences that exist between the sexes arise from our inherent nature or whether they are the process of invidious socialization and therefore correctable.

Chapter Six will discuss the role of the military as both a social institution and as an instrument of national policy. It examines the differences uncovered in the scientific inquiry and contrasts their significance in relation to American values and concern for equality, equal opportunity, national survival and defense policy.

The subject of human nature is a thoroughly inexhaustible source of interest and source materials. Consequently, this research has probed into a variety of disciplines that offer information to illuminate our topic. I hope that by finding the relevant information, properly collating it, and then sequencing it into a coherent pattern a convincing and self evident conclusion will be discernable. To this end, this paper attempts to answer the following questions:

1. Philosophically, what differentiates the proponents from the opponents of women in combat units?

2. Socially, how mutable is human nature? Or in other words, to what extent is androgyny possible in the military?

3. Biologically, how are men and women different? Are these differences significant in terms of combat?

4. Culturally, how significant are these differences in contrast with the American values of equality, equal opportunity and national defense?

Proponents of women in combat have repeatedly recommended that I begin this paper with a definition of the term combat. They imply that while not all types of combat may be appropriate for women, some may be more appropriate than others. At the same time, they recognize inherent gender differences and constraints in adaptabing women to some types of combat. I will use the current (as of 1 Jan 1993) DoD understanding of combat, with the concomitant Risk Rule, as the unit of measure. Proposals that increase or diminish the current participation of women in combat will be explicitly stated. From my inquiry into this issue, I have concluded that military women themselves are divided over the definition of combat and often disagree in the forms of combat that should include women. There is a greater consensus among women to include flight and shipboard duties than infantry and armor.

The term, "women," might be considered self evident and undeserving of definition, but my reading of feminist literature

and the statements of some militant military officers has persuaded me otherwise. The militant feminists tend to use the term "women" in the same manner as the Marxists use the term "the people."¹ Both have usurped and coopted a useful word into one that intentionally discounts and renders voiceless all women or people who do not share their ideology and goals. In both cases, the majority of women, and people, become marginalized by accepting the new definition. I shall use the term women in the traditional sense and apply appropriate modifiers as required.

Women warriors, the ultimate oxymoron from any classical and traditional perspective, has come to symbolize for some feminists the ultimate in social progress, gender equality and the beginning of the end of the traditional constraints that an unjust social structure has placed on women. They resolutely reject the current social order and its concomitant patriarchy that views women as persons whose natural condition and unique social value warrant protection. They reject the belief that women are by nature less powerful in a conflict setting and demand complete inclusion in the social order as equals, to include the warrior and protective occupations. They argue, that by including women in the leadership process which we reserve for men in the preparation and conduct of war, we will empower our women with the skills that will enable them to share as equals in society at large.

Others who support the concept of women warriors, and many military women, are far less militant in their demands and

strident in their rhetoric. They hold high hopes for equal opportunity in the military, but largely respect western culture and the social freedoms we enjoy. Many are uniquely talented military women who far exceed the normative talents of both men and women and consequently hold high career expectations. Their loyalty to the Nation and their respective services is beyond question. They know that they have a valuable contribution to make in the national defense and feel that their vision and talents can strengthen the Armed Forces if given a voice in the leadership circles. They are spirited women who revel in challenge and find reward in overcoming adversity. Researching this paper has brought me into contact with many of these outstanding women and has refined my appreciation of their potential, talents, and personal motivations. For the most part, their interest in eliminating the combat exclusion for women is vested in the elimination of obstacles to their career advancement within the Armed Forces based on their lack of command of combat designated units. In speaking with these women, one cannot help but admire the fortitude they muster to succeed within the military, and begin to empathize with their frustration. These women cannot, and should not, be dismissed as malcontents or the willing vanguard of a destructive feminist ideology within the military structure. While they may have less loyal counterparts, it is important not to gratuitously lump military women who desire the repeal of the combat exclusion into one irreverent category. Many of these women hold high

combat exclusion, we can count on them to be its most effective proponents.

Between the militant feminists and the loyal military members lies a full spectrum of proponents of women in combat whosf reasons and motivations defy simplistic categorization. Outside this spectrum lies a much larger percentage of women, to include military women, who have no desire to volunteer for combat duty. The issue of women in combat is divisive within the ranks of women themselves. How a particular military service perceives the term combat is also a variable that influences the preferences of women regarding combat exclusion. The women in the Air Force and Navy show greater support for ending combat exclusion rules than their sisters in the Army and Marine Corps.

NOTES

1. Mary M. Finch Capt, USA states in her personal comments in the <u>Report to the President</u>, of the Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces: "As Commission member and active-duty Army officer, I believe that the work of this Commission has been an insult to all servicewomen." "MAN'S [WOMAN'S] CAPACITIES HAVE NEVER BEEN MEASURED; NOR ARE WE TO JUDGE OF WHAT HE [SHE] CAN DO BY ANY PRECEDENTS, SO LITTLE HAS BEEN TRIED." -THOREAU

CHAPTER II

THE CASE FOR WOMEN IN COMBAT

Why do some women wish to go to combat? The question is tendentious. More appropriately we should ask, why do some women no longer wish to be excluded from combat? The answers range from equal opportunity and career advancement to social change and the elimination of "sexism." Though there is disagreement on what exactly should replace the current policy, there is a consensus among those who favor women in combat that urrent exclusion policies, based on gender, should be scraped for at least some, if not all, military occupational fields.

Among those who favor women in combat, there are points of disagreement concerning compulsory combat service for women. Should all women who join the Armed Forces be eligible for combat assignment or only those who volunteer? If there is a draft, should women be eligible? If drafted, would women have the option not to be in a combat unit? These questions, though significant, do not deter consensus on the desire of many women officers to terminate the current exclusions, which they perceive as discriminatory, arbitrary and archaic. Some contend that the current exclusion is no longer relevant to the current strategic culture.

In 1990, Marine Major Patrice Mauck did an advanced

research project entitled "Women in Combat." As part of her research she conducted a survey of the opinions women Marine officers that is highly informative. Mauck's survey allowed the respondents to amplify answers in narrative form. Many of the respondents took considerable time to express their opinions, and Major Mauck presented a cross section of their responses with narrative bullets. A wide range of views are expressed, but for the purpose of this chapter the opinions of the women who desired the end of the combat exclusion laws have been condensed. These opinions are augmented from other sources, but I am most interested in citing those women who will be effected by the change. Of course, those most effected will be the enlisted men and women who must actually dig the foxholes and close with the enemy. A similar study of their opinions would be equally informative.

For sake of clarity and simplicity, I have broadly characterized the opinions of women who advocate the repeal of the combat exclusion law into <u>reasons</u> and <u>arguments</u>. Reasons, for our purpose, are broad categories that are supported by a wide range of underpinning arguments. I have tried earnestly to provide a condensed but definitive list of reasons, but there are a full spectrum of arguments, and I have no reason to suspect that I have included them all. The following reasons and accompanying arguments are among those most frequently mentioned. Unless cited otherwise, the source was Major Mauck's survey.

CAREER OPPORTUNITY

There is considerable support for the repeal of the combat exclusion on the grounds that without access to combat and combat command billets the career patterns of military women will not be competitive with those of men. Many military women recognize that lack of experience is a valid discriminator, but feel that their lack of opportunity to aspire to positions that provide the required experience is unfair. Though some women have achieved high rank, they are recognized as the exception and not the rule. Opening combat billets to women will enable women to compete on the same basis as men for promotion and position. Some of the arguments are:

1. Promotion opportunity. "The bottom line is that as you advance in rank, doors begin to close on you. . . in the long run, women's careers are not as well-rounded; and therefore, they do not appear as competitive to a promotion board [as men]."¹

2. Attainment of high rank. "We will never see a woman nominated for Commandant of the Marine Corps because women are not able to hold command positions of tactical forces, and are not provided the opportunity to attend some of the schools necessary for promotion."²

ACCEPTANCE

Some women are concerned that they are regarded as second class soldiers within the Armed Forces. They argue that the

primary role of the Armed Forces is to fight in battle and those who are excluded from combat are perceived as having both a secondary mission and being second rate. They believe that when women share the same risk and demonstrate the same skill in battle they will earn the genuine respect of their male comrades. Only shared similar hardship and risk will bring about genuine respect between the sexes in the military. Mauck's survey revealed that by a ratio of two to one the responding women Marine officers agreed that they "will not be accepted as 'equal partners' in the military until they're exposed to the same 'risks' of combat as their male counterparts-however unfair or unfortunate this situation was thought to be."³ The participation of women in combat is seen as a solution or mitigating factor in what many women feel is a pervasive attitude of unacceptance or secondary status for women within the military. Some of the arguments for this position include:

1. Shared citizenship. "Why should the Nation give half of its population a 'protected status' at the expense of the other half?"⁴

2. Equal pay for equal work.⁵

3. Equality of hardship and risk. ". . .until women are afforded [sic] all the hazards and hardships of men, they will never be accepted as military equals."⁶

CAPABILITY

Central to the capability argument is the idea that women

can do the job. Women can be warriors. Since they can do the job, there is no reason why they should not do it. Some amount of equivocation is expressed by some proponents of eliminating the combat exclusion policy. True, they say women are capable of doing many jobs from which they are currently excluded, but while they favor the repeal of the exclusion, they are hesitant to declare women capable of infantry type tasks. They tend to qualify their answer with comments such as 'specify what you mean by combat' or 'if the particular woman can meet all the requirements and wants to do the job.' Others are unambiguous in their belief that women can do what men do if given the chance. The consensus however is that women are far more capable than the current exclusion policy gives them credit for. They make the following points:

1. Contradictions in current policy. Women are already in some 'combat billets' and are certainly in occupational fields that will cause them to come into contact with the enemy. "Someone needs to differentiate between 'women in combat' and 'women in combat MOSs.' Women have always been in combat. . .since the days of slings and spears."⁷

2. Suitability of women for combat. Warrior traits are not gender specific. "Women are no more or less psychologically suited for combat [than men are]."⁸ "Bravery--valor--tenacity are not determined by gender. . .a woman's place is on the front lines!"⁹

3. Combat capability should be determined on an individual

basis . . . "it depends on the woman--just as it depends on the man. Some can; some can't."¹⁰

4. Wasted personnel resources. "To not fully utilize the women of the U.S. Armed Forces is to waste a great national asset."¹¹

5. Change in the Nature of War. "Wars are becoming more and more technical: 'brute strength' is no longer a requirement."¹²

SOCIAL EQUALITY

The long sought feminist objective of a gender neutral or androgynous society is shared by some military women. The belief is that if women are to become equal partners in society at large, then they must take equal responsibility for national defense and other traditionally male dominated fields. Not only will this establish equal citizen rights for women, but it will demonstrate the reality of equal ability in even the most demanding social responsibilities. By fully participating in the Armed Forces, to include combat, women prove themselves worthy and able to compete with men. Moreover, they gain access to a valuable tool for developing leadership and gaining experience that has benefited men for generations. The exclusion laws are invalid and largely frivolous seen as an basis for discrimination. Some of the arguments that underpin this position include:

1. Equality for equals. ". . .we will never be treated equally in this country until we are treated as equals."¹³

2. Military service as a right. "I want equal rights and that includes going to combat."¹⁴

3. End discrimination. "Exclusion laws are not valid in today's society, and have become an excuse to discriminate."¹⁵

4. Fairness. "I don't think women can fight as well as men.
. but I do think they should be allowed to try."¹⁶

REDUCE THE PROBABILITY OF WAR

Feminists tend to believe that men revel in the mythology of war to an unhealthy extent. The male obsession with aggression leads him to be imprudent with resources and human life and is socially counter-productive in the long run. By placing more women in positions that influence decision making about war, we will not have to fight as often. Additionally, men seem to value female lives more than their own. By placing women in combat positions we demythologize the notion that war is a manly endeavor and consequently we reduce the psychic gratification that men derive from it. When war stops being a means of gaining social position and respect, men will indulge in it less often. War is too traumatic to the lives of women and children to be left in the hands of men who have an inordinate craving for the dominance and power that war bestows on them.

1. Men value women's lives more than men's. ". . . it's high time men started valuing men's lives as highly as women's-perhaps then, war wouldn't be entered into so lightly!"¹⁷

2. Men fight, women negotiate. "I wonder--if women were

active combat participants, would we have greater amounts of negotiation, vice actual battle?"¹⁸

3. Women have special skills. "As the nature of war <u>evolves</u> into one of regional low intensity conflict it might be that skills needed to stabilize a region are found more in women and minority males than in white men!"¹⁹

INEVITABILITY

A common sentiment, expressed by people on both sides of this issue is the notion of inevitability. Underlying this viewpoint is the idealistic vision of a society and culture moving in a linear direction through time toward some more equitable and just future. Some will say that the time to place women in combat has or has not yet come. The assumption is that ultimately, of course, we will evolve into a more androgynous society. The flawed people we have proven to be by our history to date, are not indicative of the humanity we will be in the future. This idea is reinforced in all of the science fiction literature and movies. They all contain the premise that humanity has solved all the problems that cause humans to interact poorly with one another, and now humanity has only space aliens to contend with. "Modern" ideas presume this equality of station. "Archaic" ideas are still caught up with notions of past behavior and transgressions and unwarranted concerns that they will reoccur. Many of the opinions concerning the utility of women as combatants contain this vision--even among those who oppose the idea. Since women will eventually be in combat, the important thing becomes to make the transition soon and easy. Those who oppose the idea are retarding progress. Society is developing a new set of social mores that will include women on an equal basis with men. The following quotes illustrate the concept of the inevitability of women in combat.

1. Military thought is anachronistic. ". . .the military has such an antiquated, outmoded viewpoint."²⁰

2. Inevitability. "Women in combat' is inevitable in the future...even if it won't be an easy transition."²¹

NEED FOR WOMAN POWER

This concept was prevalent in the post draft era of the early Eighties. Recent events have obviated its premise, but it is cited in the literature. No doubt, the inclusion of more women in the military solved a serious recruiting problem in the early eighties.

1. Man power shortage. "Due to demographics of the U.S., we [women] will eventually have to take our place on a fair-share basis in combat."

TECHNOLOGY HAS CHANGED THE NATURE OF WAR

Technology is cited above as an argument supporting the ability of women to perform well in combat, but it reoccurs often enough to be considered a reason in its own right. It is a consistent theme that is based on the premise that either the need for strength and physical endurance are minimized by technology, or that there are plenty of high tech combat jobs that are suitable for women, who would free up more men for the grunt work. The prevalence of this opinion either speaks well of America's ability to automate everything, or a critical deficiency in imaginative and realistic training exercises. The high-tech video footage from the Gulf War served to congeal this un-sanguine perspective of war.

Within the aforementioned quotations are the principle reasons and supporting arguments for repeal of the current combat exclusion policy. De' ndir, the current policy in light of these objections is no early feat. The current policy does contain contradictions and serious inadequacies. Clearly the capture and rape of American service women in Iraq demonstrates that it failed in its basic intent. As a policy it neither protects women, nor of itself insures career opportunity. It fails in a criteria that is critical for a successful policy, because it asks those who the policy effects the most--women-to accept what they perceive to be contrary to their own best interest. As long as this perception exists, the combat exclusion policy will be contentious.

The reasons cited sketch an outline of the scope of the problem as it is seen by many people. Clearly, some people believe that some of these problems can be resolved by combat participation. Most of the problems cited, such as acceptance, social equity and career opportunity are considered to be problems directly attributable to the combat exclusion policy, and it is hoped that as a consequence of placing more women in

combat there will be progress in these areas. Advocates of women in combat lament the lack of proactive effort by the Armed Forces to incorporate women into the combat arms despite the formal repeal of laws that would allow their participation. They desire that the services revise their policy to be in compliance with Title 10 of the US Code.

NOTES

1. Patrice Mauck, <u>Women in Combat: Is Warring a Male</u> <u>Occupation Only</u>? (Newport: U.S. Naval War College, 1990), p. 58.

- 2. <u>Ibid</u>.
- 3. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 42.
- 4. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 48.
- 5. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 72.
- 6. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 44.
- 7. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 58.
- 8. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 52.
- 9. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 43.
- 10. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 53.
- 11. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 45.
- 12. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 44.
- 13. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 43.
- 14. <u>Ibid</u>.
- 15. <u>Ibid</u>.
- 16. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 68.
- 17. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 43.

- 18. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 44.
- 19. Female Officer at Naval War College.

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- 20. Mauck, p. 68.
- 21. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 44.

MEN ARE DIFFERENT FROM WOMEN. THEY ARE EQUAL ONLY IN THEIR COMMON MEMBERSHIP OF THE SAME SPECIES, HUMANKIND. TO MAINTAIN THAT THEY ARE THE SAME IN APTITUDE, SKILL OR BEHAVIOR IS TO BUILD A SOCIETY ON A BIOLOGICAL AND SCIENTIFIC LIE.

> --ANNE MOIR, PH.D. DAVID JESSEL

BRAIN SEX

CHAPTER III

BIOLOGICAL ORIGINS OF SEX DIFFERENCES

This paper cannot attempt a detailed study of human nature. At best, one can focus on a few slender beams of scientific knowledge that illustrate the salient thesis. Namely, that there are certain biological factors that constrict the potential of human nature to achieve individual and social androgyny, and that these same biological factors naturally differentiate the sexes. Although social and cultural factors further distinguish and differentiate the sexes, the root cause of so called "stereotypical" sex role behavior can be found in our biological make up.

In turning to the sciences I do not wish to denigrate the important knowledge that other disciplines contribute to our understanding of man. Philosophy and theology have important roles to play in the study of human nature and man's relationship with his Creator. However, there is little residual common ground for these disciplines among the many fractious ideologies that compete for the moral high ground vacated by formal religion in the new secular society. By resorting to empirical data, we achieve greater consensus concerning what is admissible as evidence in the argument between proponents and opponents of women in combat.

Examinations of the differences between the sexes often degenerate into comparisons of better or worse, adequacy or inadequacy, and even right and wrong. Often, differences are viewed only in relation to a narrow set of parameters, such as occupational traits or physical capabilities for a specific task. Were it not for brash feminist demands for specious forms of social equality, such comparisons of natural differences could be properly eschewed. However, the existing social order has been challenged by the proposition that men and women are, and should be, largely interchangeable human commodities in both society and the military, and that differences that exist between the sexes arise from an unjust and morally deficient social structure. In order to refute the conclusion, we must examine the premise. Feminists hold that such a study is indelicate and unfounded, since any differences in nature can still be corrected by social policy. They contend that differences in outcomes constitute prima-facie evidence of unwarranted discrimination and should be remedied by "intervention." Social engineering can solve social maladies. In examining the scientific information we are faced with a problem that one view point considers superfluous or self evident while the other regards it as insensitive and out of proper bounds. This suggests ample reason why this particular path is largely

untrod.

Traditionalists consider this scientific information as interesting but superfluous. In a healthy society, they contend, men and women are not viewed as dissimilar and competing subspecies of homo sapiens. Rather, they are perceived to hold highly complimentary and equally important, yet different, social roles. Effectively united through mutual self interest, family and social institutions, their diversity in talent, attitudes, and capabilities have a synergistic effect that enables society to promote greater human welfare and happiness. In a healthy society, gender differences are not regarded as crass obstacles which should be eliminated to achieve a mischievous notion of equality. Rather, they are viewed as simple distinctions that enable and encourage certain endeavors, while discouraging and sometimes precluding others. Through cooperation and sacrifice, the sexes conspire together to forward their ultimate personal goals. The result is greater safety, health, and individual pursuit of happiness for all. Both sexes make concessions and trade-offs to achieve their ends. Skill, beauty, strength, youth, intelligence, and a host of other personal attributes are demonstrated for recognition and greater competitiveness in the social arena that divides and unites men and women. It has been going on for a millennium. The arrogant philosophical jests of one spoiled generation are not likely to change this natural order of things.

In the healthy society, sex, size, intelligence, strength,

talent and other differences distinguish the most economical means of utilizing personnel resources. Equality of condition in the healthy society is disdained not only as counter productive for motivation and efficiency, but as a meretricious virtue too closely allied with envy. Those who would sublimate natural talent and distinction in favor of greater consistency of personal production and reward are suspect, especially when the societal resources they propose expending are disproportionate to the ends achieved. The trade-off is imprudent. The proponents of equality are justifiably suspect by society at large, since while the whole society will be coerced to do their bidding, only a faction of the populace is served by the proposed changes at a new and higher social cost. The shrill discontent of the few is used as leverage against the many.

The issue of which sex is the greater is both silly and pointless. Humanity cannot survive without the difference. From an overall social perspective, the sexes make equally vital contributions to society. Though men overwhelmingly dominate the field of *de jure* power, the *de facto* moral, social and political power exercised by women is formidable, if not ultimately dominant. It is only when one views society in small disconnected occupational slivers that patterns of relative propensity, talent, ability and behavior begin naturally to militate for the exclusion of one sex in preference of another. The narrowness of this vision can also cause one to focus unduly on the immediate exclusion and consequently fail to observe the

greater overall benefit to society. Thus the dominance of women in the field of infant care can be seen as of greater social benefit because of the natural talent of women in this area, or it can be viewed as sexist stereotyping, if one believes that no natural parenting differences exist between sexes.

The question of who should fight the nation's wars is similar. If men have innate talents of physical prowess and aggression that differentiate them as a better warriors, why not capitalize on the social economy this talent offers? Because, respond the feminists, what you are calling innate talent is really the product of a social structure that encouraged such talent and behavior. Until we begin to change the social structure, you will continue to see largely unnatural cultural distinctions between the sexes. We need to begin to surmount this unnatural, or in any case unfair, distinction between the sexes that gives to one the tools of ultimate power and leaves the other to rock the cradle.

Sex differences are mere distinctions until someone declares, and society accepts, an androgynous yard stick of personal performance and expectation that excludes the innate talents, preferences and aptitudes of one sex and incorporates those of another. Like Marxism, Feminism is a materialist philosophy. Feminists disdain the classic feminine virtues, talents and social achievements in favor of the materialist values of economic and social power. Men have historically excelled in materialist pursuits of economic and *de jure* social

power. Women have shared in the fruits of these labors by trading qualities and services of a less material nature. Though these qualities were intangible, they were nevertheless essential to a healthy, happy society. Feminism devalues these traditional feminine pursuits as demeaning to women. They assert that the supposed biological differences between men and women are of social and cultural origin. The belief that men and women are in some fundamental way innately different in behavior, attitudes and ability is "sexist." Women should compete with men for the worlds material goods as equal partners. Inequalities in talent or ability are due to residual social sexism and must be eliminated. The underlying premise, supported by over a score of years of sociology instruction on America's campuses, is that men and women are naturally far more alike than different; only society has caused us to adopt the stereotypical attitudes we exhibit toward the opposite sex.

At least a generation was taught this dogma. Most still believe it. Yet there is overwhelming evidence that it just isn't true. The presumed sociological facts upon which a whole generation built its world vision and idealized expectations are now in question. Many of those who were taught these idealized myths are now wearing uniforms in the American Armed Forces or voting on military policy. What does science have to offer to illuminate our knowledge of human nature? This chapter will present information that can help the husband, father, or military leader understand why men and women are different, and

why they respond differently under similar circumstances.

How different are men and women from one another? Difference can be a relative term, so let us use yard sticks that we are all familiar with from daily observation -- size and height. In general, men are taller than women. While some women are taller than some men, most men are taller than most women. This is an observable trait that requires little scientific data. Most people know it to be true from experience. Yet the actual height difference between men and women is only 7 percent. The average healthy man and woman are also different in terms of weight. The human female is 85 percent the weight of the male on average, for a difference of only 15 percent.¹ While these comparatively small differences in percentage produce very observable results, similar and even larger percentage differences exist in behavioral patterns, skills, aptitudes, abilities and many other gender influenced traits. ". . . the statistical variations in sex differences in aptitudes and skills are much greater than they are in relation, say, to height."2 "These differences have a practical, social relevance. On measurements of various aptitude tests, a difference between the sexes in average scores can be as much as 25 percent."3

As we examine the information science reveals about the differences between men and women, it might be helpful to remember these percentages so other statistics will have a basis of comparison that we recognize in daily life. How large does a difference have to be to be significant? "A difference of as little as 5 per cent has been found to have a marked impact on the occupations or activities at which men or women will, on average, excel."⁴ Hampson and Kimura explain in a hypothetical example that if "the mean for females is higher than the mean for males by about half of a standard deviation, [that] means only 25% to 30% of the males score above the female mean.⁵

I would like to suggest from the outset, that one of the reasons these obvious differences between men and women have gone unquestioned in previous generations is because men and women were not as physically alienated from each other in the working environment. Though previous generations did separate work according to sex roles, they nevertheless did the work in proximity to each other and shared common physical and social challenges together. One could learn a great deal about human nature and gender differences on the Oregon Trail that will not be as self evident when working for Merill Lynch. Our forefathers may have had less scientific data on this topic, but they had a wealth of practical experience that we lack. They did not understand the biological reasons for these differences, aside from the very considerable facts concerning reproduction, yet they were still quite able to make social arrangements and cultural institutions that accommodated and exploited the benefits these distinctions provided.

In discussing the biological basis for gender differences we should not, and need not, make relative value judgements on

the importance of superiority of men and women. An analogy might be helpful. A new \$15,000 sedan is as valuable on the open market as a new \$15,000 pick-up truck. One is neither better or worse, until you have to pick up your brother's family at the airport on a rainy day or, conversely, you need to haul a load of bricks. Now your brother's family can ride in the back of the truck, and bricks can be hand loaded into the trunk of a sedan, but given the option, one can easily appreciate the relative difference between the two. Both are vehicles. Both have many common parts and may even have the same motor, but in selecting from two similar objects, or people, it is the differences that we notice and utilize to discriminate in our selection. Some may argue that the differences in the sexes, in keeping with our analogy, are similar to differences in paint color, body style and mud flaps, but history, biology and our own knowledge of human nature tell us differently. Granted, most of the time we are just looking for transportation, either a pick-up or a sedan will do. But on the day you need bricks, have to go to the airport, or must fight a war, special distinctions begin to become critical. Irate relatives could be a consequence of indiscriminate judgment. Dead Americans can be another.

Feminist Anne Fausto-Sterling, author of <u>Myths of Gender</u>, contends that the principal differences in gender related skills, aptitudes, and abilities are the result of social and cultural influences.⁶ This idea of social differentiation underpins many of the reasons and arguments for placing women in

combat. If we are all essentially the same, there is not any logical basis for discriminating between men and women, However, most recent scientific research cautions against acceptance of this theory. The current working hypothesis that scientists and researchers use in approaching the causes of sexual differentiation is much different than what we were taught in our sociology courses in college. The vast weight of scientific evidence shows that the differences in gender begin long before the socialization process has a chance to influence it. While we are all familiar with the fact that it is the father who determines the sex of the child by contributing either an xx (female) or xy (male) set of chromosomes, not every one is up to date on the recent information of how these chromosomes go on to differentiate the fetus sexually. A glance at how we develop into men and women reveals much about why the results are so different.

First, we should understand that the "default format" for an organism, to include humans, is female.⁷ Without the differentiation process begun by the Y chromosome we would all grow to become female.⁸ The entire process of masculinization is a differentiation process, modifications on what would otherwise be a female form. For example, male and female genitalia begin as the same tissue,⁹ but "the action of estrogens and androgens (male hormones chief of which is testosterone) establishes sexual differentiation."¹⁰ "From the moment of conception on, the female organism and the male organism exhibit markedly

different patterns of development."¹¹

The presence of the Y chromosome causes the formation of the testes or male gonads, but the active agents in further male differentiation and development processes are hormones. "With the formation of the fetal gonads, the direct function of the chromosome is over; from this point on, sex differences in development are a function of the different sex hormones produced by the fetal gonads."¹² The gonads, in turn, produce the masculinizing hormones that go on to cause the development of the scrotum and penis.¹³ Of course it is widely understood that men and women are equipped differently in terms of their genitalia, but what is not commonly understood is that this is only a small part of the process of masculinization that occurs in the womb.¹⁴ Indeed, without exposure to the crucial male hormones a fetus with the male Y chromosome will be born looking female.¹⁵ The role of hormones is crucial to the like a development of the normal male. This hormonal sex determination begins at about the sixth week of embryonic development.¹⁶

The transformation from the basic female pattern into a male fetus does not stop with the development of the genitals. The most important work of the hormones has yet to begin. What will surprise many people who have studied the sociological explanations for gender differences is that the human brain itself is subjected to a similar differentiation process during fetal development. "If the brain is genetically female, nothing very drastic happens to the basic pattern of the brain. In broad

terms, the natural template of the brain seems to be female."¹⁷ Again, as in the development of the sex organs, without the presence of male hormones the fetus develops along the female pattern, but "a radical intervention is needed to change that naturally female brain structure into a male pattern."¹⁸ Moir and Jessel offer a very understandable description of this scientific process in their popular book <u>Brain Sex</u>.

Embryonic boy babies are exposed to a colossal dose of male hormone at the critical time when their brains are beginning to take shape. The male hormone levels then are four times the level experienced throughout infancy and boyhood. A vast surge of male hormone occurs at each end of male development: at adolescence, when his sexuality comes on stream, and six weeks after conception, at the moment his brain is beginning to take shape.

The result of all of this hormonal activity is a masculinized brain structure that differs in form and function from the female brain it was modified from. The male and female central nervous systems (CNS) are substantially different. Not surprisingly, the differences manifest themselves in different gender based behaviors. "Not only do sex hormones achieve the transformation of the genitals into male organs, but they also organize corresponding male behaviors early in life."²⁰ Hormones do this by the process in which they bathe the developing fetal brain at the appropriate and critical time of its development. A human brain that is deprived of testosterone at approximately the sixth week of development will be "wired" as female. No life of that individual will produce male behavior, since the brain has already been wired to be receptive to only female hormones. The converse, of course, is also true.

What is most significant to our study is the relationship of hormones to behavior, and the structural and functional differences between the male and female brain. One should understand that the male and female human brain differ in both the ways they are physically structured and the functions by which they process information and make decisions. There are a host of perception and behavioral differences that correspond with the differences in the gender of the human brain. Taken individually these differences can be contrasted as better or worse, but when understood in their entirety they show a remarkably complimentary and synergistic effect between the sexes.

Human nature is the medium through which leaders exercise leadership. In order for us to be good leaders we must have a thorough understanding of human nature. In the past our perception of human nature was formed by our experience, cultural taboos, socialization, moral codes, etc. These perceptions were deemed unscientific and unenlightened by the rationalists. We abandoned these perceptions for new and more "enlightened" sociological explanations that emphasized similarity between the sexes and sought to explain away differences as social conditioning. However, while our traditional understanding of human nature may have had a more experiential than scientific basis, recent scientific evidence and consensus lead one to conclude the traditionalists had a much better understanding of human nature than the rationalists. Men and women are different--right down to the brain. "The brain itself is influenced, in structure and operation, by the hormones. If brain structure and hormones are different in men and women, it should not surprise us that men and women behave in different ways."²¹ Moir and Jessel state the current dilemma succinctly:

Ten years ago, most of this was tentative theory. Now, it's accepted to a greater or a lesser degree, by virtually every brain specialist or neuroscientist. Yet most non-scientists - that is, most people - are unaware of this fundamental fact of life. If most of us do not know that our brains are made differently, it is not surprising that we have difficulty in acknowledging, or understanding, each other's differences.

Equally direct is Doreen Kimura writing in Scientific American in September 1992:

Women and men differ not only in physical attributes and reproductive function but also in the way in which they solve intellectual problems. It has been fashionable to insist that these differences are minimal, the consequence of variations of experience during development. The bulk of the evidence suggests, however, that the effects of sex hormones on brain organization occur so early in life that from the start the environment is acting on differently wired brains in girls and boys. Such differences make it almost impossible to evaluate the effects of experience independent of physiological predisposition.²³

It is not the organization and function of the brain, nor the effects of hormones alone that generate different male and female behavior traits. Rather, it is the *interaction* of male and female hormones acting upon masculinized and feminine brain structures that produce the differences in gender behavioral results we observe in daily life. The hormones not only influence the way in which the brain develops and is "wired," but they continue to interact with the brain throughout life. "Understanding the exact relationship between brain-structure. hormones and behavior would take us a long way to discovering the answer to some of humanity's most exasperating riddles."24 All of the riddles are not yet answered, just as the bottoms of all of the World's oceans are not yet charted. Still, there is consensus among most scientists about а the general interrelationships of the components of gender differences just as there is general knowledge of undersea topography. A peek into the scientific research being done in this field provides one with a glimpse of the excitement of discovery as scientists relate their achievements in brain and behavioral research.

The first step was the discovery that the hormones have a dual effect on the brain. While the brain is developing in the womb, the hormones control the way the neural networks are laid out. Later, at puberty, those hormones will revisit the brain to switch on the network they earlier created. Their action is like the process of photography: it is as if a negative is produced in the womb, which is only developed when these chemical messengers return in adolescence. Differences in human behavior depend on the interaction between hormones and the brain.

The first process of gender differentiation occurs in the womb and influences the development of the brain. This produces observable gender differences in the behaviors of adolescents, but even more pronounced gender differences in physical

characteristics and behavior occur after the hormones influence the onset of puberty. We all experience the results of this process. From our own experience and the observation of others we know that this differentiation process is an integral part of the human condition. Since the dawn of man's ability to chronicle his experience and history in literature, these differences have been at the heart of every culture's quest for a better understanding of the human condition. From Homer to Shakespeare the experience of humanity has been reflected in a cross-cultural understanding that these differences somehow both enriched our common humanity and were at the heart of mankind's foibles. They are the mediums of romance and intrigue, the fulcrum of vice and virtue, and the spice that transforms life from sterile existence to meaningful challenge. The movement to deny, disparage or "intervene" to minimize these natural differences has a vision for a future humanity that is sterile of such distinctions. Fortunately, science advances despite their protests and leaves us to discover in biology what we know from literature.

The next step was to discover whether the differences in behavior between men and women were echoed by differences in structure in the male and female brain. This would establish an incontrovertible connection between hormones, brains, and behavior.²⁰

The history of the discovery of the differences between the male and female brain is not always an elegant tale of scientific study and much of the original work was trial and error. Though doctors knew that the female brain was smaller in

size (not a factor in any human gender differences in aptitude or intelligence) they assumed that it was analogous in form and function to the male brain, much the same as the arms of the two sexes are generally different in size, but nevertheless analogous. Most brains that were studied were those of men, "mostly from the laboratory of the battlefield."²⁷ It was not until thirty years ago that Herbert Landsell discovered that men and women injured in the same locations on the brain exhibited markedly different degrees of impairment.

> The men with right-side brain damage did badly in tests relating to spatial skills. Yet the relative performance of the similarly brain damaged women was scarcely affected. Men lost all capacity for spatial IQ tests: women with right-side brain damage did not.²⁸

Landsell conducted similar experiments dealing with brain damage to the left-side of the brain and found corresponding results with language ability. "Men were three times more likely to suffer from a language problem than women - in spite of their having been damaged in exactly the same place."²⁹ Landsell's experiments were primitive but functional:

This led Landsell to the conclusion, now accepted, that in women language and spatial skills are controlled by centers in both sides of the brain; but in men such skills are much more specifically located - the right side for spatial skills, the left for verbal ones. Numerous studies have confirmed the early findings.

In women the functional division between the left and the right sides of the brain is less clearly defined. Both the left and right sides of the female brain are involved in verbal and visual abilities.

Men's brains are more specialized.

The left side of the male brain is almost

exclusively set aside for the control of verbal abilities, the right side for visual. Men, for example, tend to use the right side of their brain when working on an abstract problem, while women use both sides.

Moir and Jessel cite the work of Doreen Kimura in determining that men and women have a different brain organization even in the left-hand side of the brain. In her Scientific American article Kimura explains the functions of various specific parts of the brain and relates them to the differences in abilities. Kimura contends the differences are not all related to simple right and left memispheric differences, but to more specific regions such as the visual cortex and the motor cortex. She confirms gender differences in behavior stem frc. the interrelationship between different brain structures and hormones, but is working to narrow the focus from a simple left or right side of the brain to specific areas. Her up to date article on the current status of the scientific inquiry raises many questions about the specific location and functions of the various parts of the brain and their relationships to differences in gender aptitudes and abilities. For example, she differs with Moir and Jessel on the certitude that the corpus callosum (a major neural system connecting the two hemispheres of the brain) is the critical component that allows women to exchange information rapidly between both hemispheres.

The interest in the corpus callosum arises from the assumption that its size may indicate the number of fibers connecting the two hemispheres. If more connecting fibers existed in one sex, the implication



would be that in that sex the hemispheres communicate more fully. . . . sex differences in cognitive functioning have yet to be related to a difference in callosal size. New ways of imaging the brain in living humans will undoubtably increase knowledge in this respect.

She suggests an alternate theory to the widely held theory based on the size of the corpus callosum. Her research indicates that gender differences in ability and aptitude are related to the "synaptic proximity" of the interacting regions of the brain. Different locations of neural networks provide for closer proximity and consequently enhanced ability.

What is significant to glean from our glimpse of this controversy is that the current status of the scientific debate does not involve questions of whether there are sex differences in brain structure, or that hormones play a decisive part in the formation and function of the human brain. Nor is there any question that these differences manifest themselves in behaviors that are gender based. The dispute centers on the more specific details of the brain's structure and hormonal interaction. There remains wide agreement within the mainstream scientific community on the general theory. Kimura summarizes:

Taken a'' together, the evidence suggests that men's and women's brains are organized along different lines from very early in life. During development, sex hormones direct such differentiation. Similar mechanisms probably operate to produce variation within sexes, since there is a relation between levels of certain hormones and cognitive makeup in adulthood.³²

Numerous behavioral psychologists have studied the

differences in the play and behaviors of children to discover the origins of gender differences. There are, as any parent of both a boy and a girl can authoritatively tell you, very significant differences.³³ However, the most significant sex differences in aptitude, attitude and behavior begin after puberty. ". . .while the bodily changes alter the psyche, the biochemistry itself alters our behavior, perceptions, emotions and abilities."34 Puberty occurs earlier in women than men.³⁵ Indeed women mature faster than men both mentally and physically. Men, however, mature for a longer period of time and this allows for additional development in the late teens. Again, it is the work of hormones that control the differentiation process. The physical changes which this process initiates are common knowledge, but the behavioral aspects are less well known. We will discuss them shortly, but first we need to note the dual role of the hormones in gender differences. These processes are common not only to humans, but to all mammals.

Sex differences in sex hormones affect sex differences in the brain and behavior in two ways. The sex hormones can have both inductive and activational effects on the brain, both of which produce behavioral biases. The inductive effects of sex hormones occur early in the organism's life, usually before birth (prenatal) or just after birth (neonatal). The sex hormones present during this crucial perinatal period (both prenatal and neonatal) of an organism's life, when its brain is still developing, may actually determine the shape of and interconnections within and among brain cells. The activational effects of hormones usually occur after fetal development, including that of the brain, has been completed. Once the organism is developed, the level of sex hormone circulating in the bloodstream has an activational effect on various parts of the brain and on other organs by either increasing or inhibiting their normal

actions. Since the activational effects of the sex hormones depend upon the circulating levels of hormones, whenever the levels change, the behavioral biases will also change. Thus the inductive effect is assumed to refer to relatively permanent or irreversible effects on the brain and behavior, while the activational effect can vary from moment to moment as the levels of hormones vary.

Thus we see that hormones effect the brain in two profoundly different ways. First by influencing its development (inductive) and then later by influencing its functioning (activational) . Is this significant? Should it change the manner in which we think about how the sexes are differentiated? Writing a decade ago when this information was still but an advanced theory, Hoyenga and Hoyenga understood the ramifications of the new information:

. . . if perinatal hormones do in fact have inductive effects on the brain that are visible in behavior, the implications are tremendous. Since the sexes have different concentrations of prenatal hormones, the existence of inductive effects could lead us to conclude that the brains of males and females are permanently different. . . There are in fact large individual differences in prenatal hormones in humans."

While these differences produce known distinctions in talent according to gender, a second concern begins to emerge. With a significant difference in the form and functioning of their brains, and different hormones acting within them, how compatible can men and women be when they naturally exhibit different behaviors under the same conditions? What effects will these differences have upon cohesion? Is there a biological basis for the propensity of men and women to bond according to sex except in family arrangements, and is this bonding process more difficult between the sexes because they respond differently to the same stimuli? Do these differences cause us to have different values, attitudes, and standards of performance and expectation? Only a few years ago, these very questions themselves were off limits on many campuses, but now even mainstream news reports carry the scientific information to the American public.

Time magazine reported eight pages of information relating to this topic as a cover story. The bold type inset announced that "Scientists are discovering that gender differences have as much to do with the biology of the brain as with the way we are raised."38 Other popular books dealing with communications pattern differences between men and women suggest that communications between men and women are "cross cultural."³⁹ Moir and Jessel's book Brain Sex is a national best seller and has been adapted for television as a series documentary. The Economist carried a three page article dealing with the new scientific revelations entitled "Nature or Nurture?" The argument has begun to impact on the politically correct circles as well. When once the suggestion of such differences might have found a professor run off campus, now the search for biological origins for homosexuality has made the discussion of biological causes of sexual behavior not only politically acceptable, but in some cases even has the sanction of the academic elite.⁴⁰ Clearly the lid is off the fact that men and women have significant biologically influenced differences in behaviors.

One may argue that only a hermit would deny these differences, but as we shall see, there are those who maintain that the majority of gender differences are environmentally induced by social structures and cultural mores.⁴¹

Furthering this examination of the differences between men and women, it is important to ascertain or refute two different concerns voiced by the opponents of women in combat. The first, and indeed the most common concern, centers around the different abilities that exist between men and women. One might contend that the traditional duties of the soldier involve activities that men normally excel at. The rebuttal to this assertion may be that the modern battlefield has been leveled by the effects of technology and mechanization, and now women are equally capable of operating the machines of war. (Recall Chapter Two) The second concern, certainly more important than the first, but less frequently cited except in a sexual context, deals with the compatibility of men and women in non-sexual relationships. Admittedly, compatibility is an exaggerated term relative to a civilian work environment where the term 'preference of association' may be more apt and descriptive. However, in the close association of combat and the relentless presence of unavoidable comrades it may not be an overstated term. I suggest that all of the specific differences which we examine should be viewed in terms of both ability and compatibility in a combat environment. We will see that some of the differences effect both.

Based on numerous citations by other authors, and the fervor with which feminists work to refute their research, perhaps the most influential study on the topic of sex differences is the work of Eleanor Emmons Maccoby and Carol Nagy Jacklin entitled <u>The Psychology of Sex Differences</u> Though published in 1973, before much of the current information on the origins of gender differences was widely understood, they nevertheless have done painstaking work in compiling information related to the differences between the sexes in a wide variety of studies. The annotated bibliography alone comprises 175 pages. Maccoby and Jacklin conclude that there are many myths about the differences between men and women, many areas that require further study and some very significant differences.⁴²

The areas that they determined were "fairly well established" include:

- 1. That girls have greater verbal ability than boys.
- 2. That boys excel in spatial ability.
- 3. That boys excel in mathematical ability.

4. That males are more aggressive.

While more recent studies and greater understanding of human development has significantly lengthened this list, the scientifically conservative work of Maccoby and Jacklin is still a bench mark. They discuss the issues of activity level, competitiveness, dominance, tactile sensitivity, etc. and note the differences between men and women, but they were reluctant to draw definitive conclusions without a comprehensive

understanding of the mechanisms involved. Maccoby and Jacklin note the change in the relationship between sex based differences at puberty, but do not reflect a complete understanding of why they occur.⁴³ They attribute the greater aggression in men to a biological predisposition⁴⁴ and note that male visual-spatial ability may be linked to a "recessive sex linked gene."45 Though their work was published 18 years ago, they display a fine understanding of how male hormones masculinize the brain and the consequent effects they have on behavior.⁴⁶ However, they tend to limit the application of this theory to the study of male aggression, and do not apply the same theory to other gender differences. Today, with a better understanding of why men and women are different, researchers are able to fill in more of the blanks. Still, it is important to note that while this information on sex based differences has only become popular knowledge in recent years, it has been extant in a widely read and cited psychology book for quite some time. An examination, by trait, of some of these differences is very germane to the study of women in combat. There are many significant distinctions between the sexes. All cannot be covered in this short report. I have omitted traits which could have a significant impact in combat, in order to deal with those which are least controversial and most significant.

It is important to recognize that differentiation in ability does not mean determination, nor does it, or should it, exclude anyone form attempting a particular task in the larger

society. There will always be numerous exceptions to general rules, just as men are generally taller than women, but some women are taller than some men. However, there is not any one particular human trait that determines who is a good soldier. A whole spectrum of traits are required. The propensity of men to have more of these traits is much greater, but the chance that most woman will not have one or two of them may be equally small. There is, however, one over arching trait that is widely recognized as essential to combat that is overwhelmingly found in men of sound mind and body. That trait is the potential for physical aggression. To some extent this potential for aggression may be found in women, but when it is found at the same level as for men it is frequently associated with physical disorders, such as adrenogenital syndrome or hormonal abnormalities during fetal development.47

Aggression is analogous to explosives. It has tremendous potential for destruction, so one must be sure it is properly cared for and aimed. Male aggression can be harnessed by a military organization and applied in a combat setting to do the national will, or it can be improperly harnessed and cause a series of small explosions that consume the army itself. Good leaders, like good demolition experts, understand the nature of the men and materials with which they work. Military leadership is the study of human volatility. Demolitions experts don't play with matches and take great care to avoid static electricity. Military leaders are equally concerned with matters of

discipline and cohesion. They do not wish to diminish aggression, it is the vehicle of war, but they must focus and harness it. Generals were once teenagers and young men, they know that sex is to aggression what a fuse is to explosives. It is time to take a look at this distinctive human trait.

AGGRESSION

Of all the specific behavioral distinctions between the sexes, aggression is the one that clearly, and virtually indisputably, commands the greatest attention and marks the greatest gender difference. "In all mammalian species, from mouse to man, the male is the more aggressive sex."⁴⁸ In his monograph entitled "Sex Differences in Aggression" Kenneth E. Moyer documents the substantially greater aggression that men exert in most social interactions. He notes that "since history has been recorded, males have committed more crimes of violence than have females in all nations and all communities within those nations."⁴⁹ While criminality is certainly not the aggressive behavior we wish to cultivate within the Armed Services, these statistics do indicate the far greater propensity of males to actualize aggression, a trait that is essential to success in battle.

Moyer finds that women are capable of aggression, but that they "tend to engage in only certain kinds of aggressive behavior."⁵⁰ He contends that aggression can be categorized for purposes of clarification into the following types: predatory,

intermale, fear induced, irritable, maternal, sex-related, and instrumental. He dismisses any physiological basis for instrumental aggression and contends that this type of aggression is learned from role models.⁵¹ Some individuals use aggression as a means of getting what they want--this is instrumental aggression. He contends that women have a biological basis for maternal and irritable forms of aggression which are rooted in hormonal changes due to pregnancy, lactation and menstrual cycles.⁵²

Moyer notes the ubiquity of aggression among all male mammals. He cautions against "applying data obtained from animal research to humans,"⁵³ but includes information that is known about animals as well as man. He cites the work of Calhoun, who concludes that "males actively seek competitive situations" and "that the sexes tend to avoid conflict with one another."⁵⁴ Also, he cites examples from both mammal and human research to prove his claim, and is supported by a vast array of other researchers on this topic.

The play patterns of children are frequently used to substantiate this claim of greater male aggression. Researchers note that boys tend to play games which have winners and losers and which have formal rules. Boys games usually involve dominance and aggression and usually contain a hierarchial structure. Girls games tend to emphasize cooperation instead of hierarchy and dominance.⁵⁵ Without instruction and despite encouragement to do otherwise, boys play with boys, and girls

play with girls. Moir and Jessel provide more details:

By the age of four, girls and boys usually play apart, having instituted their own form of infant sexual segregation. Boys tend not to bother about whether or not they like any particular member of the gang - he's included if he's useful; gir.s exclude other girls because 'they are not nice'. Girls accept younger children into the group; boys tend to try to join groups of older children. Girls know and remember the names of their playmates; boys often don't.

Boys will make up stories full of zap, pow, and villainy. Girls' narratives focus on home, friendship, emotions; the boys will tell the story of the robber, while the girls tell the same tale from the point of view of the victim.

Boy's games involve rough and tumble, bodily contact, a continuous flow of activity, conflict, a large space, longer periods of involvement with success measured by active interference with other players, the outcome clearly defined, and winners and losers clearly identified. Girl's play typically involves turn-taking, methodically defined stages of a game and indirect competition. Hopscotch is the perfect girls' game, while tag appeals to the boys.

These observed differences are found in children prior to the onset of puberty when male aggression comes fully on line. Some girls behave more like the boys, but many of these cases of aggressive girls are the result of fetal androgenization. This is a condition resulting from a genetic disorder that causes the female fetus to be subjected to male hormones.⁵⁷

From the description that Moir and Jessel give of how children differ by sex in their childhood play, it becomes apparent that from an early age men begin to exhibit and voluntarily practice some of the personal, physical and social skills that will help them adapt to the battlefield.⁵⁸ What we should consider is not only the skills themselves, or ability, but also how these traits facilitate male bonding, cohesion and compatibility.

Of course not all male aggression is acted out on the playing fields and school yards. Nor is all male aggression done with criminal intent. Often there is an overt relationship between aggression and sex itself. Christopher Badcock, in his book Evolution and Individual Behavior notes that as far back as Confucius men recognized the potential for women to disrupt their social alliances. "Disorder does not come from heaven, but is brought about by women."⁵⁹ Of course, to blame women for what is patently a sorry male response to women is an obvious distortion. Still, there is a notorious historic recognition by men of dissimilar cultures over many millennia, that women have an unsettling effect upon their ability to calmly and rationally manage their affairs. Badcock notes Darwin's observation that among tribal peoples "women are the constant cause of war both between members of the same tribe and between distant tribes."60 He also quotes Laura Betzig: "The evidence suggests that in virtually all societies women are a significant cause of male conflicts of interest."⁶¹ Quoting still another study he notes that in terms of aggression "There is no known human society in which the level of lethal violence among women even begins to approach that among men." The cause of much of this conflict is over women. "Intersexual competition is far more violent among men than among women in every human society for which information exists."⁶² He cites widely compiled statistics from 35 countries that indicates that a man is twenty times more

likely to be murdered by another man than a woman is to be murdered by another women. 63

In our own culture this intermale conflict is the stuff of romance. Has there ever been a romance movie made where the plot did not include the antagonist and protagonist squaring off over the beautiful girl? While everyone recognizes that such conflict is highly irrational, no one who has lived through adolescence will deny that it is very real. Men know that women are a source inter-male conflict and divisiveness. In seeking cohesion of they know they must forgo conflict. By excluding women they achieve greater cohesion among themselves. Women, of course, are not the problem. Men are. But since men recognize their own flawed nature, they often exclude women when banding together for a common goal with life or death consequences. They will exault the male bond by publicly subordinating the pair bond which they cherish.⁶⁴ [End note 64 contains infomation germain to this topic.] They recognize that some social challenges will not tolerate compromise in cohesion. War is such an endeavor. Men have an intuitive understanding of their own capacity for aggression and recognize the need to channel it toward a productive direction. Sport and war are known to enhance cohesion; women are known to fracture male bonds. Women are held suspect. There is little fairness in either the suspicion or the exclusion, but there is significant utility.

We will return to the issue of cohesion later in this paper. For now it should suffice to demonstrate that in terms of

aggression, women are a stimulus for intermale conflict. The historic and biologic record are unambiguous on this score. Men would prefer to blame women for this foible, but in truth it is their failing. The biological imperatives that drive young men to mate with the most sexually desirable and available woman are deeper than reason alone can uncomplicate. We may wish it otherwise, but once again, reality can be a cruel stroke for the imprudent who defy its irrational rules.

Women are not impassive spectators of this timeless intermale competition and conflict. They are its arbitrators. Verbal and physical expressions of dominance in the interactions of men are noticed by women. Women prefer more dominant men. Men know this. While women have deeper concerns than mere male pecking order, such as education and earning capacity, they nevertheless tend to find dominance more consistently attractive. Researchers who studied this attraction concluded that "The gender/dominance effect was guite robust."⁶⁵ By their selective attention and favors, women confer prestige and power upon those whom they select. They are the arbitrators of fitness in the eyes of men. This is a critical social role and a powerful one in small groups, especially where the number of women may be fewer than the competing men. A limited number of women makes the competition among the men more keen and the aggression more intense. Male cohesion is strained. When a woman makes a selection, the evolved order of dominance within that male group may be disturbed. Men are very reluctant to allow

this selection process to take place in a warrior setting where it interferes with their own male dominance rituals and the formal hierarchial structure. Since the sexual interaction is inevitable in mixed gender groups, the traditional solution has been to exclude women in order to enhance cohesion.⁶⁶

The female selection process is not irreversible unless accompanied by marriage, and even then, if divorce and promiscuity statistics have merit, is perhaps regarded as only temporary. Though the male interest may be predominantly sexual in nature, the woman almost always has more sublime concerns in a relationship. While he may be thinking with anatomical appendages, she is thinking with the heart, and a healthy sense of prudence. She will judge his sincerity by the manner to which he bends to her will and concerns; and she will ask for concessions in behavior and attitude that will differentiate him from his peers. She is looking for signs of commitment. If she fails to demand these tokens of deference she will be seen as 'easy' and while popular as a date, not one to be taken seriously. When she does demand compliance, she forces the male to reestablish priorities among his peers. If he resists, the competition and selection process likely renews.⁶⁷ Many dynamics are at work in these personal interactions, none involve the enhancement of cohesion. The inclusion of women by predominantly all male groups exacerbates intermale aggression. When women become compatible with men, men become less compatible with one another. This is not the way things ought to

be, but it is truly the way things are. Before women are placed in combat situations where they have the potential to be the catalyst for this progression of events, we should solve this basic problem of human nature and sexual interaction. The chemistry between the sexes and the jealousies they can engender are widely recorded in both history and the daily newspaper. If we have been unable to stop this interaction as a society, how can we expect young officers with teenage troops to find a solution? Until this problem is resolved, prudence is the most appropriate action.

Aggression, as the preceding discussion reveals, is not an easily isolated component.⁶⁸ It interacts with a wide variety of other components of human nature, to include dominance, cohesion, sex, leadership, violence, risk, etc. The interaction is both subtle and profound. Agression is an intrinsic part of the warrior ethos, yet must be checked or channelled to maintain cohesion. Armies have evolved strict codes and fostered arcane traditions in order to find the proper equilibrium between aggression, violence, discipline and cohesion. All of these factors contribute to effectiveness. Women become a random variable on the battlefield. They have the potential to weight one aspect of the equation and disturb the equilibrium that promotes combat cohesion and consequent efficiency. Certainly, their presence demands more strict standards of personal discipline, but where is the inevitable trade-off? Can discipline be increased without a corresponding loss of cohesion

or initiative?

Moreover, while these interactions are prevalent during peace time exercises, they will become even more pronounced during time of war. Mid-level danger and anxiety increase libido. During actual combat, terror will inhibit romance, but for the majority of the time, the ambient level of danger will act as an aphrodisiac. "The high pitch of feeling stimulates sexual desire."⁶⁹

Men grant other men special dispensations to pursue and care for women. They sometimes assume these dispensations as a matter of right. Duty is sometimes foregone. Is this inevitable? Not in all cases always, but certainly in some cases sometimes. The friction of war is built on progressions of random and unforeseen actions. Minimizing the foreseen frictions is what prudence in war is all about. Admittedly, these objections are very traditional in their outlook. I offer no false hope of easy solutions, but for the purpose of argument one may concede that these objections may be surmountable. The burden then should not be upon the military to make gender integration in combat happen without degrading effectiveness, but for the advocates of women in combat to show how the aforementioned sexual interactions can be effectively inhibited without degrading morale and effectiveness. The rigors of military life can be repressive enough without additional detailed standards that expand the limits of what is considered deviant behavior in uniform. It is one thing to say that these interactions are inappropriate and not condoned, and quite another to prevent them. A Roper Poll presented to the Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces indicated that two thirds of American troops who served in coed units during the Gulf War said men and women were having sex, and more than half (55 percent) said it hurt morale. Sexual activity was reported at 74 percent and 73 percent for the Army and Marines respectively.⁷⁰ Leadership is a precious commodity that should not be expended in futile pursuit of idealized, yet imprudent social agendas that demand high standards of personal behavior in the face of inordinate and unavoidable temptation.

In tracing the fruits and problems of male aggression to the surface, one notes the many ways aggression interacts with other aspects of human behavior. It is important to follow this path at least once to minimize simplistic responses. Though the argument digresses as it advances, it is noteworthy that so many factors hang on the innate potential for aggression that is resident in the male. Dismissing these concerns as a male problem that men must overcome to reach maturity in the twentieth century is simplistic and unmanageable. Testosterone, like fission, is too potent a force to be wished or willed away.

Moir and Jessel offer this explanation of why the behaviors of men are so different from women in terms of aggression:

The evidence is incontrovertible that the male brain pattern is tuned for potential aggression; that the action of male hormones acting upon a predisposed male brain network is the root of aggression. In the opposite direction, hormones play an important part in making women the less aggressive sex. Oestrogen, for

instance, has a neutralizing effect on the aggression hormone, testosterone. Several clinical studies show how the female hormone can rescue violent males from extremes of aggressive behavior. It has been used to control the behavior of male sex offenders.

The biological catalyst of male aggression has its roots in the gonadal hormone testosterone. Testosterone is commonly called a male hormone, because it is found in comparatively greater concentrations in men. Testosterone is also found in women, but it interacts differently with the female brain. Increasing the level of testosterone in women will not produce a corresponding increase in aggression, as is sometimes the case in men, because the female brain structure "not being 'programmed' to react to the chemical, will not respond strongly to it."⁷² There is strong evidence to link testosterone with other traits in a cause and effect spiral.

With men, the impact of the hormones on the receptive brain not only produces aggression, dominance and assertiveness, it also tends to trigger the release of further testosterone, reinforcing those initial aggressive tendencies. Among sportsmen, testosterone levels are higher at the end of a match, or a season, than at the beginning. Competition raises testosterone levels. Rivalry fuels aggression.

Anne Moir and David Jessel contend that male hormones increase aggression, competition, self-assertion, selfconfidence and self-reliance, while female hormones have a decreasing effect upon the same traits.⁷⁴ Victory brings about increased levels of testosterone in the victor, while defeat brings about a decrease.

The inevitable question is "So what?" Does one require high

levels of testosterone to fire a rifle or drop a bomb, or just enough strength to aim and squeeze or push the right button at the right time? Has technology reduced aggression to a vestigal behavioral phenomena from when war was fought with swords?

First we must not associate all aggression with physical violence, though violence is certainly a component of both aggression and war. Aggression also acts on the will, temperament and boldness of the military commander and his troops. An aggressive spirit is essential to victory. The clear superiority that men have over women in terms of innate, biologically induced potential for aggression is an invaluable asset on the battlefield.

Fleet Marine Force Manual-1 (FMFM-1), <u>Warfighting</u>, makes plain the role of aggression on the battlefield, but first cautions those who would exclude metaphysical considerations from the study of war:

Because the moral forces of war are difficult to come to grips with, it is tempting to exclude them from our study of war. However, any doctrine or theory of war that neglects these factors ignores the greater part of the nature of war.⁷⁵]

No degree of technological development or scientific calculation will overcome the human dimension in war. Any doctrine which attempts to reduce warfare to ratios of forces, weapons, and equipment neglects the impact of the human will on the conduct of war and is therefore inherently false.

The nature of war and the nature of man are inextricably interrelated. Moral forces are what bring the human potential for genius, risk, boldness, and surprise to the battlefield. The numerous military defeats which have resulted from minimizing the importance of this moral dimension have made the study of human nature under stress an integral part of the study of war. Aggression, and its corollary trait boldness, are essential to that study. FMFM-1 details this reasoning: "Boldness is an essential moral trait in a leader, for it generates combat power beyond the physical means at hand." The biological determinents of aggression are largely unique to the male. Men exhibit greater boldness than women in most of life's endeavors. They have a biological predisposition to risk.⁷⁷ This is exactly the type of personality that leads best in war. <u>Warfighting</u> correlates the relationship between risk, or boldness, and battle.

Boldness is a multiplier of combat power in much the same way that surprise is, for "in what other field of human activity is boldness more at home than in war?" Boldness "must be granted a certain power over and above successful calculations involving space time and magnitude of forces, for wherever it is superior, it will take advantage of its opponents weakness. In other words, it is a genuinely creative force." Boldness is superior to timidity in every instance and is at a disadvantage only in the face of nervy, calculating patience which allows the enemy to commit himself irrevocably before striking--a form of boldness in its own right. Boldness must be tempered with judgement lest it border on recklessness. But this does not diminish its significance."

In a chapter entitled "The Aggressive Will" in <u>Men Against</u> <u>Fire</u>, S.L.A. Marshall dispenses similar wisdom: "The art of leading, in operations large and small, is the art of dealing with humanity. . ."⁷⁹ He cautions against a wide variety of failed leadership styles and stresses the importance of shared hardship with the troops one must lead. "The later [troops] respect manliness, not maidenliness."⁸⁰ Marshall discusses at length what constitutes morale and how it ultimately influences aggression and will. He clearly recognizes that it is the collective aggression, discipline, morale, leadership and cohesion of the military force that wins wars.

Inevitably, we will return to the topic of aggression and the biological forces that underpin it. For now however, our study will shift to other ways that testosterone differentiates the male for combat.

PERSISTENCE OF ATTENTION

There is evidence that testosterone, interacting with a masculinized brain, has another effect upon the way men interact with the world around them.⁸¹ This is known as persistence of attention or alternately 'rules of selection,' when a choice is made between different stimuli.⁸² This theory contends that more focused and persistent in accomplishing males are achievement oriented and sexual goals. "But testosterone has another advantageous effect, which by now is clinically well documented. It's a hormone which seems to make the brain less liable to fatigue - more single minded."83 The hypothetical origin of this trait is the greater reproductive success of those who can keep the mission in mind and are limited in their While this persistence is distractions. an asset in accomplishing a primary task, it can sometimes cause (or enable) men to lose (or narrow) their focus of life's wider perspective. Coupled with the greater need for male achievement, this ability

to persist at an endeavor and ignore other competing signals can be a source of tremendous energy, and a source of considerable conflict between men and women. Women tend to look at life through a wider lens that is not as narrow in focus. Family, emotional needs, and the welfare of others form a very important part of their life. They may be more energetic at a wider variety of endeavors than men who concentrate only on the primary tasks from which they derive their principle gratification. Men recieve significant gratification from achievement, and will persist in its pursuit to an extent that women may not find rational in terms of what men are willing to forgo to accomplish the goal.

Testosterone gives men a particular advantage in that it is focusing and galvanising a brain that is already, by its very structure, more focused than the female. Remember that the male brain is a tidier affair, each function in its special place; already, the male brain is biased toward a more single minded approach - he is less easily distracted. Add the hormone, with its mind-concentrating and fatigueresistant qualities and the differences between the male and female brain-performances are accentuated.

The ability of men to concentrate for a longer period of time on a specific task is another advantageous effect of testosterone acting on a masculinized brain. There are several theories of how this difference helped both men and women in the performance of their gender roles through human history. Men needed persistence to successfuly hunt, mate and train for war. Women needed greater perception and wider awareness to select a capable mate and attend to the needs of children. For whatever reason, this trait continues to help men avoid fatigue, and helps differentiate them for the exacting and exausting exigencies of war.

DOMINANCE

Related to, but different from aggression is the concept of dominance. Like aggression there is a significant relationship between dominance and testosterone and the masculinized human brain. Dominance and eminence influence the degree or positions of prominence one holds within the social pecking order. Theodore D. Kemper, author of <u>Social Structure and Testosterone</u>, clarifies the subtle distinction between dominance and eminence. ". . . one may decisively defeat another in a competitive encounter, thus gaining dominance, or one may display striking, status worthy conduct and gain eminence. Both dominance and eminence are grounds for testosterone elevation."⁸⁵

Again we see that testosterone not only has a causal relationship with dominance, eminence, aggression, risk etc., it has a cyclic or spiraling relationship. The more testosterone one has the more dominant one tends to be, and the more dominant one is, the greater his testosterone level.

Many feminists denigrate male dominance. It is a futile exercise. Intrinsic to the concept of male is testosterone, interacting with a masculinized brain structure, that inevitably produces a persistent desire for dominance. What feminists fail to understand is the very significant difference between dominance and power. One is not the same as the other, and

despite the male craving for social dominance, women by virtue of superior verbal and emotional skills, exercise considerable, one may argue even disproportionate, social power within the realm of family institutions.

Steven Goldberg, explains this distinction in <u>The</u> <u>Inevitability of Patriarchy</u>:

An analysis of dyadic or familial groups which considers that 'real' power is exercised through women's superior emotional powers is the virtual opposite of that put forward by environmentalists, behaviorists, and feminists. For such an analysis emphasizes the positive, power engendering aspects of femininity, and implies that the reduction in feminine behavior desired by the feminists would force women to deal with men on male terms, which would inevitably lead to a reduction in womans real power.

Goldberg's concern is the inevitable futility of the feminist pursuit of dominance.⁸⁷ He does not argue the right or wrong of the issue (he does not believe such judgements are the province of science), but rather concerns himself with the reality of the biological differences that underpin the motivations of men and women.

Men are compelled by a biological tendency to seek status, dominance, and eminence. This tendency is intrinsic to the essence of being male. Women find dominant men attractive and seek to ally themselves with them in marriage. Women temper male dominance with emotional strength and depth. Men seek the approval of women and they compete for their esteem. Through women, they measure their own success. Though there are times when the sexes will conflict within this order of things, for the most part the social arrangement reaches an equilibrium. Traditionally, she runs the part of her life which is most important to her, the home and family, and expends inordinate emotional energy to maintain this power. He is given formal position and recognition as head of the family, but she makes most of the decisions. He is given relatively free reign in matters outside the home.

Feminists decry patriarchy and male dominance. Thev acknowledge the realities of male dominance, indeed they contend that it is ubiquitous, but they declare that its existence is the result of socialization.⁸⁸ The military services, by virtue of their traditions, ethos, structure, regulations and esprit are all deemed "patriarchal" and consequently antithetical to the modern social agenda. The military is a major contributor to process by which male dominance is the socialization perpetuated, claim the feminists, and therefore it is important that it relinquish its hold on the roots of power. Goldberg contends, that for socialization to be the cause of male dominance, one must explain away the realities of modern science. He discounts the notion that mankind might 'evolve' through this reality:

. . . those who blithely speak of evolutionary or pharmacological eradication of CNS [central nervous system] differences grossly underestimate the depth and extent of the differences. We are not speaking here of such superficialities as skin or eye color, or even of (perhaps mutable) differences in capacity; we are speaking of the basic 'motivational' properties of the male and female brains and central nervous systems.⁵⁹

Goldberg defines patriarchy as "any system of organization

in which the overwhelming number of upper positions in hierarchies are occupied by males."⁹⁰ One must clearly concede that the Armed Forces in every country of the world are patriarchal. Goldberg goes further to state:

The point is that authority and leadership are, and always have been, associated with the male in every society, and I refer to this when I say that patriarchy is universal and that there has never been a matriarchy.

[need to cite] He notes that there have been queens and leaders of nations, but in all cases they were backed by predominantly male hierarchies. The universality of patriarchy is, he contends, a significant indicator (but not proof) that biological, not cultural forces are at work.⁹¹ He refutes various historic myths, such as that of the Amazons, and notes the marginal participation of women in high government office, even after generations of equal opportunity for participation.⁹² Goldberg does not believe that this inequity of result has anything adverse to say about the abilities or character of women. Rather, he sees the disparity as a natural consequence of different interests and motivations. He rejects the notion that the physical size difference between men and women is the determining factor, noting that even among men themselves it is the more dominant and aggressive men, regardless of size, who attain dominance positions.⁹³ He holds, however, that the differences do have a biological root that can be traced to the effects of testosterone acting on a masculinized brain and central nervous system (CNS).⁹⁴ "What gives a physiologically-

rooted social theory meaning is the demonstration that physiology engenders *tendency*."⁹⁵ He describes this as male 'dominance tendency':

. . . the universality of patriarchy, male attainment, and male dominance are the social results of the fact that the male has a stronger tendency to exhibit whatever behavior is necessary for attainment of hierarchical and dyadic dominance, and that this differentiation of dominance tendency is the result of physiological differences between males and females.⁹⁰

The physiological difference that he alludes to is the same neuroendocrinological difference we discussed previously. "Dominance tendency results from the interaction between a fetally- prepared central nervous system and the presence of endrogenous testosterone."97 Though men and women both have testosterone in their systems, the male brain and central nervous system (CNS) has been wired to respond to testosterone in a manner that the female CNS has not.⁹⁸ The difference is manifested in a number of uniquely male behaviors, one of which is dominance. Men are willing to pay a higher price than women in terms of personal sacrifice in order to achieve dominance, and are uniquely equipped and unencumbered to accomplish their goal. The central point of Goldberg's thesis, and one that is well supported by the understanding of the biological current differences between men and women is:

. . . that differences in the male and female neuroendocrinological systems are such that the

environmental stimulus of hierarchy, status, or a member of the other sex elicits from the male a stronger tendency to give up whatever must be given up - time, pleasure, health, physical safety, affection, relaxation - for the attainment of a higher hierarchical position, for a social role which is rewarded by greater status, and for dominance in malefemale relationships. This differentiation of tendency, and a population's observation of the differentiation through which behavioral it is manifested, is the 'causal' connection between physiological differentiation on the one hand, and the differentiation in the social values, socialization, and institutions we wish to explain on the other.

In short, men have a need for dominance much the same as women have a need for affiliation and affection. Men are willing to forgo many other needs like affection, in order to fulfill their higher need for dominance. Motivation is an outgrowth of need. The greater motivational tendency that men have in the quest for dominance arises from a greater biologically induced need.¹⁰⁰ Goldberg contends that "the presence of any hierarchy is sufficient to elicit dominance "motivation' and the resulting behavior. . ."¹⁰¹

Much of the military rank, award and discipline structur (which takes similar forms across cultural lines), i predicated on tapping into and exploiting the male need fo status, eminence and dominance. "Once there is hierarchy, th hierarchy will cue dominance tendencies more strongly in th male."¹⁰² Virtually everyone in the military environment i dominant over someone else, or anticipates gaining greate dominance through acts that inspire eminence. Frequer opportunities to distinguish oneself are available for those a the bottom of the hierarchial ladder. Rank implies a positic

the dominance hierarchy and reflects knowledge in and experience. Other awards are designed to publicly acknowledge achievement, heroism, and previous combat experience. The prospect of attaining additional status is always held forth, and the very act of joining the armed forces confers a unique social prestige upon the individual. Eminence is also derived by association and membership in specific units. Here the physical rigor or technical complexity of the task the unit is assigned connotes the degree of status. Men can achieve higher eminence, or feel more deserving of it, if they can do or endure more than other men. Proof of status must be demonstrated. Pride in skills flying, perceived as virile, such as parachuting, or mountaineering, command a certain degree of eminence and have high psychic reward for men. Men can raise their own self esteem and feelings of dominance by submitting to a more rigorous curriculum of physical and mental conditioning. High standards, and consequent high attrition rates for applicants, confer even greater status upon those who survive the trial process and are selected. For whatever reason, 'tough' is valued over more socially sanctioned values by young men. [cite Dead Black Males article] To whatever degree the military is perceived as 'tough' it will continue to be a passive force for the tempering and socialization of America's restless but ultimately trainable young men. Those who argue for a system of minimal physical qualifications that correspond to a specific 'job' that a service member might be assigned, comprehend neither the rude

realities of combat (where everyone's 'job' is survival and job descriptions are found with the over-time pay chits), nor the motivations and psychological needs of the combatants.

Soldiers are asked to forgo many of the pleasures and rights that are granted to civilians. How are they compensated for this deprivation of both mind and body? Why do young men compete for the opportunity to forgo sleep, freeze, and lose thirty-five pounds at Ranger School for a half-inch patch? The secret, known to leaders of men but little understood by society at large, is the constant and pervasive need for men to achieve eminence and dominance.

"Dominance tendency' <u>means</u> the willingness to give up the objectives of other tendencies, to endure pain, frustration, tension, and defeat to satisfy a strong 'need' to attain position."

This tendency is particularly strong in young men who have not yet affirmed their masculinity by attaining significant social position or important responsibility. Goldberg asserts that the male ego is weaker than the female ego, and as a consequence, requires shoring up through dominance.¹⁰⁴ Again note Goldberg's previous assertion that need is the catalyst for motivation. Like sport, attainment of physical possession, technical skill and sexual prowess, success in a rigorous military environment bestows status and eminence upon the young men who can demonstrate proficiency. Military service satisfies a need (or as Goldberg contends 'motivation') to demonstrate toughness, without harming other members of society; and while it deals with control of overwhelming violence, it is socially condoned.

Eventually, positions of dominance in a well ordered military hierarchy are assured, if proficiency and leadership can be demonstrated. If the moral quality and difficulty of the service are perceived as marginal, then the service will have difficulty recruiting individuals with motivations other than employment. But if the service is perceived as an appropriate means for a young man to satisfy his need for eminence, and as a socially sanctioned means to demonstrate dominance, then it will attract young men who approach the service out of a motivation to prove themselves as worthy of the prestige they perceive the uniform to hold.

Desire for dominance and eminence is a primary leadership lever for the combat commander to motivate men to do what must be done in battle. Men have a stronger "tendency for responding to dominance-eliciting environmental stimuli."¹⁰⁵ Successful leaders know how to tap into this tendency. They know under what conditions various stimuli will produce the desired attitude, action, enthusiam or sense of duty. The inability to use this same lever to similarly motivate women is at the crux of the concern about combat cohesion. Women respond to a different set of environmental and emotional buttons. Women do not have the same dominance needs as men, do not respond to the same incentives the same way men do, and are not as willing to forgo other needs to the same degree as men to achieve eminence or dominance. They have a greater sense of security in their own sexuality and do not have the same compulsion to demonstrate

their womanhood in order to gain and maintain their posisition in the group. This difference can both complicate and confound the leadership equation in what is already the most difficult of all challenges--combat leadership. Napoleon was right. Men will do many a fool thing for a bit of ribbon or some other trapping of eminence or position of dominance. Women, not moved as forcefully by the same tendencies, exhibit a different, and arguably more rational response.

The reason men achieve the top positions in society has far less to do with gender differences in ability and far more to do with differences in motivation. Not that men are more motivated than women in how they approach life in general, but simply that men are more *specifically* motivated to achieve positions of dominance. Women care much less about hierarchy and their position in it. They have other, and arguably more pragmatic and important concerns about their relations with people.¹⁰⁶

It is not only in the military that this propensity for male dominance will assert itself. In any endeavor, men will establish some sort of hierarchy or standard against which they can measure prestige or eminence. The argument that society in some way discriminates against women to keep them from achieving dominant positions, despite an equality of talent and motivation, has an inherent contradiction. If women are indeed as qualified and motivated to attain dominant positions, how can a numerically smaller quantity of similarly talented men prevent their ascendancy? The point of the matter is that most women are

happier to leave these matters of overt social power in the hands of men.¹⁰⁷ This is not true for all women, but the overall statistics reflect favorably on the validity of the general theory. As both a concept and a practice, dominance is a male game. It is a game in which men are innately acquainted with the rules and signals, and uniquely adapted to persist in the game. They make the rules and determine the winners. Interlopers in the game will only be tolerated if they play according to the rules. Modifications to the rules imply weakness and unsuitability.¹⁰⁸

Men and women do not react the same way to the same stimulus because of a difference in our response mechanisms.¹⁰⁹ Because of our different CNS structure, the same emotions, effort, will and focus are not common to men and women under the same conditions. If the men are focused on the mission, which is what their achievement orientation drives them toward, and women are focused on the people, which is what their affiliation orientation drives them toward, the difference in focus and motivation is a wedge in cohesion.¹¹⁰

A contrasting viewpoint might contend that this difference in response to similar stimulus, might engender a unique perspective and afford alternate solutions to a problem. This is a point well taken. In most endeavors, such a difference leavens the potential for creativity. However, what is unique about war is that chief among the objectives of the military commander is the destruction of the cohesion of the enemy force. Commanders

attempt to raise the operational tempo of battle to a level that exceeds the ability of their enemy to orient, reach a rapid decision and coordinate a cohesive response.¹¹¹ Any actions on our own part, that assist in facilitating the efforts of the enemy to degrade our cohesion, are imprudent.

Concern about cohesion is not a minor or peripheral interest to the combat commander. Understanding unit cohesion is integral to understanding warfare. The proximate cause of defeat in battle may be the destruction of the enemy force, but the actions that primary causes are "shatter the enemv's cohesion."¹¹² Dominance in battle, as in any social interaction, begins with the dominance of the mind of the opponent. An understanding of the importance of these moral factors is crucial to a rudimentary understanding of the art of war. Yet the critical importance of these moral forces, i.e. aggression, dominance, and cohesion, is blithely discarded by proponents of women in combat.

Another, and perhaps even greater obstacle to inter-gender cohesion is also resident within the dominance tendency of men. This is the concept of male "attainment," or the propensity of society to regard male dominated professions as prestigious and important. Goldberg cites the universality of male attainment and quotes Margaret Mead to explain this cross cultural phenomena:

In every known human society, the male's need for achievement can be recognized. Men may cook, or weave or dress dolls or hunt hummingbirds, but if such activities are appropriate occupations of men, then

the whole society, men and women alike, votes them as important. When the same occupations are performed by women, they are regarded as less important. [Emphasis added].

The male need for dominance causes him to seek out the essential positions within social, political and economic institutions. Women cooperate in this venture, either consciously or subliminally. Perhaps men seek important posts because of the dominance tendency, or maybe the jobs that men hold are regarded as prestigious, Nevertheless, it is true that "Every society gives higher status to male roles than to the non-maternal roles of females," or conversely that "in every society males attain the high-status (non-maternal) roles and positions and perform the high status tasks, whatever those tasks are."¹¹⁴ The gender specific tasks may vary from society to society. For example, in Russia doctors are predominately women, but then in Russia, medicine does not have prestige as in the United States.¹¹⁵ Men gravitate to and compete for high pay, high status positions. Men "also fill the high status roles in low status areas."¹¹⁶

Is this social order beginning to change? Goldberg thinks not. He notes as only one example, that the percentage of working women in "the United States has risen by 75 percent since 1900, but the percentage of women in the high-status area of medicine has declined during this period."¹¹⁷ Goldberg is the first to encourage exceptions to general rules, this is inherent to any theory based on averages, not absolutes. He has no

problem in celebrating the exceptions, but in noting the triumph of the exceptional, we should not loose sight of the average. Should we change our current policy and place women in combat, we might see an increase in the number of female officers attaining top positions, but the average number of successful military women may decrease and the number of enlisted women who report satisfaction with their careers may take a decided turn for the worse. These are not predictions, only concerns, but the hesitancy I detect while talking to enlisted women about the proposed changes leads me to caution concern for those in our charge who really earn the medals we officers are priveliged to wear.

The dilemma for women seeking to enhance their occupational status is that to whatever degree they attain non-maternal positions accorded high status, then the status of that particular position will diminish proportionately. Men and women esteem professions that are male dominated. There are exceptions, some people will tell you gender bias is not a criterion for their selection in occupational status, but if given a list of professions, they would still probably select the male dominated ones as the most prestigous. The quest for female occupational status is therefore elusive. Again, there is little fairness or justice in this line of reasoning. But every militant feminist finds these universal, cross cultural forces tangible enough to rail against them.

What is significant to our study of women in combat is the

conscious recognition of these dominance forces and eminance factors by the serviceman. As a young officer I watched Marines training at Fort Benning harass a group of paratroopers by affecting a female voice and imitating a popular Army commercial, in which a young lady explains how she was "Airborne" and is now attending college on the Army's dime. It was a fish in the barrel shot in the male dominance game. The taunt had no rational basis for offense, but it struck a very deep and visceral nerve in the paratroopers. Why? Men intuitively know the answer. If women can do it, how tough can it be to become a paratrooper? Without a difference between men and women there is no distinction in male pursuits. Without distinction, eminence, and achievement the sense of satisfaction that accrues from association with an elite group diminishes. How do we begin to compensate soldiers for deprivation of comfort and liberty when we compromise eminence and dominance satisfiers?

Feminist Judith Hicks Stiehm, author of <u>Arms and the</u> <u>Enlisted Woman</u>, discusses this issue of warfare and the male ego and identy process from a similar vantage point.

In fact, they [women] seem to be absolutely essential to the military. Their essentialness, though, lies in their absence. It is this which explains why enlisted women, who are by definition present, are unsettling. Their mere existence contradicts three ideas fundamental to the military enterprise:

1. War is manly.

- 2. Warriors protect.
- 3. Soldiers are substitutable.¹¹⁸

Stiehm's motivation to achieve military excellence may be

in question. In another paragraph she explains the potential ramifications of this idea.

A second response might be that if the military does depend on women's absence, it can be subverted or radically altered by joining it, especially by joining it in large numbers and as full partners.

We do not maintain a military in order to build the male ego. The purpose of the military is to provide for national defense. True, but what good is a military force devoid of martial virtue, and how does a nation voluntarily attract quality young men to service without paying inordinate sums for inordinate risk and privation? The traditional solution is to provide a "male bastion" of dominance and eminance statisfiers that take the place of monetary compensation and attract a more militarily tractable soldier. Those who recall the mess hall riots and other incidences of disorder that prevailed on military bases in the late Seventies and early Eighties can attest to the need for continuing to enlist quality troops whose motivation includes more than just a paycheck.

Should the fact that women can do the same task as a man diminish the importance of the task? Logically, rationally, and intellectually, no, it should not. The problem is, man is not an entirely rational being. He is compelled by tendencies that promote attitudes. Goliberg cites this example of a universal attitude concerning male achievement orientation:

In every society, whatever the particular tasks performed by women, the members feel that women do 'women's tasks' (as defined by their particular society) either because only women are biologically capable of the tasks or because men perform functions that are more important.¹²⁰

For whatever reason, both men and women largely regard occupations that are predominately male as high status occupations. Participating in these occupations gives men a feeling of dominance and eminance that satiates a strong need within the male. To whatever degree this need is satisfied through productive channels it is a positive force for society, but left unsatisified, it can become destructive. The military has always functioned as a passive social force for the useful employment of this male tendency. How the proposal to put women into combat units will specifically effect this evolved social order is unknown, but it certainly will have an impact on the relationships that have evolved the current social equilibrium.

PHYSICAL AND COGNITIVE DIFFERENCES

In the introduction to their book <u>Sex Related Differences</u> <u>in Cognitive Functioning</u>, Anne C. Peterson and Michele Andrisin Wittig define the term cognitive functioning "as those processes by which knowledge is acquired particularly perception, learning and reasoning." Recalling our sedan and pick-up truck analogy, we will see that while men and women are equally talented in a macro social view, we are differently talented for some specific tasks.

On standardized tests of intelligence, there are no sex differences in the general IQ. But men, on average, differ from women, on average, in a number of more specific abilities. For some abilities, the difference favors males, for others the difference favors females. We say "on average" because it is not possible to predict, merely on the basis of sex, whether a particular man or a particular woman will be good or bad at a particular task.^[2]

Averages, in the long run, have a noticeable effect. Luck, as in gambling, can prevail once or twice, but eventually the house wins because of a subtle shading in the odds of averages. War is not a one toss venture. Ultimate victory belongs + the nation which has arrayed all the odds, to include those that effect personnel, in the most favorable manner. Averages that do not count for you count against you. War is a zero sum game. As we look at the differences in skills that advantage men and women "on averaçe," we should note which skills would be most critical in combat. As in our examination of aggression, we should examine the differences between men and women not only in terms of who is more capable at combat related tasks, but also how the differences serve to enhance or detract from cohesion.

Men and women think differently. They converse with different intentions, and even when they use the same words, the words themselves carry different meaning.¹²² This difference in language arises from a difference in cognitive functions. Conversation is not an explicit cognitive function in itself, but rather is the manifestation of a spectrum of cognitive skills. The way we communicate is influenced by the way we perceive information, how we focus on that information, the relative value we ascribe to that particular bit of knowledge and the very reasons we decide to communicate information in the first place. Men and women differ in the way they conduct these mental processes and, consequently, differ significantly in the way they communicate.¹²³ Dr. John J. Collins, a consultant for the Navy Personnel Research and Development Center, explains some of the differences and how they interact:

With regard to intensity and emotionality in mixed groups, definite differences between men and women in various groups have been found. For example, men in all male groups divulged very little personal information about themselves, and the conversational themes tend to center around competition, aggression, and superiority. On the other hand, women in allfemale groups revealed a great deal about themselves, their homes, their relationships with others, and their feelings. There is a definite closeness and intimacy in all-female groups. In mixed groups, however, discussions tend to focus on work, ways of proceeding, etc. with definite periods of hesitation and awkwardness. In mixed groups both males and females make greater use of words indicating a kind of defensive style.

Gender differences in interest and communication are good, in that they insure that all the necessary aspects of family and society are addressed in an appropriate way, but they do cause friction, misunderstanding and disharmony between the sexes. Wisdom and experience can help us overcome these communication differences, but wisdom and experience are usually in woefully short supply among youngsters on a battlefield.

Recall that, overall, there is little evidence of variance between men and women in terms of I.Q. However, there is significant difference in *variation* of intelligence within the sexes themselves. Men are far more variable in terms of mental ability. In other words, there are statistically more men at both the top and bottom of the intelligence curve, while women tend to be closer to the standard norm.¹²⁵ This means that there are more men of particularly high and low intelligence compared to women. This difference arises because the inductive process of differentiation that is involved in the masculinization of the male allows for deviations, while the "default" format that produces the female does not involve as many opportunities for hormonal variation. Consequently, women are a more uniform product. They have higher survival rates from conception to birth, fewer instances of deviancy, and greater resistance to disease.¹²⁶ The down side of this greater uniformity is that, as a percentage, there are fewer women of genius--but also fewer imbeciles.¹²⁷

This disproportionate percentage of above average males is particularly well represented in the fields of mathematics and associated skills. For every woman who scores above 700 on the SAT there are 13 men.¹²⁸ Those who contend that this is a cultural phenomena are up against strong evidence to the contrary. Even among women who enjoy math, feel confident in their mathematical performance and take as many math classes as possible, the statistics do not change. A similar example can be found in the world of music. While more women play musical instruments than men, far more men are composers and nearly all of the world's top composers are men. Music composition is a conceptual process related to mathematics. Some researchers

suggest that this pattern is based on a "preferred cognitive strategy." Sandra Witleson, a leading Canadian brain researcher is cited by Moir and Jessel to explain:

What it [preferred cognitive strategy] broadly means is playing to your mental strengths. Witleson suggests that there may be fewer female than male architects (and for that matter, scientists and mathematicians) because, the female spatial sense being weaker, they tend to prefer a different 'cognitive strategy' - to use another, stronger part of their brain.¹²⁹

For example, women have greater fine motor skills and voice control.¹³⁰ This advantages them in the playing of musical instruments and singing, while men might prefer to employ conceptual skills on the computations of musical composition. The combined effect is fine music, and one component of talent without the other is quite a waste. This example illustrates how subtle, but significant, differences that arise in nature are enhanced by social and cultural institutions. But perhaps the biggest amplifiers of gender differences are our own preferences. We enjoy what we do well, and prefer what we enjoy. Deborah P. Waber, in a monograph entitled "Cognitive Abilities and Sex Related Variations," expands on this concept:

It is unlikely that biological factors are mapped directly onto behavior and account for all sexual variation in mental abilities. Rather, biological predispositions can shape the interaction of an individual with the environment. In this way, apparently minor variations in brain structure and function may introduce biases which are then elaborated via a complex chain of events to produce much more profound and easily observable behavioral outcomes.

There are no sinister forces at work here, just men and women who do what they like to do, and like most what they do best. Aptitudes influence attitudes. Feminists tell us that "attitudes" must change, but if attitudes are aptitudinally based you engage yourself in an uphill battle against nature. Society, and certainly the military, have more pressing and other genuinely solvable problems to concern themselves with.

Feminists contend that the majority of the differences that we conventionally associate with men and women are stereotypical "myths" that have little relationship with reality and are thoughtlessly passed from generation to generation without a basis in human experience, except to that degree to which they perverse self-fulfilling prophesies. This is а become particularly constrained view of human potential to discern reality. Yet despite the protests of the feminists, numerous substantiated the existence of these researchers have traditionally understood differences between the sexes. Mere cultural conditioning? They think not, but whatever the reasons, they are real differences nevertheless.

In their monograph "Sex Differences in Mental and Behavioral Traits," Josef E. Garai and Amram Scheinfeld explain a number of the differences which are considered "reasonably well established." They caution that this is a generalized theory based upon averages of males and females as groups, and that there will always be exceptions. The information that follows reflects the findings of Garai and Scheinfeld with

additional supporting or contradicting information from other sources.

Physical Strength and Endurance

Garai and Scheinfield state that "The male is inherently physically stronger, heavier, taller more active, and more aggressive than the female."¹³² In so doing they state the obvious and confirm what our ancestors knew several score thousand years ago. Garai's assertion is amply documented by a wide variety of sources to include the 'stereotypical' knowledge of the average person. How great are these physical differences? The research conducted by the 1992 Presidential Commission on the Assignment of women in the Armed Forces found these statistics pertinent:

2.1.1 In general, women are shorter, weigh less, have less muscle mass and have a greater relative fat content than men. In terms of military significance, due to a lower muscle mass and greater relative fat mass, women are at a distinct disadvantage when performing job tasks requiring a high level of muscular strength and aerobic capacity.

2.1.2 Female dynamic upper torso muscular strength is approximately 50-60 percent that of males.

2.1.3 Female aerobic capacity is approximately 70-75 percent that of males. In terms of military significance, at the same marching velocity and carrying the same load, the average woman works at a higher percentage of her aerobic capacity and is more susceptible to fatigue than the average man.

2.1.6 In general, women are less tolerant to heat but adapt as well as, or better than males to cold and high altitude environments.

A separate report by Dr. M. M. Ayoub entitled "Some Human Engineering Studies Related to Women in the Military" states that: ". . .women will have performed about 50 percent as much work [physical] as men when fatigue sets in."¹³³

The higher metabolic rate and energy level that men produce comes at a cost however. Men consume more food, water, and oxygen to maintain this energy output. In some environments, such as sustained deep space exploration for example, women would not tax these resources as much as men and could be more suitable to mission accomplishment. The greater fat content of the female body and slower matabolism gives women an advantage in potential starvation situations such as POW camps.

<u>Disease</u>

Garai and Schienfield also note that: "The male organism is more susceptible to genetic defects and diseases and less resistant to most biological hazards than is the female organism."¹³⁴ This is an important observation for the military. throughout history, disease has killed more soldiers on campaigns than the enemy. While modern medicine has significantly minimized this risk, this could be an important factor if new strains of biological risk are encountered.

Maturation

Garai notes the much slower maturation rate of males. Men reach puberty from 1 1/2 to 2 1/2 years after women and reach "full physiological and mental maturity approximately 3-5 years later in the twenties."¹³⁵ While this slower maturation rate does not immediately help men, who struggle to compete with faster maturing women in academics, it affords them "greater

opportunity for the development of physical skills." While some suggest that this slower rate of development affords men greater exposure to environmental stimuli in the development of cognative skills, the physical differences are more noticeable. "This prolonged development adds further to the inherent advantage of the male in strength, height, and weight, and increases the male superiority in sports, athletics, and physical tasks."¹³⁶ It is well known that women 'peak' in athletic performance much sooner than men and accounts for the very young ages of many female olympians. Those who suggest that future women will somehow be inherently stronger because a greater percentage of women are now taking gym classes and participating in sports, do not understand the dynamics of physical development. Women can become stronger as individuals by exercise, but the strength they develop will not be inherited by the next generation. Moreover, the inherent difference in proportional strength capability between men and women will remain.

Environmental Action and Response

Garai and Scheinfeld make the following assertion concerning the relative difference between men and women in how they relate to the environment around them:

The male organism has an "activity orientation" to the environment, whereas the female organism has a "response orientation" to the environment. The male activity orientation stems from an innate tendency to act upon and manipulate the external environment, a tendency which appears prior to and independent of the availability of external stimulation, while the female response orientation or "reactive set" is derived from an innate tendency to react to the environment in response to stimulation received.

This is another scientific 'discovery' that has long been known to people through experience. Eakins, in <u>Sex Differences</u> <u>in Human Communications</u>, contends that even in language men tend to be referred to in active voice and women in passive.¹³⁸ There is a pervasive understanding that women are more concerned about people and men are more interested in things. This is more than stereotype. Garai explains:

In psychological development, from earliest infancy on, males exhibit a greater interest in objects and their manipulation, whereas females show a greater interest in people and a greater capacity for the establishment of interpersonal relations.¹³⁹

His finding is born out in many studies and has been adopted by feminist authors to confirm the greater interpersonal skills of women. Women are far more responsive and sensitive to interpersonal stimulus. Their senses are more receptive and their overall perception exceeds that of men. Woman's intuition is more than just guess work, women percieve things, particularly suble changes in voice and expression, that men cannot. They are better judges of character than men. Men, on the other hand, know about things and take a greater interest in them.

Achievement Orientation

Left to a vote, the selection for the greatest achievers in society would would probably be won by mothers. Yet different people have different concepts of what constitutes achievement and the difference in these attitude and orientation is very dependent upon gender. Not that the concept of achievement is suspect or even very contentious, for there is a wide spectrum of different activities that constitute achievement. Personal achievement is percieved differently by men and women:

From early childhood on, males appear to have greater achievement needs directed toward successful task accomplishment, while females exhibit greater affiliative or social needs directed toward successful relations with the people in their environment.⁴⁰

This tendency for men to orient on tasks and for women to orient on relationships is a very significant difference in the focus of the genders and gives rise to different concepts of achievement. We all intuit and experience this difference. Men strive for 'formal' achievement. No more important to society than the 'informal' achievement that many women opt for, it nevertheless carries with it the recognition that satiates male dominance/eminance needs. "There is an inherent difference between men and women in the values either sex assigns to specific achievement, and the effort worth expending in its persuit."¹⁴¹ For men, formal achievement is a source of esteem, but women derive greater self-esteem from those they love and respect. For men, the concept of achievement is a synergysim of the many other tendencies their masculinized brain exhibits:

. . .the bias of the adult male brain expresses itself in high motivation, competition, single-mindedness, risk-taking, aggression, preoccupation with dominance, hierarchy, and the politics of power, the constant measurement and comparison of success itself, the paramountcy of winning - everything which we found in

the male as an adolesent.¹⁴²

Women take a broader view. A meaningful career ought not deprive one of the opportunity to stop and smell the roses and enjoy the personal interaction of friends and collegues. What good is success if you do not have the opportunity to enjoy it? For men, success is an end unto itself. Moir and Jessel cite a study of women at work that concludes that women are not as consumed by work as men:

To reach the top, as apart from reaching an interesting and responsible post at middle level, would, as the women see it, call for a maximum commitment of time and energy, and so a sacrifice of other interests which they are not prepared to make.

A lengthy, but illuminating quote from Major Mauck's survey of women Marine officers eloquently illustrates the different and sometimes conflicting perceptions of achievement that motivate the sexes:

I used to be a champion for the acceptance of women in the military. Nine years of service has tempered my enthusiasm, and forced me to eevaluate many of my original conclusions. I am not so sure that, generally speaking, women belong in the military. It is certainly not yet a natural environment for the average woman, whereas it most definitely is for a man. When a woman has 100% of her wits about her, which usually means she doesn't have a family, she may be able to compete equally with her male counterparts if she is otherwise 'squared away.' The rest of the women, in my opinion of course, are caught in a very tug-of-war confusing role between marriage, motherhood, military career, and personal concept or their appropriate roles in the work force, civilian or military. We women are confused. We live with the legacy of the ladies who burned their bras in the '60s. I believe that the 'Woman of the '80s' is beginning to realize that doing it all involves tremendous sacrifice: to self-esteem, to family, to career. Perhaps the 'Woman of the '90s' will begin to make different choices. As long as there is home and work pulling at women, we will continue to struggle for that ever-evasive par with men who traditionally are 'allowed' to be totally devoted to their jobs regardless of marital status.

Does society 'allow' this difference or do men simply grant themselves a dispensation to pursue their interests? In either case, we are not dealing with arbitrary roles that have a sinister conspiracy of partiarchial demons at their root. Rather, the differences in achievement motivation are inherent to the differences between men and women. Ultimately the differences in achievement orientation enable the sexes to pursue different standards of achievement and gain similar gratification. The imposition of a uniform standard of achievement for both men and women is not only detrimental to the accomplishment of a wide spectrum of social tasks, but ignores the different sources of gratification between the genders. In short, the differences engender happiness. In many ways, diversity is a more proximate cause of happiness than equality.

Verbal Ability

Women out perform men, particularly in the adolescent years, in many verbal skills. Garai explains:

While the male brain gives men the edge in dealing with things and theorems, the female brain is organized to respond more sensitively to all sensory stimuli. Women do better than men on tests of verbal ability. Females are equipped to receive a wider range of sensory information, to connect and relate that information with greater facility, to place a primacy on personal relationships, and to communicate. Cultural influences may reinforce these strengths, but the advantages are innate.¹⁴⁵

We have already discussed how Maccoby and Jacklin concur in the superior verbal ability of women, and they are joined by many other researchers to include Doreen Kimura.¹⁴⁶ There appears to be wide agreement on this point. This trait manifests itself in a variety of talents that favor women, such as foreign language skills, grammar, and spelling. Girls read earlier than boys and speak sooner and more fluently as well.¹⁴⁷ This disparity in early verbal talent has caused some to question the wisdom of co-education in the early grades.¹⁴⁸ Boys begin to catch up in later grades, but their verbal skills tend to differ from those of girls.

Garai and Scheinfeld explain how these diferences manifest themselves n the behaviorial characteristics of men and women:

Studies of verbal ability have shown that girls and women surpass boys and men in verbal fluency, correct language usage, sentence complexity, grammar structure, spelling and articulation, while males tend to excel in verbal reasoning and comprehension. Since these latter skills appear to be important for abstract and logical reasoning, males are generally better equipped than females to pursue studies in those fields which require a high level of abstract reasoning and thought, such as science, mathematics and philosophy. In general, there is a tendency with males to apply their verbal reasoning and comprehension skills to the solution of problems in the world of objects, machines, and the field of theory development, whereas females apply their verbal fluency more frequently in their attempts to establish successful interpersonal relationships. In other words, men satisfy primarily achievement needs and women predominantly their social or affiliative needs through₁₄₉ the use of their respective language skills.

These greater tilents of women obviously make them more aptitudinally competitive at many endeavors. Some of these skills are certainly required within the Armed Forces and women should be considered as particularly qualified for those in which they can demonstrate performance. However, these traits do not favorably differentiate women for combat. Still they do favorably differentiate women for many professions when one considers society in its entirety. This wider view provides a better perspective on the relationships between the sexes and how they compliment one another.

Spatial Skills

The superior talents of men in terms of spatial ability are well documented by a wide variety of studies and tests. This ability provides men with a number of talents that are gender specific and make men more competitive as warriors. While there is a surfit of empirical data to support the superior performance of men in spacial perception, there is a question of how this would advantage men from an evolutionary perspective. Beatrix Hamberg speculates that:

Man's unique spatial abilities may very well play a role in having made it possible to both vastly increase the human teritorial range and give an adaptive advantage in hunting and warfare. . . It would appear that male superiority in in spatial ability has probably confered sekective advantage in three major areas critical to human survival: expansion of teritorial range, enhancement of hunting skills, and heightening of aggressive potential in agonistic encounters.

"Men also are more accurate than women in target-directed motor skills, such as guiding or intercepting projectiles."¹⁵¹ Like the other predominately male traits, spatial skills have a special relationship with the activational hormone testosterone. Increasing the testosterone level in men increases their spatial ability. Interestingly, higher testosterone leves reduce spatial performance in women. The sex difference in brain structure in which the hormonal interaction takes place is believed to account for this difference.¹⁵²

Another advantage that men accrue from greater spatial skills is an enhanced sense of direction. While women are better at remembering specific landmarks along a route, men have a better appreciation of the overall terrain relationships in a much wider area.¹⁵³

There are other cognative differences between men and women that are not addressed here. The purpose is not to provide a deffinitive list of these differences, but rather to demonstrate that there are ample biologically based differences between men and women upon which to question the assumption that we are 'equal' in terms of physical, mental or emotional response to a given set of environmental factors or stimuli. These are neither myths nor prejudicial stereotypes. The differences result from the actions of hormones that first shape differently the minds of men and women while still in the womb, and then actively interact differently with the male and female brain throughout life. Many of these these interactions are most pronounced

during and immediately following the age of puberty and development.

Other recent books and research on sex differences provide information that is built largely on this understanding of the origin of the behavioral differences between the sexes. Most authors and scientists attribute this current functioning of the brain to tens of thousands of years of evolutionary adaptation and strive to explain the phenomena in terms of the needs for human survival, procreation and social harmony.

In his recent book <u>The Tribal Self</u> anthropologist Ron Wallace examines a range of human behaviors in this context. He offers a quotation by William Faulkner that opines that "The past is not dead. It's not even past." Wallace gives us insight into why the challenges of past generations continue to challenge us today, why we have evolved the social and cultural habits we exhibit, and how they relate to our primal and contemporary needs.

Wallace examines a full range of human emotions, traits and behaviors and relates them to our biology. He notes the way the brain functions and the consequent different behaviors exhibited by men and women. He speaks of aggression and its relationship with dominance, danger and romance; risk, and its attendant rewards in terms of procreation; coyness, and how it enhances the selectivity process for women when choosing mates. Sport, and its relationship with hunting and war. Most importantly, he

relates why these behaviors developed to begin with and how their influences cannot be discounted or minimized without consequence. He is quick to point out the dark side of human nature, and equally quick to stay the hand of those who would deny it. Whatever solutions can be found to ameliorate the human condition, must be found in the light of humanity as it is.

The defense that I offer amounts to a cynical hope. I believe that we can survive if we confront the worst in our nature, admit that it is there, study it and learn to control it. We need to be educated, from early childhood on, about our natural tendencies toward prejudice, sexism, violence. Clearly, education stemming from the opposite (and probably false) premise that we have no natural proclivities has been a spectacular failure.

Wallace does hold hope for cultural change, but he believes that such change can only begin if we acknowledge our current condition. He explains our nature in terms of science and evolution. While enthralled by the sophistication of the human race, he is nevertheless not oblivious to our failings.

A view of human nature that is unflattering but safe is clearly preferable to high-risk narcissism. It requires an awareness of forces that have shaped us and how we have adapted to a world that has recently vanished. The past - a cruel mirror - reveals each ancient blemish. We should view it in affirmation: saying yes, this is what we are.¹⁵⁵

In short, after looking at the man science tells us we are, he makes a plea for prudence. The human condition is not hopeless, he concludes, but modern man is in some ways alienated from the very forces that shaped his nature. We are no longer hunters and gatherers. The benefits of modern industrial life are also the banes of our natural predilections. We are in a state of catharsis as we strive to adapt to a new man made environment that differs in some measurable ways from the raw environment in which we evolved. Crisis lurks. Humanity must adapt, but man is still tethered to the past and change is slower than glacial ice. So as we adapt systems and institutions, we must keep a firm grasp on whom we are and acknowledge that in reality, we may be different from the people we wish to be.

Another important perspective on the origins of gender differences is succinctly provided by Lauren Julius Harris in her monograph entitled "Sex differences in spatial ability: possible environmental, genetic, and neurological factors." Harris explores the factors that contribute to the difference in spatial ability between the sexes:

The spatial sense has been of particular interest to differential psychologists because the most persistent of individual differences on multifactor tests of psychological functioning is a sex difference in spatial ability. Males have decidedly better spatial skill than females. Indeed, on a number of tests, only 20% to 25% of females exceeded the average performance of males.

Acknowledging the differences between men and women in this particular skill, she goes on to explain the complex interactions between various factors that may contribute to the difference. She explains the "critical role of the right cerebral hemisphere - particularly the temporal, parietal, and occipital areas - in spatial perception," but goes on to speak

of other relevant environmental factors:

Of course, we are past the stage - or should be - of arguing whether human variation is a product of nature or nurture. Instead we accept the view, expressed by Bock and Vandenberg (1968, p. 233), that "the variation of observable characteristics, whether physiological or behavioral, is the outcome of a lengthy sequence of interactions between the genetic material and the environment." Any neurological therefore, must be interwoven with account, an examination of evidence for the roles of environmental and genetic factors, our task being not to set these kinds of explanations against each other as though we simply had to choose one among them, but to try to understand how they complement one another.

This well reasoned and quite articulate expression of scientific thought helps us to maintain perspective on an argument that might otherwise tend to polarize along nature or nurture view points. As with most real life questions, the answers to why men and women behave differently under similar conditions or stimulus defy the simple solution. Biology alone cannot hope to provide the definitive answer. However, by omitting biology from the debate, as many sociologists and philosophers would have us do, we can conceivably arrive at a definitive list of wrong answers. The truth, as always, resides in a multitude of factors. While the primary factors are rooted in our biological makeup, the differences become even further enhanced by experience and environmental influences.

For example, few would dispute that, on average, men can throw a football farther and with greater accuracy than women. Some may argue that this is primarily due to the greater male ability for target directed motor skills¹⁵⁸ and superior size and strength. In other words, biological factors. Feminists

might argue the nonsense of this position and point out how the ball is unfairly sized and weighted against the more refined female hand, and note the near universal exclusion of women from varsity football programs in the nation's high schools. Such unfair social conditions are sure to result in a disparity in athletic skills.

Noting Harris's admonition, we might arrive at a reasonable consensus of thought. The biological realities that underpin the superiority of men at this specific task are the primary cause of the sex difference. The greater ability of men in this area leads them to construct games at which they can exercise this ability for psychic gratification. This gratification encourages them to pursue these sports during leisure hours. Consequently, they become even better at this specific skill because of practice. Thus a difference that arises naturally between the sexes in terms of skill might be even further emphasized and enhanced by experience and environmental factors.

Those feminists who indulge in conspiracy theories may even believe that the male preference for all male groups is an incentive for men to push the rules of play and level of contact and aggression above the threshold of the average woman to insure the all male status of the sport. "Why do you have to tackle? Wouldn't flag football be less dangerous and equally exciting?"

I would not criticize this theory. I strongly believe there is a large element of truth to it. The sports men regard as the

most virile are not those which require the greatest skill alone, but those which combine the elements of skill with those of contact or controlled violence. Football, boxing and wrestling come to mind. These sports are almost exclusively male. Sports in which women compete with men are almost universally regarded as less virile and consequently less prestigious. In order to enhance the prestige of their sport, men will enhance the level of violent contact in order to preclude the voluntary participation of women. In this way they gain status, exclusive male groups, and psychic reward.

Wallace suggests still another perspective:

There are serious dimensions to play. Boys' and girls" games appear to be strikingly different. Boys play more aggressively - this we might expect - and they also create more rules. The habit may be an inheritance from thousands of years of hunting. Rules quickly establish different levels of skill. Players quickly learn who is best, worst. They find out intimate facts of coordination, strength. In hunting groups this knowledge was essential to survival Rules made hierarchies, primitive chains of command.

Can men be induced to respect as leaders in the wardroom those whose physical competence is questioned on the field of play? If Wallace is correct, then the idle hours that troops spend together on the basketball court and football field in voluntary association and physical competition are in reality cohesion drills. Good officers understand the importance of doing physical exercises and participating in sport with their troops. They also know that they must do well. Troops are far more likely to give their voluntary allegiance to a leader who can demonstrate physical prowess. How do women fit into this male bonding and informal hierarchial structure? Are they omitted from the most intimate of male discovery processes by physical limitations? Are women even aware of the many informal cognitive processes that men recognize but never articulate when participating in team sport? Does an informal yet influential sub-current of male authority and hierarchy operate within coed and even female lead organizations? Does the visceral, unspoken but tangible contempt that men hold for weak and effeminate men apply to women in what men perceive as male endeavors? I do not hold the answers to these questions, but I am intrigued and concerned by the questions themselves.

Nature of nurture? Certainly both. But when it comes down to determining whether the order of precedence belongs to the chicken or the egg in examples like the football throwing contest, science can conclusively show how nature is the primary determinate factor. However, we do adapt our social and cultural institutions around our innate biological strengths and needs, and to some degree these institutions further gender differences. Still, changing social institutions will no more change the fundamentals of biology than changing the rules of football will minimize male aggression or spatial skills.

While such logic may appear intuitive and obvious to the average person, one should not overlook the feminist perspective on science and how feminists view the information presented by the main stream scientific community. Interestingly enough, the scientists themselves acknowledge the strong political currents

that are prevalent in the academy. Some make strong statements of their personal philosophical agreement with the feminists, but acknowledge the discrepancy between what they found and what they hoped to find. They explain the results of their findings as distressing but necessary if we are to "intervene" to make the world more equal. Others acknowledge the futility of attempting to change biology and adjust their world view to incorporate the new scientific information. Still others rail against those who had the temerity to ask politically incorrect questions in the first place.¹⁶⁰

To a greater or lesser extent a certain degree of Lamarckian thought seems to be inherent to the feminist perspective. Jean Baptiste Lamark proposed the now discredited notion that acquired characteristics can be inherited.¹⁶¹ The feminists argue that if we begin and continue to teach women more masculine skills and attitudes, or teach men to be more feminine, we can arrive at a new androgynous society in a few short generations. The idea being that eventually the ideals will be self perpetuating once they have been inculcated into our ethos. The steep learning curve we go through now to create the new androgynous man will not require repetition in successive generations that grow up in an androgynous environment. They will inherit these values without the need for circumspection.

Lamarckian principles were at the root of the biological heresies expounded by the Marxist agronomist Trofim Denisovich

Lysenko. Lysenko also argued that environment, not genetic predisposition was the determinant factor in inheritance. Basking in the politically correct benevolence of both Lenin and Stalin, he postulated the biological possibility and promise of a new communist man. Ignoring the relevant principles of Mendelian genetics, he sought a theory that would meet the approval of his political benefactors. His endeavor was politically quite successful until placed under the scrutiny of western science. Thereafter, not only Lysenko, but the entire Soviet scientific establishment was suspect.

Lysenko argued that by manipulating the environment in accordance with the principles of scientific socialism he could achieve significant results in changing the nature of man. (He saw no reason these principles could not also create the new piq, chicken or crop as well.) "Lysenko promised greater, more rapid and less costly increases in crop yields than other biologists believed possible. . . he claimed that wheat plants raised in the appropriate environment produced seeds of rye, which is equivalent to saying that dogs living in the wild give birth to foxes."¹⁶² Feminists argue that by manipulating the social and cultural environment in accordance with feminist principles we can create a more androgynous humanity. The scientific heresy of Lamarck, holds that the characteristics acquired by one generation can be inherited by the next, is at the heart of both of these specious theories of rapid human adaptation to a changed environment.

What is truly amazing about Lysenko's work was its effect on Soviet agriculture. Once Lysenkoism was declared the state science, all agricultural and animal husbandry endeavors were carried out in accordance with his principles. The results, of course, were disastrous. A nation that was already perilously close to starvation exacerbated its dilemma. Still, for the Soviets it was more important to be politically correct than scientifically prudent. Will genuine scientific facts make a difference in the current argument? Or will commitment to ideology render American social and cultural institutions the victims of a new Lysenkoism?

1. Katharine Blick Hoyenga and Kermit T. Hoyenga, <u>The</u> <u>Question of Sex Differences</u> (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1979), p. 67.

2. Anne Moir and David Jessel, "Sex and Cerebellum," <u>The</u> <u>Washington Post</u>, 5 May 1991, p. K-3.

3. Anne Moir and David Jessel, <u>Brain Sex: The Real Difference</u> <u>Between Men and Women</u> (New York: Dell Publishing, 1991), p.15.

4. <u>Ibid</u>.

5. Elizabeth Hampson and Doreen Kimura, "Sex Differences and Hormonal Influences on Cognitive Function in Humans," Jill B. Becker et al, eds., <u>Behavioral Endocrinology</u> (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1992), p. 358.

6. See Anne Fausto-Sterling, <u>Myths of Gender</u> (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1985)

7. Doreen Kimura, "Sex Differences in the Brain," <u>Scientific</u> <u>American</u>, September 1992, p. 120.

8. For a slight variation on this information see Letter from C. Dominique Toran-Allerand to <u>Scientific American</u>, January 1993 p. 12. She contends that there is some indication that "the feminization of neural structure and function is an active process."

9. S. Marc Breedlove, "Sexual Differentiation of the Brain and Behavior," Jill B. Becker et al, eds., <u>Behavioral Endocrinology</u> (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1992), p. 43.

10. Kimura, p. 120.

11. Josef E. Garai and Amram Scheinfeld, "Sex Differences in Mental and Behavioral Traits," <u>Genetic Psychology Monographs</u>, 1968 no. 77, p. 183.

- 12. Hoygena and Hoygena, p. 45.
- 13. Becker, p. 43.
- 14. Kimura, p. 120.
- 15. Becker, p. 43.
- 16. Moir and Jessel, p. 22-23.
- 17. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 24.
- 18. <u>Ibid</u>,
- 19. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 24.

20. Kimura, p. 120.

- 21. Moir and Jessel, P. 38.
- 22. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 25.
- 23. Kimura, p. 119.
- 24. Moir and Jessel, p. 38.
- 25. <u>Ibid</u>.
- 26. <u>Ibid</u>.
- 27. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 42.
- 28. <u>Ibid</u>.
- 29. <u>Ibid</u>.
- 30. <u>Ibid</u>., pp. 42-43.
- 31. Kimura, p. 123.

32. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 125.

33. See "Nature of Nurture," The Economist, 26 December 1992, p. 33. "Even in these days of politically correct fetishes, on no other subject is the gulf between academics and ordinary people so wide, Even the most hopeful of parents know that the sentiment "all men are created equal" is a pious dream rather than a statement of fact. They know full well that, say, one of their sons is brighter, or more musical or more athletic than another; they see, despite their best attentions, that girls turn every toy into a doll and boys turn every toy into a weapon; they rarely persist in believing that each and all of these differences is the result of early encouragement or training. They know that even if full equality of opportunity could be guaranteed, equality of outcome could not. Ability is not evenly distributed. But parents opinions are unscientific. Not until 1979 did a few academics begin to atch up.

34. Moir and Jessel, p. 69.

35. Hoyenga and Hoyenga, p. 50.

36. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 85.

37. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 86.

38. J. Madeleine Nash, "Sizing Up The Sexes," <u>Time</u>, 20 January 1992, p. 42.

39. See Deborah Tannen, <u>You Just Don't Understand: Women</u> and <u>Men in Conversation</u> (New York: Ballantine Books, 1991)

40. The Economist, 28 December 1992, p. 36.

41. See Anne Fausto-Sterling, <u>...yths of Gender.</u>

42. Eleanor Emmons Maccoby and Carol Nagy Jacklin <u>The</u> <u>Psychology of Sex Differences</u>, (Stanford, CA; Stanford University Press, 1975), pp. 349-355.

43. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 363.

44. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 360.

45. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 361.

46. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 244.

47. Anke A. Eherhardt and Susan W. Baker, "Fetal Androgens, Human Central Nervous System Differentiation, and Behavior Sex Differences," Richard C. Friedman et al, eds. <u>Sex Differences in</u> <u>Behavior</u> (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1974), pp. 33-51. 48. Kenneth E. Moyer, "Sex Differences in Aggression," Richard C. Friedman et al, eds., <u>Sex Differences in Behavior</u> (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1974), p. 335.

49. <u>Ibid</u>.

50. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 336.

51. <u>Ibid</u>.

52. <u>Ibid</u>. p. 358. and Peter R. Messent, "Female Hormones and Behavior," Barbra LLoyd and John Archer eds., <u>Exploring Sex</u> <u>Differences</u> (New York: Academic Press, 1976), p. 189.

53. Moyer, p. 336.

54. Ibid., p. 337 and Moir and Jessel, p. 82.

55. Garai, pp. 211-214 and Moir and Jessel, pp. 63-65.

56. Moir and Jessel, pp. 59-60.

57. Ehrhardt and Baker, p. 35.

58. Garai and Scheinfeld, p. 217-214.

59. Christopher Badcock, <u>Evolution and Individual Behavior</u> (Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, 1991), p. 144.

60. <u>Ibid</u>.

61. <u>Ibid</u>.

62. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 145.

63. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 144.

64. Lionel Tiger and Robin Fox, <u>The Imperial Animal</u> (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1971) p. 56-57.

"Around their campfire on the night before a raid on the enemy, a group of Crow Indians, mostly young males, is engaged in cutting up a sausage. As each brave cuts a piece off the sausage and passes it on to the next man, he recites the names of all his lovers since the last raid. He does this with complete honesty, even though the list may include the wife or daughter of a comrade. There is pain in an older man's eyes as his wife's name is recited more than once, but he makes no move. A young man hears his mistress named and flinches slightly, but he takes his piece of sausage and recites unhesitatingly in his turn. On any other occasion this knowledge would have driven either man to anger or retaliation. But this is

the night before a raid. At dawn these men must stand together against their enemies; they must fight together and possibly die together. So on this evening they reaffirm their bonds as men, asserting that their relationship as warriors in a war party supersedes all others, and in particular their relationship with women. Once a man has recited his list of names, he is free forever for retaliation on that score; the slate is wiped clean. The warrior bond is freed from contamination of sexual jealousy and can go about its essential male business. War and hunting and the hunt have always been the business of human males, just as the protection of the troop is the business of male primates. Women are always a potential source of disruption to the unity, loyalty, and trust necessary to comrads in arms. Far from belittling the strength and importance of women, this affirms it. It is important enough to everyone to be made the focus of the only ceremony which precedes the day during which men must trust one another or maybe die, and even die despite the forces generated by their certainty and by their collective yearning for a triumph.

65. Douglas T. Kenrick, "Bridging Social Psychology and Sociobiology: The Case of Sexual Attraction," Robert W. Bell and Nancy J. Bell eds., <u>Sociobiology and the Social Sciences</u>, (College Station, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 1989), pp. 9-10.

66. Tiger and Fox, p. 55.

Sex and politics are two sides of the same evolutionary coin, but we have lost sight of this as a species and as theorists of our own behavior. What textbook on sexual behavior treats it as a political process? And what primer of political science recognizes that its subject matter is a derivative of a biological theme as fundamental as the struggle for reproductive success? What politician sees his own compulsive energy as fired by the ancient impulses of sexual competition? What lover sees his amorous pride as part of the necessary comportment of the successful mammalian politician? Our political institutions draw their strength and energy from the motives of the old breeding systems. But they offer very different rewards. It is scarcely suprising that reasonable systems fail because people behave unreasonably.

67. See Moir and Jessel, Chapter Six.

68. Moir and Jessel, p. 83. "The differences between the way men and women see the world and react to it go beyond mere aggression. Dominance, assertiveness, and the drive which sustains ambition belong to the same behavioral family and have the same biological roots." 69. Ron Wallace, <u>The Tribal Self: An Anthropologist Reflects</u> <u>on Hunting, Brain, and Behavior</u> (New York: University Press of America, 1991), p. 52.

70. Associated Press, "Gulf War Troops Say Sex Hurt Unit Morale," <u>Newport Daily News</u>, 2 October 1992.

71. Moir and Jessel, p. 79.

72. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 80.

73. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 81.

74. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 82.

75. U.S. Navy Dept. Headquarters U.S. Marine Corps, <u>FMFM-1 Warfighting</u>, (Washington: 1989), p. 13.

76. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 11.

77. John and Mary Gribbin, <u>The One Percent Advantage</u> (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1988), p. 143.

78. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 34.

79. S.L.A. Marshall, <u>Men Against Fire</u> (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1947), p. 160.

80. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 163.

81. See Lesley Rogers, "Male Hormones and Behaviour," Barbara Lloyd and John Archer, eds., <u>Exploring Sex Differences</u> (New York: Academic Press, 1976), pp. 164-168.

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TRUTH IS NOT FOUND IN OPINION BUT IN NATURE. --CICERO

CHAPTER IV

SOCIOBIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY PERSPECTIVES

How did many of the contemporary misconceptions about the similarities and differences between men and women come about? The answer to that question can be traced to the antipathy that developed after World War I toward the application of biological theories to the human social condition. At the turn of the century the evolutionary theories of Spencer and Darwin were in vogue and resulted in a pervasive belief in what came to be known as 'Social Darwinism.' Though the misapplied and unscientific theories that arose from this philosophical movement carry Darwin's name, the genuine culprit was Spencer who argued for the 'survival of the fittest.' Spencer, not Darwin was the author of that misleading phrase which implied that evolution selected the fittest 'species' as opposed to what Darwin knew to be the survival and reproduction of specific individuals within the species.¹ Natural selection, according to Darwin, was vested in individual genes, not the species. Nevertheless, the idea of a biological basis for superiority of one people over another is thought to have contributed considerably to the intensity and interminable nature of World War I.

The bastardization of scientific theory by Nazi Germany to promote an ethnically pure master race further alienated the idea of applying biological theories to the study of human nature. A tacit agreement was reached in the academy. Biologists and other 'hard' scientists were free to study whatever they wanted and to apply the principles to plants and animals, but no inference was to be made that a similar theory would in some way apply to humans.² The 'proper' study of man was left to the philosophers and the socio fists.

Unlimited by biological principles and functions, the philosophers and sociologists were free to construct theories that were in accord with their world view. Socialist Humanism and Marxism were on the philosophical ascendancy in the academy and the concomitant egalitarianism that underpinned these ideologies has been the conventional wisdom on campus since the Sixties. Since scientists knew we were equal, the challenge was to determine what sociological and philosophical barriers prevented fundamental human equality from resulting in equality of condition. The basic tenant of the sociology of the era was the innate equality of all human beings, despite a perverse society full of unenlightened and discriminatory practices that prevented equality of condition. The philosopher and the sociologist were engaged in a lucrative symbiosis of thought government financed studies proving churned out that environmentally based discrimination. Many of us who were college students during this period received a healthy dose of this ideologically based 'science.' While it was seemingly more benign than the misuse of the 'hard' sciences during the 1930s

and 1940s, it nevertheless had a destructive impact on the ability of the student to discern the important differences that distinguish the sexes.

In the 1970s, biological, neuro-endocrinological and other scientific information began to surface that clearly disputed the philosophical speculations that had animated a generation of sociological thought. An academic skirmish that has not yet settled ensued.³ Those willing to incorporate the new information and rethink the sociological dogmas were at odds with those who wished to preserve ideological orthodoxy. 4 new field of scientific synthesis developed known as sociobiology. Sociobiology attempts to incorporate the information we know from genetics, endocrinology and other scientific pursuits toward a theory of human nature and human interaction in society. This synthesis of the hard and social sciences has come under predictable and vociferous attack from the displaced sociologists. Sociobiology specifically rejects а "rigid determinism" in the relationship between biology and behavior, but it does attempt to account for biological influences.⁵ Some sociologists are jealous for lost turf, but seem to be more concerned for having their ideological premises questioned.° Some have gone so far as to assert "Nothing we can know about the genetics of human behavior can have any implications for human society."⁷ At issue is who will control academic thought in determining the study of man. The genie is already out of the bottle, but an effort has been made to challenge the premises of sociobiology, especially those which are rooted in evolutionary thought.

If evolution is the process by which we came to be who we are, then we are still very much more like the cave man of the past than the space person of the future. Though modern technology might have made us complacent of the differences between the sexes, and in some cases even scornful of their effects, the fact remains that these sex differences are the survival equipment that enabled our presence today despite the long, cold, hostile history that separates ourselves from our earliest ancestors. From the wider view of human survival as a species, as opposed to the narrow view of should he or she do this particular job, the differences between the sexes are an inherited legacy of adaptation and survival.

What if women were more like men? Would there be any of us here to observe the similarity? The female body is so specifically adapted to achieve its primary evolutionary function of reproduction that there have been necessary tradeoffs in terms of speed, strength, size, aerobic capacity etc. Similar trade-offs have been incorporated into the human brain of both men and women. These differences should be both recognized and celebrated. They are the vestiges of a human survival story that includes triumph over disease, predators 'red in tooth and claw,' human aggression, and environmental elements from the tropics to the arctic.

The simple necessity of survival as a species makes human reproduction an imperative. Though it is not trendy to notice, women are specifically differentiated for this primary, survival dependent purpose. The difference in parental investment between men and women is vast, even if taken from a simple caloric standpoint. A small percentage of the male body is involved with reproduction and nurture. The male sperm, in comparison to the relative size to the human female egg is like a chicken egg to a barn. The slower metabolic rate of women enables them to gain and maintain a greater fat content that is critical during pregnancy and lactation. The complex interaction of hormones that facilitate birth and subsequent lactation are a wonder unto themselves, and the maternal behaviors that they inspire are critical to the healthy psychological development of the next generation. These differences between men and women are too critical to society to be ignored or denigrated. The society that does so imperils not only its values, but its existence.⁸

Culture is the process where one generation passes to the next a proper appreciation of these and other fundamental truths about the reality and beauty of human nature. Truths that may otherwise go unlearned by a young man who naively values his strength over her emotions, and is only to later learn that might does not always make right, and that power should not be confused with happiness. A healthy society involves hundreds of millions of people making sage decisions about their own nature and of those for whom they are responsible. The problem we face

in the current debate about the differences between the sexes is that the facts that contribute to the preservation of culture are been tampered with for ideological ends. Instead of teaching our young men to respect, value and appreciate the differences that exist between the sexes, and informing them how sexual interaction contribuces to a social synergism, we are being goaded into an ideological crusade to denigrate recognition of sexual differences as 'bigotry' and 'sexism' with the subliminal message that women should be made to compete on the same playing field as men, despite the differences that disadvantage them in male dominated fields. Feminine values and virtues are deprecated most by those who claim to champion woman's rights. Materialistic values, historically over valued by most men, are heralded as the proper objective for feminine power. How many centuries of cultural growth are required to arrive at the simple acceptance that the criteria for honorable conduct in emergency is 'women and children first?' How long can that simple phrase survive in a culture that values only power?

The Armed Forces are now being goaded into participating in this counter-cultural movement. Military leaders should be aware of this cultural debate and understand the ideological goals of the movement. They should also be aware of the information that science provides on the realities of human nature. This chapter contains various observations from a variety of scientists, anthropologists and sociologists that provide information on the differences between the sexes and how those differences may

effect the society or military forces that employ women in combat.

Male Bonding

My research into the literature that supports women in combat has led me to conclude that the advocates of the repeal of the combat exclusion laws regard the topic of male bonding as some para-normal phenomena that has about as much relevance to the issue of women warriors as the potential presence of UFOs. In short 'they just don't get it.' Male bonding seems to be regarded as a code word for exclusion, a concept of thin substance that has the purpose of providing an unassailable position based upon a unique but mythical quality that is resident only in the male. There is more than a lack of empathy here, there is overt skepticism. In her aforementioned monograph "Women in Combat: Is Warring a Male Occupation Only?" Mauck dismisses the issue of male bonding thus:

The problem with this argument is that it's been used before--every time a woman enters a new arena. It was used to bar women from the military service academies more than a decade ago; however, women are now firmly entrenched and pretty much accepted.

Also, it is possible that the male-bonding or camaraderie which develops in a combat unit may be generated by factors irrelevant to the male sex-perhaps it is due largely to the danger, the "fog of war," the sharing of deprivation, etc. It is also passible that an asexual male-female bonding might develop under similar conditions."

This is typical of the treatment given this issue. "Male bonding is not like food and water, you guys will get over the absence of locker room pep talks and dirty jokes." Male bonding is seen as a beer and darts type of behavior that has little relationship with serious endeavors.

Trying to explain male bonding to women may be like trying to explain radio waves in the 18th century--without benefit of a radio. There is no basis of experience or consequent empathy. Yet men know the importance of this bonding process and how critical it is to their identification within the group, group solidarity, and ultimate success. It is the process by which the male finds an identity by association and status within a group. It is an informal process, and formal membership in an organization does not preclude the need for the bonding process. Sending wounded soldiers back to the unit from which they came, and the morale problems that occur when that does not happen, are but one manifestation of this subtle but potent force. The significantly higher attrition rates at Marine Recruit Training and Army Ranger School for men who become injured and are returned to a different platoon are also indicative of the importance of the male bonding process. But these examples are only sighted because they can be quantified. They do not explain the process itself or the many ways it influences male behavior.

In their book <u>The Imperial Animal</u>, Lionel Tiger and Robin Fox detail the various bonding processes that occur in human social interaction. They explain that these processes are not unique to man alone, but follow a primate "bio-gram" or behavior format that has similar influence in other primates.¹⁰ The various bonding processes that humans engage in, they contend, are "species specific" behaviors "that characterize all men at all times and stem from the very nature of the animal species--Homo sapiens--we are dealing with."¹¹ It is an intrinsic part of our human nature to bond with others according to biological patterns. These bonds reflect adaptive evolutionary strategies that work and, consequently, are perpetuated in the gene pool.

Tiger and Fox examine the evolution of language and how it functions according to evolved rules that men come to understand. They note that human bio-grams respond to a type of bio-grammar analogous to language:

If the rules of language are not observed, verbal communication breaks down, and the result is gibberish; if the rules of behavior for a species are not observed, social communication breaks down, and the result is behavioral gibberish.

These behaviors have come to us with an untold legacy from preceding generations who found them advantageous for survival. We cannot simply will, vote or decide them away. They are now a part of what makes us human. Why does a woman's eyes dilate when she sees a baby? Because she wills this reaction, or because of an innate maternal bio-gram that gives her a bonding tendency?

A puppy, taken from its mother on day one and raised away from other dogs, still exhibits dog like traits. It responds to the bio-grams of dog. Tiger externs the analogy:

If our children could survive and breed -- still in isolation from any cultural influences -- then eventually their descendants would produce a society and culture recognizably human in all its details. They might have a different hierarchial structure, but they would have a hierarchy. They might have a brutal form of social initiation, but they would be initiated. They may adapt different bonding rituals, but they would bond with other humans in the same predictable manner in which we do.¹⁴ Tiger contends that bio-grams are not instincts. Rather, they are a natural response to stimuli interacting with human biology. Pair bonding, male bonding and mother-infant bonding are natural processes that do not require cultivation to surface. They are intrinsic to our human nature.

Bonding is a means of ensuring trust between two or more individuals. The higher mammals all exhibit bonding behavior, and the higher the mammal is on the evolutionary chain, the more elaborate and complex its bonding rituals. Bonding arises out of a need to surmount the reasons for mistrust or aggression. " . . .the more highly developed the species the more likely there is to be a high degree of individualism and aggressiveness, and hence of mistrust, and consequently of bonding."¹⁵ Tiger and Fox do no confuse man with just another animal, but they also do not confuse him with something other than a mammal. "In all these matters man is the supermammal. He does not achieve this by somehow overcoming or denying or surpassing his mammalian nature, but by exaggerating it."¹⁶ Among the behavioral characteristics that are more intense and exaggerated in humans are the bonding processes.

Tiger and Fox precede their discussion of male bonding with

a more lengthy discussion of the mother-child bond than can be condensed here, but it is a suitable preface to an understanding of the later bonding processes an individual will experience in life. One important point about this bond is that "we can predict that if the mother child bond does not go right, the unfortunate youngster may never get any of his other bonds right."¹⁷ This should cause second thoughts about sending mothers of young children on extended deployments.

The mother-child bond is a well established and universally understood and recognized relationship. It gives mothers almost *cart blanc* custody in divorce settlements and has other social sanction and recognition. Though there is not any tangible manifestation of the cause of this relationship, it is nevertheless understood to be a proper manifestation of innate biological tendencies. This bond produces a biologically induced emotional need in the mother that causes her to respond appropriately to the urgent physical needs of the child. The mother is greatly inconvenienced by the existence of the child, and without this maternal bond she might rationally opt to care less about it. The bond must be strong, for inattention for even one day can cause harm or death to the child. We have all experienced the result of this bond.

Is this the only bond with a biological root? Of course we know that the pair bond comes together in specific response to biologically induced sexual stimuli in order to procreate. The biological basis of this bonding process is not seriously

questioned.

That leaves only the male bond for the enlightened to wag their heads about. "Silly men, with their sick humor and uncouth manners who feel a compulsion to slap backs on football fields, bet good money, fight over women of small virtue and ogle skirts." Male bonding is portrayed as an event that takes place in tap rooms, and not the type of thing that needs to be taken seriously by the aspiring social engineer. "Now men will just have to ignore sex and bond with women, or don't bond and just get along."

But male bonding is not a trite emotion or a symptom of bad habits. It was a key factor in ensuring survival through a tumultuous human history and is now more than a mere vestigial encumbrance on social progress. It enables men to establish bonds of trust with other men who are equally aggressive and sometimes stronger. It is what tempers male aggression in the same way that selfishness is tempered in the mother-child bond. It facilitates hunting and defense as well as offensive acquisition of objectives, resources, and territory. The male bond is an affirmation of the primacy of the male-male relationship for specific endeavors where male trust and group performance are critical. In most social endeavors men are competitors, when cooperation is necessary the social cues to establish cooperative action must be extant and, consequently, they are rehearsed in a variety of non-emergency settings, such as sport and leisure.¹⁸

The male bond preempts other bonds out of necessity for united action in the face of communal danger of survival. Hunting large mammals and mounting war parties are examples. War is no time for a man to declare among fellow warriors that this "fighting is nice but I'm a husband and father of three hungry children, so how about we go hunting instead." The rituals of male bonding include token actions or statements that diminish the male-female pair bond. The pair bond is recognized for its innate strength, and by declaring the male-male bond temporarily superior to the pair bond the male group makes its highest call for solidarity. These symbolic actions are often viewed as degrading to women, but the slight is entirely intended. By rejecting the considerable comfort of women and the privileges of the hearth, men affirm their commitment to one another. Taboos such as "no sex before the game" are vestiges of this bio-gram. The 'jodeys' that troops sing on the march are rarely affirmative of the known pleasures, comforts, and virtues of women, they are not meant to be. The misogynistic attitudes that men affect are not heart felt nor sincere, rather they are an overt symbol of subordination to the group. Initiation ceremonies serve a similar ritualistic subordination to the group by observing group norms in the face of ridiculous or even extreme circumstances.¹⁹ Men have their own inviolate personal values that they overtly sublimate for the benefit of solidarity with the group. Before battle, and in training for battle, men are looking for mutual trust. Women are a source of distraction,

competition, and aggression between men. They also have claim to a competing system of values and the emotional energy to impose them on the group. Men exclude women in order to build mutual trust and concentrate on the mission at hand.

Women are not compatible with this bonding process. The bio-grams that have evolved among men make the exclusion of women from endeavors of great social danger a part of our behavior as a species. We can inject women into the process, but men will not exhibit these bonding behaviors in the presence of women. Some, keeping in mind the subliminal and overt misogyny of the male bonding process, may find the inhibition of these processes a cultural advance, but in institutions where men do not bond they also do not risk. Risk is an essential element of success in war. Men who have not bonded will not be aggressive as a group.²⁰

Female Antagonism

An interesting sociological phenomena, well documented in both research and the personal observations of many women, is the simple fact that both men and women prefer male leadership. This is not a brash assertion, but rather a well established and easily verified statistical truth. A 1988 survey conducted by Lt.Kathleen F. Kirk USN among active duty and retired Navy personnel shows that this trend is also evident within the military services. In fact, in her survey, women more overwhelmingly than men preferred male leadership. Men indicated that by 61% they favored male over female leadership while women preferred male leadership by 82%. No preference was expressed by 34% of the men and 13% of the women. Only 5% of men and women preferred to be led by women.²¹

This antipathy among women for female leadership is also reflected in the performance ratings and survey comments of both female seniors and subordinates. "Male respondents viewed female subordinates much more positively than did female respondents."²² The survey example comments of women are omitted here, but reflect all the conventional stereotypes that comprise the sentiments of one female respondent "its a cat fight."²³

These women were just as critical of female supervisors as female supervisors had been of female subordinates. Responses were largely negative. Comments show strong evidence of insecurity and competition on an individual versus group basis, coupled with unhealthy transference on the part of female supervisors.²⁴

Clearly a different dynamic is at work between the women themselves than between the men and the women. In terms of cohesion this antagonism between women must be viewed as a divisive factor.

Results also suggested that the military women surveyed are not very cohesive as a group. Women surveyed appeared to have been more heavily victimized, on the basis of their gender, by other women rather than by men. This fact strongly suggests, in the words of one respondent, that "women tend to compete on an individual, instead of on a group basis."

This competition on an individual basis leads subordinate women to suspect that their female superiors are often intimidated by personal attributes of the subordinate, such as attractiveness.²⁶ For whatever reason, the standards by which women judge themselves are different than the standards by which men judge them.

Jinx Milea, author of <u>Breaking Into the Boardroom</u>, observes similar distinctions between the male and female bonding process and its effect on cohesion:

Anyone who has ever belonged to a woman's organization knows just how exclusionary we can be. Joining ranks is not in the general female repertoire. We don't do it with men and we especially don't do it with women. While men consider it a mortal sin, in effect, to leave another to the bear just because the two disagree over ownership of the nearest vegetable patch, women are more apt to consider it immoral not to put one's principles above the well-being of opponents."

She explains that women do not bond together as do men and why they tend to bring dissonance to group interaction. She notes that women are motivated differently than men, and for women to interact with men, like men, they need to learn a new set of rules.

The most ardent feminists recognize this antagonism and rejection of female leadership by women. They have determined that the psychological root of this rejection of woman as leader lies in the childhood perception of the omniscience and omnipotence of the mother. They assert, in order for a child to find self identity it must first reject the deep identity it has with its mother, and consequently both men and women come to reject their infantile helplessness by rejecting maternal, hence female, authority. In sum, then, male rule of the world is not a conspiracy imposed by bad, physically strong and mobile, men on good, physically weak and burdened, women. Male rule has grown out of bio-technological conditions which we are just now, as a species, surmounting, and out of the psychological impulses that inevitably develop under those conditions.

The solution of the feminists is to change the nature of motherhood so that this antipathy, now directed against women by everyone born of woman and raised by them, can be more equally shared between the sexes. This is interesting reading. The intellectual rigor these feminist authors bring to the issue can be powerful. Dorothy Dinnerstein, in The Mermaid and The Minotaur, provides wonderful descriptions of the mother child relationship and how from infantile dependency a child develops a unique self identity. "What we try hard to outgrow, however, is our subjugation to female power."²⁹ Having argued with caring detail how our human emotions are engendered from our earliest memories, her solution is to destroy the current concept of motherhood. Other widely read feminist authors, such as Chodorow, join in objecting to the evolved nature of motherhood, because it interferes with the ability of women to attain equality. They detail how the current evolved social conditions contribute to the leadership and dominance of men. Their solution of course, is to dispense with the current culture. They must be read to be appreciated. I never quite understood why feminism was considered a threat to "motherhood and family" until exposed to feminist literature in researching this paper. Feminists largely agree with the current differences enumerated

between men and women, indeed, they seem to wallow in the inequity of it all, and are willing to make ruthless social changes in order to compel a more equitable social order. For the feminist, the institution of motherhood and other seemingly biologically determined factors do not deserve a detour in the road toward feminist progress.

There is an interesting relationship between the concepts of equality, power and happiness among the feminist theorists. Jefferson spoke of equal opportunity to pursue happiness. For the feminists, however, happiness is relegated to the cheap seats by the quest for formal social power. Chodorow notes that women find happiness in motherhood:

I attempt to provide a theoretical account of what has unquestionably been true--that women have primary responsibility for child care in families and outside of them; that women by and large want to mother, and get gratification from their mothering; and finally, that, with all the conflicts 30 contradictions, women have succeed at mothering.

Yet in order to arrive at formal power she argues against the concept of motherhood as it is currently practiced in favor of a system where men share equally the tasks of mothering. Parenthood should replace motherhood as the social institution that is responsible for children. Dinnerstein contends, that once men become involved in the infant care process, female and male antagonism against women will be surmounted. "It is hard for mother-raised humans to see female authority as wholly legitimate. . . "

Other sociologists have documented the significant

antagonism that exists between co-resident females who are potentially reproductive. This is even inter-generational between mothers and daughters.

Thus we see that both men and women prefer male leadership, but that the whole concept of why we traditionally reject other women as leaders is more of an issue among women than men. Feminists wrestle with this problem and produce some interesting conclusions and recommendations. Women in combat is not the least controversial of their recommendations.

Previous Experiments With Social Androgyny

Has anything like this ever been tried before? Yes women have been placed into combat units in the past by the Soviet Union, in ground units during both World Wars and in aviation units in World War II. Other nations have also armed women in the past. The results certainly made an impression. The use of women as regular warriors has a long tradition of being a short experiment. Though their participation as regular troops has not made significant history outside the pages of <u>Minerva</u>, women have a more effective tradition as partisans and spies. Women have always contributed to national defense in times of war, but usually in ways that made efficient use of their talents or enabled men to go and fight.

Interestingly, ours is not the first generation to believe that it could defy the evolved order of things and create a new society based on idealistic values of equality and rationalism. Women in the Kibbutz, by Lionel Tiger and Joseph Shepher,

details the story of one of histories most ambitious experiments in egalitarian idealism. The secular Israeli kibbutz system was dedicated to the premise of rigid egalitarian principles and attempted to establish a microcosm community where these values, uncontaminated by a larger and removed society, could thrive. A major theme of both the feminist and the kibbutzim was as follows:

If certain primary circumstances in women's lives are changed, the broad difference in what men and women will do will also change. If women do not participate as much as men in politics, managing industries, the conduct of war, it is because there are powerful, traditionally sanctioned barriers standing in their way, whether they know it or not-- and, of course, not knowing about them would increase the barriers efficacy. Remove these impediments and the unalterable fact of gender will no longer severely control the division of power and labor.

With this precept in mind, the kibbutz was set up to reflect a new social order. Children were raised in a group home after the fourth week so that mothers could participate fully in the economy. Tasks and occupations were distributed in a gender neutral manner and the entire society was constructed to be both gender neutral, and non-patriarchal. Teenagers shared rooms with the opposite sex and in some cases shower facilities. No woman was dependent upon her husband or partner for her support, or the support of her children. Most vestiges of the patriarchal systems lamented by the f minists were eradicated. This was a bold communal system indeed.

Despite these bold and sweeping social changes, gender roles did not, in the long run, change. Within one generation

the kibbutz came to reflect the traditional divisions of labor and military service that characterize every other nation, civilization and culture. The effects of this radical socialization process were not reflected in the proportion of women who stood quard an the Kibbutz compound at night (0) nor in the difference in attitude between the men and women concerning the relative prestige of military service. Men who in the army were accorded status and prestige served commensurate with their military rank and service, but similar prestige was not attached to the service and achievement of women, by either the kibbutz nor the women themselves. The same human biological predispositions that are reflected in every society manifested themselves in short order in the Israeli kibbutz. Some of the most obvious and apparent examples came from military service and the rapid return to traditional patterns of gender identification in time of war.

The myth of women combatants in the Israeli Army has been well debunked.³² By studying the kibbutz, a more definitive understanding of the myriad social processes that underlie the reasons why societies reach the traditional social equilibrium concerning gender roles can be found. Here we deal not only with an occupation, but a society in microcosm. Here is a society that very much willed a change to take place in the relationships between the genders, but was thwarted by the very nature of the otherwise cooperative participants.

Humans are recalcitrant organisms. We are free moral actors

within a parameter of biological possibilities. We can defy these parameters for a short period of time, but ultimately the defiance fatigues the organism and the will erodes. We fall back on talents and interactions from which we derive greater pleasure, less pain, greater harmony and enhanced opportunities for survival. It is gallant to be idealistic, but gallantry is always in short supply when it is needed most. Our actions are not determined by our biology, but we are predisposed to certain behaviors when nature, nurture and environment interact. Many of these behaviors are gender based.³³

Efforts to mitigate the effects of these preaispositions will not have a cumulative effect on humanity as does the accumulation of technical information. While technology can be advanced from generation to generation, our genes are not so mutable. It is far preferable for society to change those things that are changeable and improvable, than to till with the biological windmills that predispose our gender based behaviors and will inevitably resurface for every generation to wrestle with despite our protest. Injustice, war, crime, exploitation and a host of lamentable conditions are an inevitable part of the foibles of human nature. They are not solvable problems. Rather, their existence and occurrence must be recognized and provided for. Ignoring war, or merely willing it to go away will not have a beneficial effect for society. Instead we study the nature of war and prepare to insure victory for when it occurs. Ignoring sexual differences, or pretending they do not exist,

will not in any way change their realities, except to cause us to be ignorant of the prudent measures we can take to minimize their exploitation by social malefactors. Prudent trade-offs must be made. Those who seek improvident solutions to unsolvable problems distract the productive members of society from accomplishing more primary tasks.

Technological advancement gives man the false impression that he is moving in a linear historic direction. Karl Marks, and others, spoke of the march of history toward a destination where there would be an inevitably more just and equal world. This is utopian. Technology does advance, but there is paltry evidence to suggest that man is becoming more humane in its use. Cultures rise and fall in an oscillating pattern. Human an social evolution reflects a long march through history where each generation relearns the collective truths of human happiness in a painful process of trial and error. Some generations are better prepared than others by the generation that preceded it, but inevitably they make unforeseen mistakes and enjoy unique triumphs.

Ideals stand in contrast to virtues in this process of preparing succeeding generations. Virtues reflect the prudent use of human talent, strength and will in the face of the destructive forces latent in human nature. They account for the predispositions of human nature and caution against their destructive edge. They teach how to exploit the same predispositions to moral and socially productive advantage.

Virtues identify how to deal with man as he is.

Ideals, in contrast, reflect the capacity of human imagination to suspend the realities of human existence and envision a better world. Modestly employed, ideals are a vehicle for technological and social progress, but given license, they eclipse virtue by lamenting immediate reality in favor of elusive and unattainable visions. Ideals become destructive ideologies when they surpass the ability of mankind to incorporate them into our nature, yet are pursued any way. Virtues extol distilled wisdom in preference of immediate gratification, and are therefore derided by the impatient. Once in disrepute, virtue is powerless to caution prudence, and the tragic cycle of human rediscovery begins anew. If past is prologue, this cycle is the only historic inevitability.

The kibbutz system ran through this cycle, as it pertains to gender roles, in short order, and avoided many unhappy consequences as a result. Still, as happens in all social engineering experiments, there were unforeseen consequences. The children, bonded in the commune from birth and living in the same child care facility and dorms, did not inter-marry. The sibling like bond precluded the pair bonding process. This was certainly not envisioned nor was it conducive to social happiness. The re-discovery was that nuclear families have an important, but perhaps not consciously understood role to play in the socialization and bonding processes.

The seeming inevitability of unforeseen consequences

afflicts nearly all do-gooder social projects. No one can doubt the sincerity of the social engineer, nor can one find many success stories where the architect of social change successfully intervened on a broad level in society without a commensurate or greater negative effect. Trade-offs are endemic to the human condition. The "Great Society" of the 1960s triggered a trillion dollar welfare package that has had the net effect of institutionalizing welfare as a way of life for generations of America's poor. Nothing was solved, and arguably these programs destroyed the integrity of the family as an institution among the poor, rendering any solution more problematic. This is the 'Law of Unintended Effect' that runs roughshod over the best intentions of social reformers. Do not take the first step until you know where the last will fall cautions Clausewitz. That should be emblazoned on the door of every social and government agency.

Placing women in combat will have similar unintended effects. The rational plans of the 'enlightened' inevitably come into the genuine light of reality, and the ideal illusions upon which meretricious theories are built melt away. The evolved order of how mankind goes to war reflects the cumulative wisdom of generation upon generation of desperate, clever and dynamic people who struggled for survival. We may countenance ourselves to be superior to these people because we are the inheritors of a more clever technology, but in fact we are still carrying the same genetic and moral foibles that we pridefully think we have

cleverly evaded. Because we will not learn from them, we will learn like them. Place women into combat, and a generation hence they will smile at us as we smile at the failed experiment of Marxism. The intervening tears will be forgotten and novel new follies will be postulated. The historic cycle will continue. The triumph of idealism over prudent virtue is not a new phenomena, but reality is the nemesis of idealism and tragedy its fruit.

Equality is not a virtue. If one should possess it, he would not be any more prone to happiness than one without it. It is not something we desire with our inferiors, and resembles envy when speaking of our superiors. Equality does not occur in nature, and is a mutable concept even in the thoughts of men. At best it is an idealized concept, at worst it is cruel hoax. So many of history's truly great injustices began with a firm allegiance to the concept of equality. Men know equality to be an illusion. None do not think of themselves as better or worse than some of their fellows. When they commit to equality, they commit themselves to the vaguest of illusions and if asked individually what they aspire to, would not articulate the same ideals.

Equality in the eye of God and the Law is a conviction worth merit, but Heavens hand is remote and the law is administered by men. Considering the flesh and blood realities of the differences between men themselves, and the even greater differences between men and women, there is no rational basis

for declarations of equality. Equality is an ideal, and given the many perverse causes that have co-opted it as a talisman, it should always be suspect as ideology. Inequality does not necessitate concepts of greater or lesser in speaking of human value or social importance, it merely affirms what we know--we are all different--and the differences merit distinctions. Those who defy the differences, and who postulate that by ignoring them they will wither away, are not so much un-discriminating as indiscriminate.

The kibbutzim came to a rapid appreciation of these differences, and even without formal recognition of the process, a reversion to the traditional gender roles took place. The American Armed Forces can learn much from this experience. The tribulations that are involved in making the shift to a gender neutral combat force are not incidental. Those who think otherwise need to speak to the enlisted troops involved. The institutional trauma will all be for naught when, like the kibbutz, the novelty of seeing women tote machine guns through swamps begins to wear off and women themselves discover a new appreciation for femininity, as did their sisters in the kibbutz.

NOTES

1. Lawrence G. Miller, "Fated Genes," Arthur L. Caplan Ed., <u>The Sociobiology Debate</u> (New York: Harper and Row, 1978), p. 271.

2. See Elizabeth Allen et al, "Against Sociobiology," Arthur L.Caplan Ed., <u>The Sociobiology Debate</u> (New York: Harper and Row, 1978), p. 260.

3. See Constance Holden, "Is 'Gender Gap' Narrowing?" <u>Science</u>, VOL. 253. p. 959. Contrast the statements of behavioral neuroscientist Sandra Witelson of McMaster University of Ontario and Psychologist Janet Hyde of the University of Wisconsin. Witelson: "The neurobiological evidence is continuing to mount. .there are too many incontestable findings--things that have to have consequences in behavior and thinking. . . if one didn't observe these differences one would hypothesize that they must exist."

Hyde: "We've constructed theories of sex differences in the brain to account for differences in abilities."

4. See Edward O. Wilson, "What Is Sociobiology," Michael S. Gregory et al, Eds., <u>Sociobiology and Human Nature</u> (Washington: Jossey-Bass, 1978), pp. 1-12.

5. See David P. Barash, "Evolution as a Paradigm for Behavior," Michael S. Gregory et al, eds. <u>Sociobiology and</u> <u>Human Nature</u> (Washington: Jossey-Bass, 1978), p. 13-32.

6. See Lynda Birke, <u>Women, Feminism and Biology: The Feminist</u> <u>Challenge</u> (New York: Methuen, 1986)

7. Garrett Hardin, "Nice Guys Finish Last," Michael S. Gregory et al, eds., <u>Sociobiology and Human Nature</u> (Washington: Jossey-Bass, 1978), p. 186. Quoting R. Lewontin.

8. See Richard Dawkins, <u>The Selfish Gene</u> (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), Chapter 9.

9. Mauck, p. 97.

10. Lionel Tiger and Robin Fox, <u>The Imperial Animal</u> (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), p. 114.

- 11. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 4.
- 12. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 7.
- 13. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 14.
- 14. <u>Ibid</u>.
- 15. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 60.
- 16. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 61.

17. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 62.

18. See Lionel Tiger, <u>Men in Groups</u> (New York: Marion Boyars, 1969).

19. <u>Ibid</u>., Chapter 6.

20. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 131.

21. Kathleen F. Kirk, <u>Women in Combat</u>? (Defense Technical Information Center, 1988), p. 66.

22. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 50.

23. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 51.

24. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 51.

25. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 68.

26. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 66.

27. Jinx Milea, <u>Breaking Into the Boardroom: What Every Woman</u> <u>Needs To Know</u> (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1986), pp. 20-21.

28. Dorothy Dinnerstien, <u>The Mermaid and the Minotaur:</u> <u>Sexual Arrangements and Human Malaise</u> (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), pp. 116-117.

29. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 188.

30. Nancy Chodrow, <u>The Reproduction of Mothering:</u> <u>Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender</u> (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1978), p. 7.

31. Lionel Tiger and Joseph Shepher, <u>Women in the Kibbutz</u> (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, 1975), p. 5.

32. Martin Van Creveld, "Why Israel Doesn't Send Women Into Combat," <u>Parameters</u>, Spring 1993, p. 5-19.

33. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 17.

"Now, an idea framed without any other object than of perfecting it as an idea, however much it may conflict with reality, is precisely what is called utopia." --Jose Ortega Y Gasset

CHAPTER V

CONFLICTING VISIONS

The issue of women in combat is an emotionally charged topic. Like other culturally divisive issues, such as slavery a century ago or abortion today, this topic compels us to make fundamental assessments of whom we are as a species and what is the essence of our nature.

Pundits credit the emotional volatility of this issue with recognition by the contenders that this is only one battle, albeit a key one, in what they term a much wider "culture war." William Lind, Director of the Center for Cultural Conservatism of the Free Congress Foundation is direct:

The battlefield is the culture, and the strategic struggle is between traditional Western, Judeo-Christian culture on the one hand and an ideology that seeks destruction of that culture on the other. Feminism is an element in the coalition, and the feminists see the military as a bastion of traditional Western culture and thus an enemy . . . They are well way to their operational on their qoal: the feminization of the Armed Forces. Allowing women into the combat arms, which appears likely to happen, will be another major step toward operational victory. A feminized (and thus ideologized) military will resemble a "Politically correct" college campus, where issues are considered and decided largely on the basis of race, class, and gender, and where any departure from politically correct thinking or speaking is punished. Of course this will work directly contrary to combat effectiveness, which is just icing on the cake from the perspective of cultural radicals, who tend to view the American military as a servant of aggressive Western imperialism.

Equally pointed are the comments of Ellen Elester in a monograph entitled "Patriarchy:"

Women joining together to demand equality and self determination are seen by patriarchal men as a threat to their right to rule, at home, at work, in government. Women's movements are seen as a threat not only to their privileges, but to their very 'masculinity.' This may be one reason why the question of women serving in the military--especially in 'combat'--sends such shock waves through every patriarchal society. The military, particularly its 'combat' units, is seen to symbolize <u>all</u> of patriarchy, military and civilian.'

From the preceding quotations we can attempt to distill unemotional agreement from divergent opinion by acknowledging what both proponents and opponents of women combatants openly recognize: Having women serve in offensive combat units implies a major change in the social responsibilities of women, and will either reflect or cause a decisive cultural shift. From this thin agreement, opinions quickly diverge.

In <u>A Conflict of Visions</u>, Thomas Sowell describes the difference in the fundamental visions that encompass the continuum of the political and cultural spectrum. He defines a "vision" as "our sense of how the world works" and the "foundations upon which theories are built." Vision, as he uses the term, is "not a dream, a hope, a prophecy, or a moral imperative" but rather a sense of underlying "causation." That is, "visions set the agenda for both thought and action."³ Visions are points of perspective. Diverging visions are what account for individuals having radically different perceptions of the same facts or events. Often, disagreement is not an individual or group failing to comprehend the facts. Rather, having the same knowledge of the facts, they filter and sort the information through a different vision. While we all recognize we have a world view, we are not always conscious of how its perspective influences our estimation of the facts. Sowell suggests that visions are often formed without being articulated or even rationally considered. They evolve from the conventional wisdom of and age and are influenced by its leading cultural figures:

Where intellectuals have played a role in history, it has not been so much by whispering words of advice into the ear of political overlords as by contributing to the vast and powerful currents of conceptions and misconceptions that sweep human action along. The effects of visions do not depend upon their being articulated, or even on decision-makers' being aware of them. "Practical" decisionmakers often disdain theories and visions, being too busy to examine the ultimate basis on which they are acting."

A reflection on these underlying social visions is the purpose of this chapter. Those who contend that we are examining elements of a "culture war" place great importance upon the direction of what Sowell calls the "currents" of thought. They are concerned that the filters of the facts, the visions through which we view our world, are being mischievously diverted by a vast array of media enterprises and other cultural message centers which are dominated by a common bias of vision. This may be true, but it is not a phenomena unique to our age or circumstances. This conflict of visions has been a central theme within Western culture.

Individuals with different visions often tend to view their opponents with condescension or even hostility for their failure to acknowledge "the facts." Additional facts or evidence in support of one side or the other seems to have little impact on their opponent concerning the point in question and, consequently, the adversary is declared "unreasonable." Positions rapidly polarize and the undecided middle ground is quickly inundated with appeals for "reason" from both sides.

What is typically at question, particularly in our topic, are not "the facts," but the conclusions that different individuals derive from the available information and the relative importance that we ascribe to specific bits of it. These priorities are relative to our world view or vision. Consequently, one vision will view the fact that 51 percent of our population are women, but only 10 percent of the Armed Forces are women, as evidence of prima-facia discrimination and they will tend to marvel at the intransigence of those who support such gross inequity. Conversely, another vision will point to the 10 percent pregnancy rate of the women assigned to the USS Acadia during its Gulf War deployment, and worry about the integrity of senior naval officers who blithely continue to call gender integration, with such deplorable war-time results, a success. The facts themselves are not in question in either of our examples, but each vision affixes a different relative value

to each fact. Prediccably, the responses of the conflicting visions will resemble the following: There will be some problems with regnancy coincident to insuring equal opportunity, however, a 10 percent pregnancy rate is far better than a 40 percent discrimination gap. And in reply: Anything that detracts from combat power and readiness should be minimized or eliminated. Clearly, it is the conflicting visions or world views that divide and ultimately define this or any other controversy.

Sowell's analysis of contemporary and historic political, and social conflict reveals two predominate legal and conflicting visions. These visiors wax and wane with the advances and regressions of Western culture. He has aptly termed these conflicting currents of thought the constrained and unconstrained visions. Both, in their essence, deal with the fundamental nature of humanity and man's individual and collective capacity for knowledge and reasoned behavior. At the root of the disagreement concerning women in combat is this age old conflict between these constrained and unconstrained social visions. As Sowell explains, this conflict between different visions of human nature is not a peripheral philosophic tangent, but a central point of division within our culture. "Man's mental and moral natures are seen so differently that their respective concepts of knowledge and of institutions necessarily differ as well. Social causation itself is conceived differently, both as to mechanics and results . . . The ramifications of these conflicting visions extend into economic,

judicial, military, philosophical and political decisions."⁵

Adam Smith, writing as both a philosopher and economist in his Theory of Moral Sentiments and The Wealth of Nations captures, for Sowell, the essence of the constrained vision. Smith fully recognized moral limitations on the nature of man. inherently selfish creature who acted Man was an most efficiently when acting in his own self interest. Man's egocentricity was a dominant characteristic of his nature, according to Smith. He noted that a man, who had simultaneously lost his little finger in an accident and learned of the total destruction of China in a natural cataclysm, would be far more concerned and involved with himself, even at the expense of disinterest in tragic and momentous events that shake the destiny of remote peoples. People, whom he rationally knows, share with him a common humanity and a greater tragedy. Yet Smith neither lamented this constraint of human nature nor sought to change it. "The fundamental moral and social challenge was to make the best of the possibilities which existed within that constraint, rather than dissipate energies in an attempt to change human nature -- an attempt that Smith treated as both vain and pointless."⁶ Smith cautions against the futility of wishing that men were angels, and instead encourages us to consider how we can most efficiently derive the greatest moral and social benefits within the constraints of our limited nature. For Adam Smith, and other proponents of the constrained vision, man is an inherently flawed and morally constrained being whose greatest

energies are always directed at his own self interest.

Of course, Smith understood that man could not always act in his own interest and flout moral principle. Yet when he did do good for others it was to satisfy an internal concept of moral principle or personal nobility; or perhaps even hope of gaining social status or recognition. Morally, there were the inevitable fires of hell or rewards of heaven. Sowell explains how Smith envisioned the concept of trade-offs:

Through such artificial devices, man could be persuaded to do for his own self-image or inner needs what he would not do for the good of his fellow man. In short, such concepts were seen by Smith as the most efficient way to get the job done at the lowest psychic cost. Despite the fact that this was a moral question, Smith's answer was essentially economic--a system of moral incentives, a set of trade-offs rather than a real solution by changing man. One of the hallmarks of the constrained vision is that it deals in trade-offs rather than solutions.

Despite man's morally constrained nature, Smith did not despair in his attempt to arrive at a greater social good. He invoked the unintended, but synergistic and beneficial effects, that accrue to society at large from the enhanced motivation of individuals acting in their own self interest. He termed this passive benefactor the "Invisible Hand." Sowell explains the dynamics of this phenomena:

Economic benefits to society were largely unintended by individuals, but emerged systemically from the interactions of the marketplace, under the pressures of competition and the incentives of individual gain. Moral sentiments were necessary only for shaping the general framework of laws within which this systemic process could go on.

The social benefits were unintended by the individual participant. Nevertheless, the benefits were out of proportion

with what would have been possible through voluntary contribution or government coercion.

There is no master plan for a free enterprise economic system. It is the simple maintenance of a system, in which individuals are free to look after themselves, which provides incentive for enormous personal effort and the consequent unintended, yet inevitable, social benefit. "In both his moral and his economic analyses, Smith relied on incentives rather than dispositions to get the job done."⁹ He constructed a moral and economic system designed to accommodate the inherent and largely unchanging and unchangeable nature of man. His genius was to adapt the system to man, rather than man to the system. Consequently, societies that have adopted his principles have constructed economic might unparalleled in human history. Similar incentive forces also work in the social arena and influence the way nations economically construct powerful armies.

In contrast to Adam Smith, Sowell directs our inquiry into the writing of William Godwin, author of <u>Enquiry Concerning</u> <u>Political Justice</u>. Sowell contends Godwin produced the clearest, most consistent, and most systematically elaborated example of the unconstrained vision during the Age of Reason. "Where with Adam Smith, moral or socially beneficial behavior could be evoked from man only by incentives, in William Godwin man's understanding and disposition were capable of intentionally creating social benefits. Godwin regarded the intention to

benefit others as being "of the essence of virtue," and virtue in turn as being the road to human happiness." Godwin believed that man was capable of sustained altruism, and both should and could ignore his own interest for the greater good of the many. Sowell points out that "This was not meant as an empirical generalization about the way most people currently behaved. It was meant as a statement of the underlying nature of human potential. Conceding current egocentric behavior did not imply it was a permanent feature of human nature, as human nature was conceived in the unconstrained vision." In other words, the nature that man has exhibited hitherto in human history should not be seen as the limits of his nature.¹⁰

This belief in the moral malleability of contemporary man, in stark contrast to the performance his predecessors, is an important characteristic of the unconstrained vision. It holds a highly optimistic and theoretical assessment of human nature and man's moral potential. History is replete with individual examples of courageous and virtuous human behavior at specific times under averse circumstances, but it is void of examples where societies have transcended the problems inherent to human nature. War, poverty, crime, etc. are recurrent themes of the human condition. Yet Godwin, and those who share the unconstrained vision, still hope. They contend that these ills arise not from our nature, but rather from "a combination of circumstances."

"Socially contrived incentives were disdained by Godwin as

unworthy and unnecessary expedients, when it was possible to achieve directly what Smith's incentives were designed to achieve indirectly."¹¹ Man should do what is right simply because it is the right thing to do. For Godwin, incentives promoted selfishness and compromised virtue. Virtue required intentional altruism instead of mutually beneficial tradeoffs.

Instead of looking for an immediate incentive to derive indirectly a social benefit, Godwin preferred to foster a "long run development of a higher sense of social duty." Here, according to Sowell, Godwin is joined by "the Marquis de Condorcet who rejected the whole idea of "turning prejudices and vices to good account rather than trying to dispel or repress them." The dilemma for Condorcet is that "natural man" with his high moral potential is confused with existing man "corrupted by prejudices, artificial passions and social customs."¹²

Considering the issue of women in combat from the vantage point of Smith and Godwin, we can theorize how they might assess the issue of women warriors. This is conjecture, of course, but will serve to illustrate the visions in practical application.

Smith would surmise that the already flawed nature of the human condition would be further debilitated by the stress, boredom and primitive conditions of combat. Therefore, he would want to begin with the best possible warriors, knowing that their combat performance would degrade below standard if it was not already significantly above it. As an economist, he would be interested in getting the "biggest bang for the buck" and would

concern himself with maximizing economic parsimony and military efficiency. Consequently, he would attempt to attract the most aggressive, physically strong and intelligent individuals in the society at the lowest possible cost. There are currently a surfeit of individuals who qualify, and properly remunerated, desire the job; so he can afford to be selective if he can meet their price. The problem of compensation would be sticky. How can he compete for the best individuals, who know full well that they risk life and limb in combat and must endure arduous conditions in training, without fiscal profligacy? He would most likely conclude that only a system that could pay for the basic requirements of such individuals in cash, and provide significant intangible rewards in additional compensation, would provide the proper incentive to secure both defense and economy.

He would note that while many women qualified in terms of intelligence, few were stronger than the men in most physical tasks and few of those were as aggressive as the men. Knowing from the testimony of veterans how important these primary requirements are, Smith would quickly conclude that young men were both physically stronger and more aggressive than women, and were in better condition and more aggressive than older men. Clearly his target market for combat personnel is young men of intelligence. He would need to provide intangible incentives that would appeal to this target market.

There is a wealth of information concerning the nature, preferences and predilections of this group from a host of

different sources. Smith could draw on the knowledge and experience of advertising and marketing firms, psychologists, sociologists, and combat veterans. All could confirm for Smith what he observed, remembered personally and felt intuitively.

Consequently, he would devise a system to take advantage of the known preferences of his target market. The system would be overtly hierarchial. Membership would require a demanding initiation during which some must fail, so as to confirm its difficulty to the successful. The fewer who survive the initiation, the greater the esteem in which the group will be held. (In the words of Mark Twain, "In order to make a man covet a thing, make it difficult to attain.") The organization would have special and unique symbols that denote rank, experience, and honors that would not be readily decipherable among the uninitiated. Special forms of recognition and greeting would be instituted.¹³ These artificial contrivances, which emerge naturally in all male groups, would confer the status, recognition, and assurance that young men traditionally seek in competitive occupations.¹⁴

Smith would familiarize himself with the unstable nature of the male ego, and recognize the multitude of base male instincts that his military organization must suppress or direct to maximize personnel efficiency. Incidence of inter-male violence and disciplinary infractions increase substantially in the company of young women. He can readily replace the few qualified women with qualified men and reduce this irritant to

organizational tranquility, and gain an additional set of incentives by the exclusion.

Like women, men far prefer male leadership.¹⁵ He could establish an environment that would pander to the male foible for preference of all male work groups. Men esteem all male occupations and tend to avoid those jobs identified as female. This prejudice too could be exploited as an incentive. In short, Smith would entice applicants with intangible rewards designed to salve and build the male ego. An ego that seeks self esteem and requires constant maintenance, particularly among men of the age group that he hopes to recruit. Smith would consider such an organization as both combat capable and economical. Much of the compensation used to attract the target market would be in intangible incentives designed to accommodate, avoid, or channel the proclivities of man's constrained nature.

Godwin would rail against such demeaning and discriminatory incentives that blatantly pander to the base "ignorance" of men. Men should be taught to regard women as sisters in arms. For Godwin, incentives are unnecessary inducements to persons of honor. Men should be enlightened about how their service to country, and potential death in battle, contribute to the greater good of all. Those who respond to misogynistic impulses have failed to internalize the social virtues of equal opportunity. They require education, value clarification and group discussions to cure obvious gaps in their socialization. Any tendency of men to seek all male groups and to disdain tasks

that are, or can be allotted to women, is full proof of transgression against contemporary societal mores. To reward such behavior instead of punishing or correcting those involved is patently "sexist."

Lamenting the <u>conditions</u> that produce such attitudes, Godwin would seek to root out the causes. He might seek to change societies' values at all levels to produce an uncorrupted man. Once men were no longer corrupted by the adverse socializing influences that gave rise to such invidious preferences in association, they could develop an appreciation for the contributions of all citizens. With <u>correct</u> education these stone age attitudes would surely wither away and the ancient battle of the sexes would be over.

According to the unconstrained view, we need not make a trade off between our ideals of equal opportunity for women on one hand and economical combat efficiency on the other. We can <u>solve</u> this problem by correcting the irrational attitudes and behaviors of men and by changing the socialization process of our women so that they grow to be stronger and more aggressive. The only reason that women prefer not to do this now is because they have been socialized to be docile and weak. They simply need their consciousness raised to better appreciate their real potential. Attitudes and personal preferences are not reasons that should stand in the way of progress for women. America's men and women might not be perfect, but they can certainly do better in terms of equal opportunity than they are doing now.

The time, attention, and resources that are expended in this education process should not be seen as wasted assets that could be spent on training and equipment, but as an investment in the people of our Armed Forces. Everyone will be better in the long run, because there will be more opportunity for the best and brightest from both genders to rise to the top.

Thus the conflagration that surrounds the Tailhook Convention of 1991 would be seen by the unconstrained vision as a perfect example of a poor socializing environment (all male squadrons) producing the appropriate "circumstances" for inappropriate behavior. The men were unenlightened in their moral responsibilities to treat women as equals and peers, particularly military women, because the Navy provided the perfect culture for such archaic attitudes and behaviors to fester. While the men were clearly at fault in their conduct, it is the Navy itself that is to blame because it is a discriminatory institution that promotes the conditions that give rise to barbaric attitudes. Moreover, instead of recognizing the institutional faults of the Navy, these failures are portrayed as elements of a warrior culture and defended by both the perpetrators and their leadership. Tailhook was not a crisis of conduct; it is a continuing crisis of leadership.

The constrained vision would see the Tailhook Convention scandal as a regrettable, unjustifiable, but largely predictable occurrence once the system of intangible compensation came under attack. The woman officer who summarily demanded that the Navy

leadership allow women to fly combat missions during her speech at the convention was a galvanizing force for suppressed male resentment. The men clearly saw her audacious demand as a potential threat of lost compensation in the form of privilege and prestige, which was assured to the men at the time they joined the Navy. While on the whole, the officers present behaved, certain elements got drunk and allowed their resentment to get the better of them. They certainly violated the conduct we expect of officers, but then, we should have known that this would happen--our nature is flawed and we know that the judgment of men is particularly poor when women are concerned. Why introduce such friction causing factors into combat? And so might flow the argument.

This is not to say that there would not be slightly different opinions from both visions, but from what we have seen so far of Adam Smith and William Godwin, these are likely interpretations of their philosophy. The constrained vision would acknowledge the moral and social limits of man's human condition and would advise using incentives and institutions to bridal the bronco within each of us, particularly young men. The unconstrained vision demands individual, organizational and societal improvement in attitude and behavior to better proximate idealized moral conduct.

On the intellectual field where ideas are battled, the swift forces of the unconstrained vision, unencumbered now that they have liberated themselves from the realities of man's

current condition, are quick to seize the moral high ground. From their lofty position, free of responsibility for the day to day challenges that face all organizations, they can make righteous demands for accountability and proselytize the age old intoxicating vision of man transcending his miserable nature. The constrained vision is left to defend the admittedly flawed nature of man and the consequences that result. It is an inglorious vision, firmly anchored on the nature of man as he is, and not given to bold prognostications of rapid improvement. It does not sell many books in the "New Age" aisle at Dalton's.

We can deepen our understanding of the conflicting visions by identifying the virtues that the respective visions hold in esteem. "Prudence--the careful weighing of trade-offs" is among what Sowell identifies as the highest virtues of the constrained Acknowledging, if not approving of, the moral vision. limitations inherent to man's nature, the prudent person conducts his affairs so as to maximize his own opportunities for success by demonstrating to his fellow man how their interests coincide. He minimizes risk by avoiding occasions, persons or events that have a greater potential for adversity, misfortune or death than their prospective benefits would merit. The unconstrained vision, believing that man's potential for moral improvement has no fixed limit, values problem solving over prudence. Man should not expend great energies seeking to avoid adverse circumstances created by other men, but according to Godwin, should seek "to stimulate the 'generous and magnanimous

sentiment of our natures."

"Implicit in the unconstrained vision is the notion that the potential is very different from the actual, and that means exist to improve human nature toward its potential, or that such means can be evolved or discovered, so that man will do the right thing for the right reason, rather than for ulterior psychic or economic rewards. . . Man is, in short, "perfectible"--meaning continually improvable rather than capable of actually reaching perfection."¹⁰

Significant to Godwin's argument, is the notion that this potential approximation of the ideal is not limited to the individual man, but includes the entire society--indeed the whole human race. For Godwin, men are "eminently capable of justice and virtue'--not only isolated individuals, but 'the whole species.' Efforts must be made to 'wake the sleeping virtues of mankind.' Rewarding existing behavior patterns was seen as antithetical to this goal."¹⁷

The conflicting visions have attendant and sometimes conflicting virtues. In the absence of evidence that man always acts virtuously, the constrained vision values prudence; while the unconstrained vision values the <u>intentional creation of</u> <u>conditions</u> that will give rise to inherent, but yet unrealized virtues.

Relating this thought process to the issue of women in combat, we can see how the visions will collide. Constrained vision advocates will speak of the hormonal drives prevalent among both young men and women and the inevitable romances, jealousies, conflicts, exploitations of power and sex, and emotional situations that always occur in mixed gender organizations. Unconstrained visionaries will not be deterred by the miserable performance of the human race to date, and will find new hope in a more enlightened and virtuous generation than that which preceded it. The virtuous will be those who work to improve the conditions that foster androgynous relations between the sexes. Instead of young men looking at young women as potential sexual conquests, we can lead, train and encourage them to greater heights of respect for the rights and sensitivities of their co-warriors. When all does not go quite according to plan, and human nature proves more durable than the "education program" anticipated, it is plainly a leadership problem. For if proper leadership and example had been given, the <u>circumstances</u> that led to the gender integration failure would not have arose. Thus, the captain of a gender integrated ship with a high pregnancy rate during a wartime deployment has failed as a leader. A virtuous crew is an attainable goal commander, why are you having so many problems? If he should claim that it was not prudent to place the women aboard, then he commits the more eqregious crime of "sexism."

If a solution is possible, then there is no reason that a solution should not be demanded. The unconstrained vision proponents, finding virtue not in the prudent avoidance of problems, but rather in the aggressive pursuit of solutions, demands that the multitude of significant problems associated with gender integration in the combat arms, not be avoided, but solved. Obstacles, attitudes, and objections that delay rapid implementation of corrective programs to meet mandated changes,

are declared indicators of command incompetence rather than being attributed to the resilience and ultimate immutability of a durable human nature.

The great evils of the world--war, poverty, and crime, for example--are seen in completely different terms by those with the constrained and the unconstrained visions. If human options are not inherently constrained, then the presence of such repugnant and disastrous phenomena virtually cries out for explanation--and for solutions. But if the limitations and passions of man himself are at the heart of this painful phenomena, then what requires explanation are the ways in which they have been avoided or minimized. While believers in the unconstrained vision seek the special causes of war, poverty, and crime, believers in the constrained vision seek the special causes of peace, wealth, or a law abiding society. In the unconstrained vision, there are no intractable reasons for social evils and therefore no reason why they cannot be solved, with sufficient moral commitment. But in the constrained vision, whatever artifices or strategies restrain or ameliorate inherent human evils will themselves have costs, some in the form of other social ills created by these civilizing institutions, so that all that is possible is a tradeoff.

Trade-offs between individual liberties and the need for national unity, resolve and commitment in time of war have a long tradition in Western culture. In the Roman Republic, the fiercely defended rights of the people were willingly yielded to dictators for the duration of a war. Throughout history the confiscation of property and conscription of manpower were contentious issues between the government and the people, but the prigmatism of such measures was rarely questioned given the consequences of national defeat. During our own American history, the rights of individuals have often been superseded by the needs of the Nation in time of war. Conscription and seizure of assets have been the most common forms of serious constraint against individual rights. Even measures as mundane as rationing and blackout curtains pose challenges to individual liberties that would not be tolerated during peace time. These trade-offs between individual rights and liberty have been thoroughly incorporated into the customs and laws of nations during times of national emergency, natural disaster, domestic strife and war.

Having such laws and traditions does not imply that they will not be challenged. During the American Civil War and the Vietnam War, anti-draft demonstrations and riots were a common occurrence. Anti-draft activists during both wars significantly detracted from military readiness and national resolve, while serving the best interests of our Nation's enemies. While this aid to the enemy was certainly not an avowed goal of all the participants, it was nevertheless a significant factor in the prosecution of each war.¹⁹

In every war there have been trade-offs, not solutions, between individual liberties and national survival or success. Nevertheless, the issue of equality for women within the Armed Forces and their consequent employment in combat demands such solutions. It is a unique demand, without precedent, and only superficially resembles the integration of Blacks into the Armed Forces. Chapter Six contains discussion of this false analogy in detail, and compares the trite biological distinctions between the races with the very significant biological distinctions that underpin the complex and complementary differences between the

sexes. There is agreement between both the constrained and unconstrained vision, that significant changes, or solutions, must be accomplished before the effective integration and acceptance of women in combat can be realized, if such solutions are possible. Commander R. M.Hickson USN(Ret) explains:

Overcoming the structural bias against women in combat will be difficult. Therefore the task of planning for the change must gain widespread attention now, in peacetime, to gain full benefit from a controlled implementation of a fundamental change in policy. Fairness to American society allows no delay.²⁰

The avowed intent of some proponents of women in combat is to work out the growing pains and the inevitable discord which these solutions demand, during peacetime, when they should not significantly impact on wartime performance. Interestingly, they do not object to war time implementation, but see haste in implementation now as preferable to discord in combat later. Thus, there is a reason for a sense of urgency about solving the problems and changing the conditions which prevent women from being employed as combatants.

Perceiving the possibility of a solution to historic inequities at hand, the unconstrained vision demands prompt implementation. Rejecting traditional trade-offs in individual liberties during time of war, or demanding that they be included in such trade-offs (depending whether you view military service as an opportunity or a duty), the proponents of women combatants demand solutions now.

Proponents of the constrained vision, believe that proposed

solutions to eliminate obstacles that bar women from combat exceed the bounds of human nature and institutional capability. They do not believe it is possible, however desirable, to significantly alter natural and traditional behavior patterns without draconian measures that will cause greater harm than good. Consequently, they do not share a similar time table or sense of urgency. The constrained vision would prefer to wait until a serious war comes along and allow the people themselves to dismiss such radical impositions on traditional, and demonstrably effective, personnel policies. Curiously, they note, no one demanded the employment of women when the excesses of combat were vividly portrayed on television during the Vietnam War, nor during any other conflict when the real possibility of risk to American combatants was perceived as much higher than it is today. They note how those who had ulterior motives for wishing that the United States would fail during the Gulf War quickly exploited the plight of young children suddenly rendered temporarily motherless, when their regular and reserve units were deployed for non-combat tasks. Better to wait for Americans to have an enhanced sense of reality, and less of a Nintendo attitude about war, before we codify in law how women will be employed in combat.

The conflict between the visions is not merely one of philosophy and implementation. There is an important temporal dimension to the conflict as well. Much of the rancor concerning the issue revolves around the notion of "foot dragging." The

distinction between foot dragging and prudence is a matter of perspective that will correlate with one's vision of human nature.

Sowell turns to the U.S. Constitution "with its elaborate checks and balances, clearly reflect[ing] the view that no one was to be fully trusted with power" as one of many proofs that our Forefathers were strongly influenced by the constrained view of man, and deliberately set about to codify the wisdom of this vision in law. He finds explicit recognition of this constrained vision in *The Federalist Papers:* "Why has government been instituted at all? Because the passions of men will not conform to the dictates of justice and reason without constraint."²¹ Edmund Burke was succinct, "Men's passions forge their fetters."²²

Military leaders, who overwhelmingly subscribe to the constrained vision concerning women in combat, are concerned that the additional legal constraints required to arrive at the androgynous combat unit demanded by the proponents of women in combat will prove remarkably burdensome. Like Hamilton and the Federalists, they recognize the difficulty of coercing the "passions of men" to "conform to the dictates of justice and reason." If such behavior can be compelled, what will be the cost in terms of initiative, harmony, efficiency and cohesion after the full weight of a scrupulous new list of social sins, and corresponding punishments, are enacted and brought to bear on the soldiers every look, touch, word and action. Military

leaders are concerned with the inevitability of trade-offs. If the trade-off that has been traditionally made by excluding women from combat is no longer politically viable, and if no genuine solution to the inherent proclivities of men can long endure without detailed new regulations and punishments, then what will be the effects (or passed-on trade-offs) of the new laws? More importantly, what will happen to military units when the conditions of combat deny the rank and file the close supervision of the officers who will be required to officiously police such behavior? Will this work in a large POW camp, similar to that experienced by Americans in North Korea, without giving the enemy ample propaganda to portray how poorly Americans treat other Americans?. Will the first American infant POW be a big hit on the Phil Donahoue Show? The constrained vision, with the realities of human experience to draw on, can prove that fact is stranger than fiction as it fashions from history questions that challenge the tenants of the unconstrained vision. Still, like those who indulge in third marriages, the unconstrained vision esteems hope above experience.

The unconstrained vision does not lack ammunition to sling back against those who would deny women a place on the battlefield. They have a large arsenal of real life stories that document in great detail how the military services in general, and specific members in particular, have sinned egregiously against "women." (Efficiency now favors boorish behavior, when

once it was only possible to sin against one woman at a time, now a whole class of women can be offend by a single action, word or statement.)

Of course, corresponding stories that might similarly slander the performance, attitudes or behavior of women are almost never published; nor should they be. The routine foibles and failures of the human condition are not the proper focus of the national news media. Media headlines, such as "Marine Mother of Three Commits Adultery With Base Plumber" are not any more or any less appropriate than "Colonel Apologizes for Sexist Joke." What is significant is that while the former is virtually never published, the latter has become conspicuously routine. The same individuals who profess unconstrained potential for the total integration of women into combat greatly lament the current attitudes of the military toward women, and the circumstances that surround their employment. Interestingly, those who hold the most constrained view of the current state of equal opportunity and "attitudes" within the Armed Forces also have the most unconstrained view of the future for women in combat. This obvious contradiction between visions is easily reconciled by the proponents of women in combat by calling upon metaphysical forces. This resort to mysticism is amply documented by the proponents of women in combat themselves.

Recalling our discussions and quotations from military women regarding acceptance and social equality in Chapter Two, we note two common contentions of the proponents of women in

combat are:

(1): until women are fully integrated into the combat arms as combatants, they will be regarded as second class soldiers; and (2): once women are lawfully entitled to consider themselves combatants, all of the negative feelings, behaviors, and circumstances, that have hindered the incorporation of women into armies as combatants throughout human history will begin to wither away. Those who have the temerity to ask why this change of human nature will come about, will receive an answer equivalent to "have faith, trust us." With the maladroit innocence of the hopelessly politically naive, some people might peruse this line of thought. Might not the presence of women as combatants, particularly if they fail to meet expectations, be seen as the cause of a military defeat or problem? Might not women be blamed for failure that was really not of their making, yet nevertheless engenders the contempt of their peers? How do we know that the simple act of allowing women to suffer and die like men in the mud will in any way enhance their prestige among men? How do we know that further integration might not produce greater resentment? Doesn't the track record to date show that greater integration of women into a unit produces greater intergender friction and accusations of sexual harassment, pregnancy, and disciplinary problems? How do we know that utilization of women as combatants will end the universal cross cultural preference of human nature for patriarchal institutions, particularly in military endeavors?²³ What specific mechanism

will cause abatement of the supposed ubiquity of oppression experienced by military women today once they are placed in combat?

Respect is the answer that the unconstrained visionaries forward to support their claim. Once women share equally in the burdens of their profession, men will no longer have reason to regard them as second class soldiers. Consequently, the traditional male stereotypical attitudes concerning women will no longer be substantiated by the law itself, and rapid progress can be made to redress the skepticism which both men and women have about the utility of women combatants. Given the opportunity to pull their weight, women will do as well as men in combat. Having proven themselves, women will no longer be discriminated against, and the vicious circle of prejudice and discrimination will be broken. Once women have been accepted as full participants in battle, the most manly of all human endeavors, they will be readily accepted by society at large in all positions of power and responsibility.

Human experience and behavioral science tell us this is highly unlikely. It is far more probable that to whatever degree woman are successful at a military endeavor, the less esteem that particular task will have for both men and women. The positions of prestige that women seek will, for the majority of women, always be elusive, because work that women do has always been regarded as women's work and work that men do is regarded as prestigious. This may not be right, but it is a universal

cross-cultural phenomena that has occurred throughout the history of mankind.²⁴ If farming is done by women in a society, then men hold farming in low esteem--even as they eat heartily of the food. If farming is considered a man's occupation, then it will be regarded as a prestigious or important endeavor. Of course, this is exactly the "attitude" that women contend to be the source of their "oppression," but as we have now come full circle in the argument, we can see that the solution proposed by the unconstrained visionaries is certainly a metaphysical wish, if not totally meretricious. In fact, a Roper Organization poll presented to the Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces indicated that women were rated strikingly lower in performance than their male peers by all those in the military who served in the Gulf War. While 98 percent of the men were rated as excellent or good, only 61 percent of the women received similar ratings. For the Army the rating was 48 percent and in the Marines only 44 percent of the women were rated as excellent or good.²⁵

One should not have antipathy for metaphysical propositions per se, but it is interesting that those who argue for the need to include women in combat to enhance their overall social position, disdain the metaphysical virtues of womanhood that have traditionally sustained the largely exalted position of women in Western civilization.²⁶ While this esteem was not based on materialistic values, those virtues of maternity, fidelity, compassion, and love now derided as "stereotypical" by

contemporary feminist pundits, are esteemed as priceless by most men. These metaphysical values and virtues are ostentatiously discarded by many who profess the unconstrained vision in favor of the materialist values of power, prestige, position and pecuniary reward.

The shift in vision, from a constrained view of human nature in the past to an unconstrained view of human nature for the future, is not unique to the issue of women in combat. Marxism and militant feminism (What Horowitz calls "Marxism's illegitimate child") both share this tenuous paradox of perspective, and both overtly resort to metaphysics, or as Tucker contends--myth, to explain the reasoning.²⁷ Marx asserts that the violence and compulsion inherent to the dictatorship of the proletariat will, by some unnamed and unexplained process, lead to the withering away of the state and result in an idyllic egalitarian society. Contending that violence will beget equality is a large metaphysical leap. Marx is maladroit in his explanation and Marxism has been even less dexterous in application, but ideologues have been so enamored with the ideal that they have deemed the damming details of process superfluous. They rationalized that "the ends justify the means," but failed to comprehend the thoroughly meretricious nature of the ends themselves. Any philosophy or policy that is in contradiction with the fundamental nature of man is a specious ideology. History contains ample examples of the extraordinary evil done in the name of Marxist egalitarian principles with the very best of ultimate intentions (once we got past that messy bit up front). Like any theory that is based on a false understanding of human nature, it failed. Not for lack of effort, belief or squeamish application on the part of its adherents, but because it attempts to repress and ultimately change human nature. Human nature is not cement to be poured and formed to conform to the dictates of an idealized vision. Human nature is rather more like a vessel, the capacity of which is maximized when the philosophy which is poured into it conforms to the shape and nature of the container. Adam Smith understood this fundamental wisdom and insured that his philosophy conformed to the realities and constraints of the human that denied his nature. History has proven to be a cruel arbitrator of competing ideals.

Before extending this comparison between Marxism, militant feminism and those who support women in combat, I wish to note explicitly that while all three share a common fallacy in adopting the unconstrained vision, I do not believe or forward the idea that those who support women in combat are therefore militant feminists or Marxists. I do, however, intend to demonstrate the historic danger this fallacy portends for societies which apply it to this or any other issue. Ours is not the first culture or generation to fall prey to the lure of rampant idealism and unconstrained visionaries.

Another thread common to Marxism, radical feminism, and

those who support women in combat (who are not all radical feminists) is an overly pessimistic view of humanity's past and current condition. For Marx, alienation was the watchword of dissatisfaction. For the feminist it is patriarchy, for the proponents of women in combat there are discrimination, bias, bigotry and exclusion. Each adjective has a kernel of truth, man is a flawed creature, but each kernel has been greatly fluffed by the heat of envy and pride. Envy, that ubiquitous vice that causes us to elevate the myth of equality to a virtue, but demands parity only with those who exceed our own station in life; and pride, the first and ultimately most damming vice, that disposes the afflicted to regard those who fail to join them in their perception of gross past injustice and current discontent as "unenlightened" or "dinosaurs." The prideful are eager to share their envy and contempt among those who have yet to have their consciousness raised to the requisite heights of disappointment and despair. Having wallowed in both real and imagined social sins of the past and present, the unconstrained vision is proffered as the only remaining hope to the newly disgruntled and thoroughly disenchanted novitiates. To this end, many proponents of women in combat work earnestly to exploit every possible angle of insensitivity, harassment or boorish behavior committed against women in the military. They publicly exploit and expose the sordid details of human failure that support their agenda, and ruthlessly suppress information that contradicts their message. They insure that their complaints

(often quite valid) receive a full airing in the media without regard for the reputation of their service. These purveyors of dismay dismiss any question of loyalty to service with the smug assertion that the ultimate ends justify the current means. What has been traditionally viewed as "discretion" is now "cover-up." All soiled laundry must now be washed in full public view. They sally forth at every turn with new and improved versions of institutionalized discrimination and unfairness. These incidents confirm for them the constrained nature of man in his current and past conditions, and <u>create a demand</u> for a "solution" that can only be approximated with an unconstrained vision of the future.

The Marxist also has a very unconstrained view of the future. "The New Communist Man" and "the withering away of the state" are slogans that encapsulate this unconstrained Marxist view of the potential for humanity to significantly change its nature, adjust the conditions of human existence and solve the many problems that have historically plagued societies. In comparison, we have already noted the unconstrained view of human nature proposed by the proponents of women in combat. They too predict an inevitable change in the human condition that will facilitate a new and more equitable society, where women enjoy equally the privilege, or share equally the burden, of defending one's country.

Besides a very unconstrained view of the future, and a particularly pessimistic view of current and future conditions,

the proponents of women in combat share yet another similarity with classic Marxist doctrine. Both proponents of women in combat and Marxists believe that the transition between current conditions and future equality will inevitably be rocky. Egg must be broken to make an omelet, but ultimately--if we have hope and faith, and are not someamish about what must be done now--we will be successful in creating a more equitable society. The many challenges that must be hurdled to insure proper gender integration in the Iilitary will ultimately result in success. The trauma of change is justified by the ends achieved. Obstacles encountered along the path to success are attributed current systemic conditions that detract to from full integration and, therefore, also must be changed. Those who question the unconstrained vision of women warriors are biased, "anti-woman." reactionary, unprogressive and Their verv existence within an organization is the greatest catalyst for failure.²⁸ Tolerance is reserved for true believers. As one service chief has commented, holders of traditional attitudes concerning women are the "fossil fuel" which he intends to "burn" to power the wheels of "progress." How sensitive of nim not to use inflammatory rhetoric like "purge" to convey his menacing threat.29

The teflon nature of this very sophisticated, yet very specious, argument for women warriors becomes transparent. Assuming an unproven and politically unquestionable equity between the sexes, any incident or circumstances that result in

an inequitable or unfavorable outcome for the cause of women warriors is regarded not as evidence for the impracticality of women in combat, but as a further indictment of the system itself. Heads I win, tails you loose. The American Armed Forces have walked blithely into this political maelstrom without understanding the nature of the conflict or the underpinning philosophy.³⁰ Consequently, our military leaders have unwittingly been complicit in fostering the unconstrained vision, and inept in educating the force on its destructive potential.³¹

For those who question the fundamental tenant of the proponents of women in combat, the "equality" of men and women as warriors and leaders, the proponents reserve their most damming and vituperative epithets. Bigotry, "sexism," and discrimination invariably lead the list. Should mere name calling not intimidate the detractors of the unconstrained myths, condescension is invoked. "Ignorance" is the reason for diversity of opinion. A11 intelligent, educated and sophisticated people agree with placing women in combat. "Education" is what we need to change "attitudes." Education has become a transparent euphemism for indoctrination. What must be avoided at all cost by the proponents of women in combat is a study of the genuine biological factors that diversify men and women in physical, mental and behavioral characteristics. Whatever actions are taken to avoid the dissemination of this information is justified by the ends that will be achieved. Thus

a former general officer, with a wealth of combat experience, who in answering a question about women in combat provides detailed examples of how, in his experience, women detract from readiness, becomes the specific subject of concern at an ad hoc meeting of women at a service war college.³² Censorship, for the proponents of women in combat, is a means that will ultimately be justified by the ends. The tragedy is that even women whose first loyalty is to service, and who disdain the agenda of the militants, have become suspect by their peers. While their is no formal position of "Political Officer" in the American Armed Forces, there are numerous officers willing to fill the billet on an extracurricular basis, and many loyal women who unjustly suffer discredit and contempt by mere association. In units where this politicized environment is tolerated or fostered the damage to unit morale and cohesion is quite obvious. Neither the men or women are very happy with the arrangement.

Different perspectives on the concepts of knowledge and reason also separate the constrained and unconstrained visions. Already noted is the propensity of the unconstrained vision to tag and marginalize the "unenlightened" as "ignorant" and in need of "education" if their views take into consideration the past failures of man and are not in accord with the high ideals of "modern" social thought. The experience of military officers is discounted as dated and unenlightened in view of the "progress" that has taken place in human nature in recent years. Indeed much of the contrast between the constrained and unconstrained visions in terms of knowledge and reason can be seen in how each vision values experience and perceives knowledge.

In the constrained vision, knowledge is seen as limited. It is certainly viewed as inadequate to the task of social engineering. Fortunate is the man who can wisely manage his own affairs, much less that of his neighbor. Fortunately, however, our knowledge is enhanced by that of our forefathers and is received by us in largely inarticulate cultural forms that reflect generations of human experience. Traditions and customs become part of the wisdom of the culture and reflect more 'intelligence' than just the studied knowledge which arises from rational thought. For the constrained vision, knowledge is largely experience transmitted through "each generation, winnowing out in Darwinian competition what works from what does not work."33 This information is not always what one might conclude from a rational examination of the facts. Rather, it reflects what actually works. For the constrained vision, greater value is given to information that has been adapted to account for human nature than that which is meticulously reasoned but defies our nature. For example, we could save everyone money by teaching people not to steal, but since we know people do not always respond to this education process it is still prudent and cost effective to purchase a safe. Prudence demands that trade-offs must be made to account for the irrational and self-serving nature of man, as well as his

potential for reasonable cooperation. Knowledge, for the constrained vision, is more than the limited understanding of a particular man or group of individuals. Rather it is the "whole experience of peoples, summarized in the feelings, formalities, and even prejudices embodied in their culture and behavior." For the constrained vision, these "cultural distillations of knowledge" are a "tested body of experience that worked, and was to be changed only after the most circumspect, and perhaps even rejuctant examination."³⁴ This is not an automatic defense argument for the status quo. It is recognized that there is a point after which the trade-offs resulting from change must sometimes be seen as beneficial, but there is also recognition that all svstems function imperfectly and that some imperfections are part of the human condition. One must examine the trade-offs, but be wary of worsening the overall social situation. The constrained vision is aware of how little human progress has arisen from swift, dramatic and conscious change. Most genuine progress has followed a more evolutionary than revolutionary pattern. Changes in one aspect of a social equation must be weighed against the changes that will inevitably occur in other related or distant social factors. For example, social welfare programs were not designed to institutionalize dependency, but they certainly have. What unforeseen consequences will there be for making women warriors? There will be some, there always are.

There is danger in the constrained vision of course. Mark

Twain cautioned: "Loyalty to petrified opinions never yet broke a chain or freed a human soul in this world--and never will." This is a significant concern. Unless men are allowed to exercise their capacity for idealism, progress will be chained. Where would we be if slavery was regarded as an "institution" that was "natural?" Clearly, appeals to justice and reason played a significant role in reducing that particular evil. Taken to the extreme, the constrained vision can mire one in the status quo and genuine social progress can be thwarted.

Reason is given priority over experience in the unconstrained vision. The man of reason is the paramount virtue for the rationalist. All social convention should be brought under the scrutiny of human reason. Knowledge is not seen as achievable. It is axiomatic for the constrained. but rationalist that if people know what is right they will do right. Man has the ability to discern, for both himself and his neighbor, what the social good is by virtue of his profound intellect and "cultivated mind." Of course, not everyone has a "cultivated mind," as do the rationalists themselves. The special and "proper instrument" of reason is more deftly wielded by the intellectuals than the common men who will be the beneficiaries of their wisdom. The constrained experience of the common man will be surmounted by the unconstrained reason of the intellectual. Sowell contends that this is the "special knowledge of the few being used to guide the actions of the many."35 If the sincere vision of the intellectuals, carefully

crafted to the exacting demands of reason, do not work for the common man in common circumstances, then it is full proof of the unreasonableness of the men or unfair circumstances under which the visions are employed. More education or intervention is needed.

The knowledgeable few bestow their wisdom on the unenlightened many through consciousness raising and awareness training. Progress occurs when the "cultivated minds" reduce the inequality of thought between themselves and "persons of narrow views."⁵⁶ Having convinced themselves that they are the best and the brightest, and consequently, the proper arbitrators of reason, the unconstrained vision holds in disdain those who do not share their vision. Especially if the "narrow minded" object based upon experience flawed by the manifestations of their own common character.

By excluding tradition, culture and experience from what is considered rational thought, the unconstrained vision is freed from a practical evaluation of the realities and consequences of its idealism. Pure thought, acting in logical sequence with good intentions should produce rational action. And so it does, in the construction of bridges or material objects which respond uniformly to physical laws. Man, however, is not so consistent or rational a creature. Though we may lament this human part of humanity, it is the essence that distinguishes us from mere material.

Rationalists choose to ignore the foibles of the human

condition, and routinely declare our humanity surmounted because of some new and improved technology, philosophy or institution. In the case of women in combat, we are told that modern technology and birth control have advanced our nature beyond that of our predecessors. These are not trite changes, and we must consider how they might effect us, but they do not effect our inherent nature.

The difference in how knowledge and experience are perceived has a direct impact on how tradition, and social institutions are regarded by the conflicting visions. The unconstrained vision tends to speak of man as a rapidly evolving organism who is much smarter in contemporary wisdom than preceding generations. For the unconstrained vision past wisdom is, thankfully, past. The constrained vision seeks to capture the recognized wisdom of the past, build on it, and pass it on uncorrupted to succeeding generations. Not that all that transpired in previous generations was good, but a recognition of past failures and foibles can also contribute to wisdom.

For the constrained vision, tradition is the distilled wisdom of the ages. It is what enables us to know, among many other things, such useful knowledge as, that if we have sexual relations with our sister some not very good consequences will probably result. It enables us to know this without repeating a trial and error process. Some aspects of tradition, such as dietary laws, may seem to be obviated by modern refrigeration and health practices, but when they are dispensed with, we learn

that they also served to hold a people in close community through a common and unique self discipline. What that community thought to gain in rational progress, it lost in unreasoned, unarticulated, but very significant values as a consequence of unforeseen trade-offs. The same is true for the evolution of social virtues and vices. We learn, that by conforming to information passed down from preceding generations, who made mistakes, we can avoid the worst of these mistakes ourselves.

The unconstrained vision regards tradition as unreasoned habits that are blindly accepted by a people too mentally torpid to question the basic assumptions of the information the tradition encompasses. By relying upon habit over reason, society continues to inflict the myths of one generation upon the next. Tradition and other forms of archaic social thought should receive special rational scrutiny before being forwarded on to following generations.

The constrained vision does not disparage the knowledge of the common man. Though he may have only a modest education, the common man has probably developed an expertise at one of life's many modest, yet important endeavors, and is better acquainted with the particulars of that enterprise than the intellectual. He is most certainly better prepared to determine what constitutes and contributes to his own happiness. The constrained vision sees social wisdom distributed over a broad spectrum of knowledge, social class and experiences. No one man or group of men are capable of determining the overall social

good. The more distributed the decision process and the more decentralized the power base, the more practical wisdom can be brought to bear upon social processes and systems.

The unconstrained vision values men of special knowledge in a particular field over the more generalized and widely dispersed knowledge that exists throughout society. The centralization of power is a more efficient means for the enlightened to dispense and enforce their superior specific knowledge. By rationally articulating the social agenda, they can develop consensus and conformity to the social vision they have rationally developed.

Bringing this discussion of knowledge and tradition to bear upon the issue of women in combat, the respective positions follow the familiar pattern. The proponents of the constrained vision look to experience and wonder why this idea has been used so infrequently in history and abandoned so quickly after each use. Advocates of the constrained vision find little in terms of past military success to justify the potential social dislocation and military disruption women might bring to a combat situation. They are concerned about the unintended effects of change that reason alone cannot anticipate or will not contemplate.

The unconstrained vision, in contrast, wishes to apply reasoned standards of contemporary wisdom that society has learned since the last time women were placed in combat. Then, men were ignorant of the equality of women and thought that

women were weaker. Now, men are more educated and recognize the inherent equality of women. Modern men, more aware of women's rights, will gladly accept women as combatants. If that acceptance is slow in coming, then the performance of the women in this generation (who are more aware and conscious of their potential than preceding generations) will quickly prove superior to that of their grandmothers and they will earn the respect of the men. Even if they do not get men's respect as combatants, they can do the job as well as the men anyway. Besides, even if most men are better at combat skills, women still have a right to try. Equality demands it. Traditions that do little more than convey bigotry throughout generations need to be purged from our social attitudes and replaced by more enlightened theories that reflect our social values. After all, the values we wish to fight for in the first place are not the prejudiced values of common men but the reasoned virtues of the enlightened. Since we know that men and women are equal, we can reason that they should be accorded the same rights. Practices that exclude women are therefore unreasonable and consequently unenlightened.

But will this work? The constrained vision wants to know if the evolved social order can be replaced by a more rational theory and still work as well as what preceded it. If doing the rational thing results in impractical application, or application that is more encumbered, have we really fixed anything? Have we simply made an even trade-off into a

disadvantageous one in order to think ourselves enlightened?

Can military leadership be reduced to rationalism, or is leadership inherently an art that requires due consideration of many critical factors that cannot be reduced to rational process? What is the rational basis for saluting? It is an archaic practice designed to hail another and show himself to be unarmed. It evolved from a simple greeting into a greeting that confers deference and subordination. It is a clear symbol of subordination and consequently of inferiority. Our social mores do not require such blatant acts of subordination--even degradation if one considers the shear inequality of the practice--in any of our other cultural institutions. It should be eliminated as an unjust vestige of a brutal and unenlightened era. And so it may be argued--rationally. (It is pathetically easy to claim the moral high ground once you cover yourself with good intentions and a commitment to fairness and equality.) But I would fear leading men in battle who did not proffer willing salutes that expressed confidence in my leadership, and pride in their participation in the unit. What is overtly demonstrated and rationally seen as a formalistic ritual of subordination, has evolved into an informal medium for communicating mutual respect, confidence and unit esprit. Men tell you things in the way they salute. Be rational, how much can be lost by eliminating such a simple gesture? I don't know, but I would be afraid to find out. How much can we lose by placing women in combat? A lot more than a simple gesture is involved in this decision, be rational.

In "Civil Disobedience" Thoreau asks us to look upon a marine, "such a man as a government can make." It was neither the first nor the last allusion to the military mind as a rather witless organ easily consumed by rigid conformity to dull standards of its own manufacture. Thoreau's comment speaks volumes about the popular perception of military officers and our penchant for adopting the banal simplicity of the constrained vision over the lofty ideals of the unconstrained. The habit, while common erough to be an accurate stereotype, is not universal from an historical perspective. There have been noted departures from the constrained vision in the annuals of military history, and while these innovators of human nature were perhaps not noted for military wit, they did produce colorful results. Still, the conventional nature of the military mind in terms of how it regards human nature is fairly universal.

It would appear that those who have experienced heavy battle have few illusions about the nature of man.³⁷ Those who have stood armed at deaths door and looked coldly into the eyes of the man to their right and left have found little solace in idealism. When one is confronted with gut wrenching fear the magnanimous functions of the cerebral cortex give way to the volatility of testicular fortitude and despair. In battle, officers lead men "red in tooth and claw." The commander maintains discipline only through the prudent application of

authority, leadership, fear, reason, and example to mold a perception of confidence and commitment. Commanders and combat leaders deal with raw reality and raw emotion. Yet perception is almost as important as reality. Men must believe that they "cando."

The wisdom of the great military theorists, such as Sun Tzu and Clausewitz, reflects a deep appreciation for the constrained nature of man. For these masters of war, human nature was an important variable in the formation of military theory. Important, indeed crucial, is the fact that man's nature was considered as a variable and not a constant. Clausewitz's concept of "friction" clearly reflects the constraints of simple yet unforeseen human failures and factors, and the potential for these frictions to influence by cumulative resistance the outcome of a battle or war.

Clausewitz understood the constrained nature of man, and his wisdom was to account for this constraint formally. He cautioned against assuming the most optimistic level of personnel performance. Rather, he cautioned that what is conventionally known as "Murphy's Law" reigns supreme on the battlefield. Every field soldier quickly learns that Murphy was an optimist. In matters of human reliability, the effects of friction were most acute. Material always behaves in the inert way material does until put in motion by man. Man was the battlefield culprit who forwent success because of his own predictably unreliable nature.

In <u>On War</u>, Clausewitz expresses wisdom that is largely uncomprehended by the rationalists and advocates of the unconstrained vision. Clausewitz himself laments the subtle and obscure nature of his observations on friction. "If one has never personally experienced war, one cannot understand in what the difficulties constantly mentioned really consist. . . "³⁸ In an age enamored by the simplicity of rationalism, Clausewitz's admonitions may fall on deaf ears, but that will not detract from their applicability. As in the past, future wars will be won by those who best account for human nature and its many foibles. In this manner, they not only avoid folly and defeat themselves, but they snatch victory from the very jaws of the prideful who think themselves too advanced, superior or righteous to bother with the admonitions of timeless truths. Perhaps the Battle of Cowpens best illustrates how a commander can exploit the vicissitudes of human nature to advantage, but history is littered with similar examples. The point is, those who would adopt an unconstrained vision of human nature and apply it to war not only deny themselves the wisdom of knowing the worst realities of one's own troops, but also of knowing the foibles of the enemy. Sun Tzu reserves special caution and contempt for the commander who knows neither himself nor the enemy.

Clausewitz's understanding of friction, and his most urgent caution, concerned the friction generated by individuals:

But we should bear in mind that none of its [the army's] components is of one piece: each part is

composed of individuals, every one of whom retains his potential for friction. . A battalion is made up of individuals, the least important of whom may chance to delay things or somehow make them go wrong. The dangers inseparable from war and the physical exertions war demands can aggravate the problem to such an extent that they must be ranked among its principal causes."

Those who believe that the frictions women bring to a military force in matters of physical performance, cohesion, aggression, bonding and the warrior ethos are minor, do not understand that all frictions are, in peacetime, comparatively minor. It is in war that the many minor frictions multiply in both size and frequency to potentially overwhelm the commander and his army. Only by purging in time of peace those frictions which are foreseeable does a military force manage to more efficiently reduce and manage friction in war. This is what peacetime preparation is all about. Other factors being equal, it is the ability to minimize and manage friction that becomes decisive in battle. Those who advocate complicating the evolved military friction management process are playing fast and loose with military efficiency. Ultimate victory or defeat hang in the balance.

Sun Tzu joins Clausewitz in explaining that the foibles of human nature, exacerbated by circumstance, ready an army for defeat. The enemy should be allowed to make his own preparations for his destruction, and one should strike only after this process is completed. "Give the enemy young boys and women to infatuate him, and jades and silks to excite his ambitions."⁴⁰ Is this mere prejudice from a previous and less enlightened age?

Or is it distilled wisdom that survived three thousand years because generations of victorious and conquered people alike came to recognize its wisdom?

Some would have us conduct a scientific inquiry into the exact minimum strength required to perform the primary duties of a particular military "job" and then allow women who can meet those minimum standards to enter that specialty. This may work fine in some civilian pursuits, where the work environment is tightly controlled, but it is clear folly to suggest that such minimum standards will work in war. Clausewitz explains the relationship of physical and moral forces in the conduct of war: "Military activity is never directed against material force alone; it is always aimed simultaneously at the moral forces which give it life, and the two cannot be separated."41 Those who work hard at physical pursuits know the relationship between fatigue and the will is closely interconnected. A tired body is conducive to a weak will. What happens to the moral forces of the will when the physical ability to complete a task already consumes a greater part of your strength than most of those around you? We already know from Chapter Three that women fatique twice as fast as men in physical work. Does anyone really think, for example, that technicians will be exempted from filling sand bags, and digging air raid shelters at expeditionary airfields? If that task exhausts them, how good will their technical ability be?

Clausewitz had little regard for those theorists who would

reduce war to a relationship of physical properties and scientific calculations. "They aim at fixed values; but in war everything is uncertain, and calculations have to be made with variable guantities."42 Most discouragingly, these theorists, both in Clausewitz's day and ours, fail to take note of war's greatest variable. "They direct the inquiry exclusively toward physical quantities, whereas all military action is intertwined with psychological forces and effects."43 The most important variable on the battlefield is man. The reason women are excluded from battle is they take what is already a highly variable force and render it volatile. They do not bring greater emotional stability with them and enervate that stability which discipline engenders among men. The limited contribution they can make in physical work is negated by the psychological forces that they unleash between themselves and among men. While this is both tolerable and interesting in civilian life, it can add unnecessary and debilitating friction to the battlefield. Clausewitz attempted to pass on the importance of the study of human nature to success in war. Not that one needs a Ph.D. in psychology, but the commander needs to "know the character, the habits of thought and action, and the special virtues and defects of the men whom he is to command."44 Experience was the vehicle by which commanders developed this knowledge according to Clausewitz. "Of course these truths must be rooted in experience. No theorist, and no commander, should bother himself with psychological and philosophical sophistries."45 The

experienced wisdom of the most combat tested officers is now being discounted as "bigoted." Women compound the problem of command. Ultimately, women contribute inordinately to the "friction of war." This is the lesson of experience.

The habit of the military mind to think in accordance with the constrained vision is not a reflexive jerk of temperament. It is the considered judgment of men who have devoted time, experience and study to the nature of men under adverse conditions. Men who spend more time dealing with the foibles of human nature in training and operations than in vague mental wanderings about human potential under ideal conditions. Commanders who have given non-judicial punishment to troops, who were fighting over the amorous attentions and slender virtues of bar girls, know first hand the effects of women on troops. More importantly, they have their own recollections of youth, and unless surfeit of character or deficient in hormones, can personally attest to more than a few incidence of biology overriding judgment.

Military officers who know their profession are men of constrained vision concerning human nature. They have studied the great military theorists and heeded their admonitions. They may wish and work for a better and more just world, but they are not about to bet the lives of their men, or the strength of their nation, on untested idealism. When battle looms, their responsibility is not to inflict the latest social fad upon the consciousness of their troops, but rather, to win the war.

What is the solution to the dilemma between military efficiency and the combat aspirations of some women? Solutions are elusive and life is tragic. In the end there are no solutions, only trade-offs. The dilemma for the policy maker is to accommodate the demands of the feminists and still retain military efficiency. It is an unfortunate quandary. The responsibility of the uniformed military leadership is far less ambiguous. The preservation of the highest combat efficiency is our first duty. Fidelity to the Nation, the mission, and the troops we command demands that we place our empathy with those who must face the enemy in battle over political utility. When military officers cannot speak their professional opinion without rebuke to their character, that is oppression-- subtle, mundane and invidious.

Women in combat? It would be better to listen to Sun Tzu. Determine who our potential enemies are, and sell the idea to them.

NOTES

1. William S. Lind, "Tailhook: The Larger Issue," <u>Marine</u> <u>Corps Gazette</u>, November 1992, p. 38.

2. Ellen Elster, "Patriarchy," W. Chapkis, ed., <u>Loaded</u> <u>Ouestions: Women in the Military</u>, (Washington: Transnational Institute, 1981), p. 15.

3. Thomas Sowell, <u>A Conflict of Visions</u> (New York: William Morrow, 1987), p. 14.

4. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 17.

5. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 19.

6. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 21.

7. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 22.

8. <u>Ibid</u>.

9. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 23.

10. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 23-24.

11. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 24.

12. <u>Ibid</u>., pp. 24-25.

13. See George Gilder, <u>Men and Marriage</u> (Gretna, LA: Pelican, 1987), Chapter 4 "Taming the Barbarians."

14. See Lionel Tiger, <u>Men in Groups</u> (New York: Marion Boyars, 1984).

15. Kathleen F. Kirk, <u>Women in Combat</u>? (Defense Technical Information Center, August 1988), p. 66.

16. Sowell, pp. 25-26.

17. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 26.

18. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 31.

19. David Horowitz, former anti-war radical and editor of <u>Ramparts</u>, in his testimony before the Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces claimed that it was the intention of himself and other "New Left radicals" to see the Communists win. See Page 8 of his Pamphlet "The Feminist Assault on the Military." The pamphlet is a reprint of his testimony.

20. R.M. Hickson, "Equal Rights Equal Risks," <u>U.S. Naval</u> <u>Institute Proceedings</u>, September 1985, p. 41.

21. Sowell, p. 32.

22. See Edmund Burke, "Reflections on the Revolution in France," William Ebenstein, ed., <u>Great Political Thinkers</u>, (Hinesdale, IL: Dryden Press, 1951), pp. 483-504.

23. See Stephen Goldberg <u>The Inevitability of Patriarchy</u> (London: Temple Smith, 1977), p.26-28.

24. Goldberg, p. 45-46.

25. Associated Press, "Gulf War Troops Say Sex Hurt Unit Morale," <u>Newport Daily News</u>, 2 October 1992. 26. Those who would dispute this assertion should see Goldberg, p. 42.

27. Robert Tucker, <u>Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx</u> (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 242-243.

28. See Richard H. Kohn, "Women in Combat, Homosexuals in Uniform: The Challenge of Military Leadership," <u>Parameters</u>, Spring 1993, pp. 2-4.

Kohn demonstrates great appreciation for the significant challenges which face the military and concludes that "To deal with it, military leaders will have to redouble their efforts to define appropriate conduct and to punish or expel those in the ranks who cannot or will not control their language and their behavior. . the military can be extremely effective in changing behavior." Kohn and others seem to have difficulty differentiating control from discipline. One is imposed the other is elicited. Control is conducive to repression; discipline is conducive to initiative. The perception of these advisors on military affairs is that the military is, in reality, a controlling institution. Their failure to discern this fundamental distinction between control and discipline is another conflict of vision in itself.

29. Author's own recollection of speech.

30. See William S. Lind. "Thus they [military leaders] cannot understand how or why this is happening to them--or what needs to be done to fight back. They are, in large measure, intellectually and morally disarmed."

31. See James Webb, "Witch Hunt in the Navy," <u>The New York</u> <u>Times</u>, 6 October 1992, p. A-23.

32. Author's personal knowledge.

- 33. Sowell, p. 41.
- 34. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 42.
- 35. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 46.
- 36. Ibid., p. 41.

37. See John W. Ripley, Colonel, USMC Testimony before the Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces.

38. Carl Von Clausewitz, <u>On War</u>, ed. and trans. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), p. 119.

39. <u>Ibid</u>.

40. Sun Tzu, <u>The Art of War</u>, trans. Samuel B. Griffith (New York: Oxfora University Press, 1963), p. 68.

- 41. Clausewitz, p. 137.
- 42. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 136.
- 43. <u>Ibid</u>.

- 44. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 146.
- 45. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 137.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Nations form military forces in order to carry out the national will by force of arms against those who would oppose that will. They are formed to confront or deter enemy forces-and if required fight -- to insure national survival and the security of national interests. This is the primary task of military forces. Standing military forces are designed to maximize the efficiency of the military by avoiding the friction and distractions of mobilization and competing civilian careers. They are retained to maximize readiness and efficiency, and consequently, develop combat multipliers in terms of training, cohesion and experience that can enable them to defeat numerically superior forces. In short, standing armies are militarily more efficient, because of their superior readiness, training, and cohesion. That is why they exist. War is unique among national endeavors, as it may cause the destruction of the military force and loss of life among those who participate. In order to insure the national interests are adequately protected, and that there is a willing spirit of participation engendered in the populace to defend the nation, the military is given great latitude to construct the most efficient force possible within the constraints of allocated means. In short, military utility is given the highest priority, even above other socially significant values, in order to insure the survival of the nation and of the soldiers engaged.

Nations form other organizations to foster other values. Education, health, welfare, etc. are perhaps all of concern to the state, but they all take second place in terms of importance to the survival of the nation itself. The military is, and should be, responsible for its primary mission, as these organizations are responsible for theirs. The urgency of national survival demands these priorities.

Nevertheless, the armed forces of a nation are also a national institution. They come to reflect the values of the nation and are composed of the citizens that nation has produced. Successful militaries are respected for their ability to meet their primary mission, and for the values they indirectly inculcate into the nation's youth. The military can be a training ground for leadership and social advancement, as well as a vehicle for educating the citizenry about national values and responsibilities. Thus we see that the armed forces can serve two important functions in society. First, they are created to be the sharp, swift implement of national will, and second, they can be an institution of social and cultural benefit. When one evaluates the issue of women in combat in terms of the priority of these two military functions, we can encounter a conflict of purpose.

For the well educated military officer the decision to resolve this conflict is reflexive. Throughout his career he has been taught that there are two essential responsibilities of command. The first, and primary responsibility, is the

accomplishment of the mission. The second responsibility, and secondarily, is the welfare of the men. Troops must be cared for in order to accomplish the mission. Actions, policies and decisions which contribute to the accomplishment of the mission are to be pursued. Those which detract, distract, or restrict in any way the ability of the force to accomplish the mission are to be rejected. If feelings are hurt, it is lamentable, but duty requires commitment to the mission. Ruthless pursuit of the greatest comLat utility to insure mission attainment, not social intention or good will, is the criteria for military leadership. It has been this way throughout the ages.

This does not sound fair? Perhaps we can fudge, and still accomplish the mission, what then? What if we shave by degree the effectiveness of the force to insure probable ultimate victory and still meet our social agendas? True, a few more lives may be lost in the battle, but the overall social benefits are deemed worth it. We cannot have a social theory that declares the equality of the sexes and a military that clearly belies the theory by not incorporating women on grounds of inefficiency. The military might not really believe that women can fight as well as men, but it is important to the greater social agenda that they at least act as if they do. We are so superior to all potential enemies that the little lie will not be noticed. Or will it?

What we are talking about is creating a new strategic culture. A military culture based on principles different than

those that have motivated our actions and policies in the past. We perceive that we have time to experiment with this new strategic culture, becaus we believe that we have overwhelming power and technological capability compared with potential enemies. "Those who the gods will humble they first make proud", and we are indeed prideful of our military technology. The history of war is the history of dominant technologies that do not long remain dominant. The danger is that our technology gap will be closed before we recover from experiments ion with our strategic culture.

Women in combat. Will Kilroy buy it? Kilroy is the one who fights the battles and ultimately wins or looses all the wars. He is willing to fight with every thing he has, but he expects to be given every opportunity for success. Those who play fast and loose with his chances for survival earn his contempt. He wants to win and win fast.

Try telling Kilroy that men and women are equally good at warrior skills. He has a whole life time full of experience that tells him otherwise. He has high regard for women, but not for their ability to fight. Send an attractive, slender, 22 year old female OCS graduate to lead him in combat. Deep inside, Kilroy knows this isn't right. No doubt, he will vocalize his concern to his comrades. Though looking at the new lieutenant might make formation a lot more interesting, he knows that the enemy is led by hard men who can motivate their troops do things that the attractive lieutenant would not attempt. Sure, she can follow orders and issue orders, but that isn't what it takes to lead men in war. He doesn't really know what is missing exactly, but this just isn't right.

Sometimes Kilroy is on a ship. What if a Navy Ship, with a 50 percent female crew is hit by a missile as was the USS Stark? The crew must fight for the life of the ship and expend untold hours in heavy fire fighting and life saving efforts. The crew is often near exhaustion by the time the ship is either successfully saved or sunk. We know that women can do about 50 percent of the physical work as a man, on average, before the onset of exhaustion. That means on a ship with a 50 percent female crew we have reduced the emergency work potential by 25 percent, or half of whatever percentage of females are aboard. Is this a prudent trade-off?

Kilroy will get over it, claim the proponents of women in combat. Just like he got over racial integration. The argument is a common one. Since the Armed Forces lead the Nation by example in insuring the civil rights of Blacks in the Armed Forces, the precedent has been established for gender integration as well.

The race/gender is argument is a faulty analogy on two counts. First, as we have seen from the discussion in Chapter Three, there are significant biologically rooted differences in behavior tendencies between men and women, and only comparatively trite differences in appearance between the races. Second, and most significantly, do-gooder social thinkers may

think the integration of Blacks was a magnanimous social gesture, but the real reason Blacks were successfully integrated was because they helped win the battles. Black units had already demonstrated combat prowess in war. They did not need for anyone to help them. Given the same training and leadership, they proved effective in combat. The Armed Forces are not an affirmative action program for Blacks, and do not need to be. Blacks are accepted because they do the job, without qualifiers. Black men can do what white men can do. They think and act the same under similar circumstances and can bond together. Those who wish to claim the moral high ground need to sit in a room full of Marines, some of whom are Black, and explain how they are similar to women. See who they call bigoted. The do-gooders want so earnestly to do good for the unfortunate and under privileged, that they think good cannot come about without their intercession. Do the self-declared do-gooders really think that Black men are as un-differentiated for combat skills as women? I suspect not.

The race/gender argument is not intended to illuminate the issue, it is an attempt to move the argument beyond critical examination by not considering the military utility of the issue and only considering social unfairness. We have noted that the first responsibility of military leadership is relentless dedication to combat utility and the accomplishment of the mission. Those who would place social agendas above mission accomplishment are not utilizing the Armed Forces for the appropriate purpose, and in the process may be reducing their effectiveness.

Once the Armed Forces accept any criteria other than the ultimate accomplishment of the mission as a basis for decisions that effect the services, there will be no end to the folly that will befall us. Already there has been a serious proposal to incorporate the handicapped into the Armed Forces. In a nationally syndicated article entitled "Why not let the disabled serve in the military?" Beverly Chapman, a nationally recognized advocate for people with disabilities, asks for inclusion. Her reasons? Opportunity, reduced unemployment, benefit to the economy, greater personal dependability, the increased ability of the disabled due to new technology, and an end to discrimination. Sound similar? No, I am not suggesting that women and the disabled are the same, but I do suggest that both arguments place social considerations above military utility.

Somewhere, the American Armed Forces began to loose the proper compass heading. Instead of resolutely affirming the primacy of mission accomplishment, we indulged political movements with agendas that do not serve to enhance combat readiness. We can explain this failure in relation to many other competing priorities and political expediency. However, the ultimate tragedy is we have already begun to loose credibility with those who matter most. Kilroy knows the truth.

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