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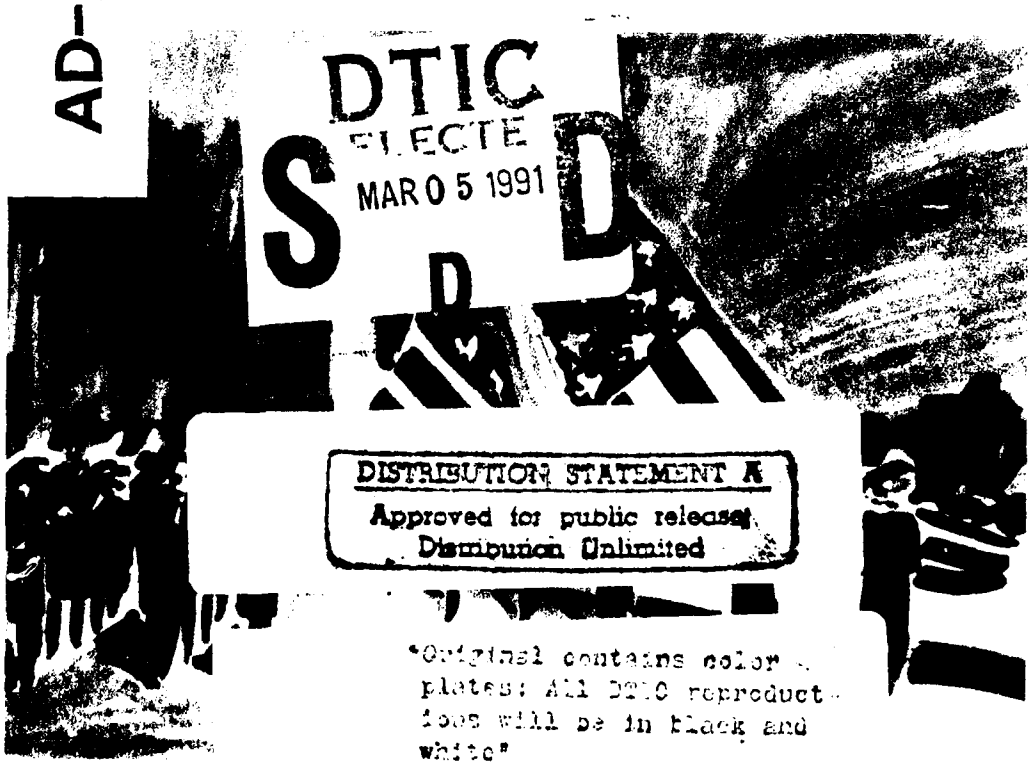
THE WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS

1945-1978



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16 May 1942—11 Jul 1945

Col. Westray Battle Boyce Long
12 Jul 1945—4 Mar 1947

Col. Mary A. Hallaren
5 Mar 1947—2 Jan 1953

Col. Irene O. Galloway
3 Jan 1953—2 Jan 1957

Col. Mary L. M. Rasmuson
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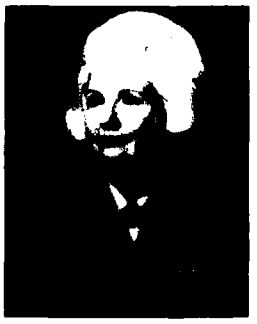

Brig. Gen. Mildred I. C. Bailey
1 Aug 1971—31 Jul 1975

Brig. Gen. Mary E. Clarke
1 Aug 1975—28 Apr 1978

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by

Bettie J. Morden

CENTER OF MILITARY HISTORY
UNITED STATES ARMY
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Foreword

This is the second volume published by the U.S. Army Center of Military History on the history of the Women's Army Corps from its beginning in World War II until it was discontinued by Congress thirty-six years later. The first volume, by Mattie E. Treadwell, dealt with the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) and its successor, the Women's Army Corps (WAC), throughout World War II. This volume covers the thirty-three years of Corps history between V-J Day and the decision by Congress in 1978 to end the WACs' separate status and assimilate them into the other branches of the Army (except the combat arms).

The current volume tells how the directors of the Women's Army Corps struggled to achieve the goals that we take for granted today. It tells of the years they spent pushing and prodding the Army, the Department of Defense, and Congress to achieve Regular Army and Reserve status, military credit for their WAAC service, and promotion above the grade of lieutenant colonel. While early WAC directors had the task of fighting for progress and equity, their successors fought a losing battle to keep entry standards high and to retain their separate corps status.

The author of this volume served as a WAC throughout the existence of the Corps. She provides readers with a comprehensive picture of WAC growth and development and the transformation in the status of Army women brought by the advent of the all-volunteer Army and the women's rights movement of the seventies. The book makes a significant contribution to women's history and the history of the Army.

Washington, D.C.
14 July 1989

WILLIAM A. STOFFT
Brigadier General, U.S. Army
Chief of Military History

The Author

Colonel Bettie J. Morden enlisted in the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps from Michigan on 15 October 1942 and served throughout World War II. Discharged from the Army in November 1945, she entered Columbia University, completed her baccalaureate degree in 1949 and her masters degree in June 1950. Commissioned as a second lieutenant in the United States Army Reserve in 1950, she reentered active duty as a first lieutenant in May 1952.

She is a graduate of the WAC Officers' Advanced Course (1962); Command and General Staff College (1964); and the Army Management School (1965). She has been awarded the Distinguished Service Medal, the Legion of Merit, the Joint Service Commendation Medal, and the Army Commendation Medal with Oak Leaf Cluster. Colonel Morden retired on 31 December 1972 and was recalled on active duty to write the WAC history in February 1974. She reverted to retired status on 31 December 1982.

Preface

In 1974, twenty years after it published a volume of history on the Women's Army Corps (WAC) in World War II, the Army directed the preparation of a sequel to cover the subsequent twenty-seven years of WAC history, 1945–1972. However, it soon became clear that the Women's Army Corps as a separate corps of the Army would be discontinued in 1978, and the scope of the new volume was extended to include the final years of the Women's Army Corps.

The initial volume, *The Women's Army Corps*, was written by Lt. Col. Mattie E. Treadwell and was published in 1954. Colonel Treadwell chronicled the actions taken by members of Congress, senior officers of the War Department, and the director of the WAC in mobilizing, organizing, and utilizing women in the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) and, after 1943, in the Women's Army Corps. She also detailed the reaction of the women of the Corps to Army life and to their reception by the men of the Army. The first chapter of this volume summarizes Colonel Treadwell's work in order to provide the reader with the background needed to understand subsequent events.

For many years, Colonel Treadwell's volume stood alone as an official account of the plans and policies that directed the lives and careers of the women in the military services. In 1986, the Marine Corps published Col. Mary V. Stremlow's *A History of the Women Marines, 1946–1977*. The Army Nurse Corps, the Air Force, and the Navy have in recent years begun work on the history of women who served in their organizations.

This volume, like Colonel Treadwell's, focuses on the interaction of plans, decisions, and personalities at the highest levels of the Department of the Army that affected the Women's Army Corps. The main players in the story are the secretaries of the Army, the chiefs of staff, the deputy chiefs of staff for personnel, the directors of the Women's Army Corps, the WAC staff advisers, and the commanders of the WAC Center and the WAC School. So many high-level plans and decisions had to be described that little space remained to describe the day-to-day happenings in a detachment, the humorous things, the serious things, the exhilaration of promotion, the joy or agony of transfer orders, the suspense of mail call, or tears when the national anthem was played. For this reason, it is hoped that many WACs will follow Maj. Camilla Mays Frank, Capt. Georgia B. Watson, and others in publishing their stories, or the family of Lt. Col. Emily U. Miller who provided the funds for a graduate student, Kathleen E. R. Smith, to write a biography of their sister.

Many of the ideas and moral attitudes that existed in the middle decades of this century will seem strange to modern readers, but they existed and they influenced policies affecting the WACs. For example, until 1971 the Corps did

not accept the initial enlistment of a married woman. Society expected that a woman would stay at home with her husband. Also until that year the Corps would not even consider enlisting a woman who had had an illegitimate pregnancy, whether or not a child was delivered from that pregnancy. Until the late 1960s most WAC detachment commanders did not allow enlisted women to wear blue jeans or slacks outside the unit area unless the women were en route to the softball field or bowling alley. A WAC in uniform could not enter a liquor store or a bar, smoke while walking, or chew gum in public. The rules were strict and were sometimes disobeyed, but the women learned high standards of deportment and they knew their officers and NCOs cared about them as individuals as well as members of the Corps. By the late 1970s, society had taken such a wide turn in attitudes toward unwed mothers, unmarried couples living together, dress codes, conduct in public, and other standards that the strict morality and social proprieties of earlier years faded from existence.

For the most part, this volume follows a chronological arrangement structured around the tenures of the successive directors of the Corps. Only Chapter XII interrupts this order. That chapter, on the history of the WAC Center and WAC School, recounts the history of the training center at Fort McClellan, Alabama, from 1954 through 1976, when the center was discontinued. I have not singled out any ethnic group for a separate chapter because in one way or another each WAC belonged to a minority group, but together we made up the mosaic that was the Women's Army Corps. Women of every ethnic group made notable achievements in their WAC careers; most are not mentioned here only because they did not become involved with this part of the WAC history.

For assistance, guidance, and advice in preparing this volume, the author is indebted to a number of people. Brig. Gen. Mildred Inez Caroon Bailey, the eighth director of the WAC, suggested and obtained approval for the project, with strong support from Brig. Gen. James L. Collins, Jr., chief of military history and commander of the U.S. Army Center of Military History (1971-1982). The work proceeded initially (1974-1983) under the overall supervision of Dr. Maurice Matloff, chief historian of the Army, and under the daily guidance of Robert Ross Smith, chief of the Army Center of Military History's General History Branch, whose detailed editorial comments laid a steady track for the WAC manuscript. Later, the author profited from the advice of Brig. Gen. William A. Stofft, who became the chief of military history and commander of the Army Center of Military History in 1985. The author is also greatly indebted to the panel members who reviewed the initial manuscript: Dr. Cynthia E. Harrison, George Washington University; Brig. Gen. Elizabeth P. Hoisington, former director of the WAC; Dr. David F. Trask, who succeeded Dr. Matloff as chief historian of the Army; Lt. Col. Richard O. Perry, chief of CMH's Histories Division; and Dr. Albert E. Cowdrey, chief of CMH's Special History Branch. A particular debt of gratitude is owed Dr. Cowdrey, who patiently provided advice and suggestions to improve the volume's style and organization. I am grateful for the editorial assistance provided by Sara J. Heynen of CMH's production staff who also coordinated the work of the Editorial Research Asso-

ciates whose chief, Mary F. Loughlin, provided the substantive editing that eliminated many of my errors and repetitions and added some life to the manuscript. Craig Skates did a masterful job on the copy editing of the manuscript. Three outside readers provided valuable suggestions—Col. Elizabeth H. Branch, USA Retired, Dr. Margaret Conrad Devilbiss, and James Charles Gibbons.

During the years that the volume was being prepared, I frequently contacted the former directors WAC for information or clarification. Each director, from Col. Mary A. Hallaren through Maj. Gen. Mary E. Clarke, read portions of the revised manuscript and provided valuable insights. Many WAC officers and noncommissioned officers, too numerous to name but deserving of recognition, responded promptly and unselfishly to my calls for information. From 1974 through 1981, I was fortunate to have the assistance of two outstanding USAR mobilization designees: Col. Jean Bakkom, who researched discharge and uniform regulations and analyzed statistics; and Col. Shirley J. Minge, who researched and wrote material on women in the USAR and the National Guard. Mattie E. Treadwell not only provided advice and encouragement but also frequently helped me with background information.

My research was greatly assisted by many archivists who gave generously of their time, particularly William H. Cunliffe and Edward Reese at the National Archives and Hannah M. Zeidlik, Geraldine K. Judkins, Larry A. Ballard, and Mary L. Sawyer at the Army Center of Military History. My sister researchers and writers, Maj. Gen. Jeanne M. Holm, USAF Retired, Maj. Rita G. DeArmond, U.S. Air Force Reserve, Col. Mary V. Stremlow, U.S. Marine Corps Reserve, and I exchanged ideas and research material, and I benefited from reviewing sections of their manuscripts. Providing encouragement and support at the Army Center of Military History were the Army Nurse Corps historians: Col. Anna E. Antonicci, Col. Rosemary T. McCarthy, Lt. Col. Mary E. V. Frank, Maj. Cindy A. Gurney, and Maj. Winona Bice-Stephens. The curator of the WAC Museum at Fort McClellan, Gabriele Torony, and her assistant, Elizabeth Avery, frequently helped me locate files and historical references. I am grateful to Robert Mayfield, Training Aid Service Command, Fort McClellan, for many of the photographs in the section on uniforms, and to the many women who modeled the uniforms for this section, including Brig. Gen. Mildred C. Bailey, Sgt. Janice L. Cosey, Sgt. Lori Cousins-Powell, Capt. Paula Gienapp, Lt. Lois Grey, Sgt. Helen M. Harris, Lt. Linda C. Jones, Pvt. Mary Milolajozak, Lt. Linda L. Norman, and others not identified on U.S. Army photographs.

I am indebted to John W. Elsberg, Editor in Chief of CMH publications, who skillfully directed the editorial and production processes. My volume benefited from the talent and ingenuity of the center's graphics personnel led by Arthur S. Hardyman under whose direction Linda M. Cajka prepared the photographs and Howell C. Brewer the charts. My thanks also go to LaJuan R. Watson, Terrence L. Offer, Gina Wilson, Gabrielle S. Patrick, and others at CMH who typed the chapters and inserted changes.

Throughout this labor of love, my family encouraged me, my WAC friends inspired me, and my colleagues at the Army Center of Military History provided a stimulating and cheerful atmosphere during all my days in their midst.

If, despite my efforts to present an accurate chronicle, errors have been made, they are solely my responsibility.

Washington, D.C.
14 July 1989

BETTIE J. MORDEN
Colonel, AUS, Retired

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CHAPTER I

The Women's Army Corps, 1942–1945

Women in the Army? Never!

In early 1941, "Never!" was a typical reaction to the idea of women serving in the U.S. Army. The subject conjured up pictures of women wearing helmets, carrying rifles, and attacking an enemy in a war zone. But after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, these ideas and images did seem somewhat less outrageous. With new demands on labor—for war plants, for the Army, for the Navy—Americans began to face the reality that manpower shortages would occur in the near future. Enormous numbers of guns and planes had to be produced for the increasing numbers of American soldiers and sailors. The crisis changed the nature of the questions about women in the Army: What could women do in the Army? Would they ever be in combat? What weapons would they fire? Would they be giving orders to men? How would the Army, a traditional male society, accept women into its midst?

Some interest in the subject had developed in 1941, before the Japanese attack. Congresswoman Edith Nourse Rogers had introduced a bill in the House of Representatives to establish a Women's Army Auxiliary Corps. She proposed a quasi-military organization of 25,000 women to fill clerical jobs that the Army would otherwise give to enlisted men. Army Chief of Staff George C. Marshall approved the idea. He envisioned such a corps as a conduit for enrolling thousands of women during wartime, thus releasing men from administrative jobs and making them available for combat duty. However, Mrs. Rogers' bill languished during 1941 because Congress was preoccupied with more pressing issues—the lend-lease bill, price controls, war plant production, and labor problems.

Mrs. Rogers introduced another bill in January 1942 for a Women's Army Auxiliary Corps of 150,000 women for noncombat duties. In a surprise move, she added an amendment that would give women military status and the right to be enlisted and appointed in the Army on the same basis as men. To Mrs. Rogers' dismay, the amendment immediately generated bitter controversy on the floor of the House. While congressmen could accept the idea of a women's auxiliary to ease a manpower short-

age, they objected to giving women military status as well as the rights and benefits of veterans.[1]

Several precedents existed to buttress the granting of military status to women in the Army. In 1901 Congress had established a Nurse Corps (Female) in the Army Medical Department of the Regular Army. The nurses served under contract—they did not receive commissions—but in 1920 Congress gave them "relative rank." This meant they could hold the rank of second lieutenant, first lieutenant, captain, or major and could wear officers' insignia. Though they still lacked most of the privileges of regular officers, the nurses had gained some significant military status. In 1926, Congress authorized Army nurses a retirement pension based on length of service and, in 1930, added a pension for disability incurred in the line of duty. The Navy Nurse Corps (Female), established in 1907, followed the Army Nurse Corps' organization and offered similar status and benefits.[2]

During World War I, the Navy had used its recruitment authority to enlist approximately 13,000 women, called "Yeomanettes" and "Marinettes," to serve on active duty and fill clerical positions in various Navy and Marine Corps offices in the United States. The women wore uniforms, and they received the same pay and privileges as men while on active duty and as veterans thereafter. After the war, the Navy disbanded these groups.

The War Department had had similar authority to enlist women during World War I. But, instead of enlisting women, it hired them under civilian contract to serve as telephone operators and clerks with the American Expeditionary Forces in France. Long after the war, in the late 1920s, planners on the War Department's General Staff wrote two separate proposals for establishing a women's corps as an integral part of the Army. However, neither proposal received adequate support; both were filed and forgotten.[3]

Either the 77th Congress, 1941-1943, was ignorant of these precedents, or it chose not to consider them. In the hearings on Mrs. Rogers' bill, legislators proclaimed that including women in the military would destroy the very foundations of American society. They envisioned an intolerable situation in which "women generals would rush about the country dictating orders to male personnel and telling the commanding officers of posts how to run their business."[4] Other members roundly

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[1] Mattie E. Treadwell, *The Women's Army Corps*, United States Army in World War II (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office [GPO], 1954), p. 24. In addition to citations to specific information from this source, the general information in this chapter, unless noted otherwise, is also from this volume.

[2] US Army Center of Military History, *Highlights in the History of the Army Nurse Corps* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1981), pp. 13-19.

[3] Treadwell, *Women's Army Corps*, p. 15.

[4] Ibid.

objected to giving women disability pensions, retirements, and veterans benefits. Some congressmen received support for their arguments from male officers who disliked the bill but dared not publicly oppose legislation supported by the War Department.

On 14 May 1942, after all debate ended, Congress established a Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC), but did not grant its members military status. The next day, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the compromise bill; An Act to Establish the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps became Public Law (PL) 77-554.[5]

The act authorized the Army to enroll 150,000 officers and enlisted women between the ages of twenty-one and forty-five for noncombatant service; to organize them in separate units; and to pay, house, feed, clothe, train, and provide medical care for them at Army posts and other facilities. It did not bar them from service overseas. Women officers received appointments in the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps in the created grades of third officer, second officer, first officer, field director, assistant director, and director—comparable to the Army's grades of second lieutenant through colonel. Enlisted women held the grades of auxiliary, junior leader, leader, staff leader, technical leader, first leader, and chief leader—comparable to the Army's enlisted grades of private through master sergeant. At first, WAACs received less money than their male equivalents, but on 1 November 1942 they began to draw the same pay and allowances as members of the Regular Army serving in corresponding grades. They continued, however, to use their auxiliary grade titles.

Because the WAAC law did not make the women an integral part of the Army, they could not be governed by Army regulations or the Articles of War. The director of the WAAC and her staff, therefore, prepared a set of rules called the WAAC Regulations that covered appointment, enlistment, promotion, discipline (including a code of conduct and suggested punishments for infractions), training, uniforms, pay, and discharge. These regulations were patterned after Army regulations as closely as possible and provided that when the WAAC Regulations did not cover a particular situation, Army regulations would be used. WAAC officers alone would command WAAC units and administer punishment under the WAAC Regulations. Male officers and civilian supervisors, however, did have authority over the women who worked for them.

Anticipating its own manpower shortages, the Department of the Navy took a different approach to obtaining servicewomen. It asked for and received from Congress authority to enlist and appoint women in a women's section of the Naval Reserve, the Coast Guard Reserve, and the

[5] Ibid. Members of the Women's Army Corps traditionally celebrate the founding of the WAAC on 14 May, the date Congress approved the bill, rather than on the date it was signed by the president.

Marine Corps Reserve. The bill encountered little opposition; evidently neither legislators nor men in the naval services believed that women in a reserve status would threaten the composition and traditions of those services. The president signed the bill into law (PL 77-689) on 30 July 1942.

Within six months, the Navy, Coast Guard, and Marine Corps had established reserve components—the WAVES (Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service), the SPARS (from the Coast Guard motto, "Semper Paratus—Always Ready"), and the Marine Corps Women's Reserve (whose members were called Women Marines); had enlisted women in those components; and had called those reservists to active duty. The women in these groups received the same pay and benefits given regulars, but they were not eligible for disability or retirement pensions. And while generally governed by the same regulations and policies as men, they were restricted to noncombat duties ashore in the Continental United States (CONUS). In 1944, the 78th Congress relented and with Public Law 441, 27 September, allowed WAVES, SPARS, and Women Marines to serve in Alaska and Hawaii. They were not, however, allowed to serve aboard combat ships.

In an attempt to equalize the status and benefits of WAACs with those of women in the other services, Mrs. Rogers introduced a bill in October 1942 to make the WAAC a part of the Army's Organized Reserve. General Marshall disapproved the bill only because he believed it would become highly controversial and would delay the passage of other War Department legislation pending in the Congress. The bill died in committee.

The Auxiliary

Despite inequities and limitations, implementation of the earlier authorizing legislation was well under way. Chief of Staff Marshall had selected Oveta Culp Hobby, a native of Texas who would later serve as the first secretary of health, education, and welfare (1953-1955), to be the director of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps. She was a logical choice; as chief of the Women's Interest Section in the War Department's Bureau of Public Relations, she had helped to plan the Corps. She took the oath of office on 16 May 1942. In June, she donned the first WAAC uniform, and onto her shoulders, General Marshall pinned silver eagles, symbolizing the relative rank of colonel.

In the Army's organizational structure, Director Hobby's headquarters was under the largest of the Army's three major commands, Services of Supply.[6] This Army-wide command directed and managed administra-

[6] Services of Supply (SOS) was renamed Army Service Forces (ASF) in March 1943. War Department General Order (WD GO) 14, 12 Mar 43, CMH Library.

TEMPORARY BUILDINGS *at the First WAAC Training Center, Fort Des Moines, 1942.*

tion, personnel, training, and supply matters for all military personnel. The other two major commands, Army Ground Forces and Army Air Forces, trained and equipped combat soldiers for war on land and in the air.

Immediately after the WAAC bill was signed, the War Department also assigned Col. Don C. Faith, a Regular Army infantry officer with 25 years' service, to command the First WAAC Training Center at Fort Des Moines, Iowa. With hard work and perseverance, Colonel Faith and his staff transformed the old cavalry post, with its stables, riding halls, and hitching posts, into a home for the WAAC.

The first women arrived at Fort Des Moines on 20 July 1942. Among them were 440 officer candidates who had been selected to attend WAAC Officer Candidate School (OCS). After successfully completing the six-week course, the graduates were commissioned as third officers, WAAC. New classes, averaging 150 students in size, entered the WAAC OCS every two weeks. In addition, the 125 enlisted women who had also arrived on 20 July underwent the four-week WAAC basic training course. The size of those classes increased as recruiting became more successful and additional training facilities were made available. The average age of the officer candidates was thirty; over 40 percent were college graduates. The average age of the enlisted personnel was twenty-four; over 60 percent were high school graduates, many with some

CONGRESSWOMAN EDITH NOURSE ROGERS *addresses the graduates of the first WAAC officer candidate class at Fort Des Moines, 29 August 1942.*

college training. In terms of education, if not military status, the WAAC was an elite corps.

Students in both courses studied military customs and courtesies, organization of the Army, map reading, first aid, and supply; drilled and participated in ceremonies and parades; and stood guard duty. Because they had a longer period of instruction, officer candidates also received training in leadership, teaching techniques, voice and command, court-martial procedures, WAAC company administration, and mess management. The women had no trouble learning the material. Becoming accustomed to Army life was another matter. They awakened in the morning to the boom of a cannon and the sound of a bugle and kept to a tight, crowded schedule through a long day. They performed KP (kitchen police), trash collection, and other tasks necessary to maintain military neatness despite cramped living conditions. And they learned to "hurry up and wait" as they stood in long lines for meals, mail, and an ironing board. Most of the students adapted well, and those who had had little experience in teamwork discovered its rewards—heightened satisfaction, morale, and camaraderie.

After completing training, unless she remained at the training center to replace a male member of the cadre, the WAAC officer or enlisted person was assigned to a 150-woman table of organization (TO) company. Such units had spaces only for clerks, typists, drivers, cooks, and unit cadre. It was disappointing to women who thought their civilian skills—such as accounting, communications, dental hygiene, drafting, linguistics,

MESS HALL NO. 15, FORT OGLETHORPE, *23 November 1944.*

library science, mathematics, school administration, and photography—would be useful to the Army. As soon as a company was full, it moved in toto—WAAC commander, officer and enlisted cadre, and cooks—to the Army post that had requisitioned it. This system of assignment by TO company, however, was too inflexible for wartime. In May 1943, it was eliminated for noncombat units. Under the new system, post commanders received a bulk allotment of WAAC spaces, then submitted requisitions to obtain women with the skills needed at their posts. The new system increased the variety of assignments open to enlisted women. WAAC officers, however, continued to be primarily assigned to positions dealing with WAAC administration, training, and recruiting. Public Law 77–554 stipulated that they be limited to such duties.

WAAC recruiting quickly surpassed its initial goals and the training center's capacity. President Roosevelt had set 25,000 women as a reasonable goal for the Corps to achieve by 30 June 1943, the end of the fiscal year. By November 1942, WAAC recruiting had topped that goal, and Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson promptly increased the goal for 30 June 1943 to the ceiling set by Congress (150,000) and directed that more training centers be opened. Before the end of 1942, a second center was functioning at Daytona Beach, Florida. Between January and March 1943, centers opened at Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia; Fort Devens, Massachusetts; and Camp Ruston, Louisiana.

The Women's Army Auxiliary Corps was a solid success. Its enlistment standards were relatively high, but the recruits it attracted met and surpassed those standards. In addition to strict physical standards (height,

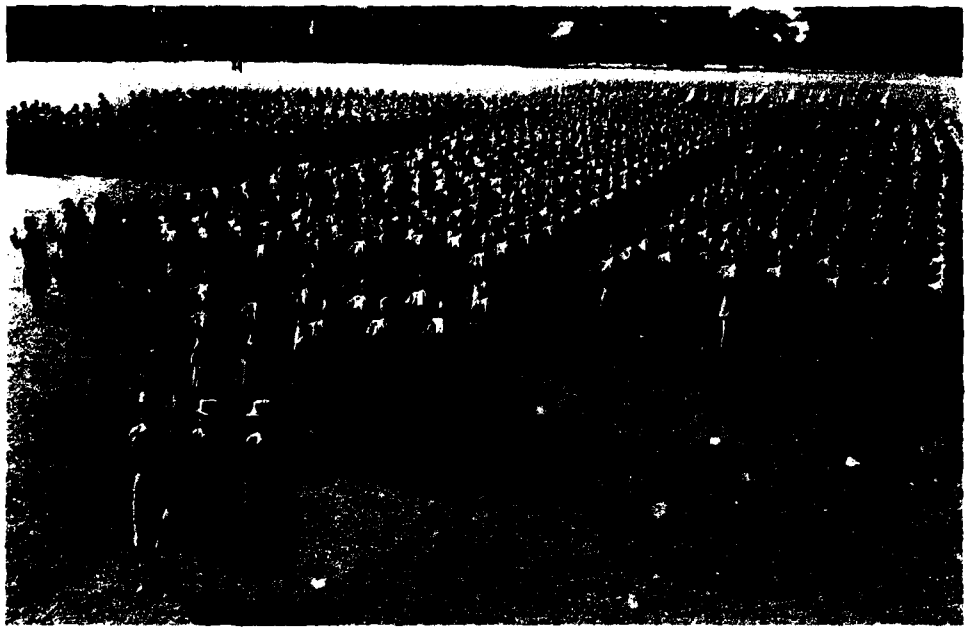
weight, vision, etc.), the Corps required two years of high school, a police check, employment and character references, and a score of at least 60 on the Army General Classification Test (AGCT).[7] Such standards contributed to its success. But, in January 1943, the Army Recruiting Service, under the Adjutant General (TAG), initiated a major campaign to recruit thousands more WAACs by lowering the standards: no minimum educational level, a minimal AGCT score of 50, no police check, no references, and less strict physical requirements. The lowered standards were supported by the commander of Services of Supply, Lt. Gen. Brehon B. Somervell. Competition for manpower was the reason. The WAAC recruitment was competing with recruitment for WAVES, SPARS, and Women Marines, as well as for civilian industries. The naval services sought approximately 100,000 women; industry, attempting to supply wartime demands, needed 4 million.

Director Hobby opposed the lowered standards and attempted to have the higher standards reinstituted before the recruitment campaign was launched. Despite her stand, the lower standard went into effect. By the end of March, however, she had sufficient statistical evidence to convince General Marshall that because of the lower standards, unskilled and untrainable women were inundating the WAAC. Approximately 40 percent of the 34,000 women recruited in the first three months of 1943 had had fewer than two years of high school; roughly 15 percent had AGCT scores that placed them in the two lowest intelligence categories. Compounding those problems was the lack of background information about the recruits' reliability and reputations. In April, General Marshall delegated authority to set WAAC enlistment standards and to manage WAAC recruitment to Director Hobby.

In the three months following the restoration of the higher standards, only 13,800 women enlisted, despite an intensive recruiting campaign. Corps strength on 30 June 1943 was 60,000 officers and enlisted women—far below the 150,000 goal set by the Secretary of War. WAAC headquarters cited the gradual depletion of the most available volunteers and competition with industry and the Navy, as well as the reinstituted higher standards, as primary causes for the recruiting failure.

A fourth factor, a slander campaign against the WAACs had also had an impact on the recruiting results. The demeaning assault on the reputation of the WAAC had begun in the spring of 1943 and soon spread into the other women's services. Some men used the WAACs as the subject of ridiculous or obscene jokes and scurrilous gossip and rumors about their moral character and behavior. This pastime seemed to have originated

[7] The AGCT, given to all men and women who entered the Army, measured aptitudes and capabilities. The test determined an individual's relative intelligence level and measured the individual's skills in reading and vocabulary, arithmetic computation, arithmetic reasoning, and pattern analysis.



WAAC OFFICERS *being sworn into the Army of the United States, Fort Des Moines, 1 September 1943.*

within the Army itself where the hostile attitude of many males, both officer and enlisted, toward the WAAC was well known and where little effort was made to disguise it. The slanderous jokes and gossip moved quickly from the military community into civilian circles where the news media took them up. British servicewomen had suffered the same experience in World War I and earlier in World War II. According to sociologists, it is not unusual, from time to time, for minorities to become the popular subject for obscene jokes and remarks. A War Department investigation of the matter failed to find any definite source for the slurs, and attempts to override the slander with favorable publicity on the WAAC had little effect. A long year after it began, the campaign wore itself out. But it took years to erase the ideas that had spread across the country about the WAAC. For the women who served in the wartime WAAC, the slander campaign was a nightmare that they wanted to ensure would never happen again.[8]

Unpleasant as it was, this episode did not prevent the WAAC from achieving increased status in 1943. General Marshall decided to ask Congress to give the women military status. The auxiliary system had proved complex and unwieldy, requiring a separate set of WAAC regulations and policies. For example, among those who might have had legal problems

[8] Treadwell, *Women's Army Corps*, pp. 191–217.

under the auxiliary system were the 200 officers and enlisted women stationed in Algeria at General Dwight D. Eisenhower's North African Theater headquarters. Unlike servicemen, the auxiliaries could not receive overseas pay or government life insurance. If they became sick or were wounded, they would not receive veterans' hospitalization. If they were killed, their parents would receive no death gratuity. And, if they were captured, they would have no protection under existing international agreements covering prisoners of war.

Mrs. Rogers and Director Hobby drafted a bill that was approved by General Marshall and introduced into the new Congress, the 78th, in January 1943. The Senate approved the bill on 15 February 1943, but members of the House questioned the effects of the change in status—What would be the top rank for women? How large would the new Corps be? What types of duty would Corps members perform? What benefits would be granted? Six months of debate and compromise passed before the bill was approved by both houses and signed by President Roosevelt on 1 July 1943. An Act to Establish the Women's Army Corps in the Army of the United States became Public Law 78-110.[9]

Conversion to Army Status

The new law deleted the word "Auxiliary" from the Corps title, removed the 150,000 limitation on its size, and changed the entry age from 21 through 45 to 20 through 49. The distinctive WAAC grade titles vanished; the officers and enlisted women now used the same military titles as men. The director of the new Women's Army Corps (WAC), however, could not be promoted above the grade of colonel and other WAC officers could not rise above lieutenant colonel. Enlisted women could be promoted to the highest enlisted grade, master sergeant (E-7). Unfortunately, time spent in the WAAC did not count toward length of service, but henceforth, as part of the Army of the United States, members of the WAC would receive the same pay, allowances, benefits, and privileges as men. They would also be subject to the same disciplinary code.

Under the old law, Director Hobby had stood as commander of the women, had written WAAC Regulations, and had directed the women's assignments, training, and uniforms. The new law took away her command authority and left her with the role of adviser to the secretary of the Army and the Army staff on WAC matters. Now the WACs would be governed by Army regulations with a few exceptions. The exceptions would be covered in an Army regulation called WAC Regulations. WAC officers would still command the women's units and administer punishment, but under the Articles of War rather than WAAC Regulations and

[9] Ibid., pp. 220-21.

the WAAC Code of Conduct. In the past it had often been unclear which chain of command the women should follow—the WAAC or the Regular Army chain. Now, the Corps would clearly follow the normal chain of command: WAC detachment commander; to post commander; to commander of the service command; to commander of the major command; to the chief of staff; and, ultimately, to the president.

Other changes in command and administrative responsibilities also stemmed from the new law. WAC personnel management, supply, training, and operations moved from WAAC headquarters to the War Department staff offices that managed such matters for men. The WAC director retained staff responsibilities for preparing WAC plans and policies, inspecting WAC units, and advising the Army staff, major commanders, and the chief of staff on WAC matters.

Oveta Culp Hobby was appointed Director, Women's Army Corps (DWAC), and was commissioned a colonel in the Army of the United States on 5 July 1943. WAAC headquarters was retitled Office of the Director, Women's Army Corps (ODWAC). The director was authorized to communicate directly with the major commanders and with the WAC staff directors assigned to each of those commands. The duties of the staff directors, who were commissioned lieutenant colonels, paralleled those of the director, and they, in turn, were authorized direct contact with post commanders and WAC detachment commanders regarding personnel matters. Through this network, the director kept abreast of progress or problems concerning WAC housing, assignments, training, discipline, and morale.

Organizationally, the director's office remained under the commanding general, Army Service Forces (ASF). Colonel Hobby, however, believed that the Corps' new status required its director to be assigned to a level higher than Army Service Forces so that policy directives affecting WACs in all major commands would not appear to be generated by another command. General Marshall agreed and, in March 1944, relocated the director's office under the G–1 (Personnel) of the War Department General Staff, the organizational level above the major commands.

Regulations and Policies; Tradition and Custom

Until 1943, Army regulations had been written with only men in mind. While working with Mrs. Rogers on legislation to end the auxiliary status, Director Hobby pushed her belief that the women in the Army should be governed by the same regulations as men. She wanted it clear that the women received no special or favored treatment. Thus, she opposed any proposal that "tends to give the impression that the WAC is something apart from the Army."[10]

[10] Ibid., p. 268.

After the establishment of the Women's Army Corps ended the auxiliary status, however, Colonel Hobby did recognize that the WAC needed special regulations or policies. American social customs and the physiological differences between men and women led to Congress' expectation that women be noncombatants and to the "limiting" provisions of PL 78-110—for example, the restrictions on officer promotions and command authority.

Congress had not included in the WAC law, as it had in the WAAC law, the statement that women would be noncombatants. But, in the hearings on the WAC bill, every legislator involved had made it known that he expected the secretary of war to ensure that women would be noncombatants. Thus, Army regulations excluded women from combat training that involved weapons or tactical exercises and from duty assignments that required weapons. Colonel Hobby allowed some exceptions to this rule. Commanders could assign women to such noncombat duty positions as disbursing or pay officers, intelligence personnel who worked in code rooms, or drivers in certain overseas areas, even though the positions required the use of a weapon. If assigned these positions, the WACs received proper training with the appropriate weapon (usually the .45-caliber automatic pistol). And to avoid the impression that the women were involved in combat duties, public relations officers ensured that the news media did not print photographs of WACs with weapons.

The WAC law did state that, with the sole exception of the director, no woman would be promoted above the grade of lieutenant colonel. The restriction existed because Congress and officers in the War Department believed that a WAC officer's maximum responsibility would be at that level; higher positions of command and staff duty required officers with combat training and experience. Thus, all colonels, except for the WAC director, and all general officers in the Army would continue to be male.

The higher positions of command and staff duty also required the authority to command males, individually and in units, and PL 78-110 stated that women could not command men unless specifically authorized by the secretary of war.[11] To counterbalance this limitation of authority, Colonel Hobby had the regulations stipulate that WAC units would be composed only of women and would be commanded only by WAC officers. She also required that commands using WAC units establish and fill a position for a WAC staff director whose duties would include regular inspections of the command's WAC units.

Regulations and decisions were needed to cover many areas not addressed by PL 78-110. One important area left unsettled pertained to dependents: Could WAC members receive dependency allowances? Colonel Hobby requested a ruling by the comptroller general of the United States. His decision, B-35441 of 4 August 1943, ruled that husbands of

[11] No record of such an authorization had been found.

WACs could not receive dependency benefits or allowances. However, if a WAC presented proof that she had children, parents, grandparents, brothers, or sisters solely or chiefly dependent upon her for support, they could receive dependency allowances. In 1944, the rule was revised to allow a dependency allowance for a husband when he was dependent upon the WAC for more than 50 percent of his support. Servicemen, on the other hand, automatically received dependency benefits for their wives and for children under 21 without having to furnish proof of dependent status. Regardless of these rulings, WACs, in fact, had few dependents; enlistment and reenlistment regulations barred women from service if they had children under 14 or dependent children between 18 and 21. Men with children were eligible for enlistment and induction.

Fortunately, the members of the 78th Congress had omitted any provisions regarding marriage, pregnancy, maternity care, or detention for misconduct from PL 78–110. In consequence, Colonel Hobby was able to recommend that Army regulations covering these matters follow the policies that had been used successfully in the WAAC; the policies that had not been successful would be changed. Policies regarding dating and marriage reflected Army tradition, including the prohibition against officers and enlisted personnel mingling after duty hours. That prohibition affected dating and caused consternation worldwide, primarily because working conditions brought male officers and enlisted women together. However, with a permission slip from her superior officer, a WAC officer could socialize off duty with an enlisted husband or relative, and likewise, an enlisted woman could socialize with an officer husband or relative.

War Department policy on marriage as embodied in WAAC, WAC, and Army regulations did not change during the war. Marriage did not disqualify a woman from enlistment, nor did it provide a basis for requesting transfer or discharge. Obtaining a commander's permission to marry was not required by Army regulations, but a commander could require it by publishing a directive to that effect, usually in the company's Standing Operating Procedure. If marriage did occur, a woman was required to forward a change of name through command channels.

Commanders in the United States and overseas in the North African, Mediterranean, and Middle East theaters allowed military personnel to marry. In the European Theater, marriage was permitted, but, when it occurred, one spouse was immediately transferred to a distant station within the command or out of the theater. The purpose of the immediate transfer was to discourage hasty wartime marriages and pregnancies. In the Southwest Pacific Area and in the China-Burma-India Theater, marriage was not permitted unless the woman was pregnant. In such cases, the pregnant WAC was sent home at once and discharged.

Under auxiliary status, a woman, married or single, who became pregnant was promptly separated from the service and given an honorable

discharge.[12] When the Corps became part of the Army, the War Department found it had no authority to discharge personnel for pregnancy. Legislation for the traditional all-male Army provided many grounds for discharge—minority, dependency or hardship, bad conduct, mental disability, medical disability, unfitness, and inaptitude, as well as expiration of time in service (ETS)—none of which in a traditional interpretation covered pregnancy. The Army, however, resolved the problem by including pregnancy as a cause for a medical discharge.

Thus, WACs who became pregnant could be legally discharged. If a woman became pregnant overseas, she was evacuated by air to the United States. If birth occurred before a woman could be discharged for medical disability, she was discharged on the grounds of dependency of a minor child. If the child were stillborn, the woman was discharged for "the convenience of the government." An illegal abortion, however, resulted in a dishonorable discharge for bad conduct. From 1942 through 1945, the WAAC/WAC pregnancy rate was 7 per 1,000 per month; the rate for civilian women in similar age groups for the same period was 117 per 1,000.

Maternity care was not authorized for WACs after discharge unless they were married to military men—as dependents they received full medical care. WAC commanders assisted unmarried pregnant women in finding social agencies that provided prenatal and postnatal care in return for light work. Few unmarried women went back to their hometowns if they were pregnant. In May 1944, after trying for several years to obtain help for these women, Colonel Hobby finally convinced the War Department to provide care in Army hospitals for both married and single women discharged because of pregnancy.

In these matters, the WAC reflected Army tradition and regulations and American social custom, as it also did in racial matters. In 1940, the War Department had established a policy of accepting black inductees under a quota that approximated the black proportion of the national population—10 percent. The Selective Service Act of the same year prohibited discrimination based on race or color. Black men and women responded through patriotism and through the encouragement of black leaders who saw in the armed forces a chance to bring about change in the deep-rooted racial practices of segregation and discrimination. The Army had argued that it could not undertake a program for such a major social change while it was in the midst of a war. In consequence, since "official policy permitted separate draft calls and the officially held definition of discrimination neatly excluded segregation—and both went unchallenged in the courts," the Army continued throughout the war to segregate enlisted blacks and whites in basic training units and in housing. The Army's training policy, however, provided that blacks and whites

[12] WAAC Circular (Cir) 17, 29 Dec 42, CMH Library.

WAC OFFICER CANDIDATE CLASS NO. 50 GRADUATES, *20 May 1944, Third WAC Training Center, Fort Oglethorpe.*

would train together in officer candidate schools (beginning in 1942) and in specialist and technical training schools (beginning in 1943). Basic training remained segregated; the Army feared that mixing the races immediately upon entering the service would lead to racial conflict.[13]

The WAAC and the WAC followed the Army's racial policies, but adapted those policies to meet their requirements. When the first WAAC OCS class of 440 women arrived at Fort Des Moines in July 1942, it included 40 black candidates. These women and those in several more classes received their training in segregated facilities until pressure from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) forced a reversal of this practice in November 1942. Housing and messing facilities for WAAC officers and service club facilities were also desegregated at this time. But the Corps continued to segregate basic training for enlisted women and to assign them to segregated units in the

[13] Morris J. MacGregor, Jr., *Integration of the Armed Forces, 1940–1965*, Defense Studies Series (Washington, DC: GPO, 1981), pp. 17–18.

WAC DRIVER, *Fort Oglethorpe, 1944.*

field; black units in the field and at the Corps' training centers were commanded by black commissioned and noncommissioned officers. Black women, however, trained and served in the same military occupational specialties (MOSs) as white women. When attending specialist schools, black and white women trained and lived together. And, since only one women's unit was usually authorized at most Army posts, if the unit were white and a woman arriving for training at a school on that post were black, or vice versa, all the women—black and white—lived together in the same unit.

During the war, recruitment of black women lagged considerably below the 10 percent desired by the War Department. A total of 6,527 black women enlisted in the WAAC/WAC between 1 July 1942 and 30 June 1945—5.1 percent of the Corps' enlisted accessions.[14]

Assignment and Utilization

After conversion to Army status, WACs continued to be assigned under the bulk allotment system instituted in May 1943 for noncombatant

[14] Treadwell, *Women's Army Corps*, Appendix A, Table II, "Strength of Negro Personnel in the Women's Army Corps: 1943–1946"; Press Release, WAC Group, Bur of Public Relations, Washington, DC, Nov 45, author's file, CMH.

units. Under that system, a commander received a quota of WAC spaces by grade; he then submitted requisitions to obtain WACs with particular skills. However, commanders could no longer get away with assigning the women to unauthorized positions as some had done while the women were in the auxiliary: if the women were not part of the Army, so the reasoning went, they could not be charged against authorized spaces. Because of the WACs' Army status, commanders had to account for the women and ensure that they filled authorized positions on manning documents—the documents which describe the military positions (by grade, position title, military occupational specialty, and branch) in every installation, activity, and unit in the Army. After May 1943, a manning document for a noncombat (sometimes called an overhead) unit was referred to as a table of allotment (TA) or, later, a table of distribution (TD); a manning document for a combat or combat-related unit was called a table of organization (TO).

Colonel Hobby placed few restrictions on the jobs women could hold. WAC regulations allowed a woman to fill, at a fixed location, any authorized military position that she was physically fit to perform. Wartime manpower shortages required that women be allowed to do more than serve in such positions as typists, clerks, and drivers. WACs began to put civilian-acquired skills, such as in mathematics and communications, to work for the Army. They received more training and moved into new occupational specialties; they became mechanics, weather observers, radio operators, intelligence analysts, photographers, carpenters, painters, parachute riggers, postal workers, and heavy equipment operators.

Commanders not only had to provide suitable housing (e.g., separate barracks) and working conditions (e.g., separate toilet facilities in work places), they had to show considerable need because WACs were only assigned in detachments of fifty or more under the command of a WAC officer. The WACs could not be assigned as cooks, waitresses, permanent KP, or janitors in an Army club or cafeteria; those nonmilitary jobs were reserved for local civilian labor forces. And because Colonel Hobby did not want members of the Corps associated with frivolous, nonmilitary duties, WACs could participate in talent shows or plays intended for military audiences, but not in shows scheduled to be shown to the general public, such as recruiting shows and war bond rallies. This restriction also applied to the five WAC bands located at the WAC training centers and at ports of embarkation.

Acceptance and reception of WACs differed from command to command. The surgeon general of the Army requisitioned few WAACs or WACs early in the war. But in mid-1944, as shortages developed in the Army's medical facilities, the Medical Department asked for 50,000 WACs to be trained and assigned to care and treatment installations around the world. Though this request was impossible to fill, a major

recruiting campaign in late 1944 and early 1945 succeeded in increasing the strength of enlisted women in the medical field to 20,000 by the end of the war—about 20 percent of WAC strength. WACs served the medical staff primarily as medical technicians and office clerks.

Of the major Army commands, the Army Air Forces (AAF) welcomed the assignment of WAACs and WACs most enthusiastically. General Henry R. (Hap) Arnold took advantage of every opportunity to use WAAC/WAC officers and enlisted women in a wide variety of positions at airfields, depots, and schools. And, in 1943, as the anti-WAC slander campaign swept through the service and into the civilian sector, he directed his field commanders to take prompt disciplinary action against any man who participated in or encouraged the gossip or jokes. As a result, the WACs appreciated the AAF, and approximately 34,000 (35 percent of total WAC strength) served in that command. They came to be known as Air WACs, and, for the most part, they initially filled clerical and medical specialist positions.[15] Toward the end of the war, however, when the AAF could not recruit enough men who scored in the higher intelligence categories on the AGCT, the command placed women in its many technical specialties—control tower operator, link trainer instructor, aerial photographer, weather observer, radio operator, mechanic. While no Air WACs piloted planes, a few served during training and administrative missions as air crew members, radio operators, mechanics, or flight clerks. Three were awarded the Air Medal, one posthumously.

The Army Ground Forces (AGF) utilized the fewest number of WACs during World War II—only 2,000, or about 2 percent of the Corps strength. While most AGF units had combat missions, a few WACs were assigned as stenographers, typists, drivers, mechanics, or supply specialists at Ground Forces schools, training centers, or supply depots. This command, however, did conduct one of the few combat-related experiments involving women. In January 1943, approximately 10 WAAC officers and 200 enlisted women replaced men in several batteries of an antiaircraft artillery (AAA) battalion located in the Washington, D.C., area. The women received on-the-job training in all gun crew duties except firing the 90-mm. antiaircraft gun; their noncombat status precluded firing training. At the conclusion of the experiment, the AAA commander reported that the women were highly capable and efficient, particularly in operating the radar, calculating height and direction of enemy aircraft, and controlling searchlights. Despite such positive results, the chief of staff decided that, overall, women could best be employed in administrative and logistical duties rather than in combat support positions.

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[15] Strength percentages here and elsewhere in this chapter are from *Strength of the Army Report (STM-30), 30 Jun 45.*

WAACs OF THE 149TH POST HEADQUARTERS COMPANY *readdressing mail, North Africa, 1943.*

The Army Service Forces (ASF) employed the highest number of WACs, over 45 percent of the Corps' total strength.[16] WACs served throughout the large service commands that managed ASF matters in specific geographical areas of the United States and in the technical and administrative services (Signal Corps, Ordnance Corps, Quartermaster Corps, etc.). Each of these service commands and technical and administrative services had a WAC staff director. WAC personnel, officer and enlisted, worked in communications, administration, personnel, research and development, supply and logistical operations, transportation management, military intelligence, and military pay operations. A few enlisted women were employed in chaplains' activities and as military policewomen at the WAC training centers, and several WAC units were assigned to the Manhattan Project—the development of the atomic bomb. The units stationed at Oak Ridge, Tennessee; Los Alamos, New Mexico; and Pasco, Washington, received the Army's Meritorious Unit Commendation. Most WACs in the ASF, however, had more everyday assignments. To support the wartime Army scattered around the world, they performed a myriad of services, such as forwarding and censoring mail and processing personnel and freight through port facilities.

[16] WACs in training, transit, patient, or student status made up the remaining 18 percent.

As already noted, overseas duty had begun while the women were still in auxiliary status. In December 1942, five WAAC captains had arrived in North Africa after their troopship had been torpedoed and sunk by a German submarine. The following month, January 1943, after an uneventful crossing, the 200 women (10 officers, 190 enlisted) of the 149th WAAC Post Headquarters Company had also arrived in North Africa and had taken up duties at General Eisenhower's theater headquarters. The unit furnished the operators for the headquarters switchboard, clerks and typists for the postal directory service, and stenographers and drivers for the commanding general and his staff.

With the spring, new contingents of WAACs began arriving monthly for duty with Fifth Army headquarters in Morocco and Twelfth Air Force headquarters in Algeria. By the fall, the WAAC had become the WAC, and when the Fifth Army, commanded by Lt. Gen. Mark Clark, invaded Italy, a sixty-member WAC platoon went with it. Half the platoon joined General Clark's advance headquarters that followed closely behind the combat troops moving up the Italian peninsula. Usually 12 to 35 miles behind the fighting lines, but sometimes as close as 5 miles, the WACs acquitted themselves well and turned down offers for rotation to the rear. And while General Clark appreciated their work and later requested that the platoon accompany him during the occupation of Austria, the WAC staff director in the theater pointed out the obvious drawback under the existing regulations: the headquarters had to give up an armed soldier for every woman assigned.[17]

The summer and fall of 1943 also saw WACs taking up duties in England, at various AAF stations, and in India, at Southeast Asia Command headquarters. As the months went by, the number of WACs employed increased. In England, the initial battalion (19 officers and 555 enlisted women) had arrived in July. Others soon followed and were assigned to the expanding number of headquarters: Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force; European Theater of Operations; Strategic Air Forces; Eighth Air Force; Ninth Air Force; Allied Expeditionary Air Forces; 8th Fighter Command; and the 9th Bomber Command. As in North Africa and elsewhere, the women worked primarily as clerk-typists, stenographers, drivers, supply specialists, postal clerks, and switchboard and teletype operators. By D-Day, 6 June 1944, WAC strength in England was 3,600. In mid-July, WAC units began crossing to France with the support and service troops, and at the end of August, they moved into Paris with the support headquarters.

On the other side of the world, the first contingent of WACs (sixty officers and enlisted women) had reported for administrative and communications duties at the headquarters of the Allied Commander, Southeast

[17] Treadwell, *Women's Army Corps*, p. 368.

Asia Command, in New Delhi, India, in October 1943. Six months later, the entire command moved to Ceylon, where it remained until after the Japanese surrender in 1945. By the time of that move to Ceylon, however, other WAC units had arrived in India for service at that headquarters and elsewhere in the China-Burma-India Theater. As in other theaters, WACs were particularly welcomed by the Army Air Forces, where, as discussed earlier, they were employed not only as stenographers, typists, drivers, and communications specialists, but also as mechanics and other technical specialists.

In November 1944, the War Department separated the China Theater from the China-Burma-India Theater. One hundred WACs were detached from duty in Ceylon and assigned to the new headquarters of U.S. Forces in China at Chungking. After the Japanese surrender, the unit moved to Shanghai and then to Nanking and Peking for further service before returning to the United States.

To the south, WACs had arrived in Australia to take up duties in the Southwest Pacific Area in May 1944. Of the initial contingent of 640, approximately 100 were assigned to General Douglas MacArthur s headquarters in Brisbane. The others moved on to Port Moresby, New Guinea. That spring and summer Allied forces occupied the north coast, then moved against the enemy on Morotai, in the Palaus, and, in October, in the Philippines. WACs were assigned to supply and support facilities at Oro Bay, Lae, Finschhafen, and Hollandia in New Guinea and at Tacloban on Leyte. By the end of 1944, over 4,700 enlisted women and 330 WAC officers were assigned to the Southwest Pacific Area. With the new year, 1945, more WACs were assigned. In February, a WAC detachment was assigned to Biak, New Guinea, and, on 7 March, three days after the city was cleared of Japanese, the first WACs arrived in Manila.

WACs assigned to the Southwest Pacific endured greater hardships than other members of the Corps during World War II. Uniform supply was slow and irregular, and the herringbone twill fabric of the WAC coverall had not been designed for use in the tropics. Men's cotton khaki shirts, trousers, and coveralls were substituted, but as both men and women discovered, no uniform gave much protection against the weather, insects, and diseases. Canned and dehydrated food or field (K) rations were standard diet; most consumers sustained a steady loss of weight. Housing ranged from the best, at Port Moresby, with wooden barracks, cement floors, outside showers and toilets, to the worst, on Leyte, with mud-floored tents and no laundry facilities. For protection, the compounds were surrounded by barbed wire and the women were guarded to and from their work place.

The End of the War

Disregarding such comparative hardships, by V-E Day, 8 May 1945, 99,388 women had joined the Women's Army Corps. But that figure also represented the Corps' World War II peak. Despite campaign after campaign, the WAC Recruiting Service had been unable to bring the Corps' strength up to the desired 150,000. The reasons for the shortfall were numerous, but the primary causes remained the same—continuous male opposition to women in uniform; the "slander campaign," which had been rooted in that opposition; and, in the face of labor shortages, competition from industry and from the other women's military services.

Regardless of the reasons, recruitment was off, and three of the five training centers had been closed before the end of 1943. However, women could be assigned in 406 of the Army's 628 military occupational specialties; even without those jobs deemed unsuitable—jobs requiring combat training, great physical strength, long training courses, or supervisory duties—women could fill over 1.3 million Army jobs. Therefore, the General Staff had suggested on several occasions that women be registered or drafted for the WAC and the Army Nurse Corps. Colonel Hobby had favored drafting women as she "was convinced that the new quota [150,000 women] could not be filled by voluntary recruiting."[18] Gallup polls conducted in October and December 1943 had shown that the majority (73 and 78 percent respectively) of the general public also favored the idea, albeit in a limited way—drafting single women before fathers.[19] Congress, however, had rejected such proposals.

In any event, with the war in Europe over and the war in the Pacific obviously coming to an end, the War Department halted the recruitment of women, effective 29 August 1945. The WAC training center at Fort Oglethorpe closed before that date, on 15 July; the last training center, the one at Fort Des Moines, closed on 15 December.[20]

In July, Colonel Hobby, who had been proposed for promotion to brigadier general, had resigned because of illness in the family. Her executive ability and perseverance had enabled her to organize and administer the Corps despite the legal obstacles and organizational and societal prejudices that had besieged it. The original auxiliary status of the Corps had created many of the obstacles—legal and administrative—and had neither made the presence of women in the Army more acceptable to the men in the Army nor made the Corps more prestigious. Creation of the Women's Army Corps as a part of the Army Organized Reserve instead of as an auxiliary corps might have eliminated many of the problems and helped resolve the others.

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[18] Ibid., p. 85.
[19] Ibid., p. 247.
[20] Ibid., pp. 658, 699.

Colonel Hobby, however, had worked within the system and with her staff had managed to overcome many obstacles to build an efficient organization, one that had earned respect and recognition. By mid-1945, over 140,000 women had served in the Corps. Their commanders praised their performance of duty, deportment, and appearance in uniform. One woman had earned the Distinguished Service Medal; 62, the Legion of Merit; 565, the Bronze Star; 3, the Air Medal; 10, the Soldier's Medal for heroic actions (not involving combat); and 16, the Purple Heart.[21]

Colonel Hobby recommended that her deputy succeed her. On 12 July, General Marshall, accepting that recommendation, appointed Westray Battle Boyce to the position of director of the Women's Army Corps, with a promotion to colonel. Colonel Boyce, a native of North Carolina, had graduated from WAAC OCS, Class No. 3, in September 1942 and had served as WAAC staff director at 4th Service Command in Atlanta, Georgia, and as WAC staff director of the North African Theater before becoming Colonel Hobby's deputy in May 1945.

After assuming directorship of the Corps, Colonel Boyce initially carried on the plans and policies established by her mentor. Among these was Colonel Hobby's "unvarying conviction that the WAC should be disbanded as soon as possible after the war was over."[22] To accomplish that end, Colonel Boyce recommended that a separate demobilization plan be adopted for the WAC that would discharge women at the same rate as men. The War Department, however, directed that WACs be discharged under the same demobilization plan as men—WACs would thus probably not be demobilized at the same rate because they had fewer demobilization points. And, while most of the senior WAC officers stationed in the United States agreed with Colonel Boyce's view, other WAC officers, particularly those overseas, favored the War Department solution. They wanted women held on duty as long as possible so that a plan to include the WAC in the postwar Army, both the Regular Army and the Reserve, could be considered.

Demobilization

On V-J Day, 2 September 1945, the Women's Army Corps boasted a membership of 90,779. That morning brought with it a heady sense of change to WACs at work throughout the United States and overseas from Calcutta to London. Not only was World War II ending, but the news media had forecast that the number of Adjusted Service Rating (ASR) points needed for demobilization would be lowered immediately after the surrender in Tokyo Bay. To the many servicewomen looking

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[21] Ibid., Appendix A, Table 8, p. 774; TAGO, WAC Awards and Decorations, 30 Jun 47, dist. by WD Bur of Public Relations, ODWAC Ref File, Awards and Decorations, CMH.

[22] Treadwell, *Women's Army Corps*, p. 726.

forward to going home, this was good news. To those who had found Army life more interesting, mobile, and satisfying than the civilian careers they had left behind, it aroused concern. Was there an alternative to going home—to leaving their Army jobs and friends? Had any Army leader, WAC or non-WAC, recommended that the WAC be continued?[23]

In point of fact, the Reserve Policy Committee of the War Department had recommended, in May, that women be given reserve status in the postwar Army; Army leaders had commended WAC performance in the field; and, later that fall, Lt. Gen. Ira C. Eaker, who had commanded the Eighth and Ninth Air Forces in Europe before becoming deputy commander of the Army Air Forces, would recommend that the WAC "be retained as part of the postwar military plans." General Eaker based his recommendation on the WACs' performance during the war. Other male Army leaders also praised WAC performance. General Eisenhower wrote, "During the time I have had WACs under my command they have met every test and task assigned to them. . . . Their contributions in efficiency, skill, spirit, and determination are immeasurable." General MacArthur, in complimenting their effectiveness and efficiency to Colonel Boyce, called the WACs "my best soldiers" because they worked harder than the men, seldom complained, and were well-disciplined troops.[24]

But other Army leaders, including Colonel Hobby and Colonel Boyce, while cognizant of the WACs' contributions, urged quick demobilization. Colonel Hobby believed that Americans wanted their servicewomen returned home promptly to reknit family life. She also recognized that WACs had to return quickly to begin searching for jobs because they had no reemployment rights and that Congress had shown its intention to discontinue the WAC by not providing it with a peacetime military status.[25]

Demobilization had begun after V–E Day. Discharge was based on the total number of ASR points accrued—for months served in the United States and overseas, for participation in combat, for decorations received for gallantry, and for number of minor children. Between V–E Day and V–J Day, enlisted men required 85 points for discharge; enlisted women, 44. A critical score, the number needed for discharge, was not established for officers until V–J Day.

Despite the lower critical score, the method of accruing points slowed demobilization for WACs. The laws and regulations governing the Corps eliminated, for all practical purposes, three sources of points—participation in combat, decorations for gallantry, and number of minor children.

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[23] "Talk of Cuts in Points," *Stars and Stripes* (Germany edition), 29 Aug 45, p. 1; "Enlistments in WAC Discontinued," *Army-Navy Register*, 1 Sep 45, p. 22.

[24] Treadwell, *Women's Army Corps*, pp. 408, 460.

[25] Ibid., p. 726.

And since only one-fifth of the WACs had served overseas by V–J Day, the primary source of points for WACs was service in the United States. Only one category of WACs was excepted from this point system. In late May 1945, in response to criticism, a joint Army-Navy policy agreement had given eligibility for discharge to all servicewomen married to veterans. By V–J Day approximately 2,000 WAC officers and enlisted women had been discharged to be with their veteran husbands.[26]

On the day after V–J Day, as the news media had predicted, the critical point score needed by enlisted personnel for discharge was lowered to 80 for men, 41 for women. On 16 November, it was announced that effective 1 December 1945 point scores would be further lowered and, for the first time, length of service became an alternative criterion for discharge for men. Enlisted men could be discharged with 55 points or four years of service; male officers, 73 points or four years and three months of service. An announcement on 19 December added a length of service alternative for WACs. Effective 31 December, enlisted men could be discharged with 50 points or three years and six months' service; male officers, 70 points or four years; enlisted women, 32 points or two years and six months; and WAC officers, 37 points or three years and three months. Army nurses and other Medical Department personnel were demobilized under a separate set of criteria covered by the War Department's Medical Department Readjustment Plan. In addition, all servicewomen who had married prior to 12 May 1945 (when demobilization began) could be discharged upon request to reestablish homes with their husbands. However, the need to maintain Army strength, not lower than 2.5 million in June 1946, was recognized, and commanders had the authority to retain some critically needed specialists for up to ninety days beyond their rotation or demobilization date—an authority that they exercised.[27]

Efforts to maintain the Army's strength met with little success. With the new year, 1946, General Eisenhower, who had replaced General Marshall as chief of staff, announced a slowdown in demobilization so that the Army could accomplish its occupation mission. Soldiers, parents, and congressmen reacted adversely. In cities around the world—Manila, Honolulu, New Delhi, Shanghai, Frankfurt, Paris, and London—soldiers gathered in mass meetings, shouted protests, lit bonfires, and marched through streets to show their discontent. In Manila, on 7 January 1946, 20,000 men participated in that day's protest. WACs, who needed fewer points for discharge than the men, did not join the demonstrations. The WAC staff director, Lt. Col. Mera Galloway, described the scene for

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[26] John C. Sparrow, *History of Personnel Demobilization in the U.S. Army*, DA Pam 20-210 (Washington, DC: 1954), pp. 350–52; *Strength of the Army Report* (STM-30), 30 Jun 46; WD Cir 187, 23 Jun 45, Sec IV, Joint Army-Navy Agreement, CMH Library.

[27] Sparrow, *History of Personnel Demobilization*, pp. 350–52.

Colonel Boyce: "Beginning last evening, there have been GI demonstrations . . . in protest to the War Department delay in not lowering point scores fast enough to utilize all the empty ships waiting in the harbor. . . . The demonstrations so far have been orderly but feeling is running high." [28]

The soldier demonstrations generated enough pressure to make the Army speed up demobilization. On 15 January, General Eisenhower announced that enlisted men with 45 points or thirty months' service would, by 30 April, be either demobilized or en route home. In July, the Army notified the WACs that, beginning in October, requests for discharge would be approved regardless of ASR score or length of service. On 31 December 1946, WAC strength was 9,655 officers and enlisted women.[29]

Meanwhile the National Civilian Advisory Committee on the WAC, established by General Marshall in September 1944, was working to assist the discharged WACs. After almost a year of work, in August 1945, they succeeded in obtaining the enactment of legislation giving reemployment rights to WACs.[30]

Postwar Planning

In May 1945, rather than waiting for another emergency, the Reserve Policy Committee in the War Department had officially recommended immediate legislation giving women reserve status. Colonel Hobby had given only faint approval to the plan calling for the retention of three women officers on active duty to help develop long-range plans for a women's reserve; all other officers would be placed on inactive status. And while enlisted women would not be admitted into the planned women's reserve, a Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) program was envisioned to provide replacements for the officers. Colonel Hobby had felt that an effective, extensive reserve program for women would be infeasible because so many women reservists would marry, have children, and thus be unable to serve on active duty when they were needed. Initially, Colonel Boyce had agreed with her; however, other officers in the G–1 persuaded her that enlisted women should also be included in the reserve. Agreeing that some women, both officers and enlisted personnel, should serve in the Organized Reserve Corps did not mean, however, that she had changed her mind about either the speedy demobilization of the WAC or its early and complete discontinuance.[31]

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[28] Ltr, LtCol Mera Galloway, WAC Dir, USAFPAC, to Col Boyce, 7 Jan 46, file 331.1, DWAC Staff Visits, Record Group (RG) 165, Modern Military Br, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Washington, DC.

[29] *Strength of the Army Report* (STM–30), 31 Mar 47.

[30] PL 709, 79th Cong, 1st sess, 9 Aug 1945; Treadwell, *Women's Army Corps*, p. 623.

[31] Memo, Reserve Policy Committee to DWAC, 9 Jun 45, with Incls, and Disposition Form (DF), Special Planning Division (SPD) to G–1, G–2, G–4, Operations and Plans Division (OPD), Executive

In mid-September, Colonel Boyce met with the WAC staff directors and senior officers at their annual conference. She set the tone of the meeting in her opening remarks: "*Ex bello pax*—out of war into peace—is our motto. . . . Let us put our very best effort into the writing of the last chapter of WAC history so that it may contain nothing but shining pages right through to the end." According to Colonel Boyce, even if legislation that included the WAC in the postwar Organized Reserve Corps were passed, the WAC enabling law (PL 78–110), which called for the discontinuance of the WAC six months after the president declared the war over, was still in force. She was, therefore, charged with carrying out the plans to discharge every WAC and to close the training centers and the director's office. She told the gathered officers that the conference would be one of their last and that their final mission was "the orderly demobilization of the Women's Army Corps." [32]

The remaining speakers reviewed the WAC's accomplishments, explained demobilization and separation center procedures, outlined services available under the Veterans Administration, described the benefits offered by the GI Bill, and discussed civilian readjustment difficulties and the availability of employment counseling after discharge.

To many officers, especially those from overseas theaters, the tone and agenda were depressing and perplexing. They knew the magnitude of the problems faced by U.S. Army occupation forces. They knew too that the British, French, and Russian governments were considering including their servicewomen in their postwar forces. In a question and answer period at the end of that first day of the conference, Colonel Boyce was asked if "any consideration had been given to the use of the WAC in the post-war period?" She replied that neither discussion nor action on the subject had been taken up in the General Staff. She then went on to say that plans about including women in the Organized Reserve were "under consideration." [33]

At the end of the session, Lt. Col. Anna Walker Wilson requested and obtained from Colonel Boyce, who was leaving on an inspection trip to the Southwest Pacific, permission to address the conference on the subject of WAC postwar planning. The former WAC staff director for the European Theater, assigned now as a plans officer in Headquarters, Army Ground Forces, was placed on the next day's agenda.

Lt. Col. Helen Hamilton Woods, Deputy Director, WAC, announced the change in the proceedings and then introduced the new speaker to a hushed and attentive audience. Colonel Wilson described the gallantry of

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for Reserve and ROTC Affairs, 29 Jun 45, sub: War Department Policy in Regard to Female Personnel in the Post War Organized Reserve Corps, file 326.2, Organized Reserve Corps, RG 165.

[32] Rpt, WAC Staff Directors Conf, Fort Des Moines, Iowa, 18–19 Sep 45, p. 7, WAC History Collection, WAC Museum, Fort McClellan, AL. Collection hereafter cited as History Collection, WAC Museum.

[33] Ibid., p. 36; Interv, LtCol Mary-Agnes Brown Groover with the author, 27 Apr 79.

British, French, and Russian women during the war and their efforts to be retained in their countries' defense forces. She then spoke of the trend to demobilize the WAC: "One of the things that bothers those of us returning from overseas is the realization that so many Americans have decided that we are through and it is time to pack up and go home." [34]

Because Colonel Wilson saw a future role for the WAC—in the demands of postwar occupation responsibilities and in the event of another national emergency—she saw a need to counteract that trend. She asked the officers at the session to encourage WACs leaving the service to take a message into their home communities: "We are the medium through which the knowledge and experience gained in the utilization of womanpower during this war can be preserved. We are also a nucleus, a framework around which total mobilization of womanpower can be effected in the next emergency." [35]

Once Colonel Wilson had raised the issue of a postwar WAC, the conference attendees became divided. Side conversations and heated discussions replaced the hushed, attentive audience—the WACs should go home; they should be included in the Organized Reserve, in the Regular Army, in both; they should continue as a separate corps; they should be integrated. The meeting was adjourned for lunch and later reconvened in closed session to keep out local reporters and casual visitors. The discussions threatened to take up the remainder of the conference. Colonel Woods finally decided the subject had been sufficiently aired and asked for a show-of-hands poll on the ideas covered in the discussions. How many would be interested in joining the Organized Reserve Corps after returning to civilian life? How many thought other WACs, both officer and enlisted, would be interested in joining the Reserve? How many would prefer assignment in one of the traditional branches; how many, a separate WAC branch? The majority indicated they would join the Reserve, thought other WACs would join the Reserve, and preferred one of the traditional Army branches to a WAC branch.[36]

The discussion at the September conference did not change the attitude in the Office of the Director, WAC. While Colonel Boyce was on her inspection trip in the Pacific area, Colonel Woods continued to press for speedy demobilization of women and for a date for the discontinuance of the WAC. When the new G-1 of the Army, Maj. Gen. Willard S. Paul, arrived at the Pentagon in late October, Colonel Woods sent him a memorandum recommending that 14 May 1946, the fourth anniversary of the WAC, be set as the target date for total demobilization of the Corps. She also requested he announce that reserve status would be offered to "all women who [had served] honorably in the Army during the war." [37]

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[34] Rpt, WAC Staff Directors Conf, 18–19 Sep 45, p. 68.
[35] Ibid., p. 69.
[36] Ibid., p. 79.
[37] Treadwell, *Women's Army Corps*, p. 732.

Meanwhile, Colonel Boyce continued her inspection trip—looking into WAC health, morale, and living conditions, and into possible abuse of the demobilization regulation allowing commanders to retain specialists past their demobilization date.[38] From the western Pacific, her inspection trip was extended to other areas. With her team, she visited WACs in Shanghai, China; Calcutta and Karachi, India; Cairo, Egypt; and Rome and Caserta, Italy. At Caserta, on 13 November, Colonel Boyce interrupted her trip and returned to Washington in response to a message from Colonel Woods. Members of her team completed the inspection trip as her representatives.[39]

The Struggle for Regular Army and Reserve Status

Colonel Woods had had sufficient cause to alert Colonel Boyce. President Truman had nominated General Eisenhower to succeed General Marshall as chief of staff; the Senate had confirmed the nomination; and General Eisenhower would occupy his new office on 19 November. Meanwhile he had notified General Paul that he wanted the question of the WAC in the postwar Army reconsidered and a plan prepared to include women in the Regular Army as well as in the Reserve. Following those instructions, the G–1 returned Colonel Woods' memorandum and told her he would present General Eisenhower's wishes to Colonel Boyce when she returned.

Colonel Boyce arrived back at the Pentagon on 19 November. General Paul returned to her the Reserve Policy Committee's plan and asked her to redo it, to come up with a detailed plan that put WACs into the Regular Army and the Organized Reserve Corps and that answered any questions that might arise.[40] On the 22d, Colonel Boyce called in the WAC staff directors and senior WAC officers in the Washington, D.C., area to assist with the revisions. The group devised four plans for legislation:

Plan A. Provided for Regular Army and Reserve status for WAC commissioned officers, warrant officers, and enlisted women.

Plan B. Provided for a Women's Reserve section in the Organized Reserve Corps for WAC commissioned officers, warrant officers, and enlisted women. WACs would not be admitted into the Regular Army.

Plan C. Provided for Regular Army and Reserve status for WAC commissioned and warrant officers only.

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[38] Ibid., pp. 456–57.

[39] Memo, DWAC to Chief of Staff (CofS), Army, 22 Mar 46, sub: Report of Visit to WAC Personnel in Overseas Theaters, file 333.1, Staff Visits, 1945, RG 165.

[40] Rpt, WAC Staff Directors Conf, 11 Jul 46, p. 7, History Collection, WAC Museum.

Plan D. Provided that WAC commissioned and warrant officers and a group of enlisted women (called "Auxiliary Specialists") would serve in the Regular Army and the Reserve.[41]

In early December, Colonel Boyce sent the study, with the recommendation that Plan A be approved, to the General Staff divisions; to the commanding generals of the Army Ground Forces, Army Air Forces, and Army Service Forces; to the chief of ROTC and reserve affairs; and to the head of the Legislative and Liaison Division of the War Department's Special Staff.[42]

A week later comments were returned; they showed that no unanimity existed. The G-2 (Intelligence), G-3 (Operations), and the commanding general of Army Service Forces rejected inclusion of WACs in the postwar Army—Regular or Reserve. The G-1 (Personnel), G-4 (Logistics), the ROTC and Reserve Affairs chief, and the commanding generals of the Army Ground Forces and the Army Air Forces recommended inclusion of WACs in the Regular Army and the Reserve. The Legislative and Liaison Division chief believed that Congress would go along with the inclusion of WACs in the Reserve.

Colonel Boyce weighed these opinions along with her own perceptions of women's role in the Army. Despite significant support for Plan A, she decided that Plan B, a WAC Reserve branch within the Organized Reserve Corps, was the more appropriate alternative. She wrote to General Paul that although "a small permanent corps of officers and enlisted women specialists would be the ideal plan, the time for the acceptance of it is not at hand."[43]

No further action was taken in 1945. In January 1946, when G-1 division chiefs were asked to comment on a proposed speech for General Eisenhower to deliver to Congress on the 15th, Colonel Boyce took the opportunity to suggest that the chief of staff announce that the WAC was scheduled to be disbanded on 14 May and request that Congress authorize women in the Reserve.[44] Neither General Paul nor General Eisenhower agreed with her suggestion.

On 17 January, however, General Paul testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Military Demobilization. He announced that the War Department would ask for legislation to include WACs in the postwar Army. He stated that "the war has shown that the utilization of women

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[41] ODWAC, Presentation of Four Plans for Inclusion of Women, Other than Those of the Medical Department, in the Post-War Military Establishment, Dec 45, History Collection, WAC Museum.

[42] Memo, DWAC to Commanding Generals (CGs) of the major commands (Maj Coms), Chiefs of the General Staff Division, Chief of Legislative and Liaison Div, Special Staff, and Chief of ROTC and Reserve Affairs, 4 Dec 45, sub: Attached File Concerning Inclusion of Female Personnel, Other than Medical Department Personnel, in the Postwar Military Establishment, file 326.2, Classified Legislation, RG 165.

[43] Memo, DWAC to G-1, 14 Dec 45, sub: Attached File Concerning Inclusion of Female Personnel in the Postwar Military Establishment, file 326.2, Classified Legislation, RG 165.

[44] Memo, DWAC to G-1, 14 Jan 46, file 370.01, Demobilization Jan-Dec 1946, RG 165.

in time of war is a necessary and accepted fact. . . . The War Department will soon ask Congress to consider a request for legislation to include the Army Nurse Corps, the Physical Therapy Corps, the Dietitians Corps, and the Women's Army Corps in the Regular Army and the Organized Reserve Corps." [45]

The announcement came as a complete surprise to Colonel Boyce. Although the Navy had been given advance notice of the move, she learned of it through a news release prepared at the Pentagon. General Paul had deliberately failed to coordinate the announcement with her. Colonel Boyce realized at last that War Department policy had been established on the subject.

On 5 February 1946, Chief of Staff Eisenhower charged the G–1 with the responsibility of preparing the plans and drafting the legislation to establish a Women's Army Corps in the Regular Army with concurrent Reserve Corps status. Both he and General Marshall had recognized the role women had established in the Army during World War II. The postwar introduction of women into the Regular Army stemmed from that recognition. The idea was not to provide equal opportunity for women or to set a precedent for society; it was to relieve as many men as possible from administrative jobs so that they would be available for combat.

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[45] Memo, Asst Chief of Staff (ACofS), G–1, to Under SecWar thru CofS, 15 Jan 46, sub: Future Utilization of Female Personnel in the Postwar Military Establishment, file 326.5, Organized Reserve Corps, RG 165.

CHAPTER II

Women in the Postwar Army

The six-month countdown to disbandment called for in the 1943 WAC legislation would not start until the president declared the war over. But, to stave off disbandment, supporters of regular and reserve status for women had to overcome much opposition. General Eisenhower's decision to seek both regular and reserve status for the Corps gave hope for the future.

The chief of staff's decision also brought with it the requirement to justify the request to Congress. The Army needed to show that a sufficient number of women were interested in remaining on active duty to carry out the missions of the proposed Corps. On 9 February 1946, four days after General Eisenhower's orders to the G-1, General Paul, to prepare plans and draft legislation, the War Department announced a major campaign to persuade active duty WACs, particularly those with specialist skills, to extend beyond their scheduled release dates and to encourage former WACs to reenlist. Reenlistment was open to honorably discharged women between twenty and fifty years of age who would volunteer to serve where needed for a specified period. To balance that campaign and to ensure that authorized positions awaited those who extended or reenlisted, the G-1 urged all major commanders to requisition WACs—both officer and enlisted—to fill their administrative, communications, and medical care vacancies.[1]

Reinforcing those efforts, fourteen specially selected and trained WAC officers traveled the United States to provide instruction and information on the retention and reenlistment programs and on the plan for women in the Regular Army and the Army Reserve. Between 22 February and 26 March they visited 105 Army posts. The recruitment offices of the service commands also helped. They advertised the programs in their news releases and radio announcements and on their posters.[2]

Under these programs, enlisted women could request either retention or reenlistment until 30 September 1946 or for the duration of the war plus six months. The September alternative was later replaced by "for

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[1] Msg, WARX 96587 to Maj Coms, 9 Feb 46; Ltrs, WD TAGO to Maj Coms, 9 and 27 Feb 46, sub: WAC Volunteer Programs. Unless cited otherwise, retention and reenlistment documents referred to in this chapter are in file 342, Enlistment and Reenlistment 1946, RG 165.

[2] Memos, DWAC to G-1, 2 Feb 46, sub: WAC Volunteer Program, and DWAC to G-1, 8 Apr 46, sub: WAC Volunteer Program.

one year." And while provisions were made for former WACs then living in occupied areas to reenlist if they accepted a duty assignment with the occupation forces, women who had served only in the WAAC could not reenlist. Such former WAACs had no military status. Thus they would be enlisting for the first time, and the lack of WAC training centers precluded recruitment. During the summer, the enlisted ranks grew and the campaign was expanded to officers. Beginning in August, former WAC commissioned and warrant officers could apply for recall to extended active duty for 13, 18, or 24 months, or for an unlimited period.[3]

The timing of the retention and reenlistment programs contributed to their relative success. The exodus of soldiers from overseas commands to the United States for demobilization had caused extreme personnel shortages in those areas. The commanders, learning that WACs could be retained and reenlisted, promptly submitted requisitions for them. And because the most prized assignment for a WAC was one overseas, these requisitions provided the perfect incentive for extending or reenlisting.

The retention and reenlistment programs proved fairly successful. Announcements that promised assignment in the European or Pacific theaters were the most popular. In July 1946, the War Department asked major commanders to report on how many of the women in their commands had volunteered to remain after October 1946, when all WAC could be discharged regardless of length of service or number of demobilization points. Approximately 30 percent of the enlisted women had volunteered. In Europe, 80 percent of the WACs chose to remain on duty there for another year. Under the postwar programs, however, no enlisted women had yet been assigned to the Pacific or Caribbean commands.[4]

Director Boyce, despite her concurrence with the reentry/reenlistment program, found reason to be displeased with its development. She had to answer the complaints about numerous errors in WAC enlistment papers and the poor quality of some WAC reenlistees. To improve the basic program, she recommended to the G–1 that a WAC recruiting supervisor be assigned to each of the six Army area commands to screen applicants. General Paul disapproved the request as a waste of personnel and as an action that could only delay the processing of reenlistments.[5]

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[3] Msg, WCL 96566, WD TAGO to Maj Coms, 9 Feb 46; Radio Msg, WD TAGO to Maj Coms, 31 May 46, AGSE-P 342.06 (24 May 46); DF, G–1 to TAGO, Attn: MPPS, 23 May 46, sub: Reenlistment of WACs in European Theater; DF, DWAC to G–1 (Procurement Branch), 13 Sep 46, sub: Reenlistment in Pacific Theater; WD Press Release, 30 Aug 46, sub: Former WAC Officers May Request Recall on Active Duty.

[4] Msg, WCL 23019, TAGO to Maj Coms, 3 Jul 46; Memo, DWAC to Dir, Personnel and Administration (D/PAD), DA, 26 Sep 46, sub: Distribution of Enlisted WAC Strength During the Interim Period, file 370, Strength and Utilization, RG 165.

[5] Memos, ODWAC to G–1, 27 Sep 46, sub: WAC Reentry Program, and ODWAC to G–1, 2 Oct 46, sub: WAC Reentry Program, file 342, Reentry, RG 165.

In September 1945, however, with the help of the Surgeon General of the Army, Maj. Gen. Norman T. Kirk, Colonel Boyce established medical, psychiatric, and administrative screening boards for WACs at embarkation ports on the East and West coasts. Unfortunately, board members had no more success than recruiters in detecting poor candidates for overseas duty. Overseas commanders continued to complain that newly assigned women had emotional or marital problems, inadequate skills in their MOSs, and poor records of deportment. After a few months, General Kirk and Colonel Boyce agreed that the screening boards were useless and discontinued them. Nevertheless, Colonel Boyce did continue to exhort WAC detachment commanders and WAC staff officers to weed out the unsuitable and to be vigilant in ensuring that women of poor character and deportment did not remain in the Corps. She dreaded the possibility that the poor conduct of a few WACs might trigger another slander campaign.

The WAC was not alone in having trouble with the quality of personnel. The problem affected the entire Army. Men with poor performance and behavior records also remained or reenlisted in the Army. The situation forced the G–1 to initiate a quick discharge program. In October 1946, an administrative board was set up through which commanders could rid the Army of individuals who demonstrated an inability to do their jobs, absorb training, adjust to group living, or perform physically. The policy applied across the board—male, female, commissioned, warrant, or enlisted. "Our future Army has no room, repeat no room, for the inefficient, inept, and generally those who cannot, repeat cannot, conform to group living," the G–1 warned.[6]

In January 1947, Colonel Boyce issued new WAC reenlistment procedures and eligibility requirements. The minimum score allowed on the Army General Classification Test was raised. WAC detachment commanders were required to certify that the conduct and efficiency of their enlisted women were excellent.[7] And reenlistees had to spend three months on assignment in the United States before becoming eligible for duty overseas.

Between February 1946 and October 1947, the reentry program, the sole source of WAC enlisted accessions, reenlisted 4,570 women. When reenlistments dwindled to almost nothing, the program was discontinued. But, despite complaints from WAC and male commanders about the poor quality of reenlistees, the program helped to keep the WAC alive during the period that the WAC bill struggled for passage in Congress.[8]

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[6] Msgs, TAG, WARX 83266, to Maj Coms, CONUS, 16 Oct 46, and TAG, WARX 833443, to Maj Coms, overseas, 18 Oct 46, file 321, Changes, RG 165.

[7] Ltr, TAGO (AGSE-P 342.06 WAC) (22 Jan 47), 27 Jan 47, sub: Reenlistments in the WAC; Memo, WD, 600-750-13, 3 Apr 47, sub: Reenlistments in the WAC; Ltr, TAGO (AGSE-P), 14 Apr 47, sub: Reenlistments in the WAC.

[8] Msg, TAGO 41950, to all Maj Coms, 11 Aug 47, sub: Termination of WAC AUS and Reentry Program, file 342, Reentry, RG 165.

Women in the Medical Department faced less resistance than did those in the WAC. In November 1945, Surgeon General Kirk had sent General Eisenhower a plan to gain congressional approval of regular and reserve status for women nurses and specialists. A new branch, the Women's Medical Service Corps, was developed to manage the specialists—dietitians, occupational therapists, and physical therapists. On 5 February 1946, Eisenhower approved the plan. General Kirk and Col. Florence A. Blanchfield, Chief, Army Nurse Corps, prepared a draft bill, which gained Army approval on 1 June. It was introduced in the 79th Congress too late in July to be passed before adjournment. In 1947, however, members of the 80th Congress combined the bill with one giving regular status to the women of the Navy Nurse Corps, and, on 16 April, the Act to Establish a Permanent Nurse Corps of the Army and Navy and to Establish a Women's Medical Specialists Corps in the Army, known popularly as the Army-Navy Nurses Act of 1947, became Public Law 80-36.[9]

The Department of the Navy had also gone ahead with its own postwar plans for servicewomen other than medical personnel. In March 1946, at the request of Secretary of the Navy James V. Forrestal, Carl Vinson, chairman of the House Naval Affairs Committee, introduced legislation (H.R. 5915) to create women's reserve groups in the Naval Reserve and the Marine Corps Reserve as well as provide for women's limited peacetime active duty. These were to be permanent groups that would replace the wartime reserve organizations scheduled to go out of existence when President Truman officially declared the war to be at an end. The Naval Affairs Committee reported the bill out favorably on 10 May, but Congress adjourned on 2 August without taking final action on it. During the fall and winter, the bill was rewritten. Admiral Louis E. Denfeld, the Chief of Naval Operations (CNO), eliminated the bill's provision for separate groups for women. Instead, he directed that women be included not only in the Naval Reserve and Marine Corps Reserve, but also in the Regular Navy and Marine Corps. The commandant of the Marine Corps, General Alexander A. Vandegrift, at first opposed such proposed legislation because he did not want women counted against the Marine Corps' already low authorized strength; it was, however, widely suspected that he did not want women in the postwar Marine Corps—women might weaken the Corps' combat image. Nonetheless, before the revised bill went to the 80th Congress in 1947, he withdrew his objections so that the Navy and Marine Corps could present a unified program. The third wartime women's naval service organization, the SPARS, was not included in this draft bill because, with

[9] Pauline Maxwell (LtCol, ANC, Ret), "The History of the Army Nurse Corps, 1901-1947," unpublished ms, pp. 324-66, CMH; PL 36, 80th Cong, 1st sess, 16 Apr 47.

the end of the war, the Coast Guard reverted to the Treasury Department.[10]

Architects of the WAC Bill

In February 1946, after receiving General Eisenhower's directions on seeking both regular and reserve status for women, the G-1, General Paul, had summoned a young infantry officer, Lt. Col. Allan L. Leonard, Jr., from the Plans Branch. "Ike says we have to have a permanent WAC, Leonard; I'd like you to come up with a plan and a bill within the next ten days. The entire resources of the War Department are at your disposal." General Paul had gone on to explain that two WAC officers were to be temporarily assigned to the G-1 office to help prepare the plan and the draft legislation. The two officers were experienced and knowledgeable: Lt. Col. Emily C. Davis, WAC Staff Director, Headquarters, Army Ground Forces, and Lt. Col. Mary A. Hallaren, WAC Staff Director, Headquarters, U.S. Forces, European Theater.[11]

The three planners began their work in mid-February, assisted by a group of part-time consultants from the General and Special Staff divisions and the major commands.[12] On 25 February, they presented "A Tentative Plan and Proposed Bill on Establishing the Women's Army Corps in the Regular Army and Organized Reserve" to General Paul. He accepted it and sent it to the chiefs of the Army General Staff divisions and the commanders of the major commands for their comments or concurrence.

While the plan was being reviewed by the War Department staff, the consultants' group was enlarged, although the group's members continued to serve part-time. Lt. Col. Mary Louise Milligan, assigned to the G-1's office in February 1946, became a consultant/planner.[13] She, Lt. Col. Kathleen McClure, also from G-1, and Colonel Davis, of the original planning group, became joint coordinators for the project. The expanded consultants' group speedily gathered supporting data and prepared reports

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[10] "Permanent Basis for WAVES," *The Army and Navy Register*, 30 Mar 46, p. 16; "Peacetime Plans for WAVES," *The Army and Navy Register*, 7 Sep 46, p. 9; Mary V. Stremlow (Col, USMCR), *A History of the Women Marines, 1946-1977* (Washington, DC: HQ USMC, 1986), pp. 15-16; Mary C. Lynne and Kay Arthur, *Three Years Behind the Mast* (Washington, DC: privately published, 1946), p. 122.

[11] Ltr, BrigGen Allan L. Leonard, Jr., USA Ret, to author, 6 Dec 74, author's file, CMH.

[12] Rpt, Meeting of the Planning Group for the WAC in the Regular Army, 25 Feb 46, file 032, Legislation 1946-1949, RG 165, lists the consultants: LtCol John F. Cassidy; LtCol James C. Herberg, Legislative Br, ACofS, G-1; LtCol Elizabeth H. Strayhorn, Plans Br, AGF; LtCol Dorothea A. Coleman, WAC Staff Dir, MDW; LtCol Kathleen McClure, Policy Group, ACofS, G-1; Maj Selma Herbert and Maj Jere Knight, ODWAC; Maj Elizabeth C. Smith, Training Div, HQ, ASF; and Maj Elizabeth E. Hardesty, HQ, AAF.

[13] File 032, Preparation of WAC IN FACT for Presentation to Congress, RG 165. Also added to the group were Majs Marion Lichty, Dorothy Harms, and Irene Sorrough; Capt Katherine Stull; Lts Edith Ayers and Elizabeth Hatch; and WO Irene Scott.

LT. COL. MARY LOUISE MILLIGAN *receives the Legion of Merit from Maj. Gen. Willard S. Paul, Director of Personnel and Administration, the Pentagon, 1946.*

on subjects that might arise during congressional hearings in the hope that the proposed legislation could be sent to Congress and be passed before summer adjournment. They also wrote the regulations, plans, and policies that would be needed to implement the legislation if it became law.

Also in February 1946, Deputy Director Helen Hamilton Woods requested release from active duty. Regretting the loss of this diligent worker and loyal supporter, Colonel Boyce sent General Paul a list of her preferences for a replacement. Weeks, however, passed without the G-1's decision. The matter was finally settled in mid-April. Lt. Col. Mary A. Hallaren was recalled from Europe, and on 20 June she took up her duties as deputy director of the WAC.[14]

[14] Lieutenant colonels eligible for the position were Dorothea A. Coleman, Emily C. Davis, Mera Galloway, Katherine R. Goodwin, Mary A. Hallaren, Geraldine P. May, Kathleen McClure, Mary Louise Milligan, and Elizabeth H. Strayhorn. Memo, ODWAC to Executive Officer, G-1, WDGS, 15 Apr 46, file 320, Organization of the Office of the Director WAC, RG 165.

Throughout the spring of 1946, the Army staff and major commanders reviewed the proposed WAC legislation. The reviewers rejected one change requested by Colonel Boyce. In March, she had recommended that a sentence be added to the proposed bill to give women military credit for time they had spent in the WAAC. She did not ask for back pay for these women, only that WAAC time be counted as "active Army service" for promotions and retirement. Two years earlier, in 1944, Army nurses, dietitians, and therapists had been given military credit for the months they had spent as civilians under contract to the Army, or as reserve nurses under contract to the Army, or as reserve nurses under the American Red Cross. This action stood as a precedent for Colonel Boyce's recommendation. Colonel Hobby, too, had asked the War Department to credit WAAC service, but her request had been refused on the grounds that it would set a precedent for paramilitary groups such as the Civil Air Patrol and the Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASP). Now Colonel Boyce's request was disapproved for the same reason. The chief of the Legislative Branch wrote, "Since the days of the War between the States, the War Department with the support of Congress has had to safeguard against the 'watering down' of the groups held eligible for military or veterans benefits." [15]

At the end of May 1946, the G-1 did not have a unanimous staff position to present to Chief of Staff Eisenhower. The G-2, the chief of the Special Planning Division, and the commanding general of Army Service Forces still opposed regular and reserve status for WACs even though they approved of such status for nurses, dietitians, and therapists. General Paul could exert no more effort in trying to obtain a consolidated position; Congress needed the time if it was to consider the bill before adjourning. He sent the plan and the bill to General Eisenhower with his recommendation that the minority objections be ignored and that the action be approved for implementation. Eisenhower called for a briefing on 1 June; Paul selected Colonel Boyce to present it. His gesture was a compliment to her, as well as recognition of the support she had given to a measure she had once opposed.

Colonel Boyce summarized the results of the preceding months' work. The proposed WAC Integration Act of 1946 provided for a separate women's corps in the Regular Army whose officer, warrant, and enlisted strength could not exceed 2 percent of the men's strength in each equivalent category. Women appointed to the Regular Army could not be permanently assigned to another branch of the Army. They were not restricted to noncombat duty, but existing and proposed regulations en-

[15] Memos, DWAC to ACofS, G-1, 25 Mar 46, sub: Recognition of Service in the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps for All Purposes, and Chief, Legislative Br, ACofS, G-1, to G-1, 4 Apr 46, sub: Recognition of Service in the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps for All Purposes (approved by Gen Paul, 4 Apr 46), file 324.5, Legislation, RG 165; Memo, DWAC to G-1, 26 Feb 44, sub: Proposed Legislation Relative to WAC, file 314, Legislation, RG 165.

sured that no WAC, officer or enlisted, would be assigned to duties requiring combat training or experience; WACs could be temporarily assigned to any branch except Infantry, Armor, or Artillery. WAC officers had to be at least twenty-one years old at the time of appointment and, except for the director, could not be promoted above the grade of lieutenant colonel; the number of permanent lieutenant colonels was limited to 10 percent of the Corps' total officer strength. The director would be a temporary colonel while serving in that position. WAC officers would have their own eligibility lists for temporary and permanent promotions; thus the women would not take promotions away from men or compete with them.

Women could enlist in the WAC at age eighteen with both parents' consent, or at twenty-one without it. Enlisted grades were not restricted, and enlisted women would compete with men for promotion.

Women who had reached age twenty-one could be appointed as warrant officers in the WAC, Regular Army. Because warrant officers were not assigned to branches as commissioned officers were, the women's assignments, like the men's, would be controlled by their MOS and the branch that monitored it. These women had no separate promotion list and would compete for promotion with men in their MOS.

Two provisions applied to all WACs. A servicewoman's husband and children would not be classified as dependents unless she could prove that they depended upon her for more than 50 percent of their support. A woman could not be placed in a position commanding men unless it were authorized by the War Department.

WACs, officer or enlisted, would be appointed and enlisted in the appropriate Organized Reserve Corps (ORC) on the same basis as men, except that they could not serve in positions requiring combat duty. They would enter the reserve through the WAC Section, ORC. As in the Regular Army, with the exception of former WAC directors who could be appointed to colonel, officers could not be promoted above lieutenant colonel, nor could these officers command men unless authorized by the War Department. Dependency allowances were not a factor—no such allowances were paid to reservists, male or female.

At the conclusion of Colonel Boyce's briefing, General Eisenhower directed that the proposed legislation be forwarded, in turn, to the Bureau of the Budget and to the Congress. At the same time, the draft legislation for women in the Army Medical Department was also approved and forwarded.[16]

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[16] Summary Sheet (SS), ACofS, G-1 to CofS and SecWar, 28 May 46, sub: Proposed Report—To Establish the Women's Army Corps in the Regular Army and in the Officers Reserve Corps and in the Enlisted Reserve Corps and for Other Purposes, and MFR, LtCol Kathleen McClure, Plans Br, ACofS, G-1, sub: Notes used by Col Boyce in Presenting the WAC RA Bill to the Chief of Staff on 1 Jun 47, file 320, Legislation for a Permanent WAC 1946, RG 165.

The WAC Integration Act of 1946 was introduced in the Senate on 25 July and in the House on the 26th. Referred to the cognizant committee in each chamber, the bill died when Congress voted to adjourn on 2 August, before either the House or Senate committee had held hearings. Because it died in committee, it would have to be reintroduced as a new measure when the 80th Congress convened in January 1947. This outcome was a disappointment, but not a surprise—the 79th Congress had received the bill the week before an adjournment that began the first vacation of the Congress since the beginning of hostilities in 1939.

A time of major change ensued for the country, the Congress, and the armed forces. Unemployment increased as soldiers became civilians; strikes plagued the steel, automobile, and coal industries; and, in the election of November 1946, voters gave the Republicans control of Congress for the first time since 1930. In the 80th Congress, the lawmakers reorganized by consolidating and reducing the number of standing committees. In each chamber, the separate Military and Naval Affairs committees merged and were renamed the Armed Services Committee.

Postwar reorganization of the War Department had also begun. The General Staff divisions became directorates, and the personnel received new titles. For example, the assistant chief of staff for personnel, G–1, became the director of personnel and administration (D/PAD) on 10 June 1946. The Army Service Forces command was abolished along with its nine service commands. The functions of the latter were assumed by the six numbered armies, whose commanders reported to the commanding general of Army Ground Forces. In November 1947, although remaining under the administration of D/PAD, the Office of the Director, WAC, (ODWAC) was assigned to the chief of staff of the Army, who thereafter controlled ODWAC funds and personnel spaces. Although the change gave the director direct access to the chief of staff, she continued to communicate through the D/PAD.

Such reorganization was not limited to congressional committees and the Army. On 17 September 1947, Congress renamed the War Department the Department of the Army, added a new Department of the Air Force, and placed those departments, along with that for the Navy, under a new organization, creating the National Military Establishment headed by a cabinet-level secretary. Two years later this organization was renamed the Department of Defense (DOD).[17]

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[17] WD Dir 138, 14 May 46, and OD/PAD Organization Chart and Memo, Nov 47, CMH Library; PL 253, National Security Act of 1947, 80th Cong, 1st sess, 26 Jul 47, and PL 216, Amendments to the National Security Act of 1947, 81st Cong, 1st sess, 10 Aug 49.

Progress of the Legislation, 1947 and 1948

Deputy Director Hallaren and Lt. Col. Mary Louise Milligan revised the WAC bill for introduction before the 80th Congress in January 1947. Colonel Milligan had become sole coordinator of the bill in June 1946 when Colonel McClure had been reassigned as the WAC staff director for U.S. Army Forces, European Theater, and Lt. Col. Emily Davis had resigned from the Army.

In October 1946, Colonel Boyce began an inspection and staff visit to WAC units in Europe. She was accompanied by Genevieve F. Herrick, a member of the National Civilian Advisory Council for the WAC. Together with Colonel McClure, they visited eighteen WAC detachments in Germany, Austria, France, and Italy. At each detachment, Colonel Boyce described the WAC bill and encouraged the women to remain in the service for the career advantages that the new law would create. The three women also visited the joint (male/female) Army Officer Candidate School at the Seckenheim School Center near Heidelberg. A severe shortage of officers in Europe had resulted from the rapid postwar demobilization, necessitating this course from which more than 450 enlisted men and 58 enlisted women received appointments as second lieutenants.[18]

After returning from Europe, Colonel Boyce was hospitalized several times for loss of stamina, fatigue, and hypertension. In March 1947, her request for a medical retirement was approved; Colonel Hallaren was appointed acting director of the WAC. Members of the Army General Staff knew that Colonel Hallaren supported a permanent WAC as strongly as Colonel Boyce had once opposed it. On 7 May 1947, with Colonel Boyce's retirement in effect, Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson appointed Mary A. Hallaren as the third director of the WAC and promoted her to full colonel.[19]

Soon after her appointment, Colonel Hallaren sent General Paul a list of WAC officers eligible for the position of deputy director under the provisions of the proposed bill. General Paul returned the list and asked her to indicate her choice. She wrote, "My first choice is Mary Louise Milligan." General Eisenhower then ruled that the WAC director should be permitted to choose her own deputy, establishing a precedent followed thereafter. Colonel Milligan took office as deputy director on 5 August.[20]

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[18] Memo, DWAC to G-1, 7 Dec 46, sub: Report of Staff Visit to Women's Army Corps Personnel in the European Theater, 24 October to 7 Dec 46, file 333.1, Inspections, RG 165; also see HQ, Third US Army, "History of the Second Year of the Occupation in Germany," ch 15, CMH Ref Br.

[19] Rpt, WAC Staff Directors Conf, Mar 47, ODWAC Ref File, WAC Staff Advisers Conferences, CMH.

[20] Memo, DWAC to Gen Paul, 13 May 47, sub: Vacancy of Deputy Director, WAC, file 320, Organization of the Office of the Director WAC, RG 165.

On 15 April 1947, the WAC bill, known as the WAC Integration Act of 1947, had been introduced in Congress—in the House as H.R. 3054 by the chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, Walter G. Andrews of New York; and in the Senate as S. 1103 by the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, J. Chandler Gurney of South Dakota. H.R. 4038 and S. 1527, legislation to include the WAVES and Women Marines in their appropriate regular and reserve components, were introduced on 27 June. Swift passage of the Army-Navy Nurses Act in April had encouraged Colonel Hallaren and Capt. Joy Bright Hancock, the director of the WAVES, to believe that their legislation would be approved that summer.

On 2 July, a Senate Armed Forces subcommittee opened hearings on the women's services bills. General Eisenhower appeared and recommended passage of the WAC bill. He stated that the time had "come when we must stabilize the Women's Army Corps in order to offer those still in uniform and prospective members a career with prestige and security. We cannot ask these women to remain on duty, nor can we ask qualified personnel to volunteer, if we cannot offer them permanent status." [21]

Other senior Army officers who testified in support of the WAC bill included General Carl Spatz, Commander, U.S. Army Air Forces; Maj. Gen. Jacob Devers, Commander, U.S. Army Ground Forces; Maj. Gen. Raymond W. Bliss, Surgeon General of the Army; Maj. Gen. Luther D. Miller, Army Chief of Chaplains; and Maj. Gen. Willard S. Paul. At General Eisenhower's request, General Douglas MacArthur, Commander, U.S. Army Forces, Far East, and General Lucius DuB. Clay, Commander, U.S. Army Forces, European Theater, sent supporting statements that were read into the record. Colonel Boyce and Mary Pillsbury Lord, chairwoman of the National Civilian Advisory Council, also appeared in support of the bill. General Paul had considered calling on the former director, Mrs. Hobby, and the former deputy, Mrs. Woods, but decided not to place them in the position of seeming to disparage the WAC's excellent wartime record simply because they had not recommended Regular Army status for women. The Chief of Naval Operations, Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, and other senior officers of the Navy and Marine Corps testified in support of the WAVES and Women Marines legislation.[22]

On 15 July, the subcommittee met in closed session and combined the WAC and WAVES/Women Marines bills into one, the Women's Armed Services Integration Act of 1947 (S. 1641). Title I contained provisions

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[21] US Congress, Senate, Committee on Armed Services, *Hearings on S.1103, S.1527, and S.1641*, 80th Cong, 1st sess, 2 Jul 47, p. 10. Document cited hereafter as *Hearings on . . . S.1641*.

[22] Treadwell, *The Women's Army Corps*, p. 748; Dwight D. Eisenhower, *The Papers of Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Chief of Staff*, ed. Louis Galambos, vol. 8 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ Press, 1978), p. 1734.

for the WAC; Title II, provisions for the WAVES and Women Marines. The committee approved the measure on the 16th. On the 23d, it was unanimously approved by the full Senate and forwarded to the House for action.[23]

On the 24th, General Eisenhower had a personal letter hand carried to the chairman of the House Armed Services Committee urging speedy approval of the bill. He wrote,

> My experience in the use of Wacs covers both wartime and peacetime conditions, both overseas and in the Zone of Interior. That experience has convinced me that a modern army must have Wacs. Modern warfare places our future as close to the firing line as Europe's past. That means that the women of America must share the responsibility for the security of their country in a future emergency as the women of England did in World War II. . . . I heartily support, and urge speedy Congressional approval of, the bill to integrate women into the Regular Army and Organized Reserve Corps.

He also offered to testify again for the bill.[24]

Subcommittee No. 3, Organization and Mobilization, of the House Armed Services Committee acted immediately on the bill, holding its initial hearing on the day it was forwarded from the Senate. Colonel Hallaren believed that with the Senate approval and a personal letter en route from the chief of staff to the committee chairman, the bill would pass without delay. Then came an unexpected blow. After convening, the subcommittee voted to postpone further hearings on the bill until January 1948 when the 80th Congress would reconvene in its second session. The vote crushed hope for regular and reserve status for women in 1947.[25]

Before adjourning, Congress did extend the life of the WAC in the Army of the United States (AUS) until 1 July 1948.[26] Nonetheless, disappointment over the handling of the bill caused many WACs to consider leaving the service. A stirring open letter from Colonel Hallaren, however, convinced many to stay on:

> You have been over the hurdles once—back in the WAAC/WAC days. There were many bets against you then: that you couldn't take it. . . . Those who bet against you lost. You sold the country on the value of women in a wartime Army. You sold the Army on the need for women in the peacetime establishment. . . . Breaking the trail has always been harder than following it.[27]

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[23] *Hearings on . . . S.1641*, 23 Jul 47, p. 101.

[24] Ltr, CofS to Congressman Walter Gresham Andrews, 24 Jul 47, file 324.5, COS 1947, RG 165.

[25] Memo, Dep DWAC to Chief, Liaison Planning, P&A Div, sub: P&A Division Newsletter, 21 Aug 47, file 461, Books, Publications, Periodicals, RG 165.

[26] PL 239, Termination of Certain Emergency Measures, 80th Cong, 1st sess, 25 Jul 47.

[27] Col Mary A. Hallaren, "A Message from the Director," *WAC Newsletter* 4(Jul 47):1. The sizable attrition in the WAC from the end of WW II--95,957, 30 Jun 45, to 17,896, 30 Jun 46—slowed during this period with only a 9,762 drop to 8,134 in June 1947, and a 2,782 drop to 5,352 in June 1948 (*Strength of the Army Report* [STM-30], 31 Dec 48, App. A).

COL. MARY A. HALLAREN, *Director, WAC, arrives in Japan on a staff visit, 24 September 1947.*

As part of her effort to improve morale, Colonel Hallaren also responded to a request from General MacArthur to conduct an inspection and staff visit to WAC units and personnel in Japan and China. That autumn, she visited the two WAC detachments that had been activated in Japan during 1946. In Yokohama, approximately 150 women of the 8000th WAC Battalion worked in the offices of Headquarters, Eighth Army, and lived in a quonset hut compound. In Tokyo, over 400 enlisted women of the 8225th WAC Battalion worked in General Headquarters (GHQ), U.S. Army Forces, Far East (USAFFE), and lived in a downtown, multistory converted office building formerly occupied by the Mitsubishi Corporation. The WAC director also stopped at the headquarters of the China Theater in Shanghai to meet with the 25 enlisted women and 2 officers assigned there.[28]

[28] "Strength Outside CONUS," *Strength of the Army Report* (STM-30), 30 Nov 47, p.13; Press Release, DA Public Affairs, 7 Nov 47, Director WAC Returns from Trip to Pacific.

The Women's Armed Services Integration Act of 1948

On her return from the Far East, Colonel Hallaren completed the planning for the January 1948 presentation of the amended Women's Armed Services Integration bill. One of the changes was the addition of Title III, which contained provisions for women in the newly created United States Air Force. At this time, approximately 1,500 WAC officers and enlisted women were assigned to various Army Air Forces commands. Although still in the WAC, these women had been assigned for duty in the USAF pending enactment of the bill. Title III, to include women in the Regular Air Force and the Air Force Reserve, had been written by Brig. Gen. Dean C. Strothers, Director, Military Personnel, USAF, and Maj. Frances Sue Cornick, Adviser on WAC Affairs, Headquarters, USAF.[29]

Another change had been necessitated by the 1 July 1948 deadline on the WAC extension passed by Congress before it had adjourned. The measure gave the Corps some time before its discontinuance, but not enough time to allow for passage of the Integration bill and its implementation—the conversion of servicewomen to regular and reserve status. Colonel Hallaren. therefore, added a clause to Title I extending the WAC as part of the AUS for twelve months after the enactment of the law. For similar reasons, Captain Hancock added a clause to Title II transferring the WAVES and Women Marines into the Naval Reserve and the Marine Corps Reserve upon enactment of the law and for one year thereafter.[30]

The revised bill, the Women's Armed Services Integration Act of 1948 (S. 1641), went to the Senate and House Armed Services committees in January. Because the revisions only added Title III and provided the time necessary for the administrative changes involved in integrating the women into the armed forces, the women directors thought the bill would pass easily. However, they soon learned of a new threat to its passage. Opponents in the House had begun a "cloakroom" campaign to convince committee members that women should have reserve status only. Colonel Hallaren had expected some reserve-only advocacy, but she was surprised by the extent of the opposition. In a letter to Colonel Milligan, who was on a staff visit to Germany, she wrote, "This is a new development, for, you remember, neither the Senate hearing nor the first hearing in the House gave any such indication. We expected we would have to defend the question, but we did not expect a block." [31]

The leaders of the reserve-only bloc were the Armed Services Committee chairman, Walter G. Andrews, and the ranking minority member of the committee, Carl Vinson. These men believed that women should

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[29] HQ, USAF, *Army-Air Force Agreements* (USAF Pam, 15 Sep 47), sec. II, p. 65.
[30] 34 USC Sec 857, Naval Reserve and Marine Corps Reserve.
[31] Ltr, Col Hallaren to LtCol Milligan, DepDir WAC, 14 May 48, file 032, Legislation, RG 165.

not be admitted to the Regular Army until their peacetime service could be studied and observed. Their opinions would affect other members of the committee, indeed the whole Congress.

Colonel Hallaren, now the recognized leader of the fight for the bill's passage, organized a counteroffensive with help from General Paul, the other women directors, and Chairwoman Lord of the National Civilian Advisory Council for the WAC.[32]

When Subcommittee No. 3 of the House Armed Services Committee convened on 18 February 1948 for hearings on S. 1641, the room was crowded with high-ranking military and civilian officials. Among those who came to urge approval of regular and reserve status for women were Secretary of Defense James Forrestal; former Army Chief of Staff and current president of Columbia University, Dwight D. Eisenhower; Army Chief of Staff, General Omar Bradley; Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Louis E. Denfeld; Vice Chief of Staff, USAF, General Hoyt S. Vandenberg; Army Director of Personnel and Administration, General Paul, and his counterparts in the Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force; Director, WAC, Colonel Hallaren, and her counterparts in the other services.[33]

Chairman Andrews opened the hearings by commenting frankly on the "considerable, not antagonism, but antipathy to the thought of women being brought into the regular services on exactly the same basis as men permanently." He also noted that many congressmen questioned how women could compete under the promotion, retention, and retirement policies established for men by the Officer Personnel Act of 1947. In addition, he asked General Eisenhower and the other officials who would testify to comment on an alternative to S. 1641—a Women's Reserve Corps created for enlisted women and officers in the WAC, WAVES, Women Marines, and Women in the Air Force. Under the alternative, women could join for 10, 15, or 20 years and, if they wished, could apply for active duty positions that were open to women reservists. Chairman Andrews and the other members of the committee would develop a plan whereby women could be incorporated into the promotion and retirement systems for regular officers.[34]

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[32] Other women directors were Capt. Hancock of the WAVES and Maj. Julia E. Hamblet of the Marine Corps Women's Reserve.

[33] US Congress, House, Armed Services Subcommittee No. 3, Hearings on S 1641, 80th Cong, 2d sess, *Congressional Record*, 18 Feb 48, p. 5565; cited hereafter as House Hearings on S 1641.

[34] Ibid. The Officer Personnel Act of 1947 (PL 381, 80th Cong, 1st sess) lowered the number of years of service required for promotion to major, lieutenant colonel, colonel; provided review boards to select officers for promotion based on seniority and merit; forced attrition in the upper grades, requiring retirement at certain ages and lengths of service to provide opportunities for advancement for younger officers. LtCol George E. Baya, "New Promotion Law for Officers," *Army Information Digest*, Sep 47, pp. 13–16.

The first speaker of the morning was former Chief of Staff Eisenhower. He told the members, "I think it is a mistake to put [the women] on a Reserve basis rather than a Regular. I think they should be an integrated regular part of the Army. I think the Air Forces feel the same way. We need them." [35] The secretary of defense, the Army chief of staff, and the chief of naval operations followed Eisenhower and voiced strong objections to reserve-only status.

At the close of these presentations, Congressman Vinson addressed the chairman: "I came in with the opinion that the best thing to do was to put [women] in the Reserve but having listened to the generals, the admiral, and the Secretary of National Defense, I think we might just as well make up our minds . . . to put them in the Regulars and take up this bill section by section." [36]

The chairman agreed, but only to the section by section analysis of S. 1641. For two days, 23 and 25 February, General Paul and Colonel Hallaren led the subcommittee through each section of Title I, detailing the reasoning behind each provision and explaining how only a few amendments to the Officer Personnel Act of 1947 would be necessary to include women under its provisions without jeopardizing men's promotion, retention, and retirement opportunities. The other titles were examined in the same manner, with explanations provided by the cognizant personnel chiefs and directors.[37]

On 23 February, the second day of the hearings, Leslie S. Perry of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had also appeared before the subcommittee. He requested the addition of an amendment to eliminate "discrimination or segregation on account of race, color, religion, or national origin" in all women's services. He presented statistics showing the number of black women who had served in World War II and the number currently on duty (*see Table 1*). He noted that the WAC had accepted black women as officer candidates and enlisted women beginning in July 1942, but that the other women's services had accepted them more slowly.[38]

The proposal to add the NAACP's amendment was defeated. Mr. Vinson responded to the amendment for the committee: "Discrimination is forbidden by the Constitution and none can be practiced by the armed services, hence it is unnecessary to put such a provision in this bill. . . . If Negroes are qualified and meet the requirement, we can and do accept them. . . . Let us legislate for the whole country and not for any particular group." [39]

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[35] House Hearings on S 1641, *Congressional Record*, 18 Feb 48, p. 5566.
[36] Ibid., p. 5590.
[37] Ibid., 23 Feb 48, p. 5604.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid., p. 5657.

TABLE 1—BLACK WOMEN IN THE SERVICES, 1945 AND 1947

	1945		1947	
	Officer	Enlisted	Officer	Enlisted
WAC	111	8,892	7	307
WAVES	2	58	0	6
Women Marines	0	0	0	0

Source: Congressional Record. 23 Feb 48, p. 5604.

Other areas of concern surfaced during the hearings. The provision to limit WAC strength to a maximum of 2 percent of the total authorized Regular Army strength met with protests from several legislators. Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas addressed General Paul: "The fighting forces of the Army [are] now 12,000 under strength. . . . Why do you want to tie yourself to 2 percent; why don't you put in a limitation of 5 percent, which would allow you to enlist up to 33,000?" [40] General Paul explained that 2 percent had been selected as a beginning and that the Army had no objection to a higher percentage. Mr. Vinson, however, warned against going higher: "If you try to bring in 35,000, you will hear the cry all over the country that you have an Army of women." [41]

Leroy Johnson of California questioned the provisions for dependents of WACs. He believed that the provisions would "open the door for wholesale support of husbands by servicewomen." [42] Colonel Hallaren assured him that women would continue to be required to provide proof that their husbands were dependent. As had been true under earlier legislation, even though a serviceman's wife and children were automatically assumed to be his bona fide dependents, a servicewoman would have to provide documentary proof that she provided over 50 percent of her dependents' financial support. The director added that women with dependent children under eighteen would not be admitted to the services.

After spending five days in hearings, the subcommittee reserved the final day, 3 March, for suggestions from individuals and organizations. Adam Clayton Powell of New York asked for a reconsideration of the NAACP amendment. James Finucane of the National Council for Prevention of War recommended that the bill be disapproved because it would militarize women and thus make them potentially subject to the "excessive" wartime powers of the president. Col. John P. Oliver of the Reserve Officers Association (ROA) recommended an amendment giving the WAC director and her deputy the ranks of major general and briga-

[40] Ibid., 18 Feb 48, p. 5622.
[41] Ibid., p. 5624.
[42] Ibid., 23 Feb 48, p. 5677.

dier general, respectively; the WAVES director, a rear admiral, and her deputy, a captain. Next, speaking for the Women's Committee to Oppose Conscription, Mrs. Alexander Stewart of Chicago urged the bill be voted down because it laid the groundwork for further domination of the country by the military and increased the possibility that women would one day be drafted. All of the proposed amendments were defeated.[43]

At the end of the day, the subcommittee went into executive session. When its members emerged, they announced that they had rejected regular status for women in the military by a six-to-three margin and had voted instead to recommend reserve-only status to the full committee. This rejection was disheartening, but Colonel Hallaren did not give up. The bill still had a long way to go, and it had been unanimously approved by the Senate in 1947 and was supported by top military and civilian leaders. Colonel Hallaren and the other directors used the time before the measure was taken up by the full committee to write fact sheets and memorandums to correct the misconception that reserve-only status gave women the same benefits as regular status.[44]

The House Armed Services Committee met in closed session on Tuesday, 23 March, to consider S. 1641. When the committee adjourned, the chairman announced that, once again, regular status had been rejected; the bill had been revised and retitled "Women's Armed Services Reserve Act of 1948." In the revised bill, all references to regular status were deleted; the position of the WAC director was eliminated; and no extension for the WAC AUS was provided. The committee had voted twenty-six to one to adopt the revised bill.[45]

The sole dissenter was Margaret Chase Smith of Maine. A staunch ally and champion of women's place in the regular forces, Congresswoman Smith was incensed that the House would offer women reserve status only. She maintained that the "issue is simple—either the armed services have a permanent need of women officers and enlisted women or they do not. If they do, then the women must be given permanent status. . . . I am further convinced that it is better to have no legislation at all than to have legislation of this type." [46]

A few days after the committee had voted down regular status and revised the bill, Congresswoman Smith learned that S. 1641 had been placed on the Consent Calendar where noncontroversial bills were placed. She objected to the maneuver, which required unanimous approval. She explained, "When there is such a radical difference between the Senate version and the House version, it is extremely surprising that an

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[43] Ibid., 3 Mar 48, pp. 5732–47.

[44] Memo, Col Hallaren to Carl Vinson, 22 Mar 48, sub: Women in the Regular Services versus Women in the Reserve, file 326.2, Organized Reserve Corps, RG 165.

[45] *Congressional Record*, 23 Mar 48, p. 7338.

[46] Ibid., 6 Apr 48, p. 2411.

attempt would be made to get this legislation railroaded through on the Consent Calendar." [47]

The interval gave Mrs. Lord and the National Civilian Advisory Council for the WAC time to garner additional support for the legislation in Congress and from various veterans' and women's organizations. Colonel Hallaren spoke, wrote, and answered inquiries about the need for regular status for women. Articles supporting regular status for women appeared in the *New York Times,* the New York *Herald Tribune,* and the *Christian Science Monitor.* [48]

Because of the action in Congress, the executive for reserve and ROTC affairs in the Pentagon prepared a contingency plan—one which would include the WAC in the Organized Reserve Corps only. Under this plan, women would be enlisted and commissioned in a WAC section of the ORC, but they would be assigned for duty to the Quartermaster Corps, Signal Corps, Adjutant General, or other noncombat branches. An initial target of 20,000 officers and enlisted was established. Officers would receive appointments that were renewable every five years; they could not hold a grade higher than lieutenant colonel. A WAC director would advise the chief of staff on WAC mobilization and monitor a small active duty program for WAC officers. Colonel Hallaren approved the plan, hoping it would never be used; but, if it were and if reserve status were all the WAC could get in 1948, the Corps would have a base from which it could continue to fight for regular status. [49]

On 21 April, when the Women's Armed Services Reserve Act of 1948 reached the floor of the House, representatives opposing Regular Army status spoke up. Paul W. Shafer of Michigan noted that many male officers with combat records had not been accepted for the Regular Army. Armed Services Committee Chairman Andrews echoed that argument: "You who favor putting women in the Regular service . . . will dish out Regular commissions to women in spite of the fact that these young men, who fought for their country during the war, were denied these commissions." [50]

Dewey Short of Missouri expressed concern about potential physical limitations among servicewomen: "We were told that 8 percent of all women while they were in the service became pregnant. I do not cast aspersions, I tell facts." He added that committee members had been told that women had so many illnesses and disabilities associated with meno-

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[47] Ibid., pp. 4233-34.

[48] "Women Power in National Defense," New York *Herald Tribune,* 26 Mar 48; "Why Bar Women?" *Christian Science Monitor,* 29 Mar 48; "Women in the Services," *New York Times,* 31 Mar 48.

[49] DF, Chief, Procurement and Separations Br, PAD, DA, to DWAC, 3 Mar 48, sub: Plan for WAC in the ORC, and Comment 2, DWAC to Chief, Procurement and Separations Br, PAD, DA, 8 Mar 48, file 326.2, Organized Reserve Corps, RG 165.

[50] This and all subsequent material pertaining to the full House debate on S 1641 is from the *Congressional Record,* 21 Apr 48, pp. 4699-4831.

pause that the costs of their medical care would be prohibitive. He did not provide his source for his "facts." Edward H. Rees of Kansas contended that nearly all the services performed by military women could be done by women in the federal civil service.

Among the speakers for regular status was Edith Nourse Rogers, who read a long list of organizations supporting her view. Refuting unfounded objections to women's service, she pointed out:

> There has been some story going around that officials of the Navy and Army did not want women taken into the Regular service. . . . High ranking officers . . . have stated emphatically that . . . they would be much better off if women are taken into . . . the Regular services. . . . No one expects the Army, Navy, or Air Force to operate as a reserve organization alone . . . [and] in every case there is a permanent body of Regulars. . . . The women's components must be set up the same way.

James C. Davis of Georgia supported regular status because it seemed "the height of absurdity to hamstring our recruiting effort by forbidding enlistment of women [in Regular status]." Harry R. Sheppard of California insisted: "Let the draft fill up the shortages which men alone can fill . . . but let us not take a man away from a farm, home, or school . . . to be a telephone operator. There are and always will be jobs . . . women can do better." George M. Bates of Massachusetts relayed the opinion of some post commanders, "Everywhere I have gone . . . they have been loud in their praise of the splendid and magnificent work that these women have done." Lyndon Johnson, echoing Mrs. Rogers, reminded the House that every major military leader had recommended regular status for women.

Margaret Chase Smith offered an amendment to the bill that would restore regular status to the House version of S. 1641. Her amendment was defeated by a stand-up vote of fifty-four to forty-two. She offered another amendment; it would limit the ORC to no more than ten officers and twenty-five enlisted women on active duty at any one time. Her strategy was to deny the armed forces the use of great numbers of women if Congress did not give the women regular status. This amendment was also defeated.

The vote on the bill was finally taken; it passed and was forwarded to the Senate on 26 April. As expected, the Senate did not accept the revised bill. A joint conference committee, appointed to reach a compromise, began deliberations, which continued into May.

The conference committee deliberated, and the days passed slowly for the directors of the women's services. The committee members sent frequent requests for information and statistics on marriages, pregnancies, menopause, the GI Bill and other veterans' benefits, and dependency allowances within the women's services. The requests were answered,

and the waiting continued. Colonel Hallaren kept up WAC morale with frequent newsletters to the field and personal correspondence with her staff advisers. To one who wrote for news about the bill, she replied, "As one of our WACs puts it, the story of the WAC legislation is like the 'Perils of Pauline.' It leaps from one crisis to another. I don't think it is possible for anyone to think of another point of opposition. They have all been used." [51]

The steadily worsening international situation between January and June 1948 strengthened the women's services case for regular status. The Russians had gained political control over Czechoslovakia and had restricted rail and highway traffic into West Berlin. These cold war developments and the Army's inability to recruit enough men for an all-volunteer force led President Truman to ask for a peacetime draft. Some politicians, reluctant to vote for the draft, did not want their constituents to believe they had turned down a potential source of volunteers—women. For this reason, many congressmen changed their minds about permitting women to enter the Regular Army.

Finally, on 19 May, good news emerged from the conference committee. Its House members had given in and agreed to include women in the regular as well as the reserve components of all the services. The Senate's wording of the bill was restored, and, for House members, two amendments were added—a limit on the number of women to be integrated into the regular forces between 1948 and 1950 and a provision that women officers would be commissioned in the regular services in three or four increments rather than one. The House members were satisfied that these amendments would deter indiscriminate commissioning and enlisting of women and prevent any suggestion of favored treatment received by female officers during their integration periods into the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps.[52]

On 26 May, the Senate unanimously approved the conference bill and sent it to the House. There, on 2 June, it passed by a 206 to 133 vote. President Truman signed the bill into law as Public Law 625, the Women's Armed Services Integration Act, on 12 June 1948.[53]

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[51] Ltr, Col Hallaren to Maj Harriet N. Moses, Adjutant, Seattle Port of Embarkation, 17 May 48, file 312.2, Correspondence with WAC Staff Directors, RG 165.

[52] US Congress, House, *Report of the Conference Committee on S.1641*, HRpt 2051, 80th Cong, 2d sess, 25 May 48, p. 22.

[53] *Congressional Record*, 2 Jun 48, p. 7052; PL 625, 80th Cong, 2d sess, 12 Jun 48.

Integration

Regular Army

Receiving regular and reserve status gave WACs that feeling of pride and accomplishment that comes with having "made the team." But the new law, while it included women as an integral part of the permanent Army establishment, failed to give them status equal to that accorded men. The WACs hoped the Army would eventually eliminate the disparities—the restrictions on their numbers; the restriction on promotion above lieutenant colonel; the limiting of officers' command authority to other women; and the restriction of training and duties to noncombat activities. Nevertheless, WACs celebrated their progress; they had moved from auxiliary status (WAAC) in 1942, to military status (WAC AUS) in 1943, to membership in the Regular Army (WAC RA) and the Army Reserve in 1948.

Administratively, the director of the WAC, in the grade of colonel, was assigned to the Office of the Chief of Staff of the Army, but her directorate was located in the Office of the Director of Personnel and Administration. The separate branch status of the WAC allowed for greater control of training, assignments, and administrative matters; WACs could be assigned temporarily to other noncombat branches where their MOSs were needed.

During the two-year integration period, June 1948–June 1950, PL 625 limited the number of women accepted into the WAC to 500 commissioned officers, 75 warrant officers, and 7,500 enlisted women. Officers would be integrated in increments of 40, 20, 20, and 20 percent, to occur at equally spaced intervals. After the initial integration period, the 2 percent limitation would apply.

The 7,000 or more women who had been commissioned through a WAAC or WAC Officer Candidate School during World War II formed the reservoir from which the initial WAC Regular Army officer applications would come. Officers of the women's naval services were ineligible for appointment in the WAC RA until the two-year assimilation period ended. A similar rule excluded WAC officers from applying for entry into Regular Navy or Marine Corps during this period. The Air Force, however, as a new service, accepted applications from women with previous commissioned service in any of the armed services, with the primary source being the approximately 2,000 WAC officers who had served in the Army Air Forces.

Many qualifications for appointment as a Regular Army officer were the same for men and women. Applicants had to be U.S. citizens, at least twenty-one years old, and of good moral character. They also had to be physically qualified, have a minimum of two years of college, and have

excellent efficiency ratings as officers during their prior service. But, while a woman, like a man, could be married—provided she had previous military service—she could not have any dependents or children under age eighteen.[54]

Approximately 1,100 WAC AUS officers applied for Regular Army commissions. The selection board, chaired by Maj. Gen. Glen A. Edgerton, approved 333. Some in that number changed their minds about accepting commissions and others failed to pass the physical examination, but 311 were appointed during the initial integration phase.[55]

The first officer commissioned in the WAC, Regular Army, was Colonel Hallaren. She was sworn in and appointed director of the WAC in a ceremony in the chief of staff's office on 3 December 1948. She received Army serial number L-1.

The WAC RA selection board also examined applications for appointments of warrant officers. Previous service as a warrant officer in the WAC AUS was required, but few WACs had held this status—by V-J Day, only forty-two had been appointed. A special procurement program in February 1948 had added another thirty-four. Not all of these women applied, but on 12 April 1949, the board was able to select eleven women for appointment as Regular Army warrant officers. Seven of this group accepted.[56]

Priority for enlistment in the Regular Army during the integration phase went to those women who had remained in the Corps awaiting passage of the legislation or who had reenlisted before passage. Beginning 8 July 1948, in-service women had three choices: to enlist in the Regular Army; to enlist in the Regular Air Force; or to extend their current enlistments until 12 June 1949, when the WAC AUS would be discontinued. Those who had not reenlisted by that time would be discharged and upon discharge, they could, if they wished, join the Enlisted Reserve Corps under the Organized Reserve Corps.

Twelve women at Headquarters, Third U.S. Army, Fort McPherson, Georgia, won the distinction of being first to enlist in the WAC Regular Army. They were sworn in by Maj. Gen. Alvin C. Gillem, Jr., in a ceremony held at one minute after midnight on 8 July 1948, the first day enlistments opened. Unknowingly, they had upstaged Army Chief of Staff Bradley, who swore in T3g. Vietta M. Bates during ceremonies at the Pentagon later in the day. She was to have been the first WAC enlisted in

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[54] DA Cir 183, 1948, Qualifications for Appointment in the WAC Regular Army; WD Cir 392, 1945; and DA Cirs 101 and 2190, 1947, Qualifications for Appointment of Men in the Regular Army, CMH Library.

[55] DA SOs 252, 20 Dec 48; 77, 21 Apr 49; and 152, 5 Aug 49, CMH Library.

[56] *Strength of the Army Report* (STM-30), 31 Dec 45; Memo, DWAC for Chief, Procurement Br, D/PAD, DA, 17 Nov 47, sub: Appointment of Warrant Officers, AUS, file 320, Organization of the WAC, RG 165; DA GO 29, 30 Aug 50, Warrant Officer Lineal List, and DA Cir 320, 1948, CMH Library.

the Regular Army. The staff director at Fort McPherson apologized to Colonel Hallaren, who responded, "Don't give a second thought to the WAC Regular Army enlistment timing. . . . More power to you and the Third Army and our appreciation to General Gillem for his interest in the Women's Army Corps." [57]

Women who had been honorably discharged from the WAC AUS could reenlist in the WAC RA beginning 15 September 1948. A reenlistee's age could not exceed 35 plus the number of years she had served on active duty after 1 July 1943, when enlistment in the WAC AUS began. A minimum of two years of high school was required, and the applicant, as was true for officers, could be married but could not have dependents or children under 18.

From 15 September on, women with no previous military service could also enlist. These recruits had to be between 18 and 35; those under 21 needed parental (or guardian's) consent. The women had to be single; possess a high school diploma or a passing score on the General Educational Development Test; pass a mental alertness test and a physical examination; have no dependents or children under 18; and be of good moral character.[58] Such high requirements, however, did not deter enlistments during the integration program (*see Table 2*).

TABLE 2—ENLISTED WOMEN'S STRENGTH

	30 June 1948	30 June 1950
Women's Army Corps	3,266	6,551
Women in the Air Force	1,433	3,782
Women in the Navy	1,618	2,746
Women Marines	159	535

Source: Selected Manpower Statistics, Office of the Secretary of Defense, 1 Feb 63, p. 47.

Organized Reserve

In 1947, when Colonel Hallaren had proposed including women in the Organized Reserve on an equal basis with men, the judge advocate general had reacted with disbelief and astonishment to her suggestion that women might enter the male reserve branches. That, however, was exactly what she had in mind. But the Army tradition of appointing, enlisting, training, and assigning its male personnel by branch was too strong.

[57] Ltr, DWAC to Maj Mary M. Pugh, WAC Staff Adv, Third US Army, Fort McPherson, GA, Jul 48, file 312.2, Correspondence with Staff Directors, RG 165.

[58] DA Cir 188, 1948, and SR 625-120-1, 9 Sep 49, Enlistment and Reenlistment in the WAC Regular Army and Regular Air Force, CMH Library.

Whatever the Army did, it did by branch. So the WAC had to have a branch in the Regular Army and WAC sections in the Officers' Reserve Corps and the Enlisted Reserve Corps. The overall adviser to the Army on reserve matters, the executive for reserve and ROTC affairs, established a WAC branch within his division and named Lt. Col. Kathleen McClure as its chief. She would prepare plans and policies and coordinate them with the director of the WAC.

WAC officers on active duty in 1948 could apply for appointment in the Officers' Reserve Corps and remain on active duty by signing an active duty commitment statement. Former WAC AUS officers who had been demobilized could also apply and, if accepted, request return to active duty. If they did not want full-time active duty, they could request assignment to a reserve unit near home. Women who had no previous military service could not apply for appointment in the Officers' Reserve Corps because no women's officer training program existed in the reserves. Such women could, if they wished, take the circuitous route of enlisting in the Regular Army, obtaining a commission through WAC Officer Candidate School, and, upon completing two years of active duty, returning to civilian life and being assigned to a reserve unit near their homes.

Unlike their Regular Army counterparts, former WAC officers could serve in the inactive reserve regardless of marital status or dependents. Those who entered the Officers' Reserve Corps before 12 June 1949, when the WAC AUS was discontinued, could count all their active duty service after 1 September 1943 toward their longevity—plus all the time after their release from active duty in the WAC to civilian status. This point of law was based on the fact that male and female AUS officers, though demobilized, remained subject to recall on active duty after discharge.[59]

The grade of warrant officer did not exist in the Organized Reserve in 1948, but legislation to include it had been proposed in Congress. Meanwhile, WAC and male AUS warrant officers on active duty, or eligible for recall, could apply for enlistment in the reserve until the rank was authorized. In July 1950, the 81st Congress authorized warrant officers in the Organized Reserve.[60]

Enlisted men discharged from the Army of the United States at the end of World War II could continue their military service and longevity by enlisting in the Enlisted Reserve Corps (ERC). Enlisted women could not do the same until the Integration Act established the WAC in the Organized Reserve. As a result, enlisted women who were demobilized

[59] DA Cir 191, Sec II, 29 Jun 48, CMH Library.

[60] SR 140-5-1, Dec 48, Reserve Officers Except General Officers, and SR 140-106-5, 5 Oct 50, Appointment of Warrant Officers in the Organized Reserve Corps, CMH Library; PL 604, Army and Air Force Authorization Act of 1950, 81st Cong, 2d sess, 10 Jul 50.

or discharged between 8 May 1945, V-E Day, and 12 June 1948 had no opportunity to continue their military service unless they reenlisted and returned on active duty.

Efforts to enlist former WACs in the reserve began after the WAC AUS was discontinued on 12 June 1949. The program had a slow start because it received little publicity. At the WAC Staff Advisers Conference in September 1949, Maj. Selma Herbert described the problem: "We have just started on the recruiting program. It is being launched in one locality at a time. The principal cry is for a definite and authorized WAC Reserve Program and for some publicity material in the form of leaflets, folders, and posters to be used in conjunction with the procurement plan." [61]

Between 1948 and 1950, only women with previous military service could enlist in the WAC Section, Enlisted Reserve Corps, because no basic training was available in the ERC for women. Beginning in May 1950, however, under a new program, women could enlist, receive their first two weeks of basic training at the WAC Training Center, and receive, as men did, the balance—six weeks of instruction—at their home reserve unit.

Reservists had to be U.S. citizens. Although men could enlist at 17, women had to be 18; neither could be over 35. Men under 18 and women under 21 required parental consent. Both men and women needed a score of 70 or more on the general classification test and had to show leadership potential. WACs who were married and, for a brief time, those with dependents or children under 18 could enlist in the ERC.[62] By the end of the two-year integration program, 30 June 1950, WAC strength in the Organized Reserve stood at 718 officers and 3,563 enlisted women. These numbers did not include those reservists serving on active duty.[63]

After a three-year struggle, the WAC had achieved both regular and reserve status. Women had gained the opportunity to develop a military career—full-time active duty or part-time in the reserves. Considering the conservatism of the wartime WAC directors, of most Army officers, of the general public, and of many members of Congress, the achievements were a near miracle. The right combination of people in key positions—General Eisenhower, General Paul, Congresswoman Smith, Colonel Hallaren—made the goal obtainable. Many thought it strange that nurses had had no difficulty in gaining regular and reserve status while WACs had

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[61] Rpt, WAC Staff Advisors Conf, Sep 49, p. 110, ODWAC Ref File, WAC Staff Advisers Conferences, CMH. Although the original spelling, "advisor," was not changed to "adviser" until 1958, "adviser" has been used in this study except where "advisor" appears in quoted material, titles, or source material.

[62] SR 140-107-1, 20 Oct 49, Enlistment and Reenlistment, Enlisted Reserve Corps. Change 1, 12 May 50, permitted enlistment of women without previous service. Change 3, 19 Sep 50, prohibited the enlistment or retention of women with dependents or children under 18.

[63] *Strength of the Army Report* (STM-30), 30 June 50.

an uphill struggle. The explanation seemed to be that women in the medical professions already had well-established and clear-cut roles; WACs, in comparison, had a short history, and their roles had not been clearly defined by their Corps' title. The WAC bill had suffered much criticism—primarily disinformation, petty attacks, and nuisance objections—but the major resistance to it had come from men who simply did not want women in the Regular Army because they "belonged at home."

These and other objections were overcome by cold war developments, the Army's inability to raise an all-volunteer force, and the determination of a small but powerful group of men and women. The wartime record of the WACs brought them to a new beginning in 1948, and while integration did not mean total acceptance, they had reason to look forward with hope.

CHAPTER III

WAC Organization and Training

Between 1946 and 1948, while Congress debated regular and reserve status for women in the armed services, the Army staff and Colonel Hallaren and her staff conducted business as if the women's integration legislation would pass. The director of organization and training (DOT), formerly the assistant chief of staff, G–3, optimistically directed that a site for a new WAC training center be selected. Colonel Hallaren and her staff prepared plans for the new center and an officer candidate school. Among themselves and with Army commanders in their geographical areas, WAC staff directors discussed the future of the WAC and the possible establishment of additional WAC units. Then, on 12 June 1948, the Women's Armed Services Integration Act became Public Law 625. Colonel Hallaren set in motion the approved regulations for the new WAC. Only then did she have time to reflect on the future: did the WAC have the right organization, mission, and personnel to manage the Corps in the Regular Army and Reserve and to conduct training operations?

The Office of the Director, WAC

The mission of the director of the WAC (DWAC) on the General Staff had changed little since 1943. By law, she was the primary adviser to the secretary of the Army on WAC matters and was responsible for ensuring that the Army's staff agencies issued appropriate plans and policies concerning the supervision, morale, health, and safety of WACs. She was the primary adviser to the chief of staff and members of the Army staff on regulations and other matters concerning the WAC—enlisted recruiting, officer procurement, classification, utilization, training, assignment, housing, supply, discharge, and morale. She ensured conformity to those regulations and policies by inspecting WAC units and personnel worldwide. She also maintained liaison with civilian and governmental agencies and with other women's services in the armed forces of the United States and its allies.[1]

Under the new law, the WAC director would also serve as an adviser to the WAC Section, Organized Reserve Corps (ORC); each of the chiefs

[1] AR 625–5, 25 Jan 49, Women's Army Corps, General Provisions. This Army regulation, and its successors, was commonly called the WAC regulation.

of the Army's technical and administrative services monitored and advised his particular reserve section. Colonel Hallaren had been unable to preclude the creation of a separate WAC section in the Organized Reserve, but she had won a small victory by convincing the executive for reserve and ROTC affairs not to establish WAC detachments within the ORC. Thus, WACs were to be commissioned and enlisted in the WAC Section, ORC, according to the law, but they were to be assigned to existing men's units for administration, training, supply, and discipline. The director and her staff would advise the executive for reserve and ROTC affairs, through his WAC adviser, about entry into the Organized Reserve and subsequent training, utilization, retention, and mobilization of WAC reservists.[2]

In early 1946, while the Army shifted to peacetime operations, General Paul, the G-1, had reorganized his office. He had added a new position—a special assistant for women's affairs. As an additional duty, the director of the WAC would fill the position and advise the G-1 on matters pertaining to all women in the Army, not just WACs, but all women in the Army.

Colonel Boyce, then the director of the WAC, sent a stiffly worded memorandum to General Paul stating that the task of advising the G-1 on *all* women in the Army was "beyond the ability and authority" of the director. She wrote, "it is deemed inappropriate to include in your chart that the Director WAC will perform the duties of the Special Assistant for Women's Affairs." [3] Colonel Boyce knew that the chief of the Army Nurse Corps and the senior women medical specialists would object to her advising the G-1 on their professional status and career development. Conversely, if the head of the Army Nurse Corps had been assigned the role of special assistant, Colonel Boyce would have vehemently objected. General Paul did not change his organizational chart, but, swayed by Colonel Boyce's objection, he did not assign this additional duty to the WAC director or to anyone else. He did, however, retain the proposed slot so that if, during hearings on the WAC bill, Congress complained about establishing three separate women's organizations within the Army, he could show that the women's services had been unified under a special assistant for women's affairs.[4]

Even though General Paul's move to enhance the WAC director's status with the additional responsibility had not worked out, he remained concerned about where the director's position would fit in the Army's

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[2] SR 140-190-1, 18 Oct 49, Utilization and Training of WAC Members of the Active Reserve in the Organized Reserve Program, CMH Library. This special regulation was revised 18 Aug 50 and superseded by AR 140-140, 4 Dec 52, Army Reserve, Assignment and Attachments.

[3] Memo, DWAC to Gen Paul, 21 Feb 46, sub: Personnel and Administrative Functions under Reorganization Recommended in the Report of the Board of Officers on Organization of the War Department, file 320.1, Organization of the Office of the Director, WAC, RG 165.

[4] Interv, Col Hallaren with the author, 23 Mar 79. The position was not dropped until 1952.

postwar hierarchy.[5] The placement of the director's office under the G–1 had worked well, but, in November 1947, General Paul had arranged for it to be placed under the chief of staff. The action improved the director's prestige with Congress and impressed on the legislators the Army's high regard for the WAC and the desirability of regular Army status for women.[6]

As in any hierarchy, much depends on the relationship a subordinate builds with a superior; and the success of any WAC director depended largely upon her relationship with the G–1 or, as that position had been redesignated, D/PAD. She needed his confidence in her decision making, knowledge of WAC matters, and leadership. On appointment, of course, she had his goodwill and trust—he held the key role in her selection. Problems, however, occasionally arose when a change in the D/PAD position occurred, as it did almost every two years. Colonel Boyce, for instance, had served amicably as deputy director and as director under Maj. Gen. Stephan G. Henry, the G–1 during 1944 and 1945. She had not served so compatibly under General Paul, who became G–1 in October 1945. The crux of their difficulty was Colonel Boyce's dedication to carrying out Colonel Hobby's plan to disband the WAC. General Paul was committed, instead, to carrying out General Eisenhower's orders to get the WAC into the Regular Army and the Organized Reserve Corps. It was not surprising that, fifteen months after they met, Colonel Boyce had retired and the bill providing for regular and reserve status for WACs was in Congress for the second time.

The WAC director worked closely with the D/PAD. She usually attended his weekly staff meetings along with the adjutant general, the provost marshal general, the chief of chaplains, and the chief of special services. Also in attendance were the chiefs of the three major groups within the Directorate of Personnel and Administration: Career Management Group, Manpower Control Group, and Military Personnel Management Group. Through these meetings and associations, the director participated in Army personnel planning and had a forum to explain the impact of Army-wide policies on the WAC and to announce WAC plans and policies to the other personnel policy makers in the Pentagon.

By the end of October 1948, the Office of the Director, WAC (ODWAC), consisted of five officers, three enlisted women, and a civilian secretary. The officers included the director, her deputy, an executive officer, a career management officer, and a technical information officer.[7]

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[5] Ibid.

[6] Office of the Dep CofS for Personnel (ODCSPER), "Chronological History of the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel 1942–1972," Oct 78, CMH Ref Br. Hereafter cited as ODCSPER Chronological History.

[7] The military personnel assigned at that time were Col Hallaren; LtCol Milligan; Maj Mary C. Fullbright, who replaced Maj Mary L. Kersey on 1 Sep 48; Capt Cora M. Foster; 1stLt Mary B. Warner; and TSgts Mary F. Lever, Mary E. Cuthbert, and Catherine Howe.

WAC STAFF ADVISERS AND SENIOR WAC OFFICERS CONFERENCE, *the Pentagon, September 1949. Left to right, front row: Maj. Virginia Mathew, Maj. Mary M. Pugh, Maj. Mary K. Moynahan, Maj. Charlee L. Kelly, Col. Mary A. Hallaren, Director, WAC, Lt. Col. Mary L. Milligan, Deputy Director, WAC, Lt. Col. Elizabeth C. Smith, Maj. Irene O. Galloway, Maj. Geneva McQuarters, Maj. Selma Herbert, Maj. Ruby Herman, Maj. Margaret M. Thorton, Capt. Sue Lynch, Lt. Hazel Glynn. Second row: Maj. Mary C. Fullbright, Maj. Bernice Hughes, Maj. Mary E. Savage, Lt. Norma J. Fisher, Capt. Ellen Dunbar, Maj. Mary Jo Key, Maj. Cloe E. Doyle, Maj. Fannie Reynolds, Maj. LaVern F. Noll, Capt. Beatrice Parker, Capt. Lucile G. Odbert, Maj. Ruth Reece, Capt. Mary Warner. Third row: Capt. Marjorie Schulten, Lt. Dorothy Frome, Capt. Helen Cooper, Maj. Alene Drezmal, Maj. Hattilu C. White, Maj. F. Marie Clark, Maj. Eleanore C. Sullivan, Maj. Beatrice Ringgold, Capt. Martha D. Allen, Maj. Elizabeth W. Bianchi, Maj. Anne E. Sweeney, Maj. Ethel S. Moran. Back row: Maj. Cora M. Foster, Capt. Helen Roy, Maj. Anne K. Hubbard, and Maj. Margaret A. Long.*

The career management officer worked in the officers' assignment office in the Career Management Group and managed WAC officer assignments and career development actions. The technical information officer was added to the staff to disseminate WAC plans and policies to the field and to coordinate WAC public relations.[8]

The director's primary link to WAC officers and enlisted women was the WAC staff director. Because the MOS (2145) for that position had to be filled by a WAC officer, the WAC director selected and nominated

[8] ODCSPER Chronological History.

staff directors for each major command. These staff directors, assigned to the command's D/PAD, acted as the commander's WAC expert and troubleshooter and attended his weekly staff meetings. Through their regular inspections of WAC units, the staff directors became well known to post commanders, staff officers, and WACs throughout their particular command. Their knowledge and contacts made it easier to solve problems, distribute information, and gather statistics. If a staff director could not resolve a problem within a command, she sought the assistance of the director and her staff at the Pentagon. In January 1949, the WAC staff director's title was changed to WAC staff adviser, a title more descriptive of her duties.[9]

The responsibilities of the staff advisers increased rapidly. At the WAC Staff Advisers Conference in September 1949, Colonel Hallaren reported that twelve WAC detachments had been established or reactivated during the year. Four of the twelve were segregated black detachments stationed at Fort Dix, New Jersey; Fort Knox, Kentucky; Fort Lewis, Washington; and Kitzingen, Germany. Other new or reactivated detachments were assigned to post headquarters complements at Fort Belvoir, Virginia; Fort Bliss, Texas; Camp Gordon, Georgia; Camp Holabird, Maryland; and Fort Sheridan, Illinois. The remaining new or reactivated detachments were at the Army Finance Center, St. Louis, Missouri; the U.S. Military Academy, West Point, New York; and Brooke General Hospital, Fort Sam Houston, Texas. With these additions, the WAC had a total of fifty-seven units, with eleven overseas (seven in Germany, one in Austria, two in Japan, and one in the Canal Zone).[10]

Key WAC Staff Officer Positions

Throughout the war and postwar years, many WAC officers had been assigned to positions in various General and Special Staff divisions at the Pentagon. In addition to her other duties, the senior WAC officer in a division became its expert on staff actions regarding the Corps. Through demobilization, most of these jobs were vacated between 1945 and 1947. Drastic reductions in military personnel precluded the assignment of replacements, and division chiefs, lacking the advice of these experts, gradually forwarded more and more WAC staff actions to the director's office for information, advice, and solution.

In October 1946, Colonel Boyce submitted an urgent request to the chief of staff for assistance, noting that a "large volume of papers, corre-

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[9] AR 625-5, 25 Jan 49, Women's Army Corps, General Provisions, describes the composition of the WAC and gives a list of commands authorized WAC Staff Advisers. TM 12-406, Feb 1946, Commissioned Officers Military Occupational Specialties, was superseded by SR 605-105-5, 1 Mar 54, same subject.

[10] Rpt, WAC Staff Advisors and WAC Staff Officers Conf, 12-16 Sep 49, ODWAC Ref File, WAC Staff Advisers Conferences, CMH.

spondence, and inquiries" were being referred to her office "for initial study, preparation, and action." She pointed out that her five-woman staff was too small to handle the additional work.[11] The director asked that a WAC staff officer with the primary (but not sole) duty of preparing WAC staff actions and studies be assigned to divisions that had a high volume of such actions. Her request was approved and within a few days the chief of staff directed:

> There will be assigned to the Office of Director or Chief of each General or Special Staff division to whom this memorandum is addressed, a WAC officer who is mutually acceptable to the division director or chief and to the Director, WAC, and who will be responsible for advising the director or chief on all matters pertaining to the Women's Army Corps.[12]

By the end of the year, each designated division had a WAC staff action officer. Colonel Hallaren, on becoming director in the spring of 1947, formed a WAC Plans and Policy Committee from that group of officers. The committee was to meet when needed to review Department of the Army staff plans and policies that might affect the WAC and to make recommendations concerning WAC operations. During the next few years, the committee met infrequently. In 1950, with the Korean War, the group's activities were stepped up as the Corps expanded; but, thereafter, the committee again met infrequently and was eventually discontinued. By the end of 1951, the divisions had designated appropriate spaces in their manning documents for WAC staff action officers, and WAC officers were routinely requisitioned to fill these positions.[13]

During its first two years in the Regular Army, the WAC had few lieutenant colonels. When the integration bill became law on 12 June 1948, the Corps had three. A few days later, on 16 June, one of these women, Lt. Col. Geraldine P. May, was transferred to the Air Force, promoted to temporary colonel, and appointed the director of Women in the Air Force. Only two lieutenant colonels remained: Deputy Director Milligan and Lt. Col. Kathleen McClure, WAC Staff Director, Headquarters, U.S. Army, Europe. In November, however, a few months after returning from Germany, Colonel McClure transferred to the Air Force and was assigned to the Pentagon.[14]

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[11] SS, ACofS, G-1, to the CofS (prepared by Maj Selma Herbert, ODWAC exec officer), 2 Oct 46, sub: Administration of the Office of the Director, WAC, file 320, Organization of the Office of the Director WAC, RG 165.

[12] Memo, CofS to Directors, Personnel and Administration; Organization and Training; Services, Supply, and Procurement, and Chiefs, Public Relations; Information and Education, 14 Oct 46, sub: Administration of Office, Director, WAC. Superseded by Memo, 1 Oct 48, same subject, and Memo 625-10-1, 24 Jan 49, same subject. All in file 320.1, Organization of the Office of the Director WAC, RG 165.

[13] Memo, DWAC to Chiefs, General and Special Staff Divisions, 27 Oct 48, sub: Plans and Policy Committee, Women's Army Corps, file 337, Conferences, RG 165.

[14] "Women in the Air Force," *Army and Navy Register*, 19 June 48, p. 20; *U.S. Air Force Register*, 1 Jan 50, p 131.

At the time, the WAC had little hope of obtaining additional lieutenant colonel slots. Under the rules for integration into the Regular Army, neither men nor women could be appointed in the Regular Army in a grade higher than major. In addition, the Officer Personnel Act of 1947 (PL 80–381) had included a new promotion system for the Army. This law stipulated that no permanent promotions could be made in the WAC until 12 September 1949, fifteen months after the Integration Act was signed; no temporary promotions could take place until after the women's first Regular Army promotions had been made.[15]

General Paul, however, had anticipated problems in obtaining promotions for WACs and had included two special provisions in the integration law. The secretary of the Army was authorized to designate specific WAC administrative and training positions at the grades of lieutenant colonel and major. He was also empowered, until 1 July 1952, to grant temporary promotions to women selected for those positions. Thus, even though promotions were initially very restricted, the WAC could promote officers on a permanent basis beginning in 1949 and, until mid-1952, could add additional temporary officer personnel, as necessary. By that time, the new officer personnel law was expected to provide a sufficient number of women at the proper grades. If it did not, the secretary could have the temporary promotion authority extended.[16]

A new Army staffing regulation followed the enactment of the integration law. Under its authority, delegated by the secretary of the Army, Colonel Hallaren designated certain key WAC administrative and training positions at the maximum allowable grade. Of these positions, only those authorized for the new WAC Training Center were not yet filled. The other positions had incumbents, but not all of those officers had reached the grade authorized by the new regulation. The subsequent special regulation instructed the major commanders who controlled these positions to add the following to their manning documents:

Lieutenant Colonels

Executive Officer, Office of the Director, WAC
Chief, WAC Career Branch
Adviser, WAC Reserve Section, Office of the Executive for Reserve and ROTC Affairs
Commander, WAC Training Center, and Commandant, WAC School
Assistant Commandant, WAC School
Basic Training Battalion Commander, WAC Training Center

[15] Sec 509a, PL 80-381, was included in sec 104d, PL 80-625.
[16] Sec 103, PL 80-625.

Advanced Training Battalion Commander, WAC Training Center
WAC Staff Advisers at the following commands:
The six Continental Army commands in the United States
Headquarters, Military District of Washington, Washington, D.C.
Headquarters, U.S. Army, Europe
Headquarters, U.S. Army, Far East

Majors

Two battalion commanders, WAC Training Center [17]

In early 1950, with the integration phase moving into its last months and the freeze on permanent promotions lifted, a number of WACs were promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel. Five permanent promotions, including Director Hallaren's, came through in January. Six new temporary promotions were announced before the end of the year, two in May and four in November.

Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services

With the new decade, the women's services gained the assistance of a civilian advisory group—one composed of women. The idea for the group stemmed from a recommendation made by Mary Pillsbury Lord, chairwoman of the National Civilian Advisory Committee on the WAC, at its final meeting in October 1948. She recommended that each service appoint six civilian women, leaders in their fields, to advise the service secretaries and the secretary of defense on matters pertaining to women in the armed forces. General Bradley, Army Chief of Staff, promptly approved the idea, but it was not implemented until April 1949. At that time, the Department of Defense (DOD) hired Dr. Esther B. Strong and appointed her Representative of Women's Affairs on the DOD Personnel Policy Board, which had been established in February. Dr. Strong, who held a doctorate in sociology from Yale, took up Mrs. Lord's recommendation.[18]

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[17] Memo, DWAC to DOT, DA, thru D/PAD, 10 Jul 48, sub: Establishment of Administrative and Training Positions for WAC Officers, file 320, Organization of the Office of the Director WAC, RG 165; SR 625-10-5, 27 Jan 49, Women's Army Corps Administrative and Training Positions for Officers, CMH Library. The list of key positions did not include the dep dir of the WAC because her position was specified in PL 80-625. SR 625-10-5 was superseded by AR 600-100, 25 Jul 1958, Women's Army Corp—General Provisions.

[18] Dr. Esther B. Strong, "Women in the Department of Defense," Rpt of the WAC Staff Advisors and WAC Staff Officers Conf, 12-16 Sep 49, pp. 2-3.

A year later, Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson invited a number of nationally known women to the Pentagon to discuss issues affecting military and civilian women employees of the department, to learn about the department, and to consider forming an advisory group for women in the services.[19] Hosted by the Personnel Policy Board, the conference was held on 21 and 22 June 1950. Among the civilian attendees were Mrs. Lord; India Edwards, Director, Women's Division, Democratic Party; Anne Wheaton, Director of Publicity, Republican Party; Dorothy Ferebee, President, National Council of Negro Women; Dr. Margaret Craighill, Chief Consultant on Medical Care for Women, Veterans Administration; Frances Diehl, representing the General Federation of Women's Clubs; Margaret Hickey, lawyer, educator, and writer for the *Ladies Home Journal;* Marie B. Johnson, representing the United Council of Church Women; Dr. Dorothy C. Stratton, former director of the SPARS; Dr. K. Frances Scott, President, National Association of Business and Professional Women's Clubs; Katherine Densford, past president of the American Nurses Association.[20]

The conference started with briefings on the national defense establishment, its various branches, and its long-range plans for women in the military. Four of the women military leaders, Col. Geraldine P. May of the Air Force, Captain Hancock of the Navy, Col. Mary G. Phillips of the Army Nurse Corps, and Colonel Hallaren, then gave talks on "The Historical Background of the Women's Military Services," "The Present Utilization of Military Womenpower," "Women in Medical Service," and "Mobilization Planning for Military Women." [21]

On the second day, the women discussed the department's plans, programs, and policies concerning women. And, at the meeting's end, they agreed to forward, individually, to Dr. Strong any conclusions on such issues as registering and drafting women, assigning women to combat zones, and forming a permanent women's advisory committee. All participants wanted more time to assess the roles for women in the military and to consider the opinions of those they represented. Conference Chairman J. Thomas Schneider, of the Personnel Policy Board, adjourned the group by saying, "I know we are going to get a great deal of value out of your reviewing with us the program of the Department of Defense. . . . We will welcome your suggestions, your counsel, and your advice." [22]

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[19] DOD, *Semi-Annual Report of the Secretary of Defense, 1 January to 30 June 1950* (Washington, DC: GPO, Sep 1950), p. 27.

[20] DOD Personnel Policy Board, *Report of Conference of Civilian Women Leaders*, Jun 48, pp. 167-68, ODWAC Ref File, CMH. Hereafter cited as *Rpt Conf of Civilian Women*.

[21] Ibid., p. 163.

[22] Ibid.

The Sunday after the conference, on 25 June, the Korean War began. A little over a year later, the women were again contacted. In August 1951, approximately fifty outstanding civilian women leaders—most of those who had attended the 1950 conference—were asked to serve a one-year term on the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services (DACOWITS). Forty-four women accepted appointments, including Mrs. Hobby, the first WAC director; Mildred McAfee Horton, former director of the WAVES; Dorothy Streeter, former director of the Women Marines; Helen Hayes, actress; Sarah G. Blanding, president of Vassar College; Lillian Gilbreth, engineer; and Beatrice G. Gould, editor and publisher. Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Personnel Anna M. Rosenberg announced that the women would help develop policies and standards for military women in such areas as recruiting, utilization of women, expansion of career opportunities, housing, education, and recreation. The formation of the committee ensured that women had representation at the Department of Defense level.[23]

WAC Training Center, Camp Lee

The original site selected for a training center for the proposed WAC had been Fort Knox—chosen by Maj. Gen. Idwal H. Edwards, Director, Organization and Training, from posts recommended by Lt. Gen. Jacob L. Devers, Commanding General, Army Ground Forces, who was to have responsibility for the training center.[24] Colonel Boyce objected so vehemently to the isolated, run-down area available at Fort Knox that General Edwards ordered a second survey of possible locations. After a ten-month search, the new site selection committee, which included Colonel Boyce and other WACs, reported that only three of the posts visited had adequate housing and classroom space, and, of those three, Camp Lee, Virginia, was their first choice. General Paul and Lt. Gen. Charles W. Hall, who had succeeded General Edwards, concurred.[25]

Meanwhile, the commander of the Army Ground Forces, uncomfortable with the responsibility for WAC training, asked General Hall to transfer the function to an agency with concerns more compatible with

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[23] DOD Dir 110.09-2, 12 Oct 1951, authorized the committee and set forth its objectives. Also see *History of the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services*, ODWAC Ref File, DACOWITS, CMH. The one-year term was later lengthened to three years.

[24] DF, ACofS, G-1 to the CG, ASF, 26 Feb 46, sub: Establishment of WAC in the Regular Army and the Organized Reserve, file 320, Selection of a Training Center, RG 165.

[25] DF, ACofS, DOT, WDGS, to D/PAD, WDGS, 27 Jun 46, comment 7, and Memo, Site Selection Team to LtGen Charles P. Hall, DOT, WDGS, 20 Apr 47, sub: Report on Selection of a Location for a WAC Training Center, folder 320.0, WAC Training Center, Records of the War Department's General Staff, Director of Organization and Training, RG 319, Modern Military Br, NARA, Washington, DC. The selection team included Col George E. Bush and Maj Elizabeth C. Smith from ODOT; Maj Albert H. Smith and Maj Louise M. Nielsen, HQ, AGF; and Col Boyce and LtCol Hallaren, ODWAC.

the WAC's training needs—his command was primarily involved with ground combat training. As a result, in June 1947, General Hall transferred responsibility for WAC training to the adjutant general (TAG) of the Army.[26] The change was appropriate and convenient because the adjutant general's department primarily performed administrative functions, such as personnel, recruiting, and postal operations. Its role was akin to the administrative nature of most WACs' duties. At General Hall's direction, The Adjutant General's School moved in September 1947 from Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, to Camp Lee.[27] To manage his new responsibilities, Maj. Gen. Edward F. Witsell, TAG, proposed a reorganization. He would create The Adjutant General's Training Center at Camp Lee which would include The Adjutant General's School with the WAC Training Center attached to it. A brigadier general would command this new organization.[28]

Colonel Hallaren, by this time the director of the WAC, opposed the plan. She wanted the WAC Training Center to have as much status as TAG School; she wanted the training program to offer WAC officer candidates and NCOs positions from which they could gain leadership experience. The center would be the model for future centers, and it would provide the "trained cadre for any such organization as might be required upon mobilization." [29]

To settle the matter, Colonel Hallaren held a conference, in November 1947, with representatives of the appropriate Army agencies. They agreed that the WAC Training Center should be "a complete functioning unit under the TAG Training Command," not a subsidiary of TAG School. This agreement ensured maximum autonomy for the WAC Training Center.[30]

The agreement, however, was not implemented. A major reorganization of the Army, in March 1948, replaced Army Ground Forces with Army Field Forces, with its commander becoming the Army's chief training officer.[31] The WAC Training Center was now given a numerical designation, the 2004th Army Service Unit, and placed under the commanding general, Second Army, Fort George G. Meade, Maryland.[32]

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[26] Memo, LtGen Charles P. Hall, DOT, to MajGen Edward F. Witsell, TAG, 9 Jun 47, file 320.0, WAC Training Center, RG 319.

[27] WD GO 80, Sec I, 22 Aug 47, CMH Library. TAG School conducted courses in personnel management and administration, recruiting, postal operations, data processing, typing, stenography, etc.

[28] DF, DWAC to D/PAD, 1 Aug 46, sub: Planning for the WAC in the Regular Army, with comments, ODWAC Ref File, Fort Lee, CMH.

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] Ibid., comment 4, D/PAD to DOT, 24 Nov 47.

[31] DA Cir 64, 10 Mar 48, Organization of the Army, CMH Library.

[32] DA GO 43, Sec III, 21 Jun 48, effective 15 Jun 48, CMH Library; Ltr, HQ, Second Army to CG, Camp Lee, VA, 19 Jun 48, sub: Establishment of the 2004th ASU, WAC Training Center, AIABC 0.322, ODWAC Ref File, Fort Lee, CMH.

MAJ. ANNIE V. GARDNER, *Acting Commander, WAC Training Center, Camp Lee, June 1948.*

The proposed training site for Women in the Air Force (WAF) had changed several times during 1947 and 1948. Early in 1947, planners for the Army and the proposed Air Force had decided that the WAC and WAF would train together. But after the National Security Act was signed, making the Air Force a separate military department, the Air Force opted for separate training and prepared a plan to train its own women.[33] The 3741st WAF Training Squadron at Lackland Air Force Base, San Antonio, Texas, would conduct basic training for WAFs. According to the plan, USAF specialists' training in such areas as air traffic control, photography, radio, and weather observation would be open to enlisted men and women. Women officer candidates would also train with men; in January 1949, 25 enlisted women joined 250 enlisted men at the USAF Officer Candidate School at Lackland.[34]

In March 1948, when the commander of the Army Field Forces became the Army's chief training officer, he lacked much of the authority held by his predecessor, the commander of the Army Ground Forces. He did not have command authority over the six CONUS armies, which now reported instead to the Army chief of staff. He did not control training spaces, training funds, and missions. Camp Lee came under the authority of Lt. Gen. Leonard T. Gerow, Commanding General, Second Army, at Fort Meade, approximately 125 miles northeast of the camp. He con-

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[33] DF, BrigGen Thomas S. Power, Dep ACofS, G-3, to D/PAD, WDGS, 3 Oct 47, sub: Training of Women in the Air Force, ODWAC Ref File, Fort Lee, CMH.

[34] Press Release, USAF Public Information Div, sub: Air Force Men and Women Will Attend Same OCS, 17 Dec 48.

SOME OF THE BETTER LOOKING BARRACKS *in the 2d Battalion area, WAC Training Center, Camp Lee, August 1948.*

trolled funds and personnel spaces to support all posts within his geographical area. Support included everything from medical care and treatment to food, recreation, transportation, repairs, and utilities.[35]

Although the training center commander would be selected from the WAC, General Gerow delegated to the post commander at Camp Lee, Brig. Gen. Roy C. L. Graham, supervisory control of the WAC Training Center. General Graham, therefore, became the rating officer for the WAC commander's operation and management of the center. The director of the WAC had no direct authority over its operation. However, because she was the chief of the Corps, plans affecting the center and school were referred to her office for comment.[36]

Activation of the WAC Training Center

Colonel Hallaren wasted no time after the Integration Act gave the WAC regular and reserve status. She immediately moved women to Camp Lee. Within two days, Maj. Annie V. Gardner and Cpl. Wanda E. Pinkney reported to General Graham. On 15 June 1948, the WAC Train-

[35] DA Cir 64, 10 Mar 48, Organization of the Army, CMH Library.

[36] This policy was incorporated into AR 350-170, Women's Army Corps School, 23 Jun 55, revised 14 Dec 56 and 11 Apr 60.

ing Center was officially activated with Major Gardner as acting commander.[37] To fill the position of commander of the training center and commandant of the Officer Candidate School (OCS), Colonel Hallaren selected Maj. Elizabeth C. Smith and obtained a temporary promotion for her to lieutenant colonel under Public Law 80-625. Colonel Smith, who had been assigned to the Office of the Director of Organization and Training since 1943, was recognized as the Army staff's expert on WAC training and had been a member of every major board and committee concerning the WAC.[38]

While WACs had not been pampered by elegant living at their World War II training centers, the WAC area at Camp Lee discouraged even those who had lived in the converted stables at Fort Des Moines or the converted POW camps at Fort Oglethorpe, Fort Devens, and Camp Ruston. In addition, when the wind at Camp Lee was right, sulphurous smoke from a nearby chemical plant permeated the air at the installation. One WAC officer considered "stable row at Fort Des Moines . . . the Ritz Carlton in comparison." [39] Another described the center as having been "activated in a section of the camp that had been unoccupied for two-and-a-half years and which had become a wilderness of weeds, underbrush, dilapidated buildings, and the inevitable training center mud." [40]

The wood-frame buildings in the WAC area were uninsulated, had unfinished interior walls, sat on concrete blocks high enough to allow for water and drain pipes, and were heated by coal furnaces that were fed by hand shovel twice a day during the winter months. Most one-story buildings contained orderly rooms, supply rooms, or dayrooms; the two-story buildings served as either barracks or classrooms.

Each floor of a barrack contained army cots, footlockers, and steel wall lockers, approximately forty-five of each, along with two small rooms that were reserved for platoon sergeants who supervised the trainees, day and night. Officer candidates and student officers had partitions between every two beds which provided some privacy but interfered with adequate ventilation. Permanently assigned officers lived in two-story buildings that had private rooms or permanent partitions. Lieutenant colonels and majors had single rooms; captains and lieutenants had to double up. Each building had a makeshift kitchen, a reception room for visitors, and a dayroom. And, while none had private baths, Army regu-

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[37] DA GO 43, Sec III, 21 Jun 48, activated the WAC Training Center, 15 Jun 48, CMH Library.

[38] PL 80-625 contained a provision that permitted the DWAC to nominate WAC officers to the higher grade needed to fill a key administrative or training position. Col Hallaren used this authority only once—for Maj Smith's promotion.

[39] Ltr, WAC Staff Dir (Capt Sue Lynch), HQ Second Army, Fort Meade, to Plans Officer (Capt Cora M. Foster), ODWAC, 16 Aug 48, file 312.2, Correspondence with WAC Staff Directors, RG 165.

[40] Rpt, WAC Staff Advisors and WAC Staff Officers Conf, 12-16 Sep 49, p. 68.

WAC TRAINING CENTER COMMANDER AND HER IMMEDIATE STAFF, *Camp Lee, September 1948. Left to right: Maj. Annie V. Gardner, Commander, 1st Battalion; Capt. Emily C. Gorman, S-3; Capt. Margaret E. Onion, Executive Officer; Lt.Col. Elizabeth C. Smith, Commander; Capt. Lillian F. Foushee, S-4; and Capt. Hattilu C. White, Information Officer.*

lations specified that women's barracks had to contain at least one bathtub per seventy-five women in addition to individual showers.[41]

The officers and enlisted women who would conduct the training, administration, and supply operations at the training center began arriving early in July. They undertook the back-breaking task of cleaning buildings and grounds and moving furniture and supplies. The pace was hectic; but the center would be ready to begin training recruits, officer candidates, leaders, and clerk typists in October. Colonel Smith later described their efforts:

Looking back it seems to me that the pioneers who made the beachhead landing at Camp Lee are certainly entitled to campaign ribbons and maybe even battle

[41] WD Cir 325, 14 Dec 43, authorized 2 tubs for each 150 women. Later, AR 415-107, 7 Jun 50, *Space Allowances at Permanent Installations*, authorized 1 tub for each 25 women, in addition to showers.

stars. . . . Their devotion to duty, their investment of time, physical labor, and constructive thought . . . produced a training establishment of which we as a Corps can be proud.[42]

Colonel Smith arrived at Camp Lee on 3 August. The next day, General Graham hosted a ceremony for her as she assumed command of the training center. Major Gardner then assumed command of the newly activated 1st Battalion (Basic Training) to complete the change in leadership at Camp Lee.[43]

Colonel Hallaren was dismayed when she visited Camp Lee for the first time since viewing it as a member of the site selection committee. Promises from Army Field Forces about improving the WAC area had not been kept. After inspecting it on 24-25 August 1948, she wrote to General Gerow: "The barracks at the far end of the Training Center where new recruits are to be housed are in extremely poor condition. Great strips of paint have peeled off the barracks resulting in a rotting of the exposed wood and an outside appearance which would deter an observer from volunteering." [44]

Colonel Hallaren requested funds and equipment to rehabilitate the buildings. She appealed for electric fans for the classrooms and offices and paint for the interiors and exteriors of buildings. Fans were in short supply, but General Gerow rushed as many as possible to the center, two from his own quarters at Fort Meade. Obtaining funds for the needed paint was more difficult—funds for painting "temporary buildings" except for "sash doors, trim, and exposed metal" was prohibited. Eventually, however, General Gerow was able to obtain almost $400,000 in appropriated funds for rehabilitating the buildings during fiscal year (FY) 1949.[45]

The organizational structure adopted for the WAC Training Center followed the lines of a regimental command. The training center commander had a personal staff consisting of an executive officer, special services officer, and public information officer. She also had a traditional staff (S-1, Personnel; S-2, Intelligence; S-3, Plans and Training; S-4, Supply). The WAC units under her command were Headquarters and Headquarters Company; the 14th Army Band (WAC); 1st Battalion with five lettered companies to conduct basic training; 2d Battalion with three

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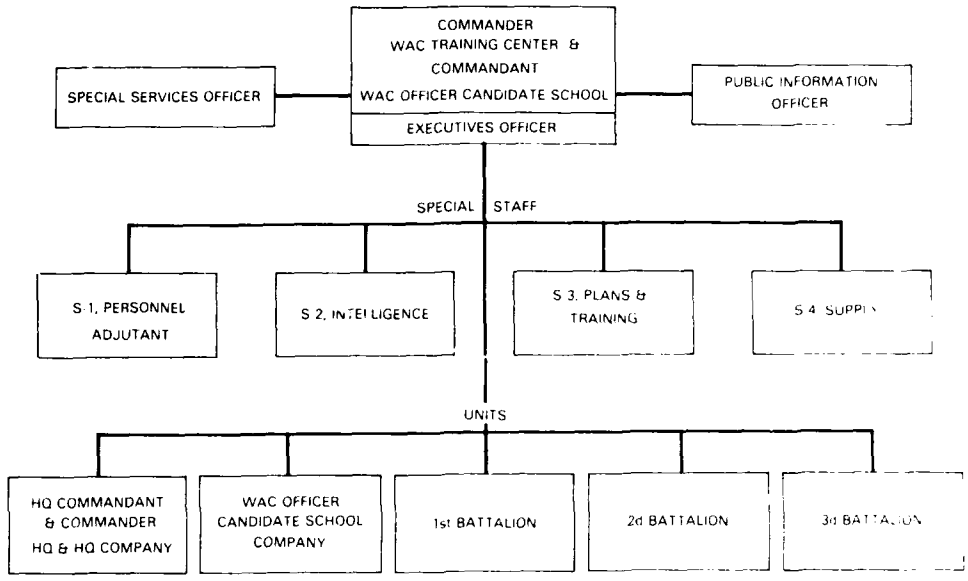
[42] Rpt, WAC Staff Advisors Conf, 12-16 Sep 49, p. 68.

[43] Ltr, CG, Second Army to CG, Camp Lee, 19 Jul 48, sub: Establishment of 2004th ASU, Camp Lee, Virginia, AIABC-322, ODWAC Ref File, Fort Lee, CMH. This letter authorized activation of the 2004th ASU (Army Service Unit) and its integral units. See also Camp Lee GO 15, 9 Jul 48.

[44] Ltr, DWAC to CG, Second Army, Fort George G. Meade, 1 Sep 48, sub: Rehabilitation of WAC Training Center Area, Camp Lee, Virginia, file 354.1, WAC Training Center, Camp Lee, RG 165.

[45] 1st Ind, Dir of Logistics, GS, to D/PAD, DA, Attn: DWAC, 23 Sep 48, to Memo, DWAC to Dir of Logistics, through D/PAD, 4 Sep 48, sub: Rehabilitation of WAC Training Center Area, Camp Lee, Virginia, file 354.1, WAC Training Center, Camp Lee, RG 165. Ltr, ACofS, G-4 (Col N. A. Burnell) HQ Second Army, Ft. Meade, MD, to Col Hallaren, 20 Oct 48, ODWAC Ref File, Fort Lee, CMH.

CHART 1—WAC TRAINING CENTER, FORT LEE ORGANIZATION, 1948



Source: Annual History, WAC Training Center, 1 Jun–31 Dec 48, App A, History Collection, WAC Museum.

companies: one for leadership training, one for reenlistee processing, and one, a holding company, for housing and processing trainees awaiting discharge, board action, or transfer; 3d Battalion with one company for women attending the typing and clerical procedures course, one to oversee students enrolled in other specialist courses at Camp Lee, and one for women attending WAC Officer Candidate School (*see Chart 1*).[46]

The WAC Training Center was staffed entirely by women from WAC detachments in the CONUS armies. But the commanders of these detachments often objected to reassigning their ablest women to the training center, and the women themselves frequently disliked being transferred into an all-female environment. Still, the WAC planners insisted that commanders fill the training center requisitions with qualified women and would not accept enlisted men or male officers as substitutes. The planners wanted to avoid the problems experienced during World War II when some of the male trainers had carelessly performed their duties, had been hostile to women senior officers, and had hazed the trainees without the officers' knowledge.[47]

[46] WAC Training Center, S-1 Division, Camp Lee, 14 Dec 48, "Historical Report of the WAC Training Center, Camp Lee, Virginia, for Period 14 June 1948 to 14 December 1948," History Collection, WAC Museum.

[47] Treadwell, *Women's Army Corps*, pp. 139–41.

The training center was officially opened on 4 October 1948. By that time, WACs had cleared the weeds, made the classrooms habitable, and prepared the class schedules. The first event was a review on the WAC parade ground, commonly called "the Black Top" because its surface was a thick layer of asphalt, which on hot days would soften and move underfoot and on cold days would develop holes and bumps—significant hindrances for marchers. Three battalions of men from the post and two companies of WACs marched in this first parade. The guests then moved to the WAC theater nearby for an opening ceremony. Colonel Hallaren, principal speaker for the occasion, commended the permanent party on their efforts and proclaimed the new WAC Training Center officially open and ready to train women for the Regular Army. Representatives of the other women's services attended the ceremony: Col. Geraldine P. May, Director, Women in the Air Force; Maj. Julia E. Hamblet, Acting Director, Women Marines; Lt. Comdr. Sybil A. Grant, representing Capt. Joy Bright Hancock, Director, WAVES.

On 6 October, two days after the ceremony, Colonel Smith welcomed the first trainees. The first recruit to arrive directly from civilian life was Macseen Sutton of Boone, Nebraska; the first reenlistee to report for processing was Pfc. Alice W. Roseberry of Pawtucket, Rhode Island. On 13 October, Colonel Smith formally received the black WAC officers who would command and train black recruits in Company B, 1st Battalion—Capt. Bernice G. Hughes, Commander; 1st Lts. Doris H. Williamson, Ann G. Hall, and Catherine G. Landry. The first black recruit to arrive was Callie L. Hawthorne of Kilgore, Texas.[48]

Almost every week during the next few months, a "first" or an "opening" at the center drew high-ranking guests. All of these events were well publicized by the public information officer, Capt. Hattilu C. White. The WAC theater opened on 19 September, showing movies three nights a week. The WAC Cadre Club (later called the Enlisted Open Mess) opened with a dance on 2 October. Maj. Gen. William H. Middleswart, Assistant Quartermaster General of the Army, his wife, and Colonel Smith were the guests of honor. A beauty shop opened on 25 October, and near it the WAC PX opened on 4 November. The first marriage at the WAC chapel took place on 13 November 1948; Sgt. Katie Kucher married Edmund Zielinski. In accordance with local custom, racially segregated WAC service clubs opened on 29 October for whites and on 19 November for blacks; USO clubs opened in Petersburg, Virginia, on Byrne Street for whites and on Wythe Street for blacks. Tennis courts and a hobby shop opened in the WAC area in November and December.

[48] "History of the WAC Training Center, Camp Lee, Virginia, from June 1948 to January 1949," History Collection, WAC Museum. Unless otherwise noted, information on the WAC Training Center during this period is from this source.

The first graduation of Regular Army WAC basic trainees on 10 December 1948 was a major event. Company A, 1st Battalion, had trained the graduates. Both General Paul and Colonel Hallaren attended the event, and the former gave the graduation speech.

Inspections, an everyday part of life at the training center, ranged from the daily walk-through of the barracks by the first sergeant to visits by teams from the Office of the Inspector General. A team of officers from Headquarters, Second Army, and the Office of the Chief of Army Field Forces conducted the first major inspection at the center between 13 and 16 December. The training center received a superior rating for all aspects of training and administration during its first three months of operation.

In March 1949, the arrival of the all-female 14th Army Band (WAC) raised the morale of the women at the training center. The WAC Band, as it was commonly called, had been activated at Fort Meade on 11 August 1948 and had assumed the lineage of the 400th Army Band (WAC), which had served at Fort Des Moines and Camp Stoneman, California, before being deactivated in April 1947. The WAC band arrived with bandmaster WOJG Katherine V. Allen and a few reenlistees from the World War II WAC bands. These women had assembled their instruments, music, and equipment while attached for training to the 51st Army Band at Fort Meade. To bring its complement up to the thirty-four authorized, recruits were auditioned while still in WAC basic training, and if they met Miss Allen's high standards, they were assigned for duty with the band upon graduation. By the end of June 1949, the band had twenty-six musicians and was playing for WAC parades on the Black Top and at orientation ceremonies, graduations, retreats, and other troop formations.[49]

Training Missions

During its first two years, the missions of the WAC Training Center were clarified. One mission briefly imposed on the center in 1948 by the Army's director of training was that of providing overseas training for all WACs. During World War II, this task had been accomplished by an activity called Extended Field Service at the Third WAC Training Center, Fort Oglethorpe. Men, on the other hand, received overseas training at depots throughout the United States. The end of the war had eliminated the need for these large depots, and a new system was begun whereby each post conducted the appropriate training for men who

[49] HQ Second Army, GO 132, 11 Aug 48, and Ltr, TAG to CG, Second Army, 28 Jul 48, sub: Activation of the 14th Army Band, ODWAC Ref File, Bands, CMH. The only TO&E unit that was all-WAC, the band was assigned to HQ, Second Army, and attached for duty to the 2004th ASU, WAC Training Center, Camp Lee, HQ 2001 ASU HQ MRU Augmentation, Fort Meade, SO 42, par 4, 2 Mar 49, CMH Library.

received overseas orders. By March 1948, this system was in effect throughout the Army. In June, pending completion of a review by the Office of the Director, WAC, to determine whether women too should be trained in this way for overseas duty, the mission was assigned to the WAC Training Center. Later in the year, Colonel Hallaren recommended to the director of organization and training that post commanders provide overseas training and processing for WACs as well as men. The WAC director's review convinced her that establishing a separate facility solely for women would increase training and travel costs. Her recommendation was approved, and, in March 1949, the commanding general of the Second Army deleted the mission as a WAC Training Center responsibility and included women under the Army regulation on this subject.[50]

In the summer of 1950, the training center took on the mission of giving basic training to women of the WAC Section, Organized Reserve Corps. Customarily, the reserve units gave basic combat training to male enlistees, with over half of the time devoted to weapons use and tactical training for infantry units. As this kind of training was inappropriate for the duties to which WAC reservists would be assigned, a two-week, active-duty basic training program was introduced for them. The 88-hour program, conducted at the WAC Training Center, was preceded by 12 pre-active-duty training hours at the reservists' home units. As part of the 88-hour program, reservists studied the achievements and traditions of the WAC, military customs and courtesies, drill and ceremonies, first aid, map reading, military justice, physical training, marches and bivouac, Army administration, and wearing of the uniform.[51]

Although the Army had six training centers for men, it needed only one for training WACs in peacetime. One-third the size of the World War II facilities, the center at Fort Lee carried out every function the earlier centers had performed—except overseas training. Its mission was "to prepare the woman soldier for the job she will be assigned in the Army; to indoctrinate her into the elements of military life and customs; and to imbue her with the high moral and ethical standards which the Army demands."[52] To perform this mission, the center acted as a reception and processing center and a replacement training center for recruits; a specialist training center for graduates of basic training; a school for officer candidates and potential enlisted leaders; and a reserve training center. Its maximum training population was 1,547. (*See Table 3.*)

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[50] DF, D/PAD to DOT, 14 Feb 49, sub: WAC Training Center, and Ltr, DOT, DA, to CG, Second Army, 3 Mar 49, same subject, in file 322, Correspondence with Organization and Training, RG 165; SR 55-760-1, Preparation of Individual Replacements for Overseas Movement (POR), 4 Nov 49, CMH Library.

[51] Army Training Program, ATP 21-121 Aug 51, Basic Program for Female Military Personnel without Prior Service.

[52] WAC Training Ctr, Fort Lee, VA, "History of the WAC Training Center 30 June 1948 to 31 December 1953," History Collection, WAC Museum.

TABLE 3—WAC TRAINING CENTER: TRAINING CAPACITY

Unit(s)	Maximum Strength	Course Length	Input Basis
5 Basic Training Companies	760	8 weeks	152 every 2 weeks
1 Reenlistment Company	76	Processing	As received
1 Leaders' Company	120	6 weeks	20 every week
3 Specialist Training Companies	456	8 weeks	92 every 2 weeks
1 Officer Candidate School	75	6 months	75 every 6 months
1 Reserve Basic Training	60	2 weeks	2 sessions a year

Source: WAC Training Center, "History of the WAC Training Center, 30 June 1948 to 31 December 1953," History Collection, WAC Museum.

The basic training battalion received, processed, and trained the newly enlisted women. Their first week was devoted to initiating their Army personnel file, receiving immunization shots and a dental check-up, being fitted for uniforms, and taking tests. Each also received a $10 cash advance on her monthly pay of $65. The eight-week training program included such subjects as military customs and courtesies, organization of the Army, military justice, personal hygiene and military sanitation, social hygiene, first aid and safety measures, maintenance of clothing, equipment, and quarters, map reading, supply, Army administration, close order drill, and physical training. Instruction in the traditions and history of the WAC was given to instill an esprit de corps in the trainees and to stress the importance of good behavior on and off duty. Before they left the training center, the newly enlisted women understood their role in the predominantly male Army and recognized that their performance in the service would be highly visible. To disgrace themselves through poor deportment or performance meant disgracing the platoon sergeants and officers who had given them their initial training. Each graduate was honored by marching in a graduation parade and receiving a certificate at a ceremony in the WAC chapel. Family and hometown friends frequently attended these festivities.

After graduating from basic training, some enlisted women who had exhibited leadership qualities attended a special six-week course in the basic principles of leadership. This Leaders Course prepared these women and highly qualified reenlistees for responsible duty as platoon sergeants, assistant platoon sergeants, or instructors in basic or other training. In the first three weeks of classroom instruction they learned how to supervise, instruct, evaluate, and counsel other WACs. Classes included public

WACs DEPART CAMP LEE *after completing basic and advanced training, December 1948.*

speaking, military history, leadership, and methods of instruction—subjects not given to basic trainees. The last three weeks of the course were spent in practical work as acting NCOs or instructors at the training center. Graduation to actual leadership positions depended upon their ability to perform these newly learned skills.

The Officer Candidate School (OCS) accepted women who had graduated from basic training and the leaders course. Their 960 hours of instruction covered a twenty-week period. In addition to receiving further training in some of the same subjects given in basic training and the leaders course, candidates also had classes in military law and boards, food service, personnel management, methods of organization, leadership and morale, relations with civilian agencies, recruiting, military government in civil affairs, psychological warfare, and practical problems in unit management. Outstanding graduates were offered Regular Army commissions; the others received commissions in the Reserve and signed a commitment to serve a minimum of two years' active duty. Some officer candidates who wanted but did not receive Regular Army commissions on graduation from OCS embarked on a competitive tour for one year. Each woman spent four months at each of three different posts undertaking various assignments. At the end of the year, those who received high efficiency ratings from all their rating officers were offered commissions.

Other graduates of basic training entered specialist training companies. Some received eight weeks of training as clerk typists, supply clerks, or

general clerks; some attended the Cooks and Bakers Course at the Quartermaster's School; some, the Stenography Course at The Adjutant General's School.

Reenlistees arriving at the training center received initial in-processing, new uniforms, and a few refresher courses in military customs and courtesies, drills and ceremonies, and care of the uniform. At the end of two weeks, they were assigned to duty at the training center or to a WAC detachment in the field.

The Last Years of Racial Segregation

Despite the strides made by women in the armed services, racial segregation remained a major issue for the Army. In 1946, the Army had made the changes in its racial policies that improved job and educational opportunities for blacks, eliminated all-black divisions, and banned some discriminatory practices, such as designation of race on overseas orders and segregation in national cemeteries. Despite the changes, however, entry quotas and segregation remained. Blacks continued to enter the Army under a quota system and to receive basic training in segregated units. OCS and specialist training were integrated, but after completing this education, blacks faced Army careers in segregated work assignments, housing, eating arrangements, and social gatherings. The new racial policies. however, provided some hope that the quotas and segregation eventually would be eliminated.[53]

The WAC reentry (reenlistment) program of 1946–1947 had been open to black women, but its primary attraction—overseas assignment—was not. When asked about this situation, Colonel Boyce stated the War Department policy: "While there is no current or foreseeable requirement for Negro WACs in any overseas theater, the question of future employment of Negro units in the overseas service is under continuing study in the War Department." [54]

After World War II, black WAC strength had declined drastically. At the end of June 1948, the month the women's Regular Army and Reserve integration bill was signed, 4 black WAC officers and 121 enlisted women remained on duty, including those serving in the Army Air Forces.[55] Then on 26 July 1948, President Truman issued Executive Order No. 9981, mandating an end to racial discrimination and segregation in the armed forces. The Truman administration formed an executive commit-

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[53] MacGregor, *Integration in the Armed Forces*, pp. 224–26.

[54] Press Release, WD, ODWAC (approved by Act'g D/PAD, WD GS, BrigGen William E. Bergin), 16 Jul 46, WDWAC file 342, Enlistment and Reenlistment, Jan–Dec 46, RG 165.

[55] *Strength of the Army Report* (STM-30), 31 Dec 50; EO 9981 in DA Bulletin 32, Sec III, 2 Aug 48, CMH Library. The four black officers were Maj Harriet M. West, TAG's office, Pentagon; Capt Bernice G. Hughes, Commander, WAC Det, Fort Ord, CA; Capt Jeanne G. Childs, Admin Officer, Army Medical Center, Washington, DC; 1stLt Alma O. Berry, Exec Officer, WAC Det, Fort Ord.

tee, headed by Charles O. Fahey, to prepare and submit a plan for desegregating the services. Almost two years elapsed, however, before the Fahey Committee presented its final report. And, in the interim, the WAC had to follow established Army policy concerning recruitment, training, and assignment of black personnel.

When the WAC Training Center opened in October 1948, the 10 percent quota for black women resulted in recruiters' sending black enlistees to the center only during every fifth increment. When these women arrived at the center, they went to Company B, 1st Battalion, for basic training; the other companies—A, C, D, and E—trained only white women. Company B, staffed with black women officers and noncommissioned officers, followed the same curriculum, techniques of training, and policies as the other basic training companies. When a thirteen-week basic training program was adopted in the fall of 1949, every seventh increment arriving at the training center was an all-black unit, trained in Company B.

After months of stormy meetings, maneuvering, and compromises, the Fahey Committee and the Army finally agreed upon a revised policy for including blacks in the Army. In January 1950, a new directive, "Utilization of Negro Manpower in the Army," was issued; it did not continue the policies of the 10 percent racial recruiting quotas, segregated basic training, or black cadre for black units. It directed that all specialist training courses be open to qualified blacks without quotas. Graduates of the courses were to be assigned "to any Table of Distribution or Table of Organization and Equipment unit without regard to race or color." Two months later, the Army issued a directive, effective 1 April 1950, incorporating these policy changes and eliminating racial recruiting quotas.[56]

Elimination of the quota did not eliminate segregation for men; the Armed Forces Examining Stations (AFES) continued to send black male recruits for basic training only to Fort Ord and Fort Dix. But elimination of the quota did end segregation for the WAC. Thereafter, race was disregarded for women recruits, and black and white women arriving at the training center filled whatever unit was processing at the time. They began side-by-side basic training in April 1950. Approval of the new policy was obvious from a comment in the center's historical report for the quarter: "We noted the change in the Army's system of segregation as we welcomed *the last* Company B into 405 School [WAC Clerical Training Course for MOS 405, Clerk-Typist]." [57]

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[56] SR 600-629-1, 16 Jan 50, Utilization of Negro Manpower in the Army, superseded WD Cir 124, 1946, which contained the policy sustaining segregation, both in CMH Library; MacGregor, *Integration in the Armed Forces*, pp. 434–36.

[57] WAC Training Center, Quarterly Historical Rpt for the period ending 30 Jun 50, History Collection, WAC Museum.

By the end of June 1950, the WAC had been permanently integrated into the Regular Army and Reserve. The director was secure in her role as adviser to the Army staff, and her responsibilities and position gave her influence that was greater than her real authority. She also possessed an enviable latticework of communications that extended upward to the Department of Defense, through the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services, and downward to the enlisted women, through the WAC staff advisers. At the Department of the Army staff level, the WAC had senior officers in almost every General Staff and Special Staff division, who were gaining experience to assume greater responsibilities later. And although the WAC Training Center lacked elegance, it did provide command and staff leadership positions not available to WAC officers and NCOs elsewhere in the Army. The all-WAC staff at the center provided sound training, strict discipline, and patriotic inspiration for prospective officers and enlisted women, black or white.

CHAPTER IV

The Korean War Era

In the early morning hours of 25 June 1950, the army of Communist North Korea crossed the 38th Parallel and invaded South Korea. The Communists ignored an appeal from the United Nations for a cease-fire; the U.N. Security Council appointed the President of the United States as its executive agent to restore peace in Korea with the assistance of other U.N. members; and President Harry S. Truman immediately appointed his senior military officer in the Far East, General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, as commander in chief of the United Nations Command (CINCUNC).

During July and August, the North Korean Army drove the U.N. forces down the peninsula. The drive was checked before Pusan, the southernmost port in Korea. By September, General MacArthur had gathered sufficient troop strength and firepower to drive the invaders back up the peninsula to the Manchurian border. In late November, the U.N. forces stopped at the Yalu. The Chinese Red Army crossed over and with the North Koreans mounted a strong offensive that resulted in their recapturing territory down to and south of the 38th Parallel in January 1951. A U.N. counteroffensive stopped the drive, but the entry of the Chinese into the war removed any hope for a quick U.N. victory. The United States and other U.N. members had to prepare to fight a longer war than they had anticipated.

Congress had already passed the laws necessary to mobilize U.S. forces as part of the U.N. effort. In December 1950, as the Chinese streamed south, President Truman had issued a much-delayed proclamation that a state of emergency existed.[1] By the end of January 1951, the Communist forces had been pushed back to the 38th Parallel. In April, Truman relieved MacArthur as CINCUNC and named General Matthew B. Ridgway as the new commander. The combatants soon reached a stalemate. In July, peace negotiations were begun at Kaesong. In August, they were broken off, and, in October. they were resumed, at Panmunjom. An armistice was signed on 27 July 1953.

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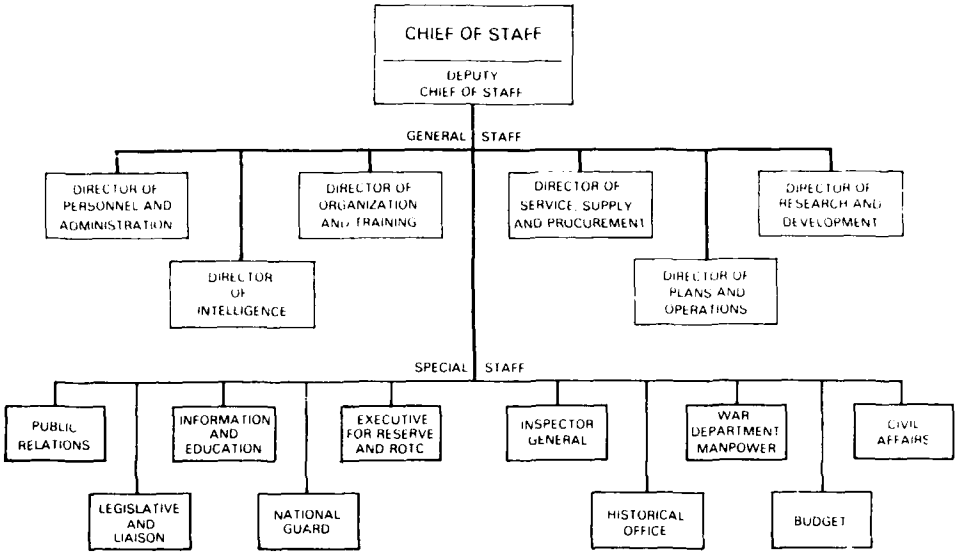
[1] Presidential Proclamation 2914, 16 Dec 50, DA Bull #22, 29 Dec 50, CMH Library.

CHART 2—ARMY STAFF, ORGANIZATION, 1946 (*below*) AND 1950 (*right*)



Source: WD Circular No. 138, 14 May 46.

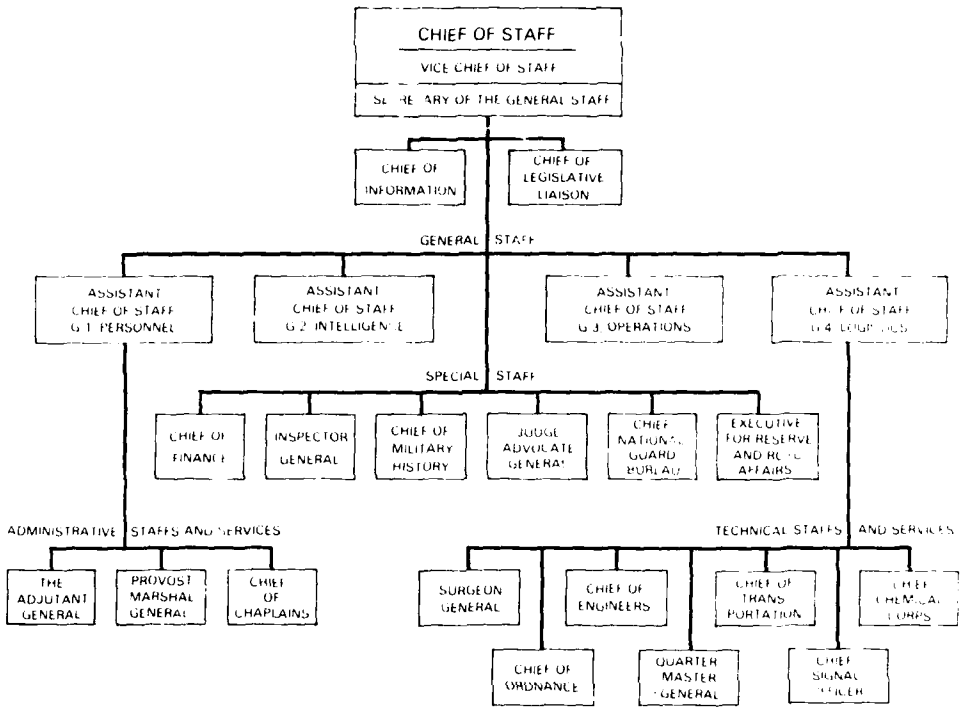
Mobilization for War

The Army had completed a major reorganization just before the Korean War began. Under the new plan, the Office of the Director, Personnel and Administration (D/PAD), was retitled the Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G–1 (ACofS, G–1), and given the manpower control function formerly under the director of organization and training, whose office was eliminated. The Office of the Director, Plans and Operations, retitled Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G–3 (ACofS, G–3), retained responsibility for mobilization planning and training policies. Training supervision remained with the chief of the Army Field Forces.[2]

The president and Congress had reacted quickly to the crisis in Korea by mobilizing U.S. forces. The Army's authorized strength increased from 630,000, when the war began, to 1,263,000 by 31 December 1950. Other measures were taken to sustain that strength:

—The president was authorized to extend enlistment contracts involuntarily for men and women in all components and services (PL 624, 81st Congress, 27 Jul 50).

[2] SR 10-5-1, 11 Apr 50, Organization and Functions, DA; DA Cir 12, 1950; SR 10-110-1, 21 Mar 51, Organization and Functions, Office of the ACofS, G-1, CMH Library.



Source: SR 10-5-1, 11 Apr. 50.

—The draft law was extended for one year beginning 1 July 1950 (PL 599, 81st Congress, 30 Jun 50).

—The president was authorized to order members of the Army Reserve and National Guard to active duty with or without their consent in units or as individuals for a term not to exceed 21 months (PL 599, 81st Congress, 30 Jun 50).

The measure extending the draft had no effect on the WAC because Congress had excluded women from registration and induction. The measure extending enlistments, however, did affect them. It extended for 12 months enlistments scheduled to expire before 9 July 1951. Coincidentally, this date was exactly three years and one day after the first date when WACs had been allowed to enlist in the Regular Army. Therefore, women who had competed so fiercely to be "first" to enlist on 8 July 1948 were some of those "caught" by the first of several involuntary extensions. The next extension, ordered in July 1951, again stretched enlistments for 12 months, until 1 July 1952; the last, ordered in April

1952, extended enlistments for 9 months, until 1 July 1953. The last two extensions affected most of the WACs on active duty, but no enlistment was extended involuntarily more than once.[3] The third measure affected WAC reservists. They were recalled, voluntarily and involuntarily, to serve on active duty during the war.

To maintain personnel strength at overseas stations, the chief of staff used his regulatory authority to extend the length of foreign service tours for six months, effective 31 August 1950. In January 1951, he again extended those tours for another six months. As a result, over 1,400 WAC officers and enlisted women had their foreign service tours lengthened.[4]

In November 1950, the president asked Congress for a new draft law to replace the one that would expire on 30 June 1951. The proposal sparked a flurry of interest in registering and drafting women. Colonel Hallaren had suggested such a measure in August. In a memorandum to the G–1, General Brooks, she wrote: "This has been my theme song for two years—the need for Selective Service for women (with national service) in any future war effort. It will take a total emergency to put this through—and it will take this to put a total emergency through." [5]

Another advocate was the former director of the WAVES, Capt. Mildred McAfee Horton. She favored drafting women in both war and peacetime but would limit combat training and assignments to men. "It was," she said, "more efficient to deal with one sex under combat conditions." [6] Millicent Carey McIntosh, the dean of women at Barnard College, recommended that women register voluntarily for military service. The World War II head of the Coast Guard's SPARS, Capt. Dorothy C. Stratton, urged compulsory registration of women—the services would then know how many women would be available to them for long-range planning purposes. The National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs supported drafting women. Maj. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, head of the Selective Service System, thought a draft of women "was possible." Many, however, were opposed. Dr. Harold Taylor, president of Sarah Lawrence College, felt that drafting women would "threaten our whole social structure." [7] Vivien Kellems, a well-known industrialist from Connecticut, thought the patriotism of women would bring adequate numbers of volunteers. "As to the draft of women, I say no, it won't be necessary." [8]

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[3] Enlistment extensions were announced by EO 10145, 27 Jul 50; EO 10270, 6 Jul 51; and EO 10345, 17 Apr 52, CMH Library.

[4] DA Msgs WAR 87056, 25 Jul 50, and WCL 40973, 22 Jan 51, History of the ACofS, G–1, 25 Jun 50–8 Sep 51, CMH Ref Br.

[5] Memo, Col Hallaren to Gen Brooks, G–1, 11 Aug 50, file Demobilization, RG 165.

[6] *New York Times*, 10 Feb 51.

[7] Ibid., 21 Mar 51.

[8] *New York Evening Post*, 21 Mar 51.

In any event, such measures were not enacted. An annex to the Army's Mobilization Plan (AMP) outlined the steps to be taken to increase WAC strength in the event of war or national emergency. Under the plan, the assistant chief of staff, G-3, would estimate the number of WACs needed after M-Day (Mobilization Day) for assignment to each of the CONUS armies and the overseas theaters of war. The estimates would be passed to the G-1 to be translated into a WAC recruiting objective for the Army Recruiting Service and to the chief of Army Field Forces to increase basic, officer candidate, and specialist training facilities at the WAC Training Center. "Discharge on marriage"—marriage as an accepted reason to request and obtain an early discharge—would no longer be an option for WAC officers and enlisted women. The training center would temporarily increase its housing and classroom capacities by double-decking beds in the barracks and initiating a two-shift schedule of classes. Additional WAC cadre and instructors would be obtained through recall of WAC reservists. A new WAC training center would be opened if necessary.[9]

The Korean War brought about implementation of the WAC section of the mobilization plan. Pending development of a longer-range plan, the chief of staff approved a DWAC proposal to increase WAC enlisted strength from 8,000 to 10,000 by 31 December. Additional WAC recruiters were sent to the field with a new monthly objective—638, up from 324. On 25 August, the Army suspended discharge on marriage for WAC officers and enlisted personnel.[10]

While the interim measures were being taken, Colonel Hallaren developed a long-range expansion plan, which the chief of staff approved in January 1951. The plan called for 1,000 WAC officers and 12,000 enlisted women by 30 June 1951, and 1,900 and 30,000, respectively, by 30 June 1952. To meet the strength goal for 30 June 1951, the WAC, with 240 WAC recruiters authorized, increased its recruiting goal from 638 a month to 840. To house and provide basic training for the projected increased numbers of recruits, without establishing another training center, the WAC discontinued the Typing and Administration Course at the WAC Training Center in mid-November 1950. Graduates of WAC basic training who were scheduled to attend the course were diverted to similar courses at male training centers.[11]

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[9] Office of the Chief, Army Field Forces, "Annual History of the Office of the Chief, Army Field Forces, 1 January 1950 through 31 December 1950," CMH Ref Br.

[10] Memo, WAC Plans and Policy Committee (Chairman, Maj Hortense M. Boutell) to DWAC, 11 Aug 50, sub: WAC Expansion Plan, file 337, Conferences, RG 165; AR 615-361, 30 Aug 50, CMH Library.

[11] WAC Training Center, "Historical Summary Women's Army Corps Training Center, Fort Lee, Virginia, June 1950-January 1953," pp. 5-6, History Collection, WAC Museum. DA GO 13, 20 Apr 50, retitled Camp Lee as Fort Lee, effective 15 Apr 50.

The action to extend enlistment contracts and overseas tours did not immediately increase the Army's strength. In September 1950, for the first time since January 1949, men were drafted into the Army. But the new draftees could not be considered in the trained strength numbers until January 1951, after they had completed a minimum of sixteen weeks' combat training. To obtain the trained personnel it needed immediately, in July the Army had appealed to enlisted reservists, men and women, to voluntarily return to active duty for one year or until the emergency ended. The initial call had been for antiaircraft gunners, mechanics, radio operators, X-ray technicians, translators, and stenographers. Within a few weeks, however, enlisted volunteers in any MOS were accepted. Also, reserve lieutenants and captains in any MOS were asked to return voluntarily to active duty.[12]

The call for volunteers did not bring in the great numbers needed, and the Army was forced to order reservists to serve on active duty involuntarily for not more than twenty-one months. In addition to providing troops for Korea, the United States also had to maintain and increase its forces in Europe to deter further Soviet encroachment there. In early August, the Army ordered 62,000 enlisted reservists to report on active duty in September and October. Reservists assigned to units that participated in regular drill sessions were exempt from recall. The exemption caused public protest. Inactive reservists charged that the Army was punishing them for not participating actively in the reserve program. Army spokesmen denied the charge; the active Army reserve units constituted the trained defense force that would be needed if the Korean War broadened into World War III. Despite the Army's explanations, Congress called for an investigation, and in late October, to satisfy Congress, the Army discontinued the involuntary recall of enlisted reservists based on the anticipated input from the draft.[13]

Initially, women in the Army (WAC, Army Nurse Corps, and Women's Medical Specialist Corps) were not included in the involuntary recall actions. By mid-August, however, Colonel Hallaren had recognized the need for additional women to fill future requirements. On 25 August, the G–1, Lt. Gen. Edward H. Brooks, who had replaced General Paul on 1 January 1949, approved her request to prepare, with the chiefs of the Army Nurse Corps and Women's Medical Specialist Corps, a combined plan for women. The chief of staff approved their plan on 21 September. But, since involuntary recall of enlisted reservists was ended in October, the plan affected primarily the officers of those corps.[14]

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[12] DA Msgs WAR 85317, 9 Jul 50, and WCL 34125, 22 Jul 50, History of the ACofS, G–1, 25 Jun 50–8 Sep 51, CMH Ref Br. Maj Elva Stillwaugh, "Personnel Problems in the Korean Conflict," in CMH Ref Br, provides extensive information on the recall programs.

[13] DA Msg WCL 22673, 25 Oct 50, History of the ACofS, G–1, 25 Jun 50–8 Sep 51, CMH Ref Br.

[14] Ltr, TAG to CGs of CONUS Armies (AGAO-S 210.455 Org Res 21 Sep 50 G–1 MAGPR), 21 Sep 50, sub: Recall of Women Officers and Enlisted Personnel, author's file, Korea.

To carry out the recall plan, the commanders of the CONUS armies received monthly quotas for reserve officers and selected those to be recalled. The quotas were filled first with volunteers, then with women from inactive units (not receiving drill pay) who were single and had no dependents, and, in last priority, married women without dependents. Women with children or dependents under eighteen were not involuntarily recalled. Nurses, dietitians, or therapists who held key administrative or teaching positions or whose departure "would jeopardize the health of the community in which employed" were not recalled. During fiscal year (FY) 1951 (1 July 1950–30 June 1951), 67 WAC officers and 1,526 enlisted women were voluntarily recalled on active duty; 175 WAC officers were involuntarily recalled.[15]

Though not subject to the draft, active duty and reserve WACs were subject to every other mobilization measure. The involuntary recall of reserve officers in 1951 marked the first time women were summoned on active duty without their consent. Technically, they *had* consented to recall by voluntarily joining the Army Reserve, an action that plainly carried an active duty commitment in the event of war or national emergency. Nonetheless, for women, it was a "first" worthy of note.

The controversy over mobilization practices led the Department of Defense to examine its personnel plans and policies. One study group was assigned to determine whether women were being underutilized. On 12 October, the group issued its report, "A Study of the Maximum Utilization of Military Womanpower." It recommended that the services formulate a joint policy for the expanded employment of military women and that they study the effect of applying policies for men to women or to mixed groups. The report proposed research into the participation of women in the armed services; the development of mechanical aptitude tests for women; the development of functional clothing and safety devices for women; and the recruiting practices and positions that the services assigned to military and civilian women.[16]

The services were not pleased with the report. The assistant secretary of the Air Force stated that the Air Force mission had to guide its utilization of women. The Air Force had studied its mobilization requirements for women and had appointed a panel, led by famed flier Jacqueline Cochran, to conduct a study of utilization of the WAF. The secretaries of the Navy and Army recommended that, before any policy statements or research programs were initiated, an interservice committee of

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[15] Ibid.; History of the ACofS, G-1, 25 Jun 50–8 Sep 51, pp. 19–20, CMH Ref Br. The involuntarily recalled officers reported to the WAC Training Center in March and April 1951 for uniforms and a brief refresher course. They dubbed themselves the "Mothball Brigade."

[16] DOD Personnel Policy Board, Military Subcommittee Rpt, sub: Study of Maximum Utilization of Military Womanpower, 12 Oct 50, included in DOD Personnel Policy Board Subcommittee Project Rpt No. M-7-51, "Maximum Utilization of Military Womanpower," 9 Apr 51, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, Utilization, CMH, hereafter cited as Project Rpt No. M-7-51.

senior women officers draft a department-wide policy on the utilization of women. The committee should also study the proposed research projects and make recommendations concerning them.[17]

The chairman of the DOD Personnel Policy Board agreed with the recommendation, and, in February 1951, directed each of the services to select a senior woman officer for the committee. Lt. Col. Kathleen McClure, deputy director of the WAF, was appointed chairman of the study group.[18]

Originally classified "secret," the 200-page report was completed on 9 April 1951 and was signed by each member of the group. The conclusions reached by the panel were similar to the attitudes expressed by their service chiefs on the October 1950 study. They joined the men in rejecting the assistance offered by the DOD Personnel Policy Board in what they considered their services' internal policies. The women directors had zealously guarded their role as experts on matters affecting military women. They recommended that no action be taken on the recommendations in the October study. They further concluded that existing laws, regulations, policies, and directives concerning women did not adversely affect their utilization by the military services: "since the Services are working continuously on a refinement of these criteria and are constantly evaluating their utilization of military womanpower in terms of occupational studies and experience, no further clarifying policy or directives . . . are needed to assure efficient utilization of military womanpower." [19] The DOD Personnel Policy Board accepted the report without comment.

While the women officers were formulating their report, Margaret Chase Smith, now a member of the Senate, asked for the plans for utilizing women in the event of total mobilization and for an estimate of the extent to which women would replace men. Under Secretary of the Navy Dan A. Kimball stated that, under total mobilization, women could replace up to 15 percent of the Navy officers and 12 percent of the enlisted men and up to 7 percent of Marine Corps officers and enlisted men. Assistant Secretary of the Air Force Eugene M. Zuckert replied that women could replace approximately 10 percent of its men. Assistant Secretary of the Army Earl D. Johnson reported that the Army would provide for the "replacement of male personnel by WAC's to the maximum extent." This would, he said, require some form of involuntary

[17] Memos, Asst SecAF to Chief, DOD Personnel Policy Board, 16 Nov and 18 Dec 50, sub: Study of Maximum Utilization of Military Womanpower; SecNav to Chief, DOD Personnel Policy Board, 20 Nov 50, same sub; and SecArmy to Chief, DOD Personnel Policy Board, 21 Nov 50, same sub. All in Project Rpt No. M-7-51.

[18] Memo, Chairman, DOD Personnel Policy Board, Military Personnel Committee, to SecArmy, SecAF, SecNav, 9 Feb 51, sub: Project Report—Maximum Utilization of Military Womanpower, Project Rpt No. M-7-51. Included on the senior women's panel were LtCol Cora M. Foster, WAC; Cdr Louise K. Wilde, USN; Maj Margaret H. Henderson, WM; LtCdr Etta Belle Kitchen, from Office of SecDef; and Lt Margaret A. McAghon, USCG.

[19] Project Rpt No. M-7-51, p. 3.

induction for women. "In this connection, there is presently being processed within the Department of the Army, a draft bill to make Standby Selective Service Legislation applicable to women as well as to men in time of full mobilization." [20] The draft bill referred to by Secretary Johnson did not get far. The DOD Personnel Policy Board failed to show any interest in the proposal, and General Brooks, the G-1, shelved it.[21]

Reserve Screening

Beginning in 1948, the Organized Reserve Corps (ORC) had welcomed WAC members into the various established units and branches. In fact, WAC staff advisers reported that "the demand for WAC reservists exceeds the supply." [22] And, while WAC participation rose from zero in June 1948 to 4,281 in 1950, it was far short of the 20,000 ORC spaces the Army had hoped the WAC would fill.[23]

The Korean War recall programs revealed weaknesses in the readiness of the ORC—outdated personnel rosters, incomplete training and qualification records, physically unqualified personnel. Reservists failed to notify their units when they moved, enrolled in college, or voluntarily returned to active duty. Complicating matters for the WAC, women reservists also failed to report marriages, changes in name, births of children, or the addition of other dependents. And compounding the problems for the entire Army, annual physical exams for officers had been discontinued in February 1947 for lack of funds.

In October 1950, to correct these problems, which affected each of the services, George C. Marshall, now secretary of defense, directed that the armed forces screen their reserve personnel records and correct them; reject any unfit reservists; and code the availability status, in days, for each member. In the latter process, each eligible reservist, male or female, was placed in a mobilization category representing the number of days that the reservist had between notification of recall and reporting for active duty. The category, or amount of time given, was based on the reservist's occupation, complexity of personal affairs, number of dependents, and physical status. Two years later the Armed Forces Reserve Act of 1952 abolished this cumbersome system and assigned readiness catego-

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[20] Memos, Chairman, DOD Personnel Policy Board, to SecArmy, SecNav, SecAF, 26 Dec 50, sub: Utilization of Women in the War Effort; Replies: Under SecNav, 5 Jan 51; Asst SecAF, 8 Jan 51; and Asst SecArmy, 5 Jan 51, Project Rpt No. M-7-51.

[21] Interv, Col Hallaren with the author, 23 Mar 78.

[22] Rpt, WAC Staff Advisors Conf, Sep 49, p. 119, ODWAC Ref File, WAC Staff Adviser Conferences, CMH.

[23] DA Press Release, 23 Jul 48, sub: Address, LtCol Kathleen McClure, Office of the Executive for Reserve and ROTC Affairs, to the WAC Veterans Association 2d Annual Convention, 24 Jul 48, file 000.7, Press Releases, RG 165.

ries to units rather than individuals. This law also redesignated the Organized Reserve Corps as the United States Army Reserve (USAR).[24]

As a result of the Korean mobilization experience, the USAR changed enlistment and reenlistment qualifications for WAC reservists to coincide as closely as possible with those for Regular Army WAC personnel. Few changes, however, were made in utilization or training policies for the reservists. Screening, discharge regulations, and recall programs reduced the number of WAC reservists from 4,281 on 30 June 1950 to 2,524 on 30 June 1951.[25]

WAC Recruiting Accelerated

On 9 January 1951, General Brooks advised Colonel Hallaren and the chief of the Military Personnel Procurement Services Division (MPPSD) that Colonel Hallaren's plan had been accepted and that the WAC target strength for 30 June 1952 was 30,000 enlisted women—2 percent of the 1.5 million-man Army authorized by Congress. The WAC goal for 30 June 1951 remained at 17,000 enlisted women.[26]

As of 1 January, however, the WAC had only 8,674 women on duty; the short-term goal of 10,000, set in August, had not been reached. WAC strength had to double in six months to meet the new goal. The number of WAC recruiters was increased from 90 to 240; a shorter, two-year enlistment period was added; and recruit application procedures were streamlined. For the first time since 1945, the Army purchased advertising time on radio and television for WAC recruiting and funded the publication of additional promotional literature and posters. Colonel Hallaren also recommended a joint male-female recruiting campaign to spur enlistments. "The WAC objective will not be reached," she warned, "until every . . . procurement speech made by Army personnel includes the need for both men and women . . . and until publicity pictures include women and men."[27] However, the Army's recruiting theme for 1951, "The Mark of a Man," was already under way and did not lend itself to including women. Nonetheless, several recruiting posters were produced showing men and women serving together.

The chief of the MPPSD recommended that controlled input (i.e., a quota given each CONUS army) into the WAC Training Center be abandoned so that a recruiter would not be limited to the weekly quota and could send as many enlistees as possible after their applications had been approved. Upon the recommendation of the new WAC Training

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[24] Change 2, 22 Sep 50, to SR 140-177-1, 29 Sep 49, ORC, Enlisted Separation; PL 476, 82d Cong, 2d sess, 9 July 1952, Armed Forces Reserve Act of 1952.

[25] SR 140-107-1, 12 Apr 51, Enlistment and Reenlistment in the Enlisted Reserve Corps, CMH Library; *Strength of the Army Report* (STM-30), 30 Jun 52.

[26] Address, Col Roger M. Crosby, to the Conf, Rpt, WAC Staff Advisors Conf, May 51, p. 26.

[27] Rpt, WAC Staff Advisors Conf, May 51, p. 23.

Center commander, Lt. Col. Ruby E. Herman, Colonel Hallaren vetoed this idea because the center did not have barracks space to "store" new recruits until their training began. Colonel Hallaren, however, did agree to reconsider the idea if the WAC recruiting objective were to be greatly increased in the next six months; and the training center was alerted to plan for this contingency.

With exceptional performance by the WAC recruiters, from the start of the war to 30 June 1951, WAC strength increased by a little over 60 percent. Enlisted strength, however, was still a little over 6,000 short of the goal of 17,000. During the period from 30 June to 31 December 1950, 3,603 enlisted women had entered the Corps (including 1,140 recalled reservists); between January and June 1951, 3,443 had entered (including 385 recalled reservists). Total WAC strength on 30 June was 11,932.[28]

WAC recruiting appeared to be repeating the pattern that had emerged during World War II. At the outbreak of the war, women had rushed to enlist, but as the war wore on, enlistments fell off. There were, however, contributing factors. Between January and June 1951, the new recruiters and promotional brochures trickled slowly into the recruiting stations. And, once on duty, the new recruiters, untrained and inexperienced, had to learn their sales techniques on the job. Finally, the large number of high school graduates who usually were ready to enlist in May and June simply did not materialize. Army enlistments, male and female, declined during these months. (*See Table 4.*)

TABLE 4—MALE AND WAC ENLISTMENTS, 1951

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun
WAC Enlistments	694	614	733	543	415	444
Male Enlistments	35,327	27,355	23,710	16,587	10,058	10,829

Source: Strength of the Army Report (STM-30), 31 Dec 53.

Despite recruiting problems, the overall strength in each of the women's services had increased impressively during fiscal year 1951. (*See Table 5.*)

The increase interested Anna M. Rosenberg, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Personnel. She believed it showed great potential for increasing military womenpower.

[28] *Strength of the Army Report* (STM-30), 31 Dec 51. Total WAC strength of 11,932 included 1,010 officers, 39 warrant officers, and 10,883 enlisted women.

Women know that they have a stake in this nation. During World War II, the women exercised the right to serve on equal terms with men as they volunteered in large numbers in the WAC, the WAVES, the SPARS, the Women Marines, the Nursing Services, and Medical Specialists Corps. Now with an acute shortage in manpower, women again have the opportunity of serving. They will not be found wanting.[29]

TABLE 5—ENLISTED WOMEN'S STRENGTH

	30 June 1950	30 June 1951
WAC	6,551	10,883
WAVES	2,746	5,268
WAF	3,782	7,514
Women Marines	535	2,002
Total	13,614	25,667

Source: Semi-Annual Report of the Secretary of Defense, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1951 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1951), p. 22.

Mrs. Rosenberg set out to obtain 72,000 more servicewomen and began by asking Congress to remove the 2 percent ceiling on the strength of women in the regular forces. Congress complied, suspending the ceiling until 31 July 1954 (PL 51, 82d Congress, 1st session, 19 Jun 51). Next, she presided over the first meeting of the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services (DACOWITS) on 18 September 1951 and asked its members to spearhead the recruiting campaign. They agreed and, with the directors of the women's services and staff officers in the Department of Defense and the three services, developed a "Unified Recruiting Plan" to begin on 11 November 1951.

The basic work of the campaign began in committee members' home communities. Those on the committee who were college presidents invited service recruiters to their campuses to talk to students about a military career after graduation. Presidents of women's clubs asked their chapter members to invite recruiters to speak to audiences in civic, church, or school organizations. The journalists, broadcasters, and publishers among the group used their media to tell women about the need for and the benefits of service life for women; Helen Hayes and Irene Dunne, noted stage and screen actresses, gave interviews on the need for women in the armed forces. Some women convinced the governors of their states to issue proclamations on the need for women in the services. Others pushed members of Congress to approve a commemorative stamp honoring women in the services, and, on 11 September 1952, President Truman

[29] Anna M. Rosenberg, Asst SecDef for Manpower and Personnel, "Women in the Armed Services Program" (Office of Public Information, DOD, Nov 51), p. 10.

presided over the first-day-of-issue ceremony at the White House.

President Truman had officially opened the recruiting campaign by announcing it in his annual Armistice Day speech delivered by radio on 11 November 1951. He told his listeners: "There are now 40,000 women on active duty in the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines. In the next seven months we hope at least 72,000 more will volunteer for service. Our Armed Forces need these women. They need them badly. They need them to undertake every type of work except duty in actual combat formations." [30]

Detachments of servicewomen buttressed the initial effort as they marched in Armistice Day parades in New York City, Chicago, San Francisco, Atlanta, and other cities. Throughout the year, nationally known people assisted the Department of Defense in promoting the campaign. Generals, admirals, and high-ranking civilian government officials publicly praised the contributions of military women and described the need for them. The National Advertising Council prepared and distributed thousands of newspaper ads, outdoor advertising signs, bumper stickers, and fact sheets to over 1,500 newspapers, magazines, and other media outlets as a public service to enhance the recruiting campaign. The theme was "Share Service for Freedom."

To reach the goal set by Mrs. Rosenberg, the WAC had to recruit 20,000 women by June 1952. The Army increased the WAC recruiting objective to 2,400 a month and increased the number of WAC recruiters to 486. Statistically, each recruiter had to enlist 5.2 recruits a month to achieve that goal. Colonel Hallaren, in a move agreed to by Colonel Herman, relinquished controlled input of trainees at the WAC Training Center to eliminate a factor the recruiters said was an obstacle to their success. Other changes at the center included a switch to the committee system of instruction in October 1951 and introduction of two-level training in March 1952.

The women's basic training program, like the men's, had been reduced in length in October 1950 from 13 to 8 weeks. Until October 1951, unit cadre conducted all basic training courses, but under the committee system, officers and NCOs from the office of the S-3, WAC Training Center, conducted 35 percent of the training to free the cadre for other duties. With two-level training, a basic training company would begin one class as soon as one or two platoons filled and would begin another when the other platoons filled the company a week later.[31]

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[30] Radio Address, Harry S. Truman, 11 Nov 51, *Public Papers of Harry S. Truman, 1951* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1965), pp. 627-28; "Women in the Armed Services Program," Nov 51, pp. 4-6, ODWAC Ref File, DACOWITS, CMH. See also *History of the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services.*

[31] Historical Summary, WAC Training Center, June 1950-January 1953, History Collection, WAC Museum.

In November 1951, Mrs. Rosenberg visited the troops in Korea and Japan. Upon returning, she announced, "A WAC unit of 600 members will be sent to fill jobs at the United States Eighth Army supply base in Pusan, Korea." [32] In other years such an announcement of opportunity for foreign service duty would have created a flood of applicants for WAC enlistment at recruiting stations. But, a month later, Colonel Hallaren was forced to tell newsmen that "the lag in recruiting" forced the Army to postpone, indefinitely, assignment of a WAC unit to Korea.[33]

Colonel Hallaren's words provided an early indication that all was not going well with the Unified Recruiting Campaign. Despite increased publicity, advertising, and recruiters, WAC recruitment for FY 1952 did not equal that achieved during FY 1951—7,046 enlisted women and 423 commissioned and warrant officers. In FY 1952, the Corps gained only 3,933 enlisted women and 330 officers; attrition, however, doubled.[34]

After discharge on marriage had been discontinued in all services in August 1950, losses resulting from pregnancy climbed sharply, exceeding even the high rate anticipated under wartime conditions. Women were using discharge on pregnancy to break their enlistment contracts in order to establish households with their husbands, or, sometimes, to leave the service when they became dissatisfied. WAC leaders reasoned that the pregnancy rate would climb higher if discharge on marriage were not reinstated, and it appeared to be a benign action since truce talks had begun. Discharge on marriage was reinstated on 20 July 1951 for enlisted women in all services and much later, on 18 September 1953, for women officers. Unfortunately, when the decision was made to reinstate discharge on marriage for enlisted women, no one foresaw that a Unified Recruiting Campaign would begin in November 1951.

TABLE 6—ENLISTED LOSSES FOR DISCHARGE ON MARRIAGE AND PREGNANCY

[By percentage of total WAC losses]

Discharge on:	FY 1950	FY 1951	FY 1952	FY 1953	FY 1954
Marriage	26.9	9.3	34.9	27.6	16.6
Pregnancy	18.9	39.5	23.9	19.0	14.6
Total	45.8	48.8	58.8	46.6	31.2

Source: Losses of Enlisted Women by Cause, *Strength of the Army Report* (STM-30), for the years shown.

[32] *New York Times*, 6 Nov 51, p. 36.

[33] Dorothy Brandon, "WAC Recruiting Lag Slows Korea Assignment," *Washington Post*, 11 Dec 51, p. 19.

[34] *Strength of the Army Report* (STM-30), 30 June 1952.

Thus, while the unified campaign was in progress during FY 1952, the WAC experienced high rates of losses on marriage and pregnancy. Those losses, with the poor recruiting results, had a severe effect on the strength of the Corps. (*See Tables 6 and 7.*)

TABLE 7—STRENGTH OF THE WOMEN'S SERVICES

	30 June 1951	30 June 1952	Increase or Decrease
WAC	11,932	11,456	−476
WAVES	6,074	8,187	+2,113
WAF	8,001	11,891	+3,890
Women Marines	2,065	2,462	+397
Total	28,072	33,996	+5,924

Source: Selected Manpower Statistics, Office of the Comptroller of the Department of Defense, 30 Jun 56, p. 41.

Early in the recruiting campaign, Mrs. Rosenberg discovered that the service recruiters lacked marketing information for their campaigns. Hence, in 1952 she directed that a comprehensive attitude survey be conducted to discover women's reasons for enlisting and reenlisting. Some of the findings concerning the WACs were informative:

—Four out of every ten newly enlisted women said they entered the WAC to receive training in a skill (38 percent); to travel (19 percent); to serve their country (18 percent); to get away from an unsatisfactory job or home situation (10 percent).
—Of a group of 980, 30 percent said they intended to reenlist and 24 percent were undecided. Of the 30 percent who said they intended to reenlist, 63 percent desired an overseas assignment.
—The most frequent reasons given for not reenlisting were marriage or pending marriage; dissatisfaction with military job, promotion, or pay; desire to obtain more civilian education or training; dissatisfaction with lack of acceptance of women or their perceived reputation.
—Sixty-two percent of the women felt men and women were treated equally by the Army; 27 percent felt women were treated better; 11 percent thought men were treated better.
—Older enlisted women in NCO grades who held supervisory jobs or jobs requiring initiative, originality, or responsibility were most likely to reenlist.[35]

[35] Attitude Research Branch, Office of Armed Forces Information and Education, DOD, Rpt No. 126-345 W, "Women in the WAC, A Study of Recent Enlistees, May 52; Rpt No. 127-347,

The studies, conducted in 1952 and 1953, provided information that would be of future value to enlistment and reenlistment planners for the WAC and the other women's services.

Colonel Hallaren had her own thoughts about why the WAC recruitment effort had failed during 1952. At the Personnel Officers Conference at the Pentagon in December 1952 as her term as director of the WAC drew to a close, she said that the Unified Recruiting Campaign "could hardly be considered an unqualified success." She attributed the failure of recruitment to "inexperience of women recruiters; parental objection; poor reputation of service women; and competition with civilian industry." In addition, she blamed competition with the Air Force.[36]

She also offered some constructive suggestions to improve WAC recruiting. She recommended that enlisted recruiters be replaced on a "one WAC officer for two enlisted women basis." She observed that the average enlisted recruiter did not have the schooling, the background, or the pay to be a supersalesman and compete "with high powered civilian procurement agencies" or with women in the Air Force who somehow received promotions faster than the WACs. "It is no reflection on a WAC corporal that she has a difficult time selling a career in the Army when the WAF she recruited last year comes home with three stripes while she still has two." [37] Colonel Hallaren believed that parental objections to women joining the WAC were frequently based on "war stories" about WACs. When traced to their sources, the stories proved to be invented or embellished beyond recognition. To help eliminate these myths and stories, she suggested that accurate information could improve the recruiting problem. "If representative high school students, teachers, and parents were invited to visit the WAC units in their areas, familiarity would breed content." [38]

Like many Army officers concerned with recruiting, Colonel Hallaren disliked the joint Army–Air Force recruiting system. Under it, shared office space put recruiters in direct day-to-day competition in a single place where they could scrutinize each other's prospects and listen to each other's sales techniques. The Army could not compete with the "wild blue yonder" image, the glamour of the Air Force. As the 1950s progressed WAF recruiters increasingly outsold their WAC counterparts, even though WAC entry requirements seemed easier. The WAC would accept women for a two-year rather than a three- or four-year enlistment; women with General Educational Development (GED) certificates in-

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"Attitudes of Enlisted Women in the Regular Service toward Reenlistment," Aug 52; Rpt No. 128-347, "The Servicewoman as a Public Relations Agent for her Service," Sep 52; Rpt No. 136-347, "Some Satisfactions and Dissatisfactions of Service Life," Jun 53, CMH Ref Br.

[36] Address, Col Hallaren, "WAC Matters," *Report of the World-Wide G-1 Conference, 2-4 December 1952*, prepared in the Office of the ACofS, G-1, DA, p. 50.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid., p. 52.

ANNA M. ROSENBERG, *Assistant Secretary of Defense, Manpower and Personnel (1950–1953).*

GENERAL J. LAWTON COLLINS, *Army Chief of Staff (1949–1953).*

stead of high school diplomas; and women with slightly lower intelligence test scores.[39]

Colonel Hallaren opposed adopting the WAF standard of accepting only women who scored in the top two (of four) mental aptitude categories. The WAC accepted women in the top of the third category, slightly below the median in intelligence. The director was a staunch supporter of the concept of "quality before quantity," but she saw no reason to enlist women who were overqualified for the jobs they would be doing. She recommended that greater emphasis be placed on good character and an unblemished record of deportment. Women with a very high intellect would, she felt, become bored and discontented in many jobs available to them in the Army.

We cannot go along with raising the AFWST [Armed Forces Women's Selection Test] score to the 65th percentile. There are jobs to be done in the clerical, medical, food service, and other fields, in the Air Force as well as the Army,

[39] SR 625-120-1 and Air Force Regulation AFR 39-28, 9 Sep 49, Enlistment and Reenlistment in the Women's Army Corps, Regular Army, and Women in the Regular Air Forces, with Change 1, 28 Feb 50. Revised enlistment regulation SR 615-105-1, 6 Jun 52, the first separated from that for the USAF, raised the necessary score for entry into the WAC to the 49th percentile; AFR 39-9, Oct 52, placed the WAF entry score at the 65th percentile.

which [would bore] an individual with a high IQ . . . into non-reenlistment. These jobs must be done. In an emergency we would have many such assignments.[40]

WAC recruitment had been successful early in the Korean War; then accessions declined. After July 1951, the unpopularity of the war, the start of truce talks, the competition with the other women's services for recruits, and public apathy combined to cut WAC enlistments in half. The Unified Recruiting Campaign, begun with such high hopes in November 1951, proved unsuccessful as that fiscal year drew to a close in June 1952. Fiscal year 1953 was equally unsuccessful. Recruitment of males also dropped, from 238,000 in FY 1951 to 155,000 in FY 1953. Army strength was maintained through the draft (1.5 million men) and recall from the reserve components (288,000 reservists and guardsmen).[41]

WACs in the Far East Command

The war in Korea reinforced the change in the mission of U.S. military forces around the world from occupation to defense against invasion. No one knew what the Russians would do while the United States was preoccupied by the Korean War. According to one historian, James F. Schnabel, "The United States believed Russia to be the real aggressor in Korea, in spirit if not in fact, and effective measures to halt the aggression might provoke total war. . . . The determinant for Korea was, then as always, 'What will Russia do?' "[42] In addition to forces fighting in Korea, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) obligations required the maintenance and reinforcement of Western defenses in Europe, while other treaty commitments required the defense of Japan and the Ryukyus. During FY 1951, the United States sent twelve additional combat divisions to Korea, Japan, and Okinawa and four to Germany.

WAC strength overseas fluctuated with the Korean War. At the start of the conflict, approximately 20 percent of WAC strength was overseas; that percentage increased during the second year, then fell after the war ended. (*See Table 8.*)

In Japan, WAC strength increased rapidly after the war began. In July 1950, the WAC had two detachments, at Tokyo and at Yokohama; by mid-1951, there were six; and by the end of December 1953, there were nine.[43] A WAC unit was also established at Fort Buckner on the island of Okinawa in 1951.

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[40] *Report of the World-Wide Personnel Officers Conference, 2-4 Dec 52*, p. 51.

[41] Enlisted Gains and Losses, *Strength of the Army Report* (STM-30), 30 Jun 53.

[42] James F. Schnabel, *Policy and Direction: The First Year*, United States Army in the Korean War (Washington, DC: GPO, 1972), p. 67.

[43] The detachments were located at Yokohama, Tokyo, Camp Sendai, Camp Sakai, Camp Drew, Camp Zama, Camp Osaka, Camp Sagami, and Camp Schimmelpfenning in June 1953.

TABLE 8—WAC PERSONNEL OVERSEAS

	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
Far East	626	2,604	1,791	1,764	976
Europe	632	933	1,356	1,130	994
Australia	84	81	139	143	74
Caribbean	91	98	89	89	1
Total	1,433	3,716	3,375	3,126	2,045

Source: Strength of the Army Report (STM-30), for 30 June of each year noted.

The women in these units, both officers and enlisted, were assigned primarily to administrative, communications, medical, and intelligence duties. They worked at Far East Command headquarters and other commands in Tokyo, at regional commands throughout Japan, and at general and station hospitals in Japan and Okinawa.

In the first year of the war, the shortage of personnel in some specialties was critical. Overseas, women who held one essential MOS were often retrained in an even more urgently needed MOS—telephone and teletype operators, cashiers, motor vehicle operators, mechanics, and medical corpsmen. Without complaint, the WACs did their best at whatever work needed to be done. At the May 1951 WAC Staff Advisers Conference, Lt. Col. F. Marie Clark, the adviser for the Far East, reported: "As a result of the Korean situation, WACs in the Far East Command are being efficiently utilized in assignments heretofore believed by some could only be performed by male personnel. . . . With few exceptions, WACs arriving subsequent to June 1950 have been and are being utilized in positions either to replace or release a man to a combat element." [44]

One landmark in the utilization of medical WACs occurred in the Army hospitals in Japan. As a matter of necessity, WACs had been assigned as wardmasters, a supervisory role traditionally the province of male medical NCOs. The medical WACs also learned specialized skills by assisting in the care of paraplegics, victims of frostbite, and patients with broken or injured limbs, hepatitis, and other injuries and illnesses. The Chief, Army Nurse Corps, Col. Mary G. Phillips, praised their work. "We have found wherever we have WAC technicians in our hospitals that, on the whole, they are doing a wonderful job. There are, however, too few of them. Many, after putting in long hours of work in their assigned duty, volunteered their services for extra duty or visited the

[44] Remarks, LtCol F. Marie Clark, in Rpt, WAC Staff Advisors Conf, 2-4 May 51, p. 43, author's file, CMH; "A History of the Women's Army Corps in the Far East, 28 Jan 44 to 28 Jan 55," Office of the WAC Staff Advisor, FECOM, ODWAC Ref File, Far East Command WACS, CMH, cited hereafter as History, WAC FE.

patients after working hours to take care of personal needs such as letter writing, post exchange purchases, etc." [45]

By the spring of 1951, while over 300 Army nurses were in Korea at field, station, evacuation, and mobile Army surgical hospitals, WACs waited expectantly for a detachment of their own to be formed for service there. Months passed, but, even though more and more WACs were requisitioned for duty in Japan and Okinawa, no detachments were requested for Korea. During the WAC Staff Advisers Conference in May, the G–1, Lt. Gen. Edward H. Brooks, said, "I just came back from Korea and I believe there is a real requirement over there for women in uniform—WACs and WAVES." [46] His words swept through the Corps, but no detachments were assigned. In August, Lt. Gen. Anthony G. McAuliffe succeeded General Brooks as G–1; still no WAC detachments were assigned. A year later, in August 1952, General Mark W. Clark, then commander in chief of the United Nations Command and Far East Command, asked General McAuliffe whether women *could* be assigned to Korea. The G–1 replied that policy allowed it, but that WAC recruiting was poor—no further WAC units could be sent to the Far East. Thus, even though individual WACs would serve in Korea on special assignments, the door was closed to the establishment of a WAC unit in Korea.[47]

Despite the fact that no WAC units were assigned to Korea, contact was established with the Corps' counterpart in the Republic of Korea (ROK) Army. Its women's corps had formed rapidly in 1950 around a nucleus of policewomen trained for service in the Korean National Constabulary in 1946 by a former WAC captain, Alice A. Parrish, who, in 1948, rejoined the WAC and remained in the Regular Army until retirement. Contact during the war strengthened the tie and led to the assignment of a senior WAC officer as U.S. military adviser to the ROK Army WAC in 1956; the position was not discontinued until 1974.[48]

Armistice and Aftermath

Ending the war in Korea became a major issue in the 1952 presidential campaign. In November, Dwight D. Eisenhower was elected; in January 1953, he was inaugurated. In March, Joseph Stalin died; he was succeeded by Nikita Khrushchev. Negotiations at Panmunjom accelerated. In

[45] Remarks, Col Mary G. Phillips, Rpt, WAC Staff Advisors Conf, 2–4 May 51, p. 10.

[46] Remarks, LtGen Edward H. Brooks, Rpt, WAC Staff Advisors Conf, 2–4 May 51, p. 8.

[47] History of Activities of the Office of the ACofS, G–1, for CY 1952, p. 52, CMH Ref Br; History, WAC FE, p. 18. In Dec 52, MSgt Carolyn H. James and Cpl Louise M. Farrell, stenographers, and Cpl Christine F. Chrones, interpreter, went to HQ, Eighth Army, in Seoul. They were followed in 1953 by MSgts Dorothea S. Cully and Grace T. Donatio, and Cpl Elaine J. Wilford. Capt Martha A. Voyles served as aide-de-camp to the commander of the Pusan Military Post from Aug 53 to Dec 54.

[48] Ltr, LtCol Alice Parrish Talley, USA (Ret), to author, 22 Sep 76, in author's file, CMH; Address, LtCol Mary C. Lane, "The WAC in Korea," 19 Oct 61, History Collection, WAC Museum.

July, an armistice was signed. No massive demobilization followed the end of the war in Korea. By December 1952, most of the recalled reservists had been released from active duty and had been replaced by draftees or Regular Army personnel. Draft calls had already fallen from a monthly high of 87,000 in January 1951 to 26,000 in July 1953. At the time the armistice was signed, the Army had only 1.5 million men and women on active duty. No demobilization plan was needed—the men and women left the Army as their terms of enlistment ended or as they were released to the Army Reserve or the National Guard to complete the balance of their obligated federal service. Congress rewarded Korean veterans as it had veterans from World War II—educational benefits, home loans, mustering-out pay, reemployment rights. Those who had served in the combat zone had received hazardous duty (combat) pay and deferment from federal income taxes on that money.

The End of an Era

By the end of 1952, Col. Mary A. Hallaren had completed almost six years as director of the WAC. She had led the effort to obtain Regular Army and Reserve status for WACs. She had directed the procedures for assimilating WACs into the regular and reserve components between 1948 and 1950; supervised the revival of WAC recruiting and the opening of the WAC Training Center; and led the Corps through most of the Korean War. After leaving the directorship, she served on active duty for another seven years before retiring in 1960 at age 53.[49] At Colonel Hallaren's retirement, Col. Mary Louise Milligan, then the director of the WAC, summarized: "She had symbolized the highest traits of character and service which I am certain General Marshall visualized when he planned for American women to serve in our Army. It was due to her outstanding leadership and service that our organization was made a permanent part of the Regular and Reserve forces of our Army." [50]

Before her tour as director ended, Colonel Hallaren gave the G-1, General McAuliffe, a resume on each of the Regular Army lieutenant colonels eligible to replace her. The list was considered by Secretary of

[49] Col Hallaren served as acting dir from 5 Mar 47, and as DWAC AUS from 7 May 47; as dir, WAC RA from 3 Dec 48 to 3 Jan 53; HQ US European Command, Frankfurt, Germany, 1953-1957; and in the Office of the Asst SecDef, Manpower, Personnel, and Reserve Affairs, 1957-1960. At a retirement ceremony on 30 June 1960 at the WAC Center and WAC School, Fort McClellan, Col Hallaren was awarded the Legion of Merit for the third time. LtGen Herbert B. Powell, CG, Third Army, presented the award and read this tribute from the Hon Wilber M. Brucker, SecArmy: "The honors which have come to you . . . speak for themselves as to the character of your service. You have indeed left an indelible mark upon the Army by your magnificent contributions." (DA Msg 496498, 25 Jun 60, Appendix "O," Annual History, WAC C&S, 60-61, CMH Ref Br.) WAC Center and WAC School historical reports, whether they are titled annual, biennial, 18-month, or supplemental, are cited hereafter as Historical Report, WAC C&S, with date and location of document.

[50] Address, Col Mary Louise Milligan, Hallaren retirement ceremony, Appendix "O," Historical Report, WAC C&S, 60-61, CMH Ref Br.

the Army Frank Pace, Jr., Assistant Secretary of the Army for Manpower and Reserve Affairs Fred Korth, and Army Chief of Staff J. Lawton Collins. Although there were nineteen eligible lieutenant colonels, seniority was an important consideration in filling statutory positions, and it was almost certain that Charlee L. Kelly, Cora M. Foster, Elizabeth C. Smith, or Irene O. Galloway would be chosen. On 9 December 1952, Secretary Pace announced the selection of Irene O. Galloway to be director of the WAC.[51]

Quiet-spoken and more conservative than her predecessor, Irene Otillia Galloway had a strong personality and a reputation for sincerity and skilled performance of duty. She had graduated with the second WAAC OCS class, September 1942, and had served at WAAC headquarters at the Pentagon; at Headquarters, Army Service Forces; and with the G–1 Career Management Group. From June 1948 to October 1952 she was assigned as WAC Staff Adviser, U.S. Army in Europe. In November, she was selected to replace the commander of the WAC Training Center, who was resigning her commission to get married.[52] Colonel Galloway reported to Fort Lee on 24 November 1952 and within two weeks was notified she had been selected to be the new WAC director. On 3 January 1953, in Secretary Pace's office, she was sworn in as the director of the WAC and promoted to temporary colonel.[53]

The position of deputy director had officially been vacant since September 1952 when Colonel Milligan left for Germany to relieve Colonel Galloway. Lt. Col. Charlee L. Kelly had performed the duties without being appointed to the position by Colonel Hallaren, who wanted her successor to be free to select her own deputy. Colonel Galloway selected Lt. Col. Emily C. Gorman, then the WAC staff adviser at Headquarters, Second Army, Fort George G. Meade, Maryland; she was sworn in by the adjutant general, Maj. Gen. William E. Bergin, on 3 January 1953.[54]

Other positions in the Office of the Director, WAC, were also filled: Maj. Rebecca S. Parks became the executive officer; Maj. Catherine J. Lyons, WAC career management officer, and the only holdover from Colonel Hallaren's staff, Maj. Elizabeth P. Hoisington, became the technical information officer.[55]

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[51] Date of rank for these officers was 12 Sep 49 (*Army Register*, 1 Jan 52); the 15 other eligibles held RA date of rank 15 Aug 51: Eleanore C. Sullivan, Frances M. Lathrope, Sara L. Sturgis, Ruby E. Herman, Esther P. Pulis, Helen M. Bouffier, Arlene Scheidenhelm, Emily C. Gorman, Lucile G. Odbert, Mary K. Moynahan, Mary L. Milligan, Anne E. Sweeney, F. Marie Clark, Hortense M. Boutell, and Lillian Harris.

[52] Colonel Herman had suddenly announced her plans to resign, effective 1 December, and to marry William Flannery, art director for a movie, *Never Wave at a WAC*, filmed at the WAC Center that summer.

[53] DA SO 258, 31 Dec 52.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Maj Parks was promoted to LtCol in Jul 53; Maj Lyons in May 56. Maj Hoisington remained on the staff until Jan 54; 13 years later she returned as DWAC.

Colonel Galloway assumed her duties in 1953, a year of many changes in national and world affairs. The status of women was also changing. President Eisenhower appointed Oveta Culp Hobby to his cabinet as the secretary of the newly established Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Mary Pillsbury Lord was appointed as a U.S. representative on the U.N. Economic and Social Council. Clare Booth Luce, a congresswoman from Connecticut, became the first woman appointed ambassador to a major nation—Italy. Elizabeth II, who had succeeded to the throne in 1952, was crowned Queen of England and the British Empire on 2 June 1953, and, in September, Mrs. Vijaya Pandit of India was elected president of the United Nations General Assembly.

There were also changes in the other women's services. The Women Marines, with over 2,500 women on active duty, celebrated their tenth anniversary in February 1953 and welcomed a new director, Col. Julia E. Hamblet. Over fifty enlisted WAVES were assigned to sea duty for the first time in 1953; they served on ships of the Military Sea Transportation Service. Capt. Louise K. Wilde replaced Capt. Joy Bright Hancock as director of the WAVES—official title, Assistant to the Chief of Naval Personnel for Women—on 1 June 1953. The Air Force selected its second ex-WAVE officer to be director of the WAF, Col. Phyllis D. S. Gray, who replaced Col. Mary Jo Shelley on 1 January 1954. Col. Ruby F. Bryant had been appointed chief of the Army Nurse Corps in 1951 and would serve until 1955. And in March 1953, 1st Lt. Fae M. Adams became the first woman physician appointed to the Regular Army Medical Corps.[56]

After the Korean armistice, the United States had no time to be complacent. In August, the Soviet Union detonated a hydrogen bomb, ending the United States' monopoly over nuclear power. The nature of East-West friction changed. Scientific and technological competition intensified. Weapons and weapon systems became more sophisticated. Skilled technicians became more necessary. Standing armies grew.

Such changes also affected the WAC, but responding was difficult. With the draft providing the requisite number of men, Congress cut recruiting budgets. The FY 1953 budget limited those expenses to half that spent in FY 1952. The WAC, dependent on recruiting, saw its publicity funds cut and half of its recruiters reassigned to nonrecruiting duties.

The WAC, like the other women's services, was now a permanent part of a large, continuing peacetime military establishment. Improved administration and reduced costs were now the goals.

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[56] *Army-Navy-Air Force Register*, 14 Mar 53, p. 8, 21 Mar 53, p. 7, 30 Apr 53, p. 11, and 1 Aug 53, p. 9; PL 408, 82d Cong, 2d sess, 24 Jun 52

CHAPTER V

Officer Procurement and Career Development

Upon entering the permanent military establishment, the WAC had one source of officers and only vague plans for their career development. In World War II, large numbers of enlisted women had applied eagerly for Officer Candidate School (OCS); consequently, WAC planners assumed that applicants would continue to provide the annual requirement for second lieutenants. But between 1948 and 1950, few enlisted women rushed to apply for OCS, and many of those who did failed the long and difficult course. The WAC sorely needed another source of officers. It also needed a program to keep its current officers interested in remaining on active duty despite the restrictions on promotion. Wartime personnel planning had been minimal. Career management planning was needed to ensure proper officer training and challenging assignments. But, because the WAC was a temporary part of the Army, a long-range officer development program was not proposed. When the Corps became permanent in 1948, WAC planners had to prepare career plans that would give WAC officers job satisfaction and offer hope for career advancement. The task would be difficult because WAC officers received little training beyond OCS and could not advance beyond the grade of lieutenant colonel.

WAC Officer Procurement

Until 1948 the Corps had been concerned with only the total number of officers on active duty. After the Corps became part of the Regular Army, WAC planners became preoccupied not only with increasing the number of its regular officers but also with obtaining supplementary reserve officers willing to serve on extended active duty to meet the total officer requirement. Traditional male officer procurement sources—the U.S. Military Academy and ROTC programs—were not available to the WAC. The Organized Reserve, however, was. And, in 1948, Congress authorized retirement pay for reservists who served twenty years on

active duty. It, thus, became easier to attract reservists for active duty.[1] Eligible women could choose between becoming regular officers with a generally accepted commitment of thirty years on active duty or becoming reserve officers and spending twenty years on active duty. WAC officers showed a preference for the shorter reserve career over the longer, more prestigious and advantageous status of a regular officer. (*See Table 9.*)

TABLE 9—OFFICERS AUTHORIZED AND ON DUTY, 1949, 1950, 1951

	1949		1950		1951	
	Authorized	Actual	Authorized	Actual	Authorized	Actual
Regular Army, WAC	500	267	500	314	600	329
Reserve, WAC	300	259	300	372	800	681
Total	800	626	800	686	1,400	1,010

Source: Strength of the Army Report (STM-30), 30 Jun 49, 30 Jun 50, 30 Jun 51; Army Progress Report, Military Personnel, 30 Jun 51, p. 7.

Within a year Colonel Hallaren saw that OCS alone would not produce enough second lieutenants to fill the Corps' requirements. For each biannual OCS class, she had anticipated receiving 100 or more applications from which to choose 75 outstanding candidates—a total of 150 annually. With an estimated attrition rate of 11 percent, the average OCS loss during World War II, about 135 officers would enter the Corps each year. But only 81 women applied for the first class—69 were selected, 37 graduated. For the second class, 86 applied, 61 were selected, 42 graduated. In 1949 the Corps gained only 79 of the required 135 officers.[2]

There were several explanations for the low number of OCS applications. During World War II, women between 20 and 50 years of age could apply, but after 1948, women (like men) had to be at least 20 years and 6 months old and could not be 28 or over. The educational requirement was not considered a deterrent for applicants because the requirements for enlistment and for OCS were the same—a high school diploma or a passing score on the General Educational Development Test. The necessity to obtain passing scores on the Army General Qualification Test (110) and the Officer Candidate Test (115), however, eliminated many

[1] PL 810, Army and Air Force Vitalization and Retirement Equalization Act, 80th Cong, 29 Jun 48.

[2] "History of the WAC Training Center, Camp Lee, Virginia, from June 1948 to January 1949," History Collection, WAC Museum; Rpt, WAC Staff Advisors and WAC Staff Officers Conf, 12-16 Sep 49, p. 46, ODWAC Ref File, WAC Staff Adviser Conferences, CMH.

applicants. As a matter of choice, some women with all the qualifications for OCS simply preferred enlisted status. Others considered the length of training interminable—eight weeks of basic training, eight weeks in Leaders Course, and twenty-four weeks in Officer Candidate School.[3] News of the high rate of attrition, spreading to WAC units in the field, may also have deterred some applicants.

WAC planners were perplexed by the number of women candidates who failed to complete OCS successfully. The attrition rate for the first eight classes averaged 34.3 percent. (*See Table 10.*) The WAC School tried several methods to reduce attrition. Screening of applicants was tightened in 1951. Candidates received a four-hour remedial reading course before they began OCS. An analysis of the failures in the first seven classes showed "deficiencies in leadership" to be the most frequent cause. Such deficiencies included the inability to solve leadership problems, to conduct close order drill, to exercise good judgment, or to maintain the appearance, demeanor, and deportment of a leader. The staff and faculty tried to resolve these problems through extra tutoring and counseling sessions. But nothing seemed to help; attrition remained high.[4]

TABLE 10—WAC OCS, 1949–1953

Class No.	Graduation Date	Entered	Graduated	Percent Attrition	Length (weeks)
I	1 Apr 49	69	37	46.4	24
II	29 Sep 49	61	42	31.1	24
III	11 Apr 50	63	50	20.8	24
V	19 Dec 50	42	26	38.1	17
V	24 Jul 51	48	21	56.3	17
VI	8 Mar 52	41	35	14.6	17
VII	19 Jul 52	13	10	23.1	17
VIII	14 Mar 53	25	13	44.0	20

Source: Staff Study, WAC School, "Analysis of Candidates Relieved According to Cause, Classes I through VIII, WAC OCS, 1949–1953," file OCS, History Collection, WAC Museum.

The WAC was not alone in experiencing such high rates of attrition. In 1951 the chief of Army Field Forces, General Mark W. Clark, appointed a board of officers to study officer candidate school operations throughout the Army. The board's final report showed that attrition in male OCS courses at Fort Riley, Fort Sill, and Fort Benning averaged

[3] AR 625-5, 12 Sep 44, Officer Candidate Schools, and DA Cir 216, 19 Jul 48, and SR 350-350-40, 6 Jan 50, WAC Officer Candidate School, CMH Library. Age waivers allowed members of the first WAC OCS class to be as old as 32. Such age waivers were never again permitted for WAC OCS.

[4] WAC School, "Analysis of Candidates Relieved According to Cause, Classes I through VIII WAC OCS, 1949–1953," file OCS, History Collection, WAC Museum.

37.12 percent; attrition from WAC OCS was only slightly higher at 37.81 percent. The study group, presided over by Col. George G. Elms, the assistant commandant of the Army Ground School, concluded that "imperfect procurement and selection rather than weaknesses in the OCS system constitute the principal reasons for the present attrition rate." Based on their recommendations, screening of all officer candidates was tightened to narrow the selection of applicants. Screening so reduced WAC selectees for enrollment in OCS that in 1954 the officer candidate class had to be merged with the WAC Company Officers Course (WCOC), the class for direct commission students.[5]

Earlier, in 1949, when Colonel Hallaren had seen that WAC OCS would not provide enough officers to fill regular and reserve requirements, she had obtained approval to initiate a direct commission program similar to one used by the Navy. Under the WAC program, women college graduates received appointments as second lieutenants in the Organized Reserve, and upon successfully completing the WCOC, they applied for appointment in the Regular Army. Each applicant had signed a statement that read, in part, "I further agree to apply for a commission in the Women's Army Corps, Regular Army, upon successful completion of such training." [6]

The merger in 1954 of OCS and WCOC classes produced a surprising effect. OCS classes that graduated between August 1954 and June 1962 had an average attrition rate of only 18 percent. Although leadership deficiencies still led other reasons for failure, fewer failures occurred. The reason for the reduction in attrition perhaps lay in the merger of the student officer and officer candidate classes. One theory was that the officer candidates benefited from the more understanding attitude that cadre and faculty members exhibited toward college students new to the Army. Previously, all class members had had some Army experience—they had been selected because of their excellent leadership ability, knowledge, appearance, and ambition. Many cadre and faculty members, therefore, maintained such high standards in these areas that only overachievers could qualify. Some candidates became discouraged in trying to succeed; many finally just gave up. When the course for student officers and officer candidates was combined, a more balanced approach to achievement prevailed, and the learning atmosphere improved for the candidates. Another theory about the lower attrition was that the candi-

[5] Rpt, Officer Candidate School Board, 8 Feb 52, and Ltr, Chief, Army Field Forces, to all Army OCS School Commandants, 13 Mar 52 (file ATTNG-32 334/164, 13 Mar 52), sub: Report of OCAFF Officer Candidate School Board, file OCS, History Collection, WAC Museum.

[6] Memo, CG, Second Army, to ACofS, G-3, DA, 18 May 49, sub: Report of Conference on WAC Training Center, ODWAC Ref File, Officer Training, CMH; Rpt, WAC Staff Advisors and WAC Staff Officers Conf, 12-16 Sep 49, p. 8, ODWAC Ref File, WAC Staff Adviser Conferences, CMH; SR 140-105-25, 6 Dec 49, Appointment in WAC Section, Organized Reserve Corps for Subsequent Commissioning in the Women's Army Corps, Regular Army, CMH Library.

dates competed more strongly against the student officers to show that experience in the enlisted ranks was more valuable than a college education. Whatever the explanation, after the merger, attrition was never again a problem in OCS.[7]

Three routes were available for appointment in the Regular Army, WAC, in 1949: the WCOC direct commission program, designation as a distinguished graduate of OCS, and the Competitive Tour Program. Under the latter, reserve officers could apply for a one-year tour of special assignments in which their skills and performance were closely assessed and rated. Those who received the highest ratings were offered Regular Army appointments. In 1951, a fourth program allowed commanders to nominate outstanding Regular Army enlisted women and WAC warrant officers for appointments as second lieutenants in the Regular Army, WAC.[8]

To inform college women and their deans about the new direct commission program that led to appointment in the Regular Army, Colonel Hallaren selected Maj. Eleanore C. Sullivan to visit sixty-seven colleges and universities throughout the United States during November and December 1949. She stopped at each major Army headquarters to brief the commander and appropriate staff members, including the WAC staff adviser, who then accompanied her to the colleges and the recruiting stations within the command.[9] After Major Sullivan's visit to a college, WAC recruiting officers paid follow-up calls to distribute applications and to interview interested candidates.

The WCOC did not produce many WAC Regular Army officers. (*See Table 11.*) The initial effort to obtain students for it was fairly successful in 1950 and 1951, but fewer young women participated as the Korean War waned. Also, WAC School counselors reported that most students regretted having made a commitment to apply for the long-range Regular Army status. The great unpopularity of that commitment persuaded the WAC director, then Colonel Irene O. Galloway, to discontinue that entrance requirement effective 31 December 1953.[10]

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[7] WAC School, "A Study of Percentages and Ages of Students Eliminated from WAAC/WAC Officer Training, 1942-1962," Oct 63, file Attrition, History Collection, WAC Museum.

[8] SR 625-5-1, 2 Nov 49, Appointment of Officers in the Regular Army, WAC; SR 140-105-25, 6 Dec 49, Appointment in WAC Section, Organized Reserve Corps for Subsequent Commission in the Women's Army Corps, Regular Army; and SR 625-5-1, 22 Jun 51, Appointment of Officers in the Regular Army, WAC, CMH Library.

[9] Rpt, Maj Eleanore C. Sullivan, ODOT, DA, Trip to Various Colleges in Connection with WAC Officer Procurement Program, 16 Feb 50, file Officer Procurement, History Collection, WAC Museum.

[10] Historical Report, WAC C&S, 1953, History Collection, WAC Museum; SR 605-25-25, 30 Jun 53, Appointment in the Women's Army Corps, Regular Army, CMH Library.

TABLE 11—WAC COMPANY OFFICERS COURSE, 1950–1953

Class No.	Graduation Date	Entered	Graduated	Appointment in	
				Reserve	Regular Army
I	19 Dec 50	47	41	20	21
II	11 Feb 52	72	56	35	21
III	7 Feb 53	19	15	9	6
IV	19 Dec 53	27	23	21	2

Source: Historical Reports, WAC C&S, years shown, History Collection, WAC Museum.

As the Korean War continued into 1951, the WAC Career Branch was besieged with requisitions for WAC officers to fill vacancies created by the reassignment of male officers to Korea. The Corps itself also required more and more officers for recruiting, training, and administrative positions. To help satisfy these requirements, the direct commission program was expanded in 1951. It offered reserve commissions as second lieutenants and above and active duty to three groups: college graduates with at least one year of military service, enlisted women and warrant officers on active duty or in one of the reserve components of any service, and former members of any of the armed forces who had received an honorable discharge. In return for a commission as a second lieutenant, first lieutenant, or captain—depending upon her academic degree and work experience—the applicant agreed to serve on active duty for two years and during that time to complete a thirteen-week Associate WAC Company Officers Course (AWCOC). Applicants had to be single, between 21 and 39, and have no dependents under 18. In some cases, the college degree requirements could be waived. To receive a commission in a grade higher than second lieutenant, applicants required a combination of years of work experience plus a baccalaureate or higher degree, as shown in *Table 12.* For example, a woman applying for appointment as a captain required a baccalaureate or masters degree plus five or six years' experience in a field that demanded leadership ability, e.g., teaching, business, or personnel.[11]

The WAC considered the AWCOC a success because it produced high-quality students and had a low attrition rate. An analysis of the six classes conducted under this program indicated that the lower attrition resulted from enrolling older students with more college and work experience than officer candidates or WCOC students. Of the 182 students in

[11] SR 140-105-7, 21 May 51, rev 25 Mar 53, Appointment as Reserve Commissioned Officers of the Army for Assignments to Women's Army Corps Branch, CMH Library.

TABLE 12—DIRECT COMMISSION PROGRAM, GRADE DETERMINANTS, 1951

Grade	Maximum Age	Combined Years of College and Work Experience
Second Lieutenant	27	4
First Lieutenant	33	7
Captain	39	11

Source: SR 140-105-7, 21 May 51, Appointment as Reserve Commissioned Officers of the Army for Assignment to Women's Army Corps Branch.

the classes, 162 graduated—an attrition rate of 10 percent that slightly exceeded the rate for officer candidates during World War II.[12]

As mentioned earlier, the tightening of the application and screening processes and the decline in applications after the Korean War led to the 1954 decision to merge the direct commission courses and the officer candidate courses. The WAC Company Officers Course, the Associate WAC Company Officers Course, and the WAC Officer Candidate Course were merged into a twenty-week course offered twice a year, the WAC Officer Basic Course. The continued existence of a WAC Officer Candidate School was ensured by identifying the course as the "WAC Officer Basic Course and Officer Candidate Course (WOBC/OC Course)" and assigning each section a separate class number. However, because few women applied for OCS, officer candidates participated in only one of the sessions each year.[13] The merger provided efficient use of funds, faculty, classrooms, cadre, and administrative staff personnel.

That same year, 1954, in an effort to increase officer procurement, Colonel Galloway and her staff began work on a new approach—the WAC College Junior Program. The concept, a modification of one used successfully by the Women Marines, was implemented in the summer of 1957. WAC recruiting officers distributed literature on the new program to colleges and universities throughout the country. Beginning in 1955, two WAC officers were assigned to each Army area to find applicants for the College Junior Program as well as the direct commission program. They contacted college officials, talked to students, and processed applications.[14]

[12] WAC School, "An Analysis of Associate WAC Company Officers' Course, Classes I through VI," file Studies, History Collection, WAC Museum.

[13] Historical Reports, WAC C&S, 1954, 1955, History Collection, WAC Museum.

[14] Ltr, DWAC to Chief, Army Field Forces, 11 Oct 54, sub: Final draft, AR 140-107, the WAC College Junior Program, and 1st Ind, 22 Oct 54. AR 140-107 was superseded by para 26b of AR

WAC OCS GRADUATES *receive the oath of office as second lieutenants from Col. Maxene B. Michl, Commandant, WAC School, Fort McClellan, June 1970, while the graduating members of their sister class, WAC Officer Basic Course, look on.*

The primary purpose of the program was to give women in their junior year of college a taste of life as a WAC officer. For four weeks each summer (later three), approximately sixty college juniors entered the Army as corporals in the Army Reserve. While on active duty, the Army paid for their transportation, gave them the pay and allowances due an E–4, and provided them with uniforms, food, and housing. In return, they attended introductory classes on Army organization, leadership, training, administration, close order drill, and physical training. They also went on field trips to other Army posts and worked at WAC Center headquarters, at the basic training battalion, or at WAC School. After the orientation course, they returned to college but remained in the Army Reserve on inactive duty. Upon graduating from college, they were commissioned as second lieutenants in the Army Reserve, and they reported on active duty to the WAC Officer Basic Course the summer after graduation. Those

140-111, Army Reserve Enlistment and Reenlistment, 10 Jan 55; SS, DWAC to CofS through G-1, 12 Jan 55, sub: WAC Officer Procurement. All documents in ODWAC Ref File, College Juniors, CMH. The summary sheet was approved 26 Jan 55, authorizing two WAC captain spaces for WAC officer procurement programs in each of the Army area commands and one WAC major for TAG Military Personnel Procurement Division.

COLLEGE JUNIORS *in a map reading course at WAC School, Fort McClellan, instructed by Capt. Ann B. Smith, July 1964.*

who did not graduate or declined a commission were simply discharged from the enlistment.[15]

Extraordinary effort was exerted to make the College Junior Program informative and interesting so that most participants would apply for appointment and return to WAC School the following summer. After the summer program, the WAC School commandant wrote each participant, sent pictures of her graduation and other events, and wished her luck in her senior year. The commandant also wrote the dean of women or dean of students, whichever was appropriate, to describe the program and the student's participation in it and to send photographs.

The training given the college juniors was not as rigorous as that given regular officer students, but the faculty was instructed to portray life in the WAC realistically and not to impart any false information or impressions about work, training, additional duties, social life, or career opportunities. While at Fort McClellan, the cadets, as the college juniors were called, observed the full scope of a WAC officer's life.

[15] Historical Reports, WAC C&S, FYs 1958, 1959, History Collection, WAC Museum.

Enrollment in the program gradually increased. Only 19 cadets had entered in the summer of 1958; 147 were enrolled in the class of 1967. In 1966, the Army Audit Agency estimated that the service had spent less than $3,050 annually on each student. Thus, while only 50 of the 591 students who had entered the program between 1957 and 1966 accepted commissions and served on active duty, it was the most economical of the Army officer procurement programs.[16] In comparison, the cost of maintaining one student through four years at the U.S. Military Academy was $48,000; a non-scholarship ROTC student, approximately $5,000; and a scholarship ROTC student, approximately $10,000.[17]

The mid-1950s also saw some college women enrolled in a reserve officers training corps program. Like the WAC, the WAF had experienced a steady decline in officer procurement after the Korean War. Its sources matched those for the WAC: officer candidate school, a direct commission program, and reserve officers recalled on active duty. In September 1954, the director of the WAF obtained permission to include women in the Air Force ROTC program at ten colleges and to initiate legislation that would include women permanently in the program. A WAF officer was assigned to each college to advise and supervise the students.[18] For the first time, women were enrolled in an ROTC program in any service.[19] Great speculation arose about whether the WAC would enroll women in the Army's ROTC programs. In response to several inquiries, Colonel Galloway wrote: "The position taken by the Department of the Army is that it interposes no objection to the proposed legislation insofar as it pertains to the Department of the Air Force but similar authority to enroll female students in the Army ROTC is not desired." [20] The WAC preferred its College Junior Program.

The WAF ROTC experiment was not successful and after several years of failing to attract sizable numbers of women, it was discontinued. In June 1958, four women received commissions through the program and served on active duty. None received commissions in 1959, and the program was discontinued that year. Ten years later, in 1969, the WAF again ventured into ROTC. The program then proved so successful that

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[16] WAC School, "Statistical Analysis of College Junior Cadet Program, 1957-1966," May 67, ODWAC Ref File, College Junior Statistics, CMH.

[17] Rpt, US Army Audit Agency, Review of the WAC College Junior Program, 1966, ODWAC Ref File, Inspections, CMH.

[18] Semi-Annual Rpts, SecAF to SecDef, 30 Jun 55, p. 272; 30 Jun 58, p. 293; 30 Jun 59, p. 305.

[19] First-time enrollment of women in a college military training program may have occurred informally in 1889. In a letter to *Army*, Jan 75, MajGen N. J. Hennan, USA Ret, quoted Capt James P. Kress ("A History of Military Training at the University of Minnesota, 1869-1960"): "In 1888, the Regents permitted coeds to enroll for military training in the fall of 1889. Female participation in military training was brief. In 1892 the new PMS&T, 1st Lt. George H. Morgan requested that the Regents restrict military training to male students."

[20] Memo, DWAC to Cdrs, Continental Armies and MDW; major overseas cdrs; and Cdr, WAC Center, 27 Nov 56, sub: Army Position on WAC ROTC Program, file Legislation, History Collection, WAC Museum.

all the women's services began using ROTC as a major source of officer procurement. Its popularity increased after cadets began to receive higher pay and full academic credit for ROTC courses taught by military personnel. Cadets could also substitute academic courses in history and political science for some ROTC courses.[21]

A Question of Status

The postwar decision to permit reserve officers to serve on extended active duty for twenty years and qualify for retirement helped the Army achieve its active duty strength, but it also created problems in maintaining Regular Army strength.[22] Given a choice between a twenty- or a thirty-year career, WAC officers almost always chose the shorter term. In 1954, the Reserve Officers Personnel Act enhanced reserve status when it gave reserve and regular officers almost the same responsibilities, rights, and privileges regarding promotion, retention, and discharge.[23] Reserve officers who desired career status could sign indefinite agreements when their initial active duty obligation expired.[24]

By the mid-1950s the Army became concerned about the imbalance between regular and reserve officers—only 21.1 percent were regulars. To achieve a more balanced force, the Army and the other services asked for and received from Congress legislation that raised the strength ceiling for regular officers and provided a continuing program for assimilating reserve officers into the Regular Army. The Army's strength ceiling for regular officers thereby increased from 30,600 to 49,500. If, as part of this action, Army leaders had used the 2 percent formula for WAC officers, the WAC ceiling would have been 990 regular officers. Instead, the G-1 directed that the WAC ceiling remain at 600—a figure more realistically attainable. After conducting a three-year campaign (1955-1958) to acquire regular officers, the Army was still 2,000 short of its goal for male and WAC regular officers. The WAC contribution to this goal was negligible. On 30 June 1958, of 779 WAC officers on duty, 318 were regulars (40.8 percent). Four years earlier, on 30 June 1954, the WAC had had on duty 1,019 officers of whom only 329 were regular officers (32.4 percent). By 1958 the WAC had lost 11 regular officers—the percentage had risen because total strength had decreased.[25]

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[21] Victor B. Hirshauer, "The History of the Army Reserve Officers Training Corps 1916-1973," dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1975, pp. 255-63, 368-370, CMH Library.

[22] PL 810, Army and Air Force Vitalization and Retirement Equalization Act, 80th Cong, 29 Jun 48.

[23] PL 773, Reserve Officers Personnel Act (ROPA), 83d Cong, 3 Sep 54. This legislation paralleled provisions for regular officers in the Officers Personnel Act of 1947, PL 381, 80th Cong, 7 Aug 47.

[24] PL 476, Armed Forces Reserve Act, 82d Cong, 9 Jul 52.

[25] *Strength of the Army Report* (STM-30), 30 Jun 54 and 30 Jun 58.

Regular Army status, although a symbol of prestige to the men of the Army, held little attraction for WAC officers.[26] The inequities between the status of male and WAC officers more than likely caused the WACs' rejection of regular status:

—WACs could not be promoted beyond lieutenant colonel.
—WACs had to prove dependency status for children under 18 and husbands.
—WACs could not remain on active duty with dependents under 18.
—If a WAC officer was married to an Army officer, her quarters allowance and quarters assignments were based on her husband's rank and status rather than her own, even if hers were higher.
—No places were reserved for WAC officers at the senior service colleges, e.g., Army War College.
—WAC duty assignments were usually limited to administrative or WAC branch duties.

Women officers knew these inequities existed, and those who chose to remain on active duty did so with the knowledge that a WAC officer's career was permanently stunted by the cutoff of promotion beyond lieutenant colonel. Nonetheless, many women did remain for the benefits of being in service (leadership experience, equal pay for equal rank, retirement, travel opportunities, post exchange and commissary privileges). The opportunities for promotion and advancement far surpassed those generally available to women in civilian life in the 1950s. The Army was a man's world, but so was civilian life.

Career Planning

Despite the inequities, or perhaps because of them, the Corps, on becoming a permanent part of the Army establishment in 1948, began to develop plans to provide full and satisfactory careers for women officers—whether they were regulars or reservists on extended active duty. That same year the Army had issued its first publication on career planning for officers. Although initially intended for regular officers, within a few years the directive included planning for career reserve officers as well. Like everything the Army did, career planning was done by branch. Each branch, including the WAC, prepared a plan for an officer to progress from second lieutenant through colonel. The WAC

[26] Regular Army WAC officer strength and percentage of total WAC officer strength on 30 Jun 65 was 234 RA officers of 742 or 31.5 percent; 30 Jun 76, 142 RA officers of 1,713 or 8.2 percent; 30 Sep 80, 841 of 3,454 or 24.3 percent. After elimination of promotion restr .tions in 1967, a separate WAC branch in 1974, and entry of women into West Point in 1976, the percentage of Regular Army women officers increased. *Strength of the Army Report* (DCSPER-46) for the dates shown.

career plan provided that, during the first seven years of their Army service, WAC officers would obtain a firm foundation of training and experience in military duties by serving as WAC unit officers, recruiters, instructors, trainers, or administrative staff officers. During the next seven-year period, many, not all, would attend the WAC Officer Advanced Course or the advanced course of a branch related to a current or potential MOS, e.g., The Adjutant General's Corps, Quartermaster Corps, Finance Corps. Also, during this period the officers were encouraged to focus on a specialty in which they could receive recurrent assignments and advanced training. If they desired, they could remain generalists in a career field such as administration or training. Women interested in specialist training took correspondence courses offered by various branch schools, or they enrolled in college courses. During the third seven-year period, a WAC officer alternated between branch duty assignments and assignments in her area of specialization. A few attended Command and General Staff College. By the last phase of their career pattern—the twenty-first to thirtieth year of service—most WAC officers had achieved their last promotion to major or lieutenant colonel and were assigned to WAC Center or WAC School or a major headquarters somewhere in the Army. Their male peers, meanwhile, were attending a senior service college, commanding a battalion or brigade, or managing a large staff division in a major headquarters. Men could look forward to promotion to colonel or even general officer rank and to assignment to positions such as division, corps, or army commander or even chief of staff of the Army.[27]

In career management, attendance at the right schools was one of the keys to job satisfaction and to promotion. Each branch operated a school that taught officers and enlisted personnel the skills required by the MOSs it controlled, as well as general skills—leadership, management, instruction, administration. After attending a precommission school—U.S. Military Academy, ROTC, OCS—a male officer attended his branch's basic officer course. In the WAC, however, precommission and basic officer training were accomplished in the same course. Also, because the WAC did not control any MOS other than the one for WAC staff advisers, WAC School did not conduct officer specialty courses leading to the award of an MOS.[28] A male officer went on to the advanced officers

[27] TM 20-206, Career Management for Army Officers, 29 Jun 48, superseded by DA Pam 600-3, Career Planning for Army Officers, 15 Oct 56. References contain career planning patterns for each branch of the Army.

[28] For example, in 1952, TAG School offered the following officer courses: Adjutant General Company Officer, Adjutant General Officer Advanced, Associate Adjutant General Advanced, Recruiting Management, Personnel Management, Special Services, Adjutant General Company Grade Officer Refresher, Adjutant General Field Officer Refresher.

course conducted by his branch. In these courses, the branch prepared its officers to perform staff and command duty at field grade level (major and lieutenant colonel) at higher Army headquarters and the Department of Defense. A few WAC officers attended advanced courses given by other branches (The Adjutant General, Quartermaster), but the WAC had no advanced courses of its own. For officers, an advanced course was important because it was a prerequisite for attending the Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth.

In 1951 Colonel Hallaren asked the G-3 of the Army to approve a WAC Officer Advanced Course at the WAC School. The G-3 saw the need for the course. Of almost 1,200 WAC officers on active duty, only 29 had attended the short World War II Command and General Staff Course.[29] The G-3 also directed the chief of Army Field Forces to prepare a program of instruction and to initiate action to provide instructors, material, and equipment for the course. The first WAC Officer Advanced Course was conducted at Fort Lee, and on 10 July 1954 twenty-nine officers graduated. Thereafter WAC School conducted one advanced class a year until the course was discontinued in 1972.

With the opening of the advanced course, WAC officers gained access to a prerequisite for the Command and General Staff College, attendance at which almost guaranteed promotion to lieutenant colonel for men and women. Beginning in June 1955, the G-1 annually allocated four spaces for WAC officers to attend a 13-week Associate Command and General Staff Course. None attended the 43-week regular Command and General Staff Course until 1968, when the associate course was discontinued.[30]

In June 1955, the first WAC officer graduated from a senior service college. Based on her outstanding performance of duty in G-4, Department of the Army, and other logistical assignments, Lt. Col. Hortense M. Boutell was selected to attend the Industrial College of the Armed Forces at Fort McNair, Washington, D.C. This ten-month course trained students in joint logistic planning, strategic planning, and national economic policies. No other WAC officer attended a senior service college until 1968.[31]

In the early 1950s the Army offered career specialization to officers who had achieved sufficient training in general military assignments, both command and staff, and who had demonstrated the ability to become specialists in logistics, intelligence, public information, civil affairs, or a

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[29] Ltr, G-3 to Chief, Army Field Forces, 17 Nov 51, sub: Training of WAC Officers, with 1st Ind, Chief, Army Field Forces, to Cdr, WAC Training Center, Fort Lee, VA, 7 Feb 52, and Ltr, Chief, Army Field Forces, to G-3, 3 Nov 52, sub: Proposed Program of Instruction—WAC Officer Advanced Course, ODWAC Ref File, Officers Advanced Course, CMH.

[30] LtCol Mary E. Kelly and LtCol Patricia E. McCormick were the first WAC officers to attend the Associate Command and General Staff Course, in Jun 55. In June 68, Majors Nancy M. Hopfenspirger, Kitt M. MacMichael, Inez L. Nease, Marilyn J. Russell, and Martha J. Thompson graduated from the regular course. Chronological Record, Jun 55, Jun 68, ODWAC Ref File, CMH.

[31] Ibid., Jun 55, Aug 68.

LT. COL. HORTENSE M. BOUTELL
(Photograph taken in 1960.)

LT. COL. LILLIAN HARRIS
(Photograph taken in 1960.)

foreign area. In the last-named specialty, for example, an officer received training in the language, culture, and economy of a specific foreign area. Because the training was extensive, only Regular Army officers with a career expectancy of thirty years were selected for such specialization. In addition to long periods of military and civilian graduate-level schooling in his specialty, a male officer also had to maintain proficiency in the skills associated with his branch. For WAC officers this requirement meant returning occasionally to command a WAC unit, to be assigned to recruiting, to instruct at WAC School, or to fill a staff position at the WAC Center or WAC School. The first WAC officers to enter specialization fields were Maj. Martha F. Schuchart, Army Security Agency; Maj. Elinor J. Connor, Intelligence; Maj. A. Nora Howes, Public Information; Lt. Col. Ruth Briggs, Foreign Area; and Lt. Col. Hortense Boutell, Lt. Col. Lillian Harris, and Maj. Mary L. Sullivan, Logistics.[32]

In June 1961, the judge advocate general agreed to accept WACs who were lawyers for duty and temporary detail (a three-year assignment away from the basic branch). Lt. Col. Nora G. Springfield was the first to be approved for duty as an Army lawyer. In a few years, the Army approved a program under which civilian lawyers and senior law school students could apply for appointment in the WAC with permanent detail

[32] Ibid.

to the Judge Advocate General's Corps. Their careers would be managed by that corps rather than by the WAC Career Management Branch. On 21 July 1966, 1st Lt. Adrienne M. McOmber became the first lawyer permanently detailed in the Judge Advocate General's Corps directly from civilian life.[33]

By 1960, 23 of 735 WAC officers on duty had entered the specialization programs. All 23 were Regular Army officers. By 1972, specialization had increased as career reserve officers also entered these programs (*Table 13*).[34]

TABLE 13—WAC OFFICERS IN SPECIALIZATION PROGRAMS

Program	1960	1972
Army Security Agency	1	—
Civil Affairs	1	—
Foreign Area Specialist	4	—
Information	3	15
Intelligence and Security	10	8
Logistics	4	38
Added after 1960:		
Automatic Data Processing	—	2
Research and Development	—	1
Total	23	64

Source: Report of Major Events and Problems, DCSPER, DA, FY 1960, Chapter V, WAC, and Memo, Office of Personnel Operations, Officer Personnel Management Task Group, to Chief, WAC Career Branch, 28 Sep 72, sub: WAC Participation in OPMS Career Fields and Specialists, ODWAC Ref file, Specialization, CMH.

By law and regulation WAC officers could not be promoted above lieutenant colonel, could not command men, and could not be assigned combat duties. A wide range of assignments, however, was now available to them. The MOS in which most WAC officers served was administrative officer; next were unit commander, adjutant, personnel officer, recruiting officer, training center unit officer, supply officer, special services officer, troop information and education officer, public information officer, and intelligence staff officer. Technology opened new fields in the 1960s and 1970s, and WAC officers were trained and assigned in automatic data processing, computer science, and logistical systems.

[33] Chronological Record, Jun 61, Jul 66, ODWAC Ref File, CMH; AR 140-100, 6 Apr 61, Reserve Components, Appointment of Commissioned and Warrant Officers of the Army, superseded by AR 135-100, 5 Feb 64, same title, CMH Library.

[34] Historical Reports, WAC C&S, FYs 1958, 1959, History Collection, WAC Museum.

Because the WAC branch primarily controlled women officers and not a specific Army function as the male branches did (Signal, Ordnance, Medical, etc.), WAC officers not in a specialization program could be assigned more easily than men to "branch immaterial" positions—jobs common throughout the Army in administration, personnel, training, or supply duties. Most male officers spent months being trained by their branch in a technical MOS or another branch area. Without jeopardizing their careers, they could not move into generalist positions or take positions outside their MOS. However, assignments that required WAC officers to be moved into other branches did not disrupt their career patterns. Many WAC officers served repetitive tours with other branches.[35] *Table 14* shows the number detailed to other branches in selected years.

TABLE 14—WAC OFFICERS DETAILED TO OTHER BRANCHES

Army Branch	1955	1963	1966	1970
Adjutant General	21	11	31	48
Chemical	9	2	1	1
Engineer	1	1	0	1
Finance	3	7	8	7
Intelligence	1	1	6	13
Judge Advocate General	0	4	4	6
Medical Service Corps	1	0	0	0
Military Police	5	0	0	0
Ordnance	4	12	0	1
Quartermaster	18	5	4	21
Signal	8	3	2	5
Transportation	7	1	0	0
Total	78	47	56	103

Source: Strength of the Army Report (STM-30, DCSPER-46) for 30 June of years shown. DA Cir 52, 1953, discontinued authority to detail WAC officers to the Medical Service Corps after 1955.

At no time did WAC officers as a group interfere with the progress of male officers' career development or assignment. The restrictions on WAC officer assignments prevented this. A study completed in 1964 concluded, "There is no evidence that broad utilization of WAC officers has prevented male officers from receiving appropriate career experience to any appreciable extent." Fewer than 100 WAC officers, the study continued, held staff positions that might be career enhancing for male

[35] DA Pam 600-3, 15 Oct 56, Career Planning for Army Officers, pp. 51, 53, CMH Library.

officers and "even in these cases it may be argued that the Army is just as well off. They [WAC officers] may do just as much or more for the male officer's career advancement or improved promotion opportunity." The women could not relieve the Army's true shortage, which was combat officers, but they could "reduce the possibility or necessity for diverting combat arms officers into branch immaterial or noncombat assignments." [36] Apparently no WAC officer held a job that a male officer would want or one in which the assignment of a male would have been more advantageous to the Army.

Another study completed the following year analyzed the entire WAC program for the deputy chief of staff for personnel. Its goal was to review the Corps' strengths and weaknesses and to assess its future. With regard to WAC officers, the study concluded that because they were few in number, they had been more easily assimilated into the Army than enlisted women. "There is, therefore, no great impact on total male requirements from a WAC asset of less than 1 percent of the whole. On the other hand, distribution of WAC officers throughout the active Army is quite broad." [37] (*See Table 15.*)

TABLE 15—DISTRIBUTION OF WAC OFFICER ASSETS

DECEMBER 1964

Occupational Area	Percent
WAC Command and Staff	12.5
WAC Recruiting and Training	12.0
Chief of Staff Area	2.5
G-1 Area	12.5
G-2 Area	3.5
G-3 Area	4.0
Comptroller Area	1.5
AG Area	19.0
Information Area	5.5
Duties Unassigned, Special Duty, Faculty, Student	15.0
Other	1.5
Detail to Other Branches	6.5
Total	100.0

Source: Staff study, Utilization Div., Directorate of Manpower, ODCSPER, 12 Jun 65, sub: The WAC Program, Annex B, p. 4, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, CMH.

[36] Staff Study, ODCSPER, sub: WAC Requirements, Jul 64, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, CMH.

[37] Staff Study, Utilization Div, Directorate of Manpower, ODCSPER, sub: The WAC Program, 12 Kin 65, Annex B, p. 4, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, CMH. Study cited hereafter as DCSPER, The WAC Program.

The study showed that 25 percent of the WAC officers performed duty in WAC jobs; 75 percent, in branch immaterial assignments. The study group summed up its findings, "There are no restrictions on officer utilization from a career field point of view or from a promotion point of view, as there are with enlisted personnel. In effect, WAC officer utilization follows the same pattern as male officer utilization. Accordingly, WAC officer utilization is quite flexible and can be responsive to Army requirements." [38]

The 1965 study did bring out the interesting fact that the overall age of WAC officers had been decreasing. In 1960, WAC officers aged twenty-five and under constituted 5 percent of the Corps; in 1964, officers in this age group comprised 20 percent. In 1960, officers in age group forty-one through forty-five made up 20 percent of the Corps; in 1964, they were 15 percent. The trend toward a younger Corps had been expected because the average age of WAC officers in World War II had been thirty. By 1965, many of these older WAC officers had reached retirement age. The increased youth of the Corps was a healthy sign. It showed that a steady stream of second lieutenants was entering the Corps and remaining for at least a twenty-year career.[39]

The chief of the WAC Career Branch played an important role in every WAC officer's career. She was responsible for assigning officers upon their graduation from a school or upon completion of a tour of duty. Because all officers sent a preference statement to the chief of their branch every year, she knew their choices for location of assignment, their hopes for additional military or civilian school training or specialization, and personal or family factors that required consideration. If they did not send a preference statement, the career branch chief assumed that their preferences were unchanged or that they had no strong preferences for reassignment when their current tour ended. Myth had it that the preference statement brought officers the opposite of their requests, but few tested the theory. Because the chief of the WAC Career Branch occupied such an important position, the director of the WAC personally nominated, to the G-1 or chief of personnel operations, the woman she considered best qualified to provide job satisfaction to the officers and fulfill WAC and Army requirements for officers of the Corps.[40]

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[38] Ibid., p. 11.

[39] Ibid., Annex 13, pp. 15-16.

[40] Between 1948 and 1974, when the WAC Career Branch was dissolved, ten women served as chief—LtCols Mary C. Fullbright (1948-52), Mary M. Pugh (1953), Catherine J. Lyons (1953-57), Pauline V. Houston (1957-61), Miriam L. Butler (1961-65), Maribeth C. Simpson (1965-67), Shirley R. Heinze (1967-68), and Cols Mildred G. Qualls (1968-70), Maida E. Lambeth (1970-72), Shirley R. Heinze (1972-74), and Mary E. Clarke (1974-75). The chief of the WAC Advisory Office, which briefly succeeded WAC Career Branch, was LtCol Virginia L. Heseman (1975-76).

The order of priority for filling requisitions for WAC officers was established by the G–1 of the Army. The first priority in most years was filling projected vacancies in WAC units, WAC recruiting, and WAC training, because male officers could not be substituted. When these requirements were filled, requisitions submitted by the major commanders were filled in an order that depended upon the urgency of the mission being performed or supported. The chief of the WAC Career Branch first filled the urgent requisitions with the best qualified available officers. After that, she could consider the personal wishes of the officers.[41]

The small size of the Corps, averaging 800 officers between 1948 and 1972, was a boon because officers could receive individual attention and sometimes get a choice of assignments. Because their upward mobility was limited, WAC officers made the most of a life of travel and interesting assignments in the Army. The fact that their retention rate was higher than that of male officers indicated that they were not displeased with their prospects or with Army life. Most WAC officers enjoyed relocation and assignment to a new position every two or three years—until they approached mandatory retirement. At that point most of them had achieved their career goals, had reached the limit of promotional opportunity, and were content to buy a house and settle in a community near an Army post.

By 1957 the WAC had in place three procurement programs for its officers. The new procurement programs (the direct commission and the College Junior Program) were the best the Army could produce, but they could not achieve the WAC officer strength objective, even though that objective was lowered by an Army-wide strength reduction ordered by Congress. WAC officer strength on 30 June 1953 was 1,109; on 30 June 1957, 740. The decrease in officer accessions could be attributed to the end of the Korean War and an economy that offered plentiful employment in the civilian sector. In a 1955 letter to the commanders of the continental armies, Adjutant General John A. Klein suggested, "When there is placed in colleges and universities accurate information on commissioned military service as a vocation for young women, the needs of the Women's Army Corps can be met." He felt sure that young women would volunteer as soon as they knew about the opportunities for them in commissioned status.[42] Civilian women's advancement to executive levels in business, education, government, and the professions was just as limited as it was in the Army. Advancement in civilian life, however, was not restricted by law, only by custom; and hope existed for upward mobility particularly in periods of a prospering economy. Army life on the other

[41] DA Pam 600–3, Career Planning for Army Officers, 30 Jun 64, p. 8, CMH Library.

[42] Ltr, TAG to CGs, Continental Armies, 15 Feb 55 (file AGST-L(M)210.1 WAC, 11 Feb 55), sub: Procurement of Reserve Commissioned Officers of the Army, Women's Army Corps Branch, Direct from Civilian Life, ODWAC Ref File, Officer Procurement, CMH.

hand had proved satisfactory to only a small number of American women because its limitations were too marked and its opportunities for career fulfillment developed too slowly to give it mass appeal. The women officers procurement programs needed a great public relations effort to help the WAC achieve its officer objectives.

Warrant Officer Procurement and Career Management

The procurement and career development of male warrant officers were managed by the branch that controlled the individual's primary MOS. A major change in the MOS of a warrant officer usually affected both the control branch directing his assignments and the basic branch managing his career. Under the law, a WAC warrant officer's basic branch remained the WAC even though her MOS and control branch changed. The WAC Career Management Branch monitored WAC warrant officers' careers to ensure that the officers were promoted and retired on time, but the branch that controlled the women's MOS assigned and reassigned them and ensured the proper MOS training. To be appointed as a warrant officer, an enlisted man or woman had to have served at least one year on active duty or, if a civilian, possess a highly technical skill in short supply in the Army. The various branches obtained additional warrant officers primarily by inviting proficient enlisted personnel to apply for appointment in a certain MOS. Most WAC warrant officers served in an administrative, intelligence, or supply MOS; their assignments were managed by The Adjutant General, Intelligence and Security branch, or Quartermaster branch.[43]

Legislative action, the Warrant Officer Act of 1954, improved the attractiveness of careers for regular and reserve warrant officers by creating four warrant officer grades—there had previously been two—and by aligning the services' regulations regarding promotion, retention, separation, and retirement. Surprisingly, Congress decided to align the retirement laws for women warrant officers with those for women commissioned officers rather than with those for male warrant officers. Whereas male warrant officers with over twenty years' service did not face mandatory retirement until they reached age sixty-two, women warrant officers had to retire at age fiftyfive.[44] WAC commissioned officers in the grade of major and lieutenant colonel retired at fifty-three and fifty-five, respectively. In 1967, Congress finally aligned retirement laws for male and WAC officers.[45]

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[43] TM 12-406, 8 Feb 46, Commissioned and Warrant Officer Classification; SR 605-105-5, 1 Mar 54, Manual of Commissioned and Warrant Officer MOS; AR 611-103, 6 Dec 54, Classification of Officers and Warrant Officers; AR 611-112, 3 Jun 61, Manual of Warrant Officer MOS. Copies in CMH Library.

[44] PL 379, Warrant Officer Act, 83d Cong, 29 May 54.

[45] PL 130, An Act to Remove Restrictions on the Careers of Female Officers, 90th Cong, 8 Nov 67.

In other respects, women warrant officers received the same treatment as men. Women could be promoted to all warrant officer grades (W–1, the lowest, through W–4), and they competed on the same list with men for promotion in their MOS or career field. Women, however, still could not hold an MOS associated with combat duties.

At the time the Warrant Officer Act of 1954 went into effect, the WAC had forty-eight warrant officers, five of whom were Regular Army. Two of these five required a private bill in Congress to remain on duty beyond the mandatory retirement age to acquire twenty years' active service for retirement.[46]

Warrant officer status did not achieve popularity in the WAC primarily because it offered neither the advantages of a commission nor the status of a senior NCO. But it did provide higher pay than an enlisted person received, and it also ensured that a woman could continue to be assigned in the same MOS or occupational area throughout her career. Often women who qualified for a warrant officer appointment also qualified for a reserve appointment as a commissioned officer and chose the latter because the pay was higher and the prestige more attractive. A higher retirement age equal to the men's might have improved warrant officer status for women; it would have given them a longer period on active duty than women commissioned officers. Lack of appeal of warrant officer status to women is indicated by the fact that on 30 June 1975, the WAC had on active duty only twenty-two, of whom only one was Regular Army.[47]

Being a WAC officer was not a career that beckoned many women in the 1950s and 1960s. Compared to the opportunities available to male officers, the opportunities of a WAC officer were few. Many who entered the program left as quickly as possible when they encountered the male bias against women in service, the odds against promotion above major, and other disadvantages. Army life meant living in one room, eating out, working long hours, taking orders, going where sent, wearing uniforms without jewelry, scrimping on Army pay, and keeping one's hair above the collar. Assignment restrictions included prohibitions against serving in combat, commanding men, serving as chaplains or aviators, or being assigned below theater army level. On the positive side, however, were factors important to young women just leaving college. Army life meant self-supporting freedom; a guaranteed job, housing, and pay; social life and camaraderie; and educational and travel opportunities.

As the years passed, WAC officers earned some career-enhancing benefits. Major among them were the opening of an advanced course for

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[46] *Strength of the Army Report* (STM–30), 30 Jun 55. The regular warrant officers were Thelma L. Alley, Dorothy E. Green, Marcia E. Estabrook, Helen E. Ryan, and Elizabeth C. Smith. The first two required a private bill to remain on duty—HR 5836, 19 Mar 59, introduced by Paul J. Kilday of Texas at the request of the Department of Defense.

[47] *Strength of the Army Reports* (STM–30, DCSPER–46), 30 Jun 55 and 30 Jun 75.

WAC officers in 1954 and the allocation of four spaces annually in the Command and General Staff College. Also, beginning in 1955, WAC officers could enter specialization programs that could give those with special talent greater job satisfaction. The WAC officer corps survived on these few career benefits and the fact that Army life meant excitement, leadership opportunities, travel, retirement, veterans benefits, and higher expectations than they might have had in civilian jobs.

While some decline in Army strength was anticipated after periods of mobilization, the downward trend in WAC officer strength presented a continuing problem for a succession of WAC directors. Between 1953 and 1965, for example, WAC officer strength fell from 1,109 to 742.[48] The DCSPER studies in the 1960s showed that the Army could have filled many more officer positions with WACs if it had had them. Not only was this decline apparent to the WAC directors, but they knew that the effectiveness, if not the continued existence of the Corps, depended on their attracting more women into the service.

[48] Ibid., 30 Jun 53 and 30 Jun 65.

CHAPTER VI

Strength Goals and the Move to Fort McClellan

The subject of WAC strength was uppermost in Colonel Galloway's mind at her first WAC staff advisers conference in May 1953. In her opening remarks, she outlined the problems ahead: "The matters of primary concern to us include our strength trends and our future procurement. We can take definite and corrective action and build increased interest and impetus in the matters of recruiting and reenlistment." [1] Reinforcing that concern, Brig. Gen. Herbert B. Powell, Deputy Assistant Chief of Staff, G-1, Manpower Control, told the attendees: "I stress to you, and urge your continued emphasis on, the need for the services of volunteer women in the Army. The utilization of women in the Army is an integral and carefully evaluated factor in the overall national manpower potential. . . . The second consideration which I stress with equal emphasis is the matter of reenlistments." [2]

For the second consecutive year, WAC losses had exceeded gains. Recruiting and reenlistment rates had gone downhill for both men and women beginning in June 1951 and had continued downward—a trend not totally unexpected with an expanding wartime economy and an unpopular war. But in the spring of 1953, peace seemed to be in sight, and it was hoped that civilian attitudes toward military service would improve so that recruiters could again interest young women in an enlistment or a career in the Women's Army Corps. Such changes were needed for the Corps to continue as a creditable manpower resource to the Army. Colonel Galloway and her staff, unable to influence prevailing attitudes, began examining the discharge policies on marriage, pregnancy, and parenthood to find a way to reduce the Corps' heavy losses in those areas.

Discharge Policies

During most of World War II, no policy had existed under which women could be discharged on marriage. After V-E Day, women could request discharge when their husbands were demobilized. Later, any

[1] Rpt, WAC Staff Advisers Conf, 4-6 May 1953, p. 51, ODWAC Ref File, WAC Staff Advisers Conferences, CMH.

[2] Ibid., p. 17.

WAC who had married before V-E Day could be discharged without regard to demobilization points or to her husband's status as civilian or military. After demobilization ended, WACs could be discharged on marriage upon request. The policy, however, was stiffened when the WAC entered the Regular Army in 1948. Thereafter, neither officers nor enlisted women could be discharged on marriage unless they had completed one year of their current enlistment or appointment contract. This policy was included on enlistment applications so that the women would be aware of the obligation.[3] With the Korean War, discharge on marriage had been suspended. When it was reinstated, the eligibility requirements had again changed. Enlisted women had to have completed one year of service beyond their initial training and arrival at the first duty station; officers needed two years' continuous active duty. Women stationed overseas at the time of their request had to complete one year of their foreign service tour in addition to attaining the basic eligibility for discharge.[4]

Few changes had occurred in policy regarding discharge for pregnancy. From the days of the Auxiliary Corps, women had been discharged as soon as possible after a doctor had certified the condition. During World War II, women at posts in the United States were usually processed out of the Army within fourteen days after certification; women stationed overseas were returned to the United States by air and then discharged. After the war, women who were pregnant could be discharged overseas if their husbands were there. Whether they were married or single, women being discharged on pregnancy received honorable discharge certificates; women who had illegal abortions did not. Instances of the latter were rare. If women who were to be discharged for some cause other than pregnancy (unsuitability, demobilization, etc.) were found to be pregnant during their final physical examination, they were discharged for the original cause, but their discharge papers noted that they were pregnant. This enabled them, if they had an honorable discharge, to receive maternity care at an authorized military facility.[5]

During its 1948 hearings on the WAC bill, Congress had made clear that the service should not interfere with the accepted pattern of women's lives. Congressman Carl Vinson stated: "We should not put anything in

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[3] DA Cir 252, 12 Sep 47, Sec III; DA Cir 335, 27 Oct 48; SR 625-5-5, 11 Jan 49, Discharge of WAC Officers and Warrant Officers on Marriage and Pregnancy; AR 615-361, 30 Aug 50, Enlisted Personnel Discharge on Marriage and Pregnancy. Copies in CMH Library.

[4] Change 1, 3 Aug 51, to AR 615-361, Enlisted Personnel, Discharge on Marriage and Pregnancy; DA Cir 81, 17 Sep 53; and SR 605-225-10, 17 Jan 54, Release of Women Officers of Marriage, Pregnancy or Parenthood. Copies in CMH Library.

[5] AR 615-361, 4 Nov 44, Enlisted Men, Discharge Medical, CMH Library. Between July and December 1942, unmarried pregnant women received a summary, not dishonorable, discharge, usually given WAACs who proved to be disciplinary problems (WAAC Regs (Tentative), 1942, para 38a). Beginning in Dec 42, all pregnant women received honorable discharges (WAAC Cir 17, 29 Dec 42). See Treadwell, *The Women's Army Corps*, p. 501.

the law which should cause them to hesitate getting married or to raise a family; on the contrary, we should encourage it." [6] As a result, the WAC and other women's services continued their World War II policies that permitted women to marry, have children, and leave the service. Congress stopped short of encouraging family life for women in the service by not extending dependency allowances to the husbands or children of military women. The law stated that "husbands of women officers and enlisted personnel . . . and children of such officers and enlisted personnel shall not be considered dependents unless they are in fact dependent on their [wives or] mothers for their chief support." [7] Congress allowed dependency status to wives and to children under eighteen whether or not they were capable of working, but it would not automatically grant that status to husbands, who were presumed to be capable of working to support their wives and children.

WACs had received no maternity care until the last months of World War II. After November 1944, women honorably discharged or released from active duty could receive prenatal and postnatal care (including delivery) at an Army facility provided that their honorable discharge papers showed they were pregnant when they left the service. Before being discharged, pregnant women forwarded a request through channels to the surgeon general of the service command in which they would be living; he designated which Army hospital in their area would provide the necessary care. From 1951 on, women honorably discharged from any armed service on pregnancy could receive prenatal and postnatal care from any military medical facility without written approval.[8]

Until 1949, the termination of a pregnancy by miscarriage, stillbirth, or therapeutic abortion did not deter the progress of orders for discharge on pregnancy. Prevailing opinion assumed that by becoming pregnant, an unwed woman proved she did not meet the moral standards necessary for military service and should be discharged. And since a married woman would probably become pregnant again, she too should be discharged. In February 1949, the women's services agreed to modify this rule. Officers and enlisted women whose pregnancy terminated before the date of their discharge from the service could request retention on active duty. The requests went through channels to the Army area commander. The regulation did not bar unmarried women from requesting retention, but few wanted to suffer any further embarrassment, and, given the prevailing attitude toward illegitimate pregnancy, it was almost certain that such requests would be disapproved. If a living child were born before the

[6] House Hearings on S 1641, *Congressional Record*, 23 Feb 48, p. 5667.

[7] PL 625, 80th Cong, 2d sess, 12 Jun 48, sec 104(h), 105(b), 106(b), and 107.

[8] WD Cir 430, 4 Nov 44; DA Memo 40-505-4, 20 May 48, Maternity Care of Women Discharged or Released from Active Duty; and AR 40-506, 19 Dec 52, Persons Eligible to Receive Medical Care in Army Medical Facilities; AR 40-108, 13 Jan 55, same title. Copies in CMH Library.

mother was discharged from the service, the officer or enlisted woman was discharged under the pregnancy regulation.[9]

In 1951, President Truman issued an executive order (EO–10240) that provided authority to discharge military women "on parenthood." Although the order did not require the services to discharge on parenthood, each service made such a discharge mandatory and issued new regulations in 1954. If a servicewoman married a man with children under eighteen years of age in his household for more than 30 days a year, the new regulations required the woman to request discharge. Each service permitted women to request retention on active duty if extenuating circumstances existed. Requests from unmarried women to adopt or otherwise acquire full-time custody of a child under eighteen were rarely approved.[10]

Colonel Galloway's review of women's discharge policies produced no new recommendations. Believing that the discharge policies were already as liberal as possible, she felt unable to change or eliminate any of them to reduce losses. To abolish discharge on marriage or pregnancy would make Congress and the public think the Army forced married women and mothers to remain in service against their will. For its part, the Army had no desire to keep on duty women who could not work full time, or be transferred, or receive additional training, or perform shift or fatigue duties. Colonel Galloway and her staff, therefore, turned their attention to recruitment and reenlistment policies in their continuing search for a means of increasing gains and reducing losses.

Recruitment and Reenlistment

An examination of WAC recruitment and reenlistment programs disclosed that Regular Army enlisted women received no choice of station, unit, or training course in return for a three-year, or longer, enlistment. Qualified male enlistees, on the other hand, could chose from an array of assignment guarantees—overseas duty, a certain command or division, school training. Pointing to the Corps' obvious need for more enlistments, Colonel Galloway convinced the G–1 to open the special school training option to women too. Under it, women high school graduates who met

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[9] Change 3, 23 Feb 49, to AR 625-361, 14 May 47, Discharge of Enlisted Personnel, Medical, and SR 625-5-5, 11 Jan 49, Discharge of WAC Officers and Warrant Officers for Marriage and Pregnancy. Change 2, 2 Nov 61, to AR 635-210, 17 Feb 61, Discharge of Enlisted Personnel on Marriage, Pregnancy, or Parenthood, clarified the wording by stating that "when a legitimate pregnancy is terminated," the woman could request retention on active duty. While that wording was not included in the officers' regulations, the policy was applied to officers as well.

[10] EO 10240, 27 Apr 51, Regulations Governing the Separation from the Service of Certain Women Serving in the Regular Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Air Force, in DA Bull 7, 14 May 1951; AR 615-361, 21 Sep 54, Enlisted Personnel, Discharge on Marriage, Pregnancy and Parenthood; SR 605-225-10, 17 Jun 54, Release of Women Officers Because of Marriage, Pregnancy, or Parenthood. Copies in CMH Library.

the mental and physical requirements and agreed to enlist for at least three years would be guaranteed assignment in one of seventeen specialist courses.[11] The option, advertised as the "Reserved Seat Program" or the "High School Enlistment Option," opened in March 1953. Though it did not immediately increase WAC enlistments, it was a step forward.

A two-year enlistment had been made available to women in 1952. To young women, eighteen to twenty years of age (the average enlistment age for WACs), the shorter alternative was more appealing, especially when a longer enlistment provided no obvious advantages. Long range, however, the two-year enlistment was disadvantageous to the Army in two respects. First, like draftees, few two-year women reenlisted; and second, after completing four months of training, two-year women had only twenty months left to spend in the Army versus thirty-two months for three-year women. For the women who signed up, the two-year program had several drawbacks as well. They could not enroll in school training programs longer than eight weeks because most required students, male or female, to have eighteen to twenty-four months remaining on their enlistments when they completed the course. They could not be assigned overseas because WACs had to serve at least one year on active duty before becoming eligible for such duty, and all volunteers needed at least one year remaining on their enlistment when they arrived at a port of embarkation. Recruiters, however, liked the two-year enlistment because it sold easily, and it gave them the same amount of credit as an enlistment for three years. Thus, in FY 1953, which ended just two months after the Reserved Seat Program went into effect, of the 2,638 women who enlisted directly from civilian life, 2,354 chose the two-year enlistment.[12]

To strengthen the recruitment process, a new mental screening test was introduced in January 1953—the Armed Forces Women's Selection Test (AFWST). For women, it replaced the Armed Forces Qualification Test (AFQT), in use since 1950, which men continued to use. Because the AFQT was designed primarily to test men, it contained a high concentration of questions on mechanical skills, knowledge of motors and tools, the sciences, and physics. By contrast, the AFWST emphasized verbal skills, arithmetic reasoning, and pattern analysis. This test more aptly measured a woman's potential to be trained in clerical and administrative positions, typical assignments in the 1950s. The AFWST retained some questions to

[11] SR 615-120-23, 27 Mar 53, Enlistment of High School Graduates for Specific Army Schooling, CMH Library. The 17 courses were Dental Assistant, Dental Laboratory Specialist, X-Ray Technician, Medical Technician, Medical Laboratory Procedures Specialist, Occupational Therapy Technician, Personnel Management Specialist, Machine Accounting Specialist, WAC Clerical Procedures and Typing, Stenography, Cryptography, Finance and Accounting Specialist, Clinical Psychology, Telephone or Teletype Operations, Still Photography, Message Center Procedures, and Cooking.

[12] AR 600-175, 17 Jul 53, Foreign Service, CMH Library; Gains of RA Enlisted Women by Source and Term of Enlistment, *Strength of the Army Report* (STM-30), 30 Jun 54.

evaluate knowledge of mechanics, science, and other subjects, but such questions were few. With periodic revisions, the AFWST was used as the primary mental screening test for WACs and the other women's services until 1978.[13]

WAC reenlistment programs were examined next. In 1952 a reenlistment option had been opened to all personnel returning from overseas. Under this provision returning personnel could select the Army post to which they wished to be assigned. If a vacancy in their MOS and grade existed at the post, they were able to reenlist for it. If it did not, they reenlisted without a guaranteed assignment.[14] Women who were due for reenlistment while in the United States had no comparable choices. Men reenlisting under similar circumstances had a variety of options—assignment to the Far East, Europe, Alaska, Australia, or the Caribbean; assignment to a particular branch (Infantry, Engineers, Signal); or duty (airborne, counterintelligence, a band); or a specific division (1st Cavalry, 2d, 3d, 7th, 24th, or 25th Infantry).[15] In mid-1953, however, Colonel Galloway was able to obtain some reenlistment options for women. They could reenlist for duty in a specific geographic Army area or the Military District of Washington (MDW); at a specific post, if it had a WAC detachment; or for duty in Europe or the Far East commands, provided that a proper vacancy existed.[16] Beginning in 1955, servicewomen could reenlist for special school training courses just as women enlisting directly from civilian life could do.[17]

On 30 June 1950, the reenlistment rate for all services had been 59.3 percent; by 30 June 1954, it had fallen to 23.7 percent. These low reenlistment rates concerned Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson. Before the Korean War ended, he had appointed a committee to determine why the rates had dropped so drastically since 1950, and what could be done to increase them. The committee, headed by Rear Adm. J. P. Womble, Jr., conducted its study during the summer of 1953 and sent its report forward in October. It pinpointed the high civilian employment rate as the basic cause for the lack of reenlistments and noted that civilian pay was "lucrative, particularly for the skills taught within the services." The committee also noted that increases in military pay had not kept pace with increased costs of living, increases in pay in industry, or increases in government civilian pay. Contributing factors were the country's world-

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[13] Change 3, 27 Mar 53, to SR 615-105-1, 6 Jun 52, Recruiting for Regular Army, CMH Library; ODWAC WAC Ref File, AFWST, CMH.

[14] SR 615-120-7, 10 Jul 52, Reenlistment of Overseas Returnees for Direct Assignment to Army Installations in the Continental United States, CMH Library.

[15] SR 615-120-5, 20 Feb 50, as superseded 28 Jul 53 and 14 May 54, Choice of Service for Men Enlisting or Reenlisting for 3, 4, 5, or 6 Years, CMH Library.

[16] DF, ACofS, G-1, to TAG, 8 Sep 53, sub: Reenlistment Options for Regular Army Enlisted Women in ACofS-G1 Summary of Major Events and Problems FY 1954, CMH Ref Br; Change 1 21 Apr 55, to SR 615-120-5, 14 May 54, added reenlistment options for women.

[17] AR 601-229, 31 Aug 55, Enlistment and Reenlistment for Army Schooling, CMH Library

wide commitments, which meant increased hardships for soldiers because of longer overseas tours and family separations; a decline in public respect for military service; and a service-wide dilution in discipline, morale, and attention to personal problems. To counter these factors, the Womble Committee advised eliminating incompetent personnel; estimating the impact of new policies before implementing them; and improving housing, dependent care, retirement programs, travel allowances, reenlistment incentives, and pay.[18]

These proposals generated a wave of improvements in the military services. Chief among them was the passage of legislation that provided a new method of computing reenlistment bonuses. Up to this time, men and women received a lump cash sum of $40, $90, $160, $250, or $360 for reenlistment for two, three, four, five, or six years, respectively. Now, individuals reenlisting for the first time would receive an amount determined by multiplying their monthly base pay by the number of years on their new enlistment contract. For example, a WAC corporal (E-4) reenlisting for three years would receive $390—her base pay of $130 times three. Under the old law she would have received only $90 for reenlisting.[19]

Using the new legislation, the Army launched a major reenlistment campaign in 1954. Reenlistment NCOs were appointed to assist unit commanders in canvassing, interviewing, and counseling enlisted members on the advantages of remaining in the service. Each individual qualified to reenlist was interviewed at least three times before his or her enlistment ended. The counselor pointed out options for which the individual qualified, computed the reenlistment bonus money, and explained the other benefits of military life—retired pay, further training and educational opportunities, medical and dental care, etc. Prospective reenlistees were scheduled to see films designed to encourage them to reenlist—"Ninety-Day Wondering," "It's Your Future," or "A Look Ahead."[20]

With the higher reenlistment bonus, the Army became more particular about the qualifications of reenlistees. The Army laid the groundwork for this selectivity in 1953 by introducing the idea of a "bar to reenlistment." Unit commanders could document habitual misconduct or inadequate mental ability and record the information in an individual's service record. At the end of the individual's tour, that information would bar the person's reenlistment unless the problem had been eliminated. A WAC reenlistment guide admonished commanders "to reenlist as many

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[18] Memo to Asst SecDef (Manpower and Personnel), Oct 53, sub: Final Report, AD HOC Committee on the Future of Military Service as a Career that will Attract and Retain Capable Career Personnel, *Army Information Digest*, Feb 54, p. 24.

[19] PL 506, An Amendment to the Career Compensation Act of 1949, 83d Cong, 16 Jul 54.

[20] SR 615-120-1, 1 Mar 54, Intra-Army Recruiting Program; DA Pam 601-1, A Reenlistment Guide, Jul 54; and AR 601-280, 21 Apr 55, Intra-Army Reenlistment Program. Copies in CMH Library.

good WACs as possible. . . . One of the most important parts of your job as Unit Officer is to promote a high rate of re-enlistment of desirable WACs." [21]

Congress passed a number of other laws that had a good effect on the Army's and the other services' reenlistment programs. In 1955 and 1958 military pay was increased and, in 1958, two enlisted grades were added: E–8, master sergeant or first sergeant, and E–9, sergeant major. Increased pay made military service more competitive with private industry; the additional grades increased the prestige of the enlisted ranks. To provide proficiency incentives, the 1958 pay bill allowed additional pay for enlisted personnel who demonstrated excellence in their MOS performance. The first proficiency level, P–1 pay, gave a man or woman an additional $50 a month; P–2 pay added $100 a month; and P–3 pay added $150 a month. As an additional benefit, the 1958 bill also offered one year of college for every three-year enlistment or reenlistment and two years of college for every six-year enlistment or reenlistment. And, at the beginning of this period of goodwill and good public relations, the Defense Department, at the urging of Director Galloway and several veterans groups, had sponsored a bill, passed by Congress on 24 August 1954, giving VA benefits to WAACs who had been honorably discharged on physical disability between 14 May 1942 and 30 September 1943.[22]

Between 1953 and 1955, by providing options for women in duty stations and schools, Colonel Galloway succeeded in bringing the women's reenlistment program almost in line with the men's. The WAC reenlistment rate, which had fallen to 18.7 percent in 1954, had swung upward to 35.6 percent by June 1955.[23] Greater freedom of choice, increased enlistment bonuses, and higher pay all contributed to the improved reenlistment rate. Another major event during 1954 also had a favorable impact on WAC recruiting and reenlistment—the opening of a new WAC center and WAC school at Fort McClellan, Alabama.

The Move to Fort McClellan

Discussion about a new WAC center and WAC school had begun after a November 1950 visit to Camp Lee by Lt. Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, Deputy Chief of Staff of the Army for Administration. On his return to the Pentagon, he asked the G–1, then General Brooks, to find a better training area for the WACs. General Ridgway observed: "The

[21] DA Msg, 10 Feb 53, sub: Bar to Reenlistment, and "A Re-Enlistment Guide for WAC Unit Officers," May 53, ODWAC Ref File, Re-Enlistment, CMH.

[22] PL 20, 84th Cong, 31 Mar 55; PL 442, 85th Cong, 20 Mar 58; PL 650, 83d Cong, 24 Aug 54; AR 350-260, 13 Mar 58, Army Enlisted Training Program in Civilian Educational Institutions, CMH Library. HR 143, introduced in Jan 47 by Congresswoman Edith Nourse Rogers to provide VA benefits to WAACs honorably discharged on disability, had not passed.

[23] *Strength of the Army Report* (STM-30), 30 Jun 55

barracks these young American women occupy . . . can never create any pride of occupancy. They are the dirty old temporary type of wooden shack. I think we can do better." [24] General Brooks agreed and forwarded the memorandum to Colonel Hallaren, then the director of the WAC, and received a surprising reply. Colonel Hallaren recommended that the WAC training center concept be eliminated and that men and women be trained together in the Army's basic training system. She pointed out that few differences existed in their training programs except for the weapons and tactical training given men. She proposed for a pilot model that "a training battalion be activated at a permanent post such as Fort Benning to provide joint training for men and women in common subjects. If successful, similar battalions might be activated at other training divisions until the entire function of a WAC training center had been absorbed." [25] Men and women would be assigned to separate companies but would share classrooms, instructors, training aids, and equipment. Such a program, she felt, would reduce training and travel costs, "create a highly desirable orientation for both men and women entering the Army," and, hopefully, improve soldiers' attitudes toward women in the Army.[26]

When her proposal received no support, Colonel Hallaren dropped the idea and turned to the selection of a post suitable for a WAC training center. A site selection committee, appointed by the chief of staff, was already at work. The members of the committee, who represented the G-1, the G-3, the G-4, the director of the WAC, and the chief of Army Field Forces, reviewed the availability of land and facilities at the sites considered only a few years earlier when Camp Lee had been chosen: Fort Bragg, Fort Benning, Fort Riley, and Fort McClellan. Their choice was Fort McClellan. The Alabama location had a mild climate, allowing a maximum number of outdoor training days; adequate transportation, both ground and air; and proximity to the service schools where the WACs would receive specialist training. In December 1950, the chief of staff approved Fort McClellan as the site of the WAC Center and WAC School.[27]

Located five miles north of Anniston, Alabama, in a valley west of the Choccolocco Mountains, Fort McClellan was first opened in 1917. Named in honor of the Civil War general-in-chief of the Union armies, George B. McClellan, the post had been an infantry training center during both world wars and had been closed, reverting to custodial status, after those wars had ended. During World War II, Fort McClellan's large hospital (1,728 beds) and station complement had included two WAC detachments—one white, one black—whose members worked in

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[24] Memo, LtGen Ridgway to the G-1, 17 Nov 50, ODWAC Ref File, Fort McClellan, CMH.

[25] Memo for Record (MFR), ODWAC, 7 Mar 53, sub: Background Information on Permanent WAC Training Center, ODWAC Ref File, Fort McClellan, CMH.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

the hospital, post headquarters, motor pool, bakery, service club, supply offices, and warehouses.[28]

On 4 January 1951, the Department of the Army announced that Fort McClellan, closed in 1947, would reopen as a permanent post and that the Chemical School and Replacement Training Center would move there from Edgewood Arsenal, Maryland. Chemical training activities would occupy the existing buildings on post. Meanwhile, a task force prepared detailed descriptions and justifications for moving the WAC Center to Fort McClellan and constructing facilities there for both the WAC and the Chemical Corps. The plan was presented to Congress and approved by the lawmakers. On 21 September 1951, President Truman signed the appropriations bill that authorized $23,333,250 for the projects at Fort McClellan.[29]

Bids on construction opened in June 1952. In September a contract was signed with Bruce Construction Company of Miami, Florida. The WAC deputy director, Lt. Col. Emily C. Gorman, reported: "When the bids were let and the actual working construction got underway, the cost of the WAC Center . . . was established at $7,300,000." [30] Initial construction costs, however, totaled $10.5 million, even though in the legislative process, approximately $3 million had been deleted from the WAC project and some needed buildings were lost.[31]

A formal ground-breaking ceremony took place on 7 October 1952, with Maj. Patricia E. Grant representing the director of the WAC, who could not be present. During the construction phase, Major Grant had been the only WAC officer at the post. She represented the director in monitoring the progress of the construction and assisted the post commander and his staff in their planning. She contacted the merchants and civic leaders in the Anniston area and gave talks on WAC history and training courses to business, church, and school groups throughout the state. She established the goodwill that future WACs would enjoy within the community. The WAC staff advisers at Headquarters, Third Army, in this period—Lt. Cols. Rebecca Parks and Verna A. McCluskey, and Maj. N. Margaret Young—visited frequently and provided what assistance they could.

Strikes, bad weather, and shortages of building supplies caused by the Korean War slowed construction. The contractor, after changing the

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[28] Maj Mary C. Lane, "The History of Fort McClellan," 14 Jul 55, CMH Ref Br.

[29] MFR, LtCol Emily C. Gorman, DepDWAC, 30 Sep 53, sub: WAC Center Construction with incl "Estimated Cost of WAC Construction," ODWAC Ref File, WAC Center Housing, CMH.

[30] MFR, LtCol Emily C. Gorman, DepDWAC, 30 Apr 53, ODWAC Ref File, WAC Center Housing, CMH.

[31] DF, DWAC to G-4, 14 Jan 53, sub: WAC Training Center Construction, and OPLAN (Operations Plan) CONSOLIDATE, 1 Jul 76, USA School/Training Ctr, Ft McClellan, Annex F, App I, p. P-1-1, ODWAC Ref File, WAC Center Housing, CMH. See also LtCol Helen Bouffier, "Construction," in Rpt, WAC Staff Advisers Conf, 1953, p. 25, ODWAC Ref File, WAC Staff Advisers Conferences, CMH.

MAJ. GEN. CHARLES D. PALMER, G-3, ARMY FIELD FORCES, FORT MONROE, *confers with officers from WAC Center and WAC School regarding the move from Fort Lee to Fort McClellan. Left to right: Maj. Martha D. Allen, S-3, WAC Center; Maj. Sue Lynch, Assistant Commandant, WAC School; Lt. Col. Eleanore C. Sullivan, Commander, WAC Center, and Commandant, WAC School, March 1953.*

"moving in" day three times, finally set 25 June 1954 as the date, and the WAC Center commander, Lt. Col. Eleanore C. Sullivan, immediately set in motion the detailed moving plan that her immediate staff had prepared.[32]

Beginning on 10 May 1954, advance parties of WACs began arriving at Fort McClellan, which, effective 10 June, would become the home of

[32] Maj Margaret A. Long, S-1; LtCol Helen V. Novak, S-3; Maj Mona L. Voinche, S-4; Maj Charlotte I. Woodworth, CO, Basic Training Battalion; Maj Laura M. St. Clair, Asst Commandant, WAC School; Maj Gertrude F. Lund, Food Service Adviser; Maj Margot L. Harris, Headquarters Commandant; Maj Elizabeth G. Bell, Adjutant; and Capt Kelsey C. Crocker, Special Services Officer.

the WAC Center and WAC School. The largest group led by Lt. Col. Lucile G. Odbert, deputy WAC Center commander, arrived on 12 June. The enlisted members of the group cleaned buildings, arranged furniture and equipment, and received property as it arrived from Fort Lee. The first shipment of property, supplies, and equipment left Fort Lee on 1 June. By 16 August, over 120 tons of station and personal property had arrived at Fort McClellan. To reduce transportation costs, no new basic trainees were sent to Fort Lee after 17 June, and of those already there as many trainees and students as possible were graduated. From 1 July to 9 August, the WAC officially operated two training centers so that no training time would be lost. Some trainee transfers, however, were necessary, and two platoons of Company A, WAC Training Battalion, who had begun their training at Fort Lee in early June, completed it at Fort McClellan in August.[33]

WAC recruiters outdid themselves in obtaining new enlistees and officers to enter the courses at the new center and school that summer. Two hundred women began their basic training on 5 July. The WAC Clerical Procedures and Typing Course, restored to WAC School after being disbanded in 1950 to make room for more recruits at Fort Lee, commenced its first class on 16 August with forty students. Class VI of the WAC Officer Basic Course and Class X of the WAC Officer Candidate Course, the first combined class, began on 26 August with twenty-two student officers and six officer candidates.[34]

The WAC area was divided into two major sections—the WAC School and the WAC Center, which included the WAC Training Battalion. The Center's main building contained offices for the battalion commander, her staff and instructors, twenty-five classrooms, and a small gymnasium. Across the street were six cream-colored barracks buildings, made of steel-reinforced concrete blocks, with asphalt tile floors and pastel-painted interiors. Basic trainees occupied five of the barracks, and members of the 14th Army Band (WAC) lived in the sixth, part of which was converted into rehearsal rooms. Also in the battalion complex were a mess hall, which could seat 400 at a time, and a building for fitting and issuing WAC uniforms.[35]

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[33] Movement Orders, HQ, Second Army, Fort Meade, MD, AIABCO-O 370.5, 2 May 54, sub: Movement of Units on Permanent Change of Station, and HQ WAC Center, Fort Lee, VA, 2 Jun 54, sub: Movement Orders, Women's Army Corps Center. DA GOs 38 and 39, both 26 May 54, established the WAC Center and WAC School, Fort McClellan, effective 10 Jun 54. Fort McClellan GOs 19, 23, and 25, 29 Jun, 12 Jul, and 21 Jul 54, respectively, established major WAC units at WAC Center and WAC School, Fort McClellan. Copies of all documents are included in Annual Report, WAC Center, Fort Lee and Fort McClellan, 1954, History Collection, WAC Museum.

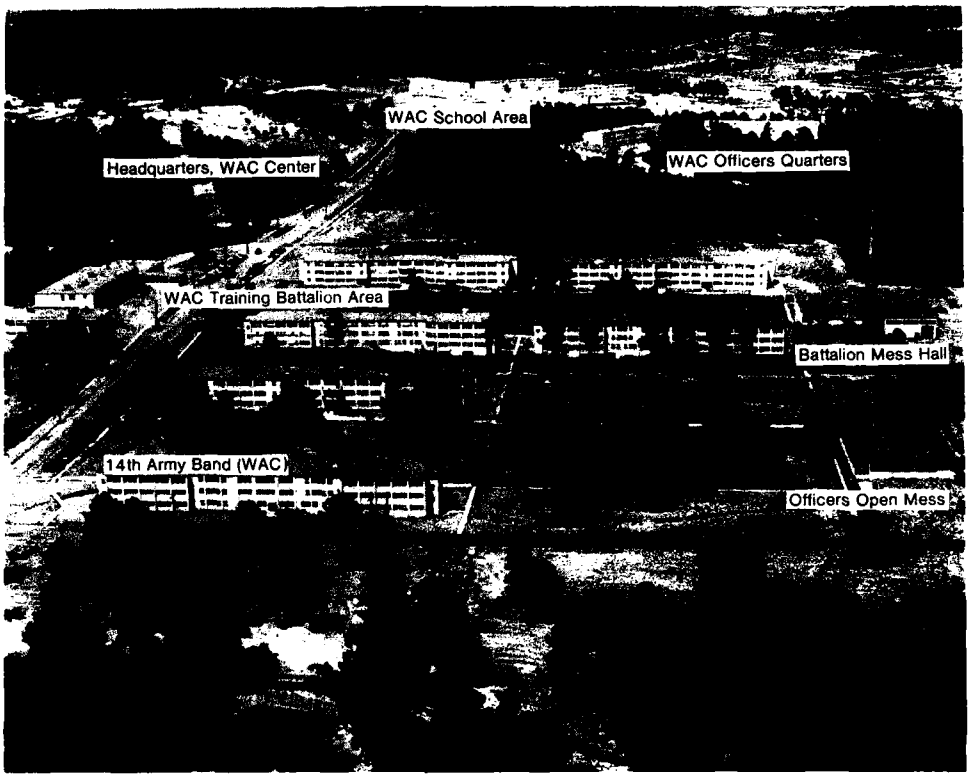
[34] Historical Report, WAC C&S, 1954, History Collection, WAC Museum.

[35] Information on WAC facilities and WAC relations with the local population is from Historical Reports, WAC C&S, 1954 and 1955, History Collection, WAC Museum.

NEWLY ENLISTED WOMEN *arrive at the train station, Anniston, Alabama, to begin basic training at the new WAC Center, Fort McClellan, July 1954.*

Each barracks had three stories and a basement. On the first floor were offices for the company commander and her staff, a kitchen, reception area, dayroom, and bathroom with private toilets, individual showers, and two bathtubs. The basic trainees lived on the second and third floors in large bays without partitions, two bays per floor. Each bay contained forty-five to fifty cots, footlockers, wall lockers, and steel clothes closets. In addition, each floor had a laundry room with automatic washers, dryers, and ironing boards; a large bathroom; and several cadre rooms in which the unit's platoon sergeants lived. The basements contained offices for the unit supply officer and her assistants, storage rooms for the unit's supplies and for the basic trainees' suitcases, and a mailroom.

The WAC School was about a half-mile from the basic training area. The main building contained offices for the assistant commandant, her staff, and the instructors as well as twenty-five classrooms, a bookstore, and a library. Student officers and officer candidates lived in a barracks designed like those at the Center for basic trainees, except that partitions



WAC AREA, FORT MCCLELLAN, 1954

were provided between each two cots in the bays. Enlisted students lived in another barracks in open bays without partitions. Headquarters and Headquarters Company, also located in this area, held the permanent party enlisted women who were assigned to WAC Center headquarters, WAC School, Fort McClellan's post headquarters, the hospital, or another activity on post. Another large mess hall was located in this area to serve the women who lived in these barracks.

WAC officers assigned to activities on post lived in bachelor officer quarters in the WAC area. Lieutenants and captains shared a suite, which consisted of two bedrooms separated by a bathroom. Majors and above had individual suites—living room, bedroom, and bath. The few small cottages available were assigned to the officers who occupied key positions, e.g., the WAC Center commander/School commandant, assistant commandant, battalion commander.

WAC Center headquarters, which stood on a hill in the center of the area and overlooked the parade ground, held offices for the commander and her immediate staff, a small auditorium, message center, and printing shop.

Colonel Sullivan, Center commander, arrived on 15 July to assume command of the new WAC facility from her deputy, Colonel Odbert. A few days later, the citizens of Anniston welcomed their new neighbors by proclaiming 21 July as "WAC Day." The main streets of the city (population 26,000) were draped with bunting and welcome banners; merchants placed placards of welcome in their store windows; and the local newspaper and radio station featured WAC activities throughout the day. WAC Day initiated an enduring and warm relationship between the members of the WAC at Fort McClellan and the citizens of Anniston and the adjoining towns of Oxford, Jacksonville, Weaver, and Heflin.

Dedication of the WAC Center and WAC School was deferred until 27 September 1954, when all activities were fully operational. General Ridgway, now Army chief of staff, was the principal speaker at the ceremony. He told the 700 or so military and civilian guests: "Here the traditions of the Women's Army Corps will be passed on to those yet to wear the proud insignia of the WAC. They will become familiar with the splendid achievements of their predecessors and with the great honor and responsibility that is theirs in wearing the uniform of their country's Army forces." [36] He concluded the ceremony by unveiling a large bronze dedicatory plaque that read: "The WAC Center, dedicated to members of the Women's Army Corps who served their country in peace and war. Fort McClellan, Alabama, 27 September 1954." The plaque was later mounted on a marble slab and permanently placed in an area called the WAC Memorial Triangle across the street from the WAC chapel.[37]

Support in the field as well as in Washington had helped make the new WAC "home" possible. Lt. Gen. Alexander R. Bolling, Commanding General, Third U.S. Army, at Fort McPherson, Georgia, the area commander, took an active interest in the construction and operation of the Center, ensuring the resources necessary for its success. Providing day-to-day assistance were the Fort McClellan post commanders—Col. Michael Halloran, who retired in August 1954, and his replacement, Col. William T. Moore, who served until 1958.

Attainment of the branch "home" made a difference in the progress of most WAC programs. It provided visible proof that Congress and the Army appreciated the Women's Army Corps and wanted it to prosper. The new Center and School thus enhanced the prestige of the WAC within the Army, improved the morale of women on duty, and gave WAC recruiters a significant new selling point for obtaining recruits and student officers. During the year that ended 30 June 1954, 2,958 enlisted women entered the Corps; in the year that followed, 4,384. And while only 90 women received commissions in FY 1954, and only 53 in FY 1955, 115 were appointed in FY 1956.[38]

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[36] WAC Center Commander's Newsletter, 11 Oct 54, ODWAC Ref File, Fort McClellan, CMH.
[37] Historical Report, WAC C&S, 1954, History Collection, WAC Museum.
[38] *Strength of the Army Reports* (STM-30), 30 Jun 54, 30 Jun 55, 30 Jun 56.

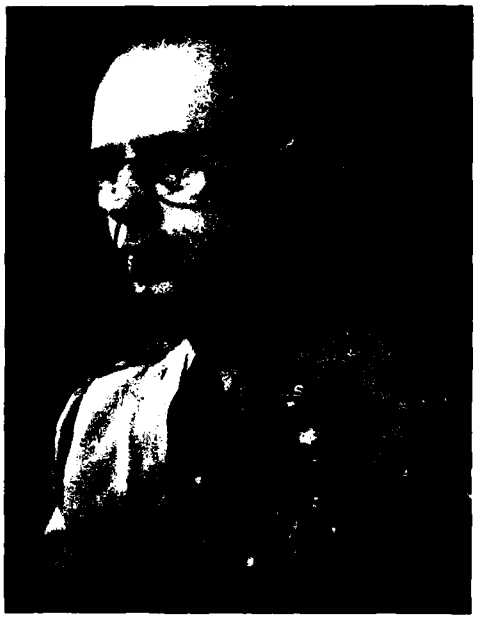
GENERAL MATTHEW B. RIDGWAY, ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF, *speaking at the dedication of the new WAC Center and WAC School at Fort McClellan, 27 September 1954. To General Ridgway's left are Senator Lister Hill of Alabama, Brig. Gen. Charles G. Holle, Corps of Engineers, and Col. Irene O. Galloway, Director, WAC. In the background are Pfc. Flora G. Thompson and 1st Lt. Edna Lee Gray, escorts.*

Expanding Enlisted Utilization

In her continuing search for ways to increase WAC personnel strength, Colonel Galloway also worked to improve job satisfaction. A survey conducted in August 1945 had reported, "Satisfaction with her job is probably the single most important factor in an enlisted woman's evaluation of her role as a member of the Women's Army Corps and, consequently, her general morale and adjustment in Army life." [39] Thus, if ways could be found to increase job satisfaction, the reenlistment rate should also rise.

Job satisfaction to most WACs meant doing work that was meaningful and that occupied them fully during duty hours. During World War II, after the WAAC had overcome the Army's initial resistance to the idea that women could be more than clerks, cooks, telephone operators, and drivers, opportunities opened in hundreds of military occupational specialties (MOSs). This large bank of jobs contributed most to the successful employment of women during the war. Although the majority of women worked in administration, communications, and medical care and treatment, they knew that some of their peers worked in a variety of

[39] Treadwell, *The Women's Army Corps*, p. 753.



LT. GEN. ALEXANDER R. BOLLING, *Commanding General, Third U.S. Army, 1953.*

COL. WILLIAM T. MOORE, *Commander, Fort McClellan (1954–1958).*

unusual occupations. They, thus, sensed that the Army offered women increased opportunities. Knowing they had a choice in work assignment, location, and even the uniform they wore was important to the women and contributed to their job satisfaction.

After World War II, the G–1 ordered a major study aimed at developing a modern personnel management system and MOS structure for enlisted personnel. The new system, introduced during the first year of the Korean War, encompassed 490 MOSs arranged in 31 major career fields and 194 areas of specialization. Each new MOS description included a detailed outline of work performed, its physical and mental requirements, its training requirements, and a statement about whether or not a WAC could be assigned to it. From this, the G–1 developed the first authorized list of MOSs in which WACs could be trained and had it issued as a special regulation. Although revised periodically in the years to follow, the list was the controlling factor in determining WAC assignments.[40]

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[40] AR 615-25-20, 15 Nov 50, Enlisted Career Fields; SR 615-25-15, 15 Nov 50, Enlisted Military Occupational Specialties; and SR 615-25-36, 15 Nov 50, WAC MOS Assignment. Copies in CMH Library.

During the development of the new system, other studies were also conducted. In 1949, Surgeon General Raymond W. Bliss authorized a test to determine "to what extent women could be substituted for men in the operation of Army hospitals." [41] The experiment began on 1 June 1949 at Murphy General Hospital, a 500-bed facility near Boston, Massachusetts. Military and civilian women gradually replaced males in the majority of medical and administrative jobs in the hospital and in the facility support jobs required when the hospital functioned as a military post. Civilian and Army nurses and members of the Women's Medical Specialist Corps filled positions in the hospital's clinics, wards, and offices. WAC officers, warrant officers, and enlisted women received either school training or on-the-job training so that they could fill administrative and technical positions. By the end of the year, 16 WAC officers, 2 WAC warrant officers, and 240 enlisted women had been assigned to the hospital.

Women, however, did not fill all positions. No women Army doctors were available to participate because the law permitting them to be commissioned in the Army of the United States (AUS) had expired in 1948. And costs precluded the hospital's hiring of civilian women doctors for the experiment. In another case, enlisted women did not replace the janitorial staff, mostly male civilians, because no comparable MOSs existed for such jobs. The test administrator also excluded WACs from positions that were located in isolated areas, that called for physical strength beyond a woman's capacity, that would require women to discipline men, and that would offend the "modesty of the average woman and sense of delicacy of male patients" and "would make the service of a male attendant desirable." [42]

On 30 April 1950, Murphy General Hospital was deactivated and the study was discontinued. Col. John M. Welch, commander of the hospital, reported that during the experiment, the hospital had operated with full effectiveness. He recommended that the maximum percentage of women in hospital activities be 92; in hospital-post activities, 60. In hospital functions, however, he recommended that men be assigned for such tasks as heavy lifting in connection with male-patient care and treatment. WAC officers had performed well as hospital executive officer, management officer, personnel officer, medical supply officer, mortuary officer, and transportation officer. A WAC warrant officer had served competently as hospital registrar, and a WAC master sergeant had served successfully as sergeant major of the hospital. The jobs to which women were not assigned were those usually associated with great physical strength: fire fighter, prison guard, psychiatric attendant, boiler fireman, and butcher. The study supported the conclusions of other studies being conducted

[41] Office of the Surgeon General of the Army, Report of the Female Staffing Test at Murphy General Hospital, 1 June 1949 to 30 April 1950, p. 1, CMH Ref Br.

[42] Ibid., p. 15.

during the period, but it did not result in any changes in utilization of women in the medical career field.[43]

A different study began in October 1949 at Walter Reed General Hospital (Forest Glen Section), Washington, D.C. Twenty-nine enlisted women entered an experimental 48-week course in practical nursing—the Advanced Medical Technicians Procedures Course. The course curriculum, developed by Maj. Isabelle A. G. Mason, ANC, was taught by her, five other Army nurses, and one dietitian. Based on objective periodic reviews, tests, and evaluations, the course was considered a success. Twenty-one WACs graduated from the first class. The surgeon general and the chief of Army Field Forces approved continuance of the course, and enlisted men were admitted to subsequent classes.[44]

For the next three years, the practical nursing course was conducted solely at Walter Reed Army Medical Center. The Korean War increased the demand for its graduates, and beginning in 1952, similar courses opened at Letterman and Fitzsimmons General Hospitals in San Francisco and Denver, respectively. Graduates took practical nurse licensing examinations in the states in which they were assigned. The commanding general at Walter Reed Army Medical Center commented: "Many practical nurses are serving overseas where they assist Army nurses in giving the highest quality of nursing care. In augmenting the nursing service, these technicians have become a most welcome asset in the medical field." [45]

Despite the results in the medical area, the enlisted personnel management system initiated in November 1950 was not a complete success. Commanders complained that the MOS and classification structure with its 31 career fields and 194 specializations was too complicated to administer. The exigencies of the Korean War also made it difficult to implement some of the innovative provisions of the new system, such as efficiency reports, competitive promotions, pooling of grade vacancies, and MOS testing. These provisions were suspended until the war ended. In December 1951, Army Chief of Staff J. Lawton Collins directed the chief of Army Field Forces to devise a new MOS structure, career fields, and classification program. Work on the project—with the major commanders, the chiefs of the administrative and technical services, and the Army staff at the Pentagon participating—began early in 1952.[46]

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[43] Ibid., pp. 15-16.

[44] Walter Reed General Hospital, Washington, DC, Annual Historical Activities Rpts, 1950 (pp. 255-56), 1951 (p. 333), and 1952 (p. 335), CMH Records Br.

[45] Army News Feature release, *The Bayonet* (Ft. Benning post newspaper), 4 Sep 52.

[46] Ltr, CofS to G-1, 30 Oct 51, sub: Reduction in Number of MOS Authorized, with 1st Ind to Chief, Army Field Forces, 26 Dec 51, Final Report, Study of the Enlisted MOS Structure of the Army, 12 May 54, part 3, CMH Ref Br.

The WAC did not have a role in the new study, and no WAC officer was included in the study group. Upon reviewing the new MOS structure when it was proposed in 1953, Colonel Galloway compared each MOS declared suitable for WACs against the women's utilization policies then in effect. She told the chief of the study group that seventy MOSs on the "suitable" list did not meet the criteria laid down in the policies and recommended the list be made compatible with WAC standards. She noted, for example, that eighteen MOSs in the artillery series were not appropriate for the training and assignment of WACs. Although Colonel Galloway wanted the widest possible spectrum of MOSs, she also wanted the selection and assignment of women to be guided by what she considered sound policies. Assignments that would require combat training and possibly combat duty for women were unacceptable.

A new MOS structure introduced by the Army in 1955 made a number of changes in enlisted personnel management. Ten occupational areas replaced the thirty-one career fields. Under the new MOS code, a WAC administrative specialist who formerly held MOS 1502 now held MOS 717.60. The first two digits (71) showed her occupational area (Administration-71); the third digit her specialty (Personnel-7). The suffix digits (.60) indicated her skill level and special qualifications, if she had any. The new system also provided separate grades and titles for NCOs and specialists. Under this restructuring, 128 of the 385 Army MOSs were opened to enlisted women. The criteria for WAC utilization were now included in the same regulation that outlined policies for men (AR 611–203, Enlisted Personnel Selection and Classification, 2 March 1955). This was a small step forward. Those facets of the new system whose implementation had been suspended during the Korean War—enlisted efficiency reports, MOS testing to determine proficiency, and an Army-wide promotion system based on merit—were put into effect between 1955 and 1960. These changes brought marked improvement in the management of enlisted personnel, but neither opened new fields nor closed old ones to the WACs.

Colonel Galloway's tenure as director was a time of sound WAC accomplishment: enlistment gains had finally exceeded losses; three-year enlistments had surpassed two-year enlistments; and the reenlistment rate was higher than in 1953. These improvements were, in part, a result of increased military pay and reenlistment bonuses, the Army's new management system for enlisted personnel, and the WAC's move to a new home at Fort McClellan. They were also the result of Colonel Galloway's success in adding enlistment options and improving job satisfaction for the WACs—achievements that earned her the respect and affection of the women of the Corps.

CHAPTER VII

Management and Image

As each new WAC director took up her duties, she continued her predecessors' work—publicizing the WAC, burnishing the WAC image, and vitalizing WAC programs. After World War II, WAC visibility had fallen so sharply that the general public believed that, like price controls and rationing, the WAC had gone out of existence. The directors turned to public relations to increase public awareness of the WAC and to inspire high standards among members of the Corps. In addition, each successive director had to develop new programs that adapted to changing situations as well as to continue old programs that had proved successful. And in choosing each successive director, the secretary of the Army, the chief of staff, and the G-1 searched for a woman who would succeed as an executive, as a role model for the women, and as a spokeswoman for a career that neither the public nor the Army had fully accepted.

With these factors in mind, in late 1956, Secretary of the Army Wilber M. Brucker selected Lt. Col. Mary Louise Milligan to succeed Colonel Galloway as the fifth director of the WAC.[1] A veteran of World War II and of the fight for Regular as well as Reserve status for the WAC, Colonel Milligan had served in the field, both in the United States and overseas, and in the Pentagon, as a member of the office of the G-1 and as deputy director of the WAC. On 3 January 1957, she took the oath of office in Secretary Brucker's office. The secretary pinned one silver eagle on her shoulder; her mother, Alice G. Milligan, pinned on the other.

Like her predecessors, Colonel Milligan chose her deputy and the officers to serve in her immediate office.[2] The outgoing deputy, Lt. Col. Emily C. Gorman, whose tour had ended, was reassigned to Headquarters, Continental Army Command. Lt. Col. Anne Eloise Sweeney, then staff adviser at Headquarters, Sixth U.S. Army, at the Presidio of San Francisco, was chosen to replace her. Colonel Sweeney was also sworn

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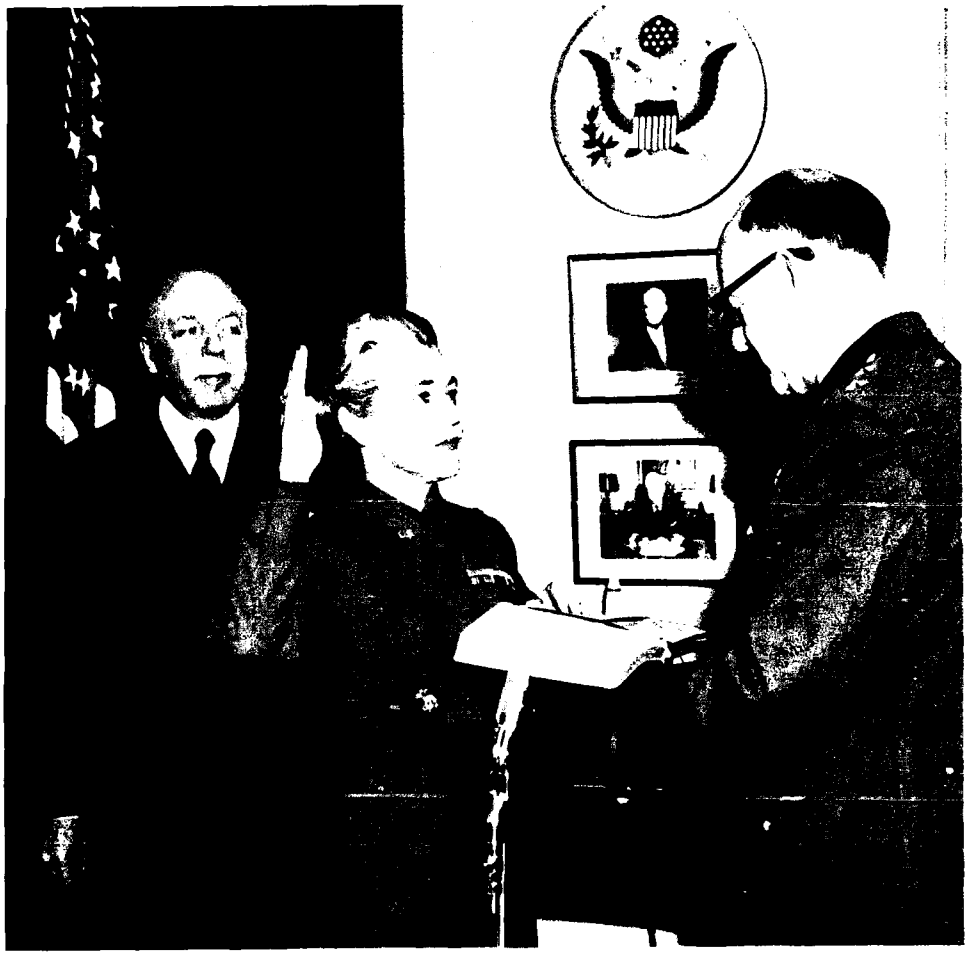
[1] Col Milligan was senior among those eligible to be director of the WAC. She was promoted to temporary lieutenant colonel on 7 Jun 45; to permanent lieutenant colonel on 15 Aug 51.

[2] LtCol Luta C. McGrath, the executive officer, and LtCol Rebecca S. Parks, the plans and policies officer, were replaced in 1957 by LtCol Eunity F. Elderdice and LtCol Marie Kehrer, respectively. In 1961, they were in turn replaced by LtCol Catherine H. Foster and Maj Carol M. Williams. LtCol Pauline V. Houston, the chief of WAC Career Br from April 56 to Dec 59, was replaced by LtCol Miriam L. Butler, who served from Jan 60 to Dec 64.



COL. MARY LOUISE MILLIGAN *sworn in as Director, WAC, by Maj. Gen. Herbert M. Jones, The Adjutant General, DA. Secretary of the Army Wilber M. Brucker looks on, 3 January 1957.*

in on 3 January; Lt. Gen. Donald P. Booth, Deputy Chief of Staff, Personnel (DCSPER), swore in the new deputy director.[3]

In the early months of her tour as director, Colonel Milligan described her goals, "to build up the WAC, . . . to have women used by the Army in a wider variety of jobs, . . . and to sell the Corps not only to potential recruits but to mothers and fathers as well." [4] These goals were inexorably entwined, and their attainment required leadership, energy, and skill in public relations. In her civilian life and military duties, Colonel Milli-

[3] ACofS, G–1, was retitled DCSPER on 3 Jan 56.
[4] Sidney Shaller, "This Lady's Army," *Saturday Evening Post*, 7 Jul 57, p. 22.

gan had gained experience in public relations. She was an accomplished speaker and had a keen sense of the appropriate—the right word and action at the right time. An officer who knew her well said of her: "She could come off the parade ground when the temperature was in the nineties and look cool and immaculate. She could step off a cross-country plane without one wrinkle in her skirt." [5] In an era when the Air Force's popularity was exceeding the Army's at recruiting stations, the Women's Army Corps needed a Mary Louise Milligan.

Burnishing the Image

Colonel Milligan followed several avenues in improving the WAC image. On trips to WAC units across the United States, in Europe, and in the Far East, she communicated a sense of pride to the women—in WAC history and in their individual contributions to the history of the Corps, its traditions, and its heritage. She charged commanders and enlisted cadre to be exemplary models for the women and to teach respect for the reputation of the Corps and pride in work, personal behavior, and appearance. She directed WAC unit commanders and WAC staff advisers to work together. She encouraged the advisers to work with her office staff to eliminate obstacles that impeded women's careers and diminished their satisfaction with the service. The WAC staff advisers monitored the performance of the WAC detachment commanders to ensure that they exercised good judgment and maturity in managing the women. Those who lost the women's respect or otherwise failed their responsibilities were summarily relieved from their command duties. Later, in December 1958, to fill an information gap about personnel matters, uniforms, and WAC news, Colonel Milligan initiated a monthly memorandum to the WAC staff advisers; they, in turn, passed the information along to WAC units and personnel in their commands. She also reinstituted the annual WAC staff advisers conference, the last of which had been held in 1955.[6]

Colonel Milligan and her staff saw to it that all newsworthy and special events within the Corps were publicized. One such event was the assignment, in 1957, of a dozen enlisted women to the first Missile Master unit at Fort Meade. Another was the promotion of WACs to the newly authorized enlisted grades of E-8 and E-9. In 1959, Carolyn H. James, assigned to Headquarters, U.S. Army Air Defense Command, Colorado Springs, became the first WAC promoted to master sergeant (or first sergeant), E-8; in 1960, she was the first WAC promoted to sergeant

[5] Interv, BrigGen Elizabeth P. Hoisington with the author, 3 Nov 80.

[6] Memo, DWAC to WAC Staff Advisers, Dec 58-Jan 70. Thereafter, WAC news was transmitted through the *WAC Journal*, a quarterly magazine published by WAC School, 1970-75. WAC staff advisers conferences were held 1942-49, 1951, 1954, 1955, 1959-64, and 1972-75. The memos, *WAC Journal*, and conference reports are in the History Collection, WAC Museum, and in the ODWAC Ref File, CMH.

RETIREMENT CEREMONY FOR SGT. MAJ. CAROLYN H. JAMES AND SGT. 1ST CL. MAE E. JUDY, *Fort McClellan, April 1965.*

major, E–9. Also publicized in 1959 was the addition of the college enlistment option to the self-enhancement programs. Sgt. 1st Cl. Ellen B. Steel was the first enlisted woman to attend college under that option. Colonel Milligan's presence at events also generated favorable press releases for the WAC. In 1958, she represented the women's services at the dedication of the American Chapel, St. Paul's Cathedral, London; in 1961, she represented the Corps at the Women's Conference of the NATO Countries, Copenhagen.[7]

Such publicity was aimed at potential recruits. The Army's recruiting function was vested in the adjutant general (TAG), and within that office's Military Personnel Procurement Division was the WAC Recruiting Branch. The chief of that branch was a lieutenant colonel personally selected by the WAC director. The branch chief was responsible for preparing plans and advising TAG divisions and the Army staff on WAC enlistment, reenlistment, and officer procurement matters. Colonel Milligan retained in this position the officer who had been assigned since 1952.

[7] Chronological Record of Events, ODWAC, 1942–1978, ODWAC Ref File, CMH.

LT. COL. HATTILU WHITE ADDISON, *Chief, WAC Recruiting Branch, TAGO, DA, 1952–1958.*

LT. COL. HELEN HART CORTHAY, *Chief, WAC Recruiting Branch, TAGO, DA, 1958–1962.*

Lt. Col. Hattilu White Addison combined initiative and efficiency with flamboyance in carrying out her duties. Well known throughout the Corps, Colonel Addison always carried a flowing, white chiffon kerchief on her left wrist when not in uniform. It was a public-relations image maker that she continued to use even after she retired. Colonel Milligan coordinated her public relations activities with Colonel Addison and Colonel Addison's successor, Lt. Col. Helen Hart Corthay, to ensure a senior WAC presence at important functions.[8]

Responsibility for recruit and officer procurement advertising also lay with TAG. The Recruiting Publicity Branch, also within the Military Personnel Procurement Division, developed brochures, posters, film clips, and radio and TV spots in conjunction with whatever major advertising agency had won the current Army contract for this work. A WAC major or captain was assigned to the branch to coordinate work on WAC publicity projects.

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[8] Capt Helen M. Roy developed the WAC Regular Army recruiting program (1947–51). She was succeeded by LtCol Hattilu White Addison (1952–58) and LtCol Helen Hart Corthay (1958–62). In 1962, the Army transferred its recruiting function to HQ, CONARC, Fort Monroe, VA. Chiefs of WAC recruiting from that time were: LtCol Josephine L. Redenius (1963–66); LtCol Julia Ledbetter (1966–69); LtCol Frances V. Chaffin (1969–72); and LtCol Doris L. Caldwell (1972–75). In 1975, the position was eliminated and the Recruiting Command created a new branch to manage WAC recruiting.

One of the director's primary responsibilities regarding the WAC image was women's uniforms. After the taupe uniform was introduced in 1951, WACs and women in the Army Medical Department wore the same uniforms. Thereafter, the chiefs of the corps (WAC, Army Nurse Corps, Army Medical Specialist Corps) collaborated on the design and regulations for the proper wear of the women's uniform. Because the taupe uniform was generally disliked for its color, style, and fit, the women chiefs pushed for a change; and, in March 1956, the Army Uniform Board approved development of a new uniform style and a change in color from taupe to Army green. The men had changed from olive drab to Army green earlier that year. After months of consultation with heads of some of the most famous women's fashion houses in New York City and with the Quartermaster Corps' uniform experts, the women chiefs agreed upon the designs for winter and summer uniforms. The secretary of the Army approved the new designs in February 1957, and in March 1959, after two years in development and testing, the Army issued the summer cotton-and-dacron green cord uniform. In 1960, it issued the women's winter Army green service uniform. Officers purchased their uniforms; enlisted women received an initial free issue and thereafter received a monthly clothing allowance to replace worn items.[9] The women liked the style and color of their new uniforms, and it was generally agreed that the new uniforms improved the women's appearance.

As a result of the increased attention given to its public image after World War II, the Corps suffered few ignominious incidents like the one that occurred in 1946—the court-martial of Capt. Kathleen Nash Durant, her husband, and several others in Germany for the theft of the royal jewels of the House of Hesse from Kronberg Castle in Frankfurt. Most of the jewels, valued at over a million dollars, were recovered, and Durant was found guilty of larceny, dishonorably discharged, and sentenced to serve five years at hard labor at the Federal Reformatory for Women in Alderson, West Virginia. She was paroled on good behavior in 1949.[10]

Congressional Liaison

An important part of the director's duties involved proposed legislation. She worked with members of Congress by providing information on WAC matters and by helping draft legislation affecting the Corps.

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[9] The term "service uniform" includes the skirt, shirt, jacket, hat, or cap; the "duty uniform" migh be hospital whites, cook's whites, fatigues, or the service uniform. Officers received a one-time $20 uniform clothing allowance and thereafter purchased their own uniforms. ODWAC Ref File, Uniforms, CMH.

[10] History of the Second Year of the Occupation Forces in Europe, 1 Jul 46–30 Jun 47, Offic Chief of History, European Command, p. 26, CMH Ref Br; *New York Times*, 29 Jul 49, p. 1

One long-standing WAC need had concerned each director since 1944—a law to give women active duty credit for the months they spent in the WAAC between July 1942 and 30 September 1943. No such provision had been included in the bill that made the WAC part of the Army of the United States in 1943.[11] After the WAC achieved permanent status in 1948, obtaining this credit became critical because it would increase a woman's service longevity, and longevity affected pay, promotion, and retirement. Requests for such legislation by Colonel Hobby and Colonel Boyce had been denied because the War Department considered the WAAC a civilian organization. Colonel Hallaren and Colonel Galloway had succeeded in getting the remedial legislation introduced, but the bills had died in committee. In 1953, Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson helped the cause when he accepted the view that WAAC time should count as active duty. Thereafter, he included this action in his legislative packages, but Congress continued to defeat the actions. Two bills granting WAAC credit failed in the 84th Congress; four, in the 85th Congress.[12]

Bills designed to rectify the situation did not reach the committee-hearing stage until 1959. After the bills introduced in 1957 and 1958 died with the adjournment of the 85th Congress, Colonel Milligan and Col. Emma J. Riley, Director, Women in the Air Force, began another campaign for such legislation, raising the issue within the Department of Defense and calling on the members of the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services (DACOWITS) for assistance. The WAF joined in the effort because the WAF had its origins in the WAAC and many of its women would benefit. In 1959, another bill, H.R. 3321, was introduced by Congressman Paul J. Kilday of Texas. Scheduled for a hearing before Subcommittee 3, House Armed Services Committee, the bill would make WAAC service count as active duty if a woman had also served in the WAC, WAF, or one of the other women's services after 1943. It did not allow back pay or promotion rights for the service gained, but it did provide the longevity credit. Colonel Riley and Colonel Milligan appeared before the subcommittee on 23 March. One of their most compelling points was the inequity created because women in the Navy (WAVES, SPARS, and Women Marines) had received active duty credit for their wartime service as reservists on active duty. The subcommittee reported the bill favorably to the full committee which, in turn, unanimously recommended its passage. The bill was passed in the House on 15 June and in the Senate on 29 July. President Eisenhower signed it on 7 August.[13] Approximately 1,400 women on active duty in the WAC

[11] Treadwell, *Women's Army Corps*, Appendix C, "A Summary of Controversy on Legal Status of WAAC," pp. 782–83.

[12] Bills introduced on WAAC credit: 80th Cong: S 592; 81st Cong: S 924; 82d Cong: S 3078; 83d Cong: S 2040; 84th Cong: HR 2560, HR 4786; 85th Cong: HR 2408, HR 2883, HR 8115, S 2305; 86th Cong: HR 938, HR 3748, HR 9167, HR 1888, HR 3321.

[13] PL 142, 86th Cong, 1st sess, 7 Aug 59.

and WAF gained additional active duty credit as a result of the legislation. The law allowed thirty-three WAC reserve officers to remain on extended active duty to achieve retired status and fifty-three reserve officers to remain on inactive status to earn credits for retirement. Women with no further military service after the WAAC would have to wait until 1980 for a decision that would give them active military credit for their WAAC service.[14]

After the campaign to obtain WAAC credit, Colonel Milligan and her staff turned to other inequities. In 1954, Congress had passed the Reserve Officers Personnel Act (ROPA) to equalize career opportunities and conditions for regular and reserve officers in the three services. Each service retained its own system of regulations and implementation policies for the promotion and retention of officers, but, effective 1 July 1955, ROPA required that each service apply its system to all officers regardless of status. Retirement, however, differed—reserve officers who had completed twenty years on active duty would be mandatorily retired unless a board selected them for retention beyond twenty years.[15]

The retirement provisions of ROPA adversely affected the careers of many WAC reserve officers. Their career patterns differed from men's: WAC officers still could not advance beyond the grade of lieutenant colonel, and, as of 30 June 1955, 66 percent of WAC officers on active duty were reservists.[16] The restriction on promotion curtailed the length of time WAC reserve officers could spend on duty—either extended active duty or inactive reserve status. Since the women could not be promoted above lieutenant colonel, openings at that level and at lower grades were, of necessity, more restricted than for male officers. With promotional restrictions, time-in-grade pressures on WAC officers became unduly restrictive. Women who could not be promoted above lieutenant colonel could not complete 28 or 30 years on duty as men promoted to colonel or brigadier general could. And that problem was compounded since it affected the lower grades.

Because of the scope of ROPA, Congress realized that the act would require amendment and set a date of 2 July 1960 for any needed changes. Colonel Milligan prepared amendments to adjust the provisions detrimental to the careers of WAC reserve officers. Her proposed amendments, accepted by Congress and the president, allowed:

—WAC reserve officers to be considered for promotion through the grade of major whether or not a vacancy existed in the unit's manning documents.

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[14] ODWAC, Information Sheet for Mr. Frank Slatinshek, Counsel for Subcommittee 3, House Armed Services Committee, Jan 59, and SecDef decision, 2 Apr 80 (based on sec 40, PL 202, GI Bill Improvement Act of 1977, 95th Cong), ODWAC Ref File, Legislation, CMH.

[15] PL 773, 83d Cong, 2d sess, 3 Sep 54.

[16] *Strength of the Army Report* (STM-30), 30 Jun 55.

—WAC majors and below to remain on duty to complete twenty-five years of service and lieutenant colonels to complete twenty-eight years of service provided they were otherwise eligible for retention.[17]

WAC reserve officers thus became less confined by the time-in-grade and promotion-or-passed-over-and-out restrictions of the original act.

With the passage of the ROPA Amendments Act on 30 June 1960, Colonel Milligan successfully completed her agenda for congressional action. Her legislative and public relations efforts to improve recruiting and retention were bearing fruit. WAC strength had increased by 2,000 between 1957 and 1960; first-term enlistments had increased; and the overall reenlistment rate had remained steady. New WAC units were established at Fort Huachuca, Arizona (April 1959), and Fort Shafter, Hawaii (December 1959). Those statistics had also been influenced by another area of effort—the campaign to increase the number of MOSs open to women.

Society and Utilization

A 1957 book entitled *Womanpower* reinforced Colonel Milligan's belief that WAC strength and job variety could and should be increased. The book stressed the increasing importance of women in the labor force and in labor politics. It noted that a slightly higher number of women than men had entered the labor force between 1950 and 1956, and it predicted that this trend would continue. Employers, the book advised, needed to recognize that the life-style of many women was changing—women were raising their families while pursuing full-time careers, a distinct change from the 1930s and 1940s. Employers should capitalize on the change and eliminate gender-labeling in the hiring, assignment, promotion, and pay of their workers. The book did not influence the Army to begin eliminating the regulations that prevented WACs from combining marriage, family, and career, but, to many, it did introduce the ideas that led to identifying Army jobs that could be done by either men or women as interchangeable.[18]

Other social issues also influenced the future of the WAC. In the late 1950s and 1960s, Americans increasingly recognized the justice of the civil rights movement. Both the legislative and judicial branches of the federal government acted to ensure blacks equal rights under the Constitution—the right to vote and equal access to schools and other public facilities. Practices established in the 1940s in the WAC had become

[17] ROPA Amendments Act of 1960, PL 559, 86th Cong, 2d sess, 30 Jun 60.

[18] National Manpower Council, *Womanpower* (New York: Columbia Univ Press, 1957), pp. 17, 136; Interv, LtCol Irene M. Sorrough with the author, 10 Oct 79.

accepted throughout society and had returned in an expanded form to the WAC.

During the same years, space exploration took on the character of a national endeavor. Research spawned by the "space race" produced technological advances year after year. The new technology was quickly absorbed into industry, business, education, government, and the military services. To the Army, it brought new weapons, transportation, communications, and logistical systems, and a requirement for more complex training, administration, and management. In this atmosphere, Colonel Milligan began her campaign to expand the role of the WAC.

In 1957, the director asked the deputy chief of staff for personnel (DCSPER) to conduct a study to identify additional MOSs that women could perform in peacetime and during periods of mobilization. After World War II, men replaced the women who had learned to repair and operate machines used in the medical, personnel, maintenance, logistics, and communications fields. By 1957, few WACs operated a machine heavier than a teletypewriter or a 1½-ton truck. Space technology, however, had introduced miniaturization, electronics, and lighter weight equipment to other segments of the economy, and Colonel Milligan knew that most WACs, not just the exceptionally strong, could manage almost any piece of machinery. The DCSPER and the Army Personnel and Training Research Advisory Committee approved the study and assigned it to a research team at the Adjutant General's Office (TAGO).

The resultant 1958 study identified 116 MOSs out of 400 that WACs could *not* perform because the jobs involved combat weapons or a combat environment, isolated duty posts, extraordinary physical strength and stamina (i.e., frequent requirements to lift fifty or more pounds), assignment to a post where housing could not be provided at a low additional cost, or duties culturally unsuitable for women (i.e., mortuary attendant, vermin exterminator, quarry worker). The research team divided the balance of the MOSs into three groups based on Army needs and the restrictions on employment of women. Group I consisted of 134 MOSs that women could fill in 75 percent of the cases where the Army called for such occupational skills; group II, 76 MOSs in which women could fill from 11 to 74 percent of the positions; and group III, 67 MOSs in which women could fill from 1 to 10 percent of the positions. The team concluded that WACs should not be restricted to 2 percent of Regular Army strength. In a 700,000-man Army, the WACs could fill 25 percent (175,000) of the enlisted spaces; in a mobilization-size Army of 3,200,000, they could fill 23.4 percent (748,800). A TAG study in 1942 had concluded that women could fill approximately 19 percent of the 7.7 million positions in the Army—almost 1.5 million positions.[19]

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[19] Treadwell, *The Women's Army Corps*, pp. 92-95; Jack J. Sternberg, Frank S. Greenberg, and Edmund F. Fuchs, "Identifying Army Jobs Suitable for WAC Assignment," Personnel Research

The research team then turned to related studies. A battery of electronic, electrical, and mechanical aptitude tests was given to 1,412 high school students (742 women, 670 men); the results showed that 55 percent of the women could qualify for training in electronics, 27 percent in general maintenance, and 14 percent in mechanical maintenance. The team concluded that women scored lower than the men in these areas because the men had had more training in the use of shop tools, equipment repair, and mechanical and motor principles. Women, however, could quickly develop skills in these areas when mobilization requirements demanded.[20]

The team also visited two Army service schools that taught courses requiring electronics, electrical, and mechanical aptitudes—the Army Signal School at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey, and the Southeastern Signal School at Fort Gordon, Georgia. The team examined curricula, entry qualifications, strength and lifting requirements, attrition, uniform and clothing requirements, assignments upon graduation, and career patterns. As a result, the team recommended an experiment in which women would be trained and assigned in four MOSs—Fixed Station Attendant (MOS 270), Field Radio Repairman (MOS 296), Manual Central Office Repairman (MOS 311), and Teletype Equipment Repairman (MOS 341).[21]

In April 1960, Colonel Milligan reported to the members of DACOWITS that 250 enlisted women would be selected to participate in the experiment recommended by the research team. "We believe," she said, "that this research will contribute substantially to the broader utilization of womanpower in the Army in peacetime as well as in war."[22] Unfortunately, the number of WACs involved dropped sharply—except for twenty positions in MOS 270 series, the Army's training requirements in the four MOSs had been filled for FY 1961. Women were selected,

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Branch, TAGO, Research Study 58-3, Washington, DC, Aug 58, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, TAG, Utilization of Women, CMH.

[20] Jack J. Sternberg, John deJung, and Charles Hammer, "Distribution of Aptitude Area Scores among High School Senior Women," Research Study 61-2, May 61; Jack J. Sternberg, John deJung, and Frank S. Greenberg, "Opinion Survey, Effect on WAC Recruiting of Offering Electronics Training Options," Research Study 59-4, Jun 59; Jack J. Sternberg and Frank S. Greenberg, "Review of Research and Predicting Performance of Women in Electrical and Mechanical Work," Research Memorandum 59-7, Aug 59. All studies conducted by Personnel Research Branch, TAG Personnel Research and Procedures Division, later redesignated Human Factors Research Office, TAG Research and Development Command. All studies in ODWAC Ref File, Studies, TAG, Utilization of Women, CMH.

[21] Memos, LtCol Emily C. Gorman, CONARC representative, to DWAC, 23 Jul 59, sub: Conference at Fort Monmouth, NJ, and 29 Jul 59, sub: Conference at Fort Gordon, GA, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, TAG, Utilization of Women, CMH. At Fort Monmouth, the group included Maj Bernice C. Skutas, Signal School, and 1stLt Jeane W. Wolcott, WAC detachment commander; at Fort Gordon, 1stLt Mildred E. Pons, WAC detachment commander, and LtCol Lillian F. Foushee, WAC Staff Adviser, HQ, Third Army, Fort McPherson.

[22] Min, DACOWITS Spring Mtg, Apr 60, Tab C, p. C-1-4, ODWAC Ref File, DACOWITS, CMH.

trained, and assigned to those MOS 270 series jobs. Their progress was tracked for a year; afterwards the team reported: "The conclusion seems reasonable that no serious administrative or situational factors preclude assignment of women to electronics MOS." [23]

As the research team worked on its final report, Colonel Milligan submitted, to the DCSPER, a list of recommended additions to MOSs on the WAC lists:

—forty-nine MOSs in the electronics, electrical, radio, and general maintenance and repair areas (WAC reservists' mobilization list);
—nine MOSs in the scientific and professional area (WAC active duty list);
—four bandsmen MOSs (WAC active duty list);
—thirteen group I MOSs, among them, orthopedic specialist, light truck driver, TV production specialist, flight simulator specialist, and food inspection specialist (WAC active duty list).

The DCSPER concurred and added the new MOSs to the WAC lists in July 1961.[24]

Obtaining authorization only partially accomplished the task of moving enlisted women into the new MOSs. Commanders had to identify such positions on their manning documents and then submit personnel requisitions for WACs in the MOSs. When requirements for women showed up in Army personnel reports, women would be trained in the new MOSs. The Army distributed its available training spaces during the Enlisted MOS Requirement Conferences (known as the White Book Conferences) held in September and April. The ODWAC prepared an annual estimate of WAC training requirements based on attrition reports, recruiting and reenlistment records, and housing information provided by WAC staff advisers. The men's training requirements were derived from the Inventory and Projection of Army Strength Report (CSGPA-45), called the 45 Report. It contained a consolidated inventory of actual, authorized, and projected strength by MOS, sex, and grade. The report, however, did not contain accurate statistics for women (officers or enlisted) because commanders in the field did not code their manning documents appropriately. For example, on 30 June 1961, the 45 Report showed only 1,200 author-

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[23] Edmund F. Fuchs and Aaron Katz, "Enlisted Women in Electronics Jobs," Human Factors Research Office, TAG Research and Development Command, Research Study 62-4, Jul 62, p. 4, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, TAG, Utilization of Women, 1958-1962, CMH.

[24] DCSPER Summary of Major Events and Problems for FY 1962, Chapter V, Women's Army Corps Management, p. 118, CMH Ref Br. Also see change 3, 7 Jul 62, to AR 611-201, 15 Jun 60, Military Occupational Specialty Manual, CMH Library.

ized spaces for enlisted women worldwide; over 8,500 enlisted women were actually serving on active duty.[25]

The problem stemmed from the Table of Distribution (TD) system that had been introduced in the Army in 1946. Procedure required personnel officers to code a position that was or could be filled by an enlisted woman with an "A"; an enlisted man, an "E"; a male commissioned officer, an "O"; a WAC commissioned officer, an "L"; male warrant officer, a "W"; and a WAC warrant officer, a "V." A requisition to obtain a replacement for an incumbent leaving a job had to match the requirements shown on the TD by grade, MOS, sex, and, until 1951, race.[26] If the TD had not been annotated for a WAC, then a requisition could not be forwarded for one.

As a result of problems inherent in the replacement system, as well as misuse and abuse of the system, TAG assignment officers had problems assigning women on completion of school training or a tour of duty. After filling all requisitions coded "A" that had come in, TAG assigned women to "E" spaces, provided the women had the proper MOS and grade. If a command rejected the substitution, another command was tried and then another. If an authorized position could not be found within a reasonable time, TAG assigned the WACs in overstrength to commands as replacements for future losses in their MOSs. As a last resort, TAG assigned WAC graduates of a service school to a command that urgently needed personnel and could give them on-the-job training in a different MOS. Such commands later tried to place the women in their formal school-trained MOS as vacancies became available. Because the inspector general gave low ratings to commands that did not use personnel in their school-trained MOS, it was to a commander's advantage to have as many personnel as possible working in their school-trained MOS. This pressure helped the WACs move into suitable positions.

Most other efforts to correct abuses in the replacement system came to naught. The DCSPER wrote letters to commanders about errors and advised them of the proper procedure for annotating their manning documents and requisitions. The WAC director and the WAC staff advisers visited commanders and personnel officers to explain the impact of their failure to designate spaces on manning documents for WAC officers and enlisted women—it affected training, housing, assignments, and promotions. Commanders sympathized with the director and her staff advisers.

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[25] AR 330-112, 8 Mar 60, Inventory and Projection of Army Strength Report (CSGPA-45), CMH Library; ODCSPER Annual Summary of Major Events and Problems for FY 1960, p. 62, CMH Ref Br; and Inventory and Projection of Army Strength Report (CSGPA-45), 30 Jun 61, RG 319, Modern Military Br, NARA, Washington, DC. White Book Conferences began in 1960 and were conducted by TAG until the 1962 DA reorganization, when the Enlisted Personnel Directorate, Office of Personnel Operations, took over the function. At the same time, CSGPA-45 became OPO-45.

[26] SR 345-50-8, 27 Dec 48, Inventory and Projection of Army Command Strength (Report CSGPA-45), CMH Library.

promised to correct the situation, but seldom did. They had their own problems. Manpower had been reduced and personnel spaces cut to lower the Army's payroll costs. By designating their spaces "fill by men," commanders, in effect, had two chances to fill their requisitions. If the process resulted in an overstrength, they used another report to declare their WACs surplus (i.e., available for reassignment). Since TAG had no requisitions for them, the women remained where they were. The commander, however, had balanced his books and was eligible to submit requisitions for men.[27] The WAC had no recourse except to live with the system, understanding that it benefited the great majority and hurt only the WAC—less than 2 percent of Army strength.

Despite the TD problem, Colonel Milligan could count some progress in opening new opportunities for women. She had succeeded in adding forty-nine MOSs to the WAC reservists mobilization list and twenty-six to the active duty lists. She hoped that later it would be easy to move the new Reserve mobilization MOS list over to the active duty list. And because the civil rights movement had forced elimination of racial coding on TDs, the possibility of eliminating gender coding existed as well.

Attitudes

During World War II, after women had demonstrated that they could perform military jobs efficiently, most Army career men had yielded and acknowledged that the WACs were of value to the Army. Still, many of the men had expected the WACs to go home after the war; the Army would again become all male and do its work without the help of women. But things were never again the same in the Army.

Despite the changes in society and in the Army, the attitude among some men in 1942 that women did not belong in the Army was still there in 1962. Sociologists thought the cause a matter of territorial prerogative—the Army was men's ground, and women had no right to be on it. After the WAC had gained entrance in the Regular Army and Reserve in 1948, the problem of acceptance merely took on a new face. The women were no longer temporary help; they were now permanent employees who competed for assignments, schools, and favorable ratings. Some men, however, still viewed WACs as interlopers or as unfair competition in an arena that was meant to be theirs alone. This attitude was a shock to the newly enlisted and appointed women who expected instant acceptance from the moment they joined the Army. The Army had said it needed them.

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[27] SR 615-260-50, 27 Dec 48, Report of Immediately Available Enlisted Personnel; AR 614-208, 12 Aug 55, Report of Surplus Enlisted Personnel; AR 310-41, 3 May 57, Tables of Distribution; and AR 616-1, 16 Jan 61 and 3 Feb 64, Manpower Management. All in CMH Library.

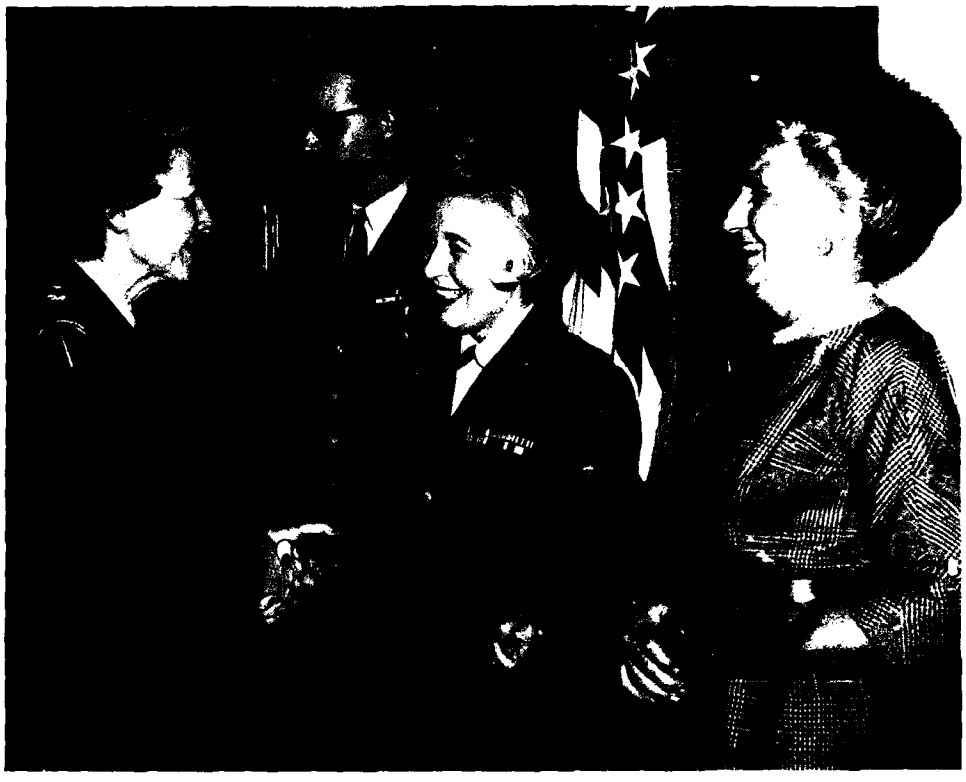
To help the women understand the problem and to gain acceptance, detachment commanders and senior WAC cadre insisted that the women dress correctly, behave properly in public and private, and become efficient in their duties. They conducted recreation, sports, and education programs to develop esprit de corps. And they provided counseling and guidance, which required a great deal of common sense and patience because most of the enlisted women were between nineteen and twenty-one and were still learning to manage adult responsibilities and relationships.

Lack of acceptance was only one of the disappointments the women experienced. Disappointments also stemmed from other frustrations of Army life—the lack of privacy, poor housing, few overseas assignments, little money, and slow promotions. To compensate for the deficiencies, many WACs concentrated on improving their education, socializing, or pursuing a hobby.

Promotion disappointment was one of the hardest things for enlisted women to accept. Many supervisors found it difficult to explain to a woman why she had not been promoted, and, as a result, she drew her own conclusions—usually that the supervisor had picked another woman because she was prettier or that he had picked a man just because he was a man. When a male soldier was not promoted and a WAC was, he assumed that the supervisor picked the woman because she was pretty and was a woman. Feuds started this way. WAC detachment commanders, therefore, followed promotions closely, talked with the women's supervisors, discovered any negative factors, and assisted the women in making improvements so that they could earn promotion the next time.

Frequently, women were not promoted because they lacked supervisory experience. Even ambitious women who had no trouble learning their work and improving their MOS skills had trouble getting a leadership position. When the majority of workers were men, supervisors were reluctant to make an enlisted woman the chief. In a predominantly male environment, men felt demeaned reporting to a woman. Men who might have accepted the situation often protested or showed hostility because their peers expected it. Some enlisted women rejected a leadership role when it was given to them because of the problems it created. Only the strongest could cope daily with verbal barbs, deliberate desultory performance, and frequent challenges to their authority. Imperturbable, confident, and good-humored women had the most success in vanquishing harassers and climbing the supervisory ladder. After 1960, improvements in the enlisted personnel management system—such as the addition of MOS testing, centralized promotions, and commander evaluations—eliminated some promotion problems for women. Little change occurred, however, in men's attitudes toward women supervisors.

By the end of her first tour as director of the WAC, Colonel Milligan had improved WAC utilization, management, and image. Some policies



COL. MARY LOUISE MILLIGAN *receives congratulations upon her reappointment as Director, WAC, from the deputy director, Lt. Col. Lucile G. Odbert, as Colonel Milligan's mother, Mrs. George V. Milligan, proudly watches, 3 January 1961.*

and procedures designed to manage men had been revised to benefit women in the Army. Through her initiative, she had expanded WAC training requirements, schooling, and assignment opportunities and had successfully pushed to amend the laws that deprived women of service credit and benefits. She had also initiated a news memorandum and reinstituted the staff adviser conferences. Overall, the WAC was resolving its problems and presenting a positive image to the public.

Reappointment

In October 1960, Secretary of the Army Brucker surprised the Corps by announcing that he would reappoint Colonel Milligan to serve as director for another two years, until she became eligible for retirement on

31 July 1962.[28] The reappointment ceremony was held on 3 January 1961 in the secretary's office.

After reappointment, Colonel Milligan made a few personnel changes. The deputy director's four-year term had expired. Colonel Sweeney was reassigned to the position of WAC Staff Adviser, Headquarters, U.S. Army, Europe, replacing Lt. Col. Nora Gray Springfield, a lawyer, who went to the Office of the Judge Advocate General of the Army at the Pentagon. For her new deputy, Colonel Milligan selected Lt. Col. Lucile G. Odbert, then Commander, WAC Center, and Commandant, WAC School. Lt. Col. Sue Lynch replaced Colonel Odbert at Fort McClellan.[29]

On 20 January 1961, a new president was inaugurated in a ceremony on the steps of the U.S. Capitol. For their third appearance in an inaugural parade, the members of the 14th Army Band (WAC) from Fort McClellan wore the Army's new women's dress blue uniforms, modified for band members. Their appearance on TV gave the WAC worldwide publicity.

The term of a new president, John F. Kennedy, had begun peacefully enough. But strife soon followed. At home, a renewed and more aggressive civil rights movement challenged discriminatory laws and practices in the southern states. Abroad, the Bay of Pigs fiasco brought increased tension with Cuba. In Southeast Asia, Communist expansion threatened Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, and South Vietnam. The United States supported anti-Communist leaders in Thailand and South Vietnam by providing them with military supplies and with military personnel to train their armed forces. In Geneva, the United States supported Laos diplomatically as Laotian leaders sought and obtained "neutral country status," a status it was to lose in 1964. But, at the time, such problems were overshadowed by a series of confrontations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The Berlin Crisis

In the late spring and early summer of 1961, the Russians threatened to use their power to unify East and West Berlin in violation of the four-power agreements on the city dating from World War II. On 25 July 1961, President Kennedy responded to these threats by promising to protect West Berlin and West Germany from invasion. He asked for and received from Congress authority to increase the size of the U.S. armed forces and $2.5 billion to accomplish the increase. Congress authorized him to double draft calls, order Reserve and National Guard units and

[28] Chronological Record, Oct 60, ODWAC Ref File, CMH.
[29] Ibid., Jan 61.

THE 14TH ARMY BAND (WAC) *marches in President Kennedy's inaugural parade, 20 January 1961.*

personnel to active duty, extend military enlistments and appointments, and defer retirements and resignations.[30]

On the morning of 13 August, East Germany closed its border with West Berlin. Within a week, the East Germans had constructed a wall along that border. President Kennedy alerted 100 U.S. Army Reserve units and 46,500 individual reservists for recall and proceeded with an orderly buildup of U.S. military strength. Before the end of August, the Army extended for four months active duty enlistments that expired after 1 October 1961 and before 30 June 1962. Active duty tours of reserve officers were extended for up to one year; foreign service tours, for up to six months; enlistments of Ready Reserve personnel, for one year. Voluntary resignations and retirements of officers and warrant officers were suspended.[31]

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[30] PL 117, 87th Cong, 1st sess, 1 Aug 61.

[31] DOD Press Release, 12 Aug 61, and DA Msgs 901078 (16 Aug 61), 569161 (17 Aug 61), 569627 (21 Aug 61), and 574456 (27 Sep 61), Summary of Major Events and Problems FY 1962, DCSPER, CMH Ref Br.

By and large, the public and Congress supported President Kennedy's actions, and the buildup continued throughout 1961. The tempo of activity at the Pentagon increased as action officers carried out instructions issued by Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, and Secretary of the Army Elvis J. Stahr, Jr., both of whom had been appointed in January 1961. The Army had a new deputy chief of staff for personnel matters, Lt. Gen. Russell L. Vittrup, who had replaced Lt. Gen. James F. Collins on 1 April 1961. Tension increased as the partial mobilization continued into the fall, but President Kennedy did not declare a state of emergency that would have activated full mobilization. Action officers at the Pentagon, however, reviewed and updated contingency plans in case a more serious commitment of U.S. forces in Europe was ordered.

Colonel Milligan reviewed the WAC annex to the overall mobilization plan with her staff. Assuming that WAC strength would increase as it had in other crises, Colonel Milligan obtained from the WAC Center commander and the staff advisers up-to-date information on housing in WAC units, training capacity and resources, and assignment information. She told her staff that she would not request any exceptions for WACs during the buildup and that she would maintain peacetime standards for entry and retention. And while she did not suspend the rule permitting discharge on marriage for fear that such an action would hinder recruiting, she did support a change in regulations that allowed commanders to retain an enlisted women for ninety days beyond her designated discharge date, provided time was needed to obtain or train a replacement. (The delay provision would remain in the regulation until discharge on marriage was discontinued in 1966.) Colonel Milligan did not initiate a similar delay provision for officers, because regulations already required them to serve two years before they could request discharge on marriage. Such policies preserved the principle of allowing women to leave the service when they married while preventing abrupt personnel losses.[32]

Under the partial mobilization, WACs were included in every buildup action the Army took. Directives extending enlistments and foreign service tours applied to men and women on active duty and in the Army Reserve. Of the 100 reserve units recalled to active duty in October 1961, 16 included WACs—approximately 50 women, 5 of whom were officers. They belonged to support units, such as hospitals, civil affairs groups, logistical commands, and quartermaster or signal battalions. Upon reporting to their mobilization station, the enlisted women were attached to the local WAC detachment for quarters and rations, but they remained under the operational control of their reserve unit. Recalled WAC officers

[32] Change 2, 2 Nov 61, to AR 635-210, 17 Feb 61, Enlisted Personnel Separations, and Change 27, 16 Apr 71, to AR 635-200, 15 Jul 66, same title, CMH Library. Also see ODWAC Ref File, Build-up Actions (1961-2), CMH.

served with their reserve units on active duty. None of the units with recalled women was assigned to an overseas station.[33]

In the two years preceding the buildup, WAC strength had taken a decisively upward swing. Though the surge could, in part, be attributed to the innovations resulting from the work of the Womble Committee, a new enlistment option both for men and women also inspired many enlistments and reenlistments. In 1958, when the Military Personnel Procurement Division, TAG, proposed the Army Career Group Option, Colonel Milligan had enthusiastically endorsed it for WAC recruitment. It offered women a choice of seven career fields and the guarantee of formal schooling or on-the-job training that led to award of an MOS needed by the Army. The exact MOS was not guaranteed, only the career field, which might hold as many as a dozen different MOSs. The applicant had to be a high school graduate or hold a GED certificate, pass a physical examination, and score well above average in the aptitude area that dominated her chosen career field and above average in two other areas. Women already in service could reenlist under this option if they were grade E-4 or below.[34]

The new option brought excellent results. Between 1959 and 1961, it attracted from 700 to 1,000 additional enlistees annually. It contributed to raising the reenlistment rate for "first termers" from 36.5 percent during FY 1959 to 40.5 percent during FY 1961. WAC strength climbed from 7,853 on 30 June 1958 to 9,369 on 30 June 1961.[35]

Another unexpected surge occurred in WAC recruiting between January and June 1961. In those months, 1,742 recruits arrived at the WAC training battalion versus 1,402 for the same period the previous year; on 31 August 1961, the training battalion had a record 1,052 recruits in contrast to its earlier peak of 800 the previous year. Filled to overflowing, the battalion was forced to borrow bed space, instructors, platoon sergeants, cooks, and clerical personnel from other units. The increase in enlistments was not confined to the WAC. Enlistments rose in all services.

The historian at the WAC Center wrote, "The influx was attributed to the tense situation in Berlin, a rise in unemployment, socio-economic patterns in the United States and a surge of patriotism following the inauguration of President John F. Kennedy in January 1961." [36]

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[33] Fact Sheet on WAC Reserve Call-up Action, 4 Apr 62, and Ltr, WAC Staff Adviser, HQ, Fifth US Army, to DWAC, 19 Dec 61, sub: Recall of WAC Reservists, ODWAC Ref File, Build-up Actions (1961-2), CMH.

[34] AR 601-215, 8 Dec 58, Regular Army Enlistment and Reenlistment Options. The Career Field Option went into effect on 1 Jan 59. The career fields open to women were clerical, communications, finance, general supply, pictorial, medical care and treatment, and food service.

[35] *Strength of the Army Report* (DCSPER 46,) 30 Jun 61. Effective 30 Jun 60 the publication number of the strength report changed from STM-30 to DCSPER-46.

[36] LtCol Mary Charlotte Lane, Historical Report, WAC C&S, 1960-61, p. 4, CMH Ref Br.

At the end of July 1961, Colonel Milligan was forced to consider imposing a ceiling on WAC recruiting to control the overcrowded situation at the WAC Center. She discussed the question with her staff; Colonel Lynch, commander of WAC Center; and Lt. Col. Helen H. Corthay, chief of WAC Recruiting in TAG. Colonel Corthay knew from long experience working with Army recruiters that they would resent a ceiling. In past years they had found it extremely difficult to obtain enough WACs; now, in 1961, it had suddenly become easy. As an alternative, Colonel Corthay proposed that WAC enlistment standards be raised—higher qualifying scores on enlistment tests and elimination of acceptance of a GED in lieu of high school diploma. Her solution would produce a higher quality recruit, reduce enlistments, and, consequently, eliminate overcrowding at the training battalion.[37]

Colonel Milligan weighed the advantages and disadvantages of imposing a ceiling or raising standards. Although she wanted high-quality recruits, she did not want to raise enlistment standards so high that recruiters would be unable to achieve their objectives in low-yield months (e.g., December, April, May). She decided that imposition of a ceiling, though objectionable to recruiters, provided the quickest and most easily reversible way of eliminating the overcrowding. If the Berlin situation worsened, full mobilization would cancel the ceiling, and the increase in WACs would be accommodated by the opening of another training center. Meanwhile, a ceiling could be quickly imposed, raised, lowered, or eliminated; a change in the enlistment qualifications, however, required lengthy staff procedures. On 18 August 1961, recruiters received a message announcing mandatory WAC enlistment ceilings by month for each Army area.[38]

Soon after the Berlin Crisis developed, General Vittrup, DCSPER, asked the director if she wanted to increase the Corps' authorized enlisted strength. The figure had not been changed since 1954, when enlisted strength had been set at 8,000. Colonel Milligan proposed a 15 percent increase in WAC enlisted strength, to 9,200, to match the 15 percent overall increase in Army strength, from 875,000 to 1 million, directed by President Kennedy that summer. In suggesting this modest increase, the director told the DCSPER that she favored a growth pattern that could be achieved under current WAC enlistment standards. She recommended that the major commanders be asked to indicate how many more enlisted women they could utilize, house, and offer career-enhancing opportunities. General Vittrup agreed and sent a message to the commanders asking those questions. He reminded them that increases in WAC strength

[37] Memo, Chief of WAC Recruiting, TAG, to DWAC, 3 Aug 61. This and other correspondence on this subject are in ODWAC Ref File, Build-up Actions (1961-2), CMH.

[38] Msg, DCSPER to Maj Coms 18 Aug 61, and MFRs, ODWAC Executive Officer, 18 and 24 Aug 61, sub: Conference with Col Corthay on Changes in Recruiting Standards, ODWAC Ref File, Build-up Actions (1961-2), CMH.

would be counted against their overall total authorization for enlisted personnel.[39]

The director's staff tabulated the commanders' replies and prepared a plan to distribute additional women. The commanders requested 2,072 more enlisted women—1,293 who could be accommodated within current housing and space requirements and another 779 more for whom new WAC detachments and personnel allocations would be required. In her report, Colonel Milligan noted that 75 percent of the requests were for WACs with administrative MOSs (clerical, finance, supply, data processing, etc.); 12 percent for WACs with medical care and treatment MOSs; and 13 percent for WACs with intelligence, communications, food service, or graphics MOSs. Six percent were for grades E-6 and above. She noted the areas in which WAC housing was poor and those in which commanders had promised to modernize or rehabilitate buildings. General Vittrup forwarded the director's recommendations to the chief of staff, General George H. Decker, who approved a 1,300-woman increase in the Corps' enlisted strength and a 100-woman increase in its commissioned officer strength, effective 30 June 1962. (*See Table 16.*) No change was made in the authorization for WAC warrant officers; it remained at 39. New WAC detachments were authorized at Fort Rucker, Alabama (activated September 1962); Yuma Test Station, Arizona (March 1963); and White Sands, New Mexico (May 1962).[40]

TABLE 16—ADDITIONAL ENLISTED WAC SPACES, SELECTED COMMANDS AND ACTIVITIES

Command	Spaces
U.S. Army, Europe	150
U.S. Continental Army Command (to be distributed to Army area commands)	395
Deputy Chief of Staff, Logistics, DA	50
Research & Development, DA	60
Transients, Trainees, Patients, and Students (TTP&S)	645
Total	1,300

Source: Staff Study, DWAC to DCSPER, Nov 61, sub: Recommended Distribution of Additional WAC Spaces, and Memo, DCSPER (Programs Division) to CofS, 19 Dec 61, sub: Increased WAC Enlisted Strength, ODWAC Ref File, Build-up Actions (1961-2), CMH.

[39] Memo, DWAC to Chief Procurement Division, DCSPER, 13 Sep 61, sub: Build-up of WAC Enlisted Strength, and Msg, DCSPER (DPD) 574335 to Maj Coms, 26 Sep 61, ODWAC Ref File, Build-up Actions (1961-2), CMH.

[40] ODCSPER, Annual History, FY 62, Chap V, and FY 63, Chap V.

In April 1962, tension subsided in Europe; fear of war lessened; and the Army was able to release its recalled reserve units and personnel from active duty by mid-1962. Further alerts and personnel actions affecting active duty personnel were canceled. During the crisis, WAC strength reached its highest post-World War II point with a total strength of 11,113.[41]

Army Reorganization, 1962

In 1961, as the regular forces were being expanded and reservists were being called up, Secretary of Defense McNamara had begun to transform the structure of the Army and the other military services by applying organizational principles drawn from his experience in industry. He began by consolidating common functions and giving them to one service or agency to control—the single manager concept. For example, the Defense Supply Agency was created to centralize the purchase and distribution of food, uniforms, gas and oil products, medical and automotive supplies for the armed services. The Defense Intelligence Agency coordinated and centralized certain military intelligence operations. The Defense Language Institute controlled foreign language training for military and civilian personnel.[42]

At the secretary's direction, the Army developed a reorganization plan, known as Project 80, that followed the new concepts. Under the plan, the Army discontinued the offices of the chiefs of most of the technical services in 1962 and transferred their functions to the Defense Supply Agency or to one of two new commands—the U.S. Army Materiel Command and the U.S. Army Combat Developments Command. The Army created the Office of Personnel Operations (OPO) with two major directorates—the Officer Personnel Directorate (OPD) and the Enlisted Personnel Directorate (EPD). The new organizations relieved the DCSPER and TAG of many day-to-day operational jobs but not of responsibility for policy functions, which remained with them. Recruitment and reenlistment functions moved from TAG to the U.S. Army Recruiting Command under the Continental Army Command (CONARC); two years later, the Army Recruiting Command would become a separate agency reporting directly to the chief of staff of the Army. Control of most service schools passed from the chiefs of the technical and administrative services to the commander of CONARC, Fort Monroe, Virginia. Up to this point, CONARC had supervised the

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[41] *Strength of the Army Report* (DCSPER-46) 30 Jun 62. The previous post-WW II high point had been 10,213 on 30 Apr 53, before the Korean armistice.

[42] James E. Hewes, Jr., *From Root to McNamara, Army Organization and Administration 1900–1963.* United States Army Special Studies (Washington, DC: GPO, 1975) pp. 360–65; CONARC Reorganization Planning Group Study, USCONARC Reorganization, Activation Plan, 15 Jun 62, CMH Ref Br.

curricula and instruction at WAC School while WAC Center exercised command over it, funded its operations, and provided its manpower spaces. Under the reorganization, CONARC controlled the school's curricula, instruction, doctrine, policy, funds, and manpower spaces. The commander of the WAC Center, however, retained the title of commandant and continued to administer the school.[43]

A few months after the Project 80 study group began its work, two members of the committee visited the Office of the Director, WAC, to review its mission, status, and administrative procedures. Colonel Milligan was on a staff visit to WAC units. Her staff explained that their functions were operational, that the director had no command jurisdiction, and that her function was purely advisory, with the exception of WAC officer career management over which she exercised control. The deputy director, Colonel Odbert, told the group that although the director's close association with the DCSPER was an advantage in many ways, the director needed more visible evidence of her assignment to the chief of staff. Colonel Odbert pointed out that the assignment "in practice" was "overlooked." She faulted the lack of an "established regular procedure" for informing the chief of staff. She suggested that if the director's office were "more closely tied in with OCS [Office of the Chief of Staff], as well as assigned on paper, there would undoubtedly be closer coordination by other staff agencies . . . particularly in planning, both current and [for] mobilization." [44]

Toward partial achievement of this goal, Colonel Odbert recommended that the director be made a member of the General Staff Council, a high-level decision-making body. The study group rejected her proposal. Under Project 80, only one major change affected ODWAC: the WAC Career Branch was transferred, along with other career branches, to the Officer Personnel Directorate of the Office of Personnel Operations. The director lost direct control over the career branch, but the director of OPO and OPD encouraged close coordination between ODWAC and the WAC Career Branch on matters of policy and assignment of key field grade officers. On the whole, the director's office had come through a major organizational upheaval with no significant loss.[45]

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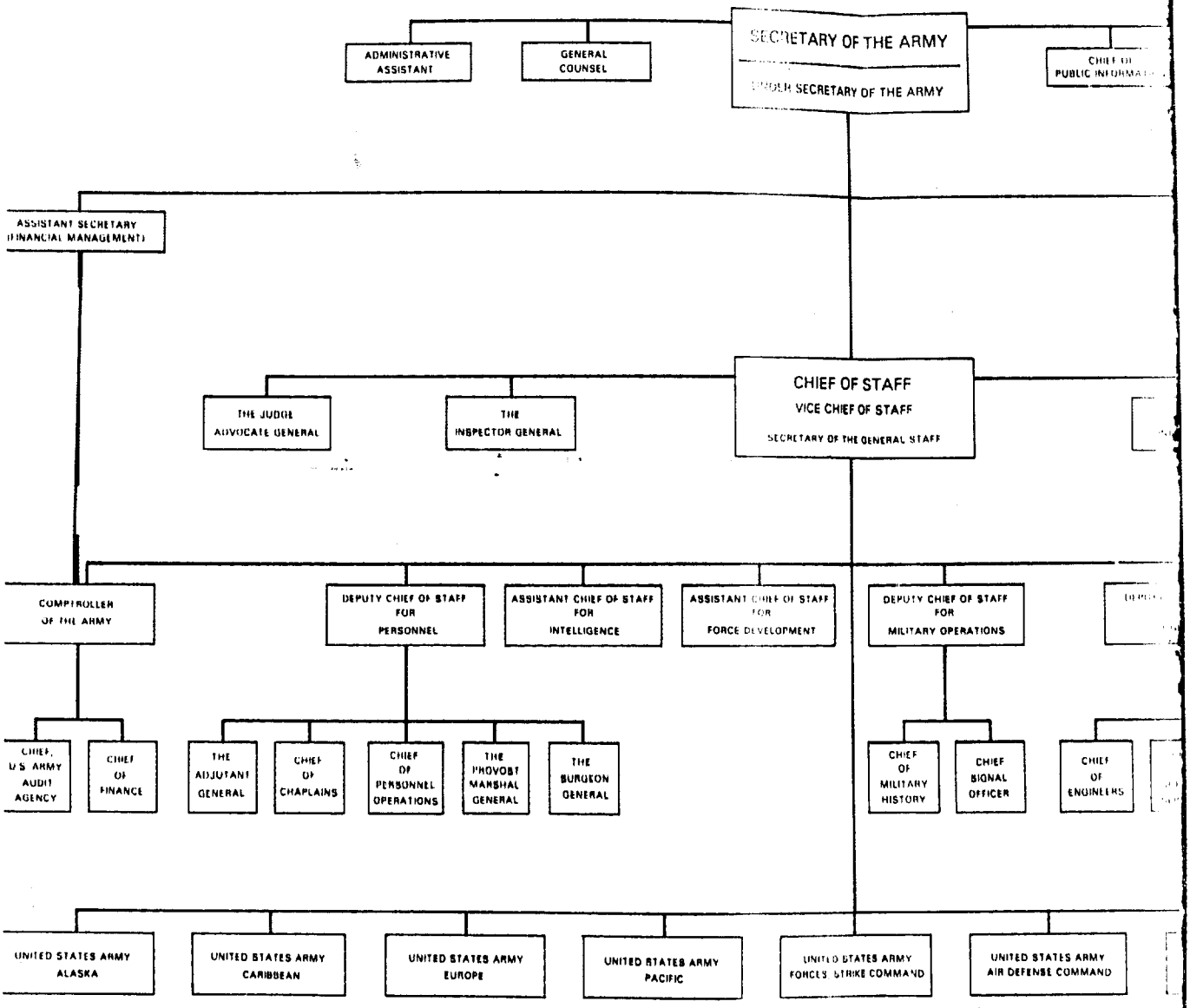
[43] Ibid; DA GO 20, 18 Jun 64, WAC School assigned to CG, USCONARC, eff 1 Jun 64, CMH Library.

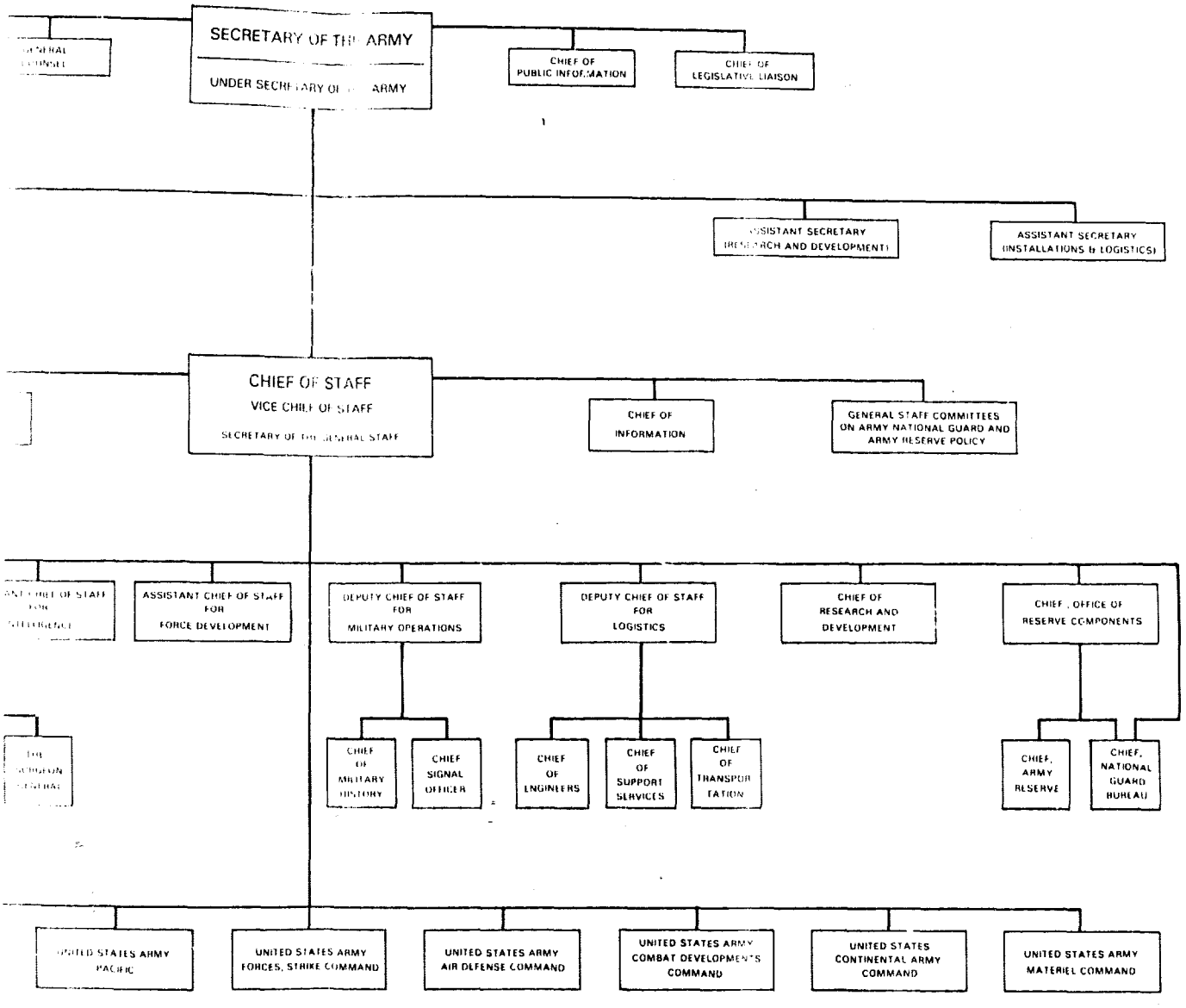
[44] MFR, LtCol Marie Kehrer, Plans and Policy Officer, ODWAC, 13 Jun 61, sub: Hoelscher Committee Study, with addendum by LtCol Lucile G. Odbert, Dep Dir, WAC, 15 Jun 61, ODWAC Ref File, Reorganization, CMH. The project director of Project 80, Study of the Functions, Organization and Procedures of the Department of the Army, was Leonard W. Hoelscher, Asst Comptroller of the Army; within the Pentagon, the study group was known as the Hoelscher Committee.

[45] DCSPER Bulletin No. 33, 23 Jul 62, ODWAC Ref File, Reorganization, CMH. LtCol Miriam L. Butler, Chief, WAC Branch, and her staff, MSgt Mary K. Johnson, Sgt1stCl Betty Adams, and Edith Solomon, were transferred to the OPD, OPO, DA, but remained in the same Pentagon location until Oct 66, when the entire directorate moved to Tempo A, near Ft McNair, Washington DC. Along with AG, Finance, Military Police, Aviation, Intelligence and Security, WAC Branch was assigned to Special Support Division, OPD.

CHART 3—ORGANIZATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY, APRIL 1963



ARMY, APRIL 1963



A general upheaval, however, continued in the months that followed. Shortly after the reorganization, the WAC staff adviser at CONARC informed the director that a plan was being discussed to consolidate all administrative schools at Fort Benjamin Harrison, Indiana, and, thus, to eliminate duplicate training facilities.[46] The Adjutant General's School and the Army Finance School had moved there in 1951. Among the schools proposed for relocation were the Army Information School, the Civil Affairs School, the Army Management School, the Military Police School, and the WAC School. Colonel Lynch, Commander, WAC Center, and Commandant, WAC School, strongly opposed the move and emphasized that the WAC School was "much more than a facility for teaching clerical skills and providing advanced training for a few officers." She wrote that "the School is the place where WAC doctrine is studied and disseminated, where WACs are branch oriented and where there is a nucleus for expansion in case of mobilization." [47] These arguments and the complexity and cost of the proposed merger dissuaded CONARC from making the change.[48]

Amid the many other changes, however, Colonel Milligan thought she saw a chance to win some colonels' spaces for her Corps. In 1961, a study emerged from ODCSPER, entitled "Positions that may be Staffed by Colonels, WAC," which enclosed an earlier (1958) study she herself had submitted on the subject. In her study, she had recommended that the secretary of the Army order the officer promotion boards to select three WAC officers annually for promotion to temporary colonel until a total of fifteen was reached. She supported her proposal with a 1956 decision by the judge advocate general stating, "Promotion of WAC officers to the grade of temporary colonel is not prohibited or limited by the Women's Armed Services Integration Act of 1948."

The JAG, however, had added that the number *could* be limited by the total number of colonels authorized under the Officer Grade Limitation Act of 1954 and by Army budgetary or policy considerations. Lt. Gen. James F. Collins, then DCSPER, had not been convinced that the law was subject to such a policy interpretation, and he had sent it to the DCSPER Directorate of Manpower Management for reexamination. The study had remained there until 1961, when the new DCSPER, Lt. Gen. Russell L. Vittrup, arrived.[49]

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[46] Ltr, LtCol Ruth M. Briggs, WAC School Monitor, HQ, USCONARC, to DWAC, 11 Oct 62, ODWAC Ref File, WAC School, CMH.

[47] Ltr, LtCol Sue Lynch, Commander, WAC Center/Commandant, WAC School, to DWAC, 20 Sep 62, ODWAC Ref File, WAC School, CMH.

[48] MFR, DWAC, 19 Oct 62, sub: Status WAC Ctr/Sch, ODWAC Ref File, WAC School, CMH.

[49] Memo, Dir Manpower Management (BrigGen Autrey J. Maroun) to DCSPER, 19 Apr 61, sub: Positions that may be staffed by Colonels, WAC, with 2 Incls, and DF, DWAC to JAG, 10 Apr 56, sub: Interpretation of Public Law 625, with Comment 2, JAG to ODWAC, 30 Apr 56, ODWAC Ref File, Promotion Restrictions (Book 3), CMH; Interv, Col Rasmuson, nee Milligan, with the author, 8 Jun 80.

The DCSPER study contained new proposals. In lieu of fifteen WAC colonels, it recommended three—the director, the commander of WAC Center and commandant of the WAC School, and the WAC staff adviser to U.S. Army, Europe. It further recommended that the Directorate for Military Personnel Management assess the impact of promoting WACs to colonel on officer career development, morale, the Army Nurse Corps, the other women's services, and the promotion of male lieutenant colonels. General Vittrup approved these recommendations, which led to a new study.

In June 1962, Lt. Gen. Robert W. Colglazier, Deputy Chief of Staff for Logistics (DCSLOG), recommended Lt. Col. Hortense M. Boutell, Chief, Programs Branch, DCSLOG, who supervised a $1.5 billion budget on logistical operations and maintenance programs, for promotion to temporary colonel. She had graduated from the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, was a member of the Logistics Career Specialization Program, and had been a logistics staff officer at joint and Army staff level since 1950. General Vittrup returned the request, explaining that it was Army policy that the director of the WAC would occupy the one colonel's space authorized the Corps. The DCSLOG realized that without the DCSPER's support it would be futile to send his request further up the chain of command.[50]

In 1962, the members of DACOWITS again raised the issue of women officers' promotions. They recommended to Secretary McNamara that all promotion and retirement restrictions on women officers be eliminated by modifying the legislation then being proposed to change the Officer Personnel Act of 1947. That legislation had been developed by a tri-service committee, chaired by General Charles L. Bolte, U.S. Army (Retired), and known as the Bolte Committee. Asked for his views on the DACOWITS recommendation, General Vittrup replied in a memorandum that the Bolte Committee had examined the Women's Armed Services Integration Act of 1948 and had concluded that Congress had intended the WAC and other women's services to be limited to one temporary colonel each. He noted that he had discussed the matter with the WAC director, "who quite understandably does not concur." As a result of this memorandum, the secretary of defense disapproved the DACOWITS recommendation. This did not, however, close the issue.[51]

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[50] SS, DCSLOG to SecArmy through DCSPER, 6 Jun 62, sub: Consideration for Temporary Promotion, and DF, DCSLOG to DCSPER, 22 Jun 62, same sub, ODWAC Ref File, Promotion Restrictions, (Book 3), CMH. Also see "Conversations between Lt.Col. Hortense M. Boutell and Col. Donald R. Hargrove and Lt.Col. Milton L. Little," 7 Mar 77, Senior Officers Debriefing Program, US Army Military History Institute, CMH Ref Br.

[51] Rpt, Defense Ad Hoc Committee to Study and Revise the Officer Personnel Act of 1947, Dec 60, and Memo, DCSPER to Asst SecDef (Manpower) [ASD(M)], 17 May 72, sub: Grade Structure for the Women's Army Corps, ODWAC Ref File, Promotion Restrictions (Book 3, Tab 3), CMH. Also see *Army-Navy Register*, 28 Jan 61, p. 11.

The members of DACOWITS tried a new tactic. They sent their request for a change in the law on the promotion and retirement of women officers to the President's Commission on the Status of Women, chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt. President Kennedy had established the commission in December 1961 to examine federal laws and policies that might discriminate against women.[52] At the commission's request, on 7 November 1962, Assistant Secretary of Defense Carlisle P. Runge, accompanied by Mrs. Donald Quarles, chairwoman of DACOWITS, and Lt. Col. Kathryn J. Royster, executive secretary of DACOWITS, traveled to Hyde Park, New York, to brief the commission. Mr. Runge defended his department's decision not to seek a change in the law regarding women officers; Mrs. Quarles and Colonel Royster argued for the requested legislation. A few days later, the commission unanimously approved a resolution recommending the change and sent it to President Kennedy.[53] On 10 July, Secretary McNamara wrote Mrs. Roosevelt, "In response to the adoption of the resolution, the Administration has approved the recommended action and the Department of Defense will now take the necessary steps to modify the proposed legislation." [54] When the Bolte legislation was revised, it included a provision that removed career restrictions on women officers.

The Bolte proposals now appeared to be the Corps' best hope of expanding officer promotion programs; but they were not a sure solution. From the moment the legislation was unveiled, some of its provisions aroused bitter controversy—a single promotion list, an up-or-out policy for some officers, a new formula for computing the number of authorized general (flag) officers, and use of the "best qualified" promotion method. The services disagreed among themselves on so many provisions that the Bolte legislation was not introduced in Congress for several years.[55] As a result, hope for more WAC colonels waned.

Despite the setbacks regarding promotions, the last months of Colonel Milligan's tenure were marked by personal changes and professional successes. In November 1961, she married Elmer E. Rasmuson of Anchorage, Alaska, and formally announced she would retire on 31 July 1962. The only WAC director to marry while in office, Colonel Milligan changed her name to Rasmuson immediately after her marriage.[56]

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[52] Eleanor Roosevelt chaired the commission until her death on 7 Nov 62; Esther Peterson replaced her. Col Galloway had been recalled on active duty in Feb 62 to serve as administrative officer.

[53] Ltr, Mrs Roosevelt to Sec McNamara, with Incl, ODWAC Ref File, Promotion Restrictions (Book 3), CMH.

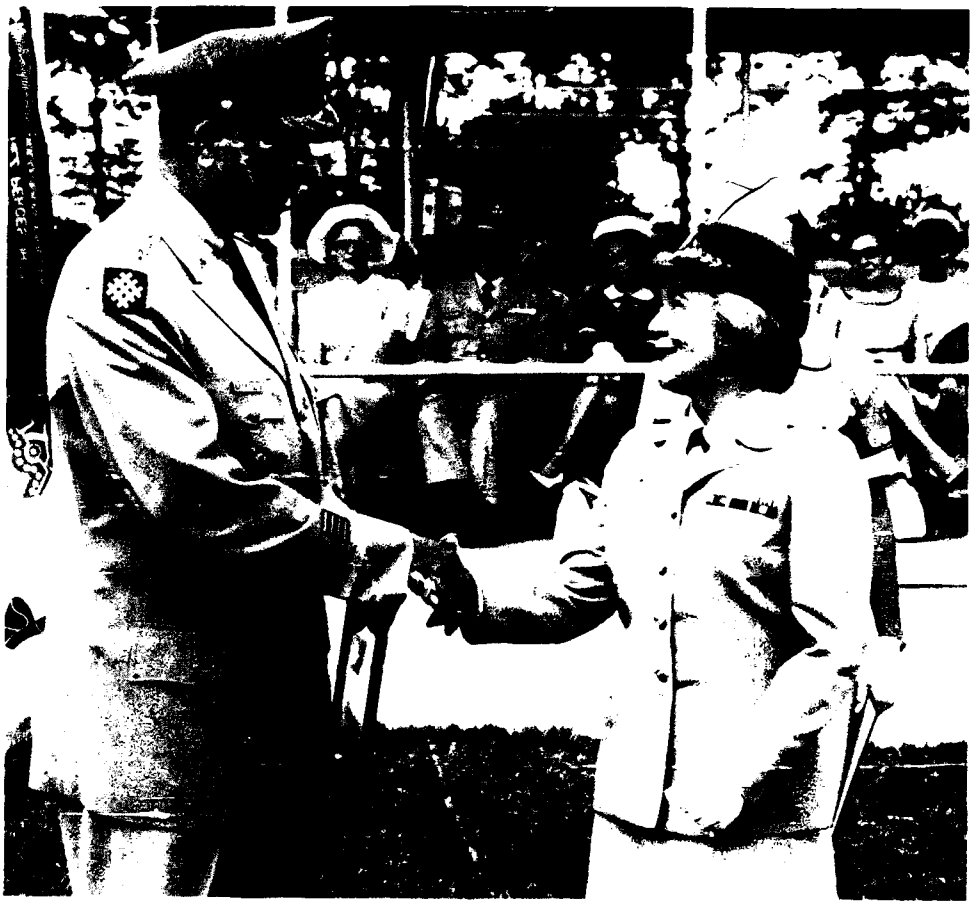
[54] Ltr, Sec McNamara to Mrs Roosevelt, 10 Jul 62, and Rpt, President's Commission on the Status of Women, *American Women*, Oct 63, ODWAC Ref File, Promotion Restrictions (Book 3), CMH.

[55] ODCSPER, Fact sheet on Bolte Legislation, Mar 63, ODWAC Ref File, Promotion Restrictions (Book 3, Tab 6), CMH.

[56] Change of Names of Regular Army Officers, *Officers Register*, 1962, p. 613.

TORCHLIGHT PARADE, WAC CENTER, FORT MCCLELLAN, *14 May 1964.*

Before leaving, however, Colonel Rasmuson launched another initiative designed to resolve a WAC assignment problem. Existing policy allowed WACs to be assigned to positions in service-type (noncombat) Table of Organization and Equipment (TOE) units or in Table of Distribution (TD) units. Because all TDs had noncombat missions, fixed locations, and a gender coding system, the Army primarily assigned WACs to TD units. Few women went to TOE units because even the service-type units had contingency plans for combat duty. In addition, no code was provided by which TOE commanders could designate spaces for WACs and thus requisition them. Nonetheless, TOE commanders had accepted WACs offered by TAG Assignment Division to fill noncombat MOSs in units not highly vulnerable to early deployment. In January 1962, when a proposed regulation on preparing TOE manning documents was being circulated for comment in the Pentagon, Colonel Rasmuson seized the opportunity to recommend that a code be added to designate spaces that could be filled interchangeably by either a man or a woman—commissioned, warrant, or enlisted. Her suggestion was approved and the revised



COL. MARY LOUISE MILLIGAN RASMUSON *and Lt. Gen. Russell L. Vittrup, Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel, DA, at her retirement at Fort McClellan, 31 July 1962.*

regulation, published in June 1964, included this provision.[57] Although the code did not induce TOE commanders to designate many spaces for WACs or to requisition them properly, the action laid the groundwork for establishing an enforceable, interchangeable system in both TOE and TD manning documents later on.

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[57] DF, DWAC to Chief, Utilization Division, ODCSPER, 19 Jan 62, sub: Review of Proposed Final Draft Revision of SR 310-30-15 and AR 310-32, ODWAC Ref File, AR 310-32, CMH; AR 310-43, 16 Jan 64, Organization and Equipment Authorization Tables, CMH Library. AR 310-31 described three types of TOE units: Category I, Combat; Category II, Combat Support; and Category III, Combat Service Support. WACs had been assigned in the two latter categories. AR 310-32 replaced both SR 310-30-15 and AR 310-31.

On 14 May 1962, the WAC was twenty years old, and WACs around the world celebrated the event. In Washington, Colonel Rasmuson presided over ceremonies honoring General Marshall and Congresswoman Edith Nourse Rogers, then joined the former directors Westray Boyce Leslie, Mary A. Hallaren, and Irene O. Galloway in hosting an anniversary reception at Fort Myer. The next day, President Kennedy received Colonel Rasmuson, the former directors, and director-designate Lt. Col. Emily C. Gorman at the White House to congratulate them on the anniversary.[58] At WAC Center, a torchlight parade, which had become traditional, wound its way from the training battalion area to the Hilltop Service Club where the trainees enjoyed a birthday cake and a talent show. The WAC Officers Association hosted a reception at the Fort McClellan officers club.

On 31 July 1962, Colonel Rasmuson's retirement ceremony was held at the WAC Center. General Vittrup, DCSPER, attended and presented her second award of the Legion of Merit and a scroll for distinguished service from Army Chief of Staff General George H. Decker.[59]

In five and a half years as director, Colonel Rasmuson had accomplished most of the things she wanted to do. WAC strength had increased from 8,300, on 31 January 1957, to 11,100. The Army had opened twenty-six new MOSs for active duty enlisted women and fifty for WAC reservists. The Bolte legislation, under revision, included a provision to eliminate WAC officer promotion restrictions. Congress had granted active duty credit for WAAC time to women with further military service, and it had corrected inequities for WAC reserve officers. Colonel Rasmuson's public relations efforts had enhanced the WAC image and helped convince the public and Army men of the value of the WAC service. Within the Corps, morale and appearance had improved with issue of the modern Army green uniform. But even as Colonel Rasmuson left office, it was evident that new situations on the horizon would precipitate challenges in WAC management and manpower for the incoming director.

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[58] Anniversaries, WAC, the 20th—1962, History Collection, WAC Museum.
[59] Historical Report, WAC C&S, 1962, CMH Ref Br.

CHAPTER VIII

The 1960s—A New Look

Soon after Colonel Rasmuson announced her decision to retire, Secretary of the Army Elvis J. Stahr, Jr., appointed a board, including Colonel Rasmuson, to recommend nominees for her replacement.[1] In February 1962, he announced he had selected Lt. Col. Emily C. Gorman to be the sixth director of the Women's Army Corps. Colonel Gorman was sworn in as director and promoted to colonel on 1 August 1962 by a new secretary of the Army, Cyrus R. Vance. She took the oath of office holding the bible used by Colonel Hobby in 1942 and by each of the subsequent directors.

Colonel Gorman could look back on twenty years' service in the Army. After graduating from WAAC OCS Class No. 5 at the First WAAC Training Center on 10 October 1942, she was assigned as chief of the center's WAAC Administration School. In 1944, she was selected to be the WAC staff director for the surgeon general of the Army, Washington, D.C., and, in August 1945, she was sent to Berlin as executive secretary of the Allied Control Authority. After eighteen months, she returned home and was demobilized. Seven months later, February 1947, she returned to active duty, at Colonel Hallaren's request, to prepare organization and training plans for a new WAC training center. When the WAC bill passed in 1948, she went to Camp Lee as S-3 (training officer). Promoted to lieutenant colonel in November 1950, she served as commander of the basic training battalion before leaving in 1951 to assume duties as WAC staff adviser at Headquarters, Second Army, Fort Meade. She served as deputy director of the WAC from January 1953 until January 1957, then became the deputy chief of the Plans and Training Division, Headquarters, Continental Army Command, Fort Monroe (1957-1960). She was serving as assistant chief of the Foreign Military Training Division, ODCSOPS, at the Pentagon, when selected by Secretary Stahr.

To serve as her deputy director, Colonel Gorman chose Lt. Col. Mary E. Kelly, who was appointed on 3 January 1963. Colonel Odbert, deputy director under Colonel Rasmuson, then retired. Colonel Kelly had served

[1] The top candidates for DWAC by order of seniority were lieutenant colonels Emily C. Gorman, Hortense M. Boutell, Lillian Harris, Lucile G. Odbert, and Anne E. Sweeney.

NEWLY NAMED DEPUTY DIRECTOR, WAC, LT. COL. MARY E. KELLY *with directors of the women's services. Left to right: Capt. Viola B. Sanders, WAVES; Col. Elizabeth Ray, Women in the Air Force; Col. Emily C. Gorman, WAC; Colonel Kelly, and Col. Margaret M. Henderson, Women Marines, 3 January 1963.*

as the director of instruction at the WAC School from 1957 to 1958 and as a staff officer in ODCSLOG from 1958 to 1963.[2]

Because Colonel Gorman, like Colonels Boyce, Hallaren, and Rasmuson, had served as the deputy director, she was well aware of the responsibilities of the director's position. And she was well prepared for them. One reporter summed up her presence this way: "Trim and tiny, with brown eyes, this 52-year-old officer has an easy manner that contrasts with her reputation for strict efficiency." [3] Soon after assuming office, Colonel Gorman set her goals—to increase WAC officer and

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[2] Colonel Odbert served as deputy until Jan 63, when she reached age 53, the mandatory retirement age under existing laws. She retired on 28 Feb 63 and was awarded the Legion of Merit for the second time in her Army career. LtCol E. Marie Baird served as Plans and Policies Officer, ODWAC, 1963-1964, then was transferred to the Personnel Services Division, ODCSPER, where she developed the Army Community Services Program and was its chief until 1966. LtCol Maxene M. Baker replaced LtCol Baird in ODWAC. LtCol Mildred M. Ferguson was assigned ODWAC executive officer in 1965, replacing LtCol Carol Williams. LtCol Frances Weir replaced Colonel Baker in 1966. From 1963 to 1967 SgtMaj Frances M. Tait was administrative NCO.

[3] Ruth Dean, *Washington Star*, 20 Mar 62.

enlisted strength, to raise reenlistment rates, and to improve WAC utilization, job satisfaction, and housing.[4]

WAC Strength—Enlistment

Colonel Gorman had been in office only a few weeks when the Cuban Missile Crisis began to build. In a TV address on 22 August 1962, President Kennedy warned that further shipments of Russian military materiel to Cuba would be interpreted as aggressive action and would not be tolerated. Congress authorized the president to recall 150,000 reservists for one year and to extend enlistments, overseas tours, and active duty commitments.[5] On 21 October, the president announced that he had "unmistakable" evidence that Cuba was receiving jet bombers and missiles from the Soviet Union and was constructing missile launching pads. Such actions presented a threat to the security of the United States; the president recalled thousands of Navy and Air Force reservists to active duty and ordered a naval task force south to establish and enforce a limited blockade of Cuba by diverting ships laden with military equipment or personnel. The U.S. naval facility at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, was reinforced in anticipation of an attack on the base. The Army relocated troops, planes, airborne and artillery units, and amphibious forces throughout the southeastern states, but did not call up reservists. The crisis ended on 27 October when Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev agreed to dismantle and withdraw missiles and jet bombers from Cuba, and President Kennedy pledged not to invade Cuba.[6]

Though intense, the Cuban Missile Crisis did not inspire heavy enlistments in the WAC as the Berlin Crisis had the preceding year. Between July and December 1962, 1,888 women enlisted in the Regular Army (active duty), and 1,973 WAC reservists voluntarily returned to active duty. During the Berlin Crisis, 2,469 women had enlisted in the Regular Army and 197 WAC reservists had returned on active duty.[7] (*See Table 17.*)

The WAC Exhibit Team

To stimulate enlistments, Colonel Gorman enrolled the Corps in the exhibit program that had been operated by the Department of the Army's chief of information since 1963. The exhibits explained what the Army could do, how it trained, and what kind of equipment it used. In 1963, the

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[4] ODCSPER, Annual Historical Summary, FY 1963, WAC Section, pp. 161-64, CMH Ref B.
[5] PL 736, 87th Cong, 2d sess, 3 Oct 62.
[6] ODCSPER Annual Historical Summary, FY 1963; *Facts on File Yearbook 1962*, pp. 339-40, 344, 361-65, 373-78, 385-87, 397-99, 409-10.
[7] ODCSPER, Annual Historical Summary, FY 1963, CMH Ref Br; *Strength of the Army Report* (DCSPER 46), 30 Jun 62 and 30 Jun 63.

UNDER SECRETARY OF THE ARMY STEPHEN AILES *cuts the ribbon to open the WAC Exhibit Unit on the Pentagon concourse with Colonel Gorman, Director, WAC, and enlisted members of the newly formed WAC Exhibit Team, 14 May 1963.*

Army Exhibit Unit at Cameron Station, Virginia, built a mobile exhibit to show Americans how and where the WACs served and how effectively the Army utilized women in a variety of jobs. The WAC exhibit was part of the overall program to educate the public and stimulate goodwill and support for the Army.[8]

TABLE 17—STRENGTH OF THE WOMEN'S SERVICES

	1958	1961	1962	1963 Goals
WAC	7,853	9,369	9,056	9,500
WAVES	5,212	6,431	6,074	7,500
Women Marines	1,645	1,612	1,698	2,500
WAF	7,889	5,959	5,514	7,500
Total	12,599	23,371	22,342	27,000

Source: Secretary of Defense, *Annual Reports* for 1958, 1961, 1962, and 1963

[8] Maj John O. Thisler, "Getting the Show on the Road," *Army Information Digest*, Nov 57, pp. 36–40; Rpt, WAC Staff Advisers Conf, Mar 63, ODWAC Ref File, WAC Staff Advisers Conferences, CMH

PALLAS ATHENE, *insignia of the Women's Army Corps.*

The under secretary of the Army and the director of the WAC unveiled the exhibit at the Pentagon on 14 May 1963, the twenty-first anniversary of the WAC. Colonel Gorman selected Lt. Col. Mildred I. C. Bailey to head a team, consisting of herself and six enlisted women, to accompany the exhibit and answer questions about WAC life, training, and assignments. The women also modeled uniforms, current and past. When not on display, the WAC exhibit was loaded into a gold and white, five-ton truck. On its sides were the Pallas Athene profile and the theme of the exhibit, "The Women's Army Corps—Serving with Pride and Dignity." [9]

While other Army exhibits toured the country for six months or a year, the WAC Exhibit Unit was on tour for six and a half years. The women assigned to the exhibit received training as models before joining the team and remained with it for only short tours so that their careers would not be injured by an assignment outside their military specialty. Lt. Col. Iona S. Connolly replaced Colonel Bailey in 1968 and remained with the team until it was discontinued. In 1969, Congress reduced the Army's funds for public information activities, and the WAC unit was deactivated in December of that year. In addition to praise from their superiors, team

[9] WAC Exhibit Team, Biannual Reports to the Chief of Information, DA, 1963, ODWAC Ref File, Exhibit Team, CMH.

members received the Freedoms Foundation's George Washington Honor Medal for the best government unit activity in 1968.[10]

WAC Strength—Reenlistment

High reenlistment rates are as important to Army strength as a good year of recruiting. In 1959, the then new Army chief of staff, General Lyman L. Lemnitzer, had set reenlistment goals by asking the major commanders to reenlist one of every three first-term soldiers and four of every five career soldiers.[11] To promote the reenlistments, a new option had been added permitting men and women to reenlist for training in a specific career group; WACs could also reenlist for recruiting duty or for their own vacancies. In 1960, an option called "taking a short to re-up" was introduced. Under it, men and women could reenlist after they had completed two years of a three-year enlistment or two-thirds of any enlistment period. The option owed half of its popularity to the fact that it gave men and women an opportunity to enter a different career field by reenlisting for a specific service school. The other half could be attributed to the cash reenlistment bonus.[12] The new options helped raise the WAC reenlistment rate for first termers by 6 percent and career reenlistments by 1 percent in 1960. Then the rates began to fall. (*See Table 18.*)

At the director's request, the Enlisted Personnel Directorate (EPD) in the Office of Personnel Operations (OPO) initiated a study late in 1962 to determine why the WAC reenlistment rate was falling. The study presented some illuminating facts. Of 181 MOSs open to enlisted women, the Army actually utilized them in only 94. Ten career management fields were open to women, but 95 percent of the WACs served in only two: administration and medical care and treatment. Many factors contributed to this distribution; among them were the commanders' failure to designate positions for women, which resulted in a lack of promotion opportunities for enlisted women, and a lack of privacy in bachelor housing, particularly for senior NCOs. Approximately 90 percent of the WACs, compared to 54 percent of the men, were unmarried and lived in barracks.[13]

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[10] Ibid., 1963-1969. The costumes, uniforms, and special equipment used by the exhibit unit are in the WAC Museum, Fort McClellan, AL.

[11] Ltr, CofS to Maj Coms, 7 Aug 59, sub: Retention Objectives, ODWAC Ref File, I Spaces, CMH.

[12] AR 601-210, 27 Apr 59, Qualifications for Enlistment and Reenlistment in the Regular Army, CMH Library.

[13] Staff Study, Procurement Br, EDP (Maj Jennie W. Fea), 13 Feb 63, sub: "Reenlistment of WAC Personnel," ODWAC Ref File, Studies, CMH.

TABLE 18—WAC Reenlistment Rates

[Percent]

Fiscal Year	First Termers	Careerists
1959	36.5	81.5
1960	42.5	82.5
1961	40.2	82.5
1962	37.5	85.3
1963	33.8	82.5
1964	34.8	79.0
1965	45.6	76.2
1966	49.9	75.4

Source: Strength of the Army Report (DCSPER 46), 30 Jun 60 and 30 Jun 66.

The study concluded, "The [WAC] reenlistment rate is adversely affected by limited MOS utilization, lack of promotional opportunities, restrictive and sometimes unappealing living conditions, and an inadequate understanding by many enlisted members of the purpose of the Corps' existence." It recommended that more MOSs be opened to women; that interchangeable TD spaces be approved; that more promotion opportunities be provided for WACs; that a senior enlisted woman be assigned to the EPD to provide career information and to assign WAC NCOs; and that housing conditions for women be improved.[14] On 27 May 1963, Colonel Kelly and Maj. Jennie W. Fea, the reenlistment study project officer in EPD, briefed Maj. Gen. Stephen R. Hanmer, the chief of OPO, on the study's findings. General Hanmer agreed "to expedite action" on the interchangeable space concept, to assign a WAC E-9 (sergeant major) to the Senior Enlisted Control Division, EPD, and to support the director's efforts to improve housing for women.[15]

Improvements did follow. In April 1964, the Army opened to active duty women sixteen repair and maintenance MOSs previously authorized only for mobilization, and it provided training quotas for the women. In 1966, EPD established the position of WAC NCO Assignment Adviser (E-9) as a career monitor for enlisted women in the top three enlisted grades.[16] Between 1962 and 1966, the WAC reenlistment rate for first termers increased by a little over 12 percent. (*See Table 18.*)

[14] Ibid.

[15] Memo, Maj J. W. Fea, Procurement Br, to DepDir, EPD, 31 May 63, sub: Briefing Reenlistment of WAC Personnel, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, Reenlistment of WAC Personnel, CMH.

[16] DA Msg 88402, 5 May 64 (ODWAC Ref File, Reenlistment, CMH) opened the 16 repair and maintenance MOS. The NCOs assigned as WAC NCO Assignment Adviser, EPD, were SgtMaj Betty L. Adams (1966-69), MSgt Mary K. Johnson (1969-71), SgtMaj Grace L. Mueller (1971-73), SgtMaj Mildred C. Kelly (1973-75). In 1975 after a reorganization, the functions of this position were absorbed by another division in EPD.

Interchangeable Spaces

At the time that General Hanmer agreed to expedite action on the interchangeable space concept, the idea already had some acceptance. For the WAC, it would help solve one of the Corps' biggest problems—lack of authorized spaces for WACs. In 1962, the DCSPER had received a recommendation through the Army Suggestion Program proposing that only those TD positions that specifically required a man or specifically required a woman be identified for fill by gender; the balance of the spaces could be coded for fill interchangeably by either a man or a woman. The DCSPER had forwarded the proposal to the Enlisted Personnel Directorate for action and had sent a copy to the director of the WAC. Colonel Gorman had recognized the potential of the idea and, on 16 August 1962, had asked EPD to develop an interchangeable space plan to increase the flexibility of WAC assignments and to provide more TD spaces for WACs to fill.[17]

Lt. Col. Irene M. Sorrough was assigned to develop the detailed concept for integrating the idea into the Army's replacement system.[18] This effort required adding an "interchangeable" category to the identification codes describing TD positions. A number of personnel management experts were consulted about the workability of such a change, while program analysts ensured the data would be accepted by the automatic data processing system.

Ultimately, the concept developed by Colonel Sorrough gave commanders a method of identifying more WAC spaces without reducing their control over their TDs or requisitions. The code "X" was used whenever a TD space could be filled interchangeably by an enlisted man or woman. Codes "A" and "E" continued to be used when a space could reasonably be filled *only* by an enlisted woman (A) or *only* by an enlisted man (E). An increased flexibility was given to the plan with the revision of WAC housing policy to allow women in grades E–5 through E–9 to be assigned to installations or activities that did not have a WAC detachment.[19] No interchangeable code was included in the plan for WAC officer spaces. Officer spaces on TDs included a branch code when specialized training or background was needed. When no specific branch background was needed, the position was coded "NO" to indicate an officer from any branch with the proper MOS could fill the job. Such

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[17] Ltr, HQ, Third Army, to CONARC, 23 May 62, sub: Employee Suggestion No. M–632–62, DA Form 2440 and 1045, and 1st Ind CONARC (ATPER-MC 23 May 62) 320.2j, 22 Jun 62, to TAG, DA; DF, EPD (Requirements Office) to TAG, 2 Aug 62, sub: Plan for Improved Operations of the U.S. Army Replacement System for WAC Enlisted Personnel; DF, DWAC to Dir, EPD, 16 Aug 62, sub: Employee Suggestion. All in ODWAC Ref File, I Spaces, CMH.

[18] MFR, LtCol Odbert, Dep DWAC, 17 Jul 62, ODWAC Ref File, I Spaces, CMH.

[19] Change 1, 20 Jun 63, to AR 600–100, 8 Jul 58, WAC Regulations, par. 5d(2)(d). Up to this time, only WAC recruiters and a few senior NCOs could be assigned where there was no WAC detachment.

LT. COL. IRENE M. SORROUGH *(Photograph taken in 1955.)*

spaces were called "branch immaterial," and WAC officers filled a number of them.[20]

On 18 February 1963, Colonel Gorman approved the concept of the plan and recommended it to the DCSPER: "The proposed plan will encourage utilization of enlisted women in a broader range of military occupational specialties . . . and will give commanders increased flexibility in the assignment of all enlisted personnel."[21] In June 1963, the new DCSPER, Lt. Gen. James L. Richardson, approved the concept and directed EPD to prepare the plan for approval by the chief of staff. As the plan circulated through the Pentagon for final coordination, Colonel Gorman dubbed it the "sexless TD plan." In July 1964, the chief of staff approved it, and a DA circular announced that the interchangeable concept would gradually be implemented throughout the Army. Before a revised regulation on preparation of TDs was issued in April 1965, a late change eliminated the letter "X" and substituted "I" to designate interchangeable spaces on TDs. In October 1965, Colonel Gorman was pleased to tell the WAC staff advisers that the major commanders had begun to designate "I" spaces on their TDs to provide for greater utilization of enlisted women.[22]

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[20] AR 614-185, 22 Nov 57, Requisitions for Officers, CMH Library.

[21] DF, ODWAC to DCSPER, 18 Feb 63, sub: Plan for Improved Operation of U.S. Army Replacement System in WAC Personnel, ODWAC Ref File, I Spaces, CMH.

[22] DA Cir 616-1, 25 Aug 64, Improved Operation of U.S. Army Replacement System for Enlisted WAC Personnel; Ltr, DCSPER to CONUS Army and overseas commanders, 22 Dec 64, sub

By June 1966, Army reports indicated that the interchangeable code had been favorably received and had noticeably increased the number of WAC spaces on TDs. In 1962, the Army strength report had shown 6,500 spaces for enlisted women versus an actual strength of 8,560 enlisted women. On 30 June 1966, the report showed 20,500 interchangeable spaces plus 2,900 "A" spaces for enlisted women only; actual enlisted WAC strength was 9,179.[23] The new scheme had solved the problem of an insufficient number of spaces on manning documents for the training, assignment, and promotion of enlisted women.

As time went by, the interchangeable system continued to be successful. In 1970, a regulation added an interchangeable code for positions that could be filled either by a male or WAC commissioned officer (code "K") or by a male or WAC warrant officer (code "P").[24] In 1972, commanders of TOE units received instructions to use the same codes in preparing manning documents and reporting strength statistics to Department of the Army.[25] At the end of December 1974, the report showed a total of 420,315 "I" and "A" spaces (239,758 TOE spaces; 180,557 TD spaces). Actual WAC enlisted strength on that date was 33,545, with a projected increase to 50,400 at the end of FY 1978.[26]

Housing

The WAC reenlistment study had also drawn attention to the importance of privacy in housing facilities and reenlistment decisions by career WACs. Lack of privacy affected morale, which, in turn, affected reenlistment rates. To the women, privacy mattered much more than whether the buildings were modern or air-conditioned.

Men and women expressed different concerns regarding housing. Enlisted men seldom asked for privacy or considered their barracks a home. Women, on the other hand, wanted a secure, private place to call home, with kitchens, reception rooms, and laundry facilities. For building security some post commanders provided only signs that read, "off limits to male personnel." Some provided locked doors that opened from the inside with a crash bar. When commanders could not provide adequate security, some units bought their own locks or kept a night watch in their own barracks; most improvised kitchens, reception rooms, and laundry

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Reflection of New Identity Code for Positions to be Filled by Either Enlisted Men or Enlisted Women in Tables of Distribution; AR 310-41, 30 Oct 64, Tables of Distribution; and Memo, DWAC to WAC Staff Advisers, 1 Oct 65. All in ODWAC Ref File, I Spaces, CMH.

[23] CSGPA 45 (OPO 45) Rpts, Inventory and Projection of Army Strength, 30 Jun 61 and 30 Jun 66. Numbered CSGPA 45 in 1961, the report was renumbered OPO-45, same title, in 1962.

[24] AR 310-49, 2 Mar 70, The Army Authorization and Documents System (TAADS), CMH Library.

[25] Ltr, ACSFOR (DAFE-OTD-AC) to Maj Coms, 29 Jun 72, sub: Expansion of the Women's Army Corps, ODWAC Ref File, WAC Expansion 1972, CMH.

[26] *Strength of the Army Report* (DCSPER 46), 31 Dec 74.

rooms. Many WAC unit commanders allowed their permanent-party women some freedom in using bedspreads, dresser scarfs, and rugs and in displaying personal items.

Since the early 1940s, the Army had prescribed a distance separating male and female barracks. A World War II regulation prescribed that WAC barracks be at least 150 feet from male barracks or be separated by an intervening structure. After the WAC became a permanent part of the Army in 1948, policy dictated that women's barracks be a reasonable distance from men's barracks and that they be within walking distance of the women's workplaces. The local post engineer decided what a reasonable distance was. However, whenever an opportunity arose for obtaining a newer or a larger building for a WAC detachment, whether the building was next door or across the street from a male unit, both the WAC commander and the staff adviser recommended that the post commander waive the restriction. In 1968, the policy on separating male and WAC barracks was dropped from Army regulations.[27]

Married WACs had housing problems, too. If a WAC was married to a military man, the couple's eligibility for post housing depended on the husband's rank. If quarters on post were not available, the couple rented a house or an apartment in the community and paid for it with the husband's quarters allowance, at the rate described as "basic allowance for quarters for personnel without dependents." A military wife was not considered a dependent, but a civilian wife was. Therefore, the man with a civilian wife received a quarters allowance at the higher rate for personnel with dependents. A military woman who married a civilian was not eligible for quarters on post, nor could she receive dependents' quarters allowance to live off post unless her husband was, in fact, dependent upon her for over 50 percent of his support. A military couple with bona fide dependents received on-post housing when it was available. If on-post housing was not available and they lived off post, each could draw quarters allowance at the "with dependents" rate.[28]

Efforts to improve bachelor housing involved setting standards for new military housing and for adequacy of existing on-post housing. In addition to fiscal considerations, Congress decided standards of new construction; the secretary of defense set guidelines for the adequacy of buildings, and post commanders made decisions about the adequacy of buildings on their installations. For new construction or renovation, Congress annually allotted funds for specific projects at specific posts under the Military Construction Program, Army.[29]

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[27] SR 420-105-1, 27 Sep 49, Buildings and Structure, and AR 420-70, 3 Feb 55, as revised, CMH Library; Treadwell, *The Women's Army Corps*, pp. 515-16.

[28] AR 37-104, 2 Dec 57, Pay and Allowances for Military Personnel, as revised, CMH Library.

[29] PL 241, 85th Cong, 1st sess, 30 Aug 57; DOD Directive 4165.34, 26 Feb 58, as revised, CMH Library. Also see AR 210-45, 16 Sep 48, Family Housing; AR 210-10, 8 Jun 54, Installations and Administration; AR 210-14, 10 Dec 58, Quarters and Rental Allowances, as revised; AR 210-16, 30 Jun 67, Bachelor Housing—Officer, Enlisted, and Civilian Employees, as revised.

Within the rigidities of this system, housing improvements emerged slowly. The Army authorized improvements, and commanders carried them out when they had the funds to do so. In 1953, the Army authorized the installation of partitions between every two sleeping areas in WAC barracks and, within each resultant cubicle, the addition of clothing wardrobes and electrical outlets. Common areas contained cooking facilities. Ten years later, as those improvements were being completed, the Army authorized post engineers to install free washers and dryers in all bachelor housing when funds were available.[30]

WAC officers routinely had more privacy than the enlisted women. Single WAC officers lived in bachelor officers quarters for women (WBOQ) on post. Married officers or those with dependents lived in family quarters on post. When such quarters were not available, they lived off post and received the quarters allowance for service personnel with dependents. In a WBOQ, bachelor officers in the grade of major and above were assigned suites—two rooms (living room, bedroom) and a bath; captains and below had individual rooms and shared a centrally located bathroom.[31]

Colonel Gorman encouraged the members of DACOWITS to push for improvements in women's housing and living conditions. A DACOWITS committee surveyed housing in the field, obtained suggestions from the servicewomen concerned, and consulted with the directors of the women's services and with military and civilian housing experts. In June 1964, Comdr. Beatrice M. Truitt, USN, DACOWITS executive secretary, submitted the study, along with DACOWITS recommendations, to Secretary McNamara. The recommendations, while primarily concerned with improving housing conditions for women, also covered housing for servicemen.[32]

A major breakthrough in military housing had occurred in 1963. In the Military Pay Act of that year, Congress, for the first time, had authorized bachelor officers in the grade of major and above to live off post and receive a basic allowance for quarters when adequate housing was not available on post.[33] Male and female officers whose duties did not require

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[30] Ltr, TAG to Maj Coms and Chiefs of Technical Services, 25 Mar 53, sub: Housing Facilities for Women in the Service, ODWAC Ref File, Housing, CMH; AR 420-70, 3 Feb 55, Repairs and Utilities, and DOD Directive 4165.43, 28 Jun 63, Provision of Furnishings in Personal Quarters, Sec VI B.1, CMH Library.

[31] AR 210-10, 8 Jun 54 and Change 1, 27 Oct 54, Installations and Administration, CMH Library. Male officers in BOQs had similar living arrangements.

[32] Rpt, DACOWITS, Background on Enlisted Housing 1951-1964, 19 Jun 64, ODWAC Ref File, Housing, CMH.

[33] PL 132, 88th Cong, 1st sess, 2 Oct 63. Prior to this, the Military Pay Act of 1963, bachelor officers received no allowance for off-post quarters if housing, adequate or inadequate, was available on post.

them to live on post usually took advantage of this opportunity to rent or buy a house or rent an apartment in the local community.

The new law inspired a number of studies aimed at extending the provision to cover other military personnel. By the end of 1964, Secretary McNamara had received three major studies on the subject—the DACOWITS study, an Army study, and a tri-service study. Secretary McNamara appointed a new study group to evaluate the reports and present recommendations, and, based on the new proposals, in 1967 he issued directives applying to all services. The directives increased the amount of living space allowed each grade in new housing and authorized enlisted personnel in the grade of E–7 and higher and all officers to live off post and receive a quarters allowance when the Army could not provide adequate accommodations under the new standards:

E–7 through E–9: A private sleeping room.

Captains and up: An unshared bedroom, living room, and bathroom; access to a kitchen.

Lieutenants and warrant officers: An unshared combination living and bedroom and a bathroom.[34]

Meanwhile, in 1963, the DACOWITS had proposed an innovative design concept for future barracks. In new barracks construction, a wing should be reserved and designed for women that would include partitions in latrines, a kitchen, laundry room, and date room. The proposal, attributed to Colonel Gorman, would, if implemented, reduce housing costs and ensure that each post had housing available for about 100 enlisted women. Congress seldom approved new construction for WAC detachments because it was uneconomical to build a barracks when the average WAC population at a post was between 75–100 women. Male barracks, on the other hand, usually housed between 250 and 500 men and could be cost-justified. Therefore, Colonel Gorman, desirous of obtaining modern buildings for the WACs, suggested WAC wings in male barracks. "We'll live with the men," she remarked, then quickly added a proviso for separate entrances for women.[35]

The idea was not entirely new. Posts with only a few WAC officers frequently assigned the women to live on one floor or wing of a bachelor officers quarters. In Pirmasens, Germany, the ninety-woman WAC detachment lived on the upper floor of an up-to-then male barracks in a combination of open bays, squad rooms, and individual rooms. Enlisted

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[34] Rpt, ASD(M) Task Force, Bachelor Accommodations, May 66, ODWAC Ref File, Housing, CMH; DOD Directive 4270.1, 16 Nov 67, Construction Criteria Manual; AR 415-31, 21 Feb 67, Basic Facilities and Space Allowances for Peacetime Missions at Army Installations; DOD Directive 4165.47, 6 Apr 67, Adequacy Assignment, Utilization, and Inventory of Bachelor Housing; and AR 210-16, 30 Jun 67, Bachelor Housing—Officer and Civilian Employees. All in CMH Library.

[35] Rpt, DCOWITS, Meeting of the AD HOC Committee on Continuing Projects, 16 May 63, ODWAC Ref File, Housing, CMH.

men still occupied the first and second floors of the building. Access to the women's floor was controlled by the WAC detachment. Despite such precedents, Colonel Gorman's suggestion did not receive favorable consideration. Evidence of a more progressive attitude for future housing programs, however, began to appear. An article in the 7 August 1963 *Army Times* discussed an "emphasis in Army planning . . . on privacy in future BOQ construction." In addition to discussing privacy, the article predicted that in the future "all BOQ units on a post will be placed at one site" and that consequently "there will be no more separate and segregated projects for male and female officers." [36]

Further progress in housing concepts came when Congress approved construction of a major cantonment area at Fort Myer, Virginia. Here barracks would be built to house enlisted members of all services, and post services (chapels, post exchanges, commissaries, clubs, transportation, bowling alleys, and tennis courts) would be located within walking distance of the barracks. In the FY 1965 budget, Congress authorized the funds to build the Tri-Service Enlisted Women's Barracks for 700 enlisted women of the Army, Navy, and Air Force. Women Marines in the area would continue to live in barracks at Henderson Hall, the headquarters of the U.S. Marine Corps. The new barracks made it possible to discontinue five small enlisted women's units in the Washington, D.C., area.[37]

Colonel Gorman and Colonel Kelly met frequently with representatives of the Army Corps of Engineers to discuss the size of bedrooms, closets, shower rooms, laundry rooms, company offices, and visitor reception areas. Because the barracks was the first of its kind, the director knew that the design and construction standards would set a precedent. Her demands for the greatest possible space for privacy, storage, and convenience brought her in constant conflict with the engineers whose criteria were "adequacy" in comfort but "perfection" in engineering specifications. The engineers won all the arguments on size of rooms and closets and placement of offices and storage rooms. But despite inadequacies in those areas, the huge H-shaped building was air-conditioned, had an intercommunications system, game rooms, a lounge, and recreation areas. Each floor had a kitchenette and public telephones. Each wing on each floor had a central bathroom and laundry. Each woman had a private mail box.

The ground-breaking ceremony for the new barracks was held on 24 May 1966, a few months before Colonel Gorman left office. As a matter of principle, Colonel Gorman refused to attend the ceremony. "I'll only

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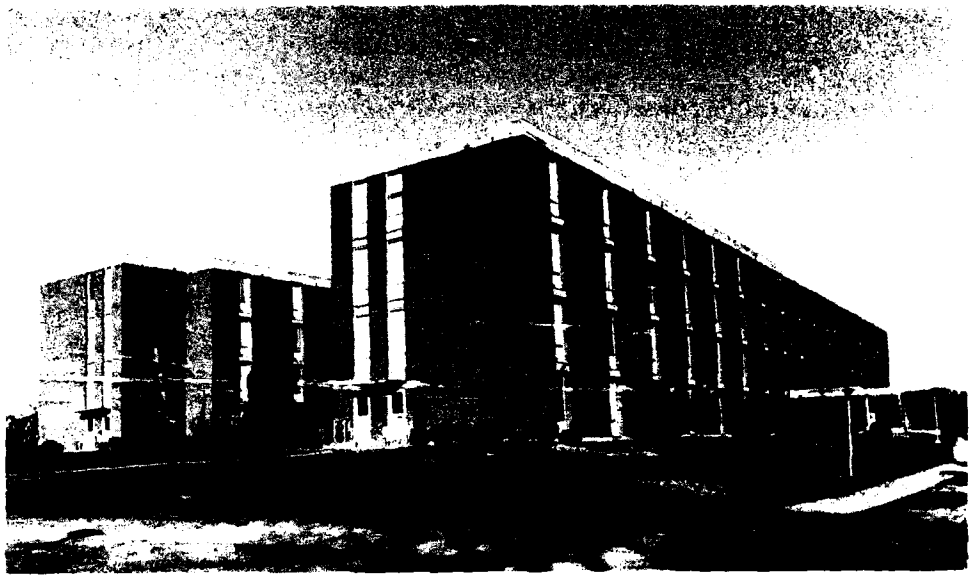
[36] Randall Shoemaker, "Better BOQs Seen in Latest DA Plan," *Army Times*, 7 Aug 63.

[37] US Congress, House, Committee on Appropriations, Subcommittee on Military Construction for FY 1965, *Hearings, Military Construction Program, Part I, Department of the Army*, 88th Cong, 2d sess, 1964, p. 192-3; PL 576, 88th Cong, 2d sess, 2 Sep 64. That year, Congress provided $2.4 million for the Tri-Service Women's Barracks; for FY 66, it added another $278,000.



WOMEN'S TRI-SERVICE BARRACKS, FORT MYER, *April 1968.*

go if the Chief of Staff orders it." She later commented, "Housing—a raging battle I did not win." [38]

Management of the women's tri-service barracks was assigned to the Army. The WAC detachment commander at Fort Myer, Maj. Nelda Ruth Cade, was appointed commandant of the building. The women moved into the building in March 1968; each service had an assigned section of the building. Junior officers of the other women's services assisted Major Cade in counseling the women and managing activities in the building. A WAC first sergeant, Anna M. Armour, assisted her in her command duties—administration, discipline, living arrangements, and housekeeping. The residents followed the regulations and policies of their parent service regarding personnel management, wearing of the uniform, military courtesy, and other procedures. When four women were assigned to one room, beds were double-decked to make room for chairs, TV stands, lockers, and desks. After the Army authorized NCOs to live off post, the women in the barracks inherited more room, and beds were undecked. Like Colonel Gorman, Major Cade believed the women deserved space for a chair, writing table, and a lamp. She accused the decisionmakers of failure to "understand that singles want the same amount of space and comforts that married people do." She wrote that the decisionmakers "assume that single people spend their time at the clubs or sitting around in dayrooms watching TV." [39]

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[38] Interv, Col Gorman with the author, 9 Jun 80.
[39] Ltr, Maj Nelda Ruth Cade to author, 7 Aug 80.

Though bachelor housing continued to need more attention, progress had been made. DOD decided a housing allowance for off-post living was more cost effective and efficient for the top enlisted grades and officers than building quarters for them on military posts. The director of the WAC had changed a long-standing policy and had permitted women in the grade of E–5 and higher to be assigned to installations that had no WAC detachment but could provide other housing or an off-post housing allowance. All of the services had authorized more living space for individuals and had acknowledged a trend toward modern living arrangements in building the Tri-Service Cantonment Area at Fort Myer. With these improvements, married military couples and women with civilian husbands could hope for a resolution of their housing allowance problems in the future.

GAO and Early Separations

If there were anything the director did not welcome in 1964, it was a General Accounting Office (GAO) investigation—especially after having launched a program to increase enlistments and improve the WAC image. In February, she received some probing calls from GAO, the congressional watchdog agency, about WAC strength, training, and discharge rates. A quick check revealed that the other women's service directors had received similar calls. Around Washington, a hint of interest by GAO usually heralded an investigation accompanied by adverse publicity. The bad news officially arrived in March. The director of GAO advised the service secretaries that his agency would examine the high rate of discharge among enlisted women before they had completed their first enlistment.[40]

GAO began its investigation in early April. From a list of all the women (2,291) who had entered Army basic training during 1960, they selected 600 (20 percent) at random and traced their history of military service through Army Finance Center records. A similar procedure was followed in each of the other services. The results (*see Table 19*) showed that 64.6 percent, or almost two out of every three enlisted women, left the Army before completing their first enlistment. Losses for pregnancy, unsuitability, and marriage accounted for 42, 33, and 22 percent of the discharges, respectively.[41]

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[40] Memo, DWAC to Chief, Coordination Branch, ODCSPER, 4 Feb 64, sub: Inquiry from General Accounting Office Representatives, and Ltrs, Assoc Dir, GAO, to SecArmy, 3 Mar 64, no sub, and Under SecArmy to Assoc Dir, GAO, 21 Apr 64, ODWAC Ref File, Investigations, CMH. GAO, headed by comptroller general of the US, provides Congress with audits and reports on financial and management activities in the federal government.

[41] Draft Rpt, GAO, Dec 64, sub: Waste of Funds Resulting from Failure of Majority of Enlisted Women to Complete First Tour of Duty, ODWAC Ref File, Investigations, CMH.

TABLE 19—ENLISTED WOMEN DISCHARGED BEFORE COMPLETING A FIRST ENLISTMENT

	Army	Navy	Air Force	Marine Corps
Cases Reviewed	600	550	460	80
Discharged Before Completing Enlistment	388	408	319	61
Percent Discharged Before Completing Enlistment	64.6	74.1	69.3	76.2

Source: GAO, Draft Rpt, Dec 64, sub: Waste of Funds Resulting from Failure of Majority of Enlisted Women to Complete First Tour of Duty.

The GAO report also discussed the financial impact of the discharges. The services, it said, spent $12 million a year to replace women discharged before completing their initial enlistment contracts. The average first-term enlistee spent fourteen months on active duty. Replacement costs included a per capita share of funds spent by the services on recruitment, training, pay and allowances, transportation, separation, general support, and specialist training. GAO noted that in each of the fiscal years 1961 through 1963, the services discharged as many women as they had in 1960, primarily for reasons of marriage, pregnancy, and unsuitability. Turnover was not declining. In its summary, GAO wrote: "Accordingly we recommend that the Secretary of Defense take action . . . to materially reduce the high turnover rate for enlisted women and, if this proves to be infeasible, to consider filling such positions through the Federal civil service system." [42]

The services unanimously rejected the suggestion. The Air Force did not "agree with the recommendations and conclusions of the draft report." It maintained that "no attempt was made by the General Accounting Office to validate their conclusions and recommendations" and that "the $12 million replacement cost . . . is overstated by an estimated $1.5 million." Air Force Secretary Eugene M. Zuckert even referenced a report issued by the President's Commission on the Status of Women in October 1963 that showed that, because of family responsibilities, civil service women under age 25 in the lower grades of the stenographic and clerical field had a higher turnover rate than men—almost three women left their jobs for every man who left. He also presented statistics to show that when overtime was included, civilian workers cost more on a per capita basis than military personnel.[43] The Navy's reply pointed out that

[42] Ibid., p. 20.

[43] Memo, SecAF to ASD(M), 12 Jan 65, sub: GAO Report—Failure of Enlisted Women to Complete First Tour of Duty (DOD, OSD Case No. 2201), ODWAC Ref File, GAO Reports, CMH

enlisted women filled military positions more likely to be filled by enlisted men than civilian women. "Women fill military billets in the Shore Establishment in the activities to which they are assigned within authorized military allowances: they are included within the authorized strength of their service, a strength based on known and approved military requirements." [44] The Army noted that long-range losses would not be reduced if enlisted women were replaced by civilian women. "Statistics maintained during FY 64 indicate that 94 percent of losses due to marriage and pregnancy and 98 percent of the losses due to unsuitability for military service were first term enlistees. Therefore while losses due to these causes are relatively high among this group, they are extremely low among those serving second and subsequent enlistments." [45] The Defense Department answered GAO in March 1965. As a result of the report, the services began a concerted effort to reduce the high turnover and initiated a project to search out positions that did not require military incumbents and to convert them to civilian spaces.[46]

In a final report issued on 31 May 1966, GAO again suggested that by substituting civilian for military women, the services could recruit fully trained women under twenty-five who had lower turnover rates. Also, personnel losses would be less because civilians would not be subject to the services' physical and disciplinary standards for retention.[47] The Defense Department responded that the services had instituted stricter rules regarding discharge on marriage and had improved screening techniques to eliminate potentially unsuccessful recruits; these changes had reduced losses during FY 1966. As to replacing military women with civilians, high draft calls during this period had made it necessary for DOD "to take full advantage of available manpower resources, such as enlisted women." The services, however, would continue to study and improve personnel policies to reduce turnover of enlisted women.[48] On the whole, the GAO study caused more concern to the WAC leadership than to the lower ranks. There was little sign of public interest, and the inquiry did not injure WAC recruiting.

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[44] Memo, Dir, Women in the Navy, Capt Viola B. Sanders, to Chief of Naval Personnel, 7 Jan 65, sub: GAO Draft Report on Failure of Majority of Enlisted Women to Complete First Tour of Duty, ODWAC Ref File, GAO Reports, CMH.

[45] Memo, Under SecArmy (Personnel Management) to Dep Asst SecDef (DASD), 27 Jan 65, sub GAO Report—Failure of Majority of Enlisted Women to Complete First Tour of Duty, ODWAC Ref File, GAO Reports, CMH.

[46] Ltr, ASD(M) to Harold H. Rubin, Assoc Dir, GAO, 2 Mar 65, no subject, ODWAC Ref File, GAO Reports, CMH.

[47] Final Rpt, GAO, Review of Extent of Completion of First Tours of Duty by Enlisted Women in the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps, 31 May 66, ODWAC Ref File, GAO Reports, CMH.

[48] Memo, Dep Under SecArmy to ASD(M), 30 Jun 66, sub: GAO Final Report "Extent of Completion of First Tours of Duty by Enlisted Women in the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps (OSD Case #2201), and Ltr, ASD(M) to Hon Elmer B. Staats, Comptroller General of the United States, 8 Sep 66, ODWAC Ref File, GAO Reports, CMH

Although the publicity produced by the GAO study did not prove harmful, Colonel Gorman was forced to make several changes in women's discharge policies. After 1 July 1965, women could be discharged for marriage only after they had (1) completed one year in their current enlistment and any accumulated service obligations and (2) been denied reassignment with their husbands—either at the same post or close enough to establish a joint household. In June 1966, statistics showed that the rate of discharge had declined less than a percentage point; a more drastic step had to be taken. Colonel Gorman announced that discharge on marriage was eliminated for women who enlisted or reenlisted on or after 20 June 1966. Losses then declined from 36.7 percent in FY 1965 to 31.1 percent in FY 1969.[49]

The procedures for screening women applicants for enlistment that had gone into effect in 1963 were strictly enforced. After the GAO investigation began, Colonel Gorman asked the Standards and Systems Branch, OPO, to develop three additional forms for use in the recruit screening process—WAC Applicant Scholastic Record, WAC Applicant Employment Record, and WAC Applicant Personal History Questionnaire. The branch also developed a "Guide for the WAC Applicant." Using it, a recruiter could evaluate the potential recruit's personality before recommending that her application be approved by the commander of a recruiting station.[50]

Losses for unsuitability dropped as a result of emphasis on the screening process and the new forms. At the WAC Staff Advisers Conference in 1964, Colonel Kelly reported that the percentage of WAC losses for unsuitability had fallen from 12.7 percent in FY 1962 to 11.7 percent in FY 1964. By the end of FY 1969, such losses dropped to 9.1 percent.[51]

In addition to her work on projects and issues such as reenlistment programs, the interchangeable code, bachelor housing, and the GAO investigation, Colonel Gorman visited WACs stationed in the European and Far East commands as well as in detachments throughout the United States; conducted a myriad of public relations activities; and participated regularly in graduations and special events at the WAC Center and WAC

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[49] DA Msg 72182, 29 Jun 65; Change 5, 25 Jun 65, to AR 635-210, 17 Feb 61, Discharge of Enlisted Personnel for Marriage, Pregnancy and Parenthood; DA Msg 77037, 20 Jun 66; AR 635-200, 15 Jul 66, Personnel Separations, Enlisted Personnel; *Strength of the Army Report* (DCSPER 46), Part II, Gains and Losses, for 30 Jun 69. All in CMH Library. Change 10, 12 May 69, to AR 635-200 reinstated discharge on marriage.

[50] DA Ltr to Maj Coms, 3 Apr 63, sub: Proposed Screening System for Selected WAC Applicants, and DA Ltr to CG, CONARC, 5 Dec 63, same sub, ODWAC Ref File, Recruit Screening, CMH; Rpt, WAC Staff Advisers Conf, Mar 63, p. 5-6, ODWAC Ref File, WAC Staff Advisers Conference, CMH.

[51] Rpt, WAC Staff Advisers Conf, 1964, p. 7, ODWAC Ref File, WAC Staff Advisers Conference, CMH; AR 601-210, 16 Sep 64, Qualifications and Procedures for Processing Applicants for Enlistment and Reenlistment in the Regular Army, and *Strength of the Army Report* (DCSPER 46), Part II, Gains and Losses, 30 Jun 69, CMH Library.

School. She also initiated the effort to remove promotion restrictions on WAC officers by expanding the grade structure.

Officer Careers and Restrictions

Colonel Gorman took an approach different from that of her predecessors in trying to obtain higher promotions for WAC officers. Colonel Rasmuson, for example, had presented a study, supported by the 1956 JAG decision, to show that a change in policy on the matter would allow the Army to promote women other than the director to colonel. The study brought no change. Colonel Gorman, on the other hand, set out to achieve the promotions by increasing the authorized grade structure of the WAC.

She initiated her action with a memo to the DCSPER on 23 September 1963. In it, she recommended that the WAC be authorized 3 colonels (up from 1), 85 lieutenant colonels (up from 75), 20 sergeants major (up from 12), and 80 master (or first) sergeants (up from 65).[52] She supported her request with a September 1962 confirmation of the 1956 JAG ruling and with charts showing the low rate of promotion of WAC officers—for example, the selection rate of male officers to temporary lieutenant colonel was 61.4 percent, but for WAC officers, 4.9 percent. She also cited the low number of WAC NCOs in the top enlisted grades—for example, 14,000 male E-8s versus 80 WAC E-8s. Within ODCSPER, only the director of military personnel refused to concur in the increase. He argued three points: an increased WAC structure required deducting spaces from the male branches; WAC officers lacked the versatility of male officers who could serve in administrative or combat positions; and no military requirements existed for the recommended increase.[53] The manpower director, however, believed that the request should be approved because the interchangeability concept had been approved for manning documents and provided ample spaces to assign WACs in all grades.[54] Nonetheless, after studying Colonel Gorman's proposal, the DCSPER disapproved it on 30 January 1964, commenting that it was "not favorably considered as there has been no demonstrated requirement for an increased grade structure."[55]

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[52] Memo, DWAC to DCSPER, 23 Sep 63, sub: Officer and Enlisted Grade Structure for the Women's Army Corps as of 30 June 1965, ODWAC Ref File, Removing Promotion Restrictions, CMH.

[53] DF, Actg Dir, Military Personnel, to DWAC, 16 Sep 63, sub: Officer and Enlisted Grade Structure for the Women's Army Corps as of 30 June 1965, ODWAC Ref File, Removing Promotion Restrictions, CMH.

[54] Memo, Dir, Manpower, to DCSPER, 11 Dec 63, sub: Officer and Enlisted Grade Structure for the Women's Army Corps as of 30 June 1965, ODWAC Ref File, Removing Promotion Restrictions, CMH.

[55] DCSPER's nonconcurrence, dated 30 Jan 64, was added at the bottom of Memo, DWAC to DCSPER, 23 Sep 63, sub: Officer and Enlisted Grade Structure for the Women's Army Corps as of 30 June 1965, ODWAC Ref File, Removing Promotion Restrictions, CMH.

The commander of the Continental Army Command (CONARC) was the next person to broach the issue of obtaining additional WAC colonel spaces. On 5 January 1965, General Hugh P. Harris, Jr., asked the DCSPER for a colonel's space to promote the commander of WAC Center and commandant of WAC School, then Lt. Col. Elizabeth P. Hoisington. The dual command responsibilities of the position exceeded those of similar commanders whose minimum rank was colonel. But the DCSPER replied that "any increase in WAC strength would be at the expense of other promotion lists." According to the explanation, "Male officers engaged in administrative and support activities to a large extent . . . are recoverable to perform combat leadership functions. On the other hand, WAC officers are not. Herein lies the principal difference between [the commandant of the WAC School and] the male commandants of other Army schools." [56]

In June, during its annual national convention, the Reserve Officers Association (ROA) passed a resolution, drafted by its South Carolina and New York chapters, supporting the Bolte legislation to "allow women officers of the Services to compete on an equal basis with their male officer contemporaries." [57] When the resolution was submitted to the DCSPER, he returned it stating his previous objections. Despite this, ROA sent its resolution to each service secretary with a letter that encouraged him to support equal promotion opportunities for women officers. ROA thus added another voice to the growing chorus of support.

President Lyndon B. Johnson had become a participant in the issue late in May 1965. He sent word to Secretary of the Army Stephen Ailes that he planned to promote Lt. Col. Mary Juanita D. Roberts, his executive secretary, to colonel. A reserve officer serving on extended active duty, Colonel Roberts had over twenty-one years of active federal service. When the DCSPER asked Colonel Gorman for her opinion on this matter, she endorsed the promotion and explained that it could be accommodated by an increase in the number of WAC colonels authorized, an action she had recommended earlier.[58]

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[56] Ltrs, CG, USCONARC, to DCSPER, 5 Jan 65, sub: Recommendation for Colonel Authorization for Commandant, US WAC School/Commanding Officer, US WAC Center, and HQ DA TAGO (DCSPER, AGAO-CC, 5 Jan 65), to CG, USCONARC, 22 Jan 65, ODWAC Ref File, Removing Promotion Restrictions, CMH.

[57] Ltrs, LtCol Rosa Lee E. Brown, USAR, Columbia, SC, ROA Chapter, to LtCol Mary E. Kelly, Dep DWAC, 6 Jan 65 and 4 Feb 65, and Resolution No. 9, Reserve Officers Association of the United States, sub: Equal Promotion Opportunity for Women in the Services, adopted by the National Convention 11 Jun 65, ODWAC Ref File, Removing Promotion Restrictions, CMH.

[58] "Lady Colonels," *Journal of the Armed Forces*, 17 Jul 65, p. 4; DA SO 151, par. 10, 7 Jun 65, CMH Library; Memo, DWAC to DCSPER, 28 May 65, sub: Officer Grade Structure for the Women's Army Corps as of 30 June 1965, ODWAC Ref File, Removing Promotion Restrictions, CMH.

Without waiting for a response from the Department of the Army, the president, under his executive authority, forwarded to the Senate his nomination of Mary Juanita Roberts for promotion to colonel. The Senate confirmed the nomination, and the Army issued orders promoting her effective 7 June 1965. Colonel Gorman took advantage of the event by sending a summary sheet to the chief of staff requesting that six WAC colonels be authorized. Predictably, the DCSPER added his nonconcurrence to the paper saying that "no military requirements exist to justify the increase; colonel requirements in all branches exceed the Officer Grade Limitation Act and increasing WAC colonel strength will add to the shortage." However, he continued, "In the near future, a recommendation will be submitted concerning the upgrading of the position of Commandant, WAC Training Center and School, from lieutenant colonel to colonel to include provision for a 'spot promotion.' " [59]

In view of the DCSPER's nonconcurrence on the summary sheet, Vice Chief of Staff Creighton W. Abrams called a conference with the DCSPER and the WAC director. Colonel Gorman told General Abrams that her objective was to correct the long-standing inequity that limited the promotion of WAC officers. She referred to the JAG ruling that had cleared the way for a change in policy. She illustrated the problem by pointing to the low selection rate for women officers and NCOs. At the conclusion of the conference, General Abrams approved her request for five more colonels spaces for the WAC. A few days later, Maj. Gen. Philip F. Lindeman, Acting DCSPER, informed the White House that the WAC colonels authorization had been increased to six and that a selection board would be convened to select four women for temporary promotion to that grade.[60]

Before the board could be scheduled, however, Colonel Gorman needed to upgrade the positions selected to be colonels spaces. Her request to revise her own manning document (TD No. CS 8532) went to the Staff Management Division, Office of the Chief of Staff—her channel for personnel spaces and operating funds.[61] Rather than routinely approv-

[59] SS, DWAC through DCSPER to CofS, 11 Jun 65, sub: Proposed Revised Officer Grade Structure for the Women's Army Corps for FY 65 and FY 66, ODWAC Ref File, Removing Promotion Restrictions, CMH. The Career Incentive Act of 1957 (PL 155, 85th Cong, 1st sess, 21 Aug 57) had authorized nurses other than the chief of the ANC to be colonels; on 30 Jun 64, the ANC had 7 colonels.

[60] Col Gorman, briefing notes, mtg with Vice CofS, 20 Jul 65; SS, DWAC through DCSPER to CofS, 11 Jun 65, sub: Proposed Revised Officer Grade Structure for the Women's Army Corps for FY 65 and FY 66, Approved—VC/S US Army 20 Jul 65; White House Fact Sheet, 27 Jul 65, sub: FY 66 Officer Grade Structure for the Women's Army Corps, signed by MajGen Philip F. Lindeman, Actg DCSPER. All in ODWAC Ref File, Removing Promotion Restrictions, CMH.

[61] DF, DWAC to Staff Management Division, Office of the Chief of Staff (SMD OCofSA), 26 Jul 65, sub: Officer Grade Authorization, ODWAC Ref File, Removing Promotion Restrictions, CMH.

ing the change directed by the vice chief of staff, the division sent the request to the Judge Advocate General, Maj. Gen. Robert H. McCaw, for a legal opinion of the action. Within two weeks the JAG advised that he overruled the earlier decision. He explained that "it is the opinion of this office that additional appointments to the grade of colonel in the Women's Army Corps may be accomplished only by securing necessary legislation or by the President personally, pursuant to his constitutional authority (41 Op Attny. Gen. 291 (1956))." [62] His decision was endorsed by the general counsel of the Army and the judge advocate generals of the Air Force and Navy. After Colonel Gorman advised General Abrams of this turn of events, he discussed the matter with General McCaw. But the decision of 13 August held. The Management Division told Colonel Gorman: "In view of the legal opinion of TJAG, the Vice Chief of Staff has decided that no further action will be taken with respect to increasing the number of WAC colonels from two to six or with respect to convening a selection board until enabling legislation or a Presidential directive is obtained." [63]

This reversal only made Colonel Gorman more determined than ever to accomplish her objective. A friend later commented, "If they had told Emily to stop, she probably would have resigned, run for Congress, won a seat, and pushed the bill through by herself." [64] The arrival of a new DCSPER on 1 September 1965 gave Colonel Gorman another opportunity to promote her project. Encouraged by her initial interview with Lt. Gen. James K. Woolnough, she sent a memorandum through him to the vice chief of staff pointing out that the recent JAG ruling made it impossible to promote WAC officers to colonel by administrative means. Therefore, she said, "This office will seek authorizing legislation to provide equitable promotion opportunities for WAC officers and actively solicit the support of DACOWITS at the October meeting for such legislation." [65] Neither the DCSPER nor the vice chief of staff objected to her plan of action.

Colonel Gorman opened her new campaign with a draft summary sheet to the ODCSPER directorates. She proposed that the judge advocate general prepare legislation to remove promotion restrictions, including promotion to general officer, on Regular Army and Reserve women officers. This time, the directorates and the other general and special staff divisions (including the surgeon general since the action included promo-

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[62] DF, SMD OCofSA to TJAG, 30 Jul 65, sub: Officer Grade Authorization, and Comment 2, SMD OCofSA to DWAC, 7 Sep 65, ODWAC Ref File, Removing Promotion Restrictions, CMH.

[63] Memo, DWAC to Vice CofS through DCSPER, 24 Aug 65, sub: Proposed Officer Grade Structure for the Women's Army Corps for FY 65 and FY 66, and Comment, SMD OCofSA to DWAC, 27 Sep 65, ODWAC Ref File, Removing Promotion Restrictions, CMH.

[64] Interv, BrigGen Hoisington with the author, 3 Nov 80.

[65] Memo, DWAC to Vice CofS through DCSPER, 27 Sep 65, sub: Proposed Revised Officer Grade Structure for the Women's Army Corps for FY 65 and FY 66, ODWAC Ref File, Removing Promotion Restrictions, CMH.

tion of Army Nurse Corps and Army Medical Specialist Corps officers) approved the recommendations. On 29 December 1965, Colonel Gorman forwarded a summary sheet to the chief of staff recommending that legislation be prepared to remove promotion restrictions for Regular Army and Reserve officers of the ANC, AMSC, and WAC. Deputy Under Secretary of the Army (Manpower and Reserve Affairs) Arthur W. Allen, Jr., approved the action and directed the judge advocate general to prepare the legislation.[66]

The legislation drafted by the judge advocate general encountered no staff resistance. However, the surgeon general, Lt. Gen. Leonard D. Heaton, made a last minute addition. He asked that the law authorize four more colonels for women officers in the medical corps—one for the assistant chief of the Army Nurse Corps and one for each of the three sections of the Army Medical Specialist Corps (Dietitians, Physical Therapists, and Occupational Therapists). An addendum to the legislative proposal covered the surgeon general's request. When the draft reached Under Secretary Allen's desk, however, he disapproved it and stated his objections: "I believe that approval of the addendum and the legislation as now drafted would create the anomalous situation of colonels working for colonels. This is an undesirable situation and one which I feel we should avoid." [67] The paper went back to the DWAC—another temporary setback.

Colonel Gorman's effort with the DACOWITS, however, was yielding results. After its fall 1965 meeting, its members had recommended to Secretary McNamara that legislation separate from the Bolte legislation be prepared to eliminate the restrictions on the careers of women officers.[68] Later, in March 1966, Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower) Thomas D. Morris advised the service secretaries that the Bolte bill was dead and asked them to prepare legislation to remove the statutory inequities affecting women in the service.[69]

Meanwhile, members of the DACOWITS, representatives of veterans' organizations and women's clubs, former directors of the women's services, and other servicewomen had begun to bombard members of Congress with requests for legislation to remove the inequities. On 31 March

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[66] DF, DWAC to ODCSPER directorates, 30 Sep 65, sub: Promotion of WAC Officers to the Temporary Grade of Colonel, Replies to this DF, and SS, DCSPER/DWAC, 29 Dec 65, sub: Promotion of ANC, AMSC, and WAC Officers, ODWAC Ref File, Removing Promotion Restrictions, CMH.

[67] DFs, TJAG to DCSPER, 3 Feb 66, sub: ANC, AMSC, and WAC Officer Promotions, and, Surgeon General to DCSPER, 3 Feb 66, same sub; Addendum to SS, 10 Feb 66, same sub; Memo, Dep Under SecArmy (M&RA) to Vice CofS, 28 Mar 66, same sub. All in ODWAC Ref File, Removing Promotion Restrictions, CMH.

[68] DACOWITS, Recommendations and Suggestions, Fall Meeting, 10-13 Oct 65, ODWAC Ref File, Removing Promotion Restrictions, CMH.

[69] Memo, ASD(M) to the Secretaries of the Military Departments, 28 Mar 66, sub: Legislation Concerning Women Officer Personnel, ODWAC Ref File, Removing Promotion Restrictions, CMH.

1966, Congressman Otis G. Pike of New York introduced H.R. 14208 for this purpose. Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina invited Colonel Gorman to his office to discuss the issues and afterward wrote Assistant Secretary Morris that the Senate Armed Services Committee would welcome legislation to correct the existing discriminatory provisions of law affecting military women officers.[70]

In May, the Department of Defense completed the task of consolidating the services' legislative proposals. The Bureau of the Budget approved the proposed bill, and Deputy Secretary of Defense Cyrus R. Vance sent it to Congress. On 28 June 1966, Chairman L. Mendel Rivers of the House Armed Services Committee introduced the bill as H.R. 16000. The proposed law eliminated restrictions on women's promotion and retirement and the 2 percent limitation on their numbers; permitted men to be appointed in the Army Nurse Corps and Army Medical Specialist Corps and in the Navy and Air Force Nurse Corps; allowed women other than those in the medical corps into the Army and Air National Guard; and provided assistant chiefs, with the rank of colonel, for the ANC and AMSC as General Heaton had requested.[71]

On 31 July 1966, a critical time in the progress of the bill, Colonel Gorman's four-year term as director of the WAC came to an end. The progress she had made, however, provided the basis for continuing this effort by her successor, Col. Elizabeth P. Hoisington, and the deputy director, Colonel Kelly.

Hearings on H.R. 16000 began on 21 September before Subcommittee 1 of the House Armed Services Committee. Opening the sessions, Chairman Philip J. Philbin of Massachusetts reassured the members that the bill would not be used arbitrarily to promote women to general or flag rank. He argued that "every time you promote a woman to flag rank there is one less star available for a male officer" and that this reality "alone will probably guarantee that there is no excessive passing out of stars to women officers." [72]

A number of witnesses testified in support of the bill: Congressman Pike and Richard S. Schweiker and William S. Moorhead of Pennsylvania; Genevieve Blatt, Secretary of Internal Affairs, Commonwealth of

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[70] "To amend Title 10, United States Code to authorize the President to suspend certain provisions of law relating to women in the Armed Forces, and for other purposes," HR 14208, 89th Cong, 2d sess, 31 Mar 66; Ltr, Strom Thurmond, USS, to LtCol Rosa Lee E. Brown, 30 Mar 66; Ltr, Thurmond to Hon. Thomas D. Morris, ASD(M), 30 Mar 66; and Ltr, Morris to Thurmond, 5 Apr 66. All in ODWAC Ref File, Removing Promotion Restrictions, CMH.

[71] Memo, Dep Under SecArmy (M&RA) to ASD(M), 3 May 66, sub: Legislation Concerning Women Officer Personnel; Ltr, Dep SecDef Cyrus Vance, for SecDef, to Hon John W. McCormack, Speaker, House of Representatives, and to Hon Carl Hayden, President Pro Tempore, Senate, 15 Jun 66; HR 16000, 89th Cong, 2d sess, introduced 28 Jun 66, Union Calendar No. 970. All in ODWAC Ref File, Removing Promotion Restrictions, CMH. PL 845, 84th Cong, 2d sess, 30 Jul 56, had enabled women to join the medical departments of the Army and Air National Guard.

[72] US Congress, House, Armed Services Committee, Subcommittee No. 1, *Hearings on HR 16000*, 89th Cong, 2d sess, 21 Sep 66, p. 7.

Pennsylvania; Maj. Gen. Earl F. Cook, U.S. Army, Retired, and vice president of the Association of the United States Army; Mrs. Donald Quarles, on behalf of the DACOWITS; and Judith G. Whitaker, executive director of the American Nurses Association. Assistant Secretary Morris was accompanied at the hearing by Colonel Hoisington and the other women directors, but he alone testified, saying in part that "removal of these restrictions will permit women officers to advance to positions of higher responsibility to the extent that they are as well-fitted for these duties as male officers." And he added that the "impact" of the change would be "spread over many years." [73] At the conclusion of the hearing, the subcommittee reported the bill out favorably to the full House Armed Services Committee. On 4 October, the committee approved it, and, on 7 October, H.R. 16000 was unanimously passed in the House and sent to the Senate. The Senate received the bill on 10 October 1966 and referred it to the Armed Services Committee. The second session of the 89th Congress adjourned on 22 October; before the committee considered the bill. As had happened to WAC legislation in the 1940s, this legislation had to be reintroduced in both houses the following year.[74]

The reintroduced bill made excellent progress in the first session of the 90th Congress. On opening day, 10 January 1967, Congressman Schweiker offered H.R. 1274, which was identical to H.R. 16000. On 21 February, Congressman Rivers introduced another version, H.R. 5894, which contained one minor change from the earlier bills. To resolve the "colonels working for colonels" quandary objected to by Under Secretary Allen, the new draft included a phrase declaring that the chief of the Army Nurse Corps, the chief of the Army Medical Specialist Corps, and the director of the WAC outranked all other officers in their own Corps. Mr. Schweiker withdrew H.R. 1274 and strongly recommended passage of Rivers' revision. Schweiker's support was a deciding factor in committee and on the floor of the House.[75]

Subcommittee 1 of the House Armed Services Committee completed its hearings on the bill in one day. Chairman Philbin reviewed the history of the bill and its purposes. Assistant Secretary Morris, the only witness called, gave testimony similar to that he had given the previous year on H.R. 16000. Congressmen Schweiker and Pike submitted statements recommending H.R. 5894. The subcommittee reported the bill out favorably;

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[73] Ibid., p. 4.

[74] Office Chief of Legislation, Recap of Status of Legislation, 5 and 23 Oct 66.

[75] Interv, Col Gorman with the author, 9 Jun 80; US Congress, House Armed Services Committee, Subcommittee #1, *Consideration of HR 5894 to Amend Titles 10, 32, and 39, United States Code, to Remove Restrictions on the Careers of Female Officers in the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps, and for Other Purposes*, 20 Apr 67, pp. 384–85.

the full committee unanimously approved it; and, on 1 May, the bill was approved on the floor of the House and sent to the Senate.[76]

The Senate Armed Services Committee conducted its hearing on the bill on 19 October 1967. The only Defense Department witness called was Brig. Gen. William W. Berg, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower (Military Personnel Policy). He reiterated the department's support for the legislation. The committee chairman, Richard S. Russell of Georgia, joined Senator Thurmond in actively supporting the measure.

At one point, the hearing strayed off the subject of career equality for women. Senator Daniel K. Inouye of Hawaii interjected a question about military women marrying and being forced to leave the service when they became pregnant.

SENATOR INOUYE: Does this bill liberalize some of the restrictions we now have on women members marrying and raising children?

GENERAL BERG: It has nothing to do with that sir.

SENATOR INOUYE: Why hasn't the service done something about this? It would appear to me that by our rules and regulations, we discourage our women members to carry on without considering the normal and natural life of raising families. I have been told that under certain circumstances evidence of pregnancy would mean immediate dismissal. This doesn't happen in civil life.

In reply, General Berg explained that each service tried to assign married military personnel to the same station and encouraged them to remain in service. But, he explained, discharge on pregnancy was mandatory in all services because the services could not allow the time lost due to pregnancy and because mothers in the service would have difficulty in taking care of their children. Senator Inouye noted that women in government and industry had children and returned to work. "Why," he asked, "isn't it possible for women members in uniform to do the same thing?" To conclude this line of questioning as quickly as possible, General Berg stated that he did not know why the situation existed and that the current bill did not address the problem. Because no one else continued the line of questioning, it was dropped.[77] Nonetheless, comments made by congressmen in hearings are seldom forgotten.

When the committee met in executive session, it voted unanimously to report H.R. 5894 favorably to the full Senate. The Senate passed H.R. 5894 on 26 October 1967. The bill then went to President Johnson who had previously indicated that he would sign it.[78]

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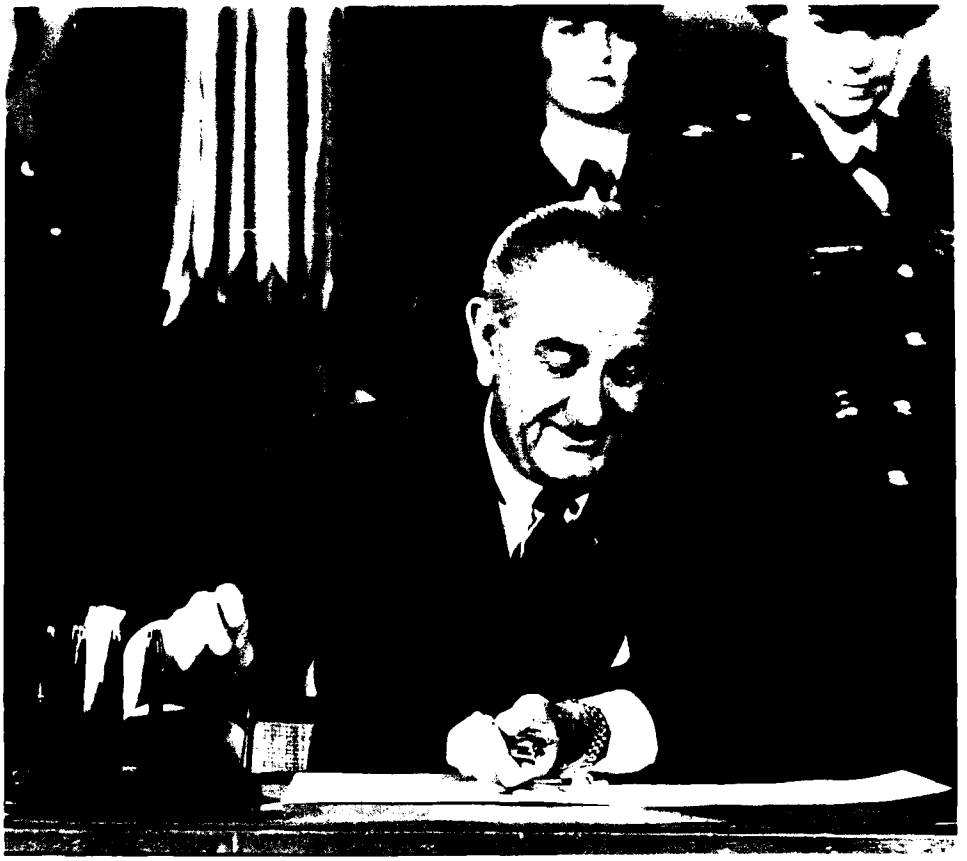
[76] US Congress, House, Armed Services Committee, *Hearings Held September 21, 1966, and April 20, 1967, To ccompany HR 5894*, HRpt 216, 90th Cong, 1st sess, 27 Apr 67; "Women Officers Bill Approved by House," *Journal of the Armed Forces*, 6 May 67, p. 1.

[77] US Congress, Senate, Armed Services Committee, *Hearings Before the Committee on Armed Services on HR 4772, HR 4903, and HR 5894*, 90th Cong, 1st sess, 19 Oct 67, p. 45.

[78] US Congress, Senate, *Calendar of Business, Thursday October 26, 1976*, 90th Cong, 1st sess, p. 8.



PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON *signs H.R. 5894 removing career restrictions on all women officers, 8 November 1967.*

At a colorful ceremony in the White House at eleven o'clock on the morning of 8 November, the president signed the bill into law (PL 90–130). The 14th Army Band (WAC) played "Hail to the Chief" as the president entered the East Room through a cordon of fifty enlisted women representing all the services. Among the guests attending the ceremony were Senator Margaret Chase Smith, Congresswoman Frances P. Bolton, the current directors of the women's services, Col. Oveta Culp Hobby and other former directors of the women's services, and many former and current members of DACOWITS. President and Mrs. Johnson held a reception for the group in the State Dining Room. In his remarks before signing the bill, so important to women in the services, the president said, "We have brought women to even higher and more influential positions throughout the land—and the government has improved. Women are leaders and doers today in our Congress and

SGT. PATSY M. WRIGHT, *the first WAC to be assigned to attache duty, receives congratulations from Colonel Gorman, Director, WAC, and Maj. Gen. Edgar C. Doleman, Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, DA, 2 June 1964. Sergeant Wright was assigned to Athens, Greece.*

AT HER RETIREMENT REVIEW, COLONEL GORMAN *reviews the troops by jeep accompanied by Lt. Gen. James K. Woolnough, Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel, DA, and Lt. Col. Frances M. Yoniack, Deputy Commander, WAC Center; jeep driver, M. Sgt. Donna Bell, 28 July 1966.*

throughout our government. So here today in the East Room of the White House, we will end the last vestige of discrimination—I hope—in our Armed Forces." [79]

Though PL 90-130 became law after Colonel Gorman left office, the WAC program had made significant progress under her direction. She had pushed and gained support for implementation of the interchangeable code and elimination of promotion and retirement inequities. Those two steps did more to ensure the assimilation of WACs into the Army's personnel management system than anything since the integration of women into the Regular Army and Reserve forces in 1948. Those steps also ensured improved utilization under the expanded program of WAC assignment opportunities that Colonel Gorman had brought about with the removal of restrictions on the assignment of women to bands other than the 14th Army Band (WAC), to attache duty, and to installations and activities without a WAC unit. She had assigned women to Alaska (1963) and Vietnam (1965) and had opened sixteen new MOSs to enlisted women.

Of course, not all was positive. Colonel Gorman's long and difficult struggle to eliminate promotion restrictions had shown that while male attitudes toward women in the Army had tempered somewhat, there still remained a great reluctance among some officers to accept women as equals. And, despite that reluctance, the conflict in Vietnam, then expanding, was creating a greater demand for Army women than the WAC could satisfy within the recruiting standards then in place. Personnel requirements to pursue the war rose monthly, and plans were in progress to deploy a WAC detachment there. A new officer procurement program had been formulated to attract greater numbers of WAC officers. The greatest impact of the envisioned expansion of the Corps would be felt at WAC Center and WAC School, whose personnel and facilities had been stretched to the limit. The new WAC director, Col. Elizabeth P. Hoisington, would need all her experience to resolve these problems. Nevertheless, WACs were now a larger, more important, more respected part of the Army.

On 28 July 1966, Colonel Gorman's retirement ceremonies were held at WAC Center. At her regimental retirement review, on the Marshall Parade Ground, she was presented with the rarely awarded Distinguished Service Medal by Lt. Gen. James K. Woolnough, DCSPER of the Army, in recognition of her achievements as director of the WAC and her twenty-four years of service in the United States Army.[80]

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[79] Press Release, Office of the White House Press Sec, "Remarks of the President upon Signing HR 5894, the Women Officers Legislation," 8 Nov 67.

[80] DA GO 35, 19 Aug 66, Sec I, CMH Library. The Distinguished Service Medal (DSM) is the highest award given for meritorious service. Colonel Hobby had been the only other WAC to receive the DSM to that date.

CHAPTER IX

Vietnam; WAC Strength; WAC Standards

In the mid-1960s, most Americans supported a military effort in Vietnam to deter the spread of communism in Southeast Asia. Although war had not been declared and reserve components had not been mobilized, a major national effort, signaled by the escalating commitment of U.S. forces in late 1964 and 1965, was under way. Events indicated that the United States would remain in South Vietnam for a number of years. The question of WAC participation, however, remained to be settled. By 1965, the Corps had a small contingent—approximately twenty women—in Saigon, and plans were in progress to send a detachment to Vietnam within the year. The long-term effect of such involvement on WAC programs was under much discussion. Would it cause a major increase in strength? If so, would another WAC center be required? Would higher recruitment goals create pressure to lower WAC enlistment standards? How would the involvement affect officer procurement and promotion?

Into this atmosphere stepped a confident new director. In June 1966, Secretary of the Army Stanley R. Resor announced that Lt. Col. Elizabeth P. Hoisington would become the seventh director of the Women's Army Corps. Her past assignments appeared to have groomed her for the position. During World War II and the postwar years, she had held command positions in France, Germany, Japan, and at Fort Monroe, Virginia. She had served in the Office of the Director, WAC (1951–1954), as a personnel staff officer under Colonels Hallaren and Galloway; at Headquarters, Sixth Army, Presidio of San Francisco (1954–1957); in the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff, Personnel (1958–1961); and in Headquarters, U.S. European Command, Paris (1961–1964). From 1964 to 1966, she served as commander of WAC Center and commandant of WAC School.[1]

On 1 August 1966, in a ceremony in the office of Secretary Resor, Colonel Hoisington was sworn in and promoted to full colonel. Like her predecessors, news of her appointment appeared in newspapers and magazines throughout the United States and overseas. One reporter described

[1] Col Hoisington came from a military family. Her father and three brothers graduated from the US Military Academy; she joined the Army on 6 Nov 42 and served as an enlisted woman for six months before attending WAAC OCS at Fort Des Moines; she was commissioned on 10 May 1943.

the impression she made on him. "It would be easy to be carried away by her ebullience and charm. She speaks easily and eagerly about the accomplishments of the Corps and is firmly and openly convinced, and convincing, that the WAC can do anything . . . and the way she says it, you know she will do it and take the Corps along with her. . . . The Women's Army Corps is in for a lively time. Makes one almost want to be a WAC. Or a Hoisington." [2]

From her tour in the Office of the Director, WAC, Colonel Hoisington knew what she wanted to do. She realigned the duties of the staff, but maintained continuity and valuable experience by keeping Colonel Kelly as deputy director. In November, she brought in two new officers: Lt. Col. Bettie J. Morden replaced Colonel Ferguson as executive officer, and Maj. Ann B. Smith replaced Colonel Weir as plans and policies officer. The following year Colonel Kelly, who had reached the mandatory retirement age (53), retired and was awarded the Legion of Merit for the second time in her Army career. To replace her, Colonel Hoisington chose Lt. Col. Marie Kehrer, a former assistant commandant of the WAC School (1964–1966) and congressional liaison staff officer at Headquarters, Army Materiel Command (1966–1967).[3]

The WAC Student Officer Program

One of Colonel Hoisington's primary concerns was the ailing College Junior Program. In nine years, 591 women had entered the program, but only 50 had been commissioned as second lieutenants to serve an active duty tour of two or more years.[4] In 1964, to improve this record, the commander of the U.S. Army Recruiting Service, Col. Paul D. Mize, proposed a follow-on program—the Army Student Program for Potential WAC Officers (later called the WAC Student Officer Program). Under it, the WAC School commandant would select ninety graduates of the College Junior Program to remain on active duty during their senior year in college. They would not wear uniforms or attend meetings but would receive the monthly pay and allowances of a corporal, acquire longevity, and receive medical and other military benefits. Colonel Gorman strongly

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[2] Harold E. Davis, "The Hoisingtons Have It," *Army Magazine*, Sep 66, pp. 18-19.

[3] SgtMaj Elizabeth J. Burns succeeded SgtMaj Tait in Apr 67; Sgt Maj Mary E. Richmond replaced SgtMaj Burns in Dec 68. Maj Smith was replaced by Maj Agnes Schairer Schriver (1968-1969), who married and resigned and was replaced by LtCol Pola L. Garrett (1969-1972). Col Garrett, the first black WAC officer to be promoted to full colonel (1973), served as deputy commander WAC Center (1973-1974). She died at age 49 of emphysema.

[4] WAC School, May 67, "Statistical Analysis of College Junior Cadet Program 1957-1966," ODWAC Ref File, College Junior Statistics, CMH. The College Junior Program cost approximately $152,000 a year for an average of 65 cadets to attend the three-week course at WAC School. Recruiting costs were $112,000; all other costs $40,000.

endorsed the idea, but the DCSPER thought it too expensive and rejected it.[5]

The College Junior Program continued to lag. Eighteen months later Colonel Gorman reintroduced the student officer proposal. This time her arguments convinced the DCSPER and the Army staff that the program had promise. Under Secretary of the Army David E. McGiffert, however, approved it as a trial program for only one year.[6] Though this approval was enough to initiate the program, it unfortunately had arrived too late (June 1966) for recruiters to contact potential candidates before they left college for the summer. Colonel Mize promptly wrote the DCSPER and explained that the program needed two more years to have a fair chance to succeed. The DCSPER, Lt. Gen. James K. Woolnough, agreed and directed Colonel Hoisington to obtain the extension. In her staff paper, she asked for the additional time to allow the program to build momentum and to permit comparative statistics to be gathered. Its success, she said, would ensure the Army enough WAC officers for the Vietnam buildup.[7] Her paper arrived on Under Secretary McGiffert's desk at the same time as a DOD study that recommended increasing the strength of the women's services for Vietnam. On 7 December 1966, he approved a 38 percent expansion of the WAC, and on 15 December, he approved a two-year extension of the trial program. The Corps now had an even greater need for the new program and two more years in which to prove its value.[8] To provide a wider base from which to select 90 women annually, the DCSPER allowed 120 women, instead of just 90, to be enrolled in the College Junior Program in FY 1967. The next year he increased the authorization to 150.[9]

After the summer of 1968, Colonel Hoisington was convinced that the WAC Student Officer Program was a success. Pointing out that participation had "more than tripled in the student officer program in three years; 25 in FY 67 . . . 86 in FY 69," she requested that its trial status be dropped and that it be approved as a continuing program for WAC

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[5] Ltr, Cdr, US Army Recruiting Service to DCSPER, 13 Jul 64, sub: WAC Officer Procurement; DF, DWAC to ODCSPER Director of Manpower, 22 Jul 64, same sub; and Comment 2, Director of Manpower to DWAC, 10 Aug 64. All in ODWAC Ref File, College Junior Program, CMH. On 1 Oct 64, the US Army Recruiting Command superseded the US Army Recruiting Service.

[6] DF, DWAC to ODCSPER directorates, 28 Jan 66, sub: Army Student Program for Potential WAC Officers, with comments, 11-15 Feb 66, ODWAC Ref File, College Junior Program, CMH.

[7] SS, DWAC to DCSPER, CofS, and Under SecArmy, 28 Mar 66, Army Student for Potential WAC Officers; Memo, DWAC to Under SecArmy, 17 May 66; and DA Cir 601-16, The Army Student Program for Potential WAC Officers, 13 Jul 66. All in ODWAC Ref File, College Junior Program, CMH.

[8] Ltr, Dep Cdr, HQ, Army Recruiting Command, to DCSPER, sub: Army Student Program for Potential WAC Officers, 21 Jul 66; SS, DWAC to DCSPER, CofS, and Under SecArmy, sub: Army Student Program for Potential WAC Officers, 13 Oct 66; and DA Cir 601-115, The WAC Student Officer Program, 16 May 67. All in ODWAC Ref File, College Junior Program, CMH.

[9] Ltr, TAG to USCONARC, 23 Feb 66, sub: FY 1967 College Junior Class, and DA Msg 812802, 2 May 67, ODWAC Ref File, College Junior Program, CMH.

procurement. On 30 August 1968, Acting Assistant Secretary of the Army Arthur W. Allen, Jr., approved the action. Over the next nine years, the program accounted for 25 percent of all WAC officer accessions, establishing that it was indeed worth its cost.[10]

Officer Promotion and Senior Service College Selection

In January 1968—soon after enactment of PL 90–130, which reduced career restrictions on women officers—Colonel Hoisington requested an increase in the WAC officer grade structure and action to select six WAC officers for promotion to colonel. The DCSPER, Lt. Gen. Albert O. Connor, concurred and forwarded the request to Secretary Resor, who approved both the increase and appointment of a special board to select WAC officers for promotion to temporary colonel. He directed that the selectees meet the same criteria for promotion as had the male officers selected for colonel by the annual promotion board in the fall of 1967. Of twenty-seven eligible WAC officers, the board selected six: Elizabeth H. Branch, Lane Carlson, Mary J. Guyette, Marie Kehrer, Maxene B. Michl, and Charlotte I. Woodworth. The women on this list received their promotions after the men on the annual list, but the Army later interspersed the WACs by date of rank on the lineal list of colonels. Subsequent boards selected both men and women, although a separate quota for WAC officers ensured that they did not compete against men or take promotions from them. Year by year, Colonel Hoisington increased the officer grade structure so that by 30 June 1971 the WAC had sixteen colonels on active duty in a total officer corps of 969.[11]

Selection of WAC officers to attend senior service colleges was the next item on Colonel Hoisington's agenda. The Army War College, National War College, and Industrial College of the Armed Forces prepared officers for positions of responsibility at colonel and general officer level. Up to this time only one WAC officer, Lt. Col. Hortense M. Boutell (Industrial College, 1955), had graduated from any of those

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[10] SS, DWAC through DCSPER, CofS and Acting Asst SecArmy (Manpower and Reserve Affairs), 26 Aug 68, sub: Women's Army Corps Student Officer Program, ODWAC Ref File, College Junior Program, CMH. The position of Under Secretary of the Army (Manpower and Reserve Affairs) was discontinued on 1 Jan 68; most of the position's functions passed to the Assistant Secretary of the Army, M&RA. Similar changes occurred in the other services.

[11] Memo, DWAC to DCSPER, 12 Jan 68, sub: Proposed Revised Officer Grade Structure for the Women's Army Corps; SS, DCSPER to CofS and SecArmy, 23 Feb 68, sub: Zone of Consideration and Number to be Selected for Promotion to Colonel, AUS, WAC; Memo, SecArmy to CofS, 18 Mar 68, same subject; DA Msg 859656, 12 Apr 68. All in ODWAC Ref File, Book #2—Elimination of Promotion Restrictions, CMH. Actual promotion date and (date of rank) of the promoted officers: Woodworth, 2 Dec 68 (10 Jan 68); Branch, 3 Dec 68 (16 Jan 68); Michl, 4 Dec 68 (16 Jan 68); Kehrer, 5 Dec 68 (17 Jan 68); Carlson, 6 Dec 68 (31 Jan 68); and Guyette, 9 Dec 68 (27 Feb 68). All were Regular Army officers with over 24 years service. AUS (Army of the United States) in the title denoted a temporary promotion.

COL. MARIE KEHRER, *Deputy Director, WAC (1967–1970).*

schools. In November 1967, shortly after Chief of Staff Harold K. Johnson had attended the bill-signing ceremony at the White House for PL 90–130, the list of officers nominated to attend the senior service colleges during FY 1969 arrived on his desk. Noting that it did not include any WAC officers, he returned it to the selection board and directed that two eligible and qualified women officers be nominated to attend. In May 1969, Colonel Hoisington attended the ceremonies at which Lt. Col. Frances V. Chaffin and Lt. Col. Shirley H. Heinze became the first women to graduate from the Army War College. Thereafter, one or two WAC officers annually attended the senior service colleges.[12]

The WAC Expansion for Vietnam

These improvements in career and educational opportunities for WAC officers came as the tempo of war increased in Vietnam. While U.S. bombers attacked supply routes and depots in North Vietnam, U.S. soldiers fought the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese Army in South

[12] Interv, Gen Hoisington with the author, 3 Nov 80; "Army Selects 281 for Senior Colleges," *Journal of the Armed Forces*, Dec. 67, p. 1. Of 281 officers selected to attend the senior colleges, 161 (including the 2 WAC officers) attended Army War College in FY 69. The Armed Forces Staff College (AFSC), an intermediate college like Command and General Staff College, divided its student enrollment among the services; Maj Diane Dicke was the first WAC to graduate (1970) from AFSC.

COL. MARY C. FULLBRIGHT, *first WAC promoted to colonel in the Army Reserve, August 1969. Col. Maxene B. Michl, WAC Center commander, and Lt. Col. Lydia Snyder, a reserve officer, pin on the eagles.*

Vietnam. Congress authorized more money and more troops to win the war, but military victory proved elusive.

As more and more men went to Vietnam, the women's services awaited expansion. In mid-1965, the Marine Corps announced that the strength of the Women Marines, smallest of the women's services, would be brought up to and maintained at the level established in 1948—one percent of authorized Marine Corps strength.[13] In May 1966, Secretary of Defense McNamara approved a DACOWITS recommendation that a study group examine the feasibility and desirability of expanding the women's services. He appointed Col. Jeanne M. Holm, Director, WAF, to head the study group. A member and an alternate from each of the women's line services served on the committee. Colonel Kelly, Deputy Director, WAC, and Lt. Col. Mildred M. Ferguson, Executive Officer, ODWAC, represented the Army.[14]

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[13] Stremlow, *History of the Women Marines*, p. 73.

[14] DOD Inter-Service Working Group, "Study on Utilization of Women in the Armed Services," 31 Aug 66, ODWAC Ref File, Expansion of WAC, 1966–1969, CMH.

The study group's report of 31 August 1966 recommended that the services expand their women's components between 38 and 73 percent; that high standards be retained in any expansion; and that women continue to be concentrated in administrative, communications, and medical care fields, but that the services explore their utilization in other fields. It also urged that more women be stationed overseas. The Army approved the recommendations and directed an immediate 38 percent increase in WAC strength. The Navy followed suit, approving a 20 percent increase. The Air Force approved a 60 percent increase in enlisted WAFs and a 33⅓ percent increase in WAF officers.[15] (*See Table 20.*)

TABLE 20—WOMEN'S SERVICES PROJECTED INCREASES

[Officer and Enlisted]

	Programmed 1966	Planned Increase	Projected Strength 1969
WAC	9,700	3,582	13,282
WAVES	5,500	1,100	6,600
Women Marines	1,825	900	2,725
WAF	5,750	3,250	9,000

Source: DOD Inter-Service Working Group, "Study on Utilization of Women in the Armed Forces," Aug 66, p. 15, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, Utilization, CMH.

With the 25th anniversary of the WAC approaching on 14 May 1967, the DCSPER assigned responsibility for developing WAC expansion plans to the Directorate for Procurement and Distribution (DPD) and named the director of the WAC as the primary point of contact for WAC policy, information, and advice. The ODWAC staff worked daily with the action officers who prepared and later monitored progress on the plan.[16] By the silver anniversary, all was in readiness and the Army announced:

[15] Ibid.; Memo, ASD(M), to Dep Under SecArmy (Manpower) [DUSA (M)], 14 May 66, sub: Study of Utilization of Military Women; Memo, DUSA (M) to ASD (M), 7 Dec 66, same sub; Bull 13 for Chief of Naval Personnel for Women (Capt Rita Lenihan), Apr 67; Memo, Dep Under SecAF (Manpower) to ASD (M), 29 Jun 67, sub: Utilization of Women in the Air Force. All in ODWAC Ref File, Expansion of WAC 1966–1969, CMH.

[16] The director of Procurement and Distribution, BrigGen Frank M. Izenour, assigned the expansion project to his Procurement Division. The chief of that division, LtCol Levin B. Broughton, and WAC Maj Pola L. Garrett worked on the project. Maj Audrey A. Fisher later replaced Maj Garrett. LtCol Julia A. Ledbetter, chief of WAC Recruiting, was a major contributor to the plan. The Directorate of Procurement and Distribution had been the Directorate of Manpower until 1 Apr 66.

WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS TO BE EXPANDED

The Army has embarked upon a recruiting campaign to increase the enlisted strength of the Women's Army Corps by 3,282 and the officer strength by 314 during the 24-month period beginning 1 Jul 67.[17]

The announcement set in motion both the DCSPER's expansion plan and a concomitant publicity plan developed by the Army's chief of information. Information officers at all Army posts took part in publicizing the WAC increase. Members of DACOWITS also assisted with the publicity. Colonel Hoisington briefed Secretary Resor's civilian aides on the expansion and obtained their help in the information campaign. The former directors of the WAC—Colonels Hobby, Boyce, Hallaren, Rasmuson, and Gorman—joined Colonel Hoisington at the Pentagon to make a film commemorating the WAC anniversary. The WAC Center held a week-long celebration beginning on 8 May, and Colonels Hoisington, Hallaren, Rasmuson, and Gorman participated in activities that included a symposium on the history of the WAC. WAC detachments throughout the United States and overseas held anniversary celebrations to mark the day and to encourage publicity about the expansion plan.[18]

Like her predecessors, Colonel Hoisington made hundreds of personal appearances to promote both recruitment and goodwill. She visited the Army recruiting stations while making her regular staff visits and inspections of WAC units throughout the major commands. She conferred with recruiters, appeared on local radio and TV shows, and met with members of the local press. Her lively personality made her a welcome visitor to news media representatives.

DCSPER instructions to the Army Recruiting Command were to increase the annual WAC enlisted recruiting objective from 4,000 to 6,000 and the monthly objective from 330 to 500. The DCSPER also increased the WAC officer procurement objective from 180 to 300 annually. To achieve these objectives, the Recruiting Command added recruiters, diverted advertising funds to WAC recruitment and appointment programs, increased the number and variety of enlistment options for women, and streamlined the enlistment process. Among other moves, administration of the Armed Forces Women's Selection Test was shifted from the Armed Forces Examining and Enlistment stations to Army Recruiting stations with a WAC officer or NCO assigned. The expansion plan received high-level attention when the chief of staff directed major commanders to

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[17] DOD Public Information News Release, "Women's Army Corps to be Expanded," 12 May 67, ODWAC Ref File, WAC Expansion 1967–1969, CMH.

[18] SS, DCSPER to CofS, 8 Apr 67, sub: Increased Utilization of Military Women, with Tab A, Army Actions, and Tab B, Information Plan, Women's Army Corps, and DA Msg 81169, 20 Apr 67, ODWAC Ref File, Expansion of WAC, 1966–1969, CMH. The film was converted into a training film, "The Women's Army Corps 1942–1967" (MF 35-5285).

COL. ELIZABETH P. HOISINGTON, DIRECTOR, WAC, *meets with her predecessors at the Pentagon to make a film commemorating the 25th anniversary of the WAC. Left to right: Cols. Oveta Culp Hobby, Westray Battle Boyce Long, Elizabeth P. Hoisington, Emily C. Gorman, Mary A. Hallaren, and Mary Louise Milligan Rasmuson, 14 March 1967.*

convert as many manpower spaces as possible to "interchangeable" to provide more jobs for women. By the end of FY 1968, progress toward meeting the interim goals of the WAC expansion was encouraging, though a bit short of the objectives set for commissioned and warrant officers.[19] (*See Table 21.*)

Statistics dealing with the other side of the strength equation—losses—were also under study. Elimination of discharge on marriage in 1966 applied only to those women who had enlisted in that year or later, but it

[19] Ltrs, MajGen Frank M. Izenour, Directorate of Procurement and Distribution, to BrigGen Frank L. Gunn, Cdr, US Army Recruiting Command (USAREC), 28 Feb 67, and Gunn to Izenour, 9 Mar 67; AR 601-270, 18 Mar 67, Armed Forces Examining and Enlistment Stations, par. 4-3b; and CofS Weekly Summary Sheet, 25-31 May 67. All in ODWAC Ref File, Expansion of WAC, 1966-1969, CMH. Administering the women's selection test outside the AFEES resulted in a compromise of the test, and authority was withdrawn in Change 5 to the regulation, 24 Jul 72.

TABLE 21—WAC EXPANSION PROGRESS, 30 JUNE 1968

	Programmed Strength, 30 June 1968	Actual Strength, 30 June 1968	Relationship to Interim Goals
Commissioned Officers.....	900	866	−34
Warrant Officers.....	40	27	−13
Enlisted Women.....	10,600	10,711	+111

Source: ODCSPER, DA, Annual Historical Report, FY 1968, p. 13, CMH Ref Br.

had decreased losses in that category by 7 percent. However, losses for all other causes had increased by 32 percent. This, Colonel Hoisington believed, was a reaction to eliminating discharge on marriage; the same thing had happened during the Korean War. Her analysis was confirmed by discussions with WAC staff advisers and detachment commanders who reported that married women's morale was lowered so much by separation from their husbands that they used any other route to discharge. Reports consolidated quarterly by the judge advocate general indicated that WAC court-martial cases had increased by over 37 percent.[20]

Armed with these statistics, Colonel Hoisington discussed the problem with the heads of the ODCSPER directorates and Office of Personnel Operations. They could find no other explanation for the increased losses. In March 1969, the director asked the DCSPER to reinstate discharge on marriage for enlisted women. Such a change would temporarily increase those losses, but, long range, it would decrease them in every area, including marriage. "The increased gravity of the situation," she wrote, "requires immediate action to improve the Corps. . . . Increased marriage losses would be offset by the greatly desired effect of less discharges for unsuitability and unmarried pregnancy, and a decrease in AWOL and Court Martial Cases."[21] The new policy required enlisted women to spend a longer period on active duty before they became eligible for discharge on marriage (eighteen versus twelve months) and to fulfill any school commitments they had incurred. Lt. Gen. Albert O. Connor, DCSPER, approved reinstatement of discharge on marriage on 1 April 1969. Although the other women's services did not follow suit, a later review of WAC loss statistics bore out Colonel Hoisington's predictions.

[20] Interv, BrigGen Hoisington with the author, 3 Nov 80; Rpts, ODWAC, Enlisted Gains and Losses by FY, and JAG DA, Summary and Special Courts Martial Cases WAC, RCS JAG 2 (R8), ODWAC Ref File, Expansion of WAC, 1966–1969, CMH. Convictions in FY 65: 195; FY 69: 210; FY 71: 116.

[21] SS, DWAC to DCSPER, 20 Mar 69, sub: Policy to Effect Separation of Enlisted Women on Marriage, ODWAC Ref File, Discharge on Marriage, CMH.

After a brief increase during 1971, WAC losses declined in all areas, and WAC court-martial convictions decreased by 44 percent between 1969 and 1975.[22] (*See Table 22.*)

TABLE 22—WAC LOSS RATES

[Percent]

Cause	FY 1968	FY 1971	FY 1975
Marriage	4.2	12.6	10.0
Pregnancy	25.0	19.2	16.9
Unsuitability	12.5	17.0	15.2
AWOL/Desertion	3.1	5.1	3.9

Source: Strength of the Army Report (DCSPER 46), Part II, WAC Gains and Losses.

Other problems affecting recruiting and maintaining WAC strength were not so easily met. Growing hostility to the war in Vietnam affected recruiting so much that none of the women's services reached their enlistment goals by the end of FY 1969. As recruiting faltered, the war became more intense. Combat action in Vietnam heightened; draft calls increased; and the number of American servicemen killed in Vietnam rose from 1,400 in 1965 to 14,500 during 1968. Battle losses and lack of important victories contributed to the loss of public support for the war. Antiwar and antidraft sentiment became so strong that large numbers of young American men fled the country or went to jail rather than be drafted. In the presidential election of 1968, Richard M. Nixon was elected primarily on his promises to try to extricate the United States from the Vietnam War and to end the draft.

In August 1969, the extrication process began with the withdrawal of 25,000 combat troops from Vietnam. Recruiters' difficulties, however, increased as the war drifted toward stalemate or defeat. The WAC enlisted goal was extended into FY 1971. Programmed officer strength was reduced in all branches, and the WAC officer goal was lowered from 1,100 to 925 for FY 1971.[23] As President Nixon continued to withdraw troops from Vietnam, potential recruits concluded they would not be needed. WAC first-term enlistments fell from 5,702 to 5,193 in FY 1971. Despite these negative signs, Colonel Hoisington believed that this fall was a temporary reaction and that, when the end of the war was actually

[22] Ibid.; DA Msg 903276, 1 Apr 69, ODWAC Ref File, Discharge on Marriage, CMH. The Navy and Marine Corps continued a policy of allowing discharge on marriage if a joint household could not be established by the couple (Bur of Naval Personnel Manual, Article C-10306, 1959; Marine Corps Bull 1300, Oct 66). Under USAF Regulation 35-20, the WAF eliminated discharge on marriage.

[23] ODCSPER, Annual Historical Rpt, FYs 70 and 71, Ref Br, CMH.

in sight, WAC career opportunities would again encourage women to enlist. Events soon confirmed her optimism. First-term enlistments rose (5,667, FY 1972), while losses on marriage and pregnancy were falling (2,352, FY 1970; 2,248 in FY 1971; and 1,898 in FY 1972). Despite the bad effect that antiwar attitudes had on enlistments, by 30 June 1971 the WAC was only 515 women short of its overall goal (officer and enlisted) of 13,282.[24] Meanwhile, the presence in the White House of a president who was determined to end the war and the draft stimulated the Army to plan for a volunteer peacetime Army.

The Movement Toward an All-Volunteer Army

In 1967 the Army engaged a civilian firm to develop a new personnel management concept for the post-Vietnam era. Although the study did not directly address elimination of the draft, it did focus on reducing draft calls during peacetime. The project—the "Army '75 Personnel Concept Study," commonly known as the Army '75 Study—was completed in 1969; the ODWAC staff had assisted the contractor in preparing the chapter on the WAC. The primary recommendation regarding the WAC was that it be expanded to 2,000 officers and 20,000 enlisted women by FY 1975 to help reduce draft calls. Other recommendations were that the Army ROTC be opened to women; WACs be assigned as instructors in ROTC and the Army School System; more MOSs be opened to women; all TD spaces be considered interchangeable; and Army barracks be designed to house either men or women. The study also examined the idea of retaining pregnant women and mothers on active duty as a means of reducing WAC losses. It concluded, however, that "there are too many more cogent reasons for this not being permitted. . . . The members of the Women's Army Corps must possess the same degree of mobility as male soldiers." The study recommended that women continue to be discharged when they became pregnant.[25]

Colonel Hoisington reviewed the work of the study group as it progressed. She concurred in most of the recommendations but was adamantly opposed to opening ROTC to women and to assigning women as instructors in the ROTC program. She feared such a change would lead to eliminating the WAC officer procurement programs and WAC control over the quality of its officer candidates and student officers. On the other hand, she wholeheartedly agreed with the recommendation that pregnant women and mothers should continue to be discharged to sustain

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[24] *Strength of the Army Reports* (DCSPER 46) Part I, Strength, and Part II, Gains and Losses, 30 Jun 71 and 30 Jun 72. As of 30 Jun 71, the WAF had exceeded its goal (9,000) with a total strength of 11,289; the WAVES fell short of their goal (6,600) with 6,450; the Women Marines were also short of their goal (2,725) with 2,259 (DOD Comptroller, *Selected Manpower Statistics*, 15 Apr 72, p. 45).

[25] DCSPER (Batelle Institute), "The Army' 75 Personnel Concept Study, 1969," p. 31, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, Army 75 Report, CMH.

the mobility of members of the Corps. WAC leadership remained, as ever, conservative and cautious as it pressed for wider opportunities for women in the Army.[26]

When the Army '75 Study was published in late 1969, it received little attention. Its primary assumption had been that the draft would continue through 1975, and, in consequence, many of its recommendations were soon out of date. Antidraft sentiment had meanwhile reached such proportions that the Army staff was preoccupied with new studies aimed at establishing an all-volunteer Army.

Impetus for this approach came directly from the president. Soon after his inauguration on 20 January 1969, President Nixon appointed a commission headed by former Secretary of Defense Thomas S. Gates, Jr., to study the feasibility of eliminating the draft. A year later the commission recommended that the draft be replaced by an all-volunteer force.[27] The president agreed and, in April 1970, told Congress, "From now on, the objective of this Administration is to reduce draft calls to zero, subject to the overriding considerations of national security." [28]

After the Gates Commission had begun its meetings, Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird had convened a joint service study group, called the Project Volunteer Committee, to prepare contingency plans. The secretary tasked each service to submit a detailed plan for achieving an all-volunteer force in the event the president should order it. This, to most, seemed a foregone conclusion. Secretary of the Army Resor directed the DCSPER to prepare the Army's plan. A study group was promptly appointed, led by Lt. Col. Jack R. Butler from ODCSPER Studies and Research Directorate. An officer from ODWAC served on the committee as it undertook Project Volunteer in Defense of the Nation (PROVIDE).[29]

One of the principal tasks of PROVIDE was to develop a plan "to reduce future military requirements for male uniformed personnel through increased utilization of civilians and or uniformed women." [30] In partial

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[26] Ibid.; Memo, DWAC to Director of ODCSPER Studies and Research, 18 Nov 68, sub: Army '75 Personnel Concept Study, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, Army 75 Report, CMH; Comment 2, DF, DWAC to DCSPER Provide Study Group, 9 Jun 69, sub: PROVIDE—Interim Report, 9 June 69, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, PROVIDE, CMH. The study did not address the question of women entering the US Military Academy.

[27] *The Report of the Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Forces* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1970).

[28] *Public Papers of Presidents of the United States, Richard Nixon, 1970* (Washington: National Archives and Records Service, 1971), pp. 394–99. Series cited hereafter as *Public Papers*, with appropriate name and year.

[29] Memo, CofS No. 69-113, 17 Mar 69, sub: Study: Project Volunteer in Defense of the Nation (PROVIDE); Interim Rpt, DCSPER, 15 Jun 69, same subject; and ODCSPER, Executive Summary Interim Rpt, PROVIDE Study, 15 Sep 69. All in ODWAC Ref File, Studies, PROVIDE, CMH.

[30] Memo, SecDef to Secretaries of the Military Depts, 4 May 70, sub: Report of the Project Volunteer Committee, p. 12, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, PROVIDE, CMH.

fulfillment of this requirement, Colonel Hoisington and her staff proposed to increase the size of the WAC by 80 percent—to 22,400 enlisted women, 2,000 officers, and 40 warrant officers—by FY 1976. Such planning, however, depended upon obtaining an increase in the number of interchangeable spaces, approximately $15 million for construction of barracks and classrooms at WAC Center and WAC School, $1.5 million for rehabilitation of WAC barracks worldwide, and $1 million a year for five years to sustain an intensive WAC recruit advertising campaign. The estimated cost of the plan was $21.5 million. Colonel Hoisington emphasized that its success was contingent not only upon the total amount being authorized, but also upon additional personnel spaces being authorized for WAC recruiters, cadre, trainers, and cooks.[31]

In August 1970, the DOD committee combined the services' papers and sent the resultant report, "Plans and Actions to Move Toward an All Volunteer Force," to Secretary Laird. Soon thereafter the secretary announced the president's decision that a zero draft status would exist on 30 June 1973.[32] Throughout this planning phase, Army Chief of Staff William C. Westmoreland had opposed ending the draft. Now, however, he deferred to the judgment of his commander-in-chief and committed the Army to achieving an all-volunteer force by the White House deadline. He appointed Maj. Gen. George I. Forsythe as Special Assistant to th Secretary of the Army for the Modern Volunteer Army Program (SAMVA). The program's initial objective was to increase the attractiveness of Army life for potential combat-arms enlistees and reenlistees.[33] Under Project VOLAR (Volunteer Army), commanders at selected posts tested various methods and procedures that might improve the quality of Army life and increase enlistments and reenlistments. Between October 1970 and December 1972, General Forsythe and his staff eliminated many of the irritants of Army life and improved living conditions at posts throughout the United States and overseas. The Army doubled its recruiters, opened many more recruiting stations, added a variety of new enlistment and reenlistment options, and streamlined enlistment procedures.[34]

General Westmoreland introduced changes in routine Army procedures to make Army life more attractive to enlisted personnel. In December 1970, he issued orders liberalizing the hair-length code and permitting sideburns and mustaches. He eliminated bed check, sign-in and sign-out procedures, and reveille formations. (These changes applied to permanent party personnel; they did not affect men or women in basic or advanced

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[31] DF, Director, Study Group PROVIDE, to DWAC, 21 Mar 69, sub: Request for Information, and Comment 2, DWAC to Dir, Study Group PROVIDE, 16 Apr 69, WAC Expansion Plan with 11 incls, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, PROVIDE, CMH.

[32] *Facts on File*, 12 Oct 70.

[33] Memo, CofS, memo 70-392, 31 Oct 70, sub: Appointment of Special Assistant for the Modern Volunteer Army (SAMVA). Maj Diane Dicke was assigned to the SAMVA staff.

[34] MFR, SAMVA, 29 Jul 71, with Tab C, Ref Br, CMH.

individual training.) WACs benefited from the Army-wide reforms that not only improved life-styles but also added new enlistment and reenlistment options. The WAC reenlistment rate for first termers rose from 24.5 percent in 1970 to 33.9 percent in FY 1971.[35]

A Giant Step for Women

To implement an all-volunteer program, the Army took a giant step toward improved opportunities for women. In April 1970, a WAC and an Army nurse were selected for promotion to temporary brigadier general. On 15 May, Secretary Resor announced that President Nixon had nominated Col. Anna Mae Hays, Chief, Army Nurse Corps, and Col. Elizabeth P. Hoisington, Director, WAC, for promotion. On 28 May, the Senate confirmed their nominations along with those of 84 male officers. And on 11 June, in a ceremony in the DOD press conference room at the Pentagon, Secretary Resor and General Westmoreland promoted the first two women officers to achieve general officer rank in any military service. Attending the ceremony, in addition to the top civilian and military leaders of the Army, were Senator Robert Dole of Kansas, Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Chairwoman Marjorie S. Dunlap and other members of DACOWITS, the former directors of the WAC and chiefs of the Army Nurse Corps, as well as relatives and friends of the newly promoted officers.[36]

General Hoisington had planned to retire in 1970, but after her selection for promotion Secretary Resor asked her to remain as director for another year. The director's star generated an enormous amount of good publicity. She appeared on numerous national television and radio shows and was interviewed by journalists from newspapers and magazines around the world. In August 1970, when she visited the Quartermaster Center at Fort Lee, the commander, Maj. Gen. John D. McLaughlin, ordered the first eleven-gun salute ever rendered to a woman general officer.[37] During 1971, she spent another 102 days in travel, visiting WAC units and taking part in recruiting and public relations activities.[38]

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[35] "Army Ups Attractiveness, Downs Irritants," *Armed Forces Journal*, 21 Dec 70, p. 17; DA, Army Poster No. 600-20, "Haircuts," May 71; *Strength of the Army Report* (DCSPER-46), Part II, Gains and Losses, 30 Jun 71. Adm Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr., CNO, and Gen John D. Ryan, USAF CofS, carried out similar programs.

[36] DA Msgs 918366, 31 Jul 69, sub: Brigadier General Promotion Selection Board, and 945094, 19 Mar 70, sub: Temporary Brigadier General Selection Board; SS, DCSPER, DA, 22 Apr 70, sub: General Officer Rank for Chief Army Nurse Corps and Director WAC. All in ODWAC Ref File, Promotion Restrictions Removed, CMH.

[37] *The Traveller*, Fort Lee, VA, 13 Aug 70.

[38] Interv, BrigGen Hoisington with the author, 3 Nov 80.

THE FIRST TWO MILITARY WOMEN TO ACHIEVE GENERAL OFFICER RANK, *Brig. Gen. Anna Mae Hays, Chief of the Army Nurse Corps (left), and Brig. Gen. Elizabeth P. Hoisington, Director, WAC (right), with Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower on their promotion day, 11 June 1970.*

Controversy and Changing Standards

In 1969, a national political force that had appeared to be spent revived, and the women's rights movement again began to achieve prominence. Three years after women won the right to vote in 1920, proposals for an Equal Rights Amendment began to be discussed in Congress. Although the draft amendment made little progress over the decades, federal legislative and executive branch actions in the 1960s eliminated some forms of gender discrimination. The Equal Pay Act of 1963 ensured equal pay for equal work for women employed in jobs controlled by interstate commerce laws. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited sex discrimination in employment unless gender was a bona fide occupational qualification. Executive Order 11246, 24 September 1965, prohibited sex discrimination in the federal government or in employment generated by federal contracts.

As the women's movement grew, it attracted wide public interest and began to change some American attitudes and social customs. The mili-

tant leaders of the movement sought media attention by organizing women to strike against housework and waiting on spouse and children, to seek entry into all-male clubs and meetings, and to boycott businesses and cities that discriminated against women in employment or promotion. These women demanded that laws and customs that restricted their opportunities, roles, and freedom be eliminated. Women in all walks of life joined the movement, and its political influence grew. Even those who had initially laughed at the attention-getting antics of some feminists were compelled to take note when the courts upheld many of their claims. The courts forced businesses and governments to amend discriminatory laws, policies, customs, and regulations and to compensate women retroactively when sex discrimination had deprived them of promotion and pay. This side of the women's movement appealed to many, particularly the younger, members of the women's services.

The women's movement had a decided influence on American life. It presented society with more liberal ideas regarding women's work, dress, and legal status. Society accepted those ideas and, with them, changes in long-standing social customs, relationships, and moral standards. By the late 1960s, many Americans accepted unwed mothers, illegitimate children, and couples who lived together without being married.

Few women in the country could have been considered more likely to reject many of these developments than the conservative, tradition-minded WAC leadership. To them, changes that appeared to make women more like men meant a decline, not an improvement, in the status of women. But there was no escaping the momentum of the women's movement and the acceptance of its goals by most politicians.

WAC entry and retention standards came under examination in 1970. The commander of the Army Recruiting Command, Maj. Gen. Donald H. McGovern, wrote in May 1970, "The movement for more liberal moral standards and the rising emphasis toward equality of the sexes require that this command be prepared to answer an increasing number of questions and charges concerning the validity of allegations of discrimination against female applicants for enlistment." [39] He asked the DCSPER why waivers could not be considered for women who had illegitimate children or a record of venereal disease (VD) when these factors did not bar men from enlistment or even require submission of a waiver.

The director of the WAC and the director of procurement and distribution, ODCSPER, Brig. Gen. Albert H. Smith, Jr., prepared the reply to General McGovern. Arguing that American society demanded higher moral character in women, they wrote, "Having a history of venereal

[39] Ltr, Cdr, USAREC, to DCSPER, DA (ATTN: Director, Procurement and Distribution Directorate [DPD]), 15 May 70, sub: Nonwaivable Moral and Administrative Enlistment Disqualifications for Women, and 1st Ind, by DCSPER to Cdr, USAREC, 26 May 70, ODWAC Ref File, Elimination of WAC Enlistment Standards, CMH.

disease or having had a pregnancy while unmarried is an indication of lack of discipline and maturity in a woman." WAC enlistment standards, their reply continued, were designed to ensure that the Corps accepted as few risks as possible in mental, physical, and moral qualifications. Employers in industry tailored employment qualifications to fit job requirements, and the WAC established enlistment qualifications "based on our requirements for service, wearing the uniform, and the necessity to maintain an impeccable public image." [40]

While General Hoisington believed that granting the first waiver would open the door to endless requests for others, she also believed that if a regulation were no longer valid, it should be rewritten. In August 1970, Maj. Gen. Leo E. Benade, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Reserve Affairs (DASD M&RA), reintroduced the subject. He had received complaints from members of Congress, pressure groups, and ordinary citizens, alleging that the military services discriminated against women by barring them, but not men, from enlistment or retention if they had had unwed pregnancies or a history of VD. Several court actions involving the pregnancy rules had been initiated. In one publicized case, an unmarried, pregnant Air Force nurse obtained a court order that prevented the Air Force from involuntarily discharging her. The Air Force appealed, but over a year passed before the court ruled that the service could discharge her on grounds of a compelling public interest in not having pregnant female soldiers in a military unit. When the officer appealed that decision, the Air Force did not fight the case—by then it had decided to allow pregnant women to submit waivers to remain on duty. The officer's request for a waiver was subsequently approved, and she remained on duty.[41]

General Benade met with his service counterparts to discuss these developments. He asked their opinions on whether the services discriminated by barring a woman from enlistment or retention if she had had a child out of wedlock, but did not bar the putative father. General Benade hinted at his position, "Congress provided that we cannot enlist the insane, the intoxicated, the deserter, or the convicted felon. But beyond that perhaps we should not include, as a class, the unwed mother." [42]

Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Army for Personnel Policy and Programs John R. Kester, who was a lawyer, reviewed the issues presented. He believed that, as a matter of equity, the Army should not bar

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[40] Ibid.

[41] Interv, BrigGen Hoisington with the author, 3 Nov 80; Maj. Gen. Jeanne M. Holm, USAF Ret, *Women in the Military, An Unfinished Revolution* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1982), pp. 297-301. General Holm notes that the services' judge advocates general agreed that the Air Force should yield rather than risk being forced to change all their discharge policies regarding pregnancy, parenthood, and dependency.

[42] Memo, Dep Asst SecDef, M&RA (DASD M&RA), to Asst Service Secretaries, M&RA, 25 Aug 70, sub: Enlistment policies regarding women who have a child out-of-wedlock, ODWAC Ref File, Elimination of WAC Enlistment Standards, CMH.

married women or unwed mothers from initial enlistment or appointment or from retention. Nor should pregnancy and parenthood cause automatic dismissal from the service. On 8 October, he directed the DCSPER "to amend and standardize Army Regulations pertaining to . . . enlistment, appointment, retention, and separation of female members" on marriage, pregnancy, and parenthood.[43] He further asked that the proposed changes be on his desk within a week. The DCSPER, Lt. Gen. Walter T. Kerwin, Jr., asked for time to study the impact of the proposed changes on the budget, housing, medical care, morale, and personnel management. In addition, the proposal required coordination with the surgeon general, the chief of the reserve components, the Office of Personnel Operations, the director of the WAC, and the judge advocate general. He promised a report on 15 January 1971 and appointed a task force of representatives from those offices to prepare the study.[44]

Before the task force held its first meeting, Under Secretary of the Army Thaddeus R. Beal asked the DCSPER to revise Army regulations immediately to allow waivers for some moral and administrative disqualifications affecting the enlistment and retention of women: history of VD; civilian court conviction; more than 30 days' lost time for being AWOL; illegitimate pregnancy; marriage prior to an initial enlistment in the Army; or responsibility for a child under 18 years old. Mr. Beal rejected the idea of a new study, saying, "Although I understand that the Staff has suggested a study in this area, I do not believe such an effort would add significantly to what we already know; in any event, the matter is urgent." As director of the Army Council of Review Boards, Mr. Beal supervised the boards that decided on appeals of discharges and other separation actions. He asked for the regulatory changes so that the Army could avoid future embarrassment and possible adverse court rulings and could keep its polices in line with those of the other services. "This would not," he said, "require any radical change in policy but would allow the Army to decide each case individually." [45]

In the midst of much internal controversy, the task force revised the regulations following Mr. Beal's directions. General Hoisington strongly disagreed with almost every revision. Regarding waivers that would allow married women without previous service to enter the WAC, she wrote, "The Army is not a suitable side-job for a woman who is already

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[43] Memo, Dep Asst SecArmy, M&RA (DASA M&RA), to Sec, General Staff, 8 Oct 70, sub: Elimination of Discriminatory Provisions in Army Regulations Pertaining to Standards of Service, ODWAC Ref File, Elimination of WAC Enlistment Standards, CMH.

[44] Memo, Acting DCSPER, DA, to DASD M&RA, 21 Oct 70, sub: Elimination of Discriminatory Provisions in Army Regulations Pertaining to Standards of Service, and DF, DCSPER to DWAC and other directorates, 21 Oct 70, same subject, ODWAC Ref File, Elimination of WAC Enlistment Standards, CMH.

[45] Memo, Under SecArmy to Vice CofS, 26 Oct 70, sub: Elimination of Discriminatory Provisions of Army Regulations Pertaining to Standards of Service, ODWAC Ref File, Elimination of WAC Enlistment Standards, CMH.

committed to maintaining a home, a husband, or a child." Women who had unmarried pregnancies were, she said, "likely to be disciplinary or adjustment problems." She would not allow waivers for women with children under eighteen and maintained that "a woman with children is a liability to the Army because she is not free to travel." [46] Maj. Gen. Frank M. Davis, Jr., the director of military personnel policies, also disapproved waivers to enlist unwed mothers and women with a history of VD. He felt waivers condoned permissive personal behavior.[47] And, despite his agreement with the objections, the acting director of procurement and distribution, Col. J. K. Gilham, recommended to General Kerwin, the DCSPER, that the Army "comply with a second firm directive from Secretarial level." [48]

With one exception, the DCSPER included in the revised regulations all the waiver provisions that Mr. Beal had requested. Vice Chief of Staff Bruce Palmer, Jr., concurred and withheld the waiver provision that would allow women without previous service to enter the Army if they had responsibility for minor children. For equity, he recommended that the provision also apply to males without prior service. "Certainly, the Army would be a more flexible, mobile, and responsive organization if E–1 enlistments are not burdened with responsibility for children under 18 years of age." [49] He also forwarded General Hoisington's comments, which said in part:

> The recent acceleration of the women's liberation movement and the publicity it attracts from the news media, in my opinion, threatens to overwhelm good sense and perspective in the management of Women's Army Corps personnel. Several decisions have already been made on individual cases and others are under consideration which directly undermine the effective employment of women in the WAC and which are counter to our reason-for-being in the United States Army.
>
> I feel obliged, therefore, to warn against any rash, unwarranted, and unsound decisions affecting the enlistment, utilization, retention, and cost effectiveness of women in the Army.
>
> The Army has an obligation to its current and former WAC members, to parents who have entrusted their daughters in our keeping, and to itself, to advance the standards of morality, the effective utilization, and morale of WAC personnel. As Director of the Women's Army Corps, and as the spokesman for thousands of

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[46] Tab H, Comments by the Director WAC, in Memo, DCSPER, through Vice CofS, to Under SecArmy, 13 Nov 70, sub: Elimination of Discriminatory Provisions of Army Regulations Pertaining to Standards of Service, ODWAC Ref File, Elimination of WAC Enlistment Standards, CMH.

[47] Memo, Dir, Military Personnel Policies (DMPP), ODCSPER, to DPD, ODCSPER, 4 Nov 70, sub: Statement of Nonconcurrence, ODWAC Ref File, Elimination of WAC Enlistment Standards, CMH.

[48] Memo, Actg DPD to DCSPER, 5 Nov 70, sub: Consideration of Nonconcurrence, ODWAC Ref File, Elimination of WAC Enlistment Standards, CMH.

[49] Memo, DCSPER, through Vice CofS, to Under SecArmy, 13 Nov 70, sub: Elimination of Discriminatory Provisions of Army Regulations Pertaining to Standards of Service, ODWAC Ref File, Elimination of WAC Enlistment Standards, CMH.

women who have served and are serving in our Corps today, I feel a deep moral conviction and obligation to make my objections known and understood. I cannot be silent on issues and decisions affecting the Women's Army Corps that do not consider twenty-eight years of experience we have had in judging the morale, utilization, and discipline of Women's Army Corps personnel. For this reason, I desire my comments be forwarded to the Chief of Staff and the Secretary of the Army for consideration and I stand ready for a personal audience to present further arguments supporting the actions below which are vital to the existence of the Women's Army Corps.[50]

Since senior officials usually resolve differences of opinion in conferences, General Hoisington expected a summons to meet with Mr. Beal or Mr. Kester. Several weeks passed without a call. With General Kerwin's permission, she wrote directly to Mr. Beal on 24 November 1970. Her apprehension had been heightened by the news that the funds and spaces would soon be authorized for an 80 percent WAC expansion to support President Nixon's call for an all-volunteer Army. Such an expansion could lead, as it had in World War II, to a dispensation of waivers so liberal that the quality of WAC recruits would fall. In her memo to Mr. Beal, she argued that women's standards did not discriminate simply because they did not parallel men's. They differed because the WAC needed recruits of a quality higher than that needed in most of the men's branches. "These standards," she wrote, "were set to sustain and improve the development of a women's force whose members exemplify the highest standards of professionalism, integrity, and moral character in the Armed Forces." Experience had shown, she continued, that in the stress of a buildup, quality falls, and she could no longer concur in the proposed WAC expansion unless she could "be assured that the quality of women in the Army would not be adversely affected by changes made in entry, retention, and separation policies for members of the Women's Army Corps." [51]

When General Hoisington's memo arrived, Mr. Kester and Mr. Beal were reviewing the revised waiver regulations. The memo delayed their response to the revisions, and they met with the director on 2 December. At the meeting, she urged them to maintain WAC standards as the regulations stood, without waiver and without change. Unsuccessful in this, she reluctantly proposed a compromise. She would accept the submission of waivers for a history of VD and for thirty days of lost time, if they did not insist on waivers for women desiring entry or retention with children born out of wedlock or with children under eighteen. This effort, too, failed. General Hoisington recalled the conference: "It took only a few minutes to discover they had their minds made up to allow

[50] Ibid., Tab H, Comments from the Director, WAC.

[51] Memo, DWAC to Under SecArmy, 24 Nov 70, sub: Elimination of Discriminatory Provisions of Army Regulations Pertaining to Standards of Service, ODWAC Ref File, Elimination of WAC Enlistment Standards, CMH.

waivers for everything. Still, I gave forth my best arguments and pleaded with them not to begin the degradation of WAC standards. We went back and forth on the qualifications and they discarded every reason I had for keeping them." Finally, when they would not consider how many unwed pregnancies should disqualify a woman for entry or retention, General Hoisington gave up, and the meeting ended.[52]

The next day, 3 December, Mr. Beal directed the DCSPER to authorize waivers for moral and administrative disqualifications for women entering the Army. He also vetoed Vice Chief of Staff Palmer's request to defer the decision to provide waivers for men as well as women with minor children.[53]

The outcome reflected a fundamental divergence, not only between older and newer ideas on women's military role, but also between military and civilian officials. Being lawyers, Mr. Beal and Mr. Kester differed with General Hoisington on the use and enforcement of Army regulations. They wanted the regulations to protect the Army from lawsuits and to give the service the greatest amount of flexibility in accepting and retaining personnel. Their roles required them to uphold the rights of individuals who were, had been, or wanted to become members of the Army, Navy, or Air Force. To achieve those goals in the environment of the early 1970s, they needed the authority to waive disqualifications for entry and retention—except for insanity, drunkenness, desertion, or felony convictions, as already provided by law.

After the DCSPER received Mr. Beal's order, the Directorate of Military Personnel Policies, ODCSPER, circulated its proposed policies.[54] General Hoisington again refused to concur. In a memo addressed to Mr. Beal, she wrote: "In reviewing the DCSPER proposals on separation regulations for women in the Army, I can only conjecture that they are based on the notion that the Army discriminates against women by requiring their separation when they become pregnant. It is a fact that a woman has freedom of choice in deciding whether or not she will become pregnant. If she elects, therefore, to become pregnant and deliberately incapacitates herself for retention, how has the Army discriminated against her?" Knowing that her objections would be ignored, she asked the under secretary at least to establish firm guidelines on approving waivers for retention of unwed mothers and to continue mandatory discharge of women who were pregnant upon entry into the service or

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[52] Interv, BrigGen Hoisington with the author, 3 Nov 80.

[53] Memo, DASD M&RA [Kester] to Under SecArmy [Beal], 25 Nov 70, sub: Regulations on WACs, and Memo, Under SecArmy to Vice CofS, 3 Dec 70, sub: Elimination of Discriminatory Provisions of Army Regulations Pertaining to Standards of Service, ODWAC Ref File, Elimination of WAC Enlistment Standards, CMH.

[54] DF, ODCSPER, DMPP, to other ODCSPER directorates and DWAC, 12 Jan 71, sub: Change to Separation Regulations (AR 635-120 and 635-200), ODWAC Ref File, Elimination of WAC Enlistment Standards, CMH.

who had abortions or miscarriages while on active duty. She did not believe that a woman should be rewarded by retention in the service after she had an abortion, when women who rejected abortion and proceeded with their pregnancies were mandatorily discharged. To her, this was discrimination, even though women forced out of the service on account of pregnancy could apply for reenlistment after two years.[55]

A few weeks later, General Palmer asked for a conference with the DCSPER and the DWAC to discuss WAC standards. At issue was a request for retention submitted by an unmarried enlisted woman who had had an abortion. The woman's WAC detachment commander had recommended discharge, based on the woman's poor performance of duty; her battalion commander had recommended retention. When General Hoisington reviewed the case, she agreed with the detachment commander. In the director's opinion, it was better to discharge the woman immediately because the woman was a combined poor risk (performance of duty and moral character) and retention set a precedent for similar cases. The director also knew the Army did not want to rule on how many abortions should be allowed before discharge. Mr. Kester overruled General Hoisington and approved the woman's request for retention.

On 29 March 1971, at the conference requested by General Palmer, General Hoisington once again explained her view of the impending changes in the regulations. She expressed concern that the quality of women entering and being retained in the Corps would decline and that this decline would diminish the Corps' image and its ability to recruit women of high mental, moral, and physical qualifications. The vice chief listened to General Hoisington's views and agreed with her insistence upon retaining high standards. Nonetheless, he felt that the social and political environment would, today or tomorrow, require the Army to change its policies. He could not, therefore, recommend that Chief of Staff Westmoreland initiate a challenge to the policies directed by Under Secretary Beal. He concluded by assuring General Hoisington that WAC requests for waivers would be sent to her for review and that her recommendations would receive full support under the new regulations. This assurance was faint comfort to the director, who had just seen Mr. Kester overrule one of her decisions.[56]

A message to major commanders announced the new policies. Effective 9 April 1971, women could request waivers for disqualification from entry and retention because of pregnancy, terminated pregnancies, and

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[55] Ibid., Comment 2, DWAC, 22 Jan 71, and Memo, DWAC to Under SecArmy, 5 Feb 71, Incl 5 to Memo, DCSPER, through CofS, to Under SecArmy, 5 Feb 71, sub: Elimination of Discriminatory Provisions of Army Regulations Pertaining to Standards of Service, ODWAC Ref File, Elimination of WAC Enlistment Standards, CMH.

[56] Memo, Vice CofS to Sec, General Staff, 11 Feb 71, no sub, and MFR, ODWAC, 29 Mar 71, sub: Resume of DWAC Conference with Generals Palmer and Kerwin, ODWAC Ref File, Elimination of WAC Enlistment Standards, CMH.

parenthood.[57] The new policies also affected women in the Army Medical Department, where the views of the leadership differed markedly from those of the WAC. Surgeon General Hal B. Jennings, Jr., had not opposed the new policies, declaring that waivers recognized "the principles of equality" and eliminated "an inflexible attitude toward changing societal patterns." [58] Following the Army's lead, the other services implemented similar waiver policies.

The Abortion Policy

Between 1950 and 1970, the number of illegitimate births in the United States had almost tripled, indicating a change in American social and moral standards.[59] In line with this trend, on 16 July 1970, the assistant secretary of defense for health and environment transmitted a new policy on abortion to the services. The assistant secretary advised the services' surgeons general that abortions could be performed in their hospital facilities, regardless of the laws of the state in which they were located. A woman needed only to prove to a doctor's satisfaction that the abortion was necessary for her long-term mental or physical health.[60]

The 1970 policy did not affect the WAC. Army regulations still provided that women would be involuntarily discharged as soon as they became pregnant. If an unwed woman had an abortion before her discharge date, she was mandatorily discharged; a married woman could request retention on duty. General Hoisington became deeply interested in the abortion issue when it appeared that the new waiver policies would allow any woman who had had an abortion to request retention. In February 1971, she asked Judge Advocate General Kenneth J. Hodson for an opinion on whether the Army could prohibit abortions for unmarried WACs under 21, could require their parents' consent to the operation, or could deny a woman an abortion if her pregnancy predated her entry into the Army. General Hodson decided that after parents had given their consent to the initial enlistment, a woman could make her own medical decisions. A woman who was pregnant upon entry, howev-

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[57] Memo, DASA M&RA to Sec, General Staff, 25 Mar 71, sub: Elimination of Discriminatory Provisions of Army Regulations Pertaining to Standards of Service, and DA Msgs 091528Z and 202141Z Apr 71 to Maj Coms, sub: Retention on Active Duty in Cases of Pregnancy and Parenthood, ODWAC Ref File, Elimination of WAC Enlistment Standards, CMH.

[58] DF, DCSPER to the Surgeon General of the Army (TSG), 9 Oct 70, sub: Separation Policies for Women in the Army, Comment 2, Surgeon General to DCSPER, 15 Oct 70, ODWAC Ref File, Elimination of WAC Enlistment Standards, CMH.

[59] US Bureau of Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States for 1978* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1978), p. 65.

[60] Memo, Asst SecDef for Health and Environment (ASD H&E) to Surgeons General of the Services, 16 Jul 70, sub: Termination of Pregnancies in Military Facilities, ODWAC Ref File, Abortion and Family Planning, CMH. Between 1966 and 1973, efforts by the American Civil Liberties Union and women's rights and pro-abortion groups led many states to abolish criminal penalties for abortion operations.

er, could be discharged and denied an abortion because she did not meet one of the basic qualifications for enlistment. That same month the Army's surgeon general disseminated that information as guidance to hospital commanders.[61]

On 3 April, however, President Nixon abruptly changed Defense Department policies on abortion. He directed the services to comply with the laws of the state where their military bases were located.[62] Accordingly, abortions could only be performed as elective surgery in military hospitals in Arkansas, California, Colorado, Delaware, the District of Columbia, Georgia, Kansas, Maryland, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oregon, South Carolina, and Virginia. The other states permitted abortions only when the life or health of the mother was imperiled, and military hospitals there were obliged to follow more stringent rules.

Abortion laws changed after 1973. That year, the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that abortion was not a crime and that the states could not restrict or prohibit a woman's right to an abortion during her first three months of pregnancy. The ruling put the services' abortion policy out of step with the law of the land. After waiting for the states to change their laws (many did so slowly, hoping the decision would be reversed), the Department of Defense again authorized military hospitals to perform abortions regardless of state laws, beginning in September 1975.[63] Then, in November 1978, Congress banned the use of federal funds for abortions except when pregnancy was the result of rape or incest or when the mother's life was in danger.[64] Subsequent acts continued this prohibition.

The WAC in Vietnam

During the 1960s, as the director and her staff struggled with improving WAC career potential and expanding WAC strength while maintaining standards, the situation in Vietnam intensified. In 1964, the personnel officer at Headquarters, Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (MACV), in Saigon wrote to the director, then Colonel Gorman, that the Republic of Vietnam was organizing a Women's Armed Forces Corps (WAFC) and wanted U.S. WACs to assist them in planning and developing it. The MACV commander, then General Westmoreland, authorized

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[61] DF, TSG to DWAC, 28 Jan 71, sub: Policy for Family Planning Program, and Comment 2, DWAC to TSG, 12 Feb 71; DF, TJAG to TSG, 18 Feb 71, same sub, and Comment 2, TSG to DWAC, 23 Feb 71; and DA Msg (TSG) to CG, CONARC (Hospital Cdrs), 16 Feb 71, same sub. All in ODWAC Ref File, Abortion and Family Planning, CMH.

[62] *Public Papers, Nixon, 1971*, p. 500; DA Msg (TSG) 071931Z Apr 71, ODWAC Ref File, Abortion and Family Planning, CMH.

[63] DA Msg (TSG) 041514Z Oct 73, sub: Policy for Family Planning Program, ODWAC Ref File, Abortion and Family Planning, CMH; AR 40-3, 17 Sep 73, Medical, Dental, and Veterinary Care, CMH Library.

[64] PL 95-485, Defense Appropriations, FY 79.

spaces for two WAC advisors.[65] Before the requisitions arrived at the Pentagon, the MACV personnel officer, Brig. Gen. Ben Sternberg, wrote Colonel Gorman, offering some friendly advice: "The WAC officer should be a captain or major, fully knowledgeable in all matters pertaining to the operation of a WAC school and the training conducted therein. She should be extremely intelligent, an extrovert and beautiful. The WAC sergeant should have somewhat the same qualities . . . and should be able to type as well." [66] Colonel Gorman replied that the WAC would "certainly try" to send women with "the qualifications you outline." Then, she added, "The combination of brains and beauty is, of course, common in the WAC." [67]

By the time the requisitions arrived at the Pentagon in November 1964, the director had selected Maj. Kathleen I. Wilkes and Sgt. 1st Cl. Betty L. Adams to fill the positions. Both had extensive experience in WAC training, recruiting, administration, and command. On 15 January 1965, they arrived in Saigon and were met by Maj. Tran Cam Huong, director of the WAFC and commandant of the WAFC training center and her assistant, Maj. Ho Thi Ve.[68]

The first WAC advisors to the Women's Armed Forces Corps set the pattern of duties for those who replaced them every year. They advised the WAFC director and her staff on methods of organization, inspection, and management in recruiting, training, administering, and assigning enlisted women and officer candidates. Time did not permit the first two WAC advisors to attend language school before they went to Saigon, but those who followed attended a twelve-week Vietnamese language course at the Defense Language Institute, Monterey, California. Although Major Huong and her key staff members spoke English, a knowledge of Vietnamese was helpful to the WAC advisors. In 1968, an additional WAC officer advisor was assigned to the WAFC training center located on the outskirts of Saigon. The senior WAC advisor, then a lieutenant colonel, and the NCO advisor, then a master sergeant, remained at WAFC headquarters in the city and continued to help the director of the WAFC to develop Corps-wide plans and policies. For additional training, members of the WAFC traveled to the United States. Between 1964 and 1971, fifty-one Vietnamese women officer candidates completed the WAC Offi-

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[65] US military personnel assigned to advisory billets with the armed forces of the Republic of Vietnam were known as advisors, with an "o."

[66] Ltr, BrigGen Ben Sternberg, J-1, HQ, MACV, to DWAC, 17 Nov 64, ODWAC Ref File, Vietnam, CMH.

[67] Ltr, Col Gorman to BrigGen Sternberg, 23 Nov 64, ODWAC Ref File, Vietnam, CMH

[68] The first WAC to serve in Vietnam, 1962-63, was Maj Anne Marie Doering. The daughter of a French engineer, she was born and raised in Haiphong and was assigned to the Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG) in Saigon as a plans officer. Ltr, Maj Doering to the author, 11 Feb 81.

MAJ. KATHLEEN I. WILKES AND SGT. 1ST CL. BETTY L. ADAMS, *the first WAC military advisors in Vietnam, observe the issue of uniforms to members of the Women's Armed Forces Corps, Republic of Vietnam, 9 March 1965.*

cer Basic Course at the WAC School; one officer completed the WAC Officer Advanced Course.[69]

Another group of WACs was assigned to Saigon beginning in 1965. That year General Westmoreland requisitioned fifteen WAC stenographers for MACV headquarters. Six arrived by December; the balance reported in over the next few months. Women in grades E-5 and higher with excellent stenographic skills, maturity, and faultless records of deportment filled these positions for the next seven years. Peak strength reached twenty-three on 30 June 1970. The senior among them acted as

[69] Activity Rpts, Senior WAC advisor to J-1, MACV, 1965-71, and DF, Chief, WAFC Advisory Br, to Chief, Personnel Advisory Div, J-1, MACV, 9 Nov 71, sub: Advisory Support to WAFC Director, ODWAC Ref File, Vietnam, CMH; Historical Report, WAC C&S, 1972, Charts of Foreign Students at WAC School, History Collection, WAC Museum. Senior advisors to the WAFC were LtCols Kathleen I. Wilkes, Judith C. Bennett, Frances V. Chaffin, Lorraine A. Rossi, Ann B. Smith, Joyce E. Eslick. Junior advisors were Majs Charlotte Hall, Rosemary L. Davis, Catherine A. Brajkovich. NCO advisors were MSgts Betty L. Adams, Jane O. Salzobryt, Mary E. Phillips, Evelyn Ford, Mary J. Hinton, Sylvia R. Bernardini.

NCO-in-charge and the senior WAC advisor to the WAFC was their officer-in-charge. Initially, the women were billeted in the Embassy Hotel, but they later moved to other hotels in Saigon. Their minimally furnished rooms were usually air-conditioned, and they ate in cafeterias in their hotels. Saigon, subject to frequent terrorist attacks by the Viet Cong, was a dangerous place to live and work. Soon after the first group arrived, the bus that took them to work was fire-bombed, but, by luck, it was empty at the time. The incident made walking to work attractive, but the Viet Cong were also known to plant antipersonnel bombs in sidewalks, steps, and doorways.[70] The WAC stenographers served at MACV headquarters and in support commands throughout the metropolitan area. Like everyone else, they worked six-and-a-half to seven days a week, ten to fifteen hours a day, and had little time for recreation or socializing. Nonetheless, several extended their tours in Vietnam, and a few returned for second and third tours of duty.[71]

Early in 1965, General Westmoreland had also requisitioned a dozen WAC officers. They filled administrative positions at MACV headquarters, in the support commands, and in the headquarters of a new command—U.S. Army, Vietnam (USARV), located at Tan Son Nhut Air Base, Saigon. Maj. Audrey A. Fisher, the first to arrive, was assigned to the adjutant general's office. Like the enlisted women, the WAC officers lived in hotels in Saigon, walked or rode Army buses to their offices at MACV, USARV, Headquarters Area Command, Civil Operations and Rural Development Support Agency, 1st Logistical Command, 519th Military Intelligence Group, and others. They worked in personnel, administration, public information, intelligence, logistics, plans and training, and military justice. A few WAC officers served with the U.S. Army Central Support Command at Qui Nhon and Cam Ranh Bay.

Until 1968, WACs in Vietnam wore the green cord uniform on duty. But, after the Tet offensive of that year, and particularly when alerts were frequent, they wore lightweight fatigues. During nonduty hours, they could wear civilian clothing. In Saigon, as elsewhere in Vietnam, military personnel converted their U.S. dollars to Military Payment Certificates, the medium of exchange in the country. Enlisted personnel were exempt from paying income tax on their pay while assigned to Vietnam; officers received a $500 exemption.

Representatives of the other women's services began arriving in Saigon in 1967. Like the WACs, they worked at Headquarters, MACV, a joint command; at Headquarters, Naval Forces, Vietnam; and at Head-

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[70] ODWAC Ref File, Vietnam, CMH. The Hostile Fire Pay Act, 2 Oct 63, amended 23 Aug 65, gave US armed forces in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos additional pay of $65 a month. Stenographers arriving in Saigon early were SP7 Mary L. Curry, Sgt1stCl Louise M. Farrell, SP6 Theresa A. Catano, SP6 Ann S. Frantz, SP5 Rebecca J. Fourth, SP5 Betty E. Reid, SP5 Nana B. Wathaw, SP6 Florence I. Woolard, and SP6 Pauline Wireman.

[71] Interv, Sgt1stCl Theresa A. Catano with the author, 27 Feb 81.

quarters, Seventh Air Force. Air Force women stationed in Vietnam numbered twenty-nine officers and twenty-two enlisted women at their peak strength in June 1971. WAVES filled one officer position in Saigon between 1967 and 1971, but no enlisted positions. Women Marines had a continuing complement of two officers and nine enlisted women on duty in Saigon between 1967 and 1972.[72] Approximately 5,000 Army nurses and medical specialists (men and women) served in Vietnam between March 1962 and March 1973. Eight nurses died there, but only one perished as a result of an enemy attack—Lt. Sharon A. Lane.[73] No other women service members died in Vietnam.

WAC Detachment, USARV

In April 1966, the USARV deputy commanding general, Lt. Gen. Jean E. Engler, requested that a WAC detachment be assigned to his headquarters. He asked for 50 (later 100) clerk-typists and other administrative workers, plus a cadre section of an officer and 5 enlisted women to administer the unit.[74]

Some officers in USARV opposed the idea. They believed that the additional security required for women would outweigh the advantages of having the WACs serve in Vietnam. However, General Engler won over the critics when he decided to house the WACs inside the U.S. military cantonment area at Tan Son Nhut rather than in the city, eliminating the need for additional guards. General Engler realized that the WACs would be exposed to risk, but he did not consider it great enough to exclude WACs, and he did not request that women being assigned to USARV learn to fire weapons. However, he privately decided that if they were ever assigned to field installations there, he would recommend that they receive small weapons training.[75]

General Engler's request for a WAC unit was approved by command channels in the Pacific area and at the Pentagon, including the director of the WAC, and, finally, by the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Earle C. Wheeler. General Engler was notified on 25 July 1966 that his request had been approved.[76]

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[72] Monthly Rpt, Senior WAFC Advisor, MACV, to WAC Staff Advisor, HQ USARPAC Hawaii, "Military Women Assigned in Saigon," ODWAC Ref File, WAC Staff Advisor, CMH; Stremlow, *Women Marines*, p. 91.

[73] *Highlights in the History of the Army Nurse Corps, 1775–1980* (Washington, DC: CMH, 1981), p. 62. Lt Lane died of wounds received during an enemy rocket attack on the 312th Evacuation Hospital, Chu Lai, 8 June 1969.

[74] Msg, CGUSARV AVA-MP 09102 090525Z Apr 66 to CINCUSARPAC, sub: WAC Detachment—USARV, and Msg, CINCUSARPAC GPPE-MD 10344 142100Z May 66 to ACSFOR, DA, DAIN 424595, same sub, ODWAC Ref File, Vietnam, CMH. The commander of MACV commanded both MACV and USARV and had a deputy commanding general for each command.

[75] Ltr, LtGen Engler to the author, 11 Apr 81.

[76] DA Msg 775146, 25 Jul 66, ACSFOR DA to CINCUSARPAC and CGUSARV, sub: Establishment of HQ, USARV WAC Detachment, ODWAC Ref File, Vietnam, CMH.

CAPT. PEGGY E. READY, COMMANDER, WAC DETACHMENT, VIETNAM, *and Lt. Gen. Jean E. Engler, Deputy Commander, U.S. Army, Vietnam, cut the ribbon opening the new WAC barracks area, January 1967.*

The WAC cadre arrived in the fall of 1966.[77] First to arrive were 1st Sgt. Marion C. Crawford and the administrative NCO, Sgt. 1st Cl. Betty J. Benson. The commander, Capt. Peggy E. Ready, the supply sergeant, S.Sgt. Edith L. Efferson, and unit clerks Pfc. Rhynell M. Stoabs and Pfc. Patricia C. Pewitt followed. They participated in a ground-breaking ceremony on 2 November for construction of the WAC barracks. Two months later, Army engineers completed eleven quonset huts, called hootches, for living quarters and unit offices. On 12 January 1967, 82 enlisted women who were to serve that first year at Headquarters, USARV, arrived. They were welcomed by the USARV band, the press, photographers, officer and enlisted men from the command—and the sound of mortar fire in the distance. The first sights and sounds of Vietnam awed the women, most of whom had little more than twelve months' service and were between nineteen and twenty-three years old. After their arrival, the first sergeant wrote that the WAC area became

[77] GO 5971, 7 Oct 66, HQ USARV, established the WAC Detachment USARV under par. 03, TD P5-2500-03 (Unit Identification Code WIZKOIB) HQ Spec Troops, USARV, APO 96307, effective 16 Sep 66.

1ST. SGT. MARION C. CRAWFORD, WAC DETACHMENT, VIETNAM, *stands retreat with the detachment, January 1967.*

alive with activity: "The main route or shortcut to everywhere all of a sudden went right past the WAC detachment." [78] On 21 January, the detachment celebrated its arrival by inviting 200 guests to an open house in the WAC area. News of the party spread, and before the evening ended the WACs had welcomed and fed over 1,800 guests.[79]

Six months later, along with the entire USARV command, the detachment moved to Long Binh post, approximately twenty-seven miles northeast of Saigon. While the engineers readied new barracks, the women lived in a building typical of the tropics, with openings between the outer wallboards and no windows. Red dust covered their rooms during the dry season, and rain soaked them during the wet season. Because of these conditions, the USARV commander allowed the women to wear either lightweight fatigues or the green cord uniform before that option was authorized for all WACs in Vietnam. Most WACs chose to wear fatigues.[80]

Soon after the move to Long Binh in September 1967, the director of the WAC, then Colonel Hoisington, arrived to visit the unit. She was eager to see the women, gauge their morale, inspect their housing, and ensure that they were being properly used. She was accompanied by the

[78] 1stSgt Marion C. Crawford, "Another First for WAC," *WAC Journal* 3 (1972) : 8-11.
[79] Ltr, Maj Peggy E. Ready to Capt Constance C. Seidemann, 6 Sep 72, ODWAC Ref File, Vietnam, CMH.
[80] Ibid.

WAC Staff Adviser, Headquarters, U.S. Army, Pacific, Lt. Col. Leta M. Frank. En route to Saigon, the director had visited the WACs in Alaska, Japan, Korea, and Okinawa; on her return trip she spent several days with the WACs at Fort Shafter, Hawaii. Her interest in the region reflected the rapid increase in the number of WACs serving there.

Before WACs were assigned to Vietnam, only 44 WAC officers and 229 enlisted women were stationed in the Pacific area—Hawaii, Japan, Korea, and Okinawa. As the war in Vietnam intensified, however, the WAC detachment in Japan almost doubled in size as WAC medical specialists arrived for duty in the hospitals that received the sick and wounded from Vietnam. The strength of the detachments in Hawaii and Okinawa remained about the same throughout the war. A few officers and married, accompanied, enlisted women rotated in and out of Korea, but no WAC detachment was activated there. In January 1970, the WAC reached its peak strength in Vietnam with 20 officers and 139 enlisted women; there were 54 officers and 393 enlisted women in the Pacific area.[81] Colonel Frank visited the WAC units annually, monitored their activities, kept the director advised of their status, and forwarded to her a monthly report received from each unit or contingent, complete with personnel statistics and items of interest.[82]

The director spent a week in Vietnam, conferring with General Westmoreland and the MACV deputy commander, General Creighton W. Abrams; with members of the MACV staff; and with commanders of subordinate activities. She talked with the eight WAC officers and seventeen enlisted women then living in Saigon and inspected their living and working quarters. She called on now Col. Tran Cam Huong at Headquarters, WAFC, and toured the WAFC training center.

Colonel Hoisington then went to Long Binh. She conferred with Lt. Gen. Bruce Palmer and his personnel officer, Brig. Gen. Earl F. Cole, who praised the performance of the women and asked her advice about requisitioning more. The director recommended that they authorize and requisition enlisted women in higher grades. After she returned to the Pentagon and reviewed the availability of volunteers, she wrote, "I think we can settle on a figure between 120 and 130 if we can improve the grade spread and add some MOS." And she added, "I don't want to promise more than we can reasonably expect to receive in qualified volunteers." At the time of the director's visit, the unit had 82 enlisted women with only one E-8 (the first sergeant), three E-7s, and one E-6. By January 1970, the unit would have a strength of 139, with 45 women in grades E-8 through E-6. Although most of the women would continue to be assigned in clerk-typist positions, the variety of MOSs was widened

[81] *Strength of the Army Reports* (DCSPER 46), Part I, 1965–1972.

[82] Talking papers, Col Judith C. Bennett, 18 Mar 71, and Col Alice A. Long, 20 Oct 72, ODWAC Ref File, USARPAC WSA, CMH.

UPON ARRIVING IN VIETNAM *to inspect WAC units and personnel, Colonel Hoisington and her escort, Lt. Col. Leta M. Frank, WAC Staff Adviser, U.S. Army, Pacific, are welcomed by General Creighton W. Abrams, Deputy Commander, MACV, 21 September 1967.*

to include specialists in communications, personnel, finance, automatic data processing, and intelligence.[83]

The enlisted women at Long Binh greeted their director enthusiastically. Most of them had graduated from basic training during the years when she commanded the WAC Center and the WAC School (1964–1966). She visited their work sections, talked to their supervisors, and inspected their barracks and dining facilities. In a group session, she complimented their excellent record of performance and discipline, passing along the glowing praise of their supervisors, and, later, she allotted time to individual discussions.[84]

On one of her last days in Vietnam, Colonel Hoisington visited Army men at several outposts beyond Long Binh. Traveling by helicopter in

[83] Rpt, DWAC Visit to Vietnam, 1967, and Ltr, DWAC to Dep CofS for Personnel and Administration, HQ USARV, 17 Oct 67, no sub., ODWAC Ref File, Vietnam, CMH. In General Cole's office, Lt Col Shirley R. Heinze and later Maj Mary Jane Grimes worked to increase unit strength, grade, and MOS spread in coordination with ODWAC and Southeast Asia Distribution Branch (Maj Shirley M. Barnwell) of the Enlisted Personnel Directorate, DA.

[84] Rpt, DWAC Visit to Vietnam, 1967; Interv, BrigGen Hoisington with the author, 3 Nov 80.

COLONEL HOISINGTON *meets cadre members of the WAC Detachment, Vietnam, October 1967. Left to right: Sp4c. Rhynell M. Stoabs, Sgt. 1st Cl. Betty J. Benson (Acting 1st Sgt.), Colonel Hoisington, Captain Ready, SSgt. Edith L. Efferson, and Pfc. Patricia C. Pewitt.*

the Army green cord uniform (she shunned the offer of fatigues), she visited the 9th Division, commanded by Maj. Gen. George G. O'Connor, at Camp Bearcat and talked to men of the 4th Battalion, 39th Infantry. Lt. Gen. Frederick C. Weyand, Commander, II Field Force, Vietnam, joined the group at noon. From Bearcat, she went to base camps at Xuan Loc, Dinh Quan, and Gia Ray to observe the work performed by field detachments of the Women's Armed Forces Corps.[85]

Before leaving Long Binh and later Saigon, Colonel Hoisington reported her findings to General Palmer and General Westmoreland. In her opinion, the morale of the WACs in Vietnam was high, their work was satisfying to them, their commanders and supervisors were interested in their welfare, and they were well housed, clothed, and fed. Though she preferred the women to wear the green cord uniform to look neat and feminine, from observation she knew this was not possible, at least until the engineers completed the WAC barracks at Long Binh. Her trip enhanced the morale of the women, reassured their parents, gave her

[85] Ibid.

COLONEL HOISINGTON *visits with members of the WAC Detachment, Vietnam, in the unit's courtyard at Long Binh, October 1967.*

information about the unit, and resulted in assignment of more WACs to Vietnam.[86]

Few problems of significance arose during the seven years that WACs served in Vietnam; even losses due to disease or injury were minimal. During the Tet offensive of 1968, when American casualties mounted, no WAC received a serious injury. Many, however, did receive scrapes and bruises diving for cover from incoming artillery fire since the ammunition depot at Long Binh was a major target of the enemy. Captain Ready's replacement, Captain Joanne Murphy described a scene in her orderly room:

> Pay day, 31 January 1968, will long be remembered by all of us. I had just started to pay and handed SP5 [Delores A.] Balla her money when a deafening explosion went off at the ammo dump. Glass, gravel and dust were flying. We couldn't see for more than a few yards. . . . Meanwhile, SP5 Balla was lying in front of my desk counting her money. A couple of times she called to SSG Efferson [the acting first sergeant] asking if she should sign her voucher. 'No, child, just stay down,' Sergeant Efferson said.[87]

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[86] Interv, BrigGen Hoisington with the author, 3 Nov 80.

[87] Rpt, WAC Detachment, USARV, Jan 68, ODWAC Ref File, Vietnam, CMH.

In February, Captain Murphy wrote Colonel Hoisington: "We had another exciting evening on 18 February when the VC again hit our ammo dump, two very spectacular explosions, and much more dramatic than the one on pay day. The first blast at about 0100 hours, actually bounced some women out of their beds. . . . I marvel at the calm of the women." For her part, Colonel Hoisington was constantly concerned about their safety. She told Captain Murphy, "That Saturday (Sunday for you) when the news began coming through, I was worried all over again and didn't rest well until news from there sounded more peaceful. . . . I'm proud of you, Sergeant Efferson, and the rest of the women for keeping cool heads through that period." [88]

A unique predicament arose over the policy of assigning married WAC volunteers to Vietnam. As the number of American servicemen in Vietnam grew, it was inevitable that some would be married to WACs and that the women would do their best to be assigned to Vietnam to be near their husbands. Unfortunately, married WACs arriving in Saigon or Long Binh usually found that their spouses were miles away. Even if their husbands were assigned to the same area, no family housing existed. In either case, a morale problem resulted. In April 1968, Lt. Col. Frances V. Chaffin, Senior WAC Advisor, MACV, asked if anything could "be done about stopping the assignment to Vietnam of WAC personnel whose husbands are stationed here?" She explained that they were "causing a problem for both the Long Binh WAC Detachment and HQ, MACV. . . . There are just no [housing] facilities." [89] Civilian wives who had soldier husbands in Vietnam also complained to their congressmen—married WACs could be assigned to Vietnam, but civilian wives could not even travel there. Colonel Hoisington requested a change in policy, and the DCSPER approved a change, effective 28 May 1969, that barred the assignment to Vietnam of married enlisted women whose husbands were serving in Vietnam because of the nonavailability of housing for married personnel.[90] As a matter of equity, the same policy applied to WAC officers. A few WACs evaded the policy by not reporting their marriages.[91]

Few WACs left Vietnam because of pregnancy. Of 14 married women assigned to Vietnam between 1967 and 1973, 8 were pregnant upon arrival and were promptly sent home for discharge. Between January 1967 and September 1968, 225 single WACs arrived in Vietnam; 5 became pregnant during their tour and went home for discharge.[92]

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[88] Ltrs, Capt Murphy, Cdr, WAC Det USARV (Long Binh), to Col Hoisington, 24 Feb 68, and Col Hoisington to Capt Murphy, 7 Mar 68, ODWAC Ref File, Vietnam, CMH.

[89] Ltr, LtCol F.V. Chaffin, Senior Advisor, MACV, to DWAC, 21 Apr 68, ODWAC Ref File, Vietnam, CMH.

[90] DA Msg 910626 to HQ USARV, 28 Mar 69, ODWAC Ref File, Vietnam, CMH.

[91] Interv, BrigGen Hoisington with the author, 3 Nov 80.

[92] Ltr, Capt Nancy J. Jurgevich, Cdr, WAC Det, USARV, to DWAC, 29 Oct 68, ODWAC Ref File, Vietnam, CMH.

In Vietnam, as in almost every foreign country to which they were assigned, WACs found charitable work to do. Soon after the detachment moved to Long Binh, the women learned that a Catholic orphanage located at nearby Tan Heip needed assistance. They soon adopted the orphanage, and, between 1967 and 1972, detachment personnel visited the institution weekly, providing food and clothing as well as care and attention for the children.[93]

In December 1968, the WAC detachment moved into its permanent barracks at Long Binh. The new compound consisted of four two-story wooden buildings with cooking and laundry facilities and a swimming pool, donated by the National WAC Veterans Association. With housing for 130 women, the new barracks provided ample room, and according to the detachment commander, Capt. Nancy J. Jurgevich, was "more secure, which also makes for privacy." She described the buildings as "new and clean. The rooms average 20'x36', normally four or five women to a room. We have a beautiful covered patio with a built-in stage and movie screen. Eventually our buildings will be air conditioned." [94]

The strength of the WAC detachment continued to increase. In February 1970, with 136 women assigned, the unit was 6 over its maximum housing capacity. The situation, however, soon changed. The withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam had begun. Within a few months, USARV could not requisition WAC replacements to fill vacancies created by rotation. By the end of December 1970, the WAC detachment numbered 72; by 31 December 1971, only 46.[95]

In early 1972, a new WAC director, Brig. Gen. Mildred I. C. Bailey, visited the women in Vietnam on her tour of WAC units in the Pacific area. At the time, the USARV WAC detachment had 35 enlisted women and was scheduled for deactivation later in the year. General Bailey's evaluation was that their morale and living and working conditions remained excellent.[96]

Two years earlier, in 1970, the antiwar and antidraft movements had gained momentum, reaching a crescendo when the president ordered U.S. troops into Cambodia to destroy Viet Cong sanctuaries and supply routes. Many Americans believed the president intended to escalate the war, and his action was severely criticized by members of Congress, by peace groups, and by students on college campuses from Maine to California. A student demonstration at Kent State University brought Ohio National Guardsmen to that campus. In the ensuing melee, guardsmen shot and

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[93] Monthly Rpts, WAC Det, USARV, to WAC Staff Adviser, 1967-1972, ODWAC Ref File, Vietnam, CMH.

[94] Ltr, Capt N.J. Jurgevich to Florence Land, Nat'l WAC Veterans Assoc, 20 Dec 68, ODWAC Ref File, Vietnam, CMH.

[95] Monthly Rpts, WAC Det, USARV, to WAC Staff Adviser, Mar 70, Jan 71, Jan 72, ODWAC Ref File, Vietnam, CMH.

[96] Interv, BrigGen Bailey with the author, 12 Aug 80.

killed four students. The incident generated mass protests and violent demonstrations at other campuses and in cities throughout the country. The protestors frequently burned or damaged Army recruiting offices, ROTC installations, and federal offices. The president ended the unrest by withdrawing more troops from Vietnam and announcing that the draft would end on 30 June 1973.[97]

When a unit was deactivated in Vietnam, the event was called a "stand down." The last commander of the Long Binh WAC detachment, Capt. Constance C. Seidemann, the first sergeant, 1st Sgt. Mildred E. Duncan, and the twelve women remaining on 21 September 1972 had a stand-down party. Captain Seidemann described the party: "We had invited 150 guests and about 350 came. . . . We had a special three-tiered cake with everyone's name on it, some beautiful hand-made silk flower table decorations, and great volumes of food and two bands." [98] After the party, the women moved to Saigon and then left for the United States. At the end of December, two WAC officers and seventeen enlisted women remained in Saigon at Headquarters, MACV, or subordinate commands. By the end of March 1973, all the WACs had left Vietnam.[99]

WACs served successfully in Vietnam between 1966 and 1972. Approximately 700 WACs served there; none died there. Nor were any taken prisoner or reported missing. One woman, Sp5c. Sheron L. Green, received the Purple Heart—the only WAC to receive that medal since World War II.[100]

Many WACs received meritorious service awards for their contributions during the Vietnam War. Among such awards were the Legion of Merit, Bronze Star Medal, Army Commendation Medal, Air Medal, Meritorious Service Medal, and Joint Service Commendation Medal. Capt. Catherine A. Brajkovich received the Army Commendation Medal for heroism; she had alerted residents of a bachelor officers hotel in Saigon of a fire in the building. Maj. Gloria A. S. Olson, a journalist and photographer with the Office of the Chief of Information, MACV, received the Air Medal for having flown in the equivalent of 127 aerial combat missions totaling 198 air hours during her tour in Vietnam. Maj. Sherian G. Cadoria received the Air Medal for meritorious achievement.[101]

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[97] *New York Times*, 3, 4, 5, and 10 May 70.

[98] Ltr, Capt Constance C. Seidemann to LtCol Alice A. Long, WAC Staff Adviser, HQ USARPAC, 23 Sep 72, ODWAC Ref File, USARPAC, CMH.

[99] WAC Staff Adviser, USARPAC, Historical Rpts, 1972 and 1973, ODWAC Ref File, USARPAC, CMH. The last two WAC officers to leave Vietnam (Mar 73) were Maj Georgia A. Wise and Capt Nancy N. Keough.

[100] GO 4325, HQ 1st Aviation Bde, APO 96384, 3 Jul 68.

[101] Awards & Decorations for VN Duty, ODWAC Ref File, Vietnam, CMH; Ltr, Col Gloria A.S. Olson to author, 10 May 83; GO 6216, HQ MACV, APO 96222, 31 Oct 69; GO 1132, HQ USA Support Command, Qui Nhon, APO 96238, 8 Aug 69. Cys in ODWAC Ref File, Vietnam, CMH.

The WAC Detachment, USARV, received unit service awards for its service in Vietnam during the Vietnam Counter-Offensive Phase II (1 July 1966–31 May 1967) and the Tet Offensive Campaign (30 January 1968–1 April 1968).[102] In retrospect, General Engler characterized the participation of the WACs in Vietnam as "superb." He continued, "They handled clerical and management assignments in headquarters Vietnam in an outstanding manner. It would have been a serious mistake not to use their skills. The decision to deploy the WAC's to Vietnam was correct." [103] The war in Vietnam would be the last in which women would participate as members of a separate Women's Army Corps of the United States Army.

General Hoisington Retires

In April 1971, General Hoisington announced she would retire on 31 July of that year. The annual brigadier general promotion board met in May and selected Col. Mildred Inez Caroon Bailey. Secretary Resor then announced that she would be the eighth director of the Women's Army Corps.[104]

Because of the standards controversy, General Hoisington left the directorship with ambivalent feelings about her tour. Many positive events had occurred: the promotion of twelve WAC officers to full colonel and one to brigadier general; the attendance of WAC officers at the senior service colleges; initiation of the WAC Student Officer Program; establishment of a WAC NCO Leadership Course, and a WAC Personnel Specialists Course at WAC School. WAC strength had expanded from 9,958 in 1966 to 12,781 in 1971.[105] A WAC unit had served successfully in Vietnam. Discharge on marriage was reinstated. A fund-raising drive had been initiated to build a WAC Museum. The *WAC Journal* had begun quarterly publication.

General Hoisington, however, was sorely disturbed by the Army's decision to grant waivers for enlistment, appointment, and retention on duty in cases of pregnancy, parenthood, and other disqualifications. To her, such changes signaled the beginning of the end—the disintegration of the high standards the Corps had upheld since 1942. In the closing days of her tour, she said to her staff, "I would trade the stars today to recover what we have lost this year." [106]

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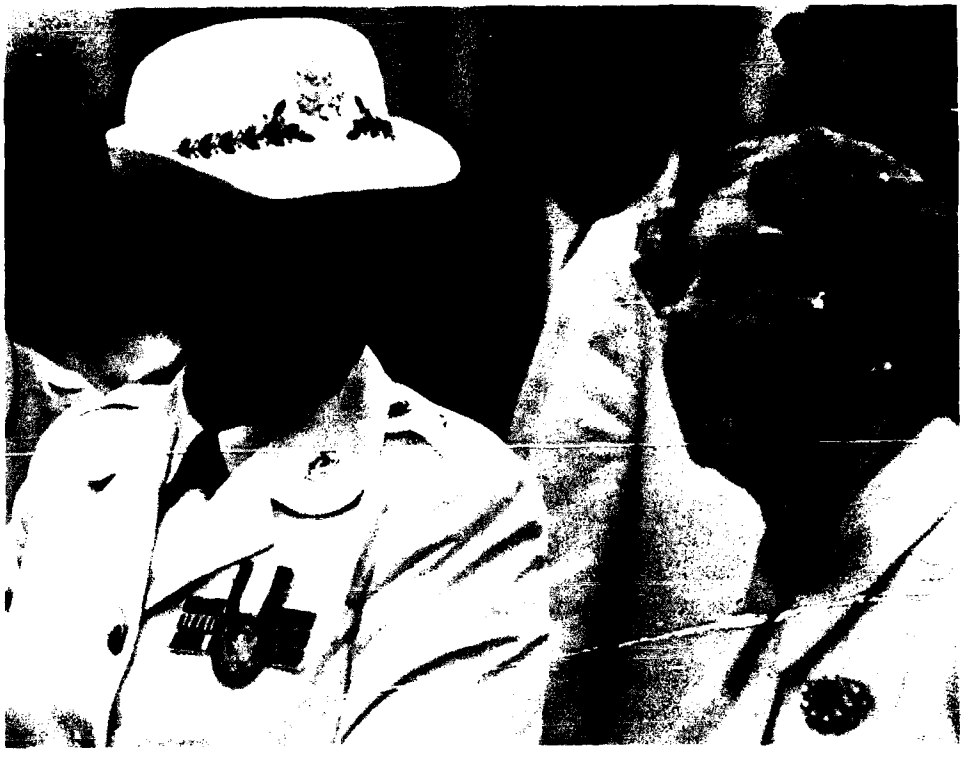
[102] DA GO 83, 27 Dec 68, Vietnam Campaign Participation Credit and DA GO 54, 8 Aug 69, same sub, CMH Library.

[103] Ltr, LtGen Engler to author, 11 Apr 81.

[104] Interv, BrigGen Hoisington with the author, 3 Nov 80.

[105] *Strength of the Army Reports* (ODCSPER 46), Part I, 30 Jun 66 and 30 Jun 71.

[106] Interv, BrigGen Hoisington with the author, 3 Nov 80.



GENERAL HOISINGTON *shares a moment at her retirement review at WAC Center, Fort McClellan, with her mother, Mrs. Gregory Hoisington, 30 July 1971.*

The director set aside her personal disappointment and completed her last few months in office with typical energy and diligence. She oriented General Bailey and participated in farewell parties and ceremonies for her retirement. On Friday, 30 July, she went to Fort McClellan for a formal retreat ceremony followed by a reception and dinner party at the Officers Club. The next morning, a retirement review was held in her honor at the Marshall Parade Ground. Army Chief of Staff Westmoreland attended the ceremony and presented her with the Distinguished Service Medal—the third WAC to receive it. In his remarks, General Westmoreland said: "Elizabeth Hoisington's associates in the Army will long remember her as the zealous guardian of the standards of the Women's Army Corps. In her we found our modern-day Pallas Athene and, like Pallas Athene, she is renowned and respected for her courage and wisdom." [107]

[107] Gen Westmoreland, "Remarks upon the Retirement and Award Ceremony for Brigadier General Elizabeth P. Hoisington," 31 Jul 71, ODWAC Ref File, Ceremonies, CMH.

CHAPTER X

The End of the Draft and WAC Expansion

The new director of the Women's Army Corps assumed her duties as optimism about an end to the war in Vietnam grew. In the summer of 1971, peace talks in Paris progressed toward a cease-fire and prisoner exchange. On 28 September, President Nixon signed Public Law 92–129, which he hailed as "the last bill for extension of draft induction authority." He also pointed out that U.S. troop strength in Vietnam had decreased from 540,000 in 1969 to 184,000 in 1971.[1]

The end of the war and the elimination of the draft would have a major impact on the WAC. For the first time since World War II, the Army would be draftless and would need women as a manpower resource. General Forsythe, the special assistant for the modern volunteer Army (SAMVA), considered recommending an increase in WAC strength to 20,000 by FY 1978—an increase that would almost double the number of WACs. Inroads had already been cut into traditional WAC enlistment and retention standards; such an expansion would necessitate granting more concessions. But another, more basic threat appeared as well. The women's liberation movement had created an avalanche of public and congressional sympathy for women and their right to the same benefits, opportunities, and responsibilities as men. Applying their goals to women in the military services, many of the movement's leaders urged that women be registered, drafted, enlisted, and commissioned in the military services under the same entry criteria as men; that women be admitted to the service academies; that restrictions against women in combat be removed; and that separate women's organizations be dissolved. Such innovation would be earthshaking; it would mean elimination of the Corps. The new director was caught in the crossfire of fights *against* overexpansion and *for* the survival of her Corps.

Mildred Inez Caroon Bailey was promoted to brigadier general and appointed director of the WAC on Monday, 2 August 1971, in the office of newly appointed Secretary of the Army Robert F. Froehlke. That evening General Westmoreland hosted a formal reception at the Fort

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[1] Presidential News Conf, 28 Sep 71, *Public Papers, Nixon, 1971*, p. 356.

SECRETARY OF THE ARMY ROBERT F. FROEHLKE, *assisted by Col. Keith S. Lane, pins stars on the new Director, WAC, Mildred I. C. Bailey, 2 August 1971.*

Lesley J. McNair Officers Club to honor both the retiring director, General Hoisington, and the incoming director, General Bailey.[2]

General Bailey graduated from WAAC OCS Class 3, was commissioned in the WAAC in September 1942, and was commissioned in the Regular Army in April 1949. A teacher in civilian life, she was first assigned as an instructor in an Army Air Corps program training French cadets in Alabama. Between 1942 and 1957, she served as a company officer at the Second WAAC Training Center, an intelligence officer, a WAC detachment commander, and in other positions. In 1957, she graduated from the Strategic Intelligence School. From 1958 to 1961, she was chief of WAC Recruiting for Third United States Army, and, in 1961, she

[2] DA SO 145, par 10, 28 Jul 71, appointed Mildred Bailey brig gen as of 1 Aug 71; DA SO 158, par 11, 2 Aug 71, appointed Gen Bailey DWAC eff 1 Aug 71.

took command of the WAC company at Fort Myer, Virginia, the Corps' largest unit. In 1963, she was promoted to lieutenant colonel, and, for the next six years, she was in charge of the WAC Exhibit Team. Completing that tour in 1968, she was assigned as congressional liaison officer to the U.S. Senate. In August 1969, she was promoted to colonel, and, in 1970, she was selected to be the deputy commander of WAC Center, Fort McClellan—her position when she was chosen to be director of the Corps.[3]

Unlike her predecessors, General Bailey retained the entire office staff she inherited. Col. Bettie J. Morden served in the deputy director position, but, because of her reserve officer status, held the title of acting deputy director; by statute, the position required a Regular Army officer. In June 1972, Colonel Morden was succeeded by Col. Maida E. Lambeth, who had served as the assistant commandant of the WAC School (1968–1970), graduated from the Army War College (1971), and served as the chief of the WAC Career Branch (1971–1972). Colonel Lambeth remained as deputy through the balance of General Bailey's tour and for several months of the next director's tour.[4]

A New WAC Image

One of General Bailey's first experiences as director involved a meeting with General Westmoreland. As she later recounted, the chief of staff had some ideas about WAC objectives: "In the first interview, General Westmoreland said to me—it left me gasping when I considered the ramifications—he said, 'General Bailey, I want you to change the image of women in the Army'—and he didn't give me any guidance . . . as to how." [5] He wanted a new public relations image of the Corps—something creative that would attract young women's attention and draw them into the WAC for a lifetime career.

Over the next few months, General Bailey gathered ideas for a plan to satisfy the chief of staff's dictum. In February 1972, she presented what later became known as her "Plan to Improve WAC Recruiting and Retention" to the DCSPER, General Kerwin, who approved it for implementation. The first item was a recommendation to redesign the WAC uniform wardrobe. Brig. Gen. Lillian Dunlap, chief of the Army Nurse

[3] Gen Bailey was married for 30 years to Roy Bailey. A Marine Corps veteran, he died in an automobile accident in 1966.

[4] Other staff members included executive officers LtCol Lorraine A. Rossi (1971–1973) and LtCol Elizabeth A. Berry (1973–1975); plans and policies officers LtCol Pola L. Garrett (1971–1972), LtCol Evelyn P. Foote (1972–1974), and, after the position was designated interchangeable, Maj Thomas K.J. Newell (1974–1976); ODWAC SgtMaj Mary E. Richmond (1968–1975); and civilian secretary, Mrs. Mary Larrick (1970–1978). Key WAC Assignments, author's file, CMH.

[5] Interv, BrigGen Mildred C. Bailey with LtCol Rhoda M. Messer (Senior Officer Debriefing Program, US Army Military History Institute), Oct 78, p. 35, ODWAC Ref File, Directors, WAC, BG Bailey, CMH.

SENIOR WAC STAFF MEMBERS AND WAC STAFF ADVISERS, *January 1972. Left to right, front row: Maj. Nelda R. Cade, Lt.Col. Alice A. Long, Lt.Col. Mary Jo Sansing, General Bailey, Col. Mary J. Guyette, Col. Dorotha J. Garrison, Lt.Col. Frances V. Chaffin. Back row: Lt.Col. Lorraine A. Rossi, Col. Frances M. Yoniack, Lt.Col. Janet E. Ziegler, Lt.Col. Ann J. Previto, Maj. Rose Ralph, Col. Bettie J. Morden, Col. Mary E. Clarke, Col. Pola L. Garrett, and Lt.Col. Eva Veach.*

Corps, and Col. June E. Williams, chief of the Army Medical Specialist Corps, agreed with General Bailey, and together they introduced as optional wear for all women in the Army a black beret, black clutch purse, black umbrella, and black patent leather pumps. They also recommended that white shirts and white accessories replace tan shirts, scarves, and gloves. The Army Uniform Board and the chief of staff approved immediate implementation of these changes—though they hesitated over approval of the umbrella, a traditional taboo in the Army. The plan also provided for an increase in WAC strength and called for an increase in the number of MOSs open to women; a reduction in the minimum body weight allowed women upon entry; a change in regulations to allow women to command men except in combat units; a change in policy to include WACs in all appropriate recruiting advertising and in addresses made by Army officials. The design of future troop barracks would provide for interchangeable occupancy. A civilian contractor would plan and conduct a personal grooming course for trainees and students at the WAC Center and School, teaching selection of cosmetics, hair styling, diet, clothes, etc. Men would receive instruction on the role of women in the Army at courses throughout the training and school system. The plan

was aimed at improving the attractiveness of life in the WAC at a time when Project VOLAR addressed improvements for men in the Army. To assist the WAC director's staff in implementing and monitoring the plan, the DCSPER approved the assignment of an additional officer, Lt. Carol A. Martini, to ODWAC for one year. Within that year, most of the items on General Bailey's list had been implemented or at least initiated. Lack of funds, however, eliminated the grooming course.[6]

Growing White House and DOD interest in improving race relations and opportunities for minorities and women provided additional support for General Bailey's plans.[7] In June 1971, General Westmoreland had named the DCSPER, General Kerwin, as chairman of a committee of general officers to develop an affirmative action plan to ensure equal opportunity for military and civilian personnel, regardless of race, gender, religious beliefs, or national origin. The chief of staff had made it clear that development of a comprehensive plan and its execution and progress would receive top priority throughout the Army. General Kerwin established the Office of Equal Opportunity Programs, gave it directorate status, and assigned Col. Harry W. Brooks as its first director. Colonel Brooks was to monitor the program, ensure compliance with implementing directives and reports, resolve problems, and report progress to the chief of staff. The heads of the general and special staff divisions and the major commanders proposed actions to be included, and the final plan, approved by the chief of staff and published in June 1972, contained General Bailey's goals of increasing the number of interchangeable spaces and of ensuring equal opportunity for servicewomen.[8]

Faced with imminent loss of the draft and the political activity of the women's movement, Congress was also taking a new interest in military women. In September 1971, F. Edward Hebert, the chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, established a sub-committee on the Utilization of Military Womenpower, headed by Congressman Otis G. Pike of New York. On 6 March 1972, the subcommittee called the directors of the women's line services to testify on requirements, recruitment, training, and utilization of military women. General Bailey spoke for the WAC. She outlined the system for identifying requirements by

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[6] Memo, DWAC to DCSPER and CofS, 4 Feb 72, sub: Plan to Improve the Image of the Women's Army Corps. The plan was retitled Plan to Improve WAC Recruiting and Retention on 6 Mar 72; Memo, DWAC to DCSPER, 21 Jun 72, sub: WAC Expansion Action with 3 Incls, WAC Expansion Actions, WAC Expansion Status, WAC Improvements as of 5 Jun 72; Min, Army Uniform Board Meeting, 19 Apr 72, approved by CofS, 2 Jun 72. Copies in ODWAC Ref File, Image, Plan to Improve, CMH.

[7] EO 11478, issued in June 71, affirmed President Nixon's commitment to equal opportunity regardless of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. Copies of SecDef progress reports from the military depts to OMB covering recruitment, assignment, training, and upward mobility of minority personnel and women are in ODWAC Ref File, Equal Opportunity, CMH.

[8] ODCSPER, Annual History, FY 72, pp. 104-114; DA Affirmative Action Plan, Jun 72 (rev Jun 75); and Annual (Biennial) Assessments, Army Equal Opportunity Program, 1977-84. Copies in ODWAC Ref File, Equal Opportunity, CMH.

gender, explained the interchangeable code, described the training at Fort McClellan, listed forty-one new MOSs opened to women, and explained Army policy on barring women from combat duty, from duty in isolated locations, and from tasks requiring prolonged physical labor. She asked Congress to provide equalizing legislation to give married women dependency rights and quarters allowances. She discussed the Army's plan to increase WAC strength by 50 percent by the end of FY 1978, contingent upon receiving the funds and personnel spaces to do so.[9]

After the directors had made their statements, committee members questioned the women more closely on their plans and their beliefs. Asked whether women should be used in combat roles, General Bailey replied, "As long as our culture remains as it is and public opinion remains as it is, I do not believe in the foreseeable future that the general public would accept the idea of women being trained and utilized in combat duty." [10] When asked to comment on whether women should be admitted to the service academies, all the directors except one agreed that these institutions should train only combat and seagoing officers. Brig. Gen. Jeanne M. Holm, Director, Women in the Air Force, sided with Secretary of the Air Force Robert C. Seamans, Jr., who said he would accept women at the U.S. Air Force Academy if Congress appropriated the funds to furnish adequate housing and uniforms. Congressman Samuel S. Stratton of New York was particularly interested in this subject because earlier that year, another member of the New York delegation, Senator Jacob K. Javits, had nominated a woman for entry into the U.S. Naval Academy, and the nomination had been turned down by Secretary of the Navy John H. Chaffee. Both Senator Javits and Congressman Stratton had been outraged by the Navy's negative response. When the director of the WAVES, Capt. Robin L. Quigley, agreed with the secretary, Congressman Stratton concluded the questioning by telling Captain Quigley: "The world is changing, and . . . the Navy in this regard has not changed fast enough. . . . I am going to say flatly, the day is not far off when you will have women in the Naval Academy." And the way he said it, the women believed it.[11]

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[9] US Congress, House Armed Services Committee, *Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on the Utilization of Manpower in the Military*, 92d Cong, 2d sess, HRpt 92-51, Jun 72, pp 12442-50, ODWAC Ref File, Hearings, CMH. Rpt hereafter cited as *Hearings, Manpower in the Military*.

[10] Ibid., p. 12469.

[11] Ibid., p. 12495. Later that year General Bailey, believing that Congress or the courts would force the services to accept women in the academies, reversed her position. In her initial interview with the new CofS, General Abrams, she recommended the Army change its refutable stand and admit women to West Point. By being first to initiate the action, the Army would be praised for its open-minded progressiveness and still have time to plan the admittance for women cadets. Though conceding she had some valid points, General Abrams did not concur in the recommendation. Interv, BrigGen Bailey with the author, 9 Apr 85.

In his closing remarks to the women directors, the chairman commented on the conservatism apparent in their statements and responses: "It has been an interesting session. When I first came to this committee and the chairman was Mr. Vinson, he used to say, 'Well, we want to "hep" you.' I have had the ugly feeling today that Mr. Stratton and I want to 'hep' you more than you want to be 'hepped.' " [12]

The Expansion Plans

Interest in the expansion of the WAC grew as the end of the draft approached. In April 1970, President Nixon had declared he would reduce and eventually eliminate the draft. The DCSPER and DWAC staffs had then produced a plan to expand the WAC to 18,700 enlisted women and 1,400 officers by 30 June 1978. The estimated cost was $14.8 million—primarily for construction of barracks and classrooms at WAC Center and funds to rehabilitate male barracks for women at Army posts around the world. The members of the Army staff approved the plan, as did the WAC director, contingent upon receiving the necessary funds and personnel spaces to implement it fully. Chief of Staff Westmoreland approved the plan on 28 June 1971 and directed the deputy chief of staff for logistics (DCSLOG) to seek new construction funds or Project Volunteer funds to finance the expansion. The assistant chief of staff for force development (ACSFOR) would provide the necessary manpower spaces. By year's end, efforts to obtain the funds had failed. But the DCSPER, General Kerwin, could not drop the idea. With the future of an all-volunteer Army in doubt, he continued to seek funds from Congress to support WAC expansion. As an interim measure, he asked the commanding general of the Continental Army Command (CONARC) to formulate plans for maximum WAC expansion during FY 1973 at "no cost or low cost" to the Army. In turn, the CONARC commander asked the commanders of Army posts and separate activities how much they could do. Based on their responses, General Kerwin told General Westmoreland that, using currently available resources, the WAC could be expanded by approximately 1,000 women by 30 June 1973. The chief of staff approved the plan.[13]

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[12] *Hearings, Manpower in the Military*, p. 12503.

[13] *Public Papers, Nixon, 1970*, 23 Apr 70, p. 385; SS, DCSPER to CofS, 21 Jun 71, sub: Expansion of the Women's Army Corps, date-stamp approval, VCofS, 28 Jun 71, Memos, DCSPER to DCSLOG, 26 Jan 72, same sub, DCSLOG to DWAC, 27 Jan 72, same sub, and DCSPER to Dir, Procurement and Distribution, ODCSPER, 7 Feb 72, same sub, Msg, DCSPER (DPD) 281715Z Feb 72, same sub; Interim reply CONARC to DCSPER, 28 Jan 72, same sub, Ltrs, DCSLOG to Maj Coms, 13 Mar 72, same sub, and ACSFOR to General and Special Staff Divs, DA, and Maj Coms, 29 Jun 72, same sub. Copies in ODWAC Ref File, WAC Expansion 1971-3, CMH.

A week later, however, Secretary Froehlke, faced with reports projecting that the elimination of the draft would leave the Army unable to maintain a minimum of thirteen active duty divisions after FY 1974, called upon the Army staff for a plan that would achieve the speediest and largest supportable increase in the WAC. On 16 June 1972, he directed the chief of staff "to close the military manpower gap."[14] The DCSPER and DWAC staffs responded quickly. Earlier they had drafted a detailed proposal that would have increased the WAC by 100 percent over its actual 1972 strength by 30 June 1978. Their "Plan for the Expansion of the Women's Army Corps" was updated and submitted to the secretary on 20 July 1972. Secretary Froehlke approved it on 24 July and promised funds and personnel spaces to implement it.[15]

On 7 August, after Congress had been informed, General Bailey announced to the press that WAC enlisted strength would be increased to 23,800 by 30 June 1978. She also announced that, as a result of a recently completed study, enlisted women could serve in 437 of the Army's 485 MOSs. The MOSs included the traditional ones in administration, medical care, and communications, but women now had opportunities in nontraditional jobs as well—ammunition specialist, chaplain's assistant, decontamination specialist, dog trainer, plumber, quarryman, seaman, and others. Both announcements generated wide publicity from the news media and great interest from the general public.[16]

The decision to open all but forty-eight MOSs to WACs came as a surprise to many. It was the culmination of a six-month study conducted by the Personnel Management Development Office (PMDO), Office of Personnel Operations (OPO), Enlisted Personnel Directorate (EPD), in conjunction with ODWAC. General Bailey had personally participated in the effort. Momentum for the study came from her desire to eliminate the old policies, practices, and procedures governing utilization of women that had impeded the women's entry into new career fields. At the director's urging, Harry Vavra, a senior OPO occupational analyst, had conducted a close examination of all MOSs. At one point, he had attempted to compare occupations open to women in the three services, but differences in nomenclature, job titles, scope of duties, and classification systems made the comparison impracticable. That work, however, had revealed that all of the services used women primarily in the administrative, medical care, and communications fields and exempted them from duty involving combat, close combat support, sea duty, aviation piloting,

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[14] Memo, SecArmy to CofS, 16 Jun 72, sub: Requirements for Military Manpower, ODWAC Ref File, WAC Expansion 1971-3, CMH.

[15] DCSPER, Plan for the Expansion of the Women's Army Corps, 20 Jul 72, approved by SecArmy, 24 Jul 72, and CofS Memo 72-600-171, 3 Aug 72, sub: Expansion of the Women's Army Corps, ODWAC Ref File, WAC Expansion 1971-3, CMH.

[16] DOD Press Release, 7 Aug 72, sub: Expansion of the WAC, ODWAC Ref File, Expansion, WAC, 1972 (Cont'd), CMH.

heavy lifting, or strenuous physical activity. Mr. Vavra had noted that each of the services thinks it has "less discrimination on the basis of sex than do other services."[17] His group concluded that women should be excluded from only the forty-eight MOSs that involve combat, hazardous duty, or strenuous physical activity. General Bailey added the recommendation that, in the future, the WAC MOS list include only the MOSs in which WACs could not serve rather than those in which they could. Generals Westmoreland and Kerwin approved the recommendations; General Bailey made the announcements in August, and the new list was published in October.[18]

Meanwhile, Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird had established a Central All-Volunteer Task Force to develop contingency plans to increase the services' strength if male recruiting programs failed to provide the manpower needed; a major project was "to study the utilization of military women and prepare alternate utilization plans by service for FY 1973–FY 1977." In March 1972, Brig. Gen. Robert M. Montague, formerly General Forsythe's deputy special assistant for the modern volunteer Army, had been appointed task force director.[19] His group asked the Army, Navy, and Air Force to prepare plans to double their women's 1972 strengths by the end of 1977 and the Marine Corps to increase its women's force by 40 percent in the same period. The directive did not include women in the services' medical departments. The Army responded with a plan, to culminate in FY 1978, in which WAC enlisted strength would be increased to 23,800. WAC officer strength would increase to only 1,776 because that program was in a state of flux. The Navy and Air Force submitted plans to increase their women's strengths by 100 percent by FY 1977 (to 11,400 and 22,800, respectively); and the Marine Corps, to increase its women's strength by 37 percent (to 3,100) in the same period. General Montague and Secretary Laird approved the plans in May 1972.[20]

As a result of the DOD project, General Kerwin was able to provide Secretary Froehlke with the new WAC expansion program in July 1972. Success followed General Bailey's August announcements that WAC strength would be doubled and that women could enter all but 48 of 485

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[17] Study, OPO PMDO, sub: MOS Appropriate for Enlisted WAC Use, Incl in DF, OPO PMDO to DWAC, 18 Jul 72, sub: DA Affirmative Action Plan (AAP), ODWAC Ref File, WAC MOS List Expanded—Aug 72, CMH.

[18] DF, OPO PMDO to DCSPER, Dir, Military Personnel Policies, 31 Jul 72, sub: DA Affirmative Action Plan (AAP), with Comment 2, ODWAC Ref File, WAC MOS List Expanded—Aug 72, CMH; Change 25, 26 Oct 72 to AR 611-201, MOS Manual, Sec IV (Revised) WAC Training MOS List.

[19] Memo, SecDef to Asst SecDef, Manpower & Reserve Affairs (ASD M&RA), 11 Dec 71, sub: The All-Volunteer Force, ODWAC Ref File, Expansion, WAC, 1971, CMH.

[20] Rpt, Central All-Volunteer Task Force on Utilization of Military Women, Dec 72, and Gus C. Lee and Geoffrey Y. Parker, *Ending the Draft—the Story of the All-Volunteer Force* (Alexandria, VA: Human Resources Research Organization, Apr 77), pp. 187–96, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, CMH.

Army MOSs. In the months that followed, women enlisted in the WAC in numbers surpassing the most optimistic forecasts. Many in the Pentagon had expected the campaign to follow the old pattern of an immediate flurry of enlistments followed by a drastic slowdown. For the first time in WAC history, this did not happen; enlistments and reenlistments continued to rise even during the traditionally poor recruiting months of December through March. Publicity about new career fields for women, elimination of old restraints, and a groundswell of euphoria and expectation felt by women as a result of the liberation movement and progress of the proposed Equal Rights Amendment accounted for the continuing momentum of enlistments in the WAC and the other women's services. General Bailey anticipated no problems in achieving the long-range goal of 23,800 enlisted women by the end of FY 1978.[21]

While the Army complimented itself on the progress of the WAC expansion, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Reserve Affairs Roger T. Kelley was worried because, overall, military strength had fallen below congressionally authorized levels for FY 1972 and 1973.[22] In the spring of 1973, Secretary Kelley alerted the service secretaries and the directors of the women's services that he would call upon them to again double the strength of the women's services by the end of FY 1979. General Kerwin's replacement as DCSPER, Lt. Gen. Bernard W. Rogers, promptly began work on a plan for 50,000 WACs. Meanwhile General Bailey briefed new Secretary of the Army Howard H. Callaway on the status of the WAC and progress on the current expansion. In commenting on the information she provided, Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Army (M&RA) Paul D. Phillips wrote: "We cannot limit women to 24,000 spaces in a 792,000 space Army. . . . We cannot wait until 1979 to reach 24,000 because there will be great pressure from OSD [Office of the Secretary of Defense] and the Congress to use more women if, as I project, we fail to attract enough men of reasonable quality to meet requirements." [23] His words injected a sense of urgency into the development of a new WAC expansion plan.

In June, the DCSPER's director of plans, programs, and budget (DPPB), Maj. Gen. Eugene P. Forrester, met with representatives of the Military Personnel Center (MILPERCEN), the offices of the chief of reserve components, the DWAC, the ACSFOR, and the DCSLOG, and

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[21] First-time enlistments in the WAC increased from 5,667 in FY 72 to 8,701 in FY 73; the WAC reenlistment rate climbed from 31.6 to 53.0 percent in the same period; total WAC strength rose from 13,250 on 30 Jun 72 to 17,830 on 30 Jun 73. *Strength of the Army Report* (DCSPER 46), 30 Jun 72 and 30 Jun 73.

[22] The services were authorized 2.5 million men for FY 73; on 30 Jun 73 they had only 2.3 million. Study, OASD (M&RA), sub: American Volunteers, A Report on the All-Volunteer Armed Forces, 31 Dec 73, Fig. 2-1, CMH Ref Br.

[23] Memos, DASA (M&RA) to DCSPER, 2 May 73, sub: Numbers of Women in the Army, and DCSPER to DASA (M&RA), 11 May 73, same sub, ODWAC Ref File, Expansion, WAC, 1973, CMH.

several ODCSPER directorates to discuss further WAC expansion. Availability of uniforms would be a major problem as mobilization stocks (war reserves) contained no WAC uniforms, but a concerted effort by the DCSLOG, the Defense Personnel Support Center, and the Defense Supply Agency could provide the needed uniforms and equipment. Training posed another obstacle as WAC Center operated only fourteen companies. The additional training capacity could be gained by activating WAC basic training companies at Fort Jackson, South Carolina; Fort Dix, New Jersey; and Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri. General Forrester assigned other problems involving shortages of drill sergeants, recruiters, and cadre to individual members of the groups for resolution; then he reported to the DCSPER that a target of 50,000 women could be achieved by the end of FY 1979 without lowering WAC enlistment standards.[24]

On 24 July 1973, General Forrester established a committee of general officers from the Army staff who were to meet weekly to direct development of the new WAC expansion program and to monitor its implementation. The committee, formally the Utilization of Women in the Army Steering Committee, did not decide matters affecting the Army Nurse Corps or the Army Medical Specialist Corps and was popularly known as the WAC Expansion Steering Committee. Within a few months, its membership was expanded to include general officers from the Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC), Fort Monroe, Virginia; Army Forces Command (FORSCOM), Fort McPherson, Georgia; Army Recruiting Command (USAREC), Fort Sheridan, Illinois; and the Office of the Assistant Secretary of the Army for Manpower and Reserve Affairs (OASA M&RA). The resources and decision-making power of the members ensured speedy resolution of almost any problem that might arise.[25]

At the end of August, the group discussed its first draft plan, which proposed to obtain the exact figure of 50,400 enlisted women by 30 June 1979. General Bailey objected to this ambitious undertaking. She felt that many problems, such as housing, had not been satisfactorily resolved. A few weeks later, however, after cognizant offices had resolved those questions, she agreed to the plan. On 9 October 1973, Chief of Staff Creighton W. Abrams, Jr., approved the plan to expand WAC enlisted strength to 50,400 by the end of FY 1979.[26] The plan did not mention

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[24] Memo, DPPB, ODCSPER, to DCSPER, 3 Jul 73, sub: Utilization of Women in the Army, ODWAC Ref File, Expansion, WAC, 1973, CMH. With DA GO 1, 11 Jan 73, OPO was replaced by the MILPERCEN.

[25] Min, Utilization of Women in the Army Steering Committee, meetings 24 and 31 Jul 73, ODWAC Ref File, Expansion, WAC, Steering Cte Minutes, 1973, CMH. Col Mary Jo Sansing, WAC Staff Adviser, HSC, attended the meeting as representative of the Health Services Command, Fort Sam Houston, TX.

[26] DF, DWAC to DCSPER (DPPB), 23 Aug 73, sub: WAC Expansion, and SS, DCSPER (DAPE-PPB) to CofS, 24 Sep 73, sub: Plan for Expansion of the Women's Army Corps, date-stamp approval, 9 Oct 73, ODWAC Ref File, Expansion, WAC, 1973, CMH.

WAC officers, because at that time a proposal eliminating the WAC Branch and permanently assigning WAC officers to the other branches was under consideration.

The expansion plan detailed the recruitment, training, assignment, and housing of WACs. WAC enlistment standards were not to be lowered to achieve recruiting objectives, but expansion of the enlistment options open to women would help. The options included the Two-Year Enlistment Option, Service School Enlistment, Choice of Training and Travel, Warrant Officer Flight Training, CONUS Station of Choice, Two-Year Training and Travel, Stripes for Skills, Delayed Entry Program, Career Group Enlistment, Band Enlistment, Buddy Basic Training Plan, and the Special Unit Enlistment (SUE) option. The SUE option guaranteed assignment after basic training to specific units such as the U.S. Army Air Defense Command, Army general hospitals in the United States, Army Communications Command, Army Security Agency, and others. The Buddy Basic Training Plan ensured that if a woman enlisted with a hometown friend, the two would remain together through their initial training and first duty station. The Delayed Entry Program allowed women to enlist and then remain in a holding status for not longer than 180 days or until a space opened in a school they had requested. Other options were developed as the expansion progressed.[27]

Buttressing the appeal of these options was the now expanded variety of choices in both traditional and nontraditional career fields for women. Among the latter were many that had previously been described as "men's work"—maintenance, repair, and operation of electrical/electronic equipment; law enforcement; and flight operations and flight training. The chief of the Enlisted Assignment Division, Military Personnel Center, asked that recruiters distribute women evenly throughout the MOSs rather than let the enlistees concentrate, as they tended to do, in the fields of administration, medical care and treatment, and communications. He also asked the Recruiting Command representatives to push overseas enlistment options for women in order to achieve an evenly balanced number of women assigned in the continental United States (CONUS) and overseas. Better distribution gradually improved rotation and the chances for promotion of both men and women. The Enlisted Assignment Division no longer had trouble finding requisitions for women because by October 1973 over 70,000 positions had been designated as interchangeable. And, the DCSPER received the funds and personnel spaces necessary to activate nine WAC training companies at Fort Jackson. The plan also provided basic training spaces for approximately 3,800 WACs annually in the Army Reserve and the Army National Guard. To eliminate the uniform supply problem, the Defense Supply Agency assured timely receipt of WAC uniforms and accessories by offering bonuses to contrac-

[27] AR 611-201, 1 Jul 68, with changes 1972, Regular Army Enlistment Program.

tors and reducing stock at clothing sales stores. If necessary, the initial issue to recruits would be reduced.[28]

The Elimination of Assignment and Career Restrictions

The expansion gradually forced the Corps out of its conservative pattern. Sheer numbers and the extent to which women pushed career patterns beyond those envisioned for Corps members since the WAC's early days challenged the Corps' mission as well as its personnel policies and attitudes. Another director might have resisted change; General Bailey did not. She wanted men and women to work together, sharing command, responsibility, facilities, and recreation. She also practiced what she preached and, in 1974, put a male on her staff. She announced that change at a weekly DCSPER meeting in 1973: "There was absolute silence for what seemed to me a minute or two.... Then, a very senior officer said, 'My God, who is monitoring his career?' It didn't surprise me that that would be the attitude. What surprised me was that this senior officer was shocked into expressing it publicly."[29] The male officer assigned to ODWAC, Maj. Thomas K. J. Newell, did an excellent job as plans and policies officer, and General Bailey reported that the DCSPER staff "came to admire and respect him as much as we did."[30]

WAC strength had been kept low up to 1972 because the Corps' mission was to provide a nucleus of trained women in the event of mobilization. As it turned out, the Corps' strength burgeoned not from crises but from peacetime needs. The Corps' unique mission was thus lost and was deleted from the WAC regulation.[31] The ever-rising WAC strength targets, however, also raised concern that enlistment and retention standards might have to be lowered if the Corps failed to meet its objectives. Such a move was as much an anathema to General Bailey as it had been to the other directors. To avoid it, she concentrated her efforts on modernizing WAC policies, keeping standards high, and improving career opportunities, housing, and other factors affecting life for women in the Army.

The opening of new WAC MOSs and enlistment options also brought elimination of some assignment policies that dated back to World War II. In 1972, General Bailey discontinued policies that precluded women from being assigned to mess halls that served only men, participating in law enforcement activities involving men, driving vehicles with over 2½-ton

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[28] ODCSPER (DPPB-Plans and Systems Div), "Plan for the Expansion of the Women's Army Corps," 31 Aug 73, ODWAC Ref File, Expansion. WAC, 1973, CMH.

[29] Interv, BrigGen Mildred C. Bailey with LtCol Rhoda M. Messer (Senior Officer Debriefing Program, US Army Military History Institute), Oct 78, p. 5, ODWAC Ref File, Directors, WAC, BG Bailey, CMH.

[30] Ibid.

[31] AR 600-3, rev 1976, WAC Regulation.

capacity, conducting initial classification interviews for male recruits, recruiting men, performing supply activities in men's companies, and being trained and assigned in combat support MOS 16K, Air Defense Fire Distribution System Crewman.[32] In 1973, she eliminated a policy that prevented women from being assigned to units lower than a theater army headquarters, another that precluded women from duty on closed male wards, and a third that restricted women from duty as physical training instructors for male personnel. The new enlistment options compelled further changes. The option that permitted women to choose overseas assignment as soon as they completed their training—that is, after as little as sixteen weeks—led General Bailey to eliminate the long-standing requirement that enlisted women and officers spend their first year on duty in the United States. In addition, she lowered the required ratings in conduct and efficiency from excellent to good for women to be assigned overseas. These changes brought assignment and utilization policies for women in line with those for men, with the exception that women could not be assigned to combat MOSs or to combat units.[33]

New Career Fields for Women

The success of the WAC recruiting program was now vital to the Army and, for the first time in its existence, the WAC had the full attention of the Army staff, major commanders, and commanders of separate agencies. Commanders, who in the past could find few interchangeable spaces, began to find many and to requisition WACs for them. One command that began to utilize women in MOSs previously limited almost exclusively to men was the U.S. Army Security Agency (USASA), an intelligence-gathering organization. Its predecessor, the 2d Signal Service Battalion, had employed thousands of WACs during World War II. After the Korean War, however, the agency used only a few WAC linguists, traffic analysts, and administrators. In 1970, as WAC expansion planning was beginning, the chief of USASA, Maj. Gen. Charles A. Denholm, took action to increase the agency's WACs—then forty-eight officers and enlisted women. At his request, the DCSPER and the director of the WAC approved the inclusion of women in the USASA Enlistment Option, both for administrative and operational MOSs—cryptanalytic specialist, traffic analyst, voice intercepter, and many others. The option proved popular with women who found the idea

[32] Change 52, 16 Dec 74, AR 600-200, Enlisted Personnel Management System; Ltr, ACSFOR to Maj Coms, 29 Jun 72, sub: Expansion of the Women's Army Corps; DA (DCSPER D/PC-EPP) Msg 251200Z May 73, sub: Interim Change to AR 600-200; DA Msg 211850Z Aug 73 to Maj Coms, sub: WAC Expansion. Copies in ODWAC Ref File, Regulation Changes AR 600-200, CMH.

[33] DFs, DWAC to CG, Army Personnel Ctr, 15 May 73, sub: AR 600-200 Enlisted Personnel Management System, and DWAC to CG, Army Personnel Ctr, 21 Jan 74, sub: Draft Change to Chapter 3, AR 600-200, ODWAC Ref File, Regulation Changes AR 600-200, CMH.

of intelligence work stimulating and liked the list of interesting USASA locations—Eritrea, Thailand, Turkey, Japan, Okinawa, as well as countries in Europe. By 30 September 1978, WAC strength in the agency, by then renamed the Intelligence and Security Command (INSCOM), was 88 officers and 1,203 enlisted women and was continuing to climb.[34]

Early in 1972, Provost Marshal General Lloyd B. Ramsey and General Bailey had initiated a pilot program to determine the extent to which WACs could be used in law enforcement. Only a few women had been trained in MOS 95D, Assistant Criminal Investigator, and were assigned to the U.S. Army Criminal Investigation Command. None had been trained in MOS 95B, Military Policeman, since World War II when WACs had been assigned MP duties at WAC training centers. After the war, a few WACs worked in administrative MP duties at various posts, but none had received training at the MP School at Fort Gordon, Georgia.

In September 1972, General Kerwin approved a pilot program to train twenty-four enlisted women in MOS 95B. In January 1973, twenty-one of the twenty-four completed the eight-week course, which included qualifying with the .38-caliber pistol, at Fort Gordon; General Bailey was on hand to congratulate them and present their graduation certificates. Distributed to seven Army posts, the graduates performed patrol, traffic control, accident investigation, and other MP operations. After six months, the U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC), successor to CONARC (1 July 1973), recommended, with the concurrence of the provost marshal general, the director of the WAC, and the provost marshals at seven sites, that women be utilized in the full spectrum of law enforcement duties, including criminal investigations, Armed Forces Police operations, patrol dog operations, and combat support operations. Well before the end of the year, after signing a written statement indicating they understood that they had to participate in weapons training, women were enlisting for training and assignment in MOS 95B. By the end of November 1974, over 1,400 women had graduated from training and had been assigned as MPs. Major commanders gradually converted 3,929 MP positions to interchangeable spaces—15 percent of all MOS 95B spaces in April 1975. Women entered the field of Correctional Specialist, MOS 95C, in September 1975 after a change in policy provided, for the first time, that women could be confined in stockades, disciplinary and correctional barracks, and military prisons. By March 1977, some 100 women were assigned in MOS 95C.[35]

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[34] Treadwell, *The Women's Army Corps*, pp. 318-20; Ltr, Cdr, HQ USASA, to subordinate cdrs worldwide, 3 Dec 71, sub: WAC Utilization in USASA, ODWAC Ref File, Army Security Agency, CMH; DA GO 25, 30 Dec 76, CMH Library; *Strength of the Army Report* (DCSPER 46), Part I, 30 Sep 78.

[35] DA Msgs 012100Z Sep 72, sub: Award of MOS in Army Career Group 95 to WAC, and 261535Z Sep 72, sub: Employment of WAC in MOS 95B; Ltr, HQ, TRADOC, 16 Jul 73, sub:

Another of the major turnarounds made by the Army and the other services was the decision to allow women to enter aviation and to take airborne training. In early November 1972, Admiral Elmo R. Zumwalt, Chief of Naval Operations, announced that WAVES could be enrolled in the Naval Flight Training Program. On 17 November, General Rogers, the DCSPER, initiated a study to determine whether women would be allowed to enter the equivalent Army program. The study revealed that the Army had approximately 2,800 noncombat aviator positions in grades warrant officer through colonel and that women possessed the mental, physical, and educational capabilities to fill them. After reviewing the study, General Abrams directed that women be trained as aviators. In September 1973, the first WAC entered the Officers Rotary Wing Aviator Course at the U.S. Army Aviation Center, Fort Rucker, Alabama. She received her wings on 4 June 1974. The next year, enlisted WACs entered the Warrant Officer Aviation Program at the same location and, on completing the course, were promoted to the grade of warrant officer, junior grade (W-1). The women followed the same academic, flight, and physical training programs as the men except that push-ups were substituted for pull-ups required for males. Initially, women did not participate in the survival and POW exercises, but that practice was changed late in 1974. The women pilots were assigned to general support, noncombat units, where they evacuated medical patients and transported routine passengers such as inspection teams. By 15 November 1977, thirty women (commissioned and warrant) had completed the Army's Flight Training Program and were assigned to duty in the United States, Europe, and Korea.[36]

Flight training prepares personnel as aviators; airborne training qualifies soldiers to use a parachute, providing them an additional combat skill as paratroopers. Airborne training is also required for anyone assigned for duty as a parachute rigger (MOS 43E). During World War II, women riggers had not been allowed to jump with a chute they had packed, as male riggers did. Instead, they rode on planes and watched the paratrooper candidates jump with the chutes they had packed.[37] After World War

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Employment of WAC in MOS 95B; Memo, LtCol Edward D. Lockwood for the Provost Marshal General, 1 Mar 74, sub: Army Military Policewomen; Ltr, DCSPER to Maj Coms, 12 Sep 75, sub: U.S. Army Enlisted Women Correctional Specialists, MOS 95C; DA Msg 051459Z Jun 75; and AR 190-47, 15 Dec 75, U.S. Army Correctional System. Copies in ODWAC Ref File, Confinement of Women, CMH.

[36] SS, DCSPER to CofS, 13 Apr 73, sub: Women in the Army Aviation Flight Program, CofS date-stamp approval 25 Apr 73; Memo, Dir, OPD, MILPERCEN, to Cdr, MILPERCEN, 16 Jul 74, sub: Assignment of WAC Aviators; Ltr, Chief, US Army Research Institute Field Unit, Fort Rucker, AL, to DWAC, 1 Jul 75, sub: Women in Flying Role; Fact Sheet, DA Public Affairs Office, 15 Nov 77, sub: Army Women in Aviation. Copies in ODWAC Ref File, Aviation and Airborne, WAC, CMH. The first WAC commissioned officers to complete aviator training were 1st Lt Sally D. Woolfolk and 1st Lt Linda M. Horan; the first woman warrant officer aviator was WOJG Jennie A. Vallance.

[37] Treadwell, *The Women's Army Corps*, p. 300.

II, women ceased to be assigned in the MOS 43E even though after 1961 the assignment was authorized for WAC reservists during mobilization. Now, in 1972, it returned to the active duty MOS list, and in August 1973, the commander of the XVIII Airborne Corps at Fort Bragg, facing an acute shortage of men in MOS 43E, urgently requisitioned WAC parachute riggers. Within a month, a WAC enlisted for the training, and others soon followed. After completing the Airborne Training Course at Fort Benning, the women attended the Parachute Rigger's Course at Fort Lee, Virginia, and were later assigned to duty in Quartermaster units at Fort Bragg, Fort Campbell, and Fort Lee.[38]

Within the space of a few years, the WAC had changed its rather staid image as an organization of clerical workers, administrators, medical specialists, and communications technicians to an organization whose members could enter careers not available to women in civilian life, could be assigned to interesting locations outside the United States, could work without fear of discrimination, and could earn a good living with outstanding retirement benefits. With a snappier uniform, WACs had finally begun to project a modern image, while policy changes affecting other aspects of their Army life further enhanced that new image.

Extending the Command Authority of Women

Under existing law (PL 80-625, 1948), the service secretaries were authorized to define the extent of women's command authority. In the Army and Navy, women could supervise men and give them efficiency ratings, but could not command them. Though men frequently commanded units that consisted of both men and women, the reverse was not true. The Air Force, however, allowed women to command any unit that did not require a rated officer (i.e., a pilot), and in 1972 it became the first of the services to assign women to command units composed of both men and women.[39] In August 1972, Admiral Zumwalt followed suit, issuing instructions that authorized WAVES to succeed to command.[40] With these precedents and continuing pressure from Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Reserve Affairs Roger T. Kelley to "eliminate all unnecessary distinctions in regulations applying to women," Gen-

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[38] Ltr, CG, XVIII Airborne Corps, Fort Bragg, NC, to Cdr, FORSCOM, Fort McPherson, GA, 3 Aug 73, sub: Utilization of WAC Personnel in MOS 43E, with 1st Ind FORSCOM to HQ, DA, Attn: DCSPER (DAPE-MPT) 8 Aug 73, and 2d Ind HQ, DA, (DCSPER DAPE-MPT) to Cdr, FORSCOM, 12 Sep 73; Fact Sheet, DCSPER, 30 Aug 73. Copies in ODWAC Ref File, Aviation and Airborne, WAC, CMH. Joyce Ann Kutsch was the first WAC enlistee to complete the MOS 43E course.

[39] AR 600-20, 28 Apr 71, Army Command Policy and Procedures, CMH Library; Chart, Asst SecDef (M&RA), Comparison of Differences in Regulations Pertaining to Regular Male and Female Military Personnel, Mar 72, ODWAC Ref File, Equal Treatment, CMH.

[40] Msg, CNO to all commands, 5350, 7 Aug 72, sub: Equal Rights and Opportunities for Women in the Navy, ODWAC Ref File, Equal Treatment, CMH.

eral Bailey initiated action to obtain approval for WACs to command men. In December, Secretary Froehlke ordered that henceforth WACs could command any unit in the Army except one that had a combat mission.[41]

On the whole, granting women command authority roused little reaction. The first WAC to command a mixed unit was Capt. Reba C. Tyler, who was assigned to the 48th AG Postal Company, Frankfurt, Germany, in the spring of 1973. Later in the year, Col. Georgia D. Hill was selected to command Cameron Station, Alexandria, Virginia, an Army post under the jurisdiction of the commanding general of the Military District of Washington. In March 1975, Lt. Col. Mattie V. Parker assumed command of the Armed Forces Examining and Entrance Station (AFEES), Detroit, Michigan, the second largest of sixty-two AFEES facilities throughout the United States.[42] The Army had made worldwide announcements of its policy regarding women in command positions, but reports of actual assignments were low-keyed. Chief of Staff Abrams concurred in maintaining an approach that was "in keeping with the Army's approach to its women—fair and equal treatment without fanfare."[43]

In fact, there were not many such assignments to announce. The number of women commanders increased by 30 percent between 1972 and 1974, a figure surprisingly low for a period when women could also command men and when WAC enlisted strength more than doubled.[44] In this same period, WAC detachments at most posts merged with male units. Command of the new unit usually went to the male commander, because he had headed a larger organization and was either a senior captain or a major. A WAC detachment commander was usually a first lieutenant or a captain. Command positions in most mixed units, however, were later designated as interchangeable on the manning documents, and women then competed with men for these jobs. Battalion command of training units did not become interchangeable in mixed units and continues at this writing to require men with a combat primary specialty.[45]

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[41] SS, DCSPER through CofS to SecArmy, 30 Nov 72, sub: Command by Members of the Women's Army Corps; Memo, Military Assistant to SecArmy (Col Elvin R. Heiberg) to Chief of Public Information, 18 Dec 72; and DA Msg 101212Z Jan 73, sub: Interim Change 2, AR 600-20, Army Command Policies and Procedures, ODWAC Ref File, Equal Treatment, CMH.

[42] Memo, CG, US Army Personnel Ctr, to SecArmy, 2 Mar 73, sub: Information on Assignment of Capt. Reba Tyler, WAC ODWAC Ref File, Command, CMH; Nancy Barone, "Making History in Detroit," *Recruiting and Career Counseling Journal*, May 77, pp. 12–13.

[43] MFR, ODWAC, 6 Mar 73, sub: Information Approach to Assignment of Women to Command Positions, ODWAC Ref File, Command, CMH.

[44] Info Paper, WAC Advisory Br, OPD, 4 Jun 74, sub: Women Officers in Command, ODWAC Ref File, Command, CMH.

[45] Semi-Annual Rpts to ASD(M&RA), Rpts Control Symbol DD-M (SA) No. 1225, Feb 73, Aug 73, Feb 74, Aug 74; Ltr, Act'g Dir, Officer Personnel, MILPERCEN, to DWAC, 17 Mar 76, no sub; Memo, DWAC to Dir, Military Personnel Management, ODCSPER, 20 Dec 77, sub: Status of Women Eligible for 05 Command. Copies in ODWAC Ref File, Command, CMH.

WAC Housing Policy Changes

The merger of male and WAC permanent party units in the field required a major change in housing policy. In preparation for the WAC expansion, the Army had begun to increase housing for women at posts in CONUS and overseas, wherever they were assigned or received training. The deputy chief of staff for logistics (DCSLOG) had advised commanders to revise their long-range construction plans to ensure the future availability of WAC housing at their posts. Post engineers converted male barracks for women's occupancy by removing or covering excess plumbing fixtures, partitioning bathroom facilities, and adding window blinds. Most posts did not increase their overall population; they just received a higher proportion of women than in the past.[46]

Before the end of 1972, it was apparent that WAC recruiting was exceeding all expectations and that additional WAC housing in the field would be needed sooner than expected. From July through November, the number of basic trainees arriving at WAC Center surpassed the planned-for 140 per week. In November, General Bailey issued the necessary new guidelines on housing and the assignment of enlisted women. Those in grade E-4 and above (rather than, as formerly, E-5 and above) could be assigned to installations or activities with no WAC unit. Commanders could follow minimal standards in converting male living quarters for WAC occupancy and could house women in leased civilian facilities—hotels or motels with the supervision of a WAC officer or NCO. If a separate floor or wing were available, women could share a building with men, though separate entrances for each were recommended. Women in grades E-4 through E-6 could live off post and receive a quarters allowance. And, in a major departure from tradition, General Bailey ruled that when a WAC unit became overcrowded, women could be assigned to male units for housing, feeding and administration, if privacy were assured and a WAC supervisor provided.[47]

In mid-1973, as planning progressed for further expansion, General Bailey made additional concessions in the hope of improving the future housing and administration of enlisted women. Beginning in August 1973, enlisted women in all grades could be assigned to installations without a WAC unit. No WAC supervisor was required; women in all grades (formerly only E-4 and above) could be authorized to live off post and receive a quarters allowance. When women were assigned to a male unit

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[46] Ltr, DCSLOG to CG, CONARC, 12 Jun 72, sub: Facility Support for the Expansion of the Women's Army Corps; DA Msg (DCSLOG) 302038Z Aug 72 to Army commanders, DA Msg (DCSLOG) 041715Z Aug 72 to CG, CONARC, sub: FY 73 Funding, WAC Expansion Program, and CONARC Msg 151847Z Nov 72 to CONUS Armies, sub: WAC Housing Lease of Quarters Funds. Copies in ODWAC Ref File, WAC Expansion 1971-1973, CMH.

[47] DA Msg (ODWAC) 151847Z Nov 72, sub: WAC Expansion, ODWAC Ref File, Expansion, WAC, 1972 (cont'd), CMH.

for administration and housing, a WAC supervisor for inspection, counseling, and guidance was desirable but no longer required.[48]

The new policies resulted in the elimination of most of the WAC detachments between 1973 and 1975. Commanders eagerly grasped the opportunity to merge enlisted units, for they could now provide more housing for women, obtain maximum use of barracks facilities, and reduce the number of cadre needed to operate units. The merger also eliminated most gender-related variations in disciplinary and promotion policies. Unit mergers caused no major upheaval nor did they bring complaints from enlisted women. Most did not immediately move into new barracks, and women officers and cadre continued to inspect, discipline, and counsel them. In jointly occupied barracks, women lived in separate and secure areas; privacy for both sexes was preserved.

Integration of the sexes in training was similarly successful. In 1972, TRADOC discontinued the WAC Clerical Training Course, the Personnel Specialists Course, the NCO Leadership Course, and the WAC Officer Advanced Course at WAC School. With the abolition of these courses, and excepting combat arms training, WACs—enlisted, warrant, and commissioned—attended the same courses as male personnel. The WAC Officer Basic Course began to share academic facilities with the Chemical School on post, and that move provided the space needed for the WAC Center to open two additional basic training battalions.[49]

While housing could be improved by revising Army policy, statutory changes had to be made to correct a related problem. For a number of years, the Army had asked Congress for legislation to allow military women to claim dependency status for husbands and children. No fewer than eleven bills were introduced between 1968 and 1973 to remove the inequity.[50] No bill survived committee. Dependency status was extremely valuable because it governed the military sponsor's entitlement to housing and subsistence allowances, and it determined the size of family housing on post, quarters allowance for off-post housing, and the benefits given dependents (medical care, schooling, transportation, commissary and post exchange privileges, etc.).

Then, on 14 May 1973, a Supreme Court decision rendered the proposed legislation unnecessary. Early that year, USAF Lt. Sharron A. Frontiero and her husband had charged the Department of Defense with discriminating against them by denying her dependency benefits equal to those of men. The Supreme Court held that such discrimination was unconstitutional. The comptroller of the United States followed with a ruling that the decision applied to the children as well as to the husbands

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[48] DA Msg (ODWAC) 211850Z Aug 73, sub: WAC Expansion, ODWAC Ref File, Expansion, WAC, 1973, CMH.

[49] Historical Report, WAC C&S, 1972, History Collection, WAC Museum.

[50] 90th Cong, 2d sess: HR 15127, S 4195; 91st Cong, 1st sess: HR 466, HR 10323, HR 11210, S 2741; 92d Cong, 1st sess: HR 4954, HR 2580, HR 2335, HR 8758, HR 8759.

of female military personnel. Women were allowed to submit claims for ten years preceding the date of the decision, in line with the statute of limitations on federal claims.[51] The inequity had been blatant; its removal was wholeheartedly endorsed by the services and the women directors. Other efforts pursued by persons in and out of the services were not as enthusiastically received.

Statutory Enlistment Qualifications Changed

One of the objectives of the women's movement was to eliminate dual entry qualifications in all aspects of American life. Applied to the armed forces, the goals of the movement were to eliminate dual enlistment standards, abolish separate women's organizations, such as the WAC, and end the prohibitions against women's entering the service academies and serving in combat. By contrast, many in the women's services saw no discrimination in the separate standards of enlistment for men and women. The WAC leadership generally assumed that because men constituted 98 percent of the Army and men performed a wider range of MOSs than women, they required a wider range of mental and educational levels. Many men's jobs required strong backs far more than agile minds. To perform the duties for which women were trained—still primarily administration, medical care, and communications fields—enlisted women needed high mental and educational qualifications. But, in the 1970s, more WACs were serving in more MOSs than ever before, and traditional distinctions began to fade within the Army.

A bill introduced in Congress in 1971 to make the minimum enlistment age the same for men and women failed, but another, introduced in 1973, was enacted in 1974.[52] General Bailey objected to lowering the women's enlistment age to 17, arguing that this change was not necessary to obtain enlistments and that accepting 17-year-olds would bring in too many women with adolescent problems of adjustment. She agreed to concur in the bill only when General Rogers, the DCSPER, assured her that, though the Army would have the authority to enlist women below age 18, the secretary of the Army probably would not choose to make use of it. However, contrary to General Rogers' opinion, in 1976, Secretary Martin R. Hoffmann, issued a regulation lowering women's enlistment age to 17 to duplicate the men's. The issue proved of little consequence; between 1973–1976, the average age of women recruits was 20.2 years.[53]

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[51] Frontiero *v.* Richardson, SecDef, et al., US 71-1694 (1973); DA (DACA-CSJ) Msg 241628Z Sep 73, sub: Implementation of Supreme Court Decision #71-1694, and US Comptroller General Decision, 31 Aug 73, ODWAC Ref File, Frontiero, CMH.

[52] 92d Cong, 1st sess, HR 11064; PL 290, 93d Cong, 2d sess, 24 May 74.

[53] Memo, DWAC to Dir, Military Personnel Policy Directorate, ODCSPER, 12 Jun 74, sub: Age Criteria for Female Enlistments, ODWAC Ref File, Enlistment Standards, CMH; Study, Women in the Military, Oct 81, p. 23, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, Women in the Military, CMH; AR 601-210, 1

Beginning in 1971, to enlist, women without previous service had to request a waiver if they were married or had had an illegitimate pregnancy. During the period 1 November 1971 through 30 October 1972, the U.S. Army Enlistment Eligibility Activity received 120 such requests and disapproved 15 of them. This high ratio of approval and the fact that men and women in the other services could enlist whether or not they were married or had had illegitimate children made it impossible for the WAC to require a waiver. The regulation was discontinued in 1973.[54]

In 1972, for the first time, the Army standardized the dependency criteria for enlistment for men and women—by allowing one dependent who, if other than a spouse, had to be 18 or older. Until then, a male with no previous service was allowed to enlist with one dependent; a woman was allowed none. Although the man's dependent was assumed to be his wife, it could have been a child of any age, or a parent. In 1973, the regulation was relaxed to allow initial enlistment with two dependents and, for the first time, spouseless applicants (unmarried, divorced, separated) with dependents could enlist if they submitted proof that their dependents were permanently in the care of someone else. The 1973 amendment was frequently abused. Men and women ignored their preenlistment statements and brought their dependents to live with them after completing training. Commanders found that single parents frequently lacked the time, money, and expertise to care for their children properly. In January 1975, the regulation was again revised to disqualify from enlistment a single parent who had one or more dependents under eighteen years of age. Married applicants with more than three dependents were also disqualified.[55]

The physical standards that women joining the Army had to meet had always been higher than those required for men. The WAC philosophy was that because women in society did not receive the same physical conditioning and stamina programs as men, women needed the best possible physical ratings to cope with strenuous Army training and recreation programs. In January 1973, the commander of the U.S. Army Recruiting Command complained to General Rogers that his recruiters could not explain to recruits why women had to be more physically fit than men to perform duty in the same MOS or career group. General Bailey explained that higher physical standards ensured that women could physically qualify in any MOS open to them and sustain their performance in it. General

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May 68, Regular Army Enlistment Program, as rev by Table 2-1, Basic Enlistment Qualifications for Persons with No Prior Service, CMH Library.

[54] Memo, ODCSPER Directorate of Procurement and Distribution (Action Officer: LtCol Mary R. Williams) to DCSPER, 20 Dec 73, sub: Enlistment Eligibility of Women Who have Been Pregnant While Unmarried, and Interim Changes 18 and 19, 9 Feb and 15 Mar 73, respectively, to AR 601-210, Regular Army Enlistment Program, ODWAC Ref File, Enlistment Standards, CMH.

[55] Rule "F" Dependents, Table 2-1, Basic Enlistment Qualifications, AR 601-210, 1 May 68, Regular Army Enlistment Program, as rev 72, 73, and 75; and Ltr, DCSPER (DAPE-MPR-P), 26 Jan 76, ODWAC Ref File, Dependency, CMH.

Rogers, however, believed the discrepancy in the standards would be construed as discrimination by the public. He directed that women's physical standards be aligned with the men's, with the exception, insisted upon by General Bailey, that women have no history of mental or emotional disorders. In 1975, this exception, too, was discontinued.[56]

In view of the determined effort by the women's movement and DOD to equalize enlistment standards, it is worth noting that neither the Army nor Congress asked for lower mental or educational standards for women between 1972 and 1976. Both wanted the public to know that the majority of men and women entering the All-Volunteer Army were intelligent high school graduates. Immediately after U.S. forces left Vietnam and the draft ended, many male enlistees were high school dropouts who scored low on the Armed Forces Qualification Test. WAC enlistees during the same period scored high on the tests, and their educational level was high. The women's statistics thus raised the overall averages. In February 1976, Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana introduced a bill (S. 3003) to require that mental and educational qualifications for enlistment be the same for men and women. Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld objected to the legislation because it would remove the flexibility of the services to modify mental, physical, education, and other standards to select the best available men and women based on recruiting market conditions. The bill did not leave the Senate Armed Services Committee.[57] However, after the WAC was discontinued in 1978, the then secretary of the Army, Clifford L. Alexander, lowered the minimum mental test score for women from 50 to 16 and allowed women without a high school diploma or GED to enter the Army. Enlistment standards, for the first time, were equal for men and women.[58]

Concerns Over Numbers and MOSs

Because WAC expansion had rapidly filled the gaps created by the loss of draftees, in January 1974 Secretary of the Army Callaway directed the Army staff "to exploit success" and recruit more women as fast as possible. As WAC members increased, they boosted Army strength but

[56] Ltr, Cdr, First US Army Recruiting District, Fort George G. Meade, MD, to Cdr, US Army Recruiting Command, Hampton, VA, 4 Apr 73, sub: Request for a Change in Medical Fitness Standards, 1st Ind, Cdr, US Army Recruiting Command, to DCSPER, 16 Apr 73, 2d Ind, DCSPER DA (DAPE-MPE-PS) to Cdr, US Army Recruiting Command, ODWAC Ref File, Enlistment Standards, CMH; AR 601-210, 15 Jan 75, The Regular Army Enlistment Program, CMH Library.

[57] Memo, ODCSPER Directorate for Military Personnel Management (DAPE-MPE-CS) to DWAC, 14 Apr 76, sub: To Amend Section 505, Title 10, USC, to require that qualifications for enlistment in the Armed Forces of the U.S. be the same for male and female personnel, ODWAC Ref File, Enlistment Standards, CMH.

[58] Interim change, 26 Apr 79, to AR 601-210 Regular Army Enlistment Program and complete revision of AR 601-210 on 1 Oct 80 provided that women with a high school diploma or GED with a score of 16 could be enlisted but not to exceed 10 percent of those enlisted.

also created new concerns. In meetings with the secretary, General Rogers voiced his reservations about raising the WAC objective beyond the September 1979 goal of 50,400. He wanted to ensure that women could be recruited to fill not only the traditional but also the nontraditional MOSs in which the shortages of male recruits would be most acutely felt in future years. General Bailey also had reservations about expanding beyond the existing strength target. She was concerned that WAC accessions might again overtake the Army's ability to provide uniforms, drill sergeants, and housing—as had occurred in 1972. She further wanted to be sure that recruiters could achieve WAC objectives without requesting further changes in the enlistment standards. Secretary Callaway met with the concerned officials and agreed to retain the long-range objective of 50,400 enlisted women. However, he told the DCSPER to push WAC recruiting to its limits without lowering the women's enlistment standards and to consider a higher WAC strength objective for the future.[59]

On 26 February, the chairman of the WAC Expansion Steering Committee, Brig. Gen. James W. Wroth (ODCSPER) briefed the committee on Secretary Callaway's decisions. Maj. Gen. George W. Putnam, Director, Military Personnel Management (ODCSPER), asked that recruiting be directed toward enlisting WACs in MOSs that were traditionally less popular among WACs, such as repair and maintenance, "to prevent a surplus in MOS favored by females, and to insure tour equity and male progression opportunity." [60] To accomplish this goal, the recruiting command decreased the monthly number of spaces available in the MOSs favored by women—administration, medical care and treatment, communications—and increased those in nontraditional areas. Many women who wanted to enlist had to accept training and assignment in a field other than the one they preferred. As a result, however, among all WACs, the percentage of women serving in nontraditional MOSs rose from 1.8 percent in 1972 to 22.4 percent in 1978. The greatest increase occurred in transportation, mechanical maintenance, law enforcement, electrical/electronics maintenance, aviation maintenance, and general engineering.[61] But, as the MOS distribution problem was being resolved, a shortage of drill sergeants began to impact seriously on the expansion program. TRADOC funded a recruiting team that visited Army posts throughout the United States and secured some 100 drill sergeants to fill critical vacancies at Fort McClellan and Fort Jackson.[62]

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[59] MFRs, Dep DWAC (Col Maida E. Lambeth), 22 Jan 74, sub: Meeting with SA [Secretary of the Army] re Further WAC Expansion, with Incls, and ODCSPER, Chief, Programs Review Team (LtCol Charles E. Tucker), 24 Jan 74, sub: Increase in WAC Strength, ODWAC Ref File, Expansion of the WAC, 1972-1978, CMH.

[60] Min, WAC Expansion Steering Committee, 26 Feb 74, p. 2, ODWAC Ref File, Steering Committee Minutes, 1974, CMH.

[61] ODWAC Ref File, MOS--Traditional and NonTraditional, CMH.

[62] Min, WAC Expansion Steering Committee, 22 May 74 and 20 May 75, ODWAC Ref File, Steering Committee Minutes, 1974, 1975, CMH.

During this period Congress also sought to aid recruitment. In 1971 the lawmakers had authorized bonuses to men who would enlist in a combat arms MOS. So successful was this experiment that in 1974, faced with shortages in some nontraditional MOSs, Congress offered bonuses to men and women who enlisted in critical MOSs—fixed plant equipment repairman, radio relay and carrier attendant, dial central office repairman, power generator and equipment mechanic, and others. Bonus money, ranging from $1,500 to $2,500 for a four-year enlistment, did lure women to enlist in these customarily all-male MOSs.[63]

The WAC expansion derived additional impetus from another bill, which had been passed by Congress in 1973. Fearing the services would not secure men and women who could perform complex technological tasks, Congress, in its defense appropriation bill for FY 1974, required that 55 percent of all enlistees be high school graduates and that at least 82 percent be in the upper three mental categories.[64] Although Army regulations until 1978 required women enlistees to be high school graduates, men could enlist if they met the mental and physical requirements of their enlistment option, whether they had attended high school or not. The tide of women enlistees helped the Army fulfill Congress' demands. The deputy commander of the U.S. Army Recruiting Command (USAREC) explained: "In effect every woman we enlist is the equivalent of two enlistments—a woman who is a high school graduate and a male non-high school graduate who otherwise could not be accepted. Thus, by enlisting more women we increase our capability of attaining our total enlistment objectives." [65] The bonuses and the high school law helped USAREC surpass its WAC recruitment goals and, at the same time, increase the number of women enlisted in nontraditional MOSs. Against WAC recruitment objectives of 14,400 for FY 1974 and 17,200 for FY 1975, USAREC signed up 15,511 enlisted women in FY 1974 and 19,271 in FY 1975.[66]

Inevitably, the question of weapons training for women arose. Commanders frequently stated they could not increase the number of interchangeable spaces that women might fill because women did not receive tactical and weapons training. Combat support and combat service support units provided rear area security for their battalions. All unit members had to qualify in the use of small arms and use them in patrolling and

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[63] PL 92-129, Armed Services Enlistment Bonus Act, 28 Sep 71; PL 93-337, the Expanded Armed Services Enlistment Bonus Act, 10 May 74; "Expanded Enlistment Bonus," *U.S. Army Recruiting Journal*, Jun 74, p. 29.

[64] PL 93-238, Defense Appropriations Act for FY 1974, 2 Jan 73.

[65] Ltr, Dep Cdr, USAREC, Fort Sheridan, IL, to recruiting district cdrs, 19 Feb 74, sub: Increasing Enlistment of Women, in Minutes, WAC Expansion Steering Committee, 27 Feb 74, ODWAC Ref File, Steering Committee Minutes, 1974, CMH.

[66] Fact Sheet, ODCSPER, 20 Mar 75, sub: Expansion of the Women's Army Corps (for objectives), ODWAC Ref File, Expansion, WAC, 1974-1975, CMH; *Strength of the Army Report* (DCSPER 46), Part II, Gains, 30 Jun 74 and 30 Jun 75.

guarding the unit perimeter to prevent enemy infiltration and sneak attacks. Without weapons training, women could not share this work, and men in the unit would have to pull double duty. In 1974, therefore, the steering committee, including General Bailey, recommended to General Rogers that defensive weapons training be reintroduced in the women's basic training programs, both officer and enlisted. Such training had been eliminated for WACs in 1963 when the carbine, a light rifle, was declared obsolete and Army trainers considered the new M14 rifle too heavy for women. Approving the recommendation, Chief of Staff Abrams directed the commander of TRADOC to add weapons training to WAC basic training. On 12 July, trainees began a sixteen-hour course to familiarize them with the M16 rifle; firing the weapon was voluntary. Recruiting literature and enlistment forms were changed to ensure that women knew, when they enlisted, that weapons training and use was a standard requirement. A year later, the rule was changed again. After 1 July 1975, defensive weapons training and the firing of weapons became mandatory. Thereafter, women's basic training contained a forty-hour course that included familiarization with and qualification on the M16 and other hand-held weapons. Women could now do full duty in combat support and combat service support units, and the commanders' objections were overcome.[67]

Expansion and Overseas Assignments

Another major challenge facing expansion planners was the need to increase the number of WACs overseas. In June 1945, the WAC had 15,908 women in overseas theaters. Though 17.5 percent of WAC strength, the number was only .3 percent of the total Army strength overseas of 4.9 million. In 1972, approximately 40 percent of all enlisted men and 8.6 percent of the enlisted women were serving overseas. The percentage of women overseas compared to total Army members overseas was still .3 percent.[68]

With the success of the WAC expansion, General Rogers wished to achieve a more equitable overseas ratio. Women should share with men the burden of performing overseas duty, and the number of assignments open to both could be increased. If women occupied the majority of positions in CONUS, whether in traditional or nontraditional MOSs, and were unable to serve overseas, the Army could not rotate men back to CONUS when they completed their foreign tours. Beginning in 1973, enlistment options under which men went directly overseas after complet-

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[67] AR 310-31, 25 May 70, Management System for Tables of Organization and Equipment, par 2-25, WAC Personnel, CMH Library; Historical Reports, WAC C&S, 1963, 1974, 1975, History Collection, WAC Museum.

[68] Treadwell, *The Women's Army Corps*, Appendix A, Table 7, p. 772; *Strength of the Army Report* (DCSPER 46), Part I, Strength by Type and Command, 30 Jun 72.

ing basic and advanced training were opened to women. The scarcity of male replacements induced commanders in Europe to add more interchangeable positions on their manning documents, and in 1974 requisitions for WAC officers and enlisted women increased from 100 to 500 a month. Commanders in Japan increased their requisitions from 20 to approximately 150 WACs per month. Those in Alaska, the Canal Zone, and Korea, who previously had requisitioned few WACs, substantially increased the number of WACs employed in those areas between 1972 and 1978. (*See Table 23.*) By 1978, 33.5 percent of the enlisted women and 27.7 percent of the women officers in the Army, excluding those in the Medical Department, served overseas. There they made up 6.2 percent of all Army personnel.

TABLE 23—WAC STRENGTH OUTSIDE CONUS

Area	1972	1978
Europe	473	13,671
Hawaii	98	974
Japan	90	377
Korea	20	1,593
Alaska	49	594
Panama Canal Zone	8	301
Other	450	981
Total	1,188	18,491

Source: Strength of the Army Reports (DCSPER 46), Part I, 30 Jun 72, 30 Jun 78.

The shorter overseas tour that women served was the next inequity to be addressed. Regulations directed that single women and all unaccompanied personnel—those who chose to leave their dependents in CONUS while they completed an overseas tour—serve a two-year foreign service tour of duty. But single men and men and women whose dependents accompanied them overseas served a three-year tour.[69] The director of Military Personnel Management, ODCSPER, had put the question before the steering committee.[70] General Bailey had recommended that the tour for unaccompanied and single men and women be set at two years because housing overseas was poor. "With the rapid expansion and integration of women," she wrote, "housing has and will be for some time a

[69] Min, WAC Expansion Steering Committee, 22 May and 24 Sep 74, ODWAC Ref File, Steering Committee Minutes, 1974, CMH; AR 614-30, 14 Mar 55, Foreign Service, CMH Library.

[70] DF, Dir, Military Personnel Management, ODCSPER (DAPE-MPE-DR), to DWAC and other Steering Committee members, 17 May 73, sub: Overseas Tour Lengths, ODWAC Ref File, Tour Length, Overseas, CMH.

critical item in Europe." [71] The Corps' expansion had quickly filled the available women's barracks, and the buildings to which the overflow had been assigned needed rehabilitation. The U.S. Army, Europe, and Seventh Army commander, General Michael S. Davison, supported a shorter overseas tour for unaccompanied and single personnel, but primarily for a different reason. He believed the number of disciplinary and drug incidents could be reduced by decreasing the length of tour—especially for male soldiers who were most often involved. He also confirmed that bachelor housing in the command was poor and added that the cost of travel, food, and recreation in Europe was outside the price range of young soldiers, making thirty-six months overseas a hardship for them. He observed, "Despite the availability of off-duty recreation programs, young soldiers express continued disenchantment with Germany as a duty area." [72] The surgeon general, Lt. Gen. Richard R. Taylor, also preferred the shorter overseas tour for single and unaccompanied personnel and opposed "action which will hurt our ability to retain doctors, nurses, and other medical professionals." [73]

Despite the support for a shorter foreign service tour, a budget crisis in 1975 forced the Army to move in the opposite direction. During hearings in 1974 and 1975, Congress chastised the Army for exceeding its budget for changes of station and reduced the service's appropriation for travel costs during FY 1976.[74] To prevent another overrun, the Army, effective 1 April 1975, extended foreign service tours for male soldiers from thirty-six to thirty-nine months in Europe and Japan, and from twelve to thirteen months in Korea and Turkey. The tour for single women and personnel who were married but unaccompanied increased from twenty-four to twenty-seven months in Europe and Japan and from twelve to thirteen months in Korea and Turkey. Single men complained to their congressmen and to newspapers that women served much shorter tours. Because of this discrepancy and because of budget problems, the Army directed that effective 1 January 1976, single men, single women, and unaccompanied personnel would serve the same length of overseas tour. When the Army's budget problems lessened in 1977, foreign service for all personnel was reduced to thirty-six months in long-tour areas (e.g., Europe, Japan), and twelve months in short-tour areas (e.g., Turkey and Korea).[75]

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[71] DF, DWAC to Dir, Military Personnel Management, ODCSPER, 11 Jun 73, sub: Overseas Tour Length, ODWAC Ref File, Tour Length, Overseas, CMH.

[72] "Shorter No-Kin Tours Sought," *Army Times*, 29 Jan 75.

[73] "Army Women to Get Longer Europe Tours," *Army Times*, 25 Dec 75.

[74] US Congress, House, 93d Cong, 2d sess, *Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Department of Defense Appropriations for 1975*, 2 May 74, pp. 72–73. Appropriation hearings hereafter cited as *House (or Senate) Hearings, Defense Appropriations*, FY, and date; *House Hearings, Defense Appropriations*, FY 76, 26 Feb 75, p. 1099.

[75] DA Msgs (DAPE-MPE-DR) 111755Z Mar 75, sub: Reduction of PCS Moves and Costs; (DAPE-MPE-DR) 021805Z Jan 76, sub: Interim Change to AR 614-30, Overseas Service; and

The Interchangeable Spaces Policy

An Army-wide increase in interchangeable spaces on manning documents was the key to continuing the momentum of WAC expansion and filling recruiting goals. During 1973, the U.S. Forces Command (FORSCOM), responsible for readiness, led the Army in documenting such spaces. The FORSCOM commander, General Walter T. Kerwin, Jr., DCSPER from 1969 through 1972, directed units and activities in the command to identify all of the Table of Distribution (TD) and most of the Table of Organization and Equipment (TOE) spaces as interchangeable. He excluded only spaces in units classified as Category I, TOE units—which had direct combat missions—and those that had a clearly justifiable requirement to be coded by sex. In his opinion, women's entry standards enabled WACs to qualify for almost every noncombat position, and he declared, "Unless we utilize womenpower, it will be difficult, if not impossible to fill all of our installation jobs. . . . The FORSCOM goal is to achieve true integration with mutual respect, understanding, and acceptance." [76] So that lack of housing would not be a constraint, General Kerwin advised FORSCOM commanders to take advantage of the Army's new policies: "Minimum standards for WAC barracks have been changed to closely coincide with standards for enlisted men, making both newly constructed barracks and modernized barracks adaptable for either men or women." [77] Although the process of recoding the manpower spaces in TD and TOE units was slow, General Kerwin had taken a giant step in reducing the importance of gender as a factor in Army personnel management.

In January 1975, General Bailey recommended that the Army adopt the FORSCOM policy. The WAC Expansion Steering Committee approved, and the DCSPER Directorate for Plans, Programs, and Budgets circulated for comment a change to Army Regulation 310-49. The change was approved by the Army staff. On 1 October 1974, the DCSPER, General Rogers, announced the new policy. All TD spaces and those in Category II and III TOE units—combat support and combat service support—would be coded interchangeable. Exceptions would be granted by the DCSPER when a commander provided written justification for a space to be coded for male or female occupancy. The new policy gave personnel officers maximum assignment flexibility and gave the DCSPER an enforceable regulation. Nonetheless, some commanders attempted to obtain exceptions to the new policy on the basis of vague criteria—remoteness, isolated locations, field environment, undesirable

(DAPE-MPE-DR) 041314Z Nov 76, same sub. All in ODWAC Ref File, Regulations, AR 614-30, CMH.

[76] Ltr, Cdr, FORSCOM, to subordinate cdrs, 26 Nov 73, sub: WAC Expansion, ODWAC Ref File, Interchangeable Spaces, CMH.

[77] Ibid.

pressures, lack of facilities, brute strength requirements, emotional and logistical problems, and others. By 30 September 1977, however, approximately 275,000 spaces had been designated as interchangeable or female-only, and the Army considered establishing an authorized strength of 80,000 enlisted women.[78]

The Impact of Expansion on WAC Officers

Unlike the program for enlisted women, the 1973 expansion plan did not project goals for WAC officer strength. A single sentence declared: "Sufficient WAC officers will be procured and trained to meet requirements."[79] Changes affecting officer procurement and a continuing problem in determining WAC requirements had made the vagueness necessary. Army manning documents on 30 June 1973 showed only a small number of spaces available for WACs; 470 were for WAC officers only, and 2,788 were interchangeable spaces. An unwritten, but commonly accepted policy reserved 50 percent of the interchangeable officer spaces for WAC officers. General Bailey pointed out to the steering committee that this policy produced incredibly few spaces compared to the total of 106,000 Army officers authorized for FY 1973. And it provided little assistance in planning. At least five methods for projecting WAC officer procurement and strength goals for fiscal years 1976 through 1980 were proposed, but each had some technical flaw. Finally in 1975, the DCSPER directed that a computer model be developed using all the studies, experience, and data gathered on the subject. During the year or more needed to complete the task, the DCSPER used the ratio of male officers to total male strength as the ratio for female officers to enlisted women's strength to determine requirements for women officers. Thus, if the male ratio was 10 officers for every 100 men, and if there were 27,000 enlisted women on duty, 2,700 WAC officers would be authorized. Although the method was not entirely satisfactory, it was usable until the computer model could be completed.[80]

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[78] DF, DWAC to ODCSPER Directorate of Plans, Programs, and Budget, 17 Jan 75, sub: Revised AR's 310-49 and 570-4; DF, DWAC to same addressees, 5 Jun 75, sub: Strawman—Designation of Male/Female/Interchangeable Positions in TAADS; Ltr, DCSPER to Maj Coms, 1 Oct 75, sub: Designation Male/Female/Interchangeable Positions in TAADS; Ltr, Cdr, Eighth US Army (Korea), to DCSPER, DA, 3 Sep 75, sub: WAC Content in Units, with Inds; DF, DCSLOG (Chief, War Reserves Office) to ODCSPER, 22 Nov 77, sub: Mobilization Support for Females, with Incl. Copies in ODWAC Ref File, Interchangeable Spaces, 1972–1978, CMH.

[79] SS, DCSPER (DAPE-PPB) to CofS, 24 Sep 73, sub: Plan for Expansion of the Women's Army Corps, date-stamped approval 9 Oct 73, ODWAC Ref File, Expansion, WAC, 1973, CMH.

[80] Min, WAC Expansion Steering Committee, 14 Aug 73, with Incl: DCSPER Point Paper, 14 Aug 73, sub: WAC Officers in the Baseline Force; and Memo, DCSPER through CofS and ASA M&RA for DASD M&RA, 20 Nov 75, sub: Army Women Officer Program—INFORMATION Memorandum, ODWAC Ref File, Officers WAC, CMH.

But the search for a new formula was soon pressured by further changes. In 1972, Chief of Staff Westmoreland had opened ROTC to women and had included women in a new Officer Personnel Management System (OPMS). A congressional committee had voted to enroll women in the service academies. The impact of these actions was now beginning to be felt.

When General Bailey first became director of the WAC, one of the questions frequently asked by representatives of the women's movement had been "Why can't women as well as men be commissioned through Army ROTC?" The Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) programs were, and are, the most productive source of commissioned officers for all the services. At first, General Bailey was reluctant to relinquish the direct commission programs that produced high-quality WAC officers. But, in 1969, the Air Force began enrolling women in ROTC, and, in February 1972, the Navy announced that it would open an experimental ROTC program for women. Before the Navy's announcement, General Bailey had decided that the time had come to propose Army ROTC as a supplementary means for obtaining WAC officers. A few days after the Navy's announcement, General Westmoreland approved a similar experimental program for the WAC. Beginning in September 1972, the Army would enroll 200 women in the pilot program. For the experiment, 20 women would participate in the program in each of ten carefully selected Army ROTC colleges:

Eastern Kentucky University, Richmond
Pennsylvania State University, University Park
Florida State University, Tallahassee
South Carolina State University, Orangeburg
Louisiana State University and A&M College, Baton Rouge
Indiana University, Bloomington
Texas A&I University, Kingsville
South Dakota State University, Brookings
Arizona State University, Tempe
University of Hawaii, Honolulu[81]

General Bailey's belief that the time was right for women to enter Army ROTC proved to be correct. The participating colleges were deluged with applications that first year, and a survey showed that 65 percent of the other ROTC colleges wanted to include women. With this encouragement, on 17 May 1973, Chief of Staff Abrams approved open-

[81] SS, DCSPER to CofS, 9 Feb 72 sub: Test Program for Opening ROTC Enrollment to Women at 8-10 Institutions, approved 14 Feb 72; Ltr, CG, CONARC (Asst DCS for Individual Training, BrigGen Milton E. Key), to DCSPER (DAPE-ITR), 17 Mar 72, sub: Test Program of Women in ROTC, with Ind, 21 Mar 72; Annual Historical Summary FY 1972 CONARC, p. 370, Senior ROTC; DOD Press Release, 23 Mar 75, sub: Colleges to Offer Army ROTC to Women. Copies in ODWAC Ref File, ROTC, CMH.

ing Army ROTC to women at all the colleges that desired it. Thereafter, enrollment of women in ROTC increased rapidly. (*See Table 24.*)

TABLE 24—WOMEN IN ARMY ROTC

School Year	Number Enrolled	Percent of ROTC Students	Number Commissioned
1972-73	212	1%	—
1973-74	3,098	9%	—
1974-75	6,354	16%	—
1975-76	9,324	19%	150
1976-77	11,838	22%	495
1977-78	14,296	24%	712
1978-79	15,265	25%	791

Source: RB 20-2, Women in the Army, US Army Command and General Staff College, Aug 78, p. 23.

After weapons training became mandatory for women officer candidates and ROTC cadets in January 1976, women and men followed the same curriculum during the ROTC school year and at summer camp between their junior and senior years. Beginning in September 1976, women could enter the ROTC Flight Training Program as well. The combat-oriented Airborne and Ranger training programs for ROTC cadets remained closed to them.[82]

By September 1974, the program was so successful that General Rogers could predict the annual entry on active duty of hundreds of women officers through ROTC. General Bailey realized that she could no longer retain the WAC direct commission programs even as a supplementary source because ROTC could furnish more economically all the women officers the Army needed. The DCSPER and DWAC approved TRADOC's recommendation to eliminate the direct commission programs, to integrate women into the male Officer Candidate School at Fort Benning beginning in October 1976, and to close WAC School when the last WOOC class graduated in October 1977.[83]

[82] DA Msg 091907Z Jan 76 to Maj Coms, sub: Weapons Training for Female Soldiers, Active Army, Army National Guard, and Army Reserve, and Memo, DCSPER (DAPE-MPO-R) to SecArmy through CofS, 19 Dec 75, sub: Female Training in ROTC Camps and Officer Candidate Schools (OCS)--DECISION MEMORANDUM, SecArmy approval date-stamped 5 Jan 76. Copies in ODWAC Ref File, ROTC, CMH.

[83] ODCSPER, Annual Historical Summary, FY 75, CMH Ref Br.

OPMS and the Integration of WAC Officers Into Other Branches

Few changes had been made in Army officer personnel management between the end of the Korean War and January 1972 when Chief of Staff Westmoreland approved a new Officer Personnel Management System (OPMS). Except for officers in the Medical, Chaplains, and Judge Advocate General's branches, which the Army administered separately, officers under the new system developed their careers along a dual track. They acquired proficiency in a primary skill associated with their basic branch and a secondary skill in one of forty-six specialties within nineteen career fields. Centralized selection was another major feature of OPMS; an appointed board of officers selected lieutenant colonels and colonels to fill designated battalion- and brigade-level command, district engineer, logistics command, and project manager positions. To administer the new system, officer education and training programs were realigned and the Officer Personnel Directorate (OPD) in the Military Personnel Center was reorganized to manage officer careers by specialty, grade, and branch.[84]

WAC officers were included in the new system, but few WAC branch requirements existed from which WAC officers could select a primary specialty. Therefore, a newly organized OPMS Steering Committee decided, with the concurrence of the DCSPER, DWAC, and the chief of the WAC Career Management Branch, that WAC officers would have instead a primary and an alternate specialty.[85] WAC officer training was adapted to allow for such specialization. In July 1972, the WAC Officers Advanced Course was discontinued at WAC School. The basic course, retitled the WAC Officers Orientation Course (WOOC), was reduced from eighteen to eleven weeks effective 1973. After graduation from WOOC or entry on active duty from ROTC, WAC officers attended the basic course, usually nine weeks, of another branch. They later took the advanced course of a branch associated with one of their specialties. And, later in their careers, WAC officers, like their male colleagues, had their records reviewed by centralized command selection boards for selection to serve in positions of command in the grades of lieutenant colonel and colonel. WACs, however, were excluded from selection to command Infantry, Armor, Field Artillery, VULCAN/CHAPARRAL Air Defense commands, and Combat Engineer units.[86]

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[84] Ibid., FY 72, pp. 81–85, CMH Ref Br.

[85] Min, OPMS Steering Committee, 17 Oct 72, ODWAC Ref File, OPMS, CMH.

[86] Fact Sheet, Chief, WAC Career Management Br, OPD (Lt Col Maida E. Lambeth) to DWAC, 22 May 72, sub: Officer Personnel Management System, and DF, Dir, Military Personnel Management, ODCSPER, to DWAC and other directorates, 31 May 73, sub: OPMS Centralized Command Selection System, ODWAC Ref File, OPMS, CMH. OPMS did not affect the management of warrant officers.

To implement the changes, the commander of the Military Personnel Center revised existing regulations and directives regarding officer specialties, command, and career management and reorganized the OPD. The new system had not changed the Army's overall organization by branch, nor had it eliminated most of the branch career management sections in OPD. It had, however, brought about the abolition of the WAC Career Management Branch in OPD. Under the new system, WAC officers would not have a primary specialty related to the WAC. WAC officers would attend the basic course of another branch after graduation from WOOC or ROTC. Thereafter, the WAC officer would be detailed (i.e., permanently loaned) to that branch, and she would select a primary specialty related to it. After eight or more years of service, she would select, as would a male officer, an alternate specialty and thus begin her dual career track. OPD divided the forty-six specialties among managers who assigned the officers in their specialties, but coordinated their actions with the officer's basic (or permanent detail) career branch chief, also located in OPD. Under OPMS, the WAC Career Management Branch would not control any specialty; the only MOS it had ever controlled was MOS 2145, WAC Staff Adviser, which was converted to specialty 41X and taken over by the specialty manager. The WAC Career Management Branch, therefore, became obsolete and was discontinued after it completed the staff actions to integrate WAC officers into the other branches of the Army.[87]

The WAC Career Management Branch integrated WAC officers into the other branches by permanently detailing them. As soon as the OPMS plan was approved, in March 1973, the branch chief, Col. Shirley R. Heinze, and her staff reviewed the individual records of approximately 1,200 WAC officers to determine the specialties in which they were best qualified under OPMS. Approximately two-thirds fell into the administrative category (e.g., personnel, finance, training, etc.); the other third into specialties related to their career specialization programs (e.g., logistics, intelligence, foreign area training, etc.). The branch staff then sent each officer this information, along with a complete explanation of the OPMS, and requested her preferences. After receiving the replies in late 1973 and early 1974, Colonel Heinze contacted the branch chosen by each officer as her first preference and gave the branch a resume of the officer's qualifications. If the officer's first choice of branch accepted her for permanent detail, no other branches were contacted. If the officer's first preference did not accept her, her second and, possibly, third choices were contacted. In cases where a decision could not be reached by this

[87] DA Pam 600-3, Officer Professional Development and Utilization, Mar 74, ODWAC Ref File, OPMS, CMH; AR 611-101, 15 Nov 75 (eff 1 Mar 76), Commissioned Officer Specialty Classification System, CMH Library. Without congressional action, the Army could not eliminate the WAC as the women's basic branch, but it could permanently detail WACs to other branches.

method, a board was convened to make the decision. Early in June, the branch selection process had been completed. It had been a herculean task. The adjutant general issued orders, effective 1 July 1974, that permanently detailed 1,164 WAC officers on active duty to their new branches. (*See Table 25.*) The WAC Career Management Branch was retitled the WAC Advisory Branch and given the mission of coordinating aspects of the integration and advising the MILPERCEN and OPD staff on matters related to it.[88]

TABLE 25—WAC OFFICERS ON PERMANENT DETAIL, 17 JUNE 1974

Branch	Col	Lt Col	Maj	Capt	1st Lt	2d Lt	Total	Percent
Adjutant General	5	45	47	93	56	135	381	32.8
Engineer	1	2	—	2	3	13	21	1.7
Finance	—	1	—	17	14	27	59	5.0
Military Intelligence	3	5	14	38	40	98	198	16.7
Military Police	4	7	6	29	23	66	135	11.4
Ordnance	1	4	1	7	15	17	45	3.8
Quartermaster	1	9	19	47	35	57	168	14.2
Signal	—	2	4	18	22	57	103	8.7
Transportation	1	—	—	18	15	36	70	5.9
WAC*	—	7	9	5	22	9	52	—

* Those counted under WAC were scheduled for release from active duty, retirement, or placement in Medical Hold status.

Source: DA Special Orders No. 115, 11 Jun 74, and No. 127, 28 Jun 74, ODWAC Ref File, WAC Career Management Branch, Integration of WAC Officers into Other Branches, CMH.

Before leaving the WAC Career Management Branch, Colonel Heinze briefed her counterparts in OPD on the history and experience of the members of the WAC officer corps and the policies that had affected their careers. She recalled that the rules had allowed no promotion for WAC officers beyond lieutenant colonel until 1967, had required most

[88] Summary, WAC Career Management Br, OPD, MILPERCEN, no date, Sequence of Actions to Integrate WAC Officers into Other Branches (Feb 73-Jul 74), ODWAC Ref File, WAC Career Management Branch, Integration of WAC Officers into Other Branches, CMH. Collection hereafter cited as ODWAC Ref File—Integration.

WAC appointments to have a baccalaureate degree, had excluded WAC officers selected for civilian graduate school training from attending Command and General Staff College or the Armed Forces Staff College, had allowed only one or two WAC officers to attend a senior service college each year, and had precluded most WAC officers from command experience above the grade of major. She asked OPD to help eliminate the restricted utilization of women officers; to improve their training and education; to ignore marriage, dependency, and gender in making assignments. In closing, she was confident and optimistic: "The Women's Army Corps officers are equal to the new roles we have been asked to assume. You . . . are in a unique position to help us prove it. We have great confidence that you will." [89]

WAC Expansion and the Reserve Components

The end of the draft also precipitated a great effort to increase the number of women in the U.S. Army Reserve (USAR) and the Army National Guard (ANG). Participation of women in the USAR had languished after the involuntary recall of women to active duty during the Korean War. At that time, the names of many women were removed from active duty orders because they had minor children or dependents, were physically disqualified, or could not be found. Consequently, the USAR had changed its enlistment and retention rules to match those for Regular Army women. In 1955, the USAR had 1,139 WAC reservists of whom 267 were officers; by 1970, it had only 306 including 84 officers. Little effort had been made to recruit women because the reserve had no trouble enlisting thousands of men in a 1963 Reserve Enlistment Program, which exempted such enlistees from the draft and required only six months on active duty. In 1967, the bill that had removed WAC career restrictions also authorized WACs to be enlisted and appointed in the Army National Guard. The National Guard, however, was so slow in developing its plans that no WAC entered the Guard until late 1971.[90]

In March of that year, a Reserve Forces Policy Board study recommended that the services take immediate steps to increase the number of women in the reserve components. It called upon the services to provide adequate facilities for women at armories and summer camps and to

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[89] Briefing, Chief, WAC Career Management Br, OPD, MILPERCEN, 9 Jul 74, sub: WAC, ODWAC Ref File—Integration.

[90] Rpt, LtCol Rhoda M. Messer, USAR, The Army Reserve WAC Program FY 71 to FY 81, HQ, USAR, Jan 76, ODWAC Ref File, WAC Reserve & National Guard, CMH; *Strength of the Army Reports* (DCSPER 46), Part III, 30 Jun 55, 30 Jun 61, and 30 Jun 70; PL 130, 90th Cong, 1st sess, 8 Nov 67; *National Guardsman*, Nov 71, p. 32. Members of the ANC and AMSC were authorized to join the National Guard under PL 845, 84th Cong, 2d sess, 30 Jul 1956.

eliminate any inequities in the treatment of women. By June, Maj. Gen. J. Milnor Roberts, Chief, U.S. Army Reserve, had prepared an aggressive recruitment program for women and recalled a WAC officer on active duty to implement it. Maj. Rhoda M. Messer revised and prepared new USAR recruitment and training directives and visited USAR commanders throughout the United States, informing them of the recruiting program and explaining the new directives. In the summer of 1972, General Roberts launched a nationwide campaign to reach a goal of 10,000 women in the USAR by the end of FY 1976. The program achieved some success in FY 1972, but it was hampered by a requirement that women without previous service complete an eight-week basic training program at Fort McClellan before they could attend USAR drill sessions. Many employers would not release women for such a lengthy time without loss of benefits, although they routinely did so for men who had a military obligation under the draft. At the suggestion of Army recruiters, General Roberts approved an option to enlist women with skills acquired in civilian life and to give them two weeks of basic training at the WAC Center, with the balance to be served in their home USAR unit. Under the Civilian Acquired Skills Program (CASP), women who were skilled stenographers, clerk-typists, medical specialists, computer operators, or who possessed any of a hundred other skills, were enlisted as privates, first class. After they had completed eight weeks of basic training, they were promoted to corporal or sergeant, depending upon their skill level and the need for their MOS in the USAR. Between 1973 and 1978, over 15,000 women completed the two-week (later three-week) basic training program under CASP at WAC Center.[91]

Several programs also increased the number of women officers in the USAR during this period. Women who held baccalaureate degrees could apply for a direct commission, attend the eleven-week WAC Officer Orientation Course at the WAC School, and then enter a USAR unit in their home area. With the September 1972 opening of ROTC to women, that program provided a ready and fully adequate source of women officers for the USAR. As in the Regular Army, the direct commission program for the USAR was discontinued in 1977.[92]

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[91] Memo, Reserve Forces Policy Board to SecDef, 11 Mar 71, sub: Women Volunteers in the Guard and Reserve, ODWAC Ref File, WAC Reserve Correspondence, CMH; Rpt, Col Helen A. Wilson, USMC Res, Current Status of Recruitment and Retention of Women Volunteers in the Guard/Reserve Forces, 20 Aug 71, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, CMH; Annual Historical Summary, Reserve Components, 1 Jul 71 to 30 Jun 72, 9 May 73, p. 35, CMH Ref Br; Col Shirley J. Minge, USAR, A Resume of the Civilian Acquired Skills Program, Abbreviated Basic Training (CAS BT2) for WAC Members of the Reserve Components 1973-1979, ODWAC Ref File, CASP Program, CMH. In 1978, the two-week basic training program was expanded to three weeks; in 1981, the abbreviated program for CASP was discontinued.

[92] AR 135-100, 17 Mar 72, Appointment of Commissioned and Warrant Officers in the Army National Guard and Army Reserve, Chap 3, Sec V, Appointments of Women in the Reserve Components of the Army, and Change 9, 1 Apr 79, CMH.

The Army National Guard initiated its campaign to obtain WACs in September 1971. At the outset, it accepted only women who had previous military service. But as commanders in the National Guard increased the number of interchangeable spaces on their manning documents, more women could be used, and in March 1972 those without previous service were accepted. Based on advice from General Bailey, enlistment and appointment qualifications for women in the National Guard matched those for women in the Regular Army and the USAR.[93] In 1974, the National Guard also initiated a CASP for enlisted women who attended the abbreviated basic training course and for officers who attended the WAC Officer Orientation Course at Fort McClellan. Through these programs, the number of women in the Guard increased significantly.[94]

The reserve components also benefited from efforts to eliminate differences between military programs for men and women. Congress, in 1977, gave women enlistees a six-year military obligation. Beginning 1 February 1978, women between seventeen and twenty-six years old who enlisted without previous military service assumed the same military obligation as men. Women who completed a three-year enlistment on active duty could complete the balance of their obligation in the Individual Ready Reserve—a pool of mobilization replacements who did not attend mandatory USAR or Army National Guard drill sessions. Women who enlisted directly in the USAR or the National Guard could serve the entire six years in a paid Ready Reserve unit, or four years in a paid unit and two years in the Individual Ready Reserve.[95]

In the 1970s, both the USAR and the National Guard opened creative programs for women. An all-WAC basic training battalion, largely the work of Major Messer, was activated on 1 September 1972. Titled the 1st WAC Basic Training Battalion, the unit was part of the 80th Division (Training), USAR, with headquarters in Richmond, Virginia. The WAC battalion, stationed in Alexandria, near Washington, D.C., conducted the balance of basic training required for men and women who completed the abbreviated CASP basic training program at Fort McClellan. After the WAC was disestablished in 1978, the battalion was deactivated (16 September 1978) and its functions were transferred to another unit in the 80th Division (Training).[96]

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[93] The first WAC to be enlisted in the Army National Guard was SP5 Nora J. Campbell, who enlisted at Fort Lewis, WA, on 12 Oct 71. The Air National Guard began enlisting women in Dec 1970. See *National Guardsman*, Nov 71, p. 32.

[94] DFs, Chief, National Guard Bureau (NGB), to DWAC, 29 Mar 72, sub: Enlistment of Non-Prior Service Women in the ANG, Comment 2, DWAC to Chief, NGB, 7 Apr 72, and Dir, ANG, to Chief, NGB (DARC-ZA), 7 Feb 74, sub: ANG Participation in Female Basic Training Option, ODWAC Ref File, WAC, National Guard, CMH.

[95] PL 95-79, 30 Jul 77, Defense Authorization Act, FY 1978; DA Msg 202113Z Jan 78, sub: Military Service Obligation for Women, ODWAC Ref File, Enlistment Standards, CMH; Change 2, 1 Apr 78, AR 140-111, 1 Jul 76, Enlistment and Reenlistment in the USAR, CMH Library.

[96] 1st US WAC Basic Training Battalion, the only separate WAC unit in the USAR, was activated under GO 831, HQ, First Army, 8 Sep 72, and discontinued under Permanent Order 107-1, HQ, First

Training sometimes required direct support from WAC Center. In 1976, the center was called upon to develop and conduct a basic training program for women members of the Alaska National Guard. The scout battalions of the 297th Infantry, Army National Guard, recruited native Alaskan women for duty in their battalions that patrolled the western border of Alaska. The women needed a special training program. After being contacted, the WAC Center and School assigned a team of trainers, led by Maj. Myrna H. Williamson, to the project. The team visited Alaska, studied the problems involved, returned to Fort McClellan, drew up a course, then returned to Alaska. They conducted the course for fifty-two women recruits at Camp Carroll in Anchorage; fifty-one graduated. The recruits learned map reading, marching, communications procedures, intelligence gathering, arctic survival and bivouac, first aid, weapons (M16 rifle), and other subjects. During the course the class was visited by Maj. Gen. C. F. Necrason, Alaska National Guard adjutant general, and Mr. R. "Muk-tuk" Marston, founder of the Alaska Territorial Guard and the Marston Foundation. After completing the course, the women went to Army training schools outside Alaska for advanced individual training in communications, medical care and treatment, cooking, supply, and administration. Some received on-the-job training at units in Alaska before being assigned for duty with the scout battalions. The course proved successful, and in 1978, the Army National Guard in Alaska again conducted a basic training course for native Alaskan women.[97]

The WAC expansion inspired an abundance of studies on women's programs. One examined women in the reserve components. In November 1977, a review group appointed by the DCSPER undertook a study of the policies and programs for women in the USAR and Army National Guard for the deputy assistant secretary of the Army for reserve affairs. The director of the WAC, given responsibility for the review, appointed her deputy, Col. Edith M. Hinton, to chair the Women in the Army—Reserve Components Review Group. Col. Shirley J. Minge, USAR, was named to assist Colonel Hinton. The review group issued a comprehensive report on its findings in March 1978. They recommended that the two-week CASP basic training course be eliminated in favor of a seven-week course; that field commanders provide training to eliminate defi-

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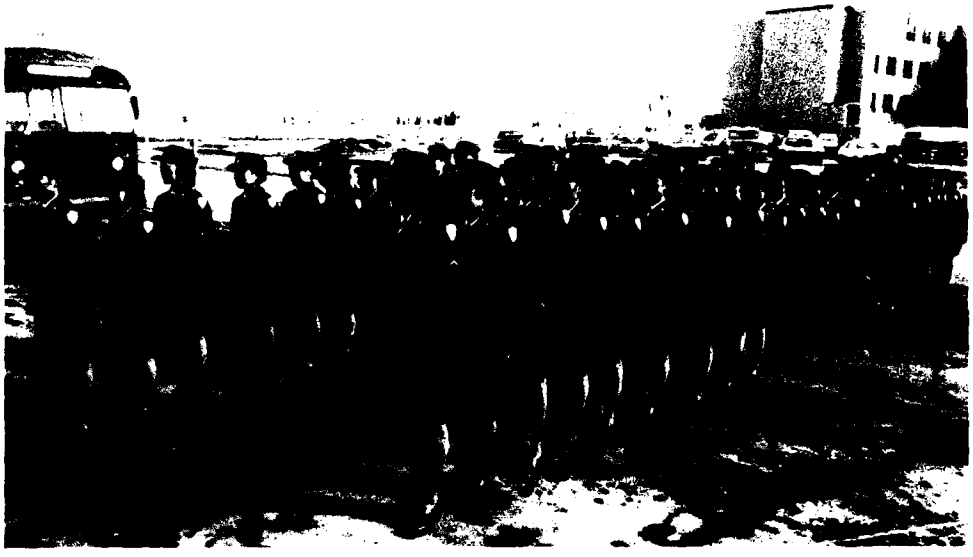
Army, eff 16 Sep 79. After a series of acting cdrs, on 28 Apr 73, LtCol Dolores J. Miller assumed command of the battalion; she was replaced on 15 Oct 74 by LtCol Grace M. King, who retired in Dec 77 and was replaced by Maj Jean Curtis, who remained with the unit until it was deactivated in 1979. (Interv, Maj F. Catherine Bander, Exec Officer, 1st WAC Basic Training Bn, 14 May 81, ODWAC Ref File, WAC Reserve, 1st US WAC Training Battalion, CMH.)

[97] After-Action Rpt, Maj Myrna H. Williamson, Capt Mary M. Lewis, and Capt Judith A. Dewing, sub: Special Women's Basic Training Program, 17 Mar–8 Apr 76, ODWAC Ref File, WAC Reserve & National Guard, Alaska Scout Training, CMH. WAC Center Drill Sergeants Suzanne Oldt and Harriet Williamson (no relation to the major) led the two platoons through the training ("Alaskan Women Complete Basic," *Army Times*, 10 Jul 78).



MEMBERS OF THE 297TH INFANTRY, ARMY NATIONAL GUARD, *await their graduation ceremony upon completing a special basic training course at Camp Carroll, Alaska, 7 April 1976.*

ciencies in men and women's training caused by variances in the reserve programs; that directives make it clear to women members that they incurred a six-year obligation when they enlisted; that nontraditional training opportunities be emphasized in recruit advertising for women; and that the active Army consider the impact of its new policies and programs on women in the reserve components.[98]

The review showed the success of the WAC expansion in the USAR and the Army National Guard to have been as significant as it had been in the Regular Army. Primarily with the help of the Civilian Acquired Skills Program and its abbreviated basic training program, the USAR and the National Guard made exemplary progress in increasing the number of women in their organizations. Women in the USAR increased from approximately 550 (171 officers) in 1970 to 20,676 (636 officers) in 1978; women in the National Guard increased from zero in 1970 to 13,353 (455 officers) in 1978.[99]

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[98] Memo, DASA (RA) to DCSPER, 9 Nov 77, sub: Programs for Women in the Reserve Components, and Study, ODCSPER, sub: Women in the Army—Reserve Components (WITA-RC) Review, 31 Mar 78, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, Women in the Army Reserve Components, CMH.

[99] Ibid.; *Strength of the Army Report* (DCSPER 46), Part III, 30 Jun 70 and 30 Jun 78; Office of the Chief, ANG, Information Sheet, 2 Jan 79, ODWAC Ref File, WAC National Guard, CMH. National Guard officer statistics include women officers in the Medical Department.

Other Women's Services

The WAC was not alone in experiencing management changes and a tremendous increase in strength as a result of the ending of the draft. Between 1972 and 1975, the other services also made sweeping changes in their treatment of women—changes which resulted in a major upswing in the number of women in those services. Officers and enlisted women entered noncombat service support duties in law enforcement, aviation, engineering, logistics, communications-electronics, and utilities. The Navy and the Air Force trained women as noncombat pilots and navigators, and the Marine Corps assigned women to administrative and maintenance support positions in the Fleet Marine Corps Reserve (2d Marine Aircraft Wing and 1st Marine Division). In 1973, the Navy reassigned Captain Quigley to the command of a mixed unit at Monterey, California, and did not fill the vacancy created by her leaving the position as director of WAVES. Brig. Gen. Jeanne M. Holm retired on 30 May 1973 and was recalled to active duty as a major general the next day to serve as president of the U.S. Air Force Review Board. That same year, the Air Force standardized its enlistment qualifications for men and women. In 1974, it added a course in defensive weapons training on the M16 rifle and .45-caliber pistol for new recruits and for women officers entering the service. Beginning in 1974, the Marine Corps deactivated most of its Women Marine companies and housed, fed, and administered women in the same units as men. That year, Col. Mary E. Bane became the first woman Marine Corps officer to command a mixed unit when she took charge of Headquarters and Service Battalion, Camp Pendleton, California.[100]

Statutory changes concerning a variety of issues—age upon enlistment, a six-year service obligation, dependency status for women's spouses and children—and DOD-directed revisions in policy affecting waivers for enlistment and retention of women with minor children and elimination of discharge on marriage applied to women in all the services. When the draft ended, the value of women as a source of voluntary manpower soared, and many restrictions on their assignment, education, promotion, and administration vanished within a few years. The remaining issues—retention of pregnant women, entry of women into the service academies, and assignment to combat duties—did not slow the ever-increasing number of women in the services. (*See Table 26.*)

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[100] Stremlow, *History of the Women Marines 1946–1977*, pp. 138-39; F.D. Margiotta, J. Brown, and M.J. Collins, eds., *Changing U.S. Military Manpower Realities* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1983), pp. 157-59, 175-89.

TABLE 26—ENLISTED WOMEN, STRENGTH BY SERVICE

	Army	Navy	Air Force	Marine Corps
30 June 1972	12,349	5,723	11,725	2,066
30 June 1974	26,327	13,143	19,465	2,402

Source: DOD Selected Manpower Statistics, FY 1978, Table P26.62, Female Military Personnel on Active Duty, Officers, and Enlisted.

As welcome as the success of WAC expansion was to the Army, it proved to be a mixed blessing to members of the Corps. Success brought changes the Corps could not survive. In the first place, the heavy influx of women, beginning in August 1972 and continuing without surcease, stretched the ability of the Corps—whose original mission had been to maintain a small nucleus of trained personnel—to house and command all the new arrivals. WAC detachments were melded into male companies, and, with that melding, administrative control of women passed to male commanders. Without WAC units, the Corps lost most of its command spaces, and WAC staff adviser positions became obsolete. In 1974, the implementation of the Officer Personnel Management System forced WAC officers to leave the WAC branch, whose only peacetime function was administering women, and to move into branches that performed the Army's service and support functions. WAC expansion had been so critical to sustaining the all-volunteer Army that the DCSPER had appointed a committee of general officers to control the expansion, supplanting the guidance formerly provided by the WAC director. By 1975, loss of WAC detachments, WAC staff advisers, and the WAC officer corps and the declining influence of the director of the WAC had weakened Corps prestige. The Corps was left with little strength to withstand the well-intentioned, but destructive demands of the women's movement—elimination of the Corps, its director, and separate promotion list.

CHAPTER XI

The Women's Rights Movement and the WAC

It would be hard to deny the tremendous impact of the women's rights movement upon policies affecting the WAC and the status of the Corps. Beginning in 1969, the movement garnered such wide media and public support that its leaders quickly established a solid political base. Legislators, national and state, supported the movement's goals in hopes of capturing the women's vote. In the primary races leading to the national election in 1972, that vote appeared crucial for presidential contenders Nixon and McGovern and for other office seekers. Both parties supported passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, the primary goal of the movement. In March 1972, lawmakers in the Senate and the House passed, by an overwhelming majority, the bill that sent the proposed ERA to the states for ratification. The early success of the proposed Equal Rights Amendment stimulated inquiries to the Pentagon from Congress, the press, and the public on how the ERA, if passed, would affect women in the military services.

In August 1972, at the suggestion of the DCSPER, then General Kerwin, Chief of Staff Bruce Palmer, Jr., appointed an ad hoc committee to determine the effects of passage of the Equal Rights Amendment on the Army. The group was further charged to propose the Army's position on the issues raised by the women's movement. Known as the ERA Committee, the group was made up of eighteen men and women—officers, NCOs, and civilians.[1]

The committee completed its work in four months and concluded that if the ERA passed, the Army would be pressed to justify the existence of a separate women's organization. Differences in the rules under which men and women were enlisted, trained, assigned, and discharged would

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[1] CSM Memo 72-15-183, 21 Aug 72, sub: Committee to Study the Effects of the Proposed Equal Rights Amendment, and Ltr, DCSPER to DWAC, 25 Aug 72, sub: Letter of Instruction to Chairman of the Committee to Study the Effect of the Proposed Equal Rights Amendment, ODWAC Ref File, Studies—ERA Committee, CMH. Col Bettie J. Morden, ODWAC, chaired the committee that included part-time representatives from other ODCSPER directorates, the Office of the Chief of Reserve Components, the Office of the Adjutant General, and the Office of the Chief of Information. General officer guidance was provided by General Bailey; WAC members included Col Mary J. Guyette, Maj Evelyn P. Foote, Maj Rhoda M. Messer, Maj Patricia W. Whelan, SgtMaj Betty L. Adams, and Sp5 Judy A. Fuller.

be difficult to defend. The committee emphasized, however, that the wording of the amendment was so general that the courts would be required to settle disputes. The committee believed the courts would take a balanced approach in deciding issues involving the military services and national defense and would uphold differences in housing policies to preserve privacy between the sexes; involuntary discharge on pregnancy to preserve mobility; and exclusion of women from combat to preserve tradition. Whether or not the amendment was ratified by the states, the committee recommended a number of positions for the Army to take:

—A noncombat role for women
—Continuation of the WAC as a separate corps
—Retention of the director and other key officers
—Assignment of WAC officers to the WAC as a branch or to other branches
—Maintenance of a separate WAC promotion list
—Enrollment of women in the U.S. Military Academy
—Retention of WAC enlistment standards
—Retention of separate noncombat basic training for women
—Retention of current policies on discharging women

If the amendment became part of the Constitution, the committee recommended that registration and induction be applied equally to men and women and that deferments be given to mothers and to pregnant women. The DCSPER, then Lt. Gen. Bernard W. Rogers, concurred in most of these positions but ordered studies on those he disagreed with or felt needed further review—admission of women to the academy, non-elimination of the WAC as a separate corps, separate basic training, and defensive weapons training for women. He ordered that no actions be taken at that time regarding registration, induction, deferments, retention of the position of the director of the WAC, or policies concerning enlistment qualifications or discharges.[2]

The committee's report reflected the traditional conservatism of the WAC. Its members had bowed to progress only in recommending that women officers be allowed to transfer to other branches and that women enter the U.S. Military Academy, which did not educate officers exclusively for the combat arms. But, despite the Army's tendency to maintain the status quo, society was increasingly demanding changes in the role of women. To lose as little ground as possible, the Army (including the WAC) initiated a few changes—appearing to keep in step but moving little. The Army supported this course because it believed that the courts would allow separate rules for women in justifiable cases. And on that

[2] Rpt, ODCSPER (WAC), Dec 72, sub: Report of the Committee to Study the Proposed Equal Rights Amendment, and Memo, DCSPER to all ODCSPER Directors and DWAC, 18 Jan 73, sub: Utilization of Women in the Army, ODWAC Ref File, Studies—ERA Committee, CMH.

point, the Army was wrong. By February 1973, the increasing momentum of the women's movement led General Rogers to direct his staff to "review where we stand and where we should go" and develop a plan for improving utilization and administration of the WAC. General Rogers' guidance to his staff was brief—"use the plateau approach" and "do what is best for the Army and best for women." Any recommendations for change would be judged on their potential to enhance Army effectiveness, not on their popularity.[3]

The WAC director, General Bailey, approved the Plateau Plan produced by the DCSPER staff and the order of priority developed to improve the utilization and administration of women. Almost half of the "take action now" items that concerned WAC officers had been generated by the Army's new Officer Personnel Management System. The other items in this group and in the higher plateaus had evolved from the WAC expansion plan, the affirmative action plan, or the report of the ERA Committee. (*See Chart 4.*)

CHART 4—PLATEAU PLAN—UTILIZATION OF WOMEN IN THE ARMY

Women should "never" do.	28.	Physical combat in conventional or unconventional units.
	29.	Assignments which preclude privacy in the field.
Do not foresee within 3-5 years.	25.	Disestablish DWAC.
	26.	Equalize enlistment standards.
Do not plan now.	27.	Change separation policies on marriage/pregnancy.
Include as objective in the Army Personnel Plan.	20.	Eliminate separate promotion list.
	21.	Disestablish WAC as separate branch.
	22	Conduct Basic Training at other centers.
	23.	Determine whether to allow women cadets at USMA.
	24.	Identify noncombatant positions for women in Cat I units below division level.
Take action now.	5.	Expand training facilities (barracks) to support training in skills already open to women.

[3] DF, DCSPER DPPB to all DCSPER directorates and ODWAC, 16 Feb 73, sub: Utilization of Women in the Army; Memo, Cdr, MILPERCEN, 23 Feb 73, sub: Utilization of WAC Officers; DF, DCSPER DPPB to DCSPER, 7 Mar 73, sub: Utilization of Women in the Army; and Memo, DCSPER to DCSPER directorates, DWAC, and Cdr, MILPERCEN, 26 Apr 73, sub: Utilization of Women in the Army. Copies in ODWAC Ref File, Plateau Concept, CMH.

CHART 4—PLATEAU PLAN—UTILIZATION OF WOMEN IN THE ARMY—Continued

	6.	Equal moral and administrative waivers for reenlistment.
	7.	Standard criteria and procedures for OCS.
	8.	Develop career progression patterns with each branch for women officers, excluding combat arms.
	9.	Authorize branch transfers for WAC officers.
	10.	Authorize separation of sole surviving daughter.
	11.	Examine policy on assignment of married women and women with minor dependents.
	12.	Examine the officer procurement requirement with a view to permitting women in ROTC at all institutions.
	13.	Provide weapons familiarization and defensive combat.
	14.	Aviation training.
	15.	Establish career development for present senior WAC officers under OPMS.
	16.	Identify additional MOSs, skills to open to enlisted women.
	17.	Identify additional MOSs, skills to open to officers.
	18.	Determine appropriate numbers in baseline force.
	19.	Identify positions for women in division and corps headquarters.
Continue to do.	1.	Authority for WACs to command.
	2.	Approved expansion of WAC.
	3.	Include WAC officers in the same senior service college selection process as male officers.
	4.	Monitor progress of Equal Rights Amendment.

Source: DF, DCSPER DPPB to all DCSPER directorates and ODWAC, 16 Feb 73, sub: Utilization of Women in the Army.

Pregnancy and Parenthood Policies

Among the regulations that the women's rights movement attacked were those that discharged unmarried, pregnant women and single women with minor dependents. Leaders of the movement were pleased when an article concerning the ERA and these matters appeared in the *Yale Law Journal* in 1971. The article stated that after the ERA passed,

unmarried women could not be discharged for pregnancy unless men shown to be fathers of children born out of wedlock were also discharged. If single women with dependent children were discharged, then men in the same circumstances would also be discharged. After the ERA passed, the armed forces would, the article continued, treat both sexes alike by retaining single people who fathered or bore children, by providing day care for the children, or by giving a discharge to parents who could not take care of their children if they remained on active duty.[4]

The Army, however, continued to hold the view that its current policies were best both for the national defense effort and for the personnel involved, parents and children. In some areas, procedures were tightened. Because detection of early pregnancy during an enlistment physical examination was almost impossible, proposals had been made that a pregnancy test (blood or urine) be administered immediately before or after women actually entered active duty. The surgeon general of the Army had rejected such suggestions because the tests were not reliable; the director of the WAC had rejected them because they insulted women applying for enlistment. The problem, not a major one during the WAC's first quarter century, was ignored until 1973.[5] By then, pregnancy out of wedlock was so generally accepted that young women believed the Army would take care of them if pregnancy were discovered after they had enlisted. In August of that year, however, the Army initiated an expeditious discharge procedure that administratively eliminated men and women within 180 days after enlistment when it was discovered they failed to meet minimum mental or physical standards or exhibited characteristics that did not warrant continued service. Women found to be pregnant upon enlistment could be discharged under this rule because they did not physically qualify for enlistment.[6]

With this issue seemingly resolved, the Army began to encounter greater problems as society's attitudes became increasingly more liberal. The first indication of the extent of the problems came in December 1973 when the deputy assistant secretary of defense (M&RA) for military personnel policy (DASD [M&RA] MPP), Lt. Gen. Leo E. Benade, sternly reminded the services: "It is the intent of the Secretary of Defense to eliminate all laws and regulations which make an unnecessary distinction in the treatment of men and women . . . and [further] to assure that women are accorded equal treatment." With this, he proposed repeal of the law that authorized involuntary discharge of a woman who became

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[4] Barbara A. Brown et al., "The Equal Rights Amendment: A Constitutional Basis for Equal Rights for Women," *Yale Law Journal* 80 (Apr 71): 597–98.

[5] In FY 67, 26 of 4,124 WAC enlistees were discharged for pregnancy; in FY 74, 120 of 16,092 were discharged for pregnancy. *Strength of the Army Report* (DCSPER 46), Part II, 30 Jun 67 and 30 Jun 74.

[6] DA Msg 011510Z Aug 73, sub: Evaluation and Discharge of Enlisted Personnel before 180 Active Duty Days, ODWAC Ref File, Discharge—Pregnancy, CMH.

pregnant, a parent, or assumed custody of a minor. He asked each service for its evaluation of the impact of the proposal.[7]

Since 1971, the Army had grudgingly allowed waivers for these circumstances, and it had no desire to make further concessions. In responding to General Benade, General Rogers, the DCSPER, voiced strong objections to losing involuntary discharge authority and showed how the waiver policy had reduced the number of women discharged on pregnancy and parenthood. (*See Table 27.*) [8]

TABLE 27—ARMY ENLISTED WOMEN DISCHARGED FOR PREGNANCY AND PARENTHOOD

	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Enlisted strength	10,700	11,100	11,900	12,100	14,800
Discharged, pregnancy	1,444	1,446	1,412	1,166	1,034
Discharged, parenthood	24	20	11	12	22
Loss rate, percentage	13.7	13.2	11.9	9.7	7.1

Source: Strength of the Army Report (DCSPER 46), Part I (Strength), Part II (Gains and Losses).

To ward off imposition of the policy proposed by General Benade, the Army hurriedly implemented other policies it hoped would appease the Department of Defense:

—Marriage as a reason for discharge was deleted for commissioned and warrant officers and enlisted women.
—Women whose pregnancy terminated in an abortion, miscarriage, or stillbirth remained on active duty.
—Unmarried as well as married pregnant women could request retention on active duty.

A single enlisted woman requesting retention had to provide a written explanation of how she intended to support and care for the child and the name of the person who would care for her child if she were temporarily or permanently reassigned to another station or deployed overseas. She also had to certify that she understood her obligation to purchase and wear civilian maternity clothing when she outgrew her uniforms.[9]

[7] Memo, DASD (M&RA)MPP to the ASA (M&RA), 4 Dec 73, sub: Repeal of Certain Sections of Title 10, U.S. Code, Concerning Management of Women in the Service, ODWAC Ref File, Discharge—Pregnancy, CMH. The law affected was Executive Order 10240 issued 27 Apr 51.

[8] Memo, DCSPER (DAPE-DMPM) through CofS and ASA (M&RA) to DASD (M&RA)MPP, 28 Dec 73, sub: Repeal of Certain Sections of Title 10, U.S. Code, ODWAC Ref File, Discharge Pregnancy, CMH.

[9] Ibid., and DA Msg 272024Z Dec 73 to all commands, sub: Changes in Policy for Discharge of Enlisted Women by Reason of Marriage and Pregnancy, ODWAC Ref File, Discharge—Pregnancy, CMH.

The DCSPER also eliminated parenthood as a basis for discharge for women officers, single or married. The Army considered the officers to be financially and psychologically capable of fulfilling child-care responsibilities. However, it debated extending the same provision to enlisted women.[10]

These changes technically eliminated involuntary discharge on pregnancy and parenthood by allowing married and unmarried women who became pregnant or who became parents to request retention on active duty. To the DCSPER, General Rogers, and the DWAC, General Bailey, the new policies represented a reasonable alternative, which, they expected, would satisfy the deputy assistant secretary of defense. It did not. After General Benade and his staff had gathered and studied the impact statements submitted by the services, they decided, over objections from all the services, that the laws and regulations authorizing involuntary discharge on pregnancy and parenthood should be repealed. General Benade directed the services to cease invoking such policies and to develop uniform policies regarding these matters. He provided sixteen policy changes.[11]

General Bailey was astounded. She could not believe the Defense Department would reject the policies the Army had proposed. In a four-page memorandum to General Rogers on 22 August 1974 entitled, "Maternity, Mobility, and Mission," she presented the case for retaining authority for involuntary discharge on pregnancy and parenthood. She asked the DCSPER to stand fast on the policies and not make any further changes unless ordered to do so by court action. "It appears incomprehensible," she wrote, "that the Army's mission, recruiting requirement, and mobility of its members would not be fairly considered in a court action." And, she added that "preferential treatment of mothers in assignments would discriminate against fathers and single personnel." She voiced her fear that unmarried pregnant women would abuse the system by remaining in service for "security, protection, and the entitlements" and then request discharge on parenthood.[12]

The DCSPER agreed that single pregnant women and unmarried mothers would be a problem to the Army, and in his reply he told General Benade that the Army's latest policy changes had already eliminated involuntary separation on pregnancy by providing a retention procedure and that discharge on parenthood had been abolished for officers.

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[10] DA Msgs 221745Z Jan 74 to all commands, sub: Changes in AR 635-100 and AR 635-120, and 051315Z Sep 74, sub: Interim Change to AR 635-120, Voluntary or Involuntary Discharge of Officers on Parenthood Eliminated, ODWAC Ref File, Discharge—Pregnancy, CMH.

[11] Memo, DASD (M&RA)MPP to the Asst Secretaries of the Military Depts (M&RA), 7 Jun 74, sub: Involuntary Separation of Women for Pregnancy and Parenthood, ODWAC Ref File, Discharge/Waivers—Pregnancy, Parenthood, Dependents, CMH.

[12] Memo, DWAC to DCSPER, 22 Aug 74, sub: Maternity, Mobility and Mission, ODWAC Ref File, Discharge/Waivers—Pregnancy, Parenthood, Dependents, CMH.

Nonetheless, in an effort to cooperate, based on the sixteen suggested changes, the Army would make additional modifications:

—Women who became pregnant and could not complete their required training would be involuntarily discharged but would receive maternity care benefits.
—Commanders would be required to counsel pregnant women who had been granted a waiver for retention on active duty on their obligation to complete their enlistment and, after delivery, to accept worldwide assignment without expecting special consideration.
—The maximum postpartum absence would be six weeks unless the surgeon general of the Army approved an extension.
—A hardship discharge would be provided single parents (men or women) who could not satisfactorily perform their military duties or parental responsibilities.[13]

Again the Army's reply did not satisfy the Defense Department. General Benade retired in September 1974; his replacement, Vice Admiral John G. Finneran, told the DCSPER that he, General Rogers, had misunderstood the 7 June 1974 memorandum. Admiral Finneran stated that the memo had not suggested changes, but had transmitted to the services a DOD-directed policy that women would not be involuntarily separated for pregnancy or parenthood; that women would be automatically retained unless they requested voluntary separation because of pregnancy or parenthood; and that the sixteen changes would be uniformly integrated into the services' policies. He requested that the DCSPER send him copies of the Army regulations implementing these new policies.[14]

A few days later, the secretary of defense's general counsel appointed the Army as the executive agent to develop uniform pregnancy and parenthood policies throughout the services and to draft the legislation required to repeal the offending sections of law.[15] Like the Army, the

[13] Memo, DCSPER (DAPE-MPE, Lt Col Shirley M. Barnwell, Action Officer) through CofS and ASA (M&RA) to DASD (M&RA)MPP, 5 Nov 74, sub: Involuntary Separation of Women for Pregnancy and Parenthood, ODWAC Ref File, Discharge/Waivers—Pregnancy, Parenthood, Dependents, CMH. DA Msg 061400Z Jun 75, sub: Interim Change to Chapters 6 and 8, AR 635-200 and the Trainee Discharge Program, implemented the policy changes.

[14] Memo, DASD (M&RA)MPP to ASA (M&RA), 25 Nov 74, sub: Involuntary Separation of Women for Pregnancy and Parenthood, ODWAC Ref File, Discharge/Waivers—Pregnancy, Parenthood, Dependents, CMH.

[15] Memo, Office of the General Counsel, Dir, Legislative Reference Service, DOD, to SecArmy, Attn: Chief of Legislative Liaison, 29 Nov 74, sub: Misc. 1425, proposed legislation "to amend title 10, United States Code, to repeal provisions authorizing involuntary separation of women for pregnancy and parenthood," ODWAC Ref File, Discharge/Waivers—Pregnancy, Parenthood, Dependents, CMH.

other services had also interpreted the 7 June memo as guidance; in fact, they had not yet responded to it. And like the other services, the Army deeply resented DOD's intrusion into its personnel policies. But DOD's goal was to eliminate all the differences in personnel management that could be attacked as discriminatory while an all-volunteer force was needed. With no choice, the Army moved to comply. The judge advocate general prepared the draft legislation. The DCSPER, now Lt. Gen. Harold G. Moore, met with representatives of the other services at the Pentagon on 15 January 1975 to align their policies. On 28 March, General Moore wrote Admiral Finneran that the services' policies were as similar as possible; the Air Force had conformed to the DOD guidance that month, and, as soon as DOD revised its directive on administrative discharges (DOD Directive 1332.14, Administrative Discharges), the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps would issue their implementing instructions.[16]

This move also appeared to Admiral Finneran to be foot-dragging. On 11 April, his principal deputy, John F. Ahearne, wrote to the assistant secretaries (M&RA) of the Army and of the Navy and asked them to publish and implement their new policies not later than 15 May 1975—without waiting for revision of directive 1332.14. "Publication of changes in the DoD Directive will not," he wrote, "alter the decisions and policy revision approved herein."[17]

With this, General Bailey again jumped into the fray. In a memo sent through channels to Secretary of the Army Callaway, she expressed her profound concern over the impending loss of the involuntary discharge authority and the impact it would have on Army readiness, the deployability of women, the lives of unmarried pregnant women and their children, and the morale of soldiers who would be required to carry the work load of pregnant women. "I recommend," she wrote, "that this far-reaching policy change be further addressed prior to the Army's acceptance of this DoD imposed requirement."[18] Assistant Secretary of the

[16] Memo, DCSPER (DAPE-MPE-PS) through CofS and ASA (M&RA) to DASD (M&RA) MPP, 28 Mar 75, sub: Involuntary Separation of Women for Pregnancy and Parenthood; DF, DCSPER (DAPE-MPE) through Office of Legislative Liaison to Army JAG, 12 Dec 74, sub: Memo, DOD General Counsel 29 Nov 74, Misc. 1425, proposed legislation to amend Title 10, United States Code, to Repeal Provisions Authorizing Involuntary Separation of Women for Pregnancy and Parenthood; DF, DCSPER (DAPE-MPE) to Cdr, Army Personnel Center, 7 Mar 75, sub: Announcement of Policy Changes, Pregnancy, Hardship, and Medical Disqualification, DOD Directive 1332.14, Administrative Discharge and Separation, 20 Dec 65. Copies in ODWAC Ref File, Discharge/Waivers—Pregnancy, Parenthood, Dependents, CMH.

[17] Memo, DASD (M&RA)MPP (/s/ John F. Ahearne) to Assistant Secretaries of the Depts of Army and Navy (M&RA), 11 Apr 75, sub: Involuntary Separation of Women for Pregnancy and Parenthood, ODWAC Ref File, Discharge/Waivers—Pregnancy, Parenthood, Dependents, CMH.

[18] Memo, DWAC through DCSPER and CofS to SecArmy, 18 Apr 75, sub: Retention of Pregnant Women, ODWAC Ref File, Discharge/Waivers—Pregnancy, Parenthood, Dependents, CMH.

Army (M&RA) Donald G. Brotzman also wrote to the secretary: "This directed policy change has caused Generals Moore, Putnam, and Bailey to seek our assistance in rescinding the policy. We apparently have become the victims of the ERA without the benefit of properly assessing the impact." [19]

Upon receiving these memos, Secretary Callaway wrote Assistant Secretary of Defense (M&RA) William K. Brehm and cited his objections: "I am concerned that we are overreacting to special interest social pressures and are failing to recognize Army defense requirements. . . . Military service requires a service member (male or female) to be able to move without notice, to be prepared to work long and irregular hours without relief in order to meet unit mission requirements, and to live under adverse conditions. These work conditions are not suited for advanced stages of pregnancy nor for the care of minor dependents." [20] But Secretary Brehm had little sympathy for the Army's problems. Making it clear that he spoke for the secretary of defense, if not the administration, he replied, "The determination . . . that we will not separate women for pregnancy or parenthood is one which we have accepted in order to best apply the concepts of equal opportunity for our people." He agreed, however, to review the impact of the new policy after the services had had a year's experience implementing it.[21]

In the ensuing twelve months, General Moore collected statistics, evaluations, and costs resulting from implementing the new policies. A review of the data revealed that repeal was warranted, and he requested a reversal of the policy in light of its adverse impact on readiness, deployability, and mission accomplishment. The Defense Department did not respond. Finally, in April 1977, General Moore sent another memorandum with updated information, reminding Secretary Brehm that he had promised to review the policy. This time, however, the paper got no farther than the new secretary of the Army, Clifford L. Alexander, who had been appointed by President James E. Carter on 11 February 1977. Secretary Alexander refused to support the Army's position and sided with the Defense Department. Since the new secretary's views on ensuring equal opportunity and improving the quality of life for all minorities within the Army were well known, his stand came as no surprise. Before the end of the month, General Moore withdrew the Army's request to reinstate involuntary separation on pregnancy.[22]

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[19] Memo, ASA (M&RA) to SecArmy, 18 Apr 75, sub: Separation of Women for Pregnancy and Parenthood, ODWAC Ref File, Discharge/Waivers—Pregnancy, Parenthood, Dependents, CMH.

[20] Memo, SecArmy to ASD (M&RA), 6 May 75, sub: Involuntary Separation of Women for Pregnancy and Parenthood, ODWAC Ref File, Discharge/Waivers—Pregnancy, Parenthood, Dependents, CMH.

[21] Memo, ASD (M&RA) to SecArmy, 28 May 75, sub: Involuntary Separation of Women for Pregnancy and Parenthood, ODWAC Ref File, Discharge/Waivers—Pregnancy, Parenthood, Dependents, CMH.

[22] Memos, DCSPER through CofS and ASA (M&RA) to General Counsel, DOD, Attn: Legislative Reference Service, 30 Jun 76, sub: Involuntary Separation of Women for Pregnancy and

In a few years' time and over the objections of the DCSPER, DWAC, and major Army commanders, discharge policies for women had taken an abrupt turn. Married and unmarried pregnant women could now remain on active duty for any number of pregnancies, with time away from duty to include four weeks prenatal sick-in-quarters time, an unrestricted number of days for hospitalization during childbirth, and six to eight weeks of postpartum convalescent leave. Commanders were directed to certify that they had advised pregnant women of the options—to remain on duty or be discharged—and of the responsibilities and benefits of remaining on duty. Pregnant women could not be sent overseas as individual replacements or as members of a unit; temporary deferments from overseas duty expired six weeks after childbirth or the termination of a pregnancy. Balancing this rule for active duty women was a long-standing policy that allowed servicemen whose wives were in an advanced stage of pregnancy to request a twelve-week deferment from overseas duty to be with their wives until delivery of the child. Single and married military members with minor dependents remained eligible for overseas duty.[23]

When personnel were first assigned to new units, their commanders attempted to ensure that those with custody or responsibility for minor, aged, infirm, or handicapped dependents had arranged for their care in the event of absence or deployment overseas. Personnel who had dependents and who had less than three years' service submitted a dependent care plan for approval. If an individual could not make satisfactory arrangements, if the dependent's needs interfered with performance of duty, or if a dependent suffered from lack of care, a commander could recommend that the soldier, male or female, consider requesting a hardship discharge. When unsatisfactory situations persisted, the commander could recommend involuntary discharge for unsuitability or unfitness. In overseas commands, when events dictated evacuation of dependents and noncombatants, under Army policy, women in the eighteenth or later weeks of pregnancy were to be evacuated. Other pregnant women would be evacuated based upon the advice of medical officers. No other military women were to be evacuated from an area that was designated a hostile fire zone.[24]

Parenthood (Misc. 1425); ASA (M&RA) to ASD (M&RA), 26 Jul 76, same sub; and DCSPER through CofS to ASA (M&RA), 29 Apr 77, same sub. All in ODWAC Ref File, Discharge/Waivers—Pregnancy, Parenthood, Dependents, CMH.

[23] DF, DCSPER (DAPE-MPE-PS) to Cdr, MILPERCEN, 13 May 75, sub: Study of WAC Pregnancy Cases and Female Personnel with Dependent Children, and Information Paper, Office of the Surgeon General, 13 May 75, ODWAC Ref File, Discharge/Waivers—Pregnancy, Parenthood, Dependents, CMH; AR 635-5, 1 Jun 75, Leave, Pass, Administrative Absence and Public Holidays, CMH Library. The surgeon general reported that, during 1974, 1,560 active duty women were treated for pregnancy worldwide; 525 delivered a child; 835 had abortions; 200 cases were pending.

[24] AR 220-1, 15 Jun 78, Unit Readiness, Appendix B, and AR 614-30, 16 Jan 76, Overseas Service, CMH Library; DA Msg 141300Z Oct 77, sub: Interim Change to AR 635-200, ODWAC Ref File, Discharge/Waivers—Pregnancy, Parenthood, Dependents, CMH.

Despite its efforts to reduce time lost because of pregnancy, the Army continued to experience difficulty. A 1978 DCSPER study, "Evaluation of Women in the Army" (EWITA), showed that of 45,237 enlisted women on duty in FY 1977, 6,895 became pregnant—39 percent delivered a child, 36 percent had abortions, and 15 percent requested discharge. Of those who remained on active duty after they had delivered a child, approximately 40 percent requested discharge after the expiration of six weeks' postpartum leave. The average amount of time lost in carrying a pregnancy to full term was 105 days; time lost for an abortion was 3 days. The cost for time lost due to pregnancies was estimated at $10,762,150.[25] As the number of women in the Army increased, so did the number of days lost, the cost, and other problems associated with retention of pregnant women. Yet, later studies requested by DOD indicated that, except for the Air Force, enlisted men generally had a higher rate of lost time than women. Men's time was lost primarily because of desertion, AWOL, or alcohol and drug abuse; women's for pregnancy and medical care.[26] The Army (and the other services) abandoned their efforts to regain the authority to discharge women involuntarily for pregnancy and accepted the attendant costs in time and money. Even the collection of time-lost statistics was not pursued diligently after DOD showed that, considering all causes, men lost more time from duty than women.

Eliminate the Corps?

On 7 March 1973, the secretary of the Army, then Robert F. Froehlke, through his assistant secretary for manpower and reserve affairs, Hadlai A. Hull, had given the Army staff these directives:

—Immediately prepare legislation to eliminate the legal requirement for a separate WAC Corps.
—Prepare long-range plans for integrating WAC officers into normal assignment patterns and into the Army Promotion List for promotion and management.
—Study eliminating gender indicators on manpower documents by making all noncombat jobs "interchangeable" and requiring commanders to justify noninterchangeable spaces.[27]

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[25] Study, US Army Administrative Center, "Evaluation of Women in the Army," Mar 78, pp. 2-68, 2-72, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, CMH.

[26] Binkin and Bach, *Women and the Military*, p. 60; Study, ASD (MRA&L), Background Review, Women in the Military, Oct 81, p. 78, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, CMH.

[27] Memo, ASA (M&RA) to Sec, General Staff, 7 Mar 73, sub: Women in the Army, ODWAC Ref File, Discontinuance of the WAC, CMH.

The cornerstone for the action was an April 1972 memo in which Assistant Secretary of Defense (M&RA) Roger T. Kelley had said, "Separate organizations and restricted assignments do not provide adequate career opportunity for women."[28]

Three reasons further buttressed the decision for the directed actions. First, separate corps status prevented WAC officers from being assigned to other branches in which they qualified for duty. Second, having a separate promotion list gave WAC officers an advantage over their male peers. Third, the 364 WAC officers and 1,166 enlisted women who worked in WAC administrative and support positions could be "more productively utilized in the real work of the Army." The memo concluded with a prediction that the Equal Rights Amendment would be ratified in 1973 and such ratification would require eradication of the Corps, the promotion list, and manpower gender indicators.[29]

None of the issues raised was new. They had surfaced in earlier studies. General Bailey had agreed to elimination of the separate promotion list, once permanent transfer to other branches had been accomplished and WAC officers had acquired the training and experience to compete equitably with their male peers for promotion. And, of course, she had never objected to making all possible Army positions interchangeable. However, she and her staff were incensed over the immediacy of the secretary's directive eliminating the Corps and his stated reasons for doing it.

In General Bailey's absence, Col. Maida E. Lambeth supplied General Rogers, then the DCSPER, with strong arguments against it. Appointment in WAC branch, she noted, had rarely hurt a woman officer's career. The current law prevented only regular officers from being appointed to other branches, but consistency demanded that reserve WAC officers be similarly treated. Thus, both regular and reserve officers frequently spent one or more tours with other branches, coming back to the Corps to maintain their branch qualification and mobilization readiness. Women who were lawyers received appointments in the WAC, but were permanently detailed to the Judge Advocate General's Corps. WAC officers with special interests and talents were able to enter career specialization and thus develop their careers along a functional line (logistics, research and development, etc.). Authorizing the transfer of regular officers to other branches and eliminating the separate promotion list did not require elimination of the WAC. The Corps gave women an identity, some visibility, and a unifying symbol in an otherwise all-male Army. Already, early news stories about eliminating the Corps were being inter-

[28] Memo, ASD (M&RA) to Asst Secretaries (M&RA) of the Military Depts, 6 Apr 72, sub: Equal Treatment of Service Women, ODWAC Ref File, Discontinuance of the WAC, CMH.

[29] Memo, ASA (M&RA) to Sec, General Staff, 7 Mar 73, sub: Women in the Army, ODWAC Ref File, Discontinuance of the WAC, CMH.

preted among enlisted women as an example of the Army's denial of the achievements of the WAC. If these misconceptions continued, the deputy director warned, they could adversely affect WAC reenlistment, retention, and morale, and the whole expansion effort. WACs took great pride in their past accomplishments, their performance, and their organizations, all represented by the Pallas Athene insignia that would be lost if the secretary eliminated the Corps.

Colonel Lambeth reserved her strongest words to rebut the secretary's statement that women who were performing WAC cadre, recruiting, and training duty could be "more productively utilized in the real work of the Army." At best, the statement was thoughtless; at worst, it was male chauvinist insensitivity. Men or women performing these duties were, she declared, doing the "real work" of the Army. These jobs had to be done and whether men or women did them was irrelevant. She concluded by noting that the popularity of the ERA had faded and its ratification was no longer certain. If it were to pass, the Army would have ample time to make any needed changes.[30]

When General Rogers responded to the directive, he used some of the deputy director's arguments. After pointing out that the proposed Defense Officer Personnel Management Act (DOPMA) included sections to eliminate the separate WAC promotion list and to permit women to be appointed in any Regular Army branch, he noted that the secretary of defense had directed that no separate legislation be forwarded if its goals would be accomplished by passage of DOPMA. In view of this, the DCSPER said that if DOPMA passed, he would then prepare any additional legislation required to comply with the secretary's directive. He also described the Plateau Plan and the manner in which it would improve WAC administration and utilization in a measured and orderly manner and included a copy of it.[31]

The DCSPER's response satisfied the assistant secretary that everything the Army staff could do for the present was being done. General Bailey and her deputy drew sighs of relief as the crisis seemed to pass. But their reprieve was short-lived. While revising DOPMA in September 1973, the study group preparing the proposed legislation inserted a paragraph repealing three sections of Title 10, U.S. Code:

—Section 3071, which authorized the WAC as a separate corps, its director, deputy director, and additional officers for administration and training;

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[30] Dep DWAC, Comment 2, 21 Mar 73, to DF, Directorate of Plans, Programs, and Budget to DWAC and other ODCSPER directorates, 15 Mar 73, sub: Women in the Army, ODWAC Ref File, Discontinuance of the WAC, CMH.

[31] Memo, DCSPER through CofS to ASA (M&RA), 5 Apr 73, sub: Women in the Army, ODWAC Ref File, Discontinuance of the WAC, CMH.

—Section 3580, which authorized the secretary of the Army to prescribe the command authority WACs could exercise;
—Section 3818, which authorized the Army to discharge Regular Army women for pregnancy and other causes not authorized by law for the discharge of men.

The only section in which all could concur was 3580 because the secretary had recently used his regulatory powers to give WACs authority to command men except in combat units. Repealing the other sections presented problems.

Assigned to assess the DOPMA revision, the director of military personnel management (DMPM) prepared a reply and sent it to the DWAC and other directorates for comment. He first addressed Section 3580 and concurred in its repeal. However, he firmly stated that Section 3818 could not be repealed because it was the only law the secretary could use to involuntarily discharge Regular Army women who were pregnant or had minor dependents. It was, in fact, irreplaceable because it balanced another law under which the secretary could similarly discharge women in the reserve components. The third section under discussion, Section 3071, could be repealed because it created a separate corps (the WAC) based solely on gender, and the secretary could disestablish "a category of personnel [that was] based primarily on sex and [was] therefore discriminatory." And, he continued, "It is anticipated that the position and functions of the Director of the Women's Army Corps will be redesignated by Secretarial authority." [32]

General Bailey disputed the DMPM's proposed reply regarding Section 3071. She argued that eliminating the Corps through the repeal of Section 3071 would neither end discrimination nor give women equal opportunity. The Corps had a mobilization mission and other responsibilities that needed the leadership of a director, deputy director, and other WAC officers. Repeal of Section 3071 could not and should not be recommended, she said, until it had been thoroughly studied to determine its full impact. In an earlier meeting, Chief of Staff Abrams had personally assured her that he would not yield to outside pressures unless any proposed changes had been determined to be right for women and right for the Army.[33]

General Rogers considered General Bailey's opinion, but, in the end, he supported the recommendation to repeal Section 3071: "I have approved action to support its repeal basically for two reasons: because I believe such action to be consistent with long range officer personnel

[32] Memo, DMPM, ODCSPER, to DWAC and other directorates, 17 Sep 73, sub: Women in the Service—Defense Officer Personnel Management Act, ODWAC Ref File, Discontinuance of the WAC, CMH.

[33] Memo, DWAC to DMPM, 19 Sep 73, sub: Nonconcurrence—Repeal of Sections 3071 and 3818, Title 10, U.S. Code, ODWAC Ref File, Discontinuance of the WAC, CMH.

management goals; and because inclusion in the DOPMA package provides a timely vehicle for such a legislative position without undue publicity and fanfare." He did not anticipate that repeal of Section 3071 would result in the "precipitous disestablishment of the Women's Army Corps," but believed that it would continue under secretarial authority unless a study indicated that this would not be prudent.[34]

The DCSPER's words did not soothe General Bailey. She was so displeased with his decision that, with his approval, she obtained an appointment with General Abrams on 18 October 1973. In their ninety-minute conference, General Bailey outlined the need for a complete study on repeal and forecast that without such a study, the Army would incur adverse reactions from veterans, parents, and the public; that WAC recruiting could be jeopardized; that provisions had to be made to protect WAC assignments, promotions, and training opportunities; and that without the WAC and a director of the WAC, women's issues would be neglected. She said that for thirty-one years women had had to accept discrimination and exist on motivation, innovation, and pride, even though they were highly qualified, underutilized, and slighted on resources. Today's women, more vocal and militant, would not be satisfied as the women of World War II had been. They would demand the same opportunities men had. She concluded by saying that the WAC and its director were needed to ensure that the Army lived up to its promises and commitments to women. Before changes were made, the promised study to determine impact was needed.[35]

General Bailey persuaded General Abrams. The day after their conference, the chief of staff asked General Rogers to withdraw the Army's concurrence in repealing Section 3071. In a memorandum on his conversation with General Abrams, General Rogers wrote that he had advised the chief of staff that the Defense Officer Personnel Management System (DOPMS) legislation was at the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) and had informed him of "the M&RA interest [both Defense and Army] in Sec. 3071." Even so, he believed that the Army "could pull back the applicable part of the DOPMS legislation."[36] In accordance with the chief's wishes, General Rogers withdrew the Army's approval. Meanwhile, General Abrams obtained a strong ally for his position after discussing the issue with Secretary of the Army Callaway, who had

[34] Memo, DCSPER to DWAC, DMPM, and DPPB, 26 Sep 73, sub: Women in the Service - Defense Officer Personnel Management Act (DOPMA), ODWAC Ref File, Discontinuance of the WAC, CMH.

[35] MFR, DWAC, sub: DWAC Conference with Chief of Staff (18 Oct 73), ODWAC Ref File, Discontinuance of the WAC, CMH.

[36] MFR, LtGen Rogers, 19 Oct 73, sub: Repeal of law establishing a separate WAC, and SS, DCSPER to CofS and ASA (M&RA), 25 Oct 73, sub: Reversal of Army Position on DOPMA Concerning Management of Female Personnel, ODWAC Ref File, Discontinuance of the WAC, CMH.

replaced Secretary Froehlke.[37] For the WACs, General Abrams' decision was a morale-building event; because he was supported by the secretary, the Army staff might dislike but could not challenge his decision.

For almost a year, the director's office heard no more on eliminating the Corps or the position of director. Then, on 4 October 1974, the WAC lost one of its strongest supporters with the death of General Abrams. About the same time, an Army War College research study proposing several new ideas for consideration by the secretary of the Army made its way through the Army staff, who commented on it, to Mr. Callaway. He was impressed with it: "This study represents the kind of original thinking that I believe we must have in Today's Army. . . . I, unfortunately, note a degree of negativism in some of the Staff comments." One of the "new" ideas proposed was elimination of the WAC as a separate corps of the Army. Evidently forgetting his 1973 commitment, on 7 October 1974 he directed the Army staff to explore the idea: "Women should no longer be looked upon as a separately managed group with a limited role but must be recognized for what they are, full and equal members of the Army in every sense. Elimination of the WAC is part of such recognition in my view." [38] In a year's time, something—perhaps the administration's views on eliminating differences between men and women in the armed forces—had changed Secretary Callaway's mind.

A few days after the secretary's directive arrived in ODCSPER, General Bailey responded with her familiar proposal that a detailed study be made to examine all aspects of a phase-out of the WAC. The impression that the WAC was being precipitously abandoned would give the women's movement the additional leverage it sought to force the Army into "admitting women to USMA and permitting women to perform in the combat role." An in-depth study would provide time to develop, if necessary, a step-by-step program to implement the proposal. She emphasized that many "important actions must be accomplished before any phase-out of the WAC." It would be impossible to eliminate the Corps without jeopardizing many careers.[39] As a result of advice from the DWAC and other ODCSPER directorates, General Rogers obtained a few months' hiatus to study the secretary's proposal before replying. In the interim, the director of military personnel management prepared a reply, on which General Bailey commented, and on 30 January 1975, the DCSPER told the secretary that the Plateau Plan for the improved

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[37] In an MFR, LtCol Lorraine A. Rossi, Exec Officer, ODWAC, on 3 Dec 73, noted, "Late 30 Nov 73, SA [SecArmy] and CS [CofS] discussed 3071. SA said would stand w/Abrams position." ODWAC Ref File, Discontinuance of the WAC, CMH.

[38] Memo, SecArmy to Dir, Army Staff, 7 Oct 74, sub: U.S. Army War College Study: Selected Approaches for Maximizing Combat Arms Nonprior Service Accessions, ODWAC Ref File, Discontinuance of the WAC, CMH. The study proposed a Challenger-Pursuit Volunteer System, a Civilian Employment/Training Enlistment Option, and Phase-out of the WAC.

[39] Memo, DWAC to MajGen Putnam, DMPM, ODCSPER, 11 Oct 74, sub: Memorandum re: Elimination of the Women's Army Corps, ODWAC Ref File, Discontinuance of the WAC, CMH.

utilization and administration of the WAC was being implemented to provide "for the integration/phase-out of the Women's Army Corps." Optimum utilization of women in the Army was, he wrote, both feasible and consistent with phasing out the Women's Army Corps as a separate entity. He told the secretary that many milestones of the plan had been executed: integration of training and housing, disestablishment of WAC units, integration of the staffs of the WAC Center and School, WAC officers sitting as primary (not alternate) members of all officer boards. On 1 July 1974, all WAC officers had been permanently detailed to other branches (combat excepted) and were being managed by those branches. Women officers were participating in the new officer personnel management system. He noted that DOPMA would eliminate the WAC promotion list; meanwhile, WAC officers were receiving training and assignments in new branches to achieve a competitive position with men. He went on to point out that the separate corps, however, would be eliminated by the ERA only if proof emerged that "the existence of the WAC deprives women of equal opportunity. Disestablishment of the WAC, if the proposed ERA passed," he wrote, "would depend upon proof that its existence does in fact serve to discriminate against women." If the director's job were eliminated, the placement of a senior female officer in a prestigious, visible position would, in the future, provide a focal point for women and ensure "continuation of the traditions and heritage, the esprit and pride" of women in the Army.[40]

In her comments, General Bailey recommended that if the Corps were phased out by passage of the ERA, the term "WAC" be retained to distinguish male from female soldiers; that the Pallas Athene insignia be worn until an MOS was earned; and that the WAC anniversary, 14 May 1942, continue to be recognized. Like the DCSPER, she recommended that a senior female officer be retained in a visible position to represent women, advise on women's matters, and serve as a spokeswoman for women.[41]

A masterpiece of bureaucratic ambiguity, the DMPM/DCSPER reply was interpreted differently by Secretary Callaway and General Bailey. The memorandum from the DCSPER assured the secretary that between the Plateau Plan and DOPMA, the Women's Army Corps, for all practical purposes, would undoubtedly be eliminated within a three-year timeframe. In going along with the reply, the director had hoped to gain time in which anything could happen—DOPMA might not pass, the ERA might not be accepted by the states, a new chief of staff or Army secretary might come along and reject discontinuance of the Corps, or

[40] Memo, DCSPER through CofS and ASA (M&RA) to SecArmy, 30 Jan 75, sub: Phasing out of the Women's Army Corps, ODWAC Ref File, Discontinuance of the WAC, CMH.

[41] Ibid., Tab C, Memo, DWAC to DCSPER, 17 Jan 75, same sub, ODWAC Ref File, Discontinuance of the WAC, CMH.

the success of the WAC expansion might convince everyone the Corps should be retained. The secretary approved the DCSPER response on 7 February 1975 and did not direct any further action regarding the WAC.

Again, General Bailey had some months to breathe easily before a new storm erupted. This time it began in June 1975, during hearings on DOPMA before a subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee. On the first day of the hearings, Samuel S. Stratton of New York and Marjorie S. Holt of Maryland both asked why the Army retained a separate corps for women under a bill "which purports to remove discriminatory provisions for women." [42]

When the DOD witness did not provide a satisfactory reply, the Army's representative at the hearing, Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Army (M&RA) Paul D. Phillips, knew that the Army would be asked the same question when its turn came at the hearings. In a memorandum for the Army staff, he said it appeared to most of the subcommittee members that the Army used the WAC "as a cover to provide the opportunity for continued discrimination." He asked that General Abrams' ruling in 1973 that the WAC must not be eliminated under the DOPMA legislation be reversed, so that "we can admit to the Committee that we no longer see the need for a separate WAC." [43]

General Moore, who had replaced General Rogers as the DCSPER at the end of 1974, discussed the memorandum with General Bailey and, with her concurrence, asked the secretary of the Army to approve the deputy assistant secretary's recommendation. He wrote: "In view of the progress being accomplished in establishing women equities comparable to men, it is believed that continuation of the legal statute (Title 10, USC, Section 3071) to provide for a separate Women's Army Corps, director and deputy director is not justified. However, there is foreseen a need for a full time senior female officer to act as advisor to the Secretary and Chief of Staff on WAC matters and to be a spokeswoman for women in the Army. This senior female advisor and spokeswoman is necessary to guide the continued expanding use of women in the Army." [44]

Again General Bailey viewed her concurrence as a means of gaining time. Discontinuance of the Corps and the office of the director was tied to whether the DOPMA passed, and she knew from her experience in legislative liaison that the bill could be debated in Congress for years before it passed or was shelved.[45] The drive to ratify the proposed Equal

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[42] Memo, DASA (M&RA) Paul D. Phillips to Dir, Army Staff, 12 Jun 75, sub: Continuation of the WAC, ODWAC Ref File, Discontinuance of the WAC, CMH.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Memo, DCSPER through CofS and ASA (M&RA) to SecArmy, 17 Jun 75, sub: Repeal of Section 3071, Title 10, United States Code under Proposed Legislation: Defense Officer Personnel Management Act (DOPMA) (HR 7586)—Decision Memorandum, ODWAC Ref File, Discontinuance of the WAC, CMH.

[45] Interv, BrigGen Bailey with LtCol Rhoda M. Messer (Senior Officer Debriefing Program, U.S Army Military History Institute), Oct 78, p. 30, ODWAC Ref File, Directors, WAC, BG Bailey, CMH.

Rights Amendment had already stalled, and it appeared the amendment would not be ratified by the necessary thirty-eight states.

When the subcommittee reconvened the following week to discuss DOPMA, the secretary of the Army informed the committee that the Army would no longer object to deletion of the WAC as a separate corps. The bill, however, did not pass in 1975. It was rewritten for introduction in the next session of Congress and included a provision for elimination of the WAC as a separate corps two years after passage of the bill, but the House Armed Services Committee recommended that the Corps be abolished ninety days after enactment of the bill:

> The committee believes that having a separate corps is a vestige of the time when women were not treated equally and that such a corps is inconsistent with the insistence on equal treatment. . . . The bill as submitted by the Department of Defense would have provided for the abolition of the Women's Army Corps but would have allowed two years for the change. The committee believes an extended period is not required, and, therefore, has set a 90-day termination limit.[46]

The committee's amendment eliminated the Corps, the offices of the director and deputy director, the appointment of women officers in the WAC, the separate WAC promotion list, the secretary's responsibility to prescribe the authority to be given women, and separate retirement and mandatory separation procedures for women officers.[47]

The hope of retaining the WAC as a separate corps had ended in June 1975 when the secretary of the Army told Congress that the Corps was no longer needed and that its removal would ensure full integration of women into the Army. Congress agreed. In the 1948 hearings, Congress had not permitted women to be integrated into the Regular Army unless they had a corps of their own. Thirty years later, with the help of women's rights advocates, Congress said women could not be fully integrated unless it dissolved the separate corps status of the WAC. Disestablishing the Corps proved easier than establishing it.

Women Enter the U.S. Military Academy

Another objective of the women's rights movement was to open the doors of the service academies to women. This question became the most bitterly contested of the issues concerning women and equal opportunity in the armed forces during the 1970s. In 1972, Secretary of the Navy John H. Chafee denied admission to the U.S. Naval Academy to two women nominated by Senator Jacob Javits of New York and Congressman Jack McDonald of Michigan. The legislators responded by introduc-

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[46] HRpt, *Report of the Committee on Armed Services, House of Representatives to Accompany HR 13958*, HRpt 1295, 94th Cong, 2d sess, 24 Jun 76, pp. 34–35.

[47] Ibid.

ing bills in both houses to make it illegal for the services to deny admission to the academies on the basis of sex.[48]

This was not the first time that legislation regarding women and the academies had been introduced in Congress. In November 1944, Congressman Eugene E. Cox of Georgia introduced a bill that would appoint a commission to plan a service academy for women as an initial step to giving women permanent military status.[49] The bill died in committee. In June 1945, Congressman James G. Fulton of Massachusetts introduced a bill to establish an academy for aviators and another for military women.[50] This bill also failed. In February 1955, Senator Dennis Chavez of New Mexico introduced a joint resolution to establish a women's armed services academy. At the time, Congress was considering a bill to establish an Air Force academy. In recommending passage of the bill for a women's academy, Senator Chavez said, "It is now fitting and proper that the opportunities for education and training afforded to selected young men in our several service academies be now extended in full measure to our young womanhood with the same purpose and objectives in view." [51] The bill to establish the Air Force Academy was approved, the bill for the women's services academy was not. Surprisingly, the idea was resurrected in 1972 by John W. Thompson, Jr., a civilian aide to Secretary of the Army Froehlke. "With the emphasis on women in the service," said Thompson, "I am wondering if the time has not come to establish a National Defense Academy for Women to develop women at the officer level similar to the three military Academies and the Coast Guard Academy." The secretary replied that such an academy was "unnecessary since sufficient women are coming into the Army under existing programs." [52]

Proposals to include women at the military academies made little progress during 1972 and 1973. The 92d Congress adjourned in 1972 before action could be taken on the bills introduced by Senator Javits and Mr. McDonald. In 1973, a new bill, H.R. 10705, was introduced by Pierre S. DuPont of Delaware in the 93d Congress, but hearings on it were deferred until 1974. At that time the proposal was opposed by the Department of Defense, the three services, and the chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, F. Edward Hebert.[53] Meanwhile, in Septem-

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[48] Sen. Javits introduced Senate Concurrent Resolution 71 on 28 Mar 72; Rep Boylan introduced House Concurrent Resolution 578 on 12 Apr 72. Robert J. Boylan, "Annapolis Under Siege," *Sea Power*, 23 Mar 72, pp. 15-19.

[49] HJ Res 314, *Congressional Record*, Index 1944, p. 550.

[50] HR 3403, *Congressional Record*, Index 1945, p. 891.

[51] US Congress, Senate, Committee on Armed Services, SJ Res 48, 84th Cong, 1st sess, 21 Feb 55; *Congressional Record*, 21 Feb 55, pp. 1545-46.

[52] Ltr, John W. Thompson to SecArmy, 9 Aug 72, and reply, SecArmy to Thompson, 2 Oct 72, ODWAC Ref File, Academy, CMH.

[53] "Women Cadets Avoided Again," *Army Times*, 13 Mar 74.

CARTOON BY JOHN STAMPONE, 15 MAY 1974. *(Courtesy of* Army Times.*)*

ber 1973, the women who had been denied entry to the Naval Academy filed suit in Federal District Court, Washington, D.C., charging that their civil rights had been denied. The court ruled in June 1974 that because the law precluded women from serving in combat, no need existed for them to attend the academy. A federal appeals court overturned this ruling later in 1974 and ordered the case to trial.[54] But, when Congress decided the matter in 1975, the cases were dropped. The DACOWITS was also active on the matter and, beginning in 1973, repeatedly recommended to the secretary of defense that in the interests of equality, women should be admitted to the service academies. But Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger was adamant, telling members that until such time as Congress or the public decided that women should enter combat, the services would educate only men at the nation's military academies.[55]

During this time period, another government-sponsored academy set an example. The U.S. Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, New York, operated by the Maritime Administration of the Department of Commerce, opened its doors to women in July 1974. After the second session of the 93d Congress began in 1974, no fewer than five separate bills, endorsed by thirty-three members of Congress and proposing that

[54] "Women Lose Bid to Academies," *Washington Post*, 15 Jun 74; "Academy Suit Due Full Trial," *Army Times*, 4 Dec 74.

[55] Min, DACOWITS Mtg, Spring 1975, p. H-6, DWAC Ref File, DACOWITS, CMH.

women be admitted to the service academies, were under consideration.[56] During hearings before a subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee that summer, all the service secretaries, the chiefs of staff, and the chief of naval operations expressed their strong opposition to the legislation. Secretary of the Army Howard H. Callaway, a West Point graduate, argued, "The United States Military Academy is dedicated to the development of *combat* leaders." To accommodate women, he said, the U.S. Military Academy at West Point would be required to adopt less demanding standards, which would lower the standards for men and dilute the quality of the male graduates. He warned, "Admitting women to West Point will irrevocably change the Academy. And . . . the change can only be for the worse."[57] No further hearings were held on the service academies bills in 1974; Congress and the nation became preoccupied with the action to impeach President Nixon that resulted in his resignation. Vice President Gerald Ford became president on 9 August 1974.

Momentum toward achieving the academy goal grew. When the 94th Congress opened in January 1975, six bills to admit women to the service academies were introduced—five in the House, one in the Senate.[58] Because no House committee hearings were scheduled, Congressman Stratton attached an amendment to open the academies to women to the Defense Authorization Bill of 1976 in May 1975. In arguing for approval of the amendment, Mr. Stratton cited a General Accounting Office (GAO) report showing that of 30,000 service academy graduates on duty on 1 October 1974, 3.777 (12.3 percent) had never held a combat assignment. The report also included the judgment that women who met the physical requirements for entry into the services could successfully accomplish the rigorous physical training programs at the academies. The report convinced Stratton and many other members of Congress that women could compete in all aspects of academy training and, if 12 percent of academy graduates held noncombat positions, that adequate assignment possibilities existed for women in all the services after graduation.[59] The services continued to argue that laws and regulations ex-

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[56] Rep Pierre S. DuPont introduced HR 15338 on 12 Jun 74 and HR 16521 on 21 Aug 74 (*Congressional Record*, Index, pp. 1809, 1851); his HR 10705 was still pending. Texas Rep Alan W. Steelman introduced HR 15999 on 18 Aug 74 (ibid., p. 1832). Massachusetts Rep John J. Moakley's HR 9832, introduced in Aug 73, was also pending (ibid., p. 2144).

[57] *Statement by the Honorable Howard H. Callaway, Secretary of the Army, before Subcommittee 2, House Armed Services Committee (2d sess., 93d Congr., 3 Jul 74, on Admission of Women to the United States Military Academy*, ODWAC Ref File, Academy, CMH.

[58] HR 1461, introduced by Rep Carl Perkins, KY, 15 Jan 75, was identical to HR 9832 from the 93d Cong (*Congressional Record*, Index, p. 1772). S 334 was introduced by Sen William D. Hathaway, ME, 23 Jan 75 (ibid., p. 1632); HR 1051, by Rep Stratton, 15 Jan 75 (ibid., p. 1762); HRs 3837, 3838, and 3839, by Rep DuPont, 27 Feb 75 (ibid., p. 1856).

[59] US Congress, House, *Military Posture and DoD Authorization for Appropriations for FY 1976, Part I, Hearings Before the Committee on Armed Services*, 94th Cong, 1st sess, HASC Rpt 94-8 (Washington, DC: 1975); Phil Stevens, "Stratton Hits Academy Combat 'Myth,'" *Army Times*, 30 Apr 75.

cluded women from serving in combat and that the traditional mission of the service academies was all-male combat training. They insisted that Congress resolve the question of whether women should serve in combat before voting on the academies amendment. Their argument, however, was declared irrelevant. According to an article in *Army,* "Efforts to settle this aspect before proceeding with debate on the admission amendment were beaten back and denounced by the measure's supporters as a 'red herring.' "[60]

One aspect of the dispute, the process of branch selection of academy graduates, was more complex than either side admitted. It was true that not all West Point graduates entered the combat arms (Infantry, Armor, Field Artillery, Air Defense Artillery, and Engineers) or the combat support arms (Signal, Military Intelligence, and Military Police). Since 1965, men who became physically disqualified for combat or combat support after entering West Point had been able to request assignment to one of the administrative or technical branches (e.g., Transportation, Ordnance, Adjutant General, Finance, Chemical). The policy was abandoned after 1972, when women were first nominated to the service academies, because it detracted from West Point's combat posture.[61] Regardless, Mr. Stratton's arguments and the GAO report persuaded the majority of members that the academies were not solely devoted to producing combat officers. On 20 May 1975, the House voted 303 to 96 to approve the amendment to the Defense Authorization Bill of 1976 to admit women into the service academies. On 6 June, the Senate followed suit with an approving voice vote. On 7 October 1975, President Ford signed the bill into law.[62]

The women's rights movement had won another battle. Many men in the military services were stunned. The impossible had happened, and they had no recourse but to carry out orders. The superintendent of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point considered resigning but changed his mind. In an open letter to the graduates of the academy he wrote: "Since it is the will of Congress and the President, we are welcoming women candidates as we welcome men candidates to West Point. We expect to make this change smoothly and efficiently."[63]

After the bill was signed, the Army galvanized its resources to prepare to admit women to West Point. The academy's staff revised and implemented its contingency plan (USMA OPLAN 75-1, 15 Sep 75) for the

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[60] James Binder, "The Wayward Cart—Congress and a Coed West Point," *Army,* Jul 75, p. 6.

[61] Statement, US Military Academy Board, "On the Admittance of Women to the United States Military Academy," Mar 73, ODWAC Ref File, Academy, CMH.

[62] *Congressional Record,* 20 May and 6 Jun 75; PL 106, 94th Cong, 1st sess, 7 Oct 75. In the summer of 1975, the commandant of the US Coast Guard Academy announced that women would be admitted to that academy in New London, CT, beginning in July 1976. "Coast Guard Shapes Up," *Army Times,* 13 Aug 75.

[63] Ltr, LtGen Sidney E. Berry, Superintendent, USMA, to graduates and friends of the Academy, *Assembly Magazine,* Dec 75, p. 1.

training, administration, housing, and clothing of women. The Army hired Fashionaire, a subsidiary of Hart, Schaffner and Marx, lowest of five bidders, to develop a uniform for women cadets. It also launched a national publicity campaign to attract women applicants for entry into the Class of 1980. The DCSPER, General Moore, formed a committee, headed by Brig. Gen. Philip Kaplan, deputy director of the Military Personnel Management Directorate, to resolve policy issues and guide the admission, enrollment, and administration of women at West Point. The committee included the director of the WAC and representatives from other Army staff offices—DCSLOG, TAG, Chief of Information, Surgeon General, and the Judge Advocate General.[64] The law stated that requirements for men and women would be alike concerning appointment, admission, training, graduation, and commissioning except "for those minimum essential adjustments in such standards required because of physiological differences between male and female individuals."[65] As a result, standards were identical except for the physical aptitude tests—no pull-ups for women—and for physical training—no wrestling or boxing for women. Women participated in the full academic program and in field training, including parachute school, helicopter flight school, and northern warfare and jungle warfare. Ranger training, a combat course, was not open to women.[66] Brig. Gen. Mary E. Clarke (then DWAC) and her staff participated in the discussions, inspections, and decisions and provided advice during and after the entry of women into the academy.

More women officers were soon assigned to the academy staff and faculty. In June 1973, 1st Lt. Virginia K. Fry had been assigned to the faculty; she taught geography to first- and second-year students until September 1976. In the summer of 1976, ten more women officers arrived at West Point. Five taught, one became a tactical officer (i.e., troop leader), and four served in administrative positions on the academy staff. In September 1979, Col. Mildred P. Hedberg was assigned as chief of staff for the Corps of Cadets and served in that position until 1981, when she was selected for promotion to brigadier general and assigned to Germany.[67]

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[64] MFRs, ODCSPER (DAPE-MPO-R), sub: Meeting of Staff Committee on Women Cadets at West Point, 28 Aug 75, and ODCSPER (DAPE-MPO-R), sub: USMA In-Process Planning Conference, 4 Sep 75, ODWAC Ref File, Academy, CMH.

[65] PL 106, 94th Cong, 1st sess, 7 Oct 75.

[66] Fact Sheet, Office of Public Affairs, USMA, Oct 75, sub: Admission of Women to the United States Military Academy, ODWAC Ref File, Academy, CMH.

[67] Superintendent, USMA, *Annual Reports*, FYs 74, 75, 76, and 79, CMH Library; Intervs, Maj Virginia K. Fry and BrigGen Mildred P. Hedberg with the author, 14 Apr 72. The women officers assigned to the USMA in 1976 were Maj Mary C. Willis, Capt Linda Bird, Capt Patricia Hickerson, Capt Bonnie Pennington, Capt Laura Trollinger, Capt Barbara Yost, Capt Anna Young, Lt Barbara Doornink, Lt Eileen Johnston, and Lt Marge Nitka (Ltr, Maj Mary C. Willis, USMA, to DWAC, 23 Aug 76, ODWAC Ref File, Academy, CMH).

CLASS OF 1980 *Cadets Carol A. Young, Gregory Stephens, and Kathryn A. Wildey at West Point, December 1976.*

Despite dire predictions that women would lower standards and disrupt cadet life at West Point, the "long grey line" admirably survived the entry of women. A report prepared at West Point after graduation of three classes that included women (classes of 1980, 1981, and 1982) showed that women received lower ratings than men in physical training, leadership, military science, and some applied science courses, but that they did better than men in the humanities, social sciences, and behavioral science courses. Enduring common hardships and rigorous training led to some development of camaraderie, but a strong antifemale bias persisted on the campus and increased the women's hardships. Despite that, the report concluded with optimism: "After three years of coeducation, it appears that the majority of male cadets understand that coeducation can and will work at West Point. This realistic view will help prepare all graduates to lead in an Army which requires the full, integrated services of men and women." [68]

General Bailey's Departure

In May 1975, General Bailey announced she would retire upon completion of four years in office on 31 July. A few weeks later, the Senate confirmed the nomination of Col. Mary E. Clarke for promotion to

[68] Rpt, Maj Jerome Adams, The Admission of Women to the U.S. Military Academy (Project Athene III), 1 Jun 79, ODWAC Ref File, Academy, CMH.

brigadier general and appointment as director of the WAC. General Bailey's tour had been highlighted by the successful WAC expansion, introduction of innovative uniform items, and, as she wrote, "more changes in law, regulations, and policies concerning uniformed women than in the entire preceding twenty-eight years." [69] Many of the changes had major importance:

—All MOSs were opened to women except those involving direct combat.
—Women entered the Army's ROTC programs.
—WACs were authorized to command men except in combat units.
—Servicewomen received dependency entitlements.
—Assignment constraints were removed on utilization of women.
—WAC units were combined with those for men.
—Housing was combined for men and women, but privacy was maintained.
—Mandatory discharge on pregnancy and parenthood was eliminated; voluntary discharge on marriage was eliminated.
—Women were permitted to enlist at age 18 without their parents' consent and at 17 with their parents' consent.
—WAC officers were permanently assigned to other branches.
—Mandatory weapons training was initiated for enlisted women and officers.
—Army aviation and airborne training were opened to women.
—An optional mint-green summer uniform, black beret, Army green pantsuit, fatigues, and black raincoat were added to women's uniform wardrobe.

General Bailey's public relations talent and hard work had contributed to the success of the WAC expansion. Because of the need for women, the secretary of the Army had increased the director's travel funds in response to the DCSPER's desire that she devote a large part of her time and energy to promoting WAC recruiting and monitoring the impact of WAC expansion in the field. As a result, General Bailey visited WAC units in CONUS and overseas twice during her four-year tour of duty; funds allotted to the former directors had allowed only one visit to each of the commands. General Bailey welcomed the opportunity to travel, to increase the public's knowledge of the WAC, to visit the women and explain the expanded WAC policies to them and to commanders in the field. She promoted recruitment, improved the morale of the enlisted women, educated male members of the Army on women's role, and

[69] Memo, DWAC through CofS to SecArmy, 28 Jul 75, sub: End of Tour Report, ODWAC Ref File, Directors WAC, Bailey, End of Tour Report, CMH.

evaluated the progress of the expansion. She later estimated that she spent approximately 80 percent of her time traveling and away from her desk at the Pentagon.[70]

In her end of tour report, General Bailey expressed satisfaction with the progress made in recruiting, training, and utilization of women, but she also noted her concern about matters left unresolved. Principal among these was the negative attitude of male soldiers toward women in the Army. Though much had been done to provide equal opportunity, discrimination lurked behind many doors and would continue to deprive qualified women of opportunities to succeed. She recommended "training programs for all Army personnel that will create awareness and understanding." [71]

She pointed out that although the enlisted women's strength had tripled during her tour, the number of women officers lagged. She recommended that officers be selected on a "best qualified basis without regard to sex" once the Army had obtained adequate numbers of combat officers. She recommended that the inequality in awarding ROTC scholarships be investigated with a view to increasing women's share of the 6,500 available scholarships. General Bailey reserved her greatest misgivings for the change in policy that allowed pregnant women and women with minor children to remain on duty. The role of mother affected a woman's assignment flexibility and mobility and her unit's mission accomplishment and readiness. Almost 8 percent of the enlisted women on duty had minor children, and 2.2 percent (approximately 650 women) were single parents. She predicted that their number would increase substantially over the years because single parents received greater support, stability, and security in the Army than in civilian life.

She asked the secretary to delay integration of women officers on the Army Promotion List until they had achieved a degree of competitiveness with their male peers; to resist efforts of the women's rights organization to give women a combat role and lower enlistment standards; to continue to provide women with a stylish uniform of good fabric; and, if the position of director were abolished, to retain a senior woman officer adviser at high level on the Army staff. She concluded her report by saying: "The years immediately ahead will not be headline makers for Army women as the past five have been but a period of implementation, analysis, and assessment of progress. The calm voice of reason is needed to carry out our goals." [72]

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[70] Interv, BrigGen Bailey with the author, 18 Apr 82.

[71] Memo, DWAC through CofS to SecArmy, 28 July 75, sub: End of Tour Report, ODWAC Ref File, Directors WAC, Bailey, End of Tour Report, CMH.

[72] Ibid.

The Army held General Bailey's retirement activities at the WAC Center and School. They included a formal evening reception, a retirement review, and a brunch. Lt. Gen. Bernard W. Rogers, Commander, U.S. Army Forces Command (FORSCOM), personally presented General Bailey with the Distinguished Service Medal for her performance on duty as director of the WAC from 1971 to 1975. At her retirement parade on 30 July 1975, General Bailey told the women of the Corps, "you can maximize women's contributions to the Army's mission; accelerate progress and enhance the position of womankind if you are willing to establish goals which transcend personal interests; be realistic as well as idealistic; accept the hazards of equality as well as its obvious attractions; are persevering, dedicated, and willing to work for a cause." [73]

General Bailey's end of tour report encouraged General Moore to review the unresolved issues she had noted. After the review, he increased the programmed number of women line officers for FY 1981 from 3,336 to 3,540. Although he did not agree with deferring integration of women officers into the Army Promotion List, he established a system to monitor each promotion board's results to ensure equitable treatment of women officers. He saw no need to permit continuing pressure from the women's rights movement to change Army policy regarding women in combat or to lower women's enlistment standards. The DCSPER directed the commander of the Military Personnel Center to gather statistics to assist in determining whether an individual's dependents affected unit readiness or deployability, and he directed the commander of the Personnel and Administrative Combat Developments Activity to plan supportive training programs "to minimize human relations problems associated with the WAC expansion." The DCSPER assured the chief of staff that he would continue to emphasize improvement in women's uniforms, and he increased the number of ROTC scholarships for women from 80 in 1975 to 225 in 1976. He did not discuss elimination of the Corps or the office of the director of the WAC.[74]

When the new director arrived at the Pentagon in August 1975, she knew she was ascending a shaky throne. It seemed that only a miracle or a turnabout by Congress could prevent her from presiding over the demise of the Corps, or allow her to complete a full four-year term of office after the DOPMA passed. The momentum of the expansion, however, was a bright aspect of her new position, providing hope for new opportunities for women in the Army. Meanwhile, the fate of the command she had just left—WAC Center and School—hung in the balance and its destiny had to be settled.

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[73] Remarks, BrigGen Bailey, DWAC, Retirement Ceremonies, Ft McClellan, 30 Jul 75, ODWAC Ref File, Directors WAC, Bailey, CMH.

[74] Memo, DCSPER to CofS and SecArmy, 31 Aug 75, sub: End of Tour Report, BG Mildred C. Bailey, ODWAC Ref File, Directors WAC, Bailey, End of Tour Report, CMH.

CHAPTER XII

WAC Center and WAC School

Nowhere were the changes shaking the Corps felt more severely than at the heart of the training program, the WAC Center and WAC School. The 1954 move from Fort Lee to Fort McClellan had placed these organizations under the jurisdiction of the commanding general of the Third U.S. Army, Fort McPherson, Georgia. The WAC Center commander's immediate supervisor, however, was the post commander at Fort McClellan, and doctrine and policy for enlisted and officer courses came from the Continental Army Command, Fort Monroe, Virginia. Within that organizational structure, the training of new officers and enlisted women had flourished.[1]

The WAC Training Battalion processed basic trainees, reenlistees, and reservists as it had done at Fort Lee. The WAC School operated the basic and advanced courses for officers and added a typing and clerical procedures course and a stenography course. In 1957 the WAC College Junior Course, too, became part of the curriculum. Headquarters and Headquarters Company housed and administered the enlisted women who worked throughout the WAC area and at post headquarters, Noble Army Hospital, the dental clinic, and the Chemical Corps Training Command. The 14th Army Band (WAC) housed and administered its members. The WAC Center commander controlled and directed all four activities. To staff them and her own headquarters, she had approximately 100 officers and 260 enlisted women but no civilians. Except for the periods of WAC expansion—1967, for Vietnam, and 1972, for the all-volunteer Army—few changes occurred in these figures.[2]

After moving into their initial 21-building complex, the WACs had made the area their own. To mark the 27 September 1954 dedication of the center and school, the WAC Officers Association installed a large plaque mounted on a marble slab in a triangular area between the parade

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[1] DA GO 38, 26 May 54, established WAC Center as a Class I Activity under HQ, Third US Army, Fort McPherson, under TD 63-3460-3—the TD number changed to 63-3465 on 25 Jun 57, to 63-3176 on 1 Jan 59, and to 3A-3176 in Jun 67. WAC School came under operational control of CONARC in Jun 64. The words "United States" were added to the organization titles by Ltr, TAG(AGAO-O) (M) 322 (19 Oct 56) to all armies, 13 Dec 56, sub: Redesignation of Table of Distribution Units. In 1973, HQ, Third Army, was deactivated, and control of WAC Center and WAC School was assumed by HQ, Training and Doctrine Command, Fort Monroe, formerly CONARC, ODWAC Ref File, WAC C&S TDA & Reorganization, CMH.

[2] Historical Reports, WAC C&S, 1954, 1955, 1957, 1967, and 1972, Historical Collection, WAC Museum.

ground and the site of the WAC chapel. The WAC detachment in Japan contributed a Japanese stone lantern in October 1956, and it was placed in this area, known as the WAC Triangle.[3]

A ground-breaking ceremony for the WAC chapel on 18 June 1955 had brought Brig. Gen. Frank Tobey, Chief of Chaplains, and Col. Irene O. Galloway, DWAC, to the center. The chaplains at Fort McClellan provided a silver-plated spade for the event and later presented it to the WAC Museum. A few months later, on 28 September, at the ceremony for the laying of the cornerstone, a copper box containing items used by WACs was encased in the stone. The WAC detachments in the Fifth Army area donated a set of canto chimes to the chapel and Chapter 1, Chicago, WAC Veterans' Association, contributed a bronze dedication plaque, unveiled at the dedication on 12 May 1956. Several years later (1964), the then chief of chaplains, Maj. Gen. Charles E. Brown, Jr., allotted $20,000 from the Chaplains' Fund to install stained-glass windows in the chapel—the high, stained-glass window in the back of the chapel includes a large Pallas Athene insignia and the coat of arms of the WAC School.[4] Because of its large seating capacity, the chapel became the site of orientation and graduation exercises for basic trainees, clerical students, and student officers. And, even though attendance at church services was voluntary, the chapel attracted capacity crowds. Enlisted men found the chapel a pleasant place to attend services and to become acquainted with the women. On 4 November 1978, the post commander (Maj. Gen. Mary E. Clarke) issued a general order officially naming the chapel the WAC Memorial Chapel.[5]

The post engineers added a reviewing stand to the WAC parade ground in October 1958 in time for a regimental parade welcoming the visit of Col. Kim Hyun Sook, Director, Women's Army Corps, Republic of Korea. In 1960, the parade ground was named in honor of General of the Army George C. Marshall, who had requested the formation of the Corps in 1941. The next year, the engineers built a corner fence made of native Alabama fieldstone on the southwestern edge of the parade ground for the name plaque, "George C. Marshall Parade Ground." [6]

Buildings and other landmarks honored the memory of other individuals who had contributed to the success of the WAC. WAC School Headquarters (Building 1081) was named for Brig. Gen. Don C. Faith, who had commanded the First and Second WAAC Training Centers at

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[3] Historical Reports, WAC C&S, 1954 and 1956, Historical Collection, WAC Museum. The WAC Triangle was designed by Charles Clemmons, Alabama State Landscape Architect, in 1955. In 1968, Col Rasmuson donated a Grecian Sun Dial and decorative cement benches to the area (Memo, HQ Training Brigade, 13 Mar 78, sub: Inventory of Buildings, Land Markings and Items Within Areas 10 and 20, ODWAC Ref File, Memorialization, CMH).

[4] Historical Report, WAC C&S, FY 1962–1964, Historical Collection, WAC Museum.

[5] Annual History, Military Police School/Training Ctr & Fort McClellan, 1978, CMH Ref Br.

[6] Historical Reports, WAC C&S, 1958, and 1960–61, Historical Collection, WAC Museum.

Fort Des Moines and at Daytona Beach, as well as the WAAC Training Command, during World War II. General Faith's widow, Katherine Faith, attended the ceremony on 23 November 1963. The serenity of the event was marred by the news of the death of John F. Kennedy. A memorial service for the president had been held at the chapel on the night of the 22d.[7]

On 13 May 1957, Rice Road, running from Fort McClellan's North Gate to WAC Center Headquarters (Building 1060), was named for Lt. Col. Jessie P. Rice, the deputy director of the WAC from March 1944 to April 1945. In 1963, Col. Irene O. Galloway succumbed to cancer, and Fort McClellan's North Gate and North Gate Road, which led directly into and through the WAC area, were renamed Galloway Gate and Galloway Gate Road. The only WAC to have a building named for her was Sgt. Maj. Florence G. Munson. The headquarters and classroom building for the WAC Training Battalion (Building 2281) was dedicated in her honor on 29 October 1965. She died in 1964, after serving as sergeant major of the battalion from 1959 to 1964. Through this process of naming buildings and roads, bonds of tradition and shared memories gradually enveloped the WAC site at Fort McClellan.[8]

WAC Organizations

In 1952, WAC officers at Fort Lee had organized the WAC Officers Association as a nonappropriated fund activity (i.e., not supported by government funds) to raise funds to accomplish morale-building projects. The association's members supported its projects through membership dues, white elephant auctions, and fund-raising parties. The association moved with WAC Center to Fort McClellan. In 1971, the group changed its name to the WAC Association and accepted as members enlisted women in the top four grades. For twenty-four years, the association served recreational, social, charitable, and morale needs at WAC Center and School. It bought furniture, air conditioners, cooking utensils, and other equipment to improve enlisted and junior officer quarters, and it paid for nice-to-have items for special ceremonies and parties for the women at WAC Center and School. Members dissolved the group in 1976 when the WAC Center and School deactivated and voted to transfer its assets to the WAC Foundation to help construct the WAC Museum building.[9]

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[7] Historical Report, WAC C&S, FY 1962-1964. Mrs. Faith gave the general's dress blue uniform to the WAC Museum.

[8] Historical Reports, WAC C&S, 1957, FY 1962-1964, 1965, Historical Collection, WAC Museum.

[9] "WAC Officers Association," Historical Reports, WAC C&S, 1954-1971, and "WAC Association," Historical Reports, WAC C&S, 1971-1976, Historical Collection, WAC Museum. The association raised most of its funds at an annual white elephant auction at which a few items were returned to be sold year after year. Most famous of these items was a large oil painting called "Julie," whose sales accumulated over $2,500 for the association. "Julie" now resides in the WAC Museum.

Another organization that frequently contributed to projects for increasing morale at the WAC Center and School was the National WAC Veterans Association. The idea for this group came from the National WAC Mothers Association that had chapters in sixty cities throughout the United States during World War II. On 14 May 1946, a board appointed from members of the Chicago chapter formed the Chicago WAC Veterans Association. Women in Cleveland, Columbus, Milwaukee, and Pittsburgh soon followed the lead of the Chicago veterans. Membership grew, and members held their first convention in Cleveland in March 1947. Four years later, Lt. Col. Mary-Agnes Brown Groover, a lawyer and a WAC reservist, presented the articles of incorporation for the national association to Esther Bentley, the association's president. The National WAC VETS Honor Guard, established in 1951, still regularly represents WAC veterans at ceremonies in Washington and other cities throughout the United States. The organization's bimonthly newsletter, the *Channel,* keeps members informed not only of meetings, but of VA benefits, WAC activities, and other items of interest.[10]

The WAC VETS Association promotes the general welfare of all veterans but concentrates on assisting veterans of the WAAC and the WAC, particularly those in adverse circumstances. Many chapters devote their activities to providing services for veterans in Veterans Administration hospitals. The association also supports a number of nonprofit organizations, including the WAC Foundation; the WAC Veterans Redwood Memorial Grove, Big Basin Redwoods State Park, California; the Hospitalized Veterans Writing Project (creative writing for recreation and therapy); and the Cathedral in the Pines Memorial, Ringe, New Hampshire, a memorial to the dead of World War II. On 30 October 1984, President Ronald Reagan signed H.R. 4966 giving the WAC VETS Association a federal charter and national recognition as a veterans' organization.[11]

The third organization of importance to the WAC is the WAC Foundation, established as a nonprofit corporation under the laws of the state of Alabama in July 1969. Authorized by the post commander to operate at Fort McClellan, the WAC Foundation succeeded in raising almost $400,000 to build the WAC Museum. After the building was constructed and dedicated on 13 May 1977, the WAC Foundation gave it to the Army which now operates it with government funds. The WAC Foundation continues to raise money to purchase equipment and services for the WAC Museum and to educate the public on the past and present role of women in the Army. It issues a biannual newsletter, the *Flagpole,* and conducts a WAC Museum Reunion in May of every even year.[12]

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[10] "History of the National WAC Veterans Association," ODWAC Ref File, WAC VETS, CMH.
[11] Ibid.
[12] "History of the WAC Foundation," ODWAC Ref File, WAC Foundation, CMH.

WAC Center—Organizational Structure

In size and mission, WAC Center with its subordinate activities—WAC School, WAC Training Battalion, and Headquarters and Headquarters Company—was the equivalent of a regiment or a brigade and was organized along brigade lines. The 14th Army Band (WAC) belonged to Third Army but, operationally, it also came under the center commander. The commander's staff included a deputy commander, an S–1 (personnel officer) and adjutant; an S–2 (intelligence officer) combined with the S–3 (training officer); an S–4 (supply officer); a management officer; and an information officer. The staff developed and implemented plans and policies to manage and distribute the commander's resources to perform her various missions. Each staff member had a counterpart in the school, training battalion, and Headquarters and Headquarters Company. Because of the need to encourage young officers to enter the Regular Army, and to groom other Regular Army officers for the positions of director and deputy director, WAC, the Corps usually filled the staff positions with regular rather than with reserve officers on extended active duty. The WAC Center was the only Army command of brigade size that required and assigned women in such staff and command positions, and women prized assignment in them. Col. Dorotha J. Garrison was the only reserve officer to command WAC Center (1970–1972).

WAC Center did differ from most Army brigades in one way—it was commanded by a lieutenant colonel until 1968. After the elimination of restrictions on women officers' promotions in 1967, the WAC Center commander's position was elevated to the grade of colonel, along with the positions of deputy commander of WAC Center and assistant commandant of WAC School.

Few men filled WAC Center or WAC School positions until 1973. Occasionally, male cooks worked in the mess halls, and during one year (1962), a male NCO, Sgt. 1st Cl. Harold Fitzgerald, taught in the WAC Typing and Clerical Procedures Course at WAC School. Only the chaplain assigned to the WAC Center chapel provided a continuing male presence. The women took great pride in their ability to operate the center and gave up these spaces to men as reluctantly as men gave up such positions to women. Only the WAC expansion that began in 1972 finally forced the center to requisition male NCOs to fill vacancies. On 5 September 1973, the first male drill sergeants were assigned to the 2d and 3d WAC Basic Training Battalions. In 1974, WAC Center accepted its first male staff officers.[13]

[13] Historical Reports, WAC C&S, FY 1962–1964, 1973, and 1974.

LT. COL. ELEANORE C. SULLIVAN *(1952–1955) turns over command of WAC Center and WAC School, Fort McClellan, to Lt. Col. F. Marie Clark (1955–1956) on 24 June 1955.*

Center Commanders: Command and Training Roles

In the WAC hierarchy, the dual position of commander of the WAC Center and commandant of the WAC School held importance and prestige second only to the position of the director of the WAC. Of fifteen WAC Center commanders between 1948 and 1976, two, Elizabeth P. Hoisington and Mary E. Clarke, and one deputy commander, Mildred C. Bailey, advanced to the director's position.[14]

Perhaps no WAC Center commander had greater responsibilities than Lt. Col. Eleanore C. Sullivan. She and her staff carried out the move to Fort McClellan, a job that included moving personnel and equipment, commencing training at the new site, establishing community relations in the Anniston area, entertaining hundreds of visitors at the new facility, participating in parades and ceremonies, and keeping up the morale and welfare of WACs at both sites. On 20 January 1955, the colors flew for the first time from the flagpole at WAC Center headquarters. Colonel Sullivan also launched a three-year landscape beautification program and

[14] Lt Col Irene O. Galloway has not been included as she held the position of WAC Center cdr for only one month before being selected as DWAC in 1952.

LT. COL. MARJORIE C. POWER

LT. COL. LUCILE G. ODBERT

established the WAC Museum. The museum at first occupied one room of her headquarters building and later was moved to a wing of the basic trainees' classroom building, where each trainee and student could pass through and see photographs, uniforms, paintings, and documents that told the history of their Corps.[15]

Lt. Col. F. Marie Clark, who succeeded Colonel Sullivan in 1955, streamlined the organizational structure by eliminating some duplicative positions in subordinate activities. She activated a reception company in the WAC Training Battalion and gave it responsibility for welcoming, orienting, outfitting, and processing newly arrived WAC recruits. Thus, for the first time since World War II, the recruits entered a reception company before being assigned to their basic training unit. Lack of space forced the center to suspend this system in 1957, but in January 1963, it was revived with the creation of Headquarters and Receiving Company, WAC Training Battalion. These functions remained in the battalion until February 1973, when the post commander activated the U.S. Army Reception Station.

[15] Historical Reports, WAC C&S, 1954, 1955. Col Sullivan was reassigned to Germany in mid-1955 and retired in February 1957.

In the spring of 1956, Colonel Clark reintroduced WAC field training, which had been suspended since 1953, when heavy storms destroyed the outdoor training area at Fort Lee. By far the most popular phase of basic training, it taught recruits first aid, map reading, camouflage, civil defense, and familiarity with the M1 carbine. In 1961, field training was expanded to include overnight exercises. Thereafter, unit commanders happily noted that the women returned from field training with a greater feeling of team spirit and will to succeed than they had had before.[16]

During Lt. Col. Frances M. Lathrope's tour, field testing of the new Army green cord summer uniform began and fitting tests got under way on the women's Army green winter uniform. Colonel Lathrope, who served as WAC Center commander from 1956 to 1958, boosted the morale of members of WAC Training Battalion's cadre and staff by allowing them to wear a distinctive yellow cotton scarf with their winter duty uniform. Battalion members became so fond of the scarf that in 1959, the then center commander, Lt. Col. Lucile G. Odbert, obtained official approval for it. The College Junior Program commenced at WAC School on 14 July 1957 as nineteen cadets entered the first class. Also women officers of foreign military armies began attending officer courses at WAC School beginning in August 1956. Between 1957 and 1972, when the WAC Officer Basic Course was discontinued, 112 foreign students attended the course as well.[17]

Between 1958 and 1960, the number of recruits entering WAC basic training jumped from 2,715 to 3,220. As usual, the input peaked between June and October, driving the trainee load over the programmed level for these months—a challenge to Lt. Col. Marjorie C. Power, who commanded WAC Center in 1958 and 1959. The WAC Center historian described the emergency. "The housing shortage was only one of the problems. The battalion mess had to feed in shifts. Training facilities were overtaxed and trainers overworked. Battalion was forced to borrow personnel from Headquarters and Headquarters Company and the WAC School to act as cadre."[18] One of the major problems that Colonel Power encountered was the shortage of the brown and white seersucker exercise suit. Both recruits and clerical training students wore this uniform (shirt, shorts, skirt) to classes daily. As an emergency measure, the quartermaster general substituted a blue exercise suit worn by the WAFs. Later in 1958, the WACs' newly designed tan, three-piece, cotton exercise suit became available and was issued at WAC Center. Thus, after

[16] Historical Reports, WAC C&S, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1963, and 1973. Col Clark resigned in 1956 to return to civilian life.

[17] Historical Reports, WAC C&S, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1972. Women from the following countries (number trained) attended the WAC Officer Basic Course: Burma (16), Canada (1), Republic of China (Taiwan) (4), Indonesia (6), Japan (4), Korea (29), Paraguay (1), Philippines (1), Republic of Vietnam (50). Col Lathrope retired in 1958.

[18] Historical Report, WAC C&S, 1959, p. 18.

LT. COL. SUE LYNCH

LT. COL. ELIZABETH H. BRANCH

COL. SHIRLEY R. HEINZE

COL. LORRAINE A. ROSSI

1958, it was not unusual for a unit in training to have women dressed in brown, blue, or tan. The combination led some to describe the center's appearance as "molting." In March 1959, the Army green cord summer uniform was issued, adding yet another shade to the assortment of colors. A year later, however, uniformity returned. Trainees and students now wore the tan exercise suit to classes and the green cord to parades and inspections. At WAC School, Colonel Power shifted the emphasis from lecture to student participation in the WAC Officer's Advanced Course and organized a section to develop WAC training films for WAC basic trainee, clerical student, and student officer courses.[19]

Colonel Power retired in September 1959 and was succeeded by Lt. Col. Lucile G. Odbert. To increase the prestige of enlisted women, she enlarged the WAC NCO Advisory Council, which had been established in November 1955, and included on it all WAC E–8s and E–9s assigned to Fort McClellan. The senior NCO at WAC Center headquarters, in 1959 M. Sgt. Julia Vargo, chaired the council. The council developed ideas to improve the operation of WAC Center and WAC School, operated the WAC-of-the-Month program, and promoted the sports program. The latter included intramural and regional competition in softball, basketball, volleyball, golf, tennis, bowling, small games, and marksmanship. WAC Center, with more women to select from, frequently won top sports prizes within Third Army area. In 1960, for example, WAC Center won first place in the Third Army Golf Tournament for the second consecutive year; 1st Lt. Sallie L.E. Carroll won first place in the Slow Fire .22-Caliber Rifle Matches at Tampa, Florida; and a team including Lieutenant Carroll, 1st Lt. Joyce W. O'Claire, Sgt. 1st Cl. Marian C. Jamieson, and Sgt. Credessa W. Williams took first place in the sharpshooter events at the Central Regional Pistol Matches at Fort Knox, Kentucky, defeating male teams in the .22- and .45-caliber team matches.

The advent of proficiency pay presented a problem for women assigned as cadre and instructors at WAC Center because they were not eligible for proficiency pay while in those positions. Colonel Odbert set out to resolve the difficulty. In March 1960, she wrote to the adjutant general (TAG), through channels, and asked that women who qualified for proficiency pay in their primary MOSs be authorized to receive it while assigned at WAC Center and WAC School. TAG denied the exception because it might invite others and, instead, advised that women who would lose proficiency pay not be assigned to the center. Colonel Odbert had already rejected that solution. Such a practice would have excluded some of the best WAC NCOs and denied them promotion opportunities. TAG tried to develop a standard MOS for WAC training cadre and military subject instructors but, when this proved to be impractical, advised the center commander to assign women in personnel and

[19] Historical Reports, WAC C&S, 1958, 1959.

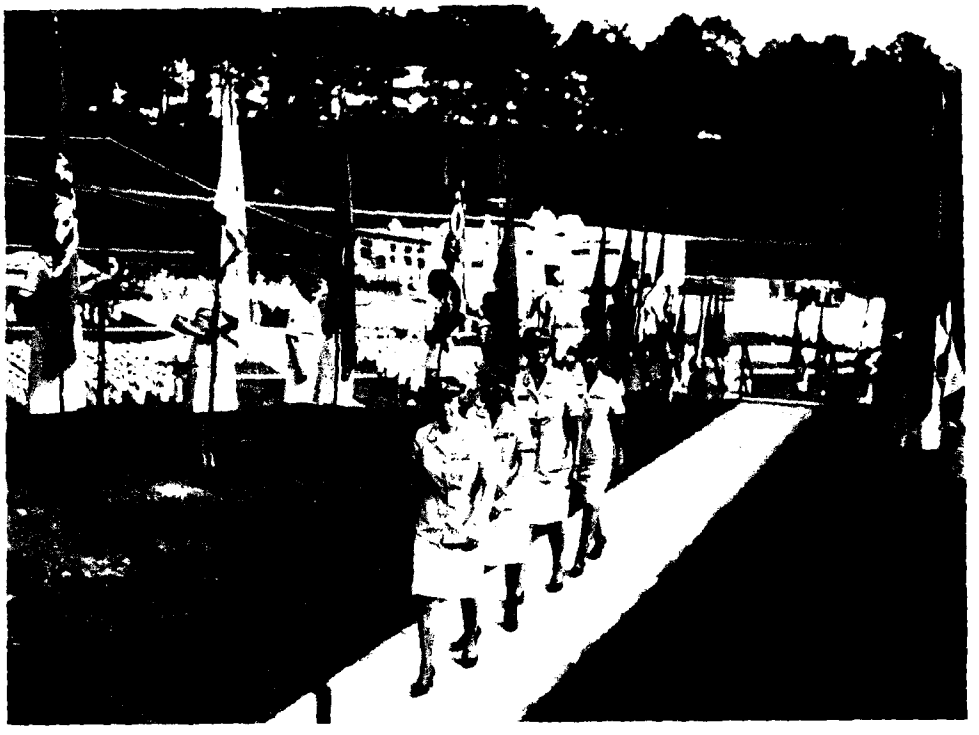
administrative MOSs to the instructor and cadre spaces. Most women held these MOSs and could continue to receive proficiency pay if assigned in them. This complex arrangement continued until December 1971, when the DCSPER authorized WACs to attend the Army Drill Sergeants School. There WACs could earn the MOSs required for assignment to instructor and cadre spaces.[20]

Under the next center commander, Lt. Col. Sue Lynch, the WAC School took a more prominent role in the formulation of doctrine and policy in WAC training matters. An educator in civilian life, Colonel Lynch broadened the faculty training program and improved the quality of instructors and instruction at the center and school. Faculty members responded by revising their lesson plans to present their material in more interesting and more understandable ways and by improving their training aids. In May 1962, CONARC gave WAC School the authority to approve changes in the basic training program. In 1963, WAC Center hired its first civilian, a librarian for the WAC School. Throughout the period, WAC School's Doctrine and Literature Division, headed by Lt. Col. Mary Charlotte Lane, produced a prodigious amount of statistical analyses, training films, historical studies, handbooks, and a text entitled *The Role of the WAC.* When Colonel Lynch retired, she had served longer as commander than anyone before or after her. Lt. Col. Elizabeth P. Hoisington replaced her on 1 October 1964.[21]

Colonel Hoisington further improved the training programs for recruits and student officers and the facilities at the WAC Center. To the field training program she added a silent night march, more realistic air defense and civil defense exercises, and a two-hour course on unarmed self-defense. The latter served at least in part to replace the weapons familiarization and firing course. That course had been deleted by CONARC from the field training program in 1963 on the grounds that the new M14 rifle, which had replaced the carbine and weighed one pound more, was too heavy for women. That change had eliminated weapons training from the women's program. To the Leadership Orientation Course, initiated in 1963 to develop leaders among recruits, Colonel Hoisington added two more hours of theory; in 1973, the course was replaced by the Special Leadership Program that had the same objectives. In March 1966, CONARC introduced an Army training test (ATT 21-3, Individual Proficiency in Basic Military Subjects, WAC) that measured the level of learning achieved by each trainee in each basic training subject. And, also beginning in 1966, WAC School accepted male stu-

[20] Historical Reports, WAC C&S, 1960-61 and 1971. Also see ltrs in ODWAC Ref File, Drill Sergeants, CMH. Col Odbert became deputy DWAC upon leaving WAC Center in 1961.

[21] AR 350-170, 23 Jun 55, The WAC School, rev 14 Dec 56 and 11 Apr 60; Index of Training Films, DA Pam 109-1; Index of Training Publications, DA Pam 310-3; Historical Reports, WAC C&S, 1961-62, 1962-64. Charlotte Sait was WAC School Librarian, Nov 63-Jul 65; Sybil Parker, Jul 65-Dec 76.



RETREAT CEREMONY AT HOISINGTON WALK, WAC CENTER, *30 July 1970. Brig. Gen. Elizabeth P. Hoisington with Cols. Maxene B. Michl, Dorotha J. Garrison, and Georgia D. Hill (left to right).*

dents in the enlisted clerical courses when class space was available. The men lived in barracks on main post but ate their noon meal with the WACs.

At Colonel Hoisington's insistence, the post commander built a cement walk down the steep incline from her headquarters to the battalion area in November 1965. Officially named South Walk, the post engineer put a sign at the bottom and unofficially designated it "Hoisington Walk." But, in addition to introducing new ideas into the WAC Center and the WAC School and causing new walkways to be built, Colonel Hoisington also continued traditional activities such as march-out on Tuesday mornings, regimental parades on Saturday mornings, WAC-of-the-Quarter (formerly of-the-Month) selections, the annual WAC anniversary torchlight parade from the battalion to the Hilltop Service Club, the WAC Drill Team, and the sports program. She added an Arbor Day tree planting, a cost-

consciousness program, and a more active social and sports program for the officers.[22]

In 1966, after Colonel Hoisington left to become director of the WAC, Lt. Col. Elizabeth H. Branch, then assistant commandant of the WAC School, replaced her. A new discharge regulation issued that year created disciplinary problems from which the center had virtually been free since it opened. The new regulation required recruits who were unsuitable for additional training to be "recycled" (turned back to repeat their earlier training) before any discharge action could be initiated. Heretofore, the battalion commander had decided whether a recruit's performance and attitude warranted additional training. When the new regulation was implemented at WAC Center, many of those scheduled for recycling went AWOL rather than participate in additional training when all they wanted from the Army was a discharge. The WAC Center historian wrote: "The AWOL rate among WAC trainees was negligible from January through July 1966 (.31%). Upon implementation of the new recycling requirement, it rose to . . . 18.7%." [23] The AWOL rate continued to rise, and Colonel Branch recommended, through channels, that the regulation be modified so that recycling could be waived for obstreperous or unmotivated trainees. The Department of the Army agreed, and in October 1968, the regulation was revised so that, upon the recommendation of a judge advocate general, the commander could waive counseling and recycling procedures for certain recruits. The WAC Center's AWOL rate fell from 31 percent to 8.3 percent for the third quarter of 1968 and to 2.26 percent in the fourth quarter.[24]

Secretary of the Army Resor's decision in May 1967 to increase WAC strength by 35 percent to support the Vietnam War had caused the number of new arrivals to soar at the WAC Center and WAC School. Throughout her tenure, Colonel Branch and her staff continuously developed and revised plans to train more recruits, clerical students, and officers than ever before. The addition of another basic training company (Company E) in 1968 relieved overcrowding, but, throughout this period, the instructors and cadre had to manage double loads of recruits and students. A WAC NCO Leadership Course was inaugurated at WAC School in January 1968 to obtain more trained NCO leaders for duty at Fort McClellan and in the WAC field detachments. This four-week course prepared women in grades E–4 and above as cadre and as supervisors. The training battalion dining hall that could seat 400 women at one time began operating on shifts during the summer and set a record on 1 September 1968 by feeding 1,340 women at one meal. The Headquarters

[22] Historical Reports, WAC C&S, 1965, 1966. The WAC Drill Team, organized by Sgt1stCl Mildred C. Kelly, performed at march-outs, sports events, and parades between 1964 and 1971.

[23] Historical Report, WAC C&S, 1967, p. 67.

[24] Historical Report, WAC C&S, 1968; AR 635-212, 15 Jul 66, Enlisted Discharge for Unfitness and Unsuitability, rev Oct 68, CMH Library.

and Headquarters Company mess hall frequently fed the overflow from the training battalion dining hall.[25]

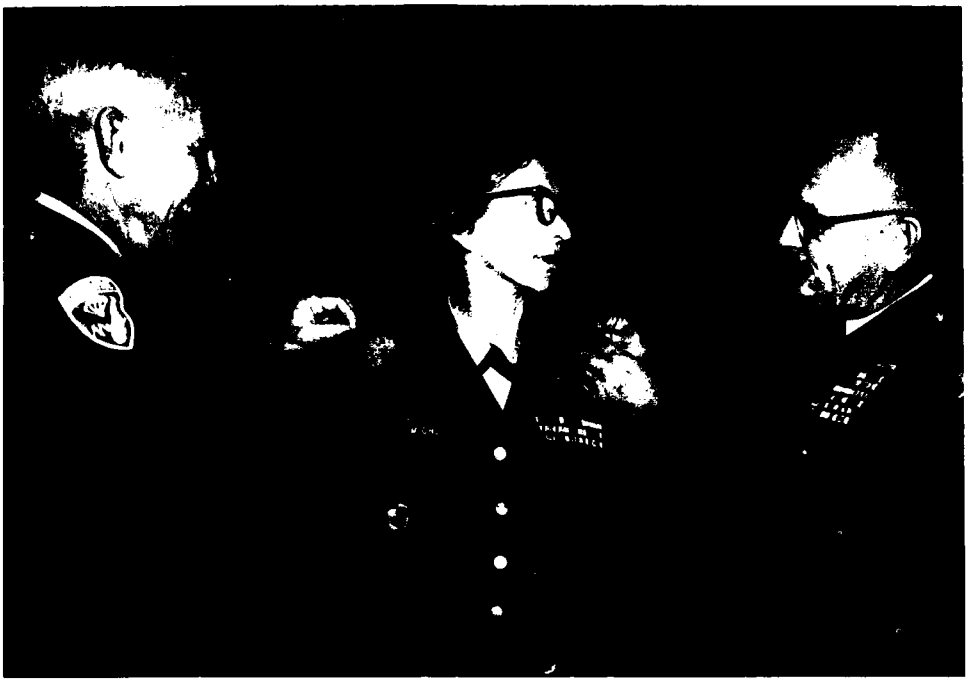
Despite expansion problems, the WAC Center celebrated some special occasions in 1967. Over thirty members of the DACOWITS arrived in April to tour the facilities. They were followed by a training inspection team from Third Army that reported "instructor and supervisory personnel [at WAC School] were both knowledgeable and enthusiastic," and that "the heavy training overload is being managed effectively . . . [with] no adverse effect on the quality of training." [26] On 14 May, four WAC directors, Colonels Hallaren, Rasmuson, Gorman, and Hoisington, joined a week-long celebration marking the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Corps. Highlighting these events was a retreat ceremony at the foot of Hoisington Walk that featured fifty trainees lining the walk holding their state flags while the garrison flag was lowered and the WAC Band played the national anthem. The center historian wrote: "The 1200 members of the Women's Army Corps who participated in this retreat ceremony realized that sharing the experience with the present and former directors of their Corps made it a special and unusual occasion." [27] On 18 July of that year, Fort McClellan celebrated its fiftieth anniversary, and on 25 September, the WAC School marked its fifteenth year as an Army school.

Lt. Col. Maxene Baker Michl replaced Colonel Branch in August 1968. Colonel Michl had served in Vietnam (1966–1967) and most recently had been the WAC staff adviser to the Fourth Army (1967–1968). When she arrived at WAC Center, the program to expand the WAC was in full acceleration. The heavy input of trainees was overloading classrooms, instructors' schedules, transportation facilities, and barracks. Closed-circuit TV was installed in classrooms and barracks and soon helped reduce the instructors' platform time and the cadre's night working hours. Colonel Michl also introduced a one-hour evening study hall to ensure quiet time in the overcrowded barracks; group study replaced it the following year when review lessons were shown on barracks televisions. And, although the WAC had not experienced any drug problems, Colonel Michl added a two-hour block on drug abuse to the basic training curriculum. Before the end of 1968, she also introduced self-paced instruction in the enlisted courses, and by May 1969, this method had replaced the conventional instructor-taught methods in the Clerical Typing and Procedures Course (MOS 71B) and the Stenography Course (MOS 71C). It was also used in the Personnel Specialists Course (MOS

[25] Historical Reports, WAC C&S, 1967, 1968. Sgt1stCl Gwendolyn Gibson and SSgt Audrey I. Allen were the WAC Training Bn mess stewards during the Vietnam expansion; Sgt1stCl Eileen Shaw was mess steward at HQ and HQ Co.

[26] Historical Report, WAC C&S, 1967, p. 12.

[27] Ibid., p. 47.



THE FIRST WAC CENTER AND WAC SCHOOL COMMANDER/COMMANDANT *to hold the rank of full colonel. Col. Maxene B. Michl's silver eagles are pinned on by Maj. Gen. Joseph R. Russ, Deputy Commander, Third Army, and Col. William A. McKean, Commander, Fort McClellan, 4 December 1968.*

71H), which was added to the school's schedule of courses in September 1969.[28] With too many students, the school was obliged to make the students their own instructors.

A surge of racial protests and disturbances in U.S. cities in 1968 led Colonel Michl to introduce a series of lectures and seminars on black studies in the officer courses. A black WAC officer, Lt. Col. Williemae M. Oliver, Director of Instruction, developed and conducted the initial program. Colonel Michl also established an ad hoc Committee on Race Relations at WAC Center and WAC School in January 1970 and added a three-hour course in race relations to the WAC basic training program in May.[29]

Several conspicuous individual firsts also occurred at WAC Center during Colonel Michl's tour. On 30 March 1968, Sgt. Maj. Yzetta L. Nelson, assigned to WAC Training Battalion, became the first WAC

[28] Historical Reports, WAC C&S, 1968, pp. 40, 94, and 1969, p. 44. Upon completion of her WAC Center tour, Col Branch was assigned to the Office of the JCS.

[29] Historical Reports, WAC C&S, 1968, p. 15, and 1970, pp. 7, 49.

NEWLY PROMOTED COMD. SGTS. MAJ. YZETTA L. NELSON AND CURTIS S. RAMSAY, *Fort MClellan, 8 April 1968.*

promoted to the new rank of command sergeant major. On 31 July, the sergeant major of WAC Center, Elaine I. Slewitzke, became the second WAC to achieve that rank. In a ceremony at the WAC Center auditorium on 4 December 1968, Colonel Michl was promoted and became the first WAC Center commander to hold the rank of colonel.[30] The next year, in July, Colonel Michl formed the WAC Foundation, and, in September, she obtained approval from the Department of the Army to publish the *WAC Journal* to disseminate news and information of career interest to WAC officers and enlisted women.[31]

In 1970, Col. Dorotha J. Garrison, who had been deputy commander at the WAC Center for a year, succeeded Colonel Michl. The influx of trainees continued, increasing each year during the Vietnam buildup. The number of basic trainees jumped from 4,124 in 1967 to 7,139 in 1972. In consequence, shortages of cadre, instructors, cooks, and housing plagued the center. To alleviate these problems, Colonel Garrison and her staff initiated a number of actions. Selected privates, first class, and corporals received training to be assistant platoon sergeants; the battalion gave cadre and instructor training to women newly assigned these duties; and, at the center commander's request, the Department of the Army approved conversion of all the E-7 (sergeant, first class) platoon sergeant

[30] Historical Report, WAC C&S, 1968, p. 15.
[31] Ibid, 1969, p. 55.

positions to E–7 drill sergeant positions in that MOS. Thereafter, women ordered to fill these positions first attended drill sergeants' school.[32]

Other changes included sending new recruits directly to their basic training units during peak periods, rather than processing them at Headquarters and Receiving Company. WAC Center's Headquarters and Headquarters Company moved to a larger building on post (Building 3131) in January 1971 and turned over its former quarters to the training battalion, which then, in February, activated its sixth unit, Company F Provisional.[33] To relieve the mess hall problems, KPs continued to report for duty in two (rather than one) shifts (0400 to 1230 and 1030 to 1900); the battalion opened another mess hall for trainees (Building 2203); and later, in 1972, after a study proved it more economical, the Army hired cooks on contract to replace military cooks at Fort McClellan.[34] In anticipation of further WAC expansion, the post commander, Col. William A. McKean, instructed Colonel Garrison to prepare a plan to accommodate thousands more recruits beginning in 1972. Colonel Garrison proposed creating a second and later a third basic training battalion and a reception station apart from the battalion. CONARC and the Department of the Army approved both concepts and later provided funds to construct or rehabilitate buildings to accommodate them. WAC Center activated the 2d and 3d WAC Basic Training Battalions in September 1972.[35] That year, CONARC ordered discontinuation of the WAC Officer Advanced Course, the clerical training courses, and the NCO leadership courses.[36] These changes further alleviated overcrowding, and, thereafter, women received this training at other centers and schools.

At the peak of this activity, the last WAC Officers Advanced Course class (XIX) graduated on 7 July 1972, with sixteen WAC officers and seven foreign students (four from Vietnam, two from Indonesia, and one from the Philippines). WAC officers thereafter attended advanced courses at other branch schools. Speaking to the graduates, Maj. Gen. Ira A. Hunt, Jr., who had been deeply involved in the training aspects of the WAC expansion, outlined the changes occurring in the Corps and explained the reasons for them:

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[32] Historical Reports, WAC C&S, 1970, p. 27, and 1972, p. 2; Msgs, CONARC to DCSPER 192112Z Oct 71, sub: WAC Drill Sergeants in Basic Training, and DA (ODCSPER) 302115Z Nov 71, same sub, ODWAC Ref File, Drill Sgts-WAC, CMH. On 6 Apr 72, six women graduated from Class #9, Drill Sergeants School, Fort Jackson, SC; Sgt1stCl Sylvia M. Dobson and SSgt Ladina L. Moore, distinguished graduates, remained at the school to help train more WACs. On 26 May 1972, six more graduated; SSgt Diane Oppedal, the honor graduate, later donated her silver-plated saber to the WAC Museum.

[33] Historical Report, WAC C&S, 1971, p. 26.

[34] Historical Reports, WAC C&S, 1971, p. 27, and 1972, p. 61. LtCol Elizabeth P. Wilde, S-4, WAC Center, participated in the contracting process.

[35] Historical Reports, WAC C&S, 1972, pp. 2-3, and 1973, p. 8.

[36] Historical Report, WAC C&S, 1972, pp. 63, 66.

COMD. SGT. MAJ. BETTY J. BENSON, *one of the first WAC graduates of the Sergeants Major Academy, Fort Bliss, June 1973.*

We have opened avenues to women across the board to insure that they can get the training which will make them competitive with men. Because no matter what you say, if the women don't have the training, they can't get out and perform the job. So, in summary, . . . we can say that the Army is breaking the barriers to full participation by women . . . that discrimination is out; that institutional barriers are being removed; and having done this, hopefully, ingrained inhibitions will be eroded.[37]

The last class (X) of the WAC NCO Leadership Course graduated 41 students on 17 May 1972. Between 1968 and 1972, 380 women had graduated from the course. Thereafter, enlisted women participated in the Noncommissioned Officer Educational System that provided progressive training at service schools and NCO academies at all skill levels. Both the Department of the Army and the major commanders scheduled enlisted personnel for resident, extension, and on-the-job training courses, ranging from primary technical courses to the sergeants major course. The first WACs to graduate from the U.S. Army Sergeants Major Academy at Fort Bliss, Texas, were Class I (June 1973), M. Sgt. Betty J. Benson; Class III (June 1974), M. Sgts. Helen I. Johnston and Dorothy J. Rechel. All later achieved the rank of command sergeant major, the highest enlisted grade in the Army.[38]

[37] Address, MajGen Hunt, "Address to the Last WAC Officer Advanced Class on 7 July 1972," *WAC Journal* 4(1973):6–8. Two WAC officers attended the Infantry Officers Advanced Course (Capt Patricia Hickerson, Capt Theresa H. Netherton); another attended the Field Artillery Advanced Course (Capt Roberta Jordan). All were married, all graduated in June 1973. None experienced any academic or physical problems; however, their attendance was experimental, and because women could not be assigned to these branches, no others attended these advanced courses.

[38] AR 614–200, 4 Jun 70, Selection and Assignment of Enlisted Soldiers for Training and Assignment, with changes, CMH Library; "History of the U.S. Army Sergeants Major Academy 1 July 1972–31 December 1974," CMH Ref Br.

On 23 August 1972, the remaining students graduated from the WAC Clerical Typing and Procedures Course (MOS 71B), the Stenography Course (MOS 71C), and the Personnel Specialists Course (MOS 71H). In the future, WACs attended these MOS courses at other Army training centers and schools to qualify in these skills. The Clerical Training Company was deactivated on 5 October 1972.[39]

An eleven-week WAC Officer Orientation Course (WOOC) for student officers and officer candidates replaced the WAC Officer Basic Course/Officer Candidate Course (WOBC/OCC) on 1 January 1973. Upon completion of the orientation course, the women attended an officers basic branch course at another service school (Quartermaster, Military Police, Signal, etc.). The average length of the courses was nine weeks. The last WOBC/OCC Class (XLII), 159 student officers and 7 officer candidates, graduated on 15 December 1972.[40]

Discontinuance of the courses at WAC School provided office, barracks, and classroom space for the 2d WAC Basic Training Battalion, which immediately occupied the vacated buildings. The 3d WAC Training Battalion was activated in September 1972 in the area vacated by transfer of the Chemical School training activities to other stations. A former officers mess in the basic training area was opened to provide an additional facility to feed up to 400 more trainees at a sitting. The WAC presence now occupied more area of the post that it ever had before or would again.

Racial Strife, 1971

While somewhat insulated from the racial strife which confronted the country in the 1960s and early 1970s, WAC Center and WAC School reflected society at large. On Saturday, 13 November 1971, those institutions experienced racial conflict.[41] Near midnight a group of black and white enlisted women (primarily clerical training students at WAC School) and enlisted men from various units on post left the Enlisted Men/Enlisted Women's Club (EM/EW Club) and prepared to board Army buses to return to their barracks. As the group boarded a bus, the white military driver allegedly said he would not take any blacks on the bus. The blacks left and boarded the second bus, where they allegedly demanded that all the whites get off. By this time, the first bus had left, and the whites would have had no transportation. An altercation ensued. A military police car, standing by to escort the club manager to the bank with his deposit, radioed for assistance.

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[39] Historical Report, WAC C&S, 1972, pp. 197-98.

[40] Ibid., p. 65.

[41] A complete record of the incident—reports, documents, clippings, etc.—is in ODWAC Ref File, Racial Incident, CMH. Unless otherwise noted, all information in this section is from this file.

Before assistance arrived, a group of about sixty black men and women left the area on foot, shouting and chanting. They marched through the main section of the post, damaged some cars along the route, and generally impeded traffic. A car that pushed its way through the crowd injured several marchers who had refused to move out of its way. An ambulance removed the injured, and the crowd followed it to the post hospital about a half-mile away. They left when hospital officials assured them that none of their friends were seriously injured. The crowd then moved to the WAC School area, another half-mile away. A number of the black women entered the women's barracks, awakened the sleeping women, and encouraged them to join the group. Many did. The group continued this process through the WAC area. Several MP cars followed the group but did not impede its progress as it continued a noisy march around the post. About 0400, the demonstrators tired and returned to their barracks. The next afternoon, they met at the Hilltop Service Club near the WAC area, discussed the night's events and their problems. They posted guards who kept white men and women from entering the club. Late in the afternoon, they moved en masse to the EM/EW Club and refused to leave it when ordered at 2130 hours, but they left voluntarily an hour and a half later.

The next morning, Monday, approximately thirty black students at WAC School refused to report to their classes. Instead, they walked to a baseball field near the center of the main post where they joined many other black enlisted personnel. The group refused to disperse and demanded that the post commander and unit commanders meet with them to discuss a list of grievances. While this meeting was in progress, a white female reporter from the local newspaper was assaulted by a group of black WACs because she refused to stop taking notes during the meeting. At this point, the post commander used 700 troops to apprehend and arrest approximately 139 demonstrators; 68 were black enlisted women. The Anniston city jail accommodated the women until 16 November when the military police moved them back to the post to a makeshift confinement barracks guarded by WACs. The men were confined in the post stockade and other jails in the area.

Within a month, the post commander and WAC Center commander disposed of the charges. Of the 68 women confined, 2 were promptly released because they had not been involved in the incident; 9 were discharged; 46 were transferred from WAC Center or WAC School; and 11 remained at WAC School to complete their clerical courses.

An investigation revealed that earlier confrontations had preceded the demonstration. On Saturday, 7 November, about 100 black enlisted men and women had met with managers of the Hilltop Service Club to ask why that club, predominately patronized by black service personnel, did not hire black dance bands, had no soul music in the jukeboxes, and did not have a black service club director. When the club employees could

not provide satisfactory answers, the group asked for a conference with the post chaplain. When he arrived for the scheduled meeting, however, they refused to talk to him because he was white. They did, however, discuss their grievances with a male black major who accompanied the chaplain at the request of the post commander, Col. William A. McKean. The group discussed with the major the many inequities they suffered, particularly regarding promotions and military justice, and they reported that their unit commanders did not respond to their requests for information or assistance. They asked for a meeting with the post commander. At that meeting, on the afternoon of 13 November, Colonel McKean listened to their grievances and promised to provide them with answers to their questions and resolve their problems at a meeting scheduled for 16 November. The incident at the EM/EW Club occurred a few hours later.

Immediately after the incident, Colonel McKean ordered racial committees established in every unit, male and WAC, at Fort McClellan. Each unit sent representatives to councils established at battalion, school, and center levels where complaints could be aired, investigated, and resolved. WAC Center had established such a council in 1970.

At the time of the incident, the WAC School's Clerical Training Company (the unit home of most of the women demonstrators) held 373 women of whom 20.8 percent were black. The barracks were full but not overcrowded. Because training was conducted under the self-pace method, in which each student progressed at her own rate, it was difficult to develop a unified class spirit, the basis for good morale. (The inability to generate such feeling was a frequent criticism of the self-pace method.) The company was supervised by a commander, executive officer, first sergeant, supply sergeant, and five platoon sergeants. The investigation report stated: "At least two weeks prior to the incident almost complete racial polarization was effected among the students in CTC, resulting in a complete breakdown of discipline and worsening racial tensions. Black leaders undoubtedly contributed to the problem." Although the unit commander and her staff knew the situation, the report continued, they had taken no effective corrective action. During the demonstration, unit officers and NCOs had failed to control the women, to establish dialogue with the dissidents, or to show concern for their welfare. This lack of action had worsened the situation. As a result of this report and her personal investigation of the events, Colonel Garrison relieved the unit's commander, executive officer, and first sergeant and replaced them.

The report concluded that throughout the events preceding, during, and after the incident, the post commander and WAC Center commander had acted with compassion, restraint, and concern and were held blameless for the incident. The local newspapers and radio stations received frequent, open, and detailed reports of the demonstration but had insisted upon admittance of a reporter. The incident received meager national

publicity. The Third Army report summed up the cause and solution to the incident:

From the onset of the Fort McClellan experience, it became forcefully self-evident that the good will, good intentions, and total commitment of senior commanders to assuring equal treatment for personnel are not enough to eliminate the racial problem. Many necessary actions were indicated as a result of the racial disturbance but of all the lessons learned or relearned, the need to improve communications upwards as well as down with the young soldiers, and especially the young black soldiers, through the chain of command, is most apparent." [42]

Commanders During the Expansion and Reorganization

On 1 October 1972, Colonel Garrison retired and the director of the WAC selected Col. Mary E. Clarke, a former WAC Training Battalion commander, to be the commander/commandant of the WAC Center and WAC School. By this time, the WAC expansion campaign was well under way. New arrivals during 1971 had averaged 360 recruits a month but rose during 1972 to 590 a month. The success of the new recruiting effort pleased Army planners, but at WAC Center, where housing, classrooms, and personnel resources were strained to the limit, it was a time of controlled panic. A parody composed and sung by the training center cadre told the story.[43]

The WAC Center Lament

(To the tune of "On Top of Old Smokey")

Down here at WAC Center, in August last year
The general told us, "Expansion is here."
She smiled and said, "Do it. I do not care how.
It must be done quickly, so get started now."

Headquarters is buzzing, with orders and such.
DA gives direction but not very much.
USAREC sends us trainees, they come by the pack.
Last week we were busy, so we sent them all back.

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[42] Rpt, HQ, US Army School/Training Center, Fort McClellan, AL, to CofS of the Army, through CG, Third Army, 28 Jan 72, sub: Case Study Racial Incident, Fort McClellan, AL, 13–15 Nov 71, with 1st Ind, CofS, Third Army, Fort McPherson, GA, to CG, CONARC, 8 Feb 72, and 2d Ind, HQ CONARC to DA, 25 Feb 72, ODWAC Ref File, Racial Incident, CMH. Post information officer, LtCol Ruby R. Stauber, kept the press informed. On 14 Nov 71, the DCSPER, Gen Kerwin, ordered Gen Bailey to WAC Center. The DWAC flew to Alabama, but she left the same day she arrived after deciding that her presence might inflame the situation rather than show her concern.

[43] "WAC Center Lament," *WAC Journal* 4(1973):29.

There's one NCO here for each thousand troops.
Is it any wonder they all have the "droops?"
For eighteen hours daily they toil at their task.
Just how they can do it, I'd rather not ask.

There are no replacements for those of us here,
So we've all been extended for at least ten more years.
So come all you women, come listen to me.
It will be better in seventy-three.

We'll know what we're doing, we'll get the job done.
Then we'll look back and laugh and say "Wasn't it fun?"

[At the end, all responded with a heartfelt and loud, "NO!"]

The huge influx of trainees forced the new WAC Center commander to relocate more units and offices. WAC School, reduced now to the College Junior Course and the WAC Officer Orientation Course, moved its offices, classrooms, and student housing to buildings vacated by the Chemical School. Meanwhile, the 2d WAC Basic Training Battalion, activated 17 September 1972, took over the WAC School (Faith Hall) for its headquarters and classrooms, and the recruits moved into the quarters of the Clerical Training Company. The battalion consisted of four companies, each with five platoons. Ten days later the 3d WAC Basic Training Battalion opened with five companies, four platoons each. It was located approximately one mile from WAC Center headquarters at a site where the Chemical Training Command had conducted advanced individual training and housed its students. Named "Tigerland," the area contained old, one-story, wooden barracks that the women scrubbed, painted, and beautified to the best of their ability with the help of male volunteers from the 548th Service and Supply Battalion. Another major unit, Headquarters Battalion, was activated in January 1973 in the WAC area. It supervised the Staff and Faculty Company (permanent party instructors and administrative staff), the Special Training Company that conducted remedial instruction for trainees, the Student Officer Company that administered and out-processed women who failed to graduate from one of the courses, and the 14th Army Band (WAC). Although the band moved to a four-story building on post in September 1973, it remained under Headquarters Battalion.[44]

As a result of a major reorganization of the Department of the Army in 1973, several changes occurred in the relationships between WAC Center, Fort McClellan, Third Army, CONARC, and the Department of the Army. On 1 July 1973, the U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC) absorbed CONARC and the Combat Developments Command. A new command, the U.S. Forces Command (FORSCOM) at

[44] Historical Reports, WAC C&S, 1972, 1973.

Fort McPherson, Georgia, absorbed the missions of the Third U.S. Army and CONARC's readiness and reserve component responsibilities. CONARC and Third Army were deactivated. Meanwhile, at Fort McClellan a decision by the chief of staff to merge Chemical and Ordnance branches caused discontinuance of the Chemical Center and School and dispersal of its training and functions to other posts, primarily Aberdeen Proving Ground, Maryland.[45]

In the midst of the reorganizations and WAC expansion efforts, the Defense Department threatened to close Fort McClellan as part of a program to reduce the number of military installations commensurate with the reduction in military forces. Initially, in April 1973, the chief of staff announced that the Military Police activities at Fort Gordon, Georgia, would move to Fort McClellan and that one WAC basic training battalion would move to Fort Jackson, South Carolina. But, in July, a new study recommended that Fort McClellan be closed; that MP activities remain at Fort Gordon; that WAC basic training be dispersed to other training centers; and that the WAC School be deactivated. The women's direct commission program would be discontinued and WAC officer candidates would be trained with male officer candidates at Fort Benning, Georgia.[46]

The threatened closure of Fort McClellan generated complaints to Secretary of the Army Howard H. Callaway from the citizens of Anniston and its congressional representatives, principally Congressman Bill Nichols in whose district Fort McClellan was located. General Bailey and Colonel Clarke fought to keep Fort McClellan open. General Bailey emphasized the WAC identification with the post: "The women have been encouraged by seeing that they are now receiving some priority in the Army policies and planning. Their perception that the Army now wants to close their 'home' facilities will negate these favorable reactions."[47] For her part, Colonel Clarke also opposed the closing: "It seems to me that the middle of a WAC expansion is poor timing for the discontinuance of the USWACCS [WAC Center and School]. Particularly do I feel this to be true when I look back on the tremendous record of achievement made by this overtaxed, understaffed organization in the turbulent year just passed."[48] After almost a year of indecision, Secre-

[45] DA GOs 16 (18 May 73), 29 (7 Sep 73), and 33 (1 Oct 73), CMH Library; HQ Third Army GO 241 (18 May 73), Historical Report, WAC C&S, 1973.

[46] DA Msg (CofS) 171600Z Apr 73, to Maj Coms, sub: Base Realignment Actions, and CONARC Msg 311509Z May 73 to Cdr, Fort McClellan, and other post cdrs, sub: Relocation of Military Police Community to Fort McClellan, ODWAC Ref File, McClellan Closure, CMH.

[47] DF, DWAC to CofS, 30 Nov 73, sub: Initial Evaluation of CONCISE Proposals, Action #3, Military Police School, ODWAC Ref File, McClellan Closure, CMH.

[48] Ltr, Cdr, WAC C&S, to Dep Cdr, TRADOC, 12 Nov 73, no sub, ODWAC Ref File, McClellan Closure, CMH.

tary Callaway announced on 8 February 1974 that DOD had decided to retain Fort McClellan as an active post and to relocate the Military Police training and school activities there in July. WAC School continued to be slated for deactivation in 1976, ending separate training for women officers.[49]

Despite the threat of closure, life had gone on at Fort McClellan. The Army reorganizations brought changes that had to be implemented. Between January and July 1973, WAC Center absorbed WAC School; their staffs combined and a new organization emerged titled WAC Center and School.[50] On 1 July 1973, the new organization became a subordinate command of TRADOC rather than of Third Army. Fort McClellan, however, continued to provide logistical and other support services. Third Army established the much needed U.S. Army Reception Station and attached it to the WAC Center on 30 January 1973 for command and support services.[51] The director of instruction for the newly formed WAC Center and School established the Civilian Acquired Skills Program (CASP) in August to provide two weeks of active duty training for reserve enlisted women in one of the basic training companies.[52] To get enlisted women into the replacement stream faster, TRADOC reduced the length of women's basic training from eight to seven weeks beginning 2 July 1973 and focused training emphasis on learning "by doing" rather than learning from lectures. That year WAC School initiated an instructor training course and opened an Individual Learning Center in which trainees received remedial instruction. In 1974, recruits began a sixteen-hour basic rifle familiarization course on the M16 rifle. Although firing the weapon was voluntary, trainees attended and participated in the weapons training classes. Over 90 percent of the women opted to fire. In the field training program, the day march increased from one to two-and-a-half miles; the night march from one to three miles. The time devoted to physical training increased from twenty-five to thirty-five hours.[53]

WAC Center complied with expansion directives to provide training for 7,000 basic trainees in FY 1973. But the original directives and WAC Center's efforts were not enough; over 9,000 trainees arrived that year. Shortages—housing, classrooms, trainers, and uniforms—again plagued the center. Because the Army badly needed the additional WACs, the DCSPER, General Rogers, had allowed the U.S. Army Recruiting Command (USAREC) to exceed its monthly quotas. The overflow placed an

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[49] DA Historical Summary, 1974, p. 32, ODWAC Ref File, McClellan Closure, CMH.

[50] WAC Center TDA 3AW2GYAA, changes 9 and 10, ODWAC Ref File, WAC C&S, TDA & Reorganizations, CMH.

[51] TD TC2GAA and HQ Third Army GO 82, 16 Feb 73, ODWAC Ref File, WAC C&S, TDA & Reorganizations, CMH.

[52] Historical Report, WAC C&S, 1973, p. 45. In Jan 74, CASP became the responsibility of 3d WAC Tng Bn, and, in Dec 74, when 3d Bn closed, CASP went to HQ Bn; in 1976, CASP moved to 2d Bn (BT) where it remained until discontinued in 1981.

[53] Historical Report, WAC C&S, 1974, p. 8-5.

almost unbearable strain on the personnel and facilities at WAC Center and School. Relocations provided additional housing and classrooms in the WAC area, but problems mounted in maintaining high-quality training and morale.

Higher headquarters placed a seemingly unending stream of demands on the WAC Center and School staff for new and revised plans, training programs, statistics, and reports. Colonel Clarke and her staff developed a new expansion plan to accommodate 12,000 trainees annually. They reorganized the WAC Center and School, revised or prepared new lesson plans for enlisted and officer training courses, revised *Role of the WAC* for use in male training courses, and provided countless statistical resumes and reports to post, TRADOC, and ODWAC. When Colonel Clarke had an opportunity to ask TRADOC to extend some of its short suspense dates and eliminate a few requirements, she received some sympathy but no relief. The TRADOC commander replied, "As you stated, considered singularly or as a group, your requirements are formidable but I have no doubt that you will complete each task in an exemplary manner." [54]

As the expansion progressed, a drastic shortage of uniforms developed. In particularly short supply was the three-piece exercise suit worn by the trainees, but other uniform items were also affected. Many women left the center without a complete issue of uniforms, dispersing the problem to posts throughout the continental United States. The shortages continued because the Recruiting Command exceeded its WAC enlistment objectives in FY 1973, 1974, and 1975, and the DCSPER could not provide the Army Clothing Depot at Philadelphia with adequate lead time to manufacture the thousands of uniforms needed. And, as all these expansion-related problems were being resolved, the effort at WAC Center and School attracted high-ranking visitors. They wanted to see, firsthand, the results of the highly successful WAC recruiting and training program.[55]

By the fall of 1973, Colonel Clarke had made progress in managing the heavy trainee input and the administrative burdens by gradually realigning the organizational structure and by relocating units. Hope for a respite, however, vanished in October 1973 when the chief of staff approved a plan to double WAC enlisted strength by the end of FY 1979. Because WAC Center had reached its capacity, General William E. DePuy, the TRADOC commander, directed Maj. Gen. Robert C. Hixon, the commander of the U.S. Army School/Training Center, Fort Jackson, South Carolina, to establish a WAC training brigade with two battalions to train approximately 8,000 WAC recruits annually. The post also received the mission of providing seven weeks of basic training for approxi-

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[54] Ltrs, Cdr, WAC C&S to MajGen Hunt, DepCofS for Individual Training, 27 Dec 72, MajGen Hunt to Col Clarke, 11 Jan 73, ODWAC Ref File, Expansion 1971–1972, CMH.

[55] Historical Reports, WAC C&S, 1972, 1973, 1974. WAC recruiting objectives versus recruits received: 1973—8,500 vs 8,701; 1974—14,400 vs 15,411; 1975—17,200 vs 19,271 (*Strength of the Army Report* [DCSPER 46], Part I, Gains and Losses, 30 Jun of years cited).

mately 3,000 reserve women recruits. When basic training began at Fort Jackson, the 3d Basic Training Battalion at WAC Center would be deactivated. TRADOC also began planning to conduct additional basic training for WAC recruits at other Army training centers—Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri, and Fort Dix, New Jersey.[56]

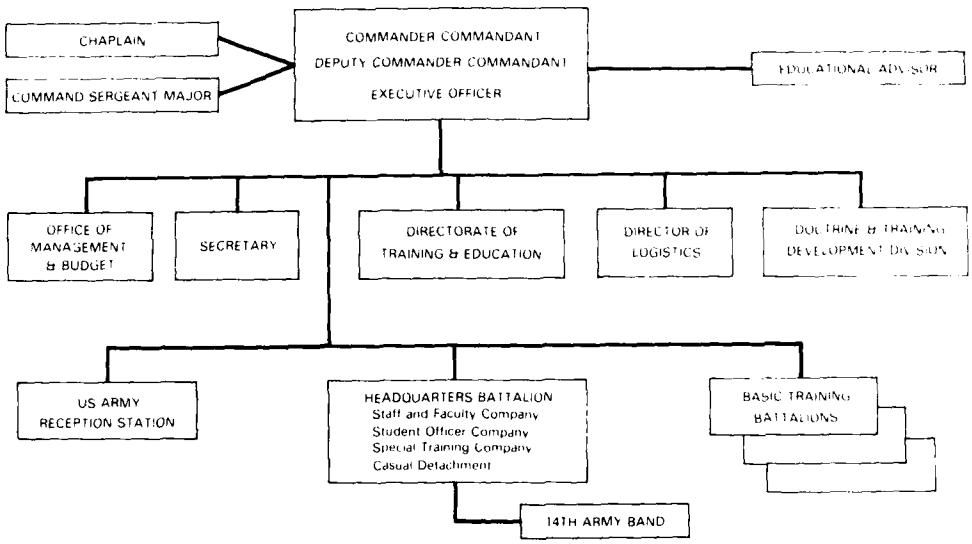
WAC training was quickly organized at Fort Jackson. On 1 October 1973, the 17th Basic Training Battalion (WAC) was activated with nine basic training companies and a Special Training Company (remedial training). In honor of the occasion, General DePuy attended the command's activation, unfurled the battalion's colors, and presented them to the commander of the new battalion, Lt. Col. Joanalys A. Bizzelle. Training began 9 January 1974. The 5th Basic Training Brigade and the 18th Basic Training Battalion (WAC) were activated on 1 July 1974. The 18th, commanded by Lt. Col. Doris L. Caldwell, took four companies from its sister battalion and began training immediately. The brigade provided command and control over the battalions. Its first commander was Col. Edith M. Hinton. Fort Jackson conducted the women's basic training course for three years. Then, in 1977, TRADOC combined basic training for men and women and deactivated the women's brigades and battalions at Fort McClellan and Fort Jackson.[57]

During the two years that Colonel Clarke commanded WAC Center and School, its look and pace had changed significantly. By the end of September 1974, she commanded a center with four battalions rather than one, a school with two courses (WCOC and College Juniors) rather than seven, and an Army reception station. (*See Chart 5.*) Command and operational control of the 14th Army Band (WAC) had passed to the commander of the Special Troop Command, Fort McClellan, on 1 May 1974. The commanders of the 1st and 2d Basic Training Battalions had moved into new headquarters office buildings in February 1974, and the 3d Basic Training Battalion prepared for deactivation in December. Construction was under way in the WAC area to enlarge the clothing issue warehouse, the dispensary, and the post exchange and to build a small headquarters for Headquarters Battalion. The post engineer was also renovating mess halls, barracks, and classroom buildings so the WAC Center could accommodate twice as many recruits. In September 1974, when Colonel Clarke prepared to leave Fort McClellan, she wondered about the future of the WAC Center and School. Indications were still that it would close and basic training would be reduced to two battalions. Her fears were well founded. In November, the TRADOC commander

[56] SS, ODCSPER to CofS, 24 Sep 74, sub: Plan for Expansion of the Women's Army Corps. Approved 6 Oct 73 by CofS, ODWAC Ref File, Expansion WAC 1972-3, CMH.

[57] Annual Histories, Fort Jackson, SC, 1973, 1974, 1975, CMH Ref Br. Col Marilyn J. Russell commanded 5th Bde (1975-1977); LtCol Gwen Gibson replaced Colonel Bizzelle as Cdr, 17th BT Bn (WAC) (1975-1977), and LtCol Lenore G. Roberts replaced Colonel Caldwell as Cdr, 18th BT Bn (WAC) (1975-1977). They trained 40,000 WAC recruits.

CHART 5—WAC CENTER AND SCHOOL, FORT MCCLELLAN ORGANIZATION, 1974



Source: Historical Report, WAC C&S, 1974, p. ii.

ordered Fort McClellan to reorganize and place all its activities under one command, eliminating WAC Center and School, the Military Police School, and the U.S. Army School/ Training Center (USASTC).[58]

14th Army Band (WAC)

In 1975, the Army ended the 32-year tradition of an all-female band in the Army and the unique career of the 14th Army Band (WAC). Although other services had women's bands from time to time, none had a long or continuous history. The 14th Army Band (WAC), activated on 16 August 1948, received title to the lineage and honors of the 400th Army Service Forces Band (WAC) that had begun its career in 1943 as one of the five WAC bands organized during World War II. After activation, the 14th Army Band (WAC) trained for six months at Fort George G. Meade for its role as the WAC training center band. On 5 March 1949, the band's first ten members and its warrant officer bandmaster, Miss Katherine V. Allen, were welcomed to Camp Lee by the WAC training center command. In the next three months, sixteen more bandswomen

[58] HQ, USASTC, Fort McClellan, GO 28, 18 Apr 74; Historical Report, WAC C&S, 1974; Ltr, Cdr, USASTC, Fort McClellan, to Cdr, WAC C&S, 26 Nov 74, sub: USASTC and USWACCS Realignment/Reorganization, ODWAC Ref File, WAC C&S TDA & Reorganization, CMH.

DANCE BAND OF THE 14TH ARMY BAND (WAC), *WAC Center, Fort McClellan, 1965.*

joined the unit, and the band began its routine of playing for parades, march-outs, orientations, graduations, receptions, conferences, and dances. It also gave concerts on post, in the local community, and at nearby Veterans Administration hospitals. When the unit acquired its full complement of thirty-four women, Miss Allen, a graduate of the Juilliard School of Music, formed a number of small internal groups—a dance band, a Dixieland jazz combo, a barbershop quartet, and others—to provide a variety of musical entertainment.[59]

[59] In Jan 44, HQ, ASF, formally activated the five WAC bands organized and operating in 1943 at the WAAC, later WAC, training ctrs. They were the 400th ASF Band (WAC), First WAC Training Center, Fort Des Moines; the 401st ASF Band (WAC), Second WAC Training Center, Daytona Beach, FL; the 402d ASF Band (WAC), Third WAC Training Center, South Post, Fort Oglethorpe; the 403d ASF Band (WAC) at the Third WAC Training Center, North Post, Fort Oglethorpe (originally at the Fifth WAC Training Center, Camp Ruston, LA); and the 404th ASF Band (Cld)*, at the First WAC Training Center, Fort Des Moines. The abbreviation "Cld" stood for "colored," the asterisk for WAC; both were part of the band's title. All these bands were deactivated between 1945 and 1947. The two other women's bands were the Women Marines Band at Camp Lejeune (1943–45), led by MSgt Charlotte Plummer, and the 534th USAF Band (WAF) at Lackland Air Force Base (1951–59), led by Capt Mary Belle Nissly, who had served with the 400th ASF Band (WAC) in World War II. Copies of unit histories of the ASF bands are in CMH Organizational

THE 14TH ARMY BAND (WAC) *in parade formation, 1970.*

In 1951, the 14th Army Band (WAC) began touring. To assist the campaign to build WAC strength during the Korean War, the band toured the First, Second, Fifth, and Sixth Army Areas in 1951, the Third Army Area in 1952; and previously unvisited states in the Fifth Army Area in 1953. After moving to Fort McClellan with the WAC Center in 1954, the band continued to make special trips and conduct concert tours with community activity program funds provided by the Army's Information Office, CONARC, Third Army, or Fort McClellan. Its special trips ranged from appearances at the World's Fair in New York in 1956 to marching in three presidential inaugural parades (1953, 1957, and 1961). After the 269th Army Band at Fort McClellan was deactivated in September 1960, the WAC band functioned as the post band, provided buglers for military funerals in Alabama and Mississippi, performed its duties at WAC Center, and continued to make tours. Tours between 1951 and 1973 took the band through almost every state in the Union and, in November 1972, to Puerto Rico, where it spent a week on a recruiting concert tour. On its travels, the band played at high schools, colleges, civic centers, and for community events (festivals, fairs, races, football games, parades). Personnel at Fort McClellan greatly missed the band while it was on these trips; they had to endure recorded music at parades and other ceremonies. Recruiters meanwhile welcomed the band into

History Br. Also see WAC Training Center histories for 1948 and 1949. Unless otherwise noted, information in this section is from WAC Band chapters of the Historical Reports, WAC C&S, for the years discussed.

their areas where its appearances increased public awareness of the Corps and boosted WAC recruiting.

The bandmaster commanded the women and was their musical instructor and director until 1964. After Miss Allen completed her tour in 1952, she was replaced by 2d Lt. (later Captain) Alice V. Peters, who remained in this position until 1961. A series of officers served in the position thereafter, usually for a two-year tour. In 1964, after difficulty finding a fully qualified warrant or commissioned woman officer, the grade and nature of the position changed. The job of commander/bandmaster was upgraded to captain, and an enlisted bandleader (E-7) was added to direct the band and provide instruction and technical guidance. To fill this key bandleader position, the center commander selected Sp6c. Ramona J. Meltz, an accomplished musician, director, and instructor, and a nine-year veteran of the band. A natural leader, Specialist Meltz quickly gained the respect and support of the other members of the band. During the ten-year period she held the position, she continuously sought promotions, awards, improved housing, and better equipment for the women. At the same time, she was their severest critic and taskmaster in musicianship and attention to duty. Her leadership developed an esprit de corps among the members of the band that was unparalleled among WAC units. Because organizational bands had no cadre positions authorized, the commanders usually assigned the additional duty of first sergeant to the women who served consecutively as drum major for the band between 1950 and 1973—M. Sgt. Janet Helker, Sgt. Eva J. Sever, Sgt. 1st Cl. Jane M. Kilgore, Sgt. 1st Cl. Rosella Collins, and Sgt. 1st Cl. Margaret R. Clemenson. In 1966, a bass horn musician with administrative skills, Sgt. 1st Cl. Patricia R. Browning, accepted the additional duty of first sergeant and held it until she transferred to another band in 1974.

Initially, the band was housed in a combined barracks and rehearsal hall in the basic training area at Fort McClellan. In 1967, when the WAC expansion for Vietnam began and the battalion needed more room for recruits, the band moved into a building vacated by Headquarters and Headquarters Company (WAC). This building was small, but the band remained there until September 1973. It moved to a four-level building in the main post area where, for the first time, it had adequate space for a rehearsal hall, library, practice rooms, instrument repair room, administrative and supply offices, and comfortable living quarters for the bandswomen.

Over the years, the band increased its stature and prominence. In 1966, more women began to attend the bandsman's course at the U.S. Naval School of Music. Up to then, only five women had attended, primarily because the attendees' services were lost to the band for twenty-three weeks. This situation was alleviated in 1968 when the band increased in size from forty-three to sixty members. In the 1960s, the band appeared on national television, in the movies, and in Army training and informa-

tion films. The band played at the White House in 1967, when President Johnson signed the bill (PL 90–130) that removed promotion restrictions on women officers and in the Rose Bowl Parade in January 1969. It also made a number of records and in 1973 won Best Military Band award for the fifth consecutive year at the Veterans' Day Parade in Birmingham, Alabama. Through the years, the band expanded its versatility by adding more special groups—swing band, choral group, rock combo, country-and-western groups, and a chamber music quartet.

At WAC Center, the band was an integral part of life for recruits, students, and permanent party personnel. It was a part of every official and unofficial ceremony that took place, and it boosted morale by voluntarily initiating events like marching from unit to unit during the Christmas season singing and playing carols, giving a spring and fall concert for the trainees, and serenading various officers and NCOs on their birthdays. Band members had a special place in the hearts and lives of the WACs at Fort McClellan, and, for their part, band members developed such unit esprit that few requested transfer. Women who auditioned for the band knew from the beginning that they would serve continuously in the band unless they requested reenlistment and training in another MOS. Most elected to remain with the 14th Army Band (WAC) throughout their service.

The band was at the peak of its development when, despite efforts to avert the change, the Army ordered the unit to be integrated with male personnel. In July 1972, the WAC Center commander, Colonel Garrison, moved to preserve its all-female status by requesting that it be designated a Special Band. The intervening commands and the director of the WAC concurred, but the Army staff disapproved because it could not spare the eighty-three additional spaces required.[60] The next year, an Army-wide reduction in force required the band to trim its strength from sixty-four to an authorized twenty-eight members. The losses devastated morale. Members went to other bands in CONUS and overseas; some retired. In 1974, several male bandsmen requested assignment to the band at Fort McClellan, but the 14th Army Band (WAC) did not accept men. In 1975, the adjutant general advised the Department of the Army's General Officer Steering Committee for Equal Opportunity that "maintenance of the 14th Army Band (WAC) as a female-only unit appears to be in conflict with EEO [Equal Employment Opportunity] policies relating to discrimination based on sex."[61] When asked to comment on integrating the band, the

[60] Ltr, ACSFOR DA to TRADOC, 12 Jun 73, sub: Special Band Request, ODWAC Ref File, Band, CMH.

[61] DF, TAG to General Officer Steering Committee, Equal Opportunity, 12 Aug 75, sub: Follow-up Actions on TAG Subcommittee Recommendations GOSCEO Report, ODWAC Ref File, Band, CMH.

Army's chief information officer had no objection. The commander of TRADOC felt it should take place as a matter of equity. The commander at Fort McClellan agreed in principle, but reminded TAG that the band annually drew great public acclaim through hundreds of appearances. It gave visibility to women serving in the Army, and its effectiveness in WAC recruitment, especially during the current expansion, was unparalleled. If integrated, the commander pointed out that "the 14th Army Band would become just another installation band ... its uniqueness would cease."[62] The WAC director agreed with those comments and recommended that integration at least be delayed until 1977 to ensure "the least adverse impact on morale." [63] The steering committee, therefore, directed that the band be fully integrated by 1 January 1977, the day after the training brigade at Fort McClellan would assume most of the functions of the WAC Center and School. After that edict, integration of the band began, and the acronym WAC in parentheses was removed from the band's title effective 1 July 1976.[64]

Other changes also occurred. Master Sergeant Meltz, although she had been selected for promotion to sergeant major (E-9) in 1973 after the position was raised to that grade, decided to retire. She received the Legion of Merit for her performance of duty between January 1962 and November 1973. Lt. Paula M. Molnar became the last woman officer to serve a full tour of duty as commander/bandmaster (1973–1975). After some temporary commanders, a male warrant officer was assigned as bandmaster in September 1976, and, thereafter, the band had male bandmasters and enlisted bandleaders.[65]

Beginning in 1971, the U.S. Army Field Band included WAC vocalists in its tours, and in 1973, the first WAC was assigned to the U.S. Army Band at Fort Myer, Virginia.[66] Thereafter women served interchangeably in these special bands, the U.S. Army Chorus, and in bands at other installations and activities. Deactivation of the 14th Army Band (WAC) closed a chapter in the history of the Women's Army Corps and left Corps members with fond memories of marching behind the band at parades, Arbor Day plantings, Christmas caroling, torchlight processions, concerts, orientations, and graduations at the WAC Center and School. The pride of the WACs, the 14th Army Band (WAC), had had a long

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[62] Ibid., Incl 3, Cdr, USAMPS/TC, Fort McClellan.

[63] Ibid., Incl 4, DWAC.

[64] 2d Ind, TAG to Cdr TRADOC, 22 Oct 75, to Ltr, TAG to TRADOC, 27 May 75, sub: Maintenance of All-Female Band, and HQ TRADOC GO 82, 18 Feb 76, ODWAC Ref File, Band, CMH.

[65] MSgt Meltz was replaced by MSgt Bernice R. Goldstein, who retired 31 Jan 75 and was replaced by Sgt1stCl Barbara L. Graham, who, in turn, was replaced by MSgt Otis W. Whittington in July 1976. CW4 Victor F. Owens became bandmaster on 10 September 1976.

[66] WAC vocalists assigned to the US Army Field Band in 1971 were SP4 Mildred L. Christian and Pfc Johnnie B. Riser. The first enlisted woman assigned to the US Army Band, Fort Myer, VA, was Pfc Elizabeth Holstrus.

and illustrious career as an all-female band. And while its integration was both inevitable and unwelcome, the band did survive the change.

Basic Training Changes and Inactivation

When Col. Mary E. Clarke completed her tour as commander of WAC Center, she exchanged positions with Col. Shirley R. Heinze, who headed the WAC Advisory Branch (formerly WAC Career Management Branch) in Alexandria, Virginia. The change of command ceremony was held on 4 September 1974 at Fort McClellan. Colonel Heinze was the first graduate of the Army War College (Class of 1968) to command the center. Like Colonel Michl, she had completed a tour of duty in Vietnam (1966–1967).

Because the expansion caused many women to move into nontraditional jobs that required knowledge of defensive tactics and weapons, these subjects became mandatory in WAC basic training. Even cooks and bandsmen assigned to certain units and locations had the secondary mission of helping their unit perform rear area security (guarding against enemy attack or infiltration). On 25 March 1975, upon the recommendation of the DCSPER and TRADOC, Secretary Callaway announced that this training would be mandatory for women enlisting or reenlisting after 30 June 1975. At TRADOC's direction, Colonel Heinze and her staff revised the basic training program and officer training course to include weapons qualification and defensive techniques, such as digging foxholes. Male trainees and student officers had to qualify on the M16 rifle before they could graduate from basic training. Beginning in December 1976, women had to do the same. During field exercises, an individual's entire unit had to qualify on its basic weapons to pass readiness inspection.[67]

Earlier that year, at TRADOC's direction, Colonel Heinze had expanded the weapons training program to include additional small arms weapons. Up to this point, women had trained on the M16 rifle. In July 1976, TRADOC added training on the light antitank weapon (LAW), the 40-mm. grenade launcher, the Claymore mine, and the M60 machine gun. Women began training on the hand grenade in the spring of 1977 after a test conducted at Fort Jackson determined that women had the shoulder and arm strength to throw a hand grenade accurately.[68] To develop the

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[67] Msg, TRADOC 141432Z Feb 75 to DCSPER DA, sub: Weapons Training for Women; Msg, DCSPER 171930Z Mar 75 to TRADOC, same sub; DA Msg 261832Z Mar 75 to Maj Coms, sub: Public Affairs Guidance Defense Weapons Training for Enlisted Women; DA Msg 091902Z Jan 76 to Maj Coms, sub: Weapons Training for Female Soldiers, Active Army, Army National Guard and Reserve. Copies in ODWAC Ref File, Weapons Training, CMH.

[68] DA Msg 301545Z Jun 76 (DAPE MPT) to Maj Coms, sub: Weapons Training for Female Soldiers, Active Army, Army National Guard, and Army Reserve, ODWAC Ref File, Weapons Training, CMH.

women's strength and stamina, physical training was expanded to include more exercise, and the day march was lengthened from two-and-a-half to six-and-a-half miles. Also, at a surprise point along this march, the unit would receive a light dose of smoke that simulated tear gas and required the women to put on their gas masks quickly and disperse in the woods to hide. In 1976, helicopter familiarization added interest to the field training course. With the increased emphasis on physical training, field training, defensive techniques, and weapons training, the women's training duty uniform at WAC Center changed from the familiar three-piece exercise suit to the heavy-duty fatigues, helmet liners, and combat boots worn by men in basic training.[69]

In September 1975, Army Chief of Staff Frederick C. Weyand visited WAC Center and School to observe women's training. Maj. Gen. Joseph R. Kingston, commander of all training activities at Fort McClellan, suggested a consolidated basic training course for men and women. A trained infantry officer, General Kingston had seen how quickly the women had adapted to changes in their training program, had become proficient in weapons training, and had increased their physical capabilities. He had seen their confidence improve. He was convinced that this new type of training, similar to the men's, had made women feel for the first time that they were part of the whole Army, not just the Women's Army Corps. By the end of the visit, General Kingston and Colonel Heinze had persuaded the chief of staff to this view. When he returned to the Pentagon, he directed that a plan be developed to consolidate basic training for men and women.[70] By the end of December 1975, TRADOC had completed an experimental six-week course entitled Basic Initial Entry Training (Army Training Program 21-114 Test). The course was essentially the basic combat training course given men.[71]

The DCSPER and the other members of the Army staff approved the pilot program, and the TRADOC commander initiated action to test the course. He assigned General Kingston the responsibility for conducting the test, analyzing its results, and preparing recommendations for the chief of staff. He directed the commander of the Army Training Center at Fort Jackson, then Maj. Gen. William B. Caldwell III, to provide the

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[69] Historical Reports, WAC C&S, 1975, 1976.

[70] "He [CofS] is prepared to approve same POI for basic training for WACs as for males. Gen DePuy states he is prepared to go along with this but needs *DA Staff Guidance.*" Tasking Memo, Maj Elliott G. Fishburne (Aide to the CofS) to DCSPER, 19 Sep 75, sub: WAC Training, CSA Comments, ODWAC Ref File, WAC Basic Training-BIET, CMH.

[71] MFR, Col Sidney Davis, Chief, Special Actions Team, to DCSPER (DAPE-PBP), 24 Sep 74, sub: Telcon with Maj Gen Kingston, Commander, Fort McClellan, ODWAC Ref File, WAC Basic Training-BIET, CMH. The project officer to coordinate development of ATP 21-114, Test Edition, Basic Training of Male and Female Personnel without Prior Service (Six Weeks), December 1975, was Col Kitt M. MacMichael, Dir, Training and Education, US WAC School (1974-1976). In an interv with the author on 16 Jul 81 she stated: "General Kingston was strongly influenced by Colonels Shirley Heinze, Lorraine Rossi and myself in this matter [common basic training] . . . but he spearheaded the action totally. We just helped make him a believer in the woman soldier."

test site and the supporting troops, equipment, and facilities. Upon Colonel Heinze's recommendation, General Kingston appointed Col. Mary Jane Grimes, then the director of training and education at WAC Center and School, as the test director. Her test committee included men and women from the TRADOC Combined Arms Test Activity, the Army Infantry School, and the training staffs at both Fort McClellan and Fort Jackson. Four companies (two male and two WAC—approximately 880 recruits) completed the test basic training course between 17 September and 11 November 1976. Some of the major differences between the women's basic training course and the test course are shown in *Table 28.*[72]

Table 28—COMPARISON, SELECTED COURSES

Subject	Hours in ATP 21-121 (1975)	Hours in ATP 21-114 BIET Test
Basic Rifle Training	47	62
Hand Grenade Training	0	6.5
U.S. Weapons Familiarization	2	-
Tactical Training Techniques	3	7
Fire and Maneuver	0	6
Defensive Training	5	10
Confidence Course	0	4
Physical Readiness Training	35	39

Source: USAMPS/TC & FM, Test Report, Basic Initial Entry Training (BIET), 30 Dec 76, App D-1, ODWAC Ref File, Basic Training (BIET), CMH.

At the conclusion of the test involving the 880 recruits, General Kingston reported to the chief of staff that "the female graduates met the standards in every area except the Physical Readiness Training Program," which, he believed, could "be modified for the women without changing the content of the training or reducing the value of the training received." [73] On 17 February 1977, the chief of staff approved initiation of consolidated basic training for men and women using the modified basic initial entry training course. Colonel Hallaren's 1950 proposal for it had been too progressive for its time. Now the time was right, and consolidat-

[72] Ltr, DCSPER to Cdr, TRADOC, 6 Apr 76, sub: Women in the Army Study, ODWAC Ref File, WAC Basic Training-BIET, CMH.

[73] Msg, TRADOC 010224Z May 76 to Cdr, Fort McClellan, Fort Jackson, and others, sub: Basic Initial Entry Training Test, and Rpt, Basic Initial Entry Training (BIET), BIET Test Directorate, US Army Military Police School/Training Center, Fort McClellan, AL, 30 Dec 1976, ODWAC Ref File, Basic Training –BIET TEST, CMH.

ed training began at Fort McClellan and Fort Jackson on 1 September 1977 and at Fort Dix and Fort Leonard Wood in October 1978.[74]

In addition to consolidating basic training for men and women, in 1977 TRADOC combined basic and advanced individual MOS training at installations where it was feasible. In the program, called one-station unit training, recruits learned some MOS skills while undergoing basic training at posts that also conducted branch advanced individual training in specific MOSs. After completing the basic training program, the trainee remained in the same unit to receive advanced individual training in the MOS he or she had selected upon enlisting in the Army. This system reduced training time, improved use of training facilities, and eliminated the travel costs usually incurred by moving an individual from a basic training post to another for advanced individual training. For example, a woman who enlisted in MOS 95B, Military Policeman, received basic training and advanced individual training at Fort McClellan, the home of the Military Police Corps. If she enlisted in MOS 72B, Teletype Operator, she completed basic and advanced individual training at Fort Gordon, Georgia, the home of the Signal Corps. One-station unit training (OSUT) continues in the Army today.[75]

Another major reorganization had occurred at Fort McClellan after the Military Police School moved there in the summer of 1975. TRADOC directed a reorganization to place all post activities under one command. This eliminated the WAC Center and School and the U.S. Army School/Training Center and placed the Military Police School and the other activities under the same command. From November 1974 until the summer of 1976, the WAC Center staff worked with the other headquarters staffs on detailed plans for the transfer of functions, units, and personnel to the centralized command, the U.S. Army Military Police School/Training Center and Fort McClellan (effective 4 October 1976). In the midst of the reorganization planning, Colonel Heinze completed her tour as commander and was replaced on 2 June 1976 by Col. Lorraine A. Rossi, who had been deputy commander for over a year and who, as a lieutenant, had helped move WAC Center from Fort Lee to Fort McClellan.[76]

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[74] Memo, DCSPER to CofS, 16 Feb 77, sub: Basic Initial Entry Training (BIET) for Male and Female Soldiers, approved VCofS 17 Feb 77, ODWAC Ref File, WAC Basic Training—BIET, CMH.

[75] Annual Rpt, SecArmy, 1977, p. 23, CMH Ref Br.

[76] Ltr, Cdr, USASTC, Fort McClellan, to Cdr, WAC C&S, 26 Nov 74, sub: USASTC and USWACCS Realignment/Reorganization, and HQ TRADOC Permanent Order 34-1, 14 Oct 76, ODWAC Ref File, WACC&S TDA & Reorganization, CMH; Annual Historical Summary, US Army Military Police/Training Center and Fort McClellan, 1976, CMH Ref Br; Historical Reports, WAC C&S, 1975, 1976. Col Heinze was reassigned as chief of staff of the Army Recruiting Command, Fort Sheridan, IL. Col Rossi served in Vietnam (1968-1969) and was a 1974 graduate of Army War College.

The completed operational plan, entitled OPLAN CONSOLIDATE, was issued 1 July 1976. The training brigade of the new centralized command absorbed the two WAC basic training battalions on 1 December 1976 and assumed control over the WAC Officer Orientation Course, the Staff and Faculty Company, and the Student Officer Company. Company F of Headquarters Battalion that conducted the Civilian Acquired Skills Program (USAR) became part of the 2d Basic Training Battalion (WAC), and Headquarters Battalion was deactivated. Colonel Rossi and her staff transferred their property, functions, and personnel to their counterpart activities on post or in the Training Brigade. On 31 December 1976, the U.S. WAC Center and School ceased to exist.[77]

The year 1976 brought other milestones in women's training. With congressional approval, 119 women entered the U.S. Military Academy at West Point (Class of 1970) on 7 July. The first women graduated from Army ROTC programs and were commissioned in May and June 1976. The WAC Student Officer Program ended with the graduation of 108 students in the last College Junior Class (XIX) on 1 August 1975. The program for enrolling women in ROTC proved so successful that the WAC Officer Orientation Course was discontinued with the graduation of 129 students in Class XVII on 27 September 1977. After 1 October 1976 women trained with male officer candidates at the U.S. Army Officer Candidate School at Fort Benning, Georgia.[78]

The WAC Center and School ceased to exist twenty-two-and-a-half years after it had opened at Fort McClellan. Until Congress eliminated the WAC as a corps within the Regular Army, however, women continued to be enlisted and appointed in the Women's Army Corps. And, as expansion continued, thousands of women arrived for the now combined basic training at Fort McClellan. But the mess halls at WAC Center no longer rang solely with the sounds of women talking and laughing; the streets no longer resounded with their chanting the "Jody" tunes to keep in cadence; the torchlight parade no longer held silence in the air; and the drum and cymbals no longer echoed off the hills as the WAC band played and the women sang: "Duty is calling you and me; we have a date with destiny. . . ."

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[77] OPLAN CONSOLIDATE, USASTC & Fort McClellan, 1 Jul 76, with Change 1, 1 Sep 76, ODWAC Ref File, WACC&S TDA & Reorganization, CMH; HQ TRADOC Permanent Order 34-1, 1 Apr 77, and HQ USAMPS/TC&FM Permanent Orders 72-8, 72-9, 72-20, and 72-21, in Annual History, USAMPS/TC&FM, Fort McClellan, 1976, CMH Ref Br. Col Rossi remained on post as asst dep cdr until 30 Jun 77 when she was reassigned as dir of the Army Equal Opportunity Programs, ODCSPER, DA.

[78] PL 94-106, Military Authorization Act of 1976, 8 Oct 75; Historical Reports, WAC C&S, 1975, 1976. South Dakota State Univ, on 1 May 76, was the first to graduate women in the ROTC program. Of 14,296 women in ROTC in Dec 77, 738 held ROTC scholarships.

CHAPTER XIII

Women in the Army

When General Clarke became director of the Women's Army Corps on 1 August 1975, the question concerning dissolution of the Corps was no longer if, it was when. In June, during hearings on the proposed Defense Officer Personnel Management Act (DOPMA), the Army had told Congress that it would no longer insist upon retention of a separate Corps and director. It would, however, need a "full-time senior female officer to act as advisor . . . and spokesman for women in the Army." [1] When the Defense Department revised the bill after those hearings, it eliminated the WAC as a separate corps and the position of director of the WAC. The bill already deleted the separate WAC promotion list. It did not contain a provision for the senior woman adviser deemed necessary by the Army, but it did contain other highly controversial provisions which generally ensured that DOPMA would not be approved by Congress for several years.

Mary Elizabeth Clarke entered the Army at age 20 and, in August 1945, attended the last World War II WAC basic training class at Fort Des Moines. In September 1949, she graduated from WAC OCS at Camp Lee. Her assignments into the 1960s included detachment commander, WAC recruiting, and staff positions in personnel and intelligence. After spending a year at the Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C. (1966), and two years as commander of the WAC Training Battalion (1967–1968), she was assigned to ODCSPER for three years (1968–1971). She then served as the WAC staff adviser at HQ, Sixth Army, until September 1972 when she assumed command of the WAC Center and WAC School. She was chief of the WAC Advisory Branch at the time of her selection as director of the WAC. In seniority, she was the third-ranking eligible officer, and, like her predecessors, she was selected to head the Corps based on her demonstrated leadership, executive ability, and public relations skills.[2]

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[1] Memo, DCSPER, through CofS and ASA (M&RA), to SecArmy, 17 Jun 75, sub: Repeal of Section 3071, Title 10, United States Code under Proposed Legislation: Defense Officer Personnel Management Act (DOPMA) (HR 7586), ODWAC Ref File, Discontinuance of the WAC, CMH.

[2] ODWAC Ref File, Directors WAC, CMH. Gen Clarke graduated from the WAC Officers Advanced Course, Personnel Officers Management Course, WAC Officer Recruiting Course, Intelligence Officers Course, Army Management School, and Management in the Department of Defense Course.

COL. EDITH M. HINTON, DEPUTY DIRECTOR, WAC *(1975–1978).*

On 1 August 1975, Acting Secretary of the Army Norman R. Augustine and Vice Chief of Staff Walter T. Kerwin, Jr., pinned general's stars on the ninth director while members of her family, friends, former directors, and members of the Army staff looked on. Adjutant General Verne R. Bowers administered the oath of office.[3] That evening at the Fort McNair Officers Club, the chief of staff hosted a formal reception honoring the outgoing and incoming directors.

General Clarke's staff was a mixture of new and old members. Well before her selection, two members had submitted their papers to retire on 31 August—Col. Maida E. Lambeth, the deputy director, and Lt. Col. Elizabeth A. Berry, the executive officer. General Clarke selected Col. Edith M. Hinton to be her deputy. A graduate of Army War College (1972), Colonel Hinton had been training director at WAC Center and School (1973–1975) and commander of the 5th Basic Training Brigade (WAC) at Fort Jackson (1974–1975). Lt. Col. Patricia A. McCord replaced Colonel Berry.[4]

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[3] DA SO 194, 1 Aug 75, CMH Library. This order promoted Col Clarke to brig gen, eff 31 Jul 75, and announced her appointment as DWAC, eff 1 Aug 75.

[4] LtCol McCord went to the National War College in Jun 76 and was replaced by LtCol Virginia L. Heseman who had served as the last chief of the WAC Advisory Office, MILPERCEN. The plans officer, Maj Thomas K. Newell, Jr., left in Apr 77 when the position was deleted. Mary Larrick, a civilian, continued as secretary to the DWAC. The E-9 position was filled by MSgt Lois J. Williams until Jun 77 when she was replaced by SgtMaj Beverly E. Scott.

MAX WAC and Other Studies

No stranger to the need for adequate planning, General Clarke had assumed command of the WAC Center and WAC School as the WAC expansion effort had begun. There she had seen the results of an oversupply of recruits and an undersupply of troop housing, cadre, instructors, uniforms, and classrooms. Now, as director of the WAC, with responsibilities as a top planner, she would spend a major proportion of her time working on the continued expansion and on studies dealing with the expansion's impact on the Army.

During the first years of the expansion, the WAC Expansion Steering Committee's overriding concern had been recruiting. The committee directed the opening of more MOSs, enlistment options, and training courses to increase the attractiveness of enlistment and reenlistment in the WAC. They overcame shortages in uniforms, housing, and cadre by taking special actions—awarding bonuses to manufacturers to produce women's uniform items, sending teams Army-wide to find potential cadre members and to inspect housing. Policies that in the past had impeded utilization or assignment of women had been banished. The result, a steadily increasing number of WACs, convinced the committee that expansion was their best hope of eliminating the manpower shortage in the Army.

In late 1974, Assistant Secretary of the Army (M&RA) M. David Lowe turned the committee's attention to the consideration of new concerns. He asked them to think about the effect that a higher percentage of women would have on the Army and on its ability to fight. He told the DCSPER, "We do not have a clear answer to the question, 'how many women do we want in the Army—unit by unit, MOS by MOS?' . . . until we can nail this down, we may be setting objectives that are meaningless." [5] The assistant secretary's representative on the committee, Clayton N. Gompf, warned members of the consequences of unrestricted WAC enlistments and assignments, saying, "A Category II unit, such as an MP company, could end up with 80 percent women." [6] The implication, which no one disputed, was that this would render the unit unfit to accomplish its mission.

After deliberation on the question, the members of the committee presented two recommendations upon which the DCSPER acted. First, he directed the commander of the Military Personnel Center (MILPERCEN) to develop a computer model to answer the question, "How many enlisted women do we need, MOS by MOS?" Second, he asked the commander of the Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC) to ana-

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[5] Memo, ASA (M&RA) to DCSPER, 7 Nov 74, no sub, ODWAC Ref File, Woman's Enlisted Expansion Model (WEEM), CMH.

[6] Min, WAC Expansion Steering Committee, 24 Sep 74, p. 5 ODWAC Ref File, Expansion Steering Committee Minutes (1974), CMH.

lyze the Army's manpower requirements to answer the question, "How many enlisted women can a unit hold without degrading its ability to perform its mission?" [7]

To execute its task, MILPERCEN designed two computer models. The first, the Women's Enlisted Expansion Model (WEEM), was completed in October 1975. It determined women's MOS requirements by subtracting from total Army enlisted requirements all combat authorizations and developed a ratio of spaces for male promotion, rotation, grade distribution, length of overseas tour, and career development. This process revealed that up to 8 percent (54,400) of the Army's enlisted MOS spaces could be filled by women.[8] The second model, the Women Officers Strength Model (WOSM), was patterned on WEEM and based in part on a TRADOC study. It showed that approximately 16 percent (26,400) of the officer spaces (including medical department officers) could be filled by women.[9]

TRADOC completed its report, WAC Content in Units, in April 1975. This work established the percentage of women that could be assigned to TOE units (combat support and combat service support). The percentage, ranging from zero to 50 percent, was based on how close to the battlefield a unit normally operated. For example, a unit that would not leave the United States in time of war could have women filling 50 percent of its spaces; a unit that would operate within the combat zone could have no women at all. As distance from the battlefield increased, so did the percentage of women a unit could have. The system applied only to conventional war situations in which zones could be established. (In a nuclear war, it was assumed, whole continents would become the battlefield.) In forwarding the report, the TRADOC commander, General William E. DePuy, acknowledged its limitations: "There is no perfect way to arrive at a maximum ceiling on the number of women who can be assigned to TOE units. . . . The determination of specific percentages to express ceiling limitations is largely a subjective exercise." [10]

The DCSPER, Lt. Gen. Harold G. Moore, sent the TRADOC report to major commanders. He asked them to evaluate the recommended percentages against actual units of the same type then operating in the field. The commanders reported that the TRADOC-recommended percentages of women for TOE units appeared acceptable. They also indicated that women could occupy the majority if not all spaces in TD units. Several commanders, however, noted that in dealing with TOE units,

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[7] Ltr, DCSPER (DAPPE-MPE-CS) to Cdr, TRADOC, Fort Monroe, VA, 13 Dec 74, sub: WAC Content in TOE Units, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, WAC Content in Units, CMH.

[8] Study, DCSPER, Women in the Army (WITA), Dec 76, ch 5 and 6, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, CMH.

[9] Study, TRADOC, Women Officer Content in TOE Units, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, CMH.

[10] Ltr, Cdr, TRADOC, to DCSPER, 9 Apr 75, sub: WAC Content in TOE Units, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, WAC Content in Units, CMH.

their comments should be considered conjecture because they had had little experience with sizable numbers of women in these units.[11]

With this qualified acceptance of the TRADOC study, General Moore tried another tack. He asked MILPERCEN to use the TRADOC formula in the computer model WEEM to determine the requirements for enlisted women by MOS and by unit.[12] The resulting figure, 91,000 enlisted women, was higher than the DCSPER anticipated or liked. He already believed that the DOD-directed expansion goal of 50,400 was too high and that a further expansion goal based on the new figure would outstrip the Army's ability to perform its mission. He had some support from General Clarke, who had kept close track of the reports, their review, and the comments returned by the commanders. She did not favor expanding WAC numbers to any extent that would require lowering WAC enlistment standards. When the DCSPER sent the estimate to Assistant Secretary Lowe's successor as ASA (M&RA), Donald G. Brotzman, he recommended that the results of the WEEM not be released to the news media. Time was needed, he wrote, to conduct a field test of the TRADOC formula. The results were not made public.[13]

The task of field testing the TRADOC formula went to the Army Research Institute (ARI) and the U.S. Army Forces Command (FORSCOM). ARI spent a year designing and preparing the test entitled Women Content in Units Force Development Test and known as MAX WAC. In October 1976, forty combat service and combat service support units (Medical, Military Police, Maintenance, Signal, and Transportation) at nineteen posts in the continental United States and Hawaii participated in the first part of the test. During a three-day field exercise, ARI and FORSCOM representatives conducted interviews and tests to evaluate how well each unit, with a female content ranging from 10 to 35 percent, performed its mission. Six month later, the three-day field exercise and tests were repeated in the same units using a different percentage of women in the units.

In January 1977, the preliminary findings indicated that a content of up to 35 percent women had no adverse effect on a unit's ability to perform its mission. Leadership, training, and morale were the factors that influenced results. The commander of the U.S. Army Operational Test and Evaluation Agency (OTEA), Maj. Gen. Julius W. Becton, Jr., however, had disputed those initial results. He thought that the methodol-

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[11] Ltr, DCSPER (DAPE-MPE-CS) to Maj Coms, 9 Jun 75, sub: WAC Content in Units, and Responses, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, WAC Content in Units, CMH.

[12] Min, WAC Expansion Steering Committee, 14 Oct 75, ODWAC Ref File, Expansion Steering Committee (1975), CMH.

[13] Memo, DCSPER (DAPE-PBM), through CofS, to SecArmy, 30 Apr 75, sub: Maximum Number of Enlisted Females the Army Could Use, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, WAC Content in Units, CMH.

ogy was faulty and that the data did not support the findings.[14] When the second test confirmed the initial findings, the chief of staff directed General Becton to analyze the methodology, design, and findings of MAX WAC. General Becton's study showed that the units could only support an upper limit content of 20 percent women, and he recommended that women's performance be tested in a two- or three-month field exercise under more realistic conditions.[15]

The DCSPER, then Lt. Gen. DeWitt C. Smith, Jr., published the final results of the MAX WAC test in October 1977 and included OTEA's analysis as an appendix. In his foreword to the report, the DCSPER gave MAX WAC faint praise and noted that a further study would be conducted under prolonged field conditions. "The MAX WAC study was extremely useful and provides some insight to the U.S. Army in evaluating the role of women. The MAX WAC test in itself *does not* provide an empirical basis to objectively establish an upper bound on the potential number of women in support roles."[16]

General Smith had also authorized ARI to test the TRADOC formula during the Army's annual REFORGER (Repositioning of Forces in Germany) exercise between July and October.[17] Two hundred and twenty-nine women accompanied the REFORGER 77 troops to Europe where ARI observer teams closely evaluated the women's performance in their MOSs and their ability to adapt to field conditions. They were assigned to Signal, Transportation, Medical, Maintenance, and Military Police units. No unit had a female content higher than 10 percent. On 9 November, ARI reported its findings to the DCSPER and the Army staff. The team found that the addition of women had no adverse impact on unit missions. The women were proficient in their MOS duties and generally performed them as well as or better than men. The women, however, did not perform as well as men in the use of weapons or tactics, nor did they exhibit a desire to learn to fight. Some women had minor problems adapting to sanitation and billeting in the field, and, throughout the exercise, some men had difficulty accepting women's participation in the exercise.[18]

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[14] Ltr, ARI to DA Staff, 21 Jan 77, sub: Transmittal of In-Process Review Package for Women Content in Units, and 1st Ind, OTEA to Cdr, ARI, 11 Feb 77, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, Women Content in Units Test (MAX WAC), CMH.

[15] Ltrs, CofS to Cdr, OTEA, 16 Jun 77, no sub, and Cdr, OTEA, to Dir, Army Staff, 8 Aug 77, sub: MAX WAC, with Incl: OTEA Review and Evaluation of MAX WAC Study. ARI, MAX WAC, In-Process Review, 11 Aug 77. All in ODWAC Ref File, Studies, WAC Content in Units Test (MAX WAC), CMH.

[16] Study, ARI, Women Content in Units, Force Development Test (MAX WAC), 3 Oct 77, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, CMH.

[17] Ltr, DCSPER (DAPE MPE-DR) to ARI, 27 Jun 77, sub: REFORGER 77 Impact of Women, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, REF WAC, CMH.

[18] Briefings, ARI to DCSPER, 4 Aug and 9 Nov 77, sub: REFORGER 77 Impact of Women, and Rpts, ARI, Women Content in the Army—REFORGER 77 (REF WAC 77), 30 Jan and 15 Mar 78, ODWAC Ref File, REF WAC, CMH.

With the REFORGER report, REF WAC 77, the DCSPER now had three studies. Each recommended a different optimum percentage of women in units—35 percent, MAX WAC study; 20 percent, OTEA review; and 10 percent, REF WAC 77. While the next step could have been a study on the three studies, the DCSPER generally accepted the TRADOC's 35 percent maximum as a guide because both the MAX WAC and the REF WAC 77 studies had confirmed its basic premises.

Women in the Army Studies

While the MAX WAC study was in progress (1975–1978), successive assistant secretaries of defense (M&RA)—William K. Brehm, John F. Ahearne, David P. Taylor, and John P. White—continued to press the Army to meet its numerical objectives and fill the manpower gap. At the end of December 1975, the Army was understrength by 16,200 enlisted men. Meanwhile, WAC numbers surpassed their FY 1975 goal by 5,800 women, and, by the end of the next fiscal year, the Corps exceeded its higher programmed strength by 3,000 enlisted women.[19] It was not hard for General Moore, then the DCSPER, to guess that the continuing success of the WAC expansion would lead the Department of Defense to direct another big increase in women. He, however, was convinced that a higher density of enlisted women would undermine Army readiness, even though no study had proven this—the WEEM, TRADOC, and MAX WAC studies supported up to 35 percent in TOE units and almost 50 percent in TD units. On 6 January 1976, to prepare for another Defense Department request to increase WAC strength, General Moore directed his staff to "revalidate the program for the expanded utilization of women in the Army."[20]

The study was published in December 1976 and was known as the Women in the Army (WITA) Study. It examined the expansion, women's policies and procedures, and research on women. The study group reviewed old opinion surveys and also sent major commanders a questionnaire on personnel policies that affected utilization of women. In their responses, the commanders reported that to date neither pregnancy nor single-parent policies had presented problems. They recommended that women be permitted as close to the battle zone as necessary to perform their noncombat duties. They also felt women needed additional physical, weapons, and tactical training. Some thought that women could fill MOSs in some of the Category I (combat) units—units that did not enter the battle zone. Only physical strength, in their opinion, appeared to be a differentiating factor between the performance of men and women. They

[19] DA Historical Summary, FY 76, p. 35.

[20] DF, DCSPER (DAPE-MPE-CS) to directorates, ODWAC, and DA staff divisions, 6 Jan 76, sub: Women in the Army Study, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, Women in the Army, Dec 76, CMH.

also agreed that men accepted women in leadership roles when they demonstrated supervisory and physical competence.[21]

As part of the WITA studies, the Army Center of Military History (CMH) reviewed historical instances of women in combat and in combat leadership roles. Its report covered conventional as well as guerrilla wars and nine foreign countries, among them Russia, France, Italy, Great Britain, Israel, and Vietnam. Each of the countries chosen for the study had experienced times when women had entered combat to help their country repel attack or resist occupation by a foreign power. Russian and Israeli accounts showed that women had been successful leaders as tank commanders and infantry platoon leaders, but such instances were rare and no stories of unsuccessful female leadership could be found. In Israel, after the 1948 War of Independence, legislation had established a separate women's corps and also banned women from combat tasks on the battlefield. The legislation was based on statistics that showed higher casualty rates in mixed as opposed to all-male units. The CMH study concluded that insufficient evidence existed to determine whether women would be successful in combat or as combat leaders.[22]

Completing its work in August 1976, the WITA study group found that the two computer models, WEEM and WOSM, provided "sound approaches" to establishing recruiting objectives, training, and MOS requirements for women. However, the issues of pregnancy and single parenting needed more data before any changes in policy could be considered, and additional research was needed to evaluate the physiological, psychological, and sociological factors affecting women in nontraditional roles and their reaction to combat stress. The group recommended that six of the MOSs involving combat support then open to women be closed to women and that thirteen others be temporarily closed until rotation and some long-range career programming problems could be resolved. The WITA report concluded that "while there is considerable work left to do, the Army is on the right track. The current [WAC expansion] plan for women is acceptable and will not lead to an organization which will be ineffective in time of war." In December 1976, General Moore distributed the 322-page report throughout the Defense Department, the Army, the other services, and interested former military personnel. He disbanded the WAC Expansion Steering Committee and, on 1 January 1977, replaced it with the WITA Review Committee.[23]

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[21] Ibid.; Study, DCSPER, Women in the Army Study, 1 Dec 76, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, CMH. Study cited hereafter as WITA Study.

[22] CMH, "Women in Combat and as Military Leaders: A Survey," 1978, CMH Library.

[23] WITA Study; DF, Asst DCSPER to ODCSPER Directorates and ODWAC, 6 Dec 76, sub: Women in the Army (WITA) Review, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, WITA Issues, CMH.

The Feud Over Increasing the Number of WACs

In November 1976, the WITA study helped General Moore convince Secretary of the Army Martin R. Hoffmann that the women's strength objective should remain at 50,400 enlisted women and 2,841 women line officers. However, incoming President James E. Carter brought in a new secretary of defense, Harold Brown, who ordered his assistant secretary for manpower and reserve affairs to determine where military personnel economies could be effected. Because past studies had shown that women cost less to sustain than men, the assistant secretary asked the services to study their utilization policies and to state whether they could double the strength of their women's components by the end of FY 1982.[24]

Such an increase meant a WAC enlisted strength of approximately 100,000; women line and medical officer strength, 10,000. But the Army, reviewing its women's utilization policies and strength, decided that it had gone as far as it could on both counts. Noting that it had accomplished a fourfold increase in the number of women since 1972, the Army wanted time to evaluate the impact of that increase before initiating another major jump. Its ongoing research projects and field tests, to be completed in the next two years, would provide the data to guide further decisions on increasing enlisted women strength beyond the programmed 50,400 by the end of FY 1979. The Army, however, felt it could increase the total women officers program from 4,800 to 9,000 by the end of FY 1982.

General Clarke did not concur in the reply that the DCSPER proposed to send to DOD. She now believed that the recruitment of enlisted women could sustain its momentum without lowering enlistment standards and that the Army's failure to increase its annual WAC accession targets and the five-year end strength would be a disaster. In fact, failure to increase accessions would result in WAC strength's being lower than 50,400 by the end of FY 1982. She wrote: "This has not been an effort to see if we could use 100,000 women; the effort has been to prove that we could not."[25] General Moore noted General Clarke's nonconcurrence but overruled it, stating that to agree to any increase in the enlisted women's strength would compromise the strong position he wished to take on the assistant secretary's proposal. Though his own statistics and studies proved otherwise, the DCSPER believed a higher content of women would dilute the Army's ability to perform its missions. He told

[24] Memo, ASD (M&RA) to Asst Secs, Military Services, 10 Feb 77, sub: Study for Secretary Brown on Utilization of Women in the Armed Forces, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, Use of Women in the Army, CMH. DOD added Logistics to Manpower and Reserve Affairs in June 1977, changing the title and abbreviation to MRA&L.

[25] Memo, DWAC to Dir, Military Personnel Management Directorate, 7 Mar 77, sub: Study for Secretary Brown on Utilization of Women in the Armed Forces, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, Use of Women in the Army, CMH.

the assistant secretary, "We should err on the side of national security until such time as we have confidence that the basic mission of the Army can be accomplished with significantly more female content in the active force." [26]

Among the services, only the Marine Corps submitted a plan to double the size of its women's component by the end of fiscal year 1982. (*See Table 29.*) However, the data presented by the Navy and Air Force convinced Secretary Brown that problems in managing rotation meant that the number of women in those services could not be doubled until Congress removed restrictions on women serving on ships and planes. The Army did not fare as well.

TABLE 29—PROPOSED INCREASES, WOMEN IN THE SERVICES

[In Thousands]

	ARMY		NAVY		AIR FORCE		MARINE CORPS	
	Actual FY 76	For FY 82	Actual FY 76	For FY 82	Actual FY 76	For FY 82	Actual FY 76	For FY 82
Officer	4.8	9.0	3.5	4.8	4.8	8.6	0.3	0.6
Enlisted	43.9	50.4	19.2	28.5	29.2	48.2	3.1	6.7
Total	48.7	59.4	21.7	33.3	34.0	56.8	3.4	7.3

Source: DOD Rpt, Background Study, Use of Women in the Military, May 77, pp. 32, 40, 42, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, CMH.

In evaluating the Army's plan, the assistant secretary of defense (M&RA) told Secretary Brown that he felt the Army could have programmed a gradual increase in enlisted women. To him, it appeared that the Army was "over-controlling" enlisted women's accessions and manpower positions through the Women's Enlisted Expansion Model (WEEM) and that relatively small adjustments in the WEEM ratios for promotion, rotation, and other factors could significantly increase projections for increased utilization of enlisted women. The WITA Study, enclosed in the Army's response, documented that women lost less time from duty than men for all causes except pregnancy and that women had higher retention rates than men. Preliminary reports from the MAX WAC study indicated that unit performance was not affected with up to 35 percent women. "It appears," the assistant secretary wrote, "the Army can use more enlisted women. They will help make the all-volunteer force succeed and will save money." Then he added, "but the growth

[26] Memo, DCSPER (DAPE-ZB), through CofS and ASA (M&RA), to ASD (M&RA), 8 Mar 77, same sub, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, Use of Women in the Army, CMH.

must be watched to ensure that the fighting capability of the Army is strengthened, not weakened by additional enlisted women." [27]

At the time of the study, women constituted 5 percent of the total armed forces. Costs of recruiting female high school graduates were lower than those for recruiting male high school graduates. Women had higher overall retention rates than men, in addition to lower loss rates in their first year of enlistment. Even though involuntary discharge on pregnancy and parenthood had been eliminated by DOD two years earlier in 1975, pregnancy remained a major cause for discharge of women from military service. But studies showed that men lost more time from duty than women, considering all causes. Major causes of lost time for men included alcohol and drug abuse, AWOL, and desertion. Disciplinary problems among women were rare.[28] "The average female recruit was about a year older than her male counterpart . . . had the same propensity to be married . . . was less likely to be black (16.1% versus 18.5%), and more likely to have graduated from high school (91.7% compared with 62.9%). She scored about ten points higher on the entrance tests. Seventy percent of the women accessions during the period [FY 1973–76] were still on active duty at the end of June 1976, as compared with 64% of the male accessions." [29]

After reviewing the information provided, the assistant secretary of defense made his recommendations—that the plans affecting growth presented by the Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps be accepted, but that the Army be directed to develop a plan to increase WAC enlisted strength gradually. He wrote, "In view of the reduction in the number of young men expected in the labor market in the 1980's and 1990's, it would seem prudent that the Army should pursue a more ambitious program to find ways to use more high quality women to meet their enlisted requirements. It would appear that more realistic constraints in their programs would permit significantly larger increases by 1982." [30] Once again the DCSPER was overruled on plans for women in the Army.

Few unclassified matters remain a secret very long in the Pentagon. The assistant secretary of defense's recommendations were not published until May 1977, but Acting Assistant Secretary of the Army (M&RA) Paul D. Phillips heard in March that the Defense Department would reject the Army plan and direct an increase in women's strength—to 100,000 by FY 1983. To be prepared to argue against this and to offer new alternatives, Secretary Phillips directed General Moore to develop the best possible estimates of the impact of such a decision. The

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[27] DOD Rpt, Background Study, Use of Women in the Military, May 77, p. 37, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, CMH.

[28] Ibid., pp. 24, 28.

[29] Ibid., p. 22.

[30] Ibid., Conclusions, p. 46.

DCSPER promptly appointed Maj. Gen. Charles K. Heiden, commander of the Military Personnel Center (MILPERCEN), to head a general officer steering committee, which included General Clarke, that would direct the work of a task force in completing such a study by 30 June 1977.[31]

The MILPERCEN task force was to evaluate the impact of expanding the numbers of women in the Army to three levels: 60,000; 80,000; and 100,000. Under an extensive data collection plan, the group evaluated information on recruiting, training, assignment, promotion, deployability, and unit readiness for the three force levels. In its report, the group stated that at the 100,000 level (85,000 enlisted, 15,000 officers), the Army could achieve the enlisted level by FY 1983 by increasing accessions from 15,000 to 26,000 annually. However, such a rapid expansion would, the task force warned, have the "most severe impact" by causing overages in year group strengths which, in turn, would create promotion, assignment, distribution, and rotation problems. Only by accessioning women at a steady rate of 15,000 annually could these consequences be avoided. The advent of more precise data, they admitted, might change this estimate of the situation. No problem was seen in increasing the strength of women officers, including those in the Medical Department, by 1983. The task force developed formulas that also showed how the numbers of women could be increased to 60,000 and to 80,000, but its final recommendation, made at the end of June, was that the Army should not commit itself to any specific force level for women.[32]

The report seemed certain to arouse a dispute. Between July and November 1977, the task force's report was circulated through the Army staff and finally arrived in Secretary of the Army Clifford L. Alexander's office late in the year. By then, the secretary had also received the results of "The Content of Women in Units" field tests. In mid-December, Secretary Alexander avoided a confrontation with DOD by announcing new strength goals for FY 1983: 80,000 enlisted women and 15,000 women officers including those in the Army Medical Department. (*See Table 30.*) Within the Army staff, he circulated for comment the following new policies:

—Men and women would be equally deployable.
—Doctors could disqualify pregnant women from traveling.
—Parents would file a child care plan that included temporary custodianship and care of minor dependents during absence from their home duty station.

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[31] Memos, Actg ASA (M&RA) to Dir, Army Staff, 17 Mar 77, sub: Utilization of Women in the Army, and Cdr, MILPERCEN, to MILPERCEN directorates, 17 Mar 77, same sub, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, MILPERCEN Task Force Utilization of Women in the Army, CMH.

[32] Rpt, Task Force, MILPERCEN, 30 Jun 77, sub: Final Task Force Report, Utilization of Women in the Army, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, CMH.

SECRETARY OF THE ARMY CLIFFORD L. ALEXANDER, JR. *(1977–1980).*

—Women who remained on active duty after pregnancy and its termination would be obliged to accept assignment anywhere in the world.
—Men and women found to be nondeployable for unresolvable family problems would be involuntarily separated.

These policies were staffed, approved and included in appropriate Army regulations.[33]

TABLE 30—WOMEN IN THE ARMY, STRENGTH OBJECTIVES

Fiscal Year	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
Officers (All branches)	8,890	10,178	12,702	13,842	15,000
Enlisted Women	52,132	58,620	67,566	77,218	80,000

Source: Rpt, Task Force, MILPERCEN, 30 Jun 77, sub: Final Task Force Report, Utilization of Women in the Army.

Although it appeared to many that the Army had enough studies on women upon which to base decisions, General Moore directed prepara-

[33] Memo, MILPERCEN to DCSPER, 7 Jul 77, sub: Utilization of Women in the Army—Final Task Force Report; DF, ODCSPER (DAPE-MPE-CS) to DWAC and ODCSPER directorates, 20 Jul 77, sub: MILPERCEN Final Task Force Report, Utilization of Women in the Army, and comment 2 by ODWAC XO, 29 Jul 77, concurring in the Task Force Report for ODWAC; Memo, DCSPER to ASA (M&RA) and Cdr, MILPERCEN, 12 Dec 77, same sub, with Incl: Decisions on the Final Task Force Report, Utilization of Women in the Army. All in ODWAC Ref File, Studies, MILPERCEN Task Force Report, CMH.

tion of still another study as soon as the task force submitted its report in June 1977. The DCSPER wanted a definitive study on how many women the Army could absorb without adversely affecting the accomplishment of its worldwide missions. In his statement of need for the study, he wrote: "There is great pressure on the Army significantly to increase the number of women in the Army. Therefore, the Army must evaluate its units to determine how many women by MOS (or specialty for officers) and grade can be assigned without reducing the units' or the Army's ability to accomplish its ground combat mission." [34]

Chief of Staff Bernard W. Rogers assigned the new study, the Evaluation of Women in the Army (EWITA) Study, to Maj. Gen. William L. Mundie, the commander of the Army's Administrative Center (ADMINCEN), Fort Benjamin Harrison, Indiana. General Mundie appointed Lt. Col. Grace L. Roberts, a member of his staff, as study director with a team of twenty-eight military and civilian men and women to complete the project by 1 March 1978. General Rogers also named a twenty-member general officer steering committee, headed by General Mundie, to guide, review, and monitor the study group's progress. General Clarke was named to the steering committee.[35]

For six months, the EWITA study group gathered information, reviewed policies, interviewed commanders overseas and in CONUS, and evaluated its data. Periodically, it briefed the general officer steering committee on its progress and obtained guidance in proceeding with the study. The group presented some interesting findings. Theoretically, women could fill 48,300 officer, 8,600 warrant officer, and 159,700 enlisted MOS positions, but this would require recruiting women with lower mental, physical, and educational qualifications. The study group adamantly opposed this. On the other hand, the study showed that the Army could achieve a strength of 75,000 enlisted women by FY 1983 without lowering standards. The study group recommended this course of action. It also recommended that the DCSPER establish gender-free strength requirements for each MOS; that a strength test be developed for use at the Armed Forces Examining and Entrance Stations to determine MOS capability; and that physical fitness training for recruits be tailored to enhance MOS capability on a job. In lieu of using percentages to limit the number of women in units, as TRADOC proposed, normal supply and demand should be allowed to regulate the male/female personnel balance in units. The group offered other innovative proposals. It suggested that

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[34] Ltr, TAG (DAPE-MPE-CS) to Cdr, ADMINCEN, Fort Benjamin Harrison, IN, 10 Aug 77, sub: Directive for Evaluation of Women in the Army (EWITA) Study, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, Evaluation of Women in the Army (EWITA), CMH. ADMINCEN, established in 1973, operated under the CG, TRADOC.

[35] Memo, ODCSPER Dir, Mil Per Mgmt, to EWITA Steering Committee Members, 4 Oct 77, sub: ADMINCEN's EWITA Progress Report No. 1, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, Evaluation of Women in the Army (EWITA), CMH.

expectant mothers be offered two choices—involuntary separation or a leave of absence without pay during pregnancy. It also recommended that the combat exclusion definition be simple—that women be excluded from positions whose primary function was the crewing or operation of direct and indirect fire weapons.[36]

The study group's report thus contained creative solutions to the problems emerging as the content of women in Army units increased. But, at the final briefing, dissension grew. The group had considered the steering committee's guidance, but its recommendations were its own. For her part, General Clarke opposed the recommendation to offer only involuntary separation or leave of absence without pay to expectant mothers. "Neither of these options," she wrote, "is considered to be realistic or desirable. Both options are discriminatory and fail to recognize that pregnancy is a temporary disability." [37]

The study's greatest foes, however, were Assistant Secretary of the Army (M&RA) Robert L. Nelson and the DCSPER, Lt. Gen. DeWitt C. Smith, Jr. Of the study's forty-nine recommendations, they nonconcurred or voted to defer action on nineteen. Army staff agencies objected to another twelve. Four of the recommendations were counter to policies announced by the secretary of the Army—his policies concerning discharge on pregnancy, combat exclusion, women's strength goals for FY 1983, and percentages of women in units. Nonetheless, the study group had been successful in presenting an objective report, and fourteen of its recommendations were approved for implementation. The report was released to the public on 22 May 1978.[38]

The Combat Exclusion Policy

Secretary Alexander's combat exclusion policy, a response to congressional interest, was developed during the same period that the EWITA study group was meeting. In May 1977, Senator William O. Proxmire proposed an amendment to the defense authorization legislation for FY 1978 that would allow women to serve on noncombat ships and give the secretary of defense, rather than Congress, the authority to decide whether and how women could be assigned to combat duty. Many senators

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[36] Rpt, ADMINCEN, Fort Benjamin Harrison, IN, Final Report—Evaluation of Women in the Army, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, Evaluation of Women in the Army (EWITA), CMH. In late 1977, the Army Infantry School and the Army Research Institute for Environmental Medicine initiated a study to identify the strength and endurance required for each MOS and specialty to establish physical fitness and test standards based on job requirements rather than sex or age. *See* TRADOC Annual Historical Review, FY 1979, CMH Ref Br.

[37] DF, ODWAC to ODCSPER (DAPE-MPE-SS), 6 Mar 78, sub: Executive Summary: Evaluation of Women in the Army (EWITA), ODWAC Ref File, Studies, EWITA Executive Summary, CMH.

[38] Memo, DCSPER through CofS to SecArmy, 24 Apr 78, sub: Evaluation of Women in the Army (EWITA) Report, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, EWITA Executive Summary, CMH.

opposed the amendment because it raised controversial issues that could consume weeks of debate and impede passage of other key legislation. The amendment was therefore reworded to require the Defense Department to define the term "combat" and to propose any legislation needed to obtain wider utilization of military women by 30 January 1978. The latter was clearly an invitation to submit a bill that would eliminate the combat restrictions on women.[39]

As the bill was being debated, Chief of Staff Rogers directed the DCSPER, General Moore, to begin work on a definition of "the combat role from which women would be excluded."[40] The DCSPER staff developed the specification and sent it to the Army staff and the major commanders for review. It excluded women from

> positions in combat arms units with the function of participating in sustained armed conflict in a tactical role with the primary mission of killing, capturing or destroying an enemy force by fire and maneuver. Specifically, these combat arms units consist of Infantry and Armor battalions/squadrons, Armored Cavalry Regiments, and the support arms and services (assigned or attached) which operate in the same battlefield zone of responsibility to accomplish the aforementioned combat mission.[41]

The DCSPER staff also proposed revising the definition of a Category I (combat) unit to break it into two categories: IA (Nonfemale) and IB (Interchangeable). Category IA units included: Infantry battalions, Armor battalions, Armored Cavalry regiments, direct support Field Artillery battalions, Air Defense Artillery CHAPARRAL/VULCAN battalions, Combat Engineer battalions, and Airborne divisions.[42]

With few exceptions, the Army staff and major commanders concurred in the proposed definitions of combat exclusion and Category IA and IB units. General Clarke questioned excluding women from Airborne divisions, which had many positions women could fill in noncombat units that operated far from the battle zone. And, upon reconsideration, General Moore deleted Airborne divisions from the list.[43]

Meanwhile, Assistant Secretary of Defense (MRA&L) John P. White sent the services two approaches to consider. Under the first, each service would define combat based on the nature of its mission (air, sea, or ground) and include an accompanying combat exclusion policy. Under

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[39] *Congressional Record*, 17 May 77, pp. 7785–90; PL 95-79, 30 Jul 77, Defense Authorization Act, FY 1978.

[40] Memo, Dir, Army Staff, to DCSPER, 2 Jun 77, sub: Women in the Army, ODWAC Ref File, Combat Exclusion Policy, CMH.

[41] DF, DCSPER to DWAC, other ODCSPER directorates, and DA staff divisions, 14 Jun 77, sub: Women in the Army, ODWAC Ref File, Combat Exclusion Policy, CMH.

[42] DA Msg 281247Z Jun 77, DA (DCSPER) to Maj Coms, ODWAC Ref File, Combat Exclusion Policy, CMH.

[43] DF, DWAC to Dir, Military Personnel Policy Directorate (DAPE-MPE-CS), 17 Jun 77, sub: Women in the Army, ODWAC Ref File, Combat Exclusion Policy, CMH. At this time, the 101st Airborne Div, Fort Campbell, KY, had 337 enlisted women and 16 women officers assigned.

the second, the Defense Department would provide Congress with a general definition of combat and one of the following combat exclusion policies:

—that no one be barred from combat based on sex (the services would use physical strength and other non-sex factors to determine eligibility for combat duty);
—that the secretary of defense be authorized to determine which positions would be open to women subject to review by Congress (the services would support the needed legislation);
—that the services submit a list of combat positions that Congress would close to women under a new law.[44]

The Army elected to use the first option and forwarded Secretary Alexander's combat exclusion policy and this definition of combat:

Any person serving in a combat zone designated by the Secretary of Defense is considered to be in combat. Female members of the Armed Forces of the United States may be assigned to duties in combat. They may not be assigned to job classifications where they would face the rigors of close-up combat as a regular duty and not as the incidental or occasional requirement of other duties.

The Army further proposed that the secretary of defense designate job classifications from which women could be uniformly excluded by all services.[45]

After receiving the replies from the services, Deputy Secretary of Defense Charles Duncan, on behalf of Secretary Brown, submitted the required definition to Congress. The term "combat" referred to "engaging an enemy or being engaged by an enemy in armed conflict." However, because the term involved geographic perimeters, hostile fire designations, and other complex factors, the deputy secretary recommended that the definition not be used as a basis for greater utilization of women. Army commanders, he wrote, "employ women to accomplish unit missions throughout the battlefield. The Army accepts the fact that women may be exposed to close combat as an inevitable consequence of their assignment, but does not now assign women to units where, as a part of their primary duties, they would regularly participate in close combat." The Air Force, he noted, assigned women in all its military occupations except aircrew member positions that were closed to them by law. "The Navy, however, is severely limited by current law. . . . The Navy cannot increase female [utilization or] strength . . . unless 10 U.S.C. 6015 is repealed or modified." In conclusion, the deputy secretary urged Congress to give the secretary of defense the authority to decide how military

[44] Memo, ASD (MRA&L) to ASA (M&RA) and the other service secretaries, 21 Nov 77, sub: Definition of Combat as Related to Women, ODWAC Ref File, Combat Exclusion Policy, CMH.
[45] Memo, ASA (M&RA) to ASD (MRA&L), 15 Dec 77, sub: A Definition of Combat for Female Job Classifications, ODWAC Ref File, Combat Exclusion Policy, CMH.

women would be utilized and to repeal the current laws that prohibited women of the Air Force and Navy from serving on combat ships and planes.[46]

Congress, however, did not approve Secretary Duncan's proposals. Instead, it passed H.R. 7431 which modified section 6015 of Title 10 to allow Navy women to serve, on permanent duty, on hospital ships and transports and to serve up to six months' temporary duty on other Navy ships not expected to be engaged in combat. The law continued to preclude women from assignment to ships or aircraft that participated in combat missions. Congress retained control over utilization of women in combat.[47]

On 21 December 1977, a few days after he had sent his reply on the women-in-combat issue to the Department of Defense, Secretary of the Army Alexander officially announced the Army's exclusion policy. It applied to all women in the Army—Regular Army, Army Reserve, or Army National Guard. An all-Army message stated:

> *Combat Exclusion Policy.* Women are authorized to serve in any officer or enlisted specialty except those listed below, at any organizational level, and in any unit of the Army, except in Infantry, Armor, Cannon Field Artillery, Combat Engineer, and Low Altitude Air Defense Artillery units of battalion/squadron or smaller size.[48]

The excepted list included those MOSs and specialties that had always been closed to women, such as infantryman, combat engineer, tank crewman, field artillery commander, combat aviation officer, etc. However, the changes now permitted enlisted women to serve as crew members at long-range missile and rocket sites (PERSHING, HAWK, HERCULES), as Smoke and Flame Specialists (MOS 54C), Field Artillery Surveyor (MOS 82C), and in nuclear security duties not involving recovery. Women officers could be assigned to specialties that involved long-range missiles and rockets and any aviation position except attack helicopter pilot. Both enlisted women and women officers could be assigned to some positions in the 82d Airborne Division—then an all-male division. Altogether the new policy opened fourteen new MOSs to enlisted women, eight specialties to women officers, and sixteen to women warrant offi-

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[46] Ltr, Dep SecDef to Speaker, House of Representatives, and President pro-tem, Senate, 14 Feb 78, no sub, ODWAC Ref File, Combat Exclusion Policy, CMH.

[47] HR 7431, introduced in the 95th Cong, 2d sess, to permit women to serve on noncombat ships, became PL 95-485 in Oct 78. In Nov 1979, a House Armed Services subcommittee held hearings on a DOD-sponsored bill to allow women on combat ships and aircraft. The bill died in committee.

[48] DA Msg, 212128Z Dec 77, to all Army activities, sub: Policy on Exclusion of Women from Combat, ODWAC Ref File, Combat Exclusion Policy, CMH. See also Army Personnel Ltr, No. 2 78, Feb 78, "Policy on Exclusion of Women from Combat," same file.

cers. For the first time, women officers could be detailed in the Field Artillery and Air Defense Artillery branches of the Army.[49]

Women still could not serve in battalion or lower units of Infantry, Armor, Cannon Field Artillery, Combat Engineers, or Low Altitude Air Defense Artillery, nor could they serve on Special Forces or Ranger teams. This prevented women from obtaining experience at the lowest working levels of the Army where men gained basic knowledge of an MOS or specialty. The rule kept women from acquiring some prerequisites for higher-level training and MOS assignments, and it effectively kept them from being exposed to direct contact with an enemy.

In his policy guidance to the field, the DCSPER, General Smith, directed commanders to amend their manning documents so that women could promptly be assigned into new units and MOSs. He provided initial recruitment and training quotas for the new MOSs as well as procedures for women officers who wanted branch transfers to the Field Artillery or Air Defense Artillery. He asked the commander of the 82d Airborne Division to forward a plan for infusing women into his division beginning in February 1978.[50]

While the new policy allowed women to be assigned to the 82d Airborne Division at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, a prerequisite for assignment to the division was airborne (parachute) training. Up to this time only women in MOS 43E, Parachute Rigger, had received that training, and another policy, issued in 1974, had barred MOS 43E as an interchangeable MOS.[51] These rules had effectively kept women out of the 82d Airborne. After the new combat exclusion policy was issued, General Smith advised the division that only those MOS positions that actually required jump training could be identified as airborne positions. Non-airborne positions could and would be identified as interchangeable positions in combat support and combat service support units as in any other division.[52] The decision was a blow to many associated with the 82d. A few retired general officer alumni of the division publicly voiced their objections to the new policy. One said he believed that casualties would increase in the division because women could not withstand the fatigue of a combat environment. Another declared, "When 12 percent of the Washington Redskins are female, I'll reconsider my decision." Despite

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[49] Ibid. The number of MOSs closed to enlisted women dropped from 29 to 16; specialties closed to women officers, from 16 to 8; and specialties closed to women warrant officers, from 18 to 2. (Enlisted MOSs, Changes 8 and 9, 13 Jun 77 and 2 Jan 78, AR 611-201; officers, Changes 4 and 5, 12 Sep 77 and 15 Jun 78, AR 611-101; warrant officers, Changes 28 and 1, 26 May 76 and 15 Oct 78, AR 611-112.)

[50] DA Msg (DAPE-MPE) 262342Z Jan 78, sub: Policy on Exclusion of Women from Combat, ODWAC Ref File, Combat Exclusion Policy, CMH.

[51] DF (Comment 2), DCSPER (DAPE-MPE-CS) to ACSFOR (DAFD-DAO-AC), 18 Jan 74, sub: Airborne Interchangeable Documented Positions, ODWAC Ref File, Combat, Women in, CMH.

[52] DA Msg (SAPA-CI) 031443Z Jan 78 to all Army activities, sub: More MOS Open to Women, ODWAC Ref File, Assignment, CMH.

such objections, women were assigned to the 82d Airborne Division beginning in June 1978.[53]

Dissension on the policy was not limited to the 82d Airborne Division. It was widespread. To quiet it, Chief of Staff Rogers sent a message to all commanders to emphasize "the Army's commitment to the integration of women." General Rogers made it clear that women would share the risks and hardships of the Army and that they would deploy and remain with their units to serve in the skills in which they had been trained. In the event of war, women would not be evacuated to CONUS. He closed with the words: "The burden which rests on leaders at every level is to provide knowledgeable, understanding, affirmative, and even-handed leadership to all our soldiers." [54] Although the explanation eliminated public objection to the policy, few men in combat units reconciled themselves to the more liberal policies affecting assignment of women.

A Senior Military Spokeswoman

Knowing she was the last director of the Women's Army Corps, General Clarke felt a deep sense of responsibility to the women she represented, past and present. She wanted to ensure that someone would follow her on the Army staff to speak for women's interests. Later she said, "I thought it imperative that the Army continue to have a senior military spokeswoman somewhere in the hierarchy to ensure that policies take into consideration women's status, special needs (particularly uniforms), and their opportunities to have viable careers." [55] Therefore, soon after she took office in 1975, General Clarke had taken the initiative to establish a position for a woman general officer on the Army staff to serve as adviser and spokeswoman when the director's position vanished. The DCSPER, then Lt. Gen. Harold G. Moore, agreed to let her prepare a plan for this purpose.[56]

General Clarke submitted several proposals for accomplishing her goal. Her first plan proposed establishing an additional position, that of deputy, with the rank of brigadier general, in the Directorate of Military Personnel Management, ODCSPER, to be filled by a woman officer. The primary, but not sole, duty of this deputy would be to head a Women's Advisory Branch located within the directorate that, like ODWAC, would assist the Army staff in preparing, advising, or speaking on women's issues, except those involving the special branches: the Medical

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[53] Jay Finegan, "Singlaub Blasts Women in 82d," *Army Times*, 19 Jun 78, p. 5; BrigGen Andrew J. Gatsis (Ret), "Women Not Fit for Combat," *Conservative Digest*, Feb 78.

[54] DA Msg (DCSPER-MPE) 032222Z Mar 78, ROGERS SENDS to all Army commands and activities, sub: Women in the Army, ODWAC Ref File, Assignment, CMH.

[55] Interv, MajGen Clarke with the author, 3 Nov 82.

[56] Memo, DWAC to DCSPER, 29 Sep 75, sub: Planning for Disestablishment of the Women's Army Corps Structure, ODWAC Ref File, Disestablishment of the ODWAC, CMH.

Department, Chaplain's Branch, and Judge Advocate General's Corps. This woman would also assist in developing personnel policies for both men and women. On women's matters, she would have direct access to the secretary of the Army and to the chief of staff. General Clarke's plan thus retained a women's adviser, involved the adviser in both men's and women's personnel management, and placed her in an ODCSPER directorate. If she had recommended the women's adviser be in a renamed directorate, little change from ODWAC would have been apparent. If she had recommended the position be located in the only other appropriate ODCSPER directorate, Human Resources, the adviser's duties could have become entangled with those of the director of Equal Opportunity Programs. To allow time to have the new arrangement in effect before DOPMA passed, she recommended the change take place on 1 October 1977—approximately twenty months away.[57]

Before circulating her plan, General Clarke took it to Maj. Gen. John F. Forrest, the director of the Military Personnel Management Directorate. To her dismay, General Forrest did not want another deputy, and he said that if he did he "would have difficulty defending two brigadier general officers to subsequent manpower surveys." He recommended that the position of the senior military woman adviser be placed in the Directorate of Human Resources or be located in the Army's Military Personnel Center, Alexandria, Virginia.[58] Without General Forrest's support, General Clarke knew that neither the other directorates nor the DCSPER would approve the plan. She withdrew the proposal.

In a few months General Clarke came up with another plan. This time she proposed a senior woman officer and a small staff to be called the Office of the Adviser for Women in the Army to replace the WAC director and her staff. With only a change in title, the ODWAC would remain intact with its duties, responsibilities, and staff. General Clarke also considered merging ODWAC with the Office of Equal Opportunity or making the new office a separate division within the Human Resources Directorate, but she rejected these ideas because they diminished the role of the women's adviser.[59] This time, she distributed copies of the plan to the ODCSPER directorates and the Office of the Assistant Secretary of the Army (M&RA) for comment. It was not well received. The director of human resources called it an attempt "to perpetuate the myth that only a senior woman officer can advise on women's affairs" and said it negated

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[57] Draft Memo, DWAC to ODCSPER through Dir, Military Personnel Management, 24 Feb 76, sub: Disestablishment of the Office of the Director of WAC, ODWAC Ref File, Disestablishment of the ODWAC, CMH.

[58] Routing slip, MajGen Forrest to BrigGen Clarke, 2 Mar 76, no sub, ODWAC Ref File, Disestablishment of the ODWAC, CMH.

[59] Draft Memo, DWAC to DCSPER directorates, OASA (M&RA), and DCSPER, 17 May 76, sub: Disestablishment of the Office of the Director WAC, ODWAC Ref File, Disestablishment of the ODWAC, CMH.

the Army's efforts to fully integrate women in the Army.[60] The director of military personnel management said it simply continued ODWAC under another name, and he questioned the necessity and desirability of a full-time adviser for women in the post-DOPMA environment. Women's views would be considered equally with men's under the DCSPER's management system. Another director felt the new office would emphasize the adviser's preoccupation with women's affairs when she should be involved in actions regarding men and women. The Office of the Assistant Secretary of the Army (M&RA) also dissented, but it did recommend a dual-hat position for a woman general officer as director or deputy director of a DCSPER directorate and as adviser to the Army staff on women's matters. By the end of 1976, the plan to replace ODWAC by renaming it had gathered so many nonconcurrences that General Clarke withdrew it.[61]

The "lame duck" status of ODWAC made it progressively harder for General Clarke to influence action, and compounding that hindrance was the resentment many male staff officers felt toward women entering the U.S. Military Academy and other all-male bastions like the 82d Airborne. As study followed study on women in the Army, many officers felt too much of their time had to be devoted to women's actions, too little to men's. Nonetheless, General Clarke and her staff did influence a number of policy changes. One, in November 1975, declared that women who were pregnant were ineligible for overseas assignments as individuals or as members of a deploying unit. Another required commanders to provide formal counseling to pregnant women and to personnel with dependents to ensure they knew their options and responsibilities.

By April 1977, the director's office was able to put together a purposeful symposium, "Women in the Army," during which representatives from all major commands, the other services, and the Office of the Secretary of Defense discussed women's issues and their resolution. As one result of such pressure, and the director's specific request, TRADOC initiated a complete review of requirements for women's field clothing and equipment, including sizing and modification of the current patterns. For the DCSPER, General Clarke and her staff helped develop a child-care program for implementation in the United States and overseas.

On an even more fundamental issue, in 1976, the director had assisted TRADOC in developing a rape prevention lesson plan, which was later distributed to all major commands for presentation to female military

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[60] Memo, Dir, Human Resources, to DWAC, 7 Jun 76, sub: Nonconcurrence on Disestablishment of the Office of the Director WAC, ODWAC Ref File, Disestablishment of the ODWAC, CMH.

[61] Memos, Dir, Military Personnel Management, to ODWAC, 28 Jun 76, sub: Nonconcurrence on Disestablishment of the Office of the Director WAC; Dir, Programs and Budget, to ODWAC, 17 Sep 76, sub: Disestablishment of ODWAC; and OASA (M&RA), Chief, Military Personnel Policy Div, to DWAC, 15 Oct 76, same sub. All in ODWAC Ref File, Disestablishment of the ODWAC, CMH.

personnel along with a commercially produced training film, *Rape, A Preventable Injury.* TRADOC also developed Army policies and procedures for the treatment of rape victims with consideration for the legal, medical, and law enforcement aspects of these cases.

The director's office also helped to establish a program for confinement of female felons with sentences of imprisonment for less than six months. Confinement locations for women included the U.S. Army Retraining Brigade, Fort Riley, Kansas. The program was later expanded to include women offenders sentenced to prison for six months or more. These women could be confined at the U.S. Disciplinary Barracks, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, beginning in February 1978.[62]

Despite interruptions for staff visits around the world, WAC recruiting, work on women's studies, and other policy matters, General Clarke continued her attempts to establish a general officer woman adviser to succeed her. After further deliberation with her staff about the placement of the adviser, General Clarke went back to her original proposal. Her original proposal had been rejected by the director of the Military Personnel Management Directorate, but she decided that, with a few revisions, it was the best plan. On 1 February 1977, she circulated the plan for comment. The plan recommended that her functions be transferred to the Directorate of Military Personnel Management and combined with those of the existing deputy director of that office. The deputy director, designated for "fill by a woman only," would be given the added title Senior Adviser on Army Women (except those in special branches), and a WAC Advisory Office, made up of the ODWAC staff, would assist the deputy in fulfilling these duties. In future years, when women's matters no longer occupied such a large share of the deputy director's time, the position could be declared interchangeable. General Clarke did not recommend that this deputy have direct access to the secretary of the Army and the chief of staff on women's matters.[63]

The new proposal fared no better than the others. The new chief of military personnel management, Maj. Gen. Paul S. Williams, Jr., did not want his deputy director performing the functions of the director of the WAC nor did he want a Women's Advisory Office in his directorate. Instead, he recommended that the director's personal duties—giving speeches and representing the Army in women's matters—be assigned as an additional duty to the senior woman officer on the Army staff. The director's other functions could be distributed among appropriate branches within his directorate. General Clarke tried to dissuade him from the latter by advising him that the extensive work load of her office

[62] *ODWAC Notes,* Jan 78, ODWAC Ref File, Director WAC Notes/The View from Here, CMH.

[63] Draft Memo, DWAC through ODCSPER directorates to DCSPER, CofS, and SecArmy, 1 Feb 77, sub: Disestablishment of ODWAC, ODWAC Ref File, Disestablishment of the ODWAC, CMH.

could be managed more easily from a central point than if it were dispensed throughout a directorate. He was not convinced.[64]

Acting Assistant Secretary of the Army (M&RA) Phillips recommended that a woman general officer fill the next vacancy in an appropriate general officer position in ODCSPER and that she be named Senior Adviser on Women in the Army (less those in the Medical Department). As the senior adviser's tour ended, the next woman general to be assigned to a directorate within ODCSPER would be named as the adviser. The Women's Advisory Office would follow her to whatever directorate she was assigned. Though the concept was good, it required moving the Women's Advisory Office, at least organizationally, to wherever the senior adviser was. General Clarke thought it was too risky to proceed with a plan dependent upon general officer vacancies that could disappear overnight.[65]

General Clarke deliberated at length on the alternatives proposed but she would not revise her plan. She strongly believed the senior Army woman and her staff needed to be located in the Directorate for Military Personnel Management where personnel plans and policies were written. She regrouped and prepared a new campaign for her plan. Before she began, however, the chief of staff's management director, Maj. Gen. Richard G. Trefry, plucked the matter from her hands.

Disestablishment of the Office of the Director, WAC

General Trefry had been directed to review the general officer spaces on the Army staff with a view to reducing them. In early April 1977, he told the chief of staff that it was "difficult to rationalize or justify the continuance of the [DWAC] office as it is now constituted." He referred to the fact that all WAC officers had been transferred to other branches, that WAC detachments had been integrated with male units, that the WAC Center and School had been deactivated, and that most personnel and administrative procedures were alike for men and women. He believed that women general officers should not be confined to the ODWAC, that the time had come for the Army to "make more normal use of this general officer space," and that there were "several billets wherein a female general could be usefully employed."[66] Chief of Staff Frederick C. Weyand agreed. On 23 April 1977, he directed the DCSPER to prepare legislation to eliminate the DWAC position. In his memo he noted that he believed that "the Army should now take the

[64] Memo, DMPM to DWAC, 17 Feb 77, sub: Comments on the Proposed Reorganization of ODWAC, ODWAC Ref File, Disestablishment of the ODWAC, CMH.

[65] Memo Routing Slip, OASA (M&RA), Military Personnel Policy Div, 11 Feb 77, sub: Disestablishment of ODWAC, ODWAC Ref File, Disestablishment of the ODWAC, CMH.

[66] Memo, Office CofS, Dir of Management, to Dir, Army Staff, no date, sub: Status of the DWAC and DWAC Office, ODWAC Ref File, Disestablishment of the ODWAC, CMH.

positive actions necessary to officially lay the WAC to rest and formalize its members' integration in the Army. Gen. Kerwin is amenable." [67] A former DCSPER and former commanding general of both TRADOC and FORSCOM, General Kerwin had been vice chief of staff since October 1974.

The DCSPER, through the director of military personnel management (DMPM), asked the legislative liaison chief to prepare legislation to disestablish the Women's Army Corps and the offices of the director and the deputy director and to delete portions of the law that precluded women from being assigned to other branches of the Army and any other laws that impaired equal treatment of Army women. Surprisingly, the DCSPER now ignored earlier advice received from the Defense Department not to initiate any new legislation that was already included in DOPMA. To indicate the high priority on the project, the DMPM told the chief of legislative liaison, "During a staff principals meeting on 15 May 77, the Chief of Staff directed earliest feasible disestablishment of the WAC." [68]

When the proposed legislation was sent to the Army's judge advocate general, Maj. Gen. Wilton B. Persons, for comment, he suggested a means to rapidly accomplish the goals of the legislation. He cited a law that permitted the secretary of defense to transfer or vacate a statutory position or function simply by notifying Congress of his intentions. If Congress did not object within 30 days while in session, the secretary's reorganization order was considered approved.[69] Secretary of the Army Alexander passed the idea on to Secretary of Defense Brown. Secretary Alexander also noted that the director of the WAC and her staff would be transferred to other duties and that their functions and personnel spaces would be distributed within ODCSPER. A senior woman officer in ODCSPER would advise the Army staff on women's matters (except those in the special branches—Medical, Chaplain's, and JAG).[70]

The Army's memo reached Secretary Brown at an opportune time. He had just prepared a reorganization order, using the procedure suggested by the JAG, to eliminate six assistant secretaries within the Department of Defense. He simply added the positions of the director and deputy director of the WAC to the order, attached legislation to eliminate the

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[67] Memo, CofS to DCSPER, 26 Apr 77, ODWAC Ref File, Disestablishment of the ODWAC, CMH.

[68] DF, DCSPER (DMPM) to Chief, Legislative Liaison, ATTN: J. Naler, 23 May 77, sub: Disestablishment of the Women's Army Corps (WAC), ODWAC Ref File, Discontinuance of the WAC, CMH.

[69] DF, JAG (DAJA-AL) to DCSPER (DAPE-MPE-CS), 24 Jun 77, sub: Utilization of ODWAC Spaces, ODWAC Ref File, Discontinuance of the WAC, CMH.

[70] Memo, DCSPER through CofS to SecArmy, 26 Jul 77, sub: Utilization of Office of Director, Women's Army Corps (ODWAC) Spaces, ODWAC Ref File, Discontinuance of the WAC, CMH. This memo included a proposed memo for SecDef; Sec Alexander approved and forwarded the memo to Sec Brown on 17 Aug 77.

WAC as a separate corps, and had an emissary discuss the entire package with members of the Senate Armed Services Committee. From this he learned that an overcrowded agenda would prevent the committee from considering the package before Congress adjourned in December 1977.[71]

On 7 March 1978, Secretary Brown formally forwarded to Congress his reorganization order abolishing the eight positions. However, he withheld the legislation to eliminate the WAC. Regarding the WAC positions, he wrote: "This action which was recommended by the Secretary of the Army, reflects the integration of women in the Army's activities and is consistent with current arrangements in the Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps. It recognizes the role of women as full partners in our national defense, with full opportunity to progress with their male counterparts." He also noted that the other services had abolished their women's director positions.[72]

On 20 April, thirty consecutive legislative days after Congress had received the reorganization order and during which time it had made no objection, the order went into effect. The Army immediately issued a general order abolishing the positions of the director and deputy director of the WAC and the Office of the Director, effective 20 April 1978. Secretary Alexander made the announcement on 24 April, and the director's office planned the disestablishment ceremony.[73]

The ceremony was held on 28 April in the DOD press room at the Pentagon. Several members of Congress, three or four former directors of the WAC, members of the defense and Army staffs, and representatives of the news media attended. Secretary Alexander was the principal speaker. After a few remarks, he called on General Clarke. Her words carried the news that the change would increase opportunities for women. "This action today in no way detracts from the service of WACs who have been pioneers—in fact it honors them. I view this action today as the culmination of everything the members of the Women's Army Corps have been striving for for thirty-six years. The significance of the abolishment of the Office of the Director . . . is the Army's public commitment

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[71] Memo, ASD (MRA&L), Military Personnel Policy, to ASA (M&RA), 28 Nov 77, sub: Abolishment of the Statutory Positions of Director and Deputy Director of the Women's Army Corps, ODWAC Ref File, Discontinuance of the WAC, CMH.

[72] Ltr, SecDef to Speaker of the House of Representatives, the President of the Senate, Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, and Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, no sub, 7 Mar 78, ODWAC Ref File, Disestablishment of the ODWAC, CMH. The CNO had vacated the position of Special Assistant for Women, Office of the Chief of Naval Personnel, in Mar 73 when Capt Quigley was transferred. The Air Force had discontinued the position of Director of Women in the Air Force on 31 Jul 76, the date the last incumbent, Col Beatrice D. Trimeloni, retired. The Marine Corps had discontinued the position of Director of Women Marines on 1 Jul 77, and the incumbent, Col Margaret A. Brewer, was promoted and reassigned within HQ, USMC, as the Director of Information.

[73] DA GO 7, 25 Apr 78, CMH Library; Memo, DWAC through CofS to SecArmy, 12 Apr 78, sub: Ceremony for Disestablishment of the Office of the Director WAC (ODWAC), ODWAC Ref File, Disestablishment of the ODWAC, CMH.

. . . to the total integration of women in the United States Army as equal partners." [74]

At the conclusion of her talk, Secretary Alexander took the floor. This time he announced that General Clarke would be reassigned as the commanding general of the Military Police School/Training Center at Fort McClellan on 18 May; it was the first time a woman had been named to command a major Army post. And because she would replace a major general, it appeared that she would also become the first two-star woman general in the Army or the other services. News of the assignment and anticipation of her promotion helped remove some of the sadness, if not resentment, felt by many WACs upon losing the director's position.

Although no poll was taken, probably 50 percent of the WACs favored dissolution of the Corps and the office of the director. They believed this would free them from an inferior status and increase their value as career soldiers. Predictably, the older WACs held a more sentimental view. They wanted to retain their Corps, their insignia, their director, and their historical image as WACs. To them, the ceremony signaled the end of an era—their era.[75]

General Clarke Is Reassigned

In her End of Tour Report General Clarke praised the Army's continuing progress in obtaining and utilizing the services of women. She recounted progress in increasing the strength of women in both the active and reserve components, in assigning women to nontraditional MOSs, in opening ROTC and the U.S. Military Academy to women, in combining basic training for men and women and one-station unit training, and in developing combat exclusion guidelines. During her tenure the Army had standardized enlistment age, military obligations, overseas-tour lengths, housing criteria, and disciplinary and confinement policies. She had personally ensured the implementation of policies affecting pregnant women and women with dependents, including formal counseling and child-care programs.

General Clarke's final recommendations to the chief of staff and the secretary of the Army reiterated her concerns. Catch-up training should be given women in defensive weapons training to overcome reported deficiencies. A new physical training program held promise of increasing

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[74] Address, DWAC, "Remarks by Brig Gen Mary E. Clarke, DWAC, on the occasion of the ODWAC Disestablishment Ceremony, 28 April 1978," ODWAC Ref File, Disestablishment of the ODWAC, CMH.

[75] Ltrs to the Editor, *Army Times*, 16 Jan, 6 Feb, and 20 Mar 78. A major debate concerned whether women should be called WACs, women, or soldiers. In an editorial, "Is 'WAC' Divisive?" (7 Feb 78), *Army Times* promised to use the terms interchangeably and predicted that "WAC" like "GI" would remain in the soldier vernacular for many years.

GENERAL CLARKE *speaks at her retirement review, WAC Center, Fort McClellan, 31 October 1981.*

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE ARMY (M&RA) HARRY N. WALTERS *at retirement ceremonies for General Clarke, 31 October 1981.*

women's fitness level, but it needed to be monitored. Many pregnancy and single-parent problems remained unsolved; more time was needed to develop innovative solutions to them. Men as well as women should receive instruction in sex education, birth control, and rape prevention to help lessen these particular problems. She also asked the secretary to be vigilant against a decline in women's command positions and a further limiting of the number of colonel and brigadier general promotions given women.[76]

Upon General Clarke's departure, the DCSPER dissolved the director's office and transferred her staff. The personnel spaces went to the branches within the Directorate of Military Personnel Management that would perform the residual functions of the ODWAC staff. The chief of staff's management office reduced the grade of the director's space to colonel before transferring it to DMPM. The Army Uniform Branch in the Directorate of Human Resources Development received the enlisted (E–9) space and its incumbent, Sgt. Maj. Beverly E. Scott.[77]

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[76] Memo, DWAC, through CofS, to SecArmy, 27 Apr 78, sub: End of Tour Report, ODWAC Ref File, Discontinuance of the WAC, CMH.

[77] Memo, DCSPER (DAPE-MPE-SS) to Dir, Army Staff, 17 Apr 78, sub: Transfer of Office of Director, Women's Army Corps (ODWAC) Spaces to ODCSPER, ODWAC Ref File, Discontinuance of the WAC, CMH. Dep DWAC Hinton was reassigned as the personnel officer in the Office of

The DCSPER did not appoint a senior woman officer as adviser on women's matters. The speaking engagements and representational duties formerly assigned the DWAC went to Col. Lorraine A. Rossi while she was in ODCSPER as director of the Army's equal opportunity programs (1977–1980). Several other women colonels assisted her.[78] Meanwhile both the military and the civilian communities welcomed General Clarke back to Fort McClellan, this time as commander of the U.S. Army Military Police School/Training Center and Fort McClellan. Promoted to major general on 1 November 1978, she served as post commander for 27 months. In August 1980, she was transferred back to the Pentagon to be the director of the Human Resources Development Directorate in ODCSPER. When she retired on 31 October 1981, after serving over thirty-six years on active duty, she selected Fort McClellan, the former home of the Women's Army Corps, as the site for her retirement ceremonies. As friends, family, former WAC comrades, and over 3,000 soldiers and civilians at Fort McClellan participated in her retirement parade, Assistant Secretary of the Army (M&RA) Harry N. Walters presented General Clarke with the Distinguished Service Medal. "I am," she told the gathering, "a fortunate soldier. I have the same love for the Army today as I had the first day I put on my uniform as a private at Fort Des Moines in 1945.... I leave the Army today feeling that I have been all that I could be." The Army's recruiting theme, "Be All That You Can Be in the Army," never had a more appropriate representative.[79]

Discontinuance of the Corps

Between 1973 and 1978, separate WAC training and command elements had vanished so gradually from most Army posts that their absence was slightly noted. If these events, including the loss of the Office of the Director, WAC, had occurred within one year, they might have aroused an outcry by WAC members, but the lapsed time diffused the impact. Through correspondence and speeches, General Clarke, like her predecessor, kept the members of the Corps and the former directors advised of the Army's intentions and progress of those plans. In December 1975, she told a group of active and retired WAC and other branch officers, "Plans are being developed to phase out the Office of the Director, WAC, and to repeal the legislation which established the Women's Army Corps as a separate entity. This should occur within two years."[80] Few women complained to General Clarke, wrote letters to their congressmen,

the Dir, ANG; LtCol Heseman, the ODWAC executive officer went to the Army Review Council; and Mary Larrick, the director's secretary, was transferred to the Office of the ACofS, Intelligence.

[78] Colonels Ann B. Smith, Mary Ruth Williams, Evelyn P. Foote, Myrna M. Williamson, Mildred E. P. Hedberg, and Edith M. Hinton assisted in those duties.

[79] ODWAC Ref File, Director WAC—Clarke, Mary E., CMH.

[80] Address, BrigGen Clarke, 7 Dec 75, Fort McNair, Washington, DC.

or to the service journals or newspapers. General Clarke had tried to obtain an official position for a women's adviser at the Pentagon but had been unable to do so. Later, in 1980, she initiated action to obtain a service ribbon for members of the WAC to wear who had served in the Corps. The chief of staff disapproved it because he felt that other existing service awards covered the same period and the proposed ribbon would duplicate them.[81]

In July 1978, Secretary of Defense Brown sent Congress the draft legislation, which he had held back earlier, to discontinue the Women's Army Corps and delete related existing laws. The proposed DOPMA contained similar provisions, but that legislation had become controversial and its passage in the near future was doubtful. (It became law in 1981.) In an effort to hasten discontinuance of the Corps, Secretary of the Army Alexander wrote Senator William O. Proxmire on 23 September, urging action on the proposal. "This letter is to reconfirm my personal support for the proposed legislation to amend Title 10, United States Code, to abolish the Women's Army Corps (WAC). The WAC legislation is of greatest importance to the Army in achieving full utilization of men and women to the maximum extent of their talents."[82]

With this strong encouragement, Senator Proxmire proceeded. He proposed an amendment to the FY 1979 Defense Procurement Authorization Bill which would delete the appropriate sections of Title 10 and accomplish the actions requested by Secretary Brown. Senator Proxmire reassured the Senate Appropriations Committee that the amendment would not permit women to be assigned to the combat arms or go into combat, but it would eliminate a long-existing unfairness in the law. "Imagine," he asked, "a separate personnel system for Blacks or Catholics or Chicanos. The country would not stand for such a thing. . . . The Women's Army Corps is the last vestige of a segregated Military Establishment. . . . There is no separate corps for female Naval personnel or Air Force personnel. All that the Army is asking is that it be allowed to streamline its system as the other services have done." The senator concluded his argument for the bill with praise for the members of the Corps. "WACs have served this country with great courage and effectiveness. Women will continue to serve our country in the military—but in the mainstream of the Services, without restrictions on their service, without special privileges, or special obstacles to their advancement."[83]

Senators John C. Stennis (Mississippi) and John G. Tower (Texas), members of the Armed Services Committee, objected to the WAC issue's

[81] Memo, Dir, Human Resources Directorate, to DCSPER, 18 Jul 81, sub: Award of the Women's Army Corps Medal, ODWAC Ref File, Awards and Decorations, CMH.

[82] Ltr, SecArmy Alexander to William O. Proxmire, Senate Appropriations Committee, 23 Sep 78, no sub, ODWAC Ref File, Discontinuance of the WAC, CMH.

[83] *Congressional Record*, 95th Cong, 2d sess, 26 Sep 78, pp. 31516–17.

WAC MUSEUM, FORT MCCLELLAN *(Courtesy of H. K. Barnett).*

being lifted out of other pending legislation and being attached to the appropriations bill. A motion to table the amendment, however, was defeated. The committee, by voice vote, passed the amendment and it was added to the bill.[84] The Senate approved the FY 1979 Defense Procurement Authorization Bill on 26 September, and the House approved it on 4 October 1978.[85]

On 20 October 1978, President Carter signed the bill into law. PL 95-584 abolished the Women's Army Corps as a separate corps, the positions of the director and deputy director, the separate WAC Regular Army promotion list, officer assignments only in WAC branch, and other policies and programs based on a separate women's corps. The Department of the Army then issued General Order 20 which discontinued the Women's Army Corps, effective 20 October 1978.[86]

The elimination of the Women's Army Corps ended the charge against the Army that it discriminated against women by keeping them in a separate corps. The women no longer had a separate and distinctive identity with their own corps, their own directors, their own insignia—the Pallas Athene. Thirty years after integrating women into the Regular Army, the women were *fully* assimilated into the permanent establishment.

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[84] Ibid., p. 29678.
[85] Ibid., pp. 31530, 33544.
[86] DA GO 20, 21 Nov 78, CMH Library.

CHAPTER XIV

Conclusions

AR-600-3, The Women's Army Corps—General Provisions, was revised for the last time in June 1976. As a result of the changes in the mission, composition, and administration of the WAC, AR-600-3 was cut down to two pages. AR-600-3 was rescinded on 1 May 1979 by DA Pamphlet 310-1, 1 May 1979, p. 61.

Between 1942 and 1972, the Corps—WAAC and WAC—made steady progress. During World War II, 140,000 women joined the Corps. Once in service, they adjusted easily to Army life and proved themselves well-disciplined, effective workers. After V-J Day, most—never thinking the WAC would become permanent—returned to civilian life. By 1948, Corps strength had fallen to 4,699 enlisted women, including 1,453 women serving with Air Force. That year a worsening world situation and strong urging from General Eisenhower and Colonel Hallaren persuaded a reluctant Congress to admit women into the Regular Army and Organized Reserve. But Congress ensured that the women would not engage in combat duties, be promoted above lieutenant colonel, or command men. During the Korean War, WAC strength climbed to 12,000 officers and enlisted women, but, thereafter, declined to 9,000. The Vietnam War during the 1960s again increased the Corps to 12,000. Despite these numbers, the Army, obtaining the bulk of its manpower through the draft, had relatively few women. WACs made up less than 2 percent of overall Regular Army strength. For its part, the WAC leadership, fearing the possibility of lower enlistment standards, did not press for many more. The great change came after Vietnam. WAC strength did not follow the expected falling-off pattern of previous wars; instead, loss of the draft inspired the Army to initiate an expansion campaign that increased the WAC to 53,000 by the end of 1978 and gave no hint of slowing. The reasons for the expansion were clear: men were slow to volunteer; women did not hesitate; women cost less than men to train and maintain.[1]

Through the years the WAC successfully achieved its primary mission, which was to provide the Army with a small group of well-trained women who could serve during mobilization as a cadre to train thousands more women volunteers. The mobilization mission often obscured the day-to-day missions of filling personnel requisitions and providing satis-

[1] A World War II study showed that a WAC cost the Army $77 less per year than a man; in a March 1973 study a woman cost $348 less than a man; by 1978, a woman cost $621 less than a man, including medical and retirement costs. ODWAC Ref File, Costs, CMH.

factory careers for the women. Because the Army did everything by branch, the WAC became a special branch—by regulation, not law—so that it could fit into the Army system and perform its missions. Unlike the other branches, however, the Corps did not manage a particular Army function. Instead, it provided personnel to the other branches. But no matter what the branch or MOS, the WAC Career Management Branch held assignment jurisdiction over every WAC officer, except the director, and commanders of WAC detachments held command jurisdiction over the enlisted women. Through the WAC Career Management Branch and through her influence on Army policy regarding WAC matters, the director controlled the missions and women of the Corps until 1974. The WAC Career Management Branch was then discontinued and the officers reassigned to other branches. By 1975, most WAC detachments had been absorbed by male units. The primary WAC mission was now the expansion campaign, guided by a general officer steering committee. Women now filled interchangeable spaces, and other branches and divisions in the Military Personnel Center controlled the careers of the enlisted women and officers.

From the beginning, the Corps' insistence upon high entry and retention standards kept it one of the elite groups of the Army. To perform its missions and maintain a good reputation, the Corps accepted only women who were well educated as well as being physically and mentally fit and who had high moral standards. These entry and retention qualifications, the career obstacles and assignment restrictions, and the continuing battle for acceptance by the men had a bonding effect on the women. Mandatory discharge of pregnant women and mothers decreased costs for the Army and strengthened the career image of the Corps. Women with behavioral problems were discharged, and the Corps seldom received unfavorable publicity. Whether they remained in the Corps for one tour or for a career, the women knew the constraints and difficulties of working in a man's world, but they found satisfaction in their work, travel, and camaraderie. They became dedicated to the Corps and to the Army.

After the expansion began, the standards of enlistment and retention for women were reduced one by one until, by 1979, they matched those of male volunteers in every respect. The quality of the women in the Army did not, however, fall to any perceptible degree—unemployment rose in the late 1970s and early 1980s and the Army could set relatively high enlistment qualifications for both men and women.[2]

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[2] Unemployment rates: 1974, 5.6%; 1975, 8.5%; 1976, 7.7%; 1977, 7%; 1979, 5.8%; 1980, 7.1%; 1981, 7.6%; 1982, 9.7%. US Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1982), p. 375.

Progress in training and wider utilization of women was slow between 1942 and 1972, but changes did occur. By the end of World War II, enlisted women who had initially been assigned only as clerks, cooks, drivers, and telephone operators could serve in almost every MOS, provided that it did not involve combat. This situation changed somewhat after the Corps was accepted into the Regular Army in 1948. Thereafter, few women were trained and assigned in maintenance and repair MOSs associated with heavy labor, dirty work, or safety-toe shoes. The Corps wanted to project a ladylike, junior executive image for women working in administration, medical care, and communications. In the 1960s the need to provide more diversified jobs led to the opening of repair, maintenance, and technical MOSs, but women still worked in clean environments using machines such as data processors, missile master computers, flight operations devices, office machines, and communications equipment. After 1972, when all but 48 MOSs opened to women, they were again, as at the end of World War II, trained and assigned in all MOSs, clean or dirty, except the combat MOSs.

The officers initially worked only with WAC troops or recruiting, but by the end of World War II they, like enlisted women, performed duty in all but the combat MOSs. After 1948, their assignments were limited primarily to administrative duties, but after the Korean War, they received more military training and could specialize in a number of career fields. After the WAC Career Management Branch was discontinued in 1974 and after the combat exclusion policy was established in 1977, WAC officers could be assigned to any branch except Infantry and Cannon Field Artillery and in any MOS for which they could qualify. For WAC officers, too, utilization had come full circle.

Progress was apparent in WAC uniforms and housing and in the removal of career obstacles. Women received a stylish taupe-colored uniform ensemble in 1951 to replace the olive drab World War II uniforms. Unfortunately, the new uniform was less comfortable than the old one. Hence, after men were authorized a green uniform in the late 1950s, women pushed for and in 1961 received a similar, modern, Army-green uniform of their own. In 1954, the Corps obtained a permanent training center and "home" at Fort McClellan, and women in the field detachments gradually moved into rehabilitated or newly constructed buildings.

Between 1948 and 1972, the WAC directors succeeded in persuading Congress to give military women credit for WAAC and continued service, to allow them promotions above the grade of lieutenant colonel, and to authorize them the same monetary allowances for dependents that men received. After 1972, Congress passed laws that authorized women to enlist at age seventeen with their parents' consent; to serve an obligatory term of six years on active duty or in a reserve component as men did; and, beginning in 1976, to enter the U.S. Military Academy. A change in Army regulations in 1973 permitted women to command men except in

combat units. These and other policy changes over the years eliminated most of the career obstacles and assignment restrictions under which the WACs had served.

The women who directed the WAC were outstanding leaders, role models, and advisers on women's matters. Perhaps the only thing the directors had in common was their individuality. They came from different backgrounds, had varying primary interests, and displayed a diversity of personal skills. Most took a conservative approach in advancing the goals of the Corps because such an approach matched the tenor of traditional Army leadership. But whether conservative or reform minded, none hesitated to oppose Army policies they believed would jeopardize the interests of the Corps.

Because the Corps was comparatively small and its problems few, the chief of staff and the DCSPER usually gave the director of the WAC the final decision on WAC policies and procedures. Nonetheless, the directors did not always get their own way. Colonel Hallaren could not eliminate the separate promotion list; Colonel Gorman did not win the housing battle; and General Hoisington lost the fight for a "no waiver" policy. In most instances, major commanders also accepted the advice of the director as well as that of their own WAC staff advisers in day-to-day management of Corps personnel and policy. Through her network of WAC staff advisers and detachment commanders, the director enjoyed excellent communications at all levels and knew what was happening in the Corps and how Army and WAC policies affected the women. Each director required that women who served as WAC Center commanders, WAC staff advisers, and unit commanders take a personal interest in their subordinates' careers and in resolving any problems they had. As a result, the enlisted women received an abundance of counseling and supervision and participated in morale-building activities which resulted in unparalleled spirit and camaraderie within the Corps. Communications, personal interest, and esprit de corps were the keys the directors held in the successful management of the Corps.

Each director had her share of success and disappointment, and the Corps' goals were advanced slowly but surely until 1972. Then national and world events disrupted this quiet progress: the United States left Vietnam without achieving victory; the draft ended; the women's rights movement achieved full stride. The unpopularity of the Vietnam War forced the administration to end the draft, creating a manpower gap. To help fill it, the Army initiated the VOLAR Project and the WAC expansion campaign, both of which were successful. At the same time, continued heavy public criticism of the war, the military, and the economy forced the administration to appease many groups.

The women's movement comprised a number of diverse groups throughout the United States. Its spokeswomen achieved popularity and media attention by supporting a wide range of issues, including affirma-

tive action programs, abortion rights, gay rights, civil rights, student and child welfare, and antipoverty programs. Its most fervently pursued goal was passage of the proposed Equal Rights Amendment. The movement attracted supporters among men and women of all ages and walks of life. It attracted women in the armed services, including WACs. They liked not only the movement's goals for women in general, but also those that affected women in the military. Among those goals were the registering and drafting of women, equalization of enlistment qualifications and retention regulations, combat service for women, elimination of separate women's organizations within the military, admission of women to West Point, and retention of pregnant women and mothers on active duty. The movement's large following and political influence on Ford and Carter administration appointees in the Pentagon enabled it to accomplish most of its goals affecting military women. The goals not attained included registering and drafting women and allowing women in combat. After the movement failed to obtain ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, its popularity waned. It had, however, helped to bring about some of the notable changes which were making military careers attractive to women.

Well before the draft was ended, the Army initiated several major actions to ensure its ability to replace draftees with volunteers to meet its requirements after June 1973. First, from 1970 to 1973, it conducted the Experimental Program for a Volunteer Army (Project VOLAR) that eliminated some unattractive features from Army life and raised the standard of living and the quality of life for Army people. The project improved recruitment and reenlistment rates.

The second major action was the WAC expansion that increased WAC strength from 12,780 to 53,000 in its first six years, 1972–1978. The Corps lost its director and separate status in the midst of the project, but the expansion continued until 1981. The success of the expansion resulted in women's being distributed more evenly between the United States and overseas, being assigned in a wider range of MOSs including many that were nontraditional, and being freed from many assignment and location restrictions that dated back to the 1940s. By 1977, the success and continuing momentum of the expansion led the secretary of the Army to direct that the strength of women officers, all branches, be increased to 15,000 and that of enlisted women to 80,000 by the end of FY 1983.

The expansion, however, was both good and bad, depending upon one's view. A result that pleased almost everyone was that the fourfold increase in WAC strength between 1972 and 1978 helped to close the manpower gap created by the elimination of the draft. This did not please those who believed that a draft kept the services racially balanced and gave them better educated, more physically fit, and more trainable servicemen than the all-volunteer system. But the draft was gone, and the addition of 41,000 women was tantamount to receiving three divisions, a gift any army welcomed.

On the negative side, the roller-coaster speed with which the WAC expansion proceeded took everyone by surprise and created new difficulties. The detailed plans for the expansion had provided for uniforms and housing to keep pace with the expected recruitment. But when enlistments exceeded this planned-for pace, lead times for supplying these items to the training center and detachments evaporated. Nevertheless, cadre at the WAC Center and School, the Army service schools, and the women's first duty stations managed the deluge with exceptional effort and ingenuity. The Army was swamped with women enlistees, but no one wanted to slow the surge. The Army urgently needed the manpower, and, after waiting thirty years to show that the WAC could mount a successful recruiting effort, its leaders did not want to halt the momentum. Two years after the expansion began, however, recruiters were forced to suspend enlistments when, from time to time, they exhausted their quota of school commitments. Fortunately, this did not halt the momentum, and enlistments recommenced as soon as school quotas became available. The magic behind the momentum appeared to be in the opening of all but forty-eight MOSs to women, a high unemployment rate, and the hopeful spirit aroused by the women's rights movement.

As the Army exploited the success of the expansion, difficulties continued to plague its progress. Expansion planners had anticipated some help from the WAC mobilization plan. The plan called for opening another training center on the West Coast to receive women who were enlisted west of the Mississippi. In 1974, however, this idea could not be implemented because ERA supporters would have construed it as an action to continue segregating women. Instead, the Army opened additional basic training battalions for women at several existing Army training centers. The mobilization plan also directed that a stockpile of women's uniforms be located in depots close to existing and proposed training centers. But a survey revealed that women's uniforms were being distributed as fast as the manufacturers could produce them. To obtain the needed uniforms quickly, the Army gave clothing manufacturers bonuses to produce them in record time. Mobilization plans also called for post commanders to provide housing for increased numbers of women by double-decking beds in WAC barracks or by leasing civilian facilities until they could rehabilitate old buildings or construct new ones. Expansion consumed space so rapidly that a new housing policy was needed in 1973 to allow commanders to combine housing and administration for enlisted men and women, provided they could provide privacy for each group. Though the mobilization plan provided little help in the expansion, it inspired some innovations in solving training and housing shortages for women. However, other challenges initiated by the expansion awaited men and women in the Army.

As thousands of WACs moved into jobs and units that had never before held women, history began to repeat itself. The women entered

and sought acceptance as the WAAC pioneers had, and many men in the Army objected to or ignored their presence as their fathers had in 1942. Adjustment was not easy on either side. Male commanders and NCOs in the 1970s had not yet become accustomed to volunteers instead of draftees when women entered in large numbers, an event for which they had little warning and no preparation. When they attempted to manage them as they managed men, they found that the old techniques did not work. Most women required more information, privacy, and counseling than men; women complained about harassment, discrimination, and poor housing; women got pregnant, needed child-care facilities, and, without training, could not lift heavy objects or make a six-mile run. The adjustment was just as hard on the women. Progress in achieving unit cohesiveness depended upon the commander's acceptance of women and his ability to communicate a favorable attitude to the men of the unit. It also depended upon whether the women's response was hostile or understanding. Gradually, as more women entered the formerly all-male units and it became obvious they would stay, rapprochements evolved and men and women learned to work together more easily, even if not wholly approving of each other.

At the Pentagon, as the manpower gap closed, the hierarchy began to question whether the Army was enlisting too many women and whether the high percentage would affect missions. To find the answers, the Army launched so many studies that their numbers were ridiculed. Yet most fulfilled a serious purpose. As the number of WACs increased, successive DCSPERs became convinced that more than 50,000 enlisted women (6.4 percent) in an Army of 780,000 would adversely affect missions and readiness. But neither studies nor tests proved this supposition, and the political appointees in the Pentagon would not curtail the enlistment of women because unemployment was high, women needed jobs, and the politicians needed women's votes. Clearly, some Army leaders wanted to stuff the expansion genie back in the bottle and control the composition of the Army. Secretary of the Army Alexander, for one, would not let them do it. In 1977, he directed that expansion goals be doubled in order to reach a strength of almost 100,000 women by FY 1983. In 1981, however, the Reagan administration directed that the Army, as it had requested, "pause" in the pursuit of these goals at 65,000 enlisted women and 7,200 women officers. This allowed the Army staff to halt the rapid rate of increase and to announce in 1983 new goals of 70,700 enlisted women and 12,900 officers for FY 1988.

By early 1978, the expansion and changes in law, regulation, and policy had almost eliminated everything that was distinctively WAC. With the abolition of the WAC detachments and staff advisers, the communications system was gone. The loss of the officer corps ended close command supervision and many morale-building factors. New policies changed the composition of the Corps: women remained on duty

after they became pregnant or became mothers; women no longer had to spend a year gaining experience on duty in CONUS before they went overseas. The WAC expansion steering committee had diffused the influence of the director of the Corps, and, in 1975, Congress had extracted a commitment from the secretary of the Army to concur in the dissolution of the Corps and the office of the director and in other statutory changes. The admittance of women into ROTC and the U.S. Military Academy eliminated the WAC officer procurement programs. The opening of basic training battalions for women at other Army training centers ended the unique function of the WAC Center and School which was absorbed by the training division at Fort McClellan.

The WAC had little left other than its traditions, pride in its achievements, and its Pallas Athene insignia. Without any support on the Army staff and no General Marshall, Eisenhower, or Abrams to come to its rescue, the Corps was doomed. In April 1978, the Army discontinued the Office of the Director, WAC, and reassigned the incumbent and her staff. In October, the WAC as a separate corps of the Army was disestablished, and the women removed the Pallas Athene insignia that had proclaimed their identity and individuality.

After all was said and done, it remained unclear whether the success of the expansion had destroyed the Corps or whether, by 1978, the Corps stood in the way of progress and had to go. Women in the Army are no longer described as segregated or identified as WACs; they are known simply as women in the Army. The loss of a woman general officer to advise the Army staff on women's matters and to serve as a spokeswoman and role model for women was, to many, a significant error, though one that could be reversed if a future secretary of the Army desired to do so.

During its thirty-six years, the WAC was the means of entry for women into the rank and file of the Army. It created a tradition of dedicated service, high standards, and loyal teamwork in every command. Its directors, officers, NCOs, and enlisted women had a spirit of mutual esteem, cooperation, and affection for each other that grew as the Corps did, and, as long as they and their successors live, that spirit will be preserved. Because of their effort and dedicated duty, the future may someday include a woman as chief of staff or secretary of the Army.

APPENDIXES

Appendix A

PERSONNEL STATISTICS

TABLE 1—STRENGTH OF THE WAC, 1942–1978, AND WOMEN IN THE ARMY, 1979–1984

End of Month	Total	Officers		Enlisted
		Commissioned	Warrant	
Dec 42	12,767	1,545	0	11,222
Jun 43	60,243	4,917	0	55,326
Jun 44	77,152	5,855	10	71,287
Jun 45	95,957	5,733	44	90,180
Jun 46	17,896	1,793	18	16,699
Jun 47	8,134	1,035	5	7,094
Jun 48	5,352	611	42	4,699
Jun 49	4,909	626	23	4,260
Jun 50	7,259	686	22	6,551
Jun 51	11,932	1,010	39	10,883
Jun 52	11,456	1,171	57	10,228
Jun 53	9,924	1,109	55	8,760
Jun 54	7,803	964	52	6,787
Jun 55	8,640	876	48	7,716
Jun 56	8,661	847	44	7,770
Jun 57	8,007	808	43	7,156
Jun 58	7,853	740	39	7,074
Jun 59	8,608	732	39	7,837
Jun 60	9,053	735	39	8,279
Jun 61	9,369	771	38	8,560
Jun 62	9,549	780	48	8,721
Jun 63	9,056	724	40	8,292
Jun 64	8,734	739	37	7,958
Jun 65	9,285	742	23	8,520
Jun 66	9,958	757	22	9,179
Jun 67	10,592	817	34	9,741
Jun 68	11,604	866	27	10,711
Jun 69	11,675	934	20	10,721
Jun 70	12,518	1,029	13	11,476

TABLE 1—STRENGTH OF THE WAC, 1942–1978, AND WOMEN IN THE ARMY, 1979–1984—Continued

End of Month	Total	Officers		Enlisted
		Commissioned	Warrant	
Jun 71	12,781	937	19	11,825
Jun 72	13,269	901	19	12,349
Jun 73	17,551	1,073	21	16,457
Jun 74	27,596	1,249	19	26,328
Jun 75	39,171	1,446	22	37,703
Sep 76	46,413	1,921	31	44,461
Sep 77*	48,548	2,409	45	46,094
Sep 78	52,996	2,636	68	50,292
Sep 79	57,919	3,010	91	54,818
Sep 80	64,916	3,454	11	61,351
Sep 81	69,011	4,009	18	64,884
Sep 82	67,480	3,703	45	63,632
Sep 83	71,154	5,050	63	65,941
Sep 84	72,250	5,408	15	66,627

*End of fiscal year changed from 30 June to 30 September in 1977.

Source: Strength of the Army Reports (STM-30) June 1942-1959 & (DCSPER 46) June 1960-1984.

TABLE 2—ACCESSIONS OF WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS PERSONNEL 1942–1978

Period	Total	Officers		Enlisted
		Commissioned	Warrant	
Jul 42–Jun 45	145,642	6,751	37	138,854
FY 1946	*2,854	272	0	2,575
FY 1947	*2,635	58	0	1,416
FY 1948	*609	29	41	539
FY 1949	4,762	401	4	4,357
FY 1950	3,820	159	4	3,657
FY 1951	7,456	392	18	7,046
FY 1952	4,262	315	26	3,921
FY 1953	3,476	151	0	3,325
FY 1954	3,050	99	1	2,950
FY 1955	4,575	53	0	4,522
FY 1956	3,406	116	0	3,290

TABLE 2—ACCESSIONS OF WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS PERSONNEL 1942–1978—Continued

Period	Total	Officers		
		Commissioned	Warrant	Enlisted
FY 1957	3,184	87	0	3,097
FY 1958	3,494	96	0	3,398
FY 1959	4,205	80	0	4,125
FY 1960	4,151	83	0	4,068
FY 1961	4,176	102	0	4,074
FY 1962	4,635	95	12	4,528
FY 1963	3,945	94	1	3,850
FY 1964	4,354	114	4	4,236
FY 1965	5,199	118	0	5,081
FY 1966	4,960	125	5	4,830
FY 1967	5,531	179	13	5,339
FY 1968	6,018	194	6	5,818
FY 1969	6,267	190	1	6,076
FY 1970	7,393	358	0	7,035
FY 1971	7,693	178	0	7,515
FY 1972	7,756	287	2	7,467
FY 1973	10,745	359	0	10,386
FY 1975	18,375	**403	2	17,970
FY 1975	22,932	434	2	22,496
FY 1976	19,826	566	2	19,258
FY 7T***	4,630	264	4	4,362
FY 1977	15,969	752	12	15,205
FY 1978	24,145	706	17	23,422
Total	380,032	14,301	173	365,558

*Does not include reenlistees or recalls.

**After 1 July 1974 WAC Branch strength figures were deleted from most ODCSPER strength tables. Officer strength figures here include only those formerly identified as WAC officers.

***Congress changed the end of the federal fiscal year from 30 June to 30 September in 1977; the transition months (July, August, and September1976) are designated FY 7T.

Source: Strength of the Army Reports (STM-30) Jun 42-Jun 59 and(DCSPER 46) Jul 60-Sep 78.

TABLE 3—ENLISTED WOMEN SEPARATED FROM THE ARMY BY CAUSE
(FY 1946 THROUGH FY 1980)

Fiscal Year	Total	Non-Battle Deaths	Retired			Physically Disqualified	Family Considerations		
			To Accept Commission or Warrant	Physical Disability	Non-Disability		Pregnancy	Marriage	Parenthood
1946	78,403	33	395	0	0	2,553	3,401	.....	.....
1947	12,367	10	43	0	0	67	535	.....	.....
1948	2,798	4	38	0	0	38	305	.....	.....
1949	4,232	7	37	0	0	18	147	49	.....
1950	1,365	2	96	10	0	33	278	368	.....
1951	2,121	9	66	22	0	108	840	199	.....
1952	4,673	15	120	23	0	127	1,096	1,635	.....
1953	4,820	7	34	34	0	103	919	1,331	.....
1954	4,874	3	29	36	0	56	741	813	.....
1955	3,581	4	18	23	0	60	.....	[b]1,021	.....
1956	3,670	7	32	23	0	78	.....	1,537	.....
1957	3,751	3	23	17	0	41	.....	1,601	.....
1958	3,417	11	112	16	0	36	.....	1,275	.....
1959	3,359	6	160	25	0	46	.....	1,294	.....
1960	3,691	9	180	19	0	40	.....	1,482	.....
1961	4,060	5	306	22	0	42	.....	1,571	.....
1962	4,288	11	215	11	0	38	.....	1,775	.....
1963	4,332	5	238	28	92	40	.....	1,749	.....
1964	4,559	9	249	31	230	37	.....	1,670	.....
1965	4,430	4	449	42	247	40	.....	1,630	.....
1966	4,605	1	460	20	94	55	1,063	608	9
1967	4,374	1	448	21	59	37	1,010	512	22
1968	4,825	1	634	28	62	46	1,210	254	18
1969	5,860	0	847	35	75	67	1,444	443	24
1970	6,590	11	454	38	77	85	1,446	884	20
1971	7,321	11	585	31	97	92	1,412	883	11
1972	6,860	14	546	51	103	146	1,166	669	12
1973	6,197	12	715	51	60	78	1,034	645	22
1974	7,551	14	545	33	70	153	1,129	828	25
1975	10,849	26	488	67	78	300	1,598	865	113
1976	13,626	38	407	98	68	389	1,551	397	133
197T[c]	4,903	6	142	34	17	142	412	86	80
1977	19,156	25	236	124	53	519	1,720	283	397
1978	19,127	48	174	123	44	417	2,046	78	460
1979	18,867	34	128	136	66	492	2,791	10	564
1980	23,367	42	153	171	49	793	1,279	3	319

a. Included under "Other Causes" (see STM-30, Strength of the Army Report, Losses of Enlisted Women by Cause, 31 July 1948; and DCSPER 46, Strength of the Army Report, Losses of Enlisted Women by Cause, 31 December 1955).

b. From December 1955 to July 1966, losses for marriage, pregnancy, and parenthood were consolidated under "Family Considerations" (see STM-30, Losses of Enlisted Women by Cause, 31 December 1955).

TABLE 3—ENLISTED WOMEN SEPARATED FROM THE ARMY BY CAUSE (FY 1946 THROUGH FY 1980)—Continued

Dependency or Hardship	Inapt or Unsuitable	Expeditious or Trainee Discharge Programs	Homosexual	Discharge to Enlist or Reenlist	Demobilization or ETS	Other Causes	Undetermined	Dropped from the Rolls	Bad Conduct and Dishonorable Discharges	Fiscal Year
([a])	551	.....	([a])	0	33,549	37,667	0	0	254	1946
([a])	82	.....	([a])	0	10,435	1,159	0	0	36	1947
([a])	38	.....	([a])	0	1,548	798	0	0	29	1948
([a])	26	.....	([c])	5	1,499	2,413	0	1	30	1949
20	122	.....	([a])	282	48	57	0	0	49	1950
84	219	.....	([a])	188	145	137	0	4	100	1951
99	187	.....	([a])	177	973	28	0	38	155	1952
50	150	.....	([a])	150	1,848	50	3	31	110	1953
22	120	.....	([a])	210	2,661	48	19	18	98	1954
25	143	.....	([a])	757	1,367	34	17	21	91	1955
26	209	.....	([a])	550	973	46	13	29	147	1956
30	230	.....	([a])	444	1,130	59	20	20	133	1957
25	204	.....	([a])	492	1,007	52	6	30	151	1958
19	320	.....	([a])	134	1,119	52	56	34	147	1959
29	554	.....	([a])	152	1,057	33	16	36	84	1960
36	487	.....	69	145	1,255	54	14	26	28	1961
17	545	.....	67	183	1,251	41	63	52	19	1962
29	454	.....	74	127	1,285	71	46	61	33	1963
31	536	.....	94	156	1,335	46	31	78	26	1964
23	472	.....	48	263	1,006	28	44	77	57	1965
33	569	.....	68	347	720	245	183	74	56	1966
26	516	.....	41	215	844	222	207	114	79	1967
30	609	.....	27	246	1,134	174	115	150	87	1968
38	535	.....	24	268	1,318	264	33	342	105	1969
37	668	.....	38	598	1,620	115	12	345	142	1970
44	1,248	.....	32	687	827	292	531	376	162	1971
47	1,039	.....	42	619	634	697	681	272	122	1972
28	879	.....	27	974	591	146	538	274	123	1973
41	514	.....	19	1,309	817	1,190	418	285	161	1974
91	918	.....	38	1,764	1,081	2,447	397	337	241	1975
416	225	([d])3,541	61	1,964	2,891	40	929	231	247	1976
143	57	878	22	797	1,757	19	142	101	68	197T
488	264	2,601	78	4,372	6,345	141	940	403	167	1977
448	333	2,638	104	4,519	6,335	91	619	409	241	1978
451	417	2,691	104	4,269	5,299	225	519	440	231	1979
262	469	3,564	139	5,404	5,973	2,585	1,052	720	390	1980

c. New Federal fiscal year begins—1 October through 30 September; 7T designated for the changover months (July, August, September 1976).

d. Trainee Discharge Program (para 5-39, AR 635-200) and Expeditious discharge Program (para 5-37, AR 635-200) initiated in FY 1976; losses for these programs during FY 1974 and 1975 are shown under "Other Causes."

TABLE 4—WAC [1] REENLISTMENT RATES, 1949-1984

[In Percentages]

Fiscal Year	Overall WAC	WAC First-Termers	WAC Careerists
1949	65.2	([2])	([2])
1950	84.3	—	—
1951	94.1	—	—
1952	59.1	—	—
1953	27.5	—	—
1954	18.7	—	—
1955	35.6	—	—
1956	36.1	—	—
1957	28.2	—	—
1958	37.9	—	—
1959	45.1	—	—
1960	41.2	27.3	69.5
1961	48.9	27.6	80.3
1962	53.2	37.5	85.3
1963	48.0	33.8	82.5
1964	50.0	34.8	79.0
1965	54.6	45.6	76.2
1966	55.9	49.9	75.4
1967	50.6	41.9	72.6
1968	47.5	39.4	71.7
1969	34.8	27.7	62.3
1970	27.3	24.5	60.3
1971	35.1	33.9	60.0
1972	30.6	28.2	56.6
1973	53.0	54.1	67.0
1974	61.6	59.8	66.4
1975	63.3	64.1	61.3
1976	45.9	41.9	57.1
1977	44.5	40.4	56.0
1978	45.2	42.5	49.8
1979	50.8	45.5	55.6
1980	58.1	56.2	56.7
1981	61.8	55.4	60.6
1982	66.8	63.2	67.8
1983	58.8	47.6	64.2

[1] WACs were called Women in the Army after 1978.

[2] Statistics in these categories not available until 1960.

Source: Strength of the Army Reports (STM-30) 1949-1960, Losses; *Strength of the Army Reports* (DCSPER 46) 1960-1965, Losses; and *Strength of the Army Reports* (DCSPER 46) 1965-1983, Part II, Gains and Losses.

TABLE 5—STRENGTH OF BLACK MEMBERS OF THE WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS, 1945–1978 [1]

End of Fiscal Year	Total	Officers	Warrant Officers	Enlisted
1945	3,849	117	0	3,732
1946	673	15	0	658
1947	319	9	0	310
1948	125	4	0	121
1949	352	12	0	340
1950	648	18	1	629
1951	1,046	30	1	1,015
1952	1,332	40	1	1,291
1953	1,169	38	0	1,131
1954	869	31	0	838
1955	983	29	0	954
1956	1,061	32	0	1,029
1957	965	28	0	937
1958	933	24	0	909
1959	1,042	27	0	1,015
1960	1,183	28	0	1,155
1972	2,453	52	5	2,396
1973	3,188	56	4	3,184
1974	5,519	63	6	5,450
1975	8,122	85	6	8,031
1976	9,785	98	6	9,681
1977	11,537	236	8	11,293
1978	14,688	264	12	14,412

[1] No statistics maintained on black Army personnel from 1961–1971.

Source: Strength of the Army Reports (STM-30), 1945–1959 and (DCSPER 46), 1960–1978; Rpt, ODCSPER, Ten Year Review of Equal Opportunity in the Army, 10 Dec 74, Tables 9, 17; Third Annual Assessment of Army Equal Opportunity Programs, Mar 79.

Appendix B

MOSs AND TRAINING

TABLE 6—DUTY MOSs HELD BY WAC OFFICERS, DECEMBER 1963

MOS	Title	Number
0210	Signal Officer	1
0500	Radio Officer	1
2011	Secretary of the General Staff	8
2015	Congressional Liaison Officer	2
2025	Major Department Chief or Director	7
2110	Adjutant or Adjutant General	59
2120	Administrative Officer	75
2136	Non-tactical Unit Officer	25
2145	WAC Staff Adviser	11
2162	Operations and Training Staff Officer	19
2167	Research and Development Coordinator	2
2200	Personnel Officer	15
2210	Personnel Management Officer	12
2260	Personnel Staff Officer	56
2265	Manpower Control Officer	5
2310	Recruiting Officer	62
2402	ADPS Plans and Operations Officer	6
2421	Military Historian	1
2500	School Commandant	1
2520	Training Officer	16
2548	Training Aids Officer	1
2610	Management Analyst	3
2622	Training Center Unit Officer	28
2701	Nonmilitary Subjects Instructor	1
2728	Military College Faculty Member	11
2800	Comptroller	3
2900	Headquarters Unit Commander	86
4000	General Supply Officer	2
4010	Supply Staff Officer	13
4015	Quartermaster Staff Officer	2
4222	Sales Officer	1
4320	Procurement Officer	2

TABLE 6—DUTY MOSs HELD BY WAC OFFICERS, DECEMBER 1963—Continued

MOS	Title	Number
5000	Special Services Officer	6
5241	Army Band Officer	1
5400	Publications Officer	1
5505	Information Officer	44
6101	Accounting Officer	2
6201	Finance Disbursing Officer	2
6302	Budget and Fiscal Officer	3
7010	Engineer Staff Officer	1
7314	Chemical Staff Officer	1
8101	Legal Officer	1
8103	Judge Advocate	2
8104	Civil Affairs Officer	2
8510	Pictorial Officer	1
9300	Military Intelligence Officer	8
9301	Combat Intelligence Staff Officer	8
9307	Installation Intelligence Officer	2
9308	Strategic Intelligence Officer	1
9310	Inspector General	6
9666	Classified Intelligence MOS	2
	Total	631

Source: ODCSPER Study, Tab N, WAC Requirements, 1964, ODWAC Ref File, Studies, CMH.

TABLE 7—DUTY MOSS HELD BY ENLISTED WOMEN, DECEMBER 1963

MOS	Title	Number
16H	Air Defense Radar Operator	24
35B	Electronics Devices Repairman	3
71B	Clerk-Typist	3,059
72B	Communications Center Operator	713
72C	Telephone Switchboard Operator	19
73C	Finance and Accounting Specialist	190
74B	Data Processing Operator	154
76A	Supply Specialist	279
81B	Draftsman	21
83A	Printing Specialist	1
84G	Photography Laboratory Specialist	39
91B	Medical Care and Treatment Specialist	1,743
91E	Prosthetic Appliance Maintenance and Repair	15
91J	Physical Therapy Specialist	41
92B	Medical Laboratory Specialist	160
94B	Food Service Specialist	135
97B	Military Intelligence Specialist	49
97D	General Intelligence Specialist	21
02	Bandsman	50
05B	Radio Operator	9
05G	Communications Security Specialist	2
00E	Recruiting Specialist	133
09E	Trainees and OCS Candidates	1,404
	Total	8,264

Source: Strength of the Army Report (DCSPER 46), 30 June 1963.

TABLE 8—BASIC TRAINING FOR FEMALE MILITARY PERSONNEL WITHOUT PREVIOUS SERVICE, 1961

[Active Duty: 8 Weeks, 343 Hours; Reserve Components: 44 Hours]

Subject	Hours	
	Active duty	Reserve components
Achievements and Traditions of the Army	8	2
Army Administration	13	8
Army and Civil Defense	3	2
Character Guidance	7	4
Commander's Time	56	10
Company Duties	44	0
Drill and Ceremonies	38	10
Field Training	14	2
First Aid	9	3
Food Service	2	0
Geneva Conventions and Code of Conduct	2	2
Individual Protective Measures Against Nuclear Warfare and CBR [1] Attack	10	6
Inspections	16	2
Intelligence Training	4	2
Interior Guard	2	1
Maintenance, Supply Economy, and Cost Consciousness	5	2
Map Reading	6	4
Military Customs and Courtesies	14	2
Military and Field Sanitation	3	0
Military Justice	7	1
Organization of the Army	8	2
Orientation	7	4
Personal Standards and Group Living	11	2
Physical Training	25	8
Social Hygiene	4	1
Proficiency and GMS [2] Tests	7	0
Troop Information	9	2
Weapons Familiarization and Firing	9	6
Total	343	88

[1] CBR—Chemical, Bacteriological, Radiological.
[2] GMS—General Military Subjects.

Source: Army Training Program 21-121, 20 Sep 1961 and Appendix Y, Historical Report, WAC C&S, 1960-61, p. 134, ODWAC Ref File, Basic Training, CMH.

TABLE 9—WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS NCO LEADERSHIP COURSE 510F3, 1971

[Peacetime: 4 weeks, 176 hours; Mobilization: 4 weeks, 192 hours]

Subject	Hours	
	Peace	Mobilization
Academic Subjects:		
Administration	5	5
Army in the Field	6	4
Command Information	3	3
Domestic Emergencies	2	2
Drill and Command	10	10
Effective Writing	8	8
Intelligence and Security	3	3
Land Navigation	5	5
Supply and Maintenance Procedures	5	4
Methods of Instruction	19	19
Military Customs and Courtesies	3	0
Military Justice and Administrative Boards	8	8
Military Leadership	20	19
Office Management	2	2
Personnel Management	11	11
WAC Branch Duty	25	25
Examination and Critique	4	4
Subtotal	139	132
Nonacademic Subjects:		
Inprocessing	8	4
Outprocessing	8	4
Commandant's Time	16	35
Open Time	5	17
Subtotal	37	60
Total	176	192

Source: WAC School Program of Instruction, Course 510F3, April 1971, ODWAC Ref File, Programs of Instruction, CMH.

TABLE 10—WAC OFFICER BASIC COURSE/WAC OFFICER CANDIDATE COURSE, 1962

[Peacetime: 18 Weeks, 792 Hours; Mobilization: 12 Weeks, 576 Hours]

Subject	Hours	
	Peace	Mobilization
Academic Subjects:		
Army Information Program	17	17
Army Management	12	12
Chemical and Biological Operations	10	10
Combined Arms		
Air Ground Operations	7	7
Army Aviation	2	2
Battle Indoctrination	5	5
Foreign Armies Organization	2	2
Command and Staff		
Command and Staff	5	5
G1/S1 Personnel and Administration	29	29
G2/S2 Intelligence	12	12
G3/S3 Operations	11	11
G4/S4 Logistics	35	34
G5 Civil Affairs	4	4
Company Administration	12	12
Domestic Emergencies	6	6
Drill and Command	77	61
Emergency Medical Care and First Aid	16	16
Examination and Critique	14	14
Geopolitics	12	12
Joint Civilian Orientation Conference	24	0
Map and Aerial Photography Reading	25	25
Methods of Instruction	15	15
Military Customs and Courtesies	12	12
Military History	15	15
Military Justice and Administrative Boards	25	25
Military Leadership	18	8
Military Writing	38	38
Nuclear Weapons Employment	14	14
Oral Communications	21	21
Organization for National Defense	13	13
Physical Training	30	30
Role of the WAC	17	10
Signal Communications	5	5

TABLE 10—WAC OFFICER BASIC COURSE/WAC OFFICER CANDIDATE COURSE, 1962—Continued

[Peacetime: 18 Weeks, 792 Hours; Mobilization: 12 Weeks, 576 Hours]

Subject	Hours	
	Peace	Mobilization
Survival, Evasion, and Escape	2	2
Techniques of Modern Warfare	10	10
WAC Branch Duty	88	0
WAC Exercise	12	0
Weapons Familiarization	8	8
Subtotal	680	522
Nonacademic Subjects:		
Processing, Counseling, Commandant's Time, Open Time	112	54
Total	792	576

Source: Appendix AF-3, Historical Report, WAC Center and WAC School, 1962–1964, p. 406, ODWAC Ref File, WAC Center, CMH.

TABLE 11—ASSOCIATE WAC COMPANY OFFICER COURSE, 1952

[13 Weeks, 624 Hours]

Subject	Hours
Orientation	7
Basic Techniques:	
Public Speaking	36
Basic Psychology & Psychiatry	8
Methods of Training	40
Officer Indoctrination:	
Military Customs and Courtesies	18
Leadership	6
Professional Ethics and Philosophy of Command	6
WAC Career Management	1
General Military Subjects:	
Organization of the Army and Department of Defense	10
Map and Aerial Photography, Camouflage	13
Military Sanitation	5
Military History	6

TABLE 11—ASSOCIATE WAC COMPANY OFFICER COURSE, 1952– Continued

[13 Weeks, 624 Hours]

Subject	Hours
First Aid	10
Social Hygiene	5
Troop Information and Education Program	14
Army School System	1
Use of Motor Vehicles	1
Administration:	
Army Administration	29
Company Administration	26
Character Guidance Program	2
Food Service	16
Geneva Conventions of 1949	3
Military Courts and Boards	23
Personnel Procedures and Management	30
Public Information	2
Supply	42
Military Intelligence and Security	9
Communications (Signal)	9
Defense Against Chemical, Biological and Radiological Warfare; Psychological Warfare and Civil Defense	18
Physical Training	38
Drill and Command	73
Ceremonies and Formations	19
Practical Work	60
Comprehensives and Critiques	6
Commandant's Time	28
Graduation	4
Total	624

Source: Appendix D, Annual History, WAC Training Center, 1952, History Collection, WAC Museum, Fort McClellan.

TABLE 12—WAC OFFICER CAREER COURSE, 1960

[Peacetime: 20 Weeks, 880 Hours; Mobilization: 12 Weeks, 588 Hours]

Subject	Hours	
	Peace	Mobilization
Academic Subjects:		
Army Information Program	3	3
Army Management	27	18
Chemical and Biological Warfare	10	10
Combined Arms	32	30
Command and Staff:		
The Commander and His Staff	6	6
G1/S1 Personnel	42	24
G2/S2 Intelligence	31	21
G3/S3 Operations	36	33
G4/S4 Logistics	59	57
G5 Civil Affairs	12	12
Congressional Relations	2	2
Domestic Emergencies	9	9
Examination and Critique	31	31
Field Engineering and Mine Warfare	6	6
Geopolitics	54	54
Joint Civilian Orientation Conference	24	0
Methods of Instruction	21	7
Military Justice and Administrative Boards	18	12
Nuclear Weapons Employment	72	60
Organization for National Security	12	8
Public Speaking	66	58
Role of the WAC	15	3
Signal Communications	21	9
Staff Writing	54	36
Survival, Evasion, and Escape	3	3
Theater Army	45	18
Subtotal	611	538
Nonacademic Subjects:		
Physical Conditioning	50	12
Optional Film Program	22	0
Commandant's Time, Open Time	60	27
Processing, Graduation	37	11
Subtotal	169	50

TABLE 12—WAC OFFICER CAREER COURSE, 1960—Continued

[Peacetime: 20 Weeks, 880 Hours; Mobilization: 12 Weeks, 588 Hours]

Subject	Hours	
	Peace	Mobilization
Total	880	588

Source: Appendix AJ–2, Historical Report, WAC C&S, 1962–64, p. 429, ODWAC Ref File, WAC Center, CMH.

Appendix C

KEY PERSONNEL

TABLE 13—DIRECTORS AND DEPUTY DIRECTORS, WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS, 1942–1978

	Dates Served
Directors	
Col [1] Oveta Culp Hobby	16 May 1942–11 Jul 1945
Col Westray Battle Boyce	12 Jul 1945–4 Mar 1947
Col Mary A. Hallaren	5 Mar 1947–6 May 1947 (Acting)
	7 May 1947–2 Jan 1953
Col Irene O. Galloway	3 Jan 1953–2 Jan 1957
Col Mary L. Milligan Rasmuson	3 Jan 1957–31 Jul 1962
Col Emily C. Gorman	1 Aug 1962–31 Jul 1966
BrigGen Elizabeth P. Hoisington	1 Aug 1966–31 Jul 1971
BrigGen Mildred I. C. Bailey	1 Aug 1971–31 Jul 1975
BrigGen Mary E. Clarke	1 Aug 1975–28 Apr 1978
Deputy Directors	
LtCol Jessie P. Rice	1 Mar 1944–27 May 1945
LtCol Westray Battle Boyce	28 May 1945–11 Jul 1945
LtCol Helen M. H. Woods	12 Jul 1945–28 Feb 1946
Vacant	1 Mar 1946–19 Jun 1946
LtCol Mary A. Hallaren	20 Jun 1946–4 Mar 1947
Vacant	5 Mar 1947–4 Aug 1947
LtCol Mary L. Milligan	5 Aug 1947–4 Aug 1952
Vacant	5 Aug 1952–2 Jan 1953
LtCol Emily C. Gorman	3 Jan 1953–2 Jan 1957
LtCol Anne E. Sweeney	3 Jan 1957–2 Jan 1961
LtCol Lucile G. Odbert	3 Jan 1961–2 Jan 1963
LtCol Mary E. Kelly	3 Jan 1963–31 Jul 1967
Col Marie Kehrer	1 Aug 1967–31 Jan 1971
Col Bettie J. Morden	1 Feb 1971–31 May 1972 (Acting)
Col Maida E. Lambeth	1 Jun 1972–31 Aug 1975
Col Edith M. Hinton	1 Sep 1975–28 Apr 1978

[1] Rank shown is highest grade held in that position.

Source: Key WAC Personnel, ODWAC Ref File, CMH.

TABLE 14—WAC STAFF ADVISERS, MAJOR COMMANDS

First US Army, Governor's Island, NY

Jun 48	Maj Charlee L. Kelly
Jan 53	LtCol Lillian F. Foushee
Aug 56	LtCol Norma M. Flachsland
Jun 58	LtCol Ethel C. Munson
Sep 62	LtCol Annie G. Lancer
Jan 66	First and Second US Armies consolidated as First US Army at Fort Meade, MD
Jan 66	LtCol Virginia R. Deady
Jun 67	LtCol Frances M. Yoniack
Jun 69	LtCol Edith M. Hinton
Jul 71	Col Frances M. Yoniack
May 73	Position Deleted

Second US Army, Fort George G. Meade, MD

Mai 47	Capt Catherine J. Lyons
Jun 48	Maj Sue Lynch
May 51	LtCol Emily C. Gorman
Apr 53	Maj Pauline V. Linch
Dec 55	LtCol Nora G. Springfield
Jul 58	Maj Cora M. Foster
Oct 60	LtCol Eunity F. Elderdice
Dec 62	LtCol Maribeth C. Simpson
Dec 64	LtCol Virginia R. Deady
Jan 66	First and Second US Armies consolidated as First US Army at Fort Meade, MD

Third US Army, Fort McPherson, GA

Jun 48	LtCol Mary M. Pugh
Oct 52	Maj Rebecca S. Parks
Feb 54	LtCol Verna A. McCluskey
Aug 54	Maj N. Margaret Young
Nov 57	LtCol Lillian F. Foushee
Mar 60	LtCol Helen F. Brecht
Jul 62	LtCol Irene V. Munster
Aug 63	LtCol Betty T. McCormack
Oct 65	LtCol Iona S. Connolly
Aug 68	LtCol Ruth M. Isham
Nov 72	LtCol Angelina J. Previto
Jul 73	Third US Army disestablished

Fourth US Army, Fort Sam Houston, TX

Mar 47	Capt Sara L. Sturgis
Jun 48	Maj Selma L. Herbert

TABLE 14—WAC STAFF ADVISERS, MAJOR COMMANDS—Continued

Jan 50	Maj Robin Elliott
Mar 52	LtCol Anne E. Sweeney
Mar 54	LtCol Arlene G. Scheidenhelm
Dec 57	LtCol Lois W. Ochoa
Oct 60	LtCol Olive E. Mills
Feb 63	LtCol Catherine H. Foster
Aug 65	LtCol Marjorie E. Schulten
Aug 66	LtCol Emma M. Baird
Mar 68	LtCol Maxene M. Baker
Aug 68	LtCol Lou Ann Moon
Apr 71	LtCol Mary J. Sansing
Jul 71	Fourth and Fifth US Armies consolidated as Fifth US Army at Fort Sam Houston, TX
Fifth US Army, Fort Sheridan, IL	
Mar 47	Maj Evelyn A. Rothrock
Jun 48	Capt Mary J. Regan
Aug 49	Maj Virginia M. Mathew
Jan 53	LtCol Marjorie C. Power
Aug 56	LtCol Sara L. Sturgis
Jan 59	LtCol Elizabeth A. Rutledge
Sep 62	LtCol Maxene M. Baker
Feb 64	LtCol Irma V. Bouton
Jul 66	LtCol Elizabeth A. Harth
Jul 67	LtCol Helen D. Steir
Jan 69	LtCol Helen F. Dinneen
Sep 70	LtCol Angelina J. Previto
Jul 71	Fourth and Fifth US Armies consolidated as Fifth US Army at Fort Sam Houston, TX
Jul 71	LtCol Mary J. Sansing
Jul 73	Position Deleted
Sixth US Army, Presidio of San Francisco, CA	
Mar 47	Maj Helen H. Hart
Jun 48	Capt Verna A. McCluskey
Oct 48	Maj. Ruby E. Herman
Dec 50	Maj Harriet N. Moses
Apr 54	LtCol Elizabeth C. Smith
Apr 55	LtCol Anne E. Sweeney
Sep 58	LtCol Lenore M. Price
Aug 61	LtCol Hope W. Metzger
Oct 65	LtCol Muriel J. Janikula

TABLE 14—WAC STAFF ADVISERS, MAJOR COMMANDS—Continued

Oct 67	LtCol Elizabeth A. Harth
Aug 69	LtCol A. Nora Howes
Mar 71	LtCol Mary E. Clarke
Aug 72	Col Frances Weir
Dec 74	Position Deleted
Military District of Washington, Fort Lesley J. McNair, Washington, DC	
Feb 47	Capt Elizabeth Machen
Jun 48	Capt Vera E. Von Stein
Feb 49	Maj Cloe Doyle
Feb 51	Maj Annie V. Gardner
Oct 52	Maj Mary E. Kelly
Jan 55	LtCol Alice A. Parrish
Jul 57	LtCol Luta C. McGrath
Sep 59	LtCol Sue Lynch
Dec 60	LtCol Mary S. Blake
Nov 62	LtCol Patricia E. McCormick
Aug 65	LtCol Carol M. Williams
Jan 68	LtCol Sarah F. Niblack
Sep 69	LtCol Janet E. Ziegler
Oct 72	Col Margaret J. Madden
Jul 75	Position Deleted
US Army, Europe, Frankfurt (1943–1948) & Heidelberg, Germany (1948–1976)	
May 46	Maj Frances Sue Cornick
Jul 48	Maj Irene O. Galloway
Sep 52	LtCol Mary L. Milligan
May 56	LtCol Margaret A. Kimpton
Sep 58	LtCol Nora G. Springfield
Jan 61	LtCol Anne E. Sweeney
Oct 62	LtCol Marie Kehrer
Jun 64	LtCol Mary G. McDonald
Jan 67	LtCol Dorotha J. Garrison
Jun 69	LtCol Frances M. Yoniack
Apr 71	Col Mary J. Guyette
Jul 72	Col Frances V. Chaffin
Mar 74	LtCol Jocelyn A. White
Aug 75	LtCol Colleen L. Brooks
May 76	Position Deleted
US Army, Pacific, Toyko, Japan (1946–1959) & Fort Shafter, HI (1959–1974)	
Nov 46	LtCol Pauline V. Linch
Nov 48	LtCol Mary K. Moynahan

TABLE 14—WAC STAFF ADVISERS, MAJOR COMMANDS—Continued

Jan 50	LtCol F. Marie Clark
May 52	LtCol Lillian Harris
Apr 54	LtCol Helen H. Bouffier
Dec 56	LtCol Annie V. Gardner
Oct 58	LtCol Sue B. Trulock
May 60	LtCol Catherine J. Lyons
Oct 63	LtCol Martha M. Bonner
Jun 66	LtCol Leta M. Frank
Aug 68	LtCol Eunice E. Shanaberger
Mar 70	Col Judith C. Bennett
Jul 71	Col Alice A. Long
Aug 74	Position Deleted
WAC Advisers to the Republic of Korea Army, Seoul, Korea	
Feb 56	LtCol Lenore M. Price
Feb 57	Maj Georgia H. Smith
Feb 58	Maj Charlotte I. Woodworth
Mar 59	Maj Margot L. Harris
Mar 60	Maj Helen D. Steir
Feb 61	Maj Mildred M. Ferguson
May 62	LtCol Ruth D. Thompson
Aug 63	LtCol Mary J. Guyette
Sep 65	LtCol Alice A. Long
Jul 67	LtCol Betty R. Fraser
Jul 68	Maj Claire A. Archambault
Jul 70	LtCol Mary J. Sansing
Jul 71	LtCol Arlene G. Burbank
Aug 72	Maj Flora G. Thompson
Jun 73	Position Deleted
US Army Air Defense Command, Colorado Springs, CO	
Oct 56	Maj Cynthia J. Van Auken
Dec 59	LtCol Margaret R. Wharton
Feb 63	LtCol Anne E. Sweeney
Dec 63	Maj Iona S. Connolly
Nov 65	Maj Helen L. Peterson
Dec 67	Maj Mary E. Edwards
Jul 69	Capt Mary C. Willis
Jun 70	Maj Rose A. Ralph
Jun 72	Position Deleted
US Army Continental Command, Fort Monroe, VA	
Jan 57	LtCol Emily C. Gorman

TABLE 14—WAC STAFF ADVISERS, MAJOR COMMANDS—Continued

Jul 60	LtCol Irene M. Sorrough
Jul 62	LtCol Helen F. Brecht
Jul 63	LtCol Margaret A. Long
Jun 64	LtCol Rosa T. Lawton
Sep 67	Position Deleted

Source: ODWAC Reference File, Key WAC Personnel, CMH.

TABLE 15—WAC CENTER COMMANDERS AND ASSISTANT COMMANDANTS, WAC SCHOOL

WAC Center Commanders

Fort Lee, Virginia	*Dates Served*
Maj Annie V. Gardner	14 Jun 1948–3 Aug 1948 (Acting)
LtCol Elizabeth C. Smith	4 Aug 1948–31 Jan 1951
LtCol Ruby E. Herman	1 Feb 1951–23 Nov 1952
LtCol Irene O. Galloway	24 Nov 1952–25 Dec 1952
LtCol Eleanore C. Sullivan	26 Dec 1952–9 Jun 1954
Fort McClellan, Alabama	
LtCol Eleanore C. Sullivan	10 Jun 1954–18 Jun 1955
LtCol F. Marie Clark	19 Jun 1955–10 Oct 1956
LtCol Frances M. Lathrope	11 Oct 1956–30 May 1958
LtCol Marjorie C. Power	31 May 1958–30 Sep 1959
LtCol Lucile G. Odbert	1 Oct 1959–2 Jan 1961
LtCol Sue Lynch	3 Jan 1961–31 Oct 1964
LtCol Elizabeth P. Hoisington	1 Nov 1964–14 Jul 1966
LtCol Elizabeth H. Branch	15 Jul 1966–29 Aug 1968
Col Maxene B. Michl	30 Aug 1968–14 Aug 1970
Col Dorotha J. Garrison	15 Aug 1970–14 Sep 1972
Col Mary E. Clarke	15 Sep 1972–4 Sep 1974
Col Shirley R. Heinze	5 Sep 1974–1 Jun 1976
Col Lorraine A. Rossi	2 Jun 1976–30 Dec 1976

Assistant Commandants, WAC School

Fort Lee, Virginia	
Capt Margaret M. Thornton	10 Aug 1948–12 Sep 1950
Maj Billie L. Murray	13 Sep 1950–11 Jun 1951
Maj Sue Lynch	12 Jun 1951–15 Apr 1953
Maj Laura M. St. Clair	30 Apr 1953–9 Jun 1954
Fort McClellan, Alabama	
Maj Laura M. St. Clair	10 Jun 1954–28 Aug 1955
LtCol Beryl M. Simpson	29 Aug 1955–14 May 1956
LtCol Charlotte E. Rhodes	15 May 1956–31 Oct 1958
LtCol Kathryn J. Royster	31 Oct 1958–16 Sep 1960

TABLE 15—WAC CENTER COMMANDERS AND ASSISTANT COMMANDANTS, WAC SCHOOL—Continued

LtCol Margaret E. Brewster	17 Sep 1960–12 Mar 1962
LtCol Beatrice L. Burke	12 Mar 1962–21 Dec 1962
LtCol Rosa T. Lawton	21 Dec 1962–19 Jun 1964
LtCol Marie Kehrer	20 Jun 1964–23 Jun 1966
LtCol Elizabeth H. Branch	24 Jun 1966–9 Aug 1966
LtCol Eunice E. Shanaberger	10 Aug 1966–5 Jul 1968
LtCol Maida E. Lambeth	6 Jul 1968–30 Jun 1970
Col Georgia D. Hill	1 Jul 1970–29 Jan 1972
Col Joan M. Ulrich	30 Jan 1973–30 Jul 1973
LtCol Grace L. Roberts	31 Jul 1972–12 Sep 1973 (Acting)
Col Edith M. Hinton	13 Sep 1973–22 May 1974
LtCol Margaret M. Raidmets	23 May 1974–8 Sep 1974 (Acting)
Col Kitt M. MacMichael	9 Sep 1974–11 Jun 1976
Col Mary J. Grimes	12 Jun 1976–12 Aug 1976
LtCol Mary E. Edwards	13 Aug 1976–31 Dec 1976

Source: ODWAC Ref File, Key WAC Personnel, CMH.

TABLE 16—BATTALION COMMANDERS AT THE WAC CENTERS

Fort Lee, Virginia

1st Battalion

Maj Annie V. Gardner	1948–1949
Maj Verna A. McCluskey	1949–1950
Maj Emily C. Gorman	1950–1950
Maj Luta C. McGrath	1950–1951
Maj Ethel M. Hooper	1951–1952
Maj Kathryn J. Royster	1952–1953
Maj Charlotte I. Woodworth	1953–1954
(Title changed to WAC Training Battalion, 13 Sep 1953)	

2d Battalion

Maj Ruth S. Reece	1948–1949
Maj Emily C. Newell	1949–1950
Maj Charlotte E. Rhodes	1950–1951
Maj Kathryn J. Royster	1951–1952
(2d Battalion inactivated, 10 Apr 1952)	

3d Battalion

Capt Verna A. McCluskey	1948–1949
Maj Margaret R. Wharton	1949–1950
Maj Lillian P. Foushee	1951–1951
Maj Edmee S. McGhay	1951–1951
(3d Battalion inactivated, 25 Jul 1951)	

Fort McClellan, Alabama

WAC Training Battalion

Maj Charlotte I. Woodworth	1954–1955
Maj Jimmie B. Dollahite	1955–1957
Maj Mary L. Sullivan	1957–1959
LtCol Hope W. Metzger	1959–1961
LtCol Kathleen B. Harris	1961–1962
LtCol Martha C. Eliker	1962–1963
LtCol N. Margaret Young	1963–1964
Maj Dorothy L. Watson	1964–1965
LtCol Bettie J. Morden	1965–1966
Maj Eleanor C. Hutchins	1966–1967
LtCol Mary E. Clarke	1967–1968
LtCol Mary R. Williams	1968–1970
LtCol Audrey A. Fisher	1970–1972

TABLE 16—BATTALION COMMANDERS AT THE WAC CENTERS—Continued

LtCol Edith M. Hinton	1972–1973
(Title changed to 1st Battalion, 1 Jul 1973)	
1st Battalion	
LtCol Vashti V. Jefferies	1973–1975
LtCol Ann B. Smith	1975–1976
LtCol Marguerite L. Capacio	1976–1977
LtCol Eunice M. Wright	1977–1977
LtCol Myrna H. Williamson	1977–1979
(1st Battalion transferred to Training Brigade, US Army Military Police & Chemical Schools/Training Center, Fort McClellan, 1 Dec 1976)	
2d Battalion	
Maj Carolyn H. Cain	1972–1972
LtCol Claire A. Archambault	1972–1974
LtCol Mary J. Grimes	1974–1976
LtCol Arlene G. Burbank	1976–1977
LtCol Evelyn P. Foote	1977–1979
(2d Battalion transferred to Training Brigade, US Army Military Police & Chemical Schools/Training Center, Fort McClellan, 1 Dec 1976)	
3d Battalion	
LtCol Nelda R. Cade	1974–1974
(3d Battalion inactivated, 31 Dec 1974)	

Source: ODWAC Ref File, Key WAC Personnel, CMH.

Appendix D

WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS UNIFORMS 1942–1978

Olive Drab and Khaki Uniforms, 1942–1951

When the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) was established in May 1942, the Army accepted Director Oveta Culp Hobby's recommendation that women's uniforms be of the same materials and colors as the men's. This kept uniform costs low and helped women blend into the Army scene at posts and camps throughout the United States and overseas.[1] While the Corps remained an auxiliary, the Army issued uniforms to WAAC officers and enlisted women free of charge. However, after 1 September 1943 when the Women's Army Corps (WAC) became an integral part of the Army of the United States, WAC officers and warrant officers had to buy their own military clothing, initially using a one-time uniform allowance given them by the Army. Enlisted women continued to receive their uniforms free as did enlisted men.[2] Neither male soldiers nor WACs (after 1 September 1943) could wear civilian clothes off duty until September 1946.[3] By the end of 1944, the Army Nurse Corps had adopted the WAC service uniform, raincoat, overcoat, and accessories. The ANC cap, handbag, insignia, off-duty dress, and hospital duty uniform remained distinctive items of wear for the nurses.[4]

In this discussion of uniforms, warrant officers are included in the term officers unless specifically excluded. But, whether WAAC or WAC, commissioned, warrant officers, or enlisted, the women wore the style uniform approved for their era. Officers' uniforms in general had several distinctive features that set them apart from the uniforms worn by enlisted personnel. For example, officers' uniforms had shoulder loops or tabs on outer-wear items such as coats, jackets, and shirts so that rank insignia could be attached. Officers' uniforms also had a quarter-inch wide strip of black braid sewn four inches above the cuff of their winter uniform jackets and overcoats; khaki braid was sewn on their summer uniforms.[5]

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[1] Mattie E. Treadwell, *The Women's Army Corps*, United States Army in World War II Series (Washington, DC: GPO, 1954) p. 37.

[2] Ibid., p.531.

[3] WD Cir 281, Sec VII, 20 Sep 46, CMH Library.

[4] Erna Risch, *A Wardrobe for Women in the Army*, QMC Historical Studies, No. 12, Oct 45, Office of the Quartermaster General, p. 109, CMH Library.

[5] *The Officer's Guide* (Harrisburg, PA: Military Service Publishing Company, 1944), pp. 141–42.

And because officers purchased their own uniforms, they usually had a choice of fabrics in which they could have their uniforms made. On garrison caps, officers (male and female) wore an edging braid of gold and black; enlisted personnel wore a braid with their branch colors, which, for the WAC, were moss green and old gold.[6]

The World War II WAC winter service uniform consisted of a wool, olive-drab skirt, jacket, and cap with visor, commonly called "the Hobby Hat" (*Plate 1*). A belt originally issued with the uniform (summer and winter) was eliminated in late 1942 because it wore out the material beneath it. The summer service uniform was identical in style to the winter uniform but was made of 8.2-ounce cotton material in the khaki shade (*Plate 2*).[7]

Few changes occurred in the WAC service uniform until 1944. Then, in August, the women received a garrison cap, commonly called an "overseas cap," as a replacement for the Hobby hat that was difficult to clean, block, and store. The olive-drab plastic buttons imprinted with the distinctive WAAC eagle—sometimes called the "WAAC buzzard" because of its lopsided appearance—were replaced by gold-colored metal buttons with the United States coat of arms imprinted on them. The hat insignia also changed from the WAAC buzzard to the U.S. coat of arms. And, because the heavy cotton material of the summer uniform wrinkled easily, buckled, and rode up, a tropical worsted fabric was substituted that was dry cleanable, wrinkle resistant, and light in weight for summer wear (*Plate 3*).[8] For off-duty wear, WACs received a uniform dress—one for winter that was a horizon tan (grayish-pink) color in a wool crepe fabric (*Plate 4*), and one for summer that was a pale cream beige in a rayon-shantung fabric (*Plate 5*).[9] Issue of the off-duty dresses was discontinued in June 1949, but their wear was authorized until June 1954 when all World War II women's uniform items were declared obsolete.[10] Also in 1944, WACs stationed in Europe received a waist length, olive-drab wool jacket, called a "battle jacket," that could be worn with matching skirt or slacks that were already in the supply system (*Plate 6*).[11] In April 1945, the battle jacket was authorized for optional purchase and wear by officers and enlisted women in the continental United States (CONUS).[12]

WAC officers usually purchased their summer service uniform in the tropical worsted material. For winter, they usually chose the popular "pinks and greens" combination that included a service jacket in a dark olive-drab (forest green) shade in a wool barathea or elastique fabric and

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[6] Risch, *A Wardrobe for Women in the Army*, p. 17.
[7] Ibid., pp. 42–44.
[8] Ibid., p. 48.
[9] Ibid., pp. 56–57.
[10] WD Cir 258, 24 Jun 47, and SR 600-37-2, Change 4, 12 Jun 53, CMH Library.
[11] AR 600-39, 5 Jan 44, CMH Library.
[12] AR 600-37, 16 Apr 45, CMH Library.

a skirt in a light olive-drab shade (pinkish gray) in a wool twill fabric (*Plate 7*).[13]

The only dress uniform for formal wear that was authorized WAC officers during World War II and the postwar period was the white uniform. It was made in the same style as the service uniform and was worn with white accessories (cap, purse, shoes, gloves) and a black four-in-hand tie (*Plate 8*).[14] The white uniform could be worn off duty or on duty for formal or ceremonial occasions during the summer months or year around in tropical climates. It was an optional purchase uniform—this meant that the individual authorized to wear a certain uniform could chose whether to buy it. The white uniform was not authorized for wear by enlisted women until 1951 (optional purchase).[15]

Accessories for the WAC service uniform for officers and enlisted women included a long-sleeved cotton khaki shirt, cotton khaki tie, russet oxfords with a one-and-a-half-inch heel, and a russet, mail-pouch style, leather handbag with a shoulder strap. For outer wear the WACs had a wool, olive-drab overcoat (*Plate 9*), an olive-drab raincoat with attached hood, and an olive green utility (all-weather) coat with button-on parka (*Plate 10*). Their wardrobe also included ankle-high field shoes, called "Little Abners" by the women; tennis shoes; galoshes; seasonal brown leather and tan cotton gloves; an olive-drab, light wool scarf; a tan cardigan sweater; summer and winter khaki-colored nylon-tricot underwear (bra, panties, girdle, slip); cotton and flannel pajamas; cotton and rayon stockings in a suntan shade; and cotton lisle anklets in the khaki shade.[16]

On duty, WAC officers usually wore the prescribed service uniform. Enlisted women whose duties were administrative or light repair and maintenance wore the season's service uniform (skirt, shirt, tie, garrison cap) with or without the sweater or service jacket. Those enlisted women assigned to medical or dental duties initially wore a blue cotton crepe dress, formerly worn by Army nurses. In 1945, however, it was replaced by a short-sleeved, rose-beige cotton dress (*Plate 11*).[17] The work uniform for enlisted women assigned as mechanics or as chauffeurs, bus, or truck drivers was a one-piece coverall made of cotton jean cloth in the khaki shade (*Plate 12*).[18] Early in 1943, the coverall was replaced by dark herringbone twill (HBT) trousers and shirt for year-round wear (*Plate 13*).[19] HBTs were also worn for field training and as an outdoor work

[13] Risch, *A Wardrobe for Women in the Army*, p. 50.
[14] AR 600-37, 16 Apr 45, CMH Library.
[15] SR 600-37-2, 16 Jul 51, CMH Library.
[16] AR 600-39, 5 Jan 44, CMH Library.
[17] Risch, *A Wardrobe for Women in the Army*, p. 96.
[18] Ibid., p. 34.
[19] Ibid., p. 138.

uniform. In 1944 cotton khaki slacks, shirts, and caps became the standard issue for women assigned for duty in the Southwest Pacific Area and other warm weather climates (*Plate 14*).[20] The special duty uniform for women assigned to outdoor work or duty in cold weather climates included olive-drab wool serge slacks with wool shirts, a field jacket with a wool liner, wool gloves with leather outer gloves, and an olive-drab garrison cap. In hazardous areas, on field exercises, or during alerts, a helmet liner and helmet were issued to the women (*Plate 15*).[21]

For physical training, sports, and fatigue duties (kitchen police, etc.), enlisted women received a green and white seersucker (later brown and white) dress with matching bloomers or shorts called an exercise suit (*Plate 16*). With it, the women wore tennis shoes or field shoes with cotton or wool anklets, depending upon the season or occasion, along with a fatigue hat that had a wide brim and a crown that came to a peak.[22]

During the postwar era (1945–1950), women's uniforms changed little. In March 1946, women could buy and wear brown leather pumps of plain design (i.e., closed toe and heel, no decorative features) on duty.[23] The wearing of pumps off duty had been authorized in March 1944 (optional purchase) to wear with the off-duty dresses.[24] In 1946, nylon hose were issued for the first time to Army women.[25] It was the fashion of the day that women's hose, except cotton, had a seam down the back of the leg, and military women had to be diligent in ensuring that this seam was always straight. The last uniform change in the postwar era was the substitution of a dark olive-drab tie in 1949 that replaced the cotton khaki necktie. The change applied to both men's and women's uniforms. The dark tie provided a good contrast against the khaki shirt and improved the overall appearance of the Army uniform.[26]

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[20] Ibid., p. 139.
[21] Ibid., pp. 80, 126, 131.
[22] AR 600-39, 5 Jan 44, CMH Library.
[23] AR 600-37, Change 5, 10 Apr 46, CMH Library.
[24] WD Cir 47, CMH Library.
[25] AR 600-37, Change 5, 10 Apr 46, CMH Library.
[26] AR 600-37-1, 13 Jun 49, CMH Library.

Plate 1. Enlisted woman in the winter service uniform (1942-1951), a dark olive-drab wool material with matching service cap (the "Hobby Hat"). Officers wore the same uniform.

Plate 2. WAC officer in the summer service uniform (1942–1951), a heavy cotton khaki cloth with matching service cap. Enlisted women wore the same uniform.

Plate 3. Enlisted woman in a summer uniform and cap made of a lighter weight material (1944–1951)—a tan tropical worsted cloth. Officers also wore this uniform.

Plate 4. WAC officer in the winter off-duty dress (1944–1951), a grayish-pink wool fabric. Enlisted women also wore this dress.

Plate 5. Enlisted woman in the summer off-duty dress (1944–1951), a creamy pearl-white rayon shantung material. Officers also wore this dress.

Plate 6. Enlisted woman in the winter service uniform with the field jacket called the "battle jacket" or "Ike jacket" (1945–1951), an olive-drab wool material. Officers also wore this uniform.

Plate 7. Officer in the semi-dress uniform called the "pinks and greens" uniform (1942–1954), a dark olive-drab elastique wool material for the jacket and a light drab wool skirt. Enlisted women did not wear this uniform.

Plate 8. Officer in the white dress uniform (1942–1951), a tropical worsted material. Enlisted women were authorized to wear the white dress uniform in 1951.

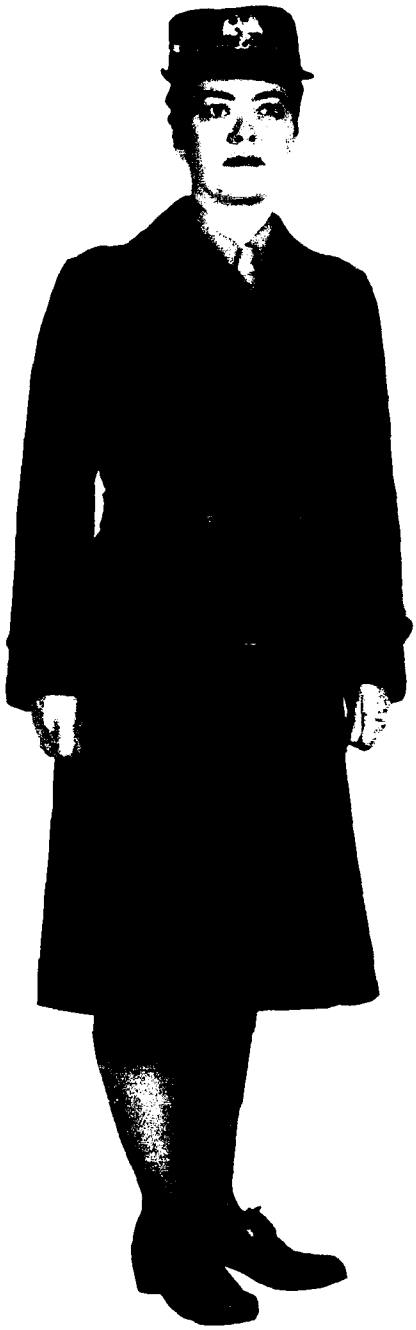

Plate 9. WAC officer's overcoat (1942–1951), an olive-drab wool doeskin cloth. Enlisted women wore the same style coat in a wool serge cloth without the shoulder tabs.

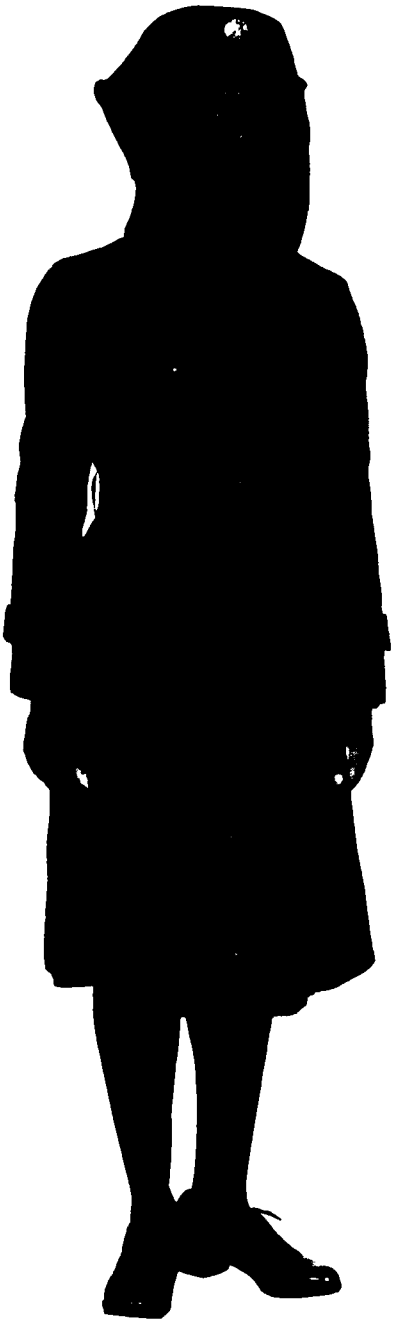

Plate 10. Enlisted woman in the all-weather utility coat (1942–1951), an olive-drab tackle twill material with a liner and a button-on hood. The officers' utility coat had shoulder tabs for insignia of rank.

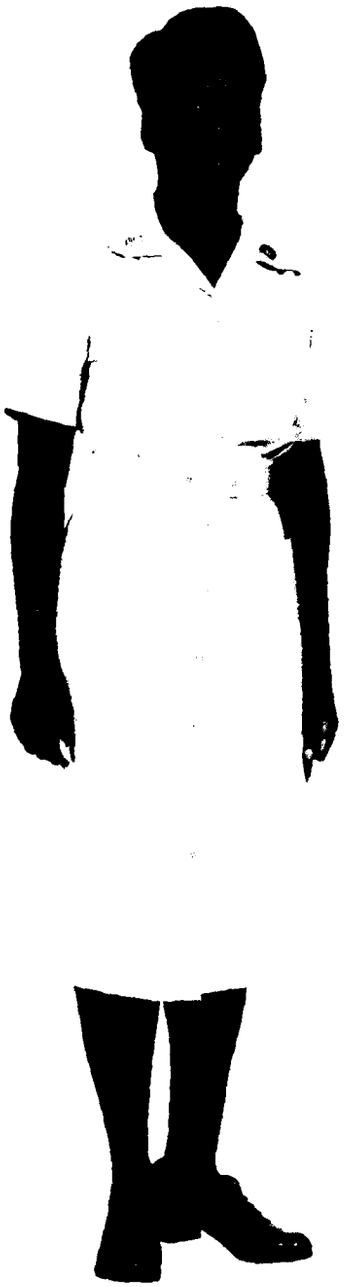

Plate 11. Enlisted woman in the hospital duty dress (1945–1962), a rose-beige (later tan) lawn cotton material, worn with matching garrison cap. This uniform was not worn by officers.

Plate 12. Enlisted woman in the one-piece work suit or coverall (1942–1943), a khaki cotton jean material. This uniform was worn by officers only during unusual circumstances.

Plate 13. Enlisted woman in the two-piece work uniform (1943–1969), a dark herringbone twill (HBT) material. Worn primarily by enlisted women, it was worn by officers when required.

Plate 14. Enlisted woman in the hot weather field uniform (1943–1954), a khaki cotton poplin material. This uniform was also worn by officers under some circumstances.

Plate 15. WAC officer in the winter field uniform (1944–1954), consisting of olive-drab slacks, wool shirt (worn open or closed) and field jacket worn with a wool serge garrison cap. Helmet liners and helmets were worn on field exercises, during alerts, or while working in hazardous areas. Enlisted women also wore this uniform.

Plate 16. Enlisted woman in the year-round, seersucker exercise suit worn for training classes, for sports, and for fatigue duties (KP, etc.). Officers also wore this uniform.

The Taupe Uniform, 1951–1959

After Congress authorized women in the Regular Army and the Army Reserve in 1948, the secretary of the Army approved the development of a wholly new uniform for women. The director of the WAC, the chief of the Army Nurse Corps, and the chief of the Women's Medical Specialist Corps advised representatives of the women's fashion industry on fabric and style requirements. The experts then proceeded to design fashionable new uniforms for women. Entries were submitted, and in 1950 the directors and chiefs of the women's branches and the secretary of the Army approved an ensemble of uniforms designed by Hattie Carnegie, one of the foremost women's fashion designers.[27]

Breaking away completely from the concept of having women's uniforms resemble men's as much as possible, the new service uniform featured a brown taupe color, distinctly feminine lines, and a light-weight wool fabric for year-round wear The jacket had a round collar, closed lapels, five buttons from neck to waist, a nipped-in waistline, slightly padded hipline and shoulders, and two sets of decorative pockets (*Plate 17*). The service hat had a molded crown and an up-curving half-brim rising on the left side. To balance the roll of the brim, the hat insignia was worn off center on the right hand side. The special duty uniform, worn for work that required slacks, included a wool taupe battle jacket and wool taupe slacks, taupe garrison cap, field shoes or cafe brown oxfords. The service uniform ensemble also included two shirts—a rayon broadcloth and a cotton chambray—both long sleeved. The shirts, sometimes called shirtwaists or waists, were worn completely buttoned to the top; later a necktab was added (*Plate 18*). When a woman left her immediate office or work space, she was required to wear the wool taupe jacket.[28]

For summer wear the women received an open-collar, short-sleeved, cotton taupe dress with a matching garrison cap and tan cotton gloves (*Plate 19*). The dress had pockets in the skirt, antiqued bronze buttons, and shoulder loops. For best appearance, both dress and cap were lightly starched.[29]

Cafe brown accessories—handbag, oxfords, leather gloves—replaced those of russet brown. Taupe shade hose replaced the brown shade nylons issued to enlisted women after World War II. Outer garments included a wool serge taupe overcoat with button-in liner that could be worn in both the raincoat and overcoat (*Plate 20*), a nylon-rayon taupe

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[27] *Role of the WAC*, Special Text 35-150, US WAC Center & School, Aug 75, p. C-10.
[28] SR 600-37-2, 17 Jul 51, CMH Library.
[29] Ibid.

raincoat with removable hood (*Plate 21*), and tan rayon crepe scarf with fringed ends. Dull antiqued bronze buttons and hat insignia replaced the shiny brass ones. In the summer the women wore tan cotton gloves; in winter, cafe brown leather gloves. A taupe cardigan sweater replaced the khaki-colored sweater.[30]

In 1949 a monetary clothing allowance system had been introduced to provide enlisted personnel with a maintenance allowance to replace worn-out clothing. In 1951 women began to receive an additional $30 to purchase lingerie and $12 to purchase a pair of pumps or dress oxfords.[31] After this, women no longer received lingerie as items of issue. However, they continued to receive six pairs of nylon stockings until 1964, when they received $3 to purchase them instead.[32]

The uniform for enlisted women who worked in hospitals and clinics changed in 1951 from the rose-beige cotton dress to a light tan, lawn cotton dress of the same style. In 1958, a light taupe, three-piece exercise suit (cotton chambray shirt, denim skirt, and shorts) replaced the two-piece brown and white seersucker dress and shorts worn for fatigue duties, physical training classes, and sports (*Plate 22*).[33]

The women's white uniform was restyled in the same design as the taupe service uniform and was worn with white accessories but without a tie or collar tab (*Plate 23*). In September 1952, an evening dress uniform was authorized for wear by commissioned and warrant officers. This optional purchase ensemble could be worn to formal social functions. It consisted of a blue wool princess-style jacket, floor-length wool skirt, white silk blouse, blue tiara with gold thread embroidery, blue suede pumps, white kid gloves, and a finger-tip length blue wool cape with a gold rayon lining (*Plate 24*).[34] Few officers other than the director of the WAC and the chiefs of the Army's other women's branches purchased this uniform because it was so expensive. In June 1957, a more affordable dress uniform, the Army blue uniform, was authorized as an optional purchase uniform for officers and enlisted women. Called "dress blues," this blue wool uniform included a white shirt with black collar tab. It could be worn in place of the service uniform at official and unofficial events when prescribed. It could be worn with or without a dark blue, finger-tip length cape with a gold satin lining (*Plate 25*).[35] The women's dress blue uniform included a shoulder strap on which officers wore their

[30] Ibid.
[31] SR 32-20-1, 27 Apr 49 and 7 Dec 51, CMH Library.
[32] AR 700-8400-1, Change 11, 21 Sep 64, p. 59, CMH Library.
[33] SR 600-37-2, 17 Jul 51, CMH Library.
[34] SR 600-37-10, 16 Sep 52, CMH Library.
[35] SR 600-37-2, Change 7, 13 Jul 57, CMH Library.

insignia of rank, but in October 1959 the Army Uniform Board authorized women officers to wear shoulder boards with their insignia of rank as male officers did.[36]

The taupe uniform proved unpopular from the moment it was issued in 1951. Officers disliked giving up their beloved "pinks and greens" for the dull taupe shade. Enlisted women complained about working in a fitted jacket and shirtwaist both of which had to be worn buttoned to the neck most of the time. The light-weight wool cloth shrank, lost its shape, and, after several dry cleanings, wrinkled easily. It was too warm to wear in the summer. The one-sided brim made the hat difficult to wear correctly. And, despite the claims of the fabric manufacturer, the taupe raincoat was not water repellent. Adding to those complaints, many women missed the highly polished brass insignia and buttons, and many thought that the taupe shade was unbecoming to their complexions.[37] In 1953, to alleviate some of the problems, women were authorized to purchase the taupe uniform in cooler and more wrinkle-resistant fabrics (tropical worsted, etc.).[38] In another concession, during the summer of 1954 only, officers and enlisted women could wear the white uniform (optional purchase) on duty with the cafe brown shoes, bag, gloves, and white hat.[39] The most welcome relief from the taupe uniform came in 1954 in the form of a newly designed summer uniform as an optional purchase item for officers and enlisted women. The new uniform was called the Army beige uniform and could be worn on and off duty. Worn with a tan shirt and cafe brown collar tab, it consisted of a light taupe jacket with an open-lapel collar, matching skirt, and a garrison cap as well as a service hat (*Plate 26*).[40] It was offered in a choice of tropical worsted, gabardine, or a rayon twill weave; most women preferred the tropical worsted material. Accessories included the cafe brown handbag, oxfords or pumps, tan cotton gloves, and tan rayon scarf. This uniform became very popular and was dubbed the "Silver Taupe" by the women. In 1962, the Army green hat and black accessories began to be worn with it, and, in that same year, it became a mandatory item for purchase and wear by WAC officers.[41] A tan vinyl raincoat was authorized for purchase by all Army women in May 1960, but it could not be worn in formations.[42]

Despite the modifications, complaints about the taupe uniform increased yearly. In 1954 when the Army announced that men would have a new Army green uniform to be worn with black accessories, the chiefs

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[36] AR 670-30, 20 Oct 59, CMH Library
[37] *Role of the WAC*, p. C-4
[38] SR 600-37-2, Change 3, 5 Jan 53, CMH Library
[39] SR 600-37-2, Change 6, 13 May 54, CMH Library
[40] Ibid
[41] AR 670-30, Change 4, 5 Jul 62, CMH Library
[42] DA Cir 670-3, 12 May 60, CMH Library

of the women's services had grasped the opportunity to ask for a matching women's green uniform. In March 1956, the Army Uniform Board had approved the concept, and within a year the design for a women's green winter service uniform and a two-piece green cord uniform for summer had been approved.[43]

[43] ODWAC Chronological History, 20 Mar 56, 6 Dec 56, 7 Feb 57, ODWAC Ref File, History, CMH.

Plate 17. Officer in the year-round, wool taupe service uniform (1951–1960), worn with tan shirtwaist, cafe brown oxfords or pumps, and matching service hat. This uniform was also worn by enlisted women.

Plate 18. Enlisted woman in the tan cotton shirtwaist (1951–1960), worn with the wool taupe service uniform and the work uniform (HBTs).

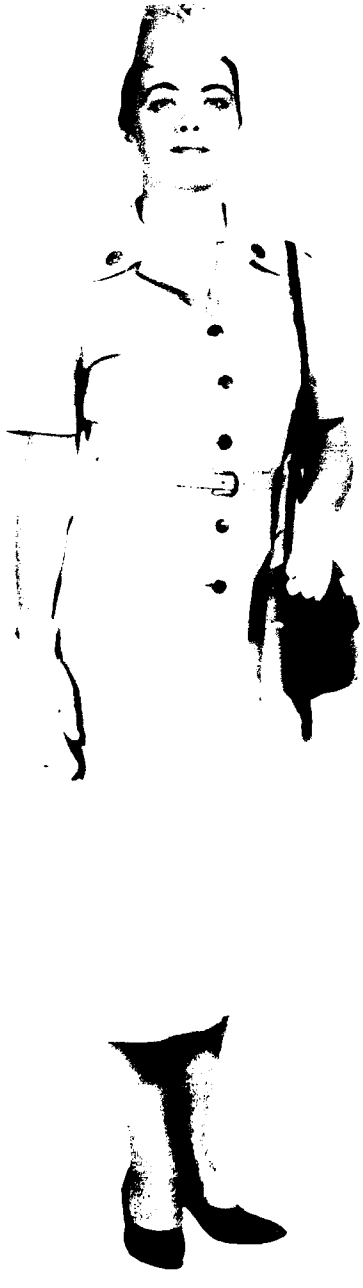

Plate 19. Enlisted woman in the summer cotton dress (1951–1959), worn with matching garrison cap, cafe brown pumps or oxfords, tan cotton gloves, and cafe brown handbag with strap worn over the left shoulder. Officers also wore this dress.

Plate 20. Officer in the double-breasted wool serge taupe overcoat (1951 1968), with button-in lining that could also be worn in the taupe raincoat. The coat was worn with the wool taupe hat or garrison cap, cafe brown leather purse, cafe brown pumps or oxfords, and gloves. Enlisted woman also wore this overcoat.

Plate 21. Officer in the taupe raincoat (1951–1966), a nylon-rayon cloth. This raincoat, also worn by enlisted women, had a removable hood and was worn with the button-in liner from the overcoat. If a scarf were worn, the coat could be unbuttoned to the second button. It was worn with cafe brown leather purse and gloves or, in summer, the tan cotton gloves.

Plate 22. Enlisted woman in the taupe three-piece exercise suit (1951–1971), consisting of a cotton chambray shirt and denim cloth skirt and shorts. Later blue, it was worn with white tennis shoes and cotton taupe anklets for fatigue duties (KP, etc.), physical training, and sports activities. Officers also wore this uniform.

Plate 23. Officer in the Hattie Carnegie style white dress uniform (1951–1960). It was worn with white long-sleeved rayon, nylon, or silk shirtwaist; no tie or necktab since the jacket was worn completely buttoned at all times; white leather or white fabric pumps or oxfords; and white cotton or nylon fabric gloves. Beginning in 1951, enlisted women could wear this uniform off duty.

Plate 24. Officer's evening dress uniform (1952–1969), consisting of a blue wool jacket with gold bullion embroidered insignia of grade and branch on the sleeves, floor-length wool skirt, cape with gold rayon lining and gold bullion shoulder straps with embroidered insignia of grade, and a headband with laurel leaf, gold bullion embroidery. It was worn with a white silk shirtwaist, white kid gloves, and blue suede pumps. This uniform was not worn by enlisted women.

Plate 25. Enlisted woman in the Army blue uniform (1957–present), a wool barathea material, worn with black accessories. This uniform was also worn by officers.

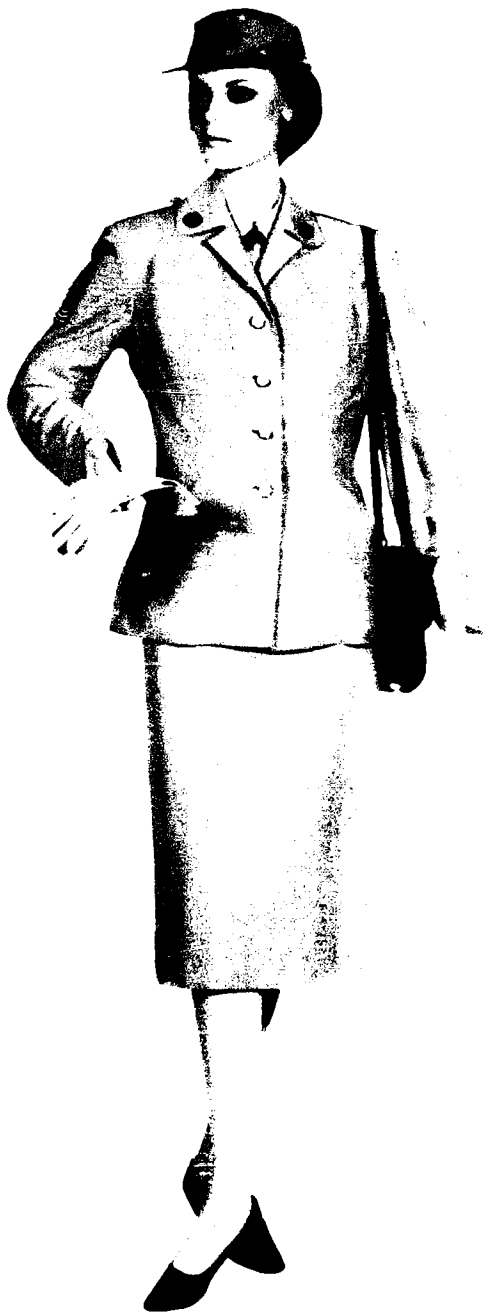

Plate 26. Enlisted woman in the optional purchase Army beige uniform (1954-1968), made in a tropical worsted or gabardine fabric. This summer uniform was worn with cafe brown accessories until 1962, when black accessories were prescribed. This uniform, sometimes called "the silver taupe," was also worn by officers.

The Army Green Uniform, 1959–1978

The first item in the women's green uniform ensemble was the Army green cord suit, issued in March 1959, in time for the summer season. It was a two-piece, green and white striped, cotton polyester suit accented by a dark green cord trim on collars and cuffs and on the garrison cap (*Plate 27*). The women's winter Army green service uniform, issued beginning 1 July 1960, consisted of a wool serge skirt, jacket, garrison cap and service hat (*Plate 28*). The uniform was worn with a long-sleeved tan cotton shirt and a black necktab. The buttons and hat insignia were an antiqued gold color metal.[44] In 1966, in addition to the wool service uniform, enlisted women received another in a tropical worsted fabric. This addition made the uniform suitable for year-round wear, and the Army beige uniform was then phased out of the women's wardrobe. The phase-out was completed on 1 December 1968.[45]

The changeover from cafe brown to black accessories (shoes, leather gloves, handbag, necktab) was completed in August 1962. For summer wear, the tan cotton gloves and scarf were replaced in 1962 with gray-beige items. A short-sleeved tan shirt was added in 1966 and, beginning in 1972, women could wear a white shirt and black collar tab with the green service uniform.[46] The Navy women's handbag was adopted as a standard item of issue for military women in 1965, but its small size made it unacceptable to Army women and in 1969 the Army women's handbag was reinstated as a substitute item.[47] Beginning in 1960, women wore seamless hose with their uniforms when not in military formations such as reveille and retreat.[48] In 1962, gold color metal buttons and hat insignia replaced the antiqued gold insignia on both the green service uniform, the green cord, and the beige uniforms. In 1963, as an optional purchase, women could wear anodized aluminum buttons on their uniforms.[49] The Army green service hat did not enter the supply system until July 1963. In the interim, and seasonally, women wore the Army green cord or green wool garrison caps. It was still later, 1966 and 1967 respectively, when they received the Army green raincoat with button-on havelock (*Plate 29*) and the Army green overcoat (*Plate 30*).[50]

Though the phase-in period for the women's Army green wardrobe had been lengthy, by 1 July 1970 all taupe uniform items were obsolete and women wore the green uniform exclusively.

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[44] AR 670-30, 20 Oct 59, and Change 3, 22 Jun 61, CMH Library.

[45] WAC Staff Advisers Memo, 3 May 66, p. 3, ODWAC Ref File, Memos, CMH.

[46] AR 670-30, Change 1, 30 May 60, and Change 4, 5 Jul 62, Append., pp. 63-64, ODWAC Chronological History, 2 Jun 72, ODWAC Ref File, History, CMH.

[47] Ibid., 8 Apr 65 and 15 Aug 69.

[48] AR 670-30, Change 7, 16 Dec 64, CMH Library.

[49] 670-30, Change 3, 22 Jun 61, and Change 6, 2 Jul 63, CMH Library.

[50] 670-30, 25 Aug 66, CMH Library.

The work uniform for enlisted women who held medical or dental MOSs (military occupational specialties) significantly improved in 1962 when they were issued the white hospital duty dress also worn by nurses and other women officers in the Medical Department of the Army (*Plate 31*). When approved by their hospital commanders, enlisted women could purchase and wear white oxfords. Some commanders reserved these items for wear only by women officers as a matter of identity.[51] In 1975, when pantsuits became a common item of wear by American women, a white pantsuit (optional purchase) was added to the women's hospital duty uniform (*Plate 32*).[52]

The work uniform for cooks and bakers (food handlers) had few revisions between 1942 and 1975. A yellow food-handler's uniform was tested at WAC Center in 1970, but was never adopted because the white color was overwhelmingly preferred by the enlisted women.[53] The basic duty uniform was a white cotton dress with wrap-around skirt that could be reversed as the uniform became soiled, an apron, and a chef's cap (*Plate 33*). In 1963, a disposable paper cap replaced the chef's cotton cap.[54] In 1975, a white pantsuit with hip length tunic and slacks was added to the food handler's uniform.[55]

Between 1943 and 1969, the year-round women's field duty uniform, usually called fatigues, continued to be the olive-drab herringbone twill (HBT) shirt, trousers, and garrison cap. After the women's hot weather field uniform—cotton khaki slacks and shirt—had been declared obsolete in 1954, HBTs were worn year-round.[56] However, after nurses and WACs were assigned to duty in Vietnam in the 1960s, HBTs proved to be too warm for the climate. In 1969, women serving in Vietnam received a new hot weather field uniform consisting of a light-weight, olive green, cotton poplin shirt and slacks and utility (baseball) cap (*Plate 34*). In 1966, black service boots were issued for wear with the women's field uniform.[57] And, in 1969, the cold weather field uniform changed from the taupe wool jacket and slacks to an olive green, wool serge jacket, slacks, skirt, and garrison cap, and a wool flannel or cotton shirt.[58]

The taupe exercise suit was replaced in 1969 with a three-piece blue cotton chambray outfit.[59] In 1972, the exercise suit was renamed the training duty uniform and a new two-toned, green uniform was issued. It consisted of cotton poplin shirt, shorts, and skirt worn with the green cord or Army green garrison cap. Also that year, women drill sergeants

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[51] AR 670-30, Change 4, 5 Jul 62, CMH Library.
[52] AR 670-30, 24 Oct 75, CMH Library.
[53] ODWAC Chronological History, 26 May 69, ODWAC Ref File, History, CMH.
[54] AR 670-30, Change 6, 2 Jul 63, CMH Library.
[55] AR 670-30, 24 Oct 75, CMH Library.
[56] SR 600-37-2, Change 6, 13 May 54, CMH Library.
[57] AR 670-30, 25 Aug 66, CMH Library.
[58] AR 670-30, 13 May 69, CMH Library.
[59] Ibid.

received a distinctive hat that resembled the Australian bush hat (*Plate 35*).[60]

During the late 1950s and 1960s, the style and number of women's dress uniforms increased so that they had one to correspond to each of the men's. The style of the women's white uniform had changed in 1959 to the open-collar style of the beige uniform (*Plate 36*).[61] And the style of the blue, white, and beige hats changed in 1962 to that of the new Army green hat. In 1959, the shade of the women's Army evening dress uniform had changed from dark blue to the midnight blue of the men's evening dress uniform.[62] Then, in 1967, a major innovation occurred when the Army chief of staff approved a black evening dress and a white evening dress uniform for women. Each was worn with a black floor-length skirt and either a black or a white mess jacket. The uniform included a white shirtwaist with black necktab and black cummerbund. The black evening dress uniform (*Plate 37*) was worn with black accessories—purse, gloves, pumps; white accessories accompanied the white evening dress uniform (*Plate 38*). At the same time the chief of staff authorized formal mess uniforms for women—the black mess (*Plate 39*) and the white mess (*Plate 40*) and the all-white mess uniform (no plate). Mess jackets and skirts could be interchanged with accessories to fit the occasion and proper uniform. The all-white mess uniform consisted of a white jacket, street-length white skirt, white cummerbund, black necktab, and white accessories. A dark blue wool, fingertip-length cape or a black wool, street-length cape could be worn with the black evening dress or black mess uniforms.[63] In 1981, enlisted women were authorized to wear the mess uniforms.[64]

Anticipating a decline in male soldiers following the end of the draft, the Army initiated a major WAC recruiting campaign in 1972 that increased by thousands the number of WACs on duty. The overall expansion campaign for the new all-volunteer Army inspired the director of the WAC and the other chiefs of the women's branches of the Army to recommend the redesign of the summer uniform and changes in other items of the women's wardrobe. In June 1972, the Army chief of staff authorized for optional purchase and wear with the Army green service uniform, a black beret, black raincoat, black patent leather pumps, white shirt, white scarf and gloves, and a small black clutch purse. At the same time, he modified Army tradition by permitting women in uniform to carry black umbrellas when in uniform, but not while they were in military formations (*Plate 41*).[65] In 1974, a black raincoat and overcoat

[60] AR 670-30, Change 3, 30 Jun 72.
[61] AR 670-30, 20 Oct 59, and Change 4, 5 Jul 62, CMH Library.
[62] AR 670-30, 20 Oct 59, CMH Library.
[63] WAC Staff Advisers Memo, 27 Apr 67, pp. 2-3, ODWAC Ref File, Memos, CMH.
[64] AR 670-1, 15 Feb 81, CMH Library.
[65] DA Msg, to all holders of AR 670-30, 29 Jun 72, ODWAC Ref File, Uniforms, CMH.

combination with removable liner and havelock was adopted to replace the green raincoat and green overcoat.[66] The black beret became an item of issue in 1975; it replaced the green hat in 1978 and the green garrison cap in 1980.[67] The white shirt, scarf, and gloves became items of issue in 1975, replacing those tan and gray-beige items.[68]

By far the most drastic change in years in women's items occurred in 1974 with the introduction of a (then optional purchase) redesigned summer uniform—a mint green polyester knit dress with a long-sleeved jacket. It was worn with the black beret or green hat, black oxfords or pumps, black handbag, white gloves and scarf. However, the princess style of the dress was not comfortable for most work situations and it was not adopted. In its place, the Army tested and in 1975 chose a mint green polyester knit skirt and jacket uniform (*Plate 42*).[69] Both long- and short-sleeved jackets were issued to give the women a choice. A shirt was not worn with this uniform. It replaced the green cord uniform as an item of issue in 1975. The green cord was declared obsolete after 1 October 1981.[70]

Another major change in women's uniforms occurred in 1976 with the issue of a green pantsuit.[71] Women assigned military police duties were the first to wear the pantsuit as a duty uniform (September 1976). It consisted of polyester wool gabardine slacks and jacket, worn with either a gray-green sleeveless turtleneck tunic or a white shirt with black neck-tab (*Plate 43*). A white turtleneck tunic was tested but not adopted. The green pantsuit became an item of issue in November 1977.[72]

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[66] AR 670-30, 24 Oct 75, CMH Library.
[67] AR 670-1, 5 Feb 81, CMH Library.
[68] AR 670-30, 24 Oct 75, CMH Library.
[69] Ibid.
[70] AR 670-1, 15 Feb 81, CMH Library.
[71] DA Msg 201507Z Feb 76, to Maj Coms, sub: Army Women's Pantsuit, ODWAC Ref File, Uniforms, CMH.
[72] ODWAC Chronological History, 1 Dec 76, ODWAC Ref File, History, CMH.

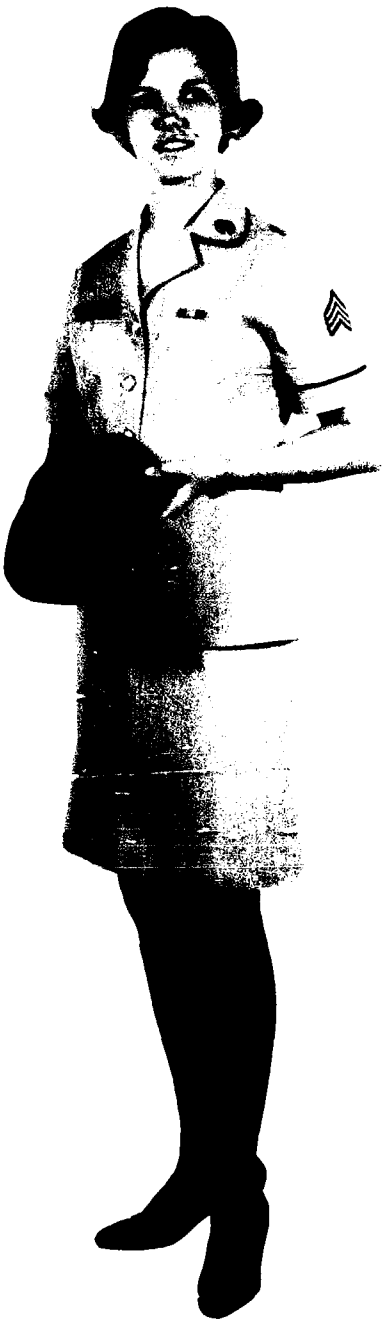

Plate 27. Enlisted woman in the Army green cord uniform (1959–1980), of green and white striped polyester and cotton cord material. Worn initially with a matching green cord cap, it was later worn with the Army green hat and the black beret. Officers also wore this uniform.

Plate 28. WAC officer in the Army green service uniform (1960-1971), a wool serge skirt, jacket, garrison cap and hat. In 1966, in addition to the wool service uniform, enlisted women were issued a tropical worsted uniform, making this a year-round uniform.

Plate 29. Officer in the Army green raincoat (1966–1985), with removable havelock but no liner. Made of a water-repellant cotton-polyester poplin material, this raincoat could be worn open at the collar, with or without the gray-beige scarf. It was also worn by enlisted women.

Plate 30. WAC officer in the women's green overcoat of wool gabardine with removable liner (1967–1985). The overcoat collar could be worn open or closed, with or without the gray-beige scarf. The overcoat was also worn by enlisted women.

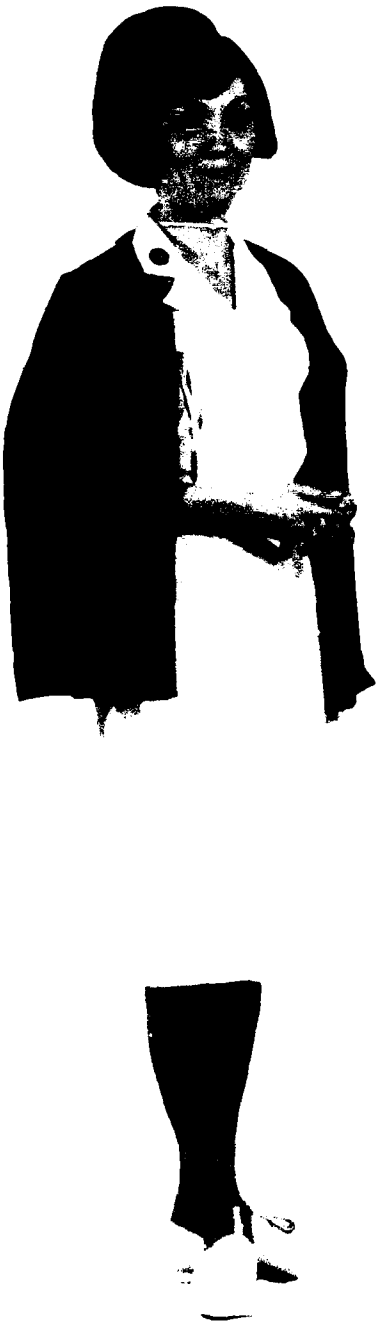

Plate 31. Enlisted woman in the white hospital duty dress (1962–1975). Of cotton poplin, this uniform was worn with black oxfords or optional purchase white oxfords when authorized. The women's green cardigan sweater could be worn on duty. Women officers in the Army Medical Department wore this uniform with cap, white stockings, and oxfords. Civil service employees performing patient care could also wear the white uniform.

Plate 32. Enlisted woman in the hospital duty uniform pantsuit authorized in 1975 as an optional purchase item—it later became an item of issue. Women officers in the Army Medical Department also wore this uniform on duty in medical care facilities.

Plate 33. Enlisted woman in the traditional food handler's uniform. This uniform had few modifications between 1944 and 1975, when a pantsuit was authorized for food handlers. Officers did not wear this uniform.

Plate 34. Enlisted woman in the hot weather field uniform (1969–1981), olive-green cotton poplin shirt and slacks worn with a utility cap. Officers also wore this uniform.

Plate 35. Drill sergeant in the year-round training duty uniform (1971–1981), a light green cotton poplin shirt and darker green cotton shorts and skirt worn with a garrison cap or, as shown here, with the distinctive hat worn only by women trained to be drill sergeants. Upon certain occasions (instructing, etc.) women officers also wore the training duty uniform.

Plate 36. Officer wearing the Army white uniform in the open collar style introduced in 1959. The straight-brimmed, matching fabric hat replaced the turned-down brim style of the taupe hat in 1962. Enlisted women also wore this uniform.

Plate 37. Officer wearing the Army black evening dress uniform authorized in 1967. Enlisted women did not wear this uniform.

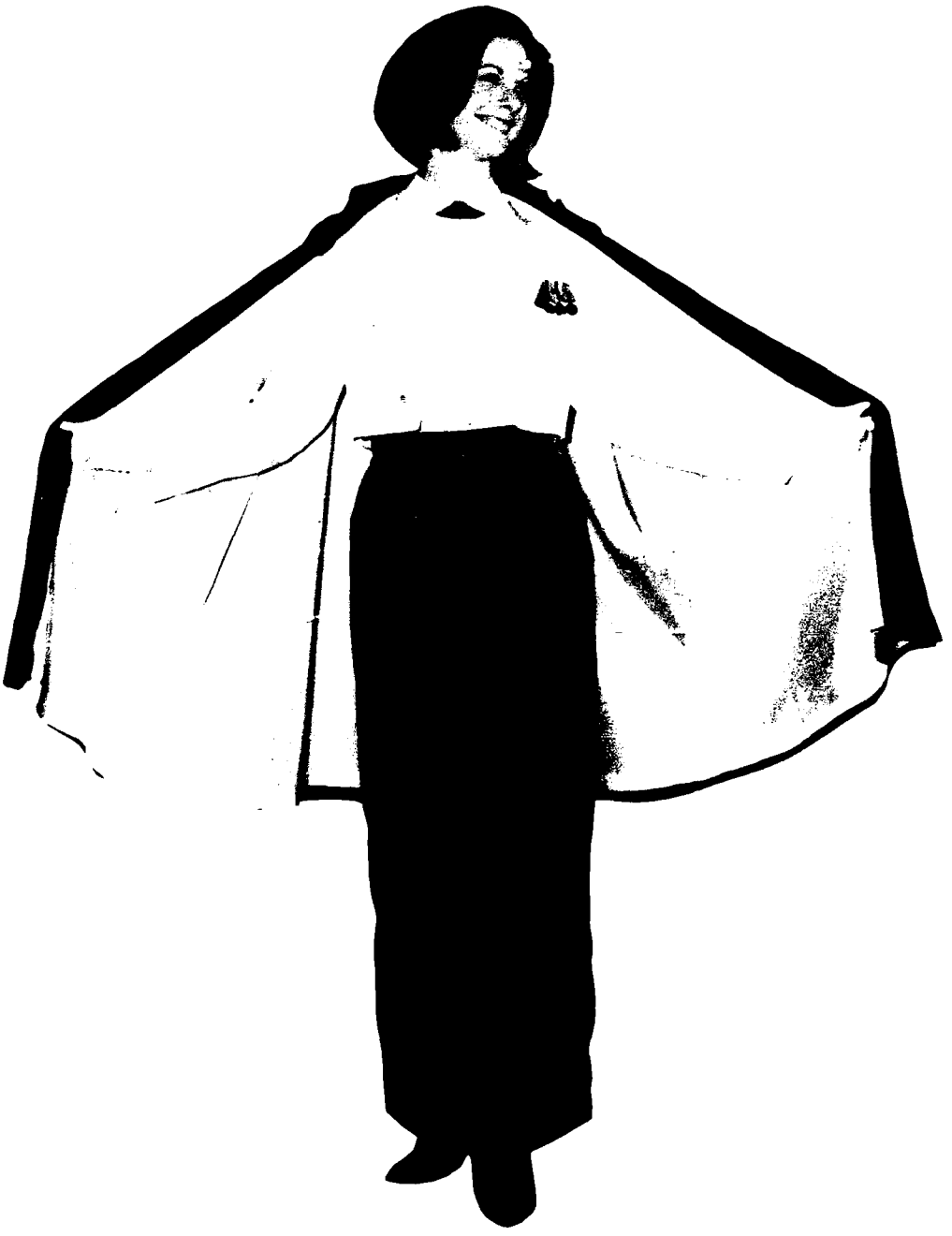

Plate 38. Officer in the Army white evening dress uniform (authorized 1967) with the optional, street-length, black wool cape. Enlisted women did not wear this uniform.

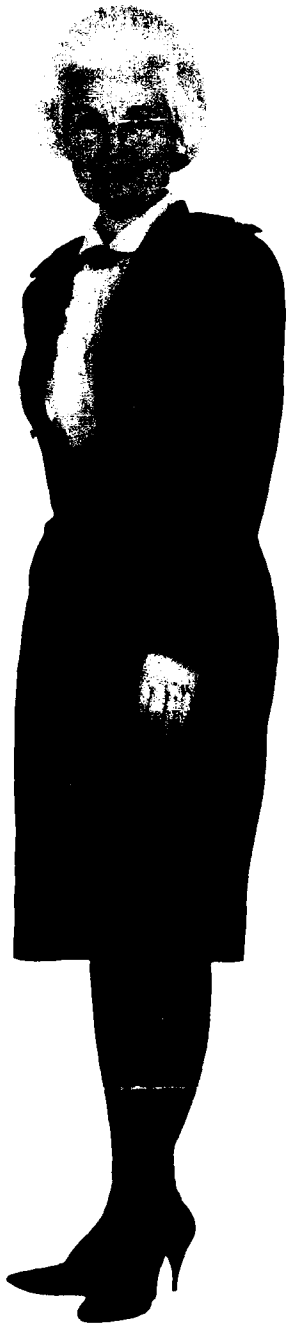

Plate 39. Officer in the Army black mess uniform (authorized 1967). Enlisted women were authorized to wear all the mess uniforms in 1981.

Plate 40. Officer in the Army white mess uniform, authorized in 1967.

Plate 41. Enlisted woman in the black raincoat, black beret, white scarf, and carrying the black umbrella authorized for women in 1972. Officers also wore these items.

Plate 42. Enlisted woman in the mint green summer uniform made of a polyester knit material (1975–1985). A long or short-sleeved jacket was worn with this uniform.

Plate 43. Enlisted woman in the Army green pantsuit issued in 1976 to women who performed military police duties and in 1977 to all enlisted women. The jacket and slacks were of a polyester wool gabardine. A white shirt with black necktab or a rib-knit gray-green turtleneck tunic was worn with this uniform. Officers also wore this uniform.

Abbreviations, Acronyms, and Initialisms

AAA	Antiaircraft artillery
AAF	Army Air Forces
ACofS	Assistant chief of staff
ACSFOR	Assistant chief of staff for force development
AFEES	Armed Forces Examining and Entrance Station
AFES	Armed Forces Examining Station
AFQT	Armed Forces Qualification Test
AFWST	Armed Forces Women's Selection Test
AGCT	Army General Classification Test
AGF	Army Ground Forces
AMSC	Army Medical Specialist Corps
ANC	Army Nurse Corps
ANG	Army National Guard
AR	Army regulation
ASA	Assistant secretary of the Army
ASA (M&RA)	Assistant secretary of Army (Manpower and Reserve Affairs)
ASD	Assistant secretary of Defense
ASD (M)	Assistant secretary of Defense (Manpower)
ASD (M&RA)	Assistant secretary of Defense (Manpower and Reserve Affairs)
ASD (MRA&L)	Assistant secretary of Defense (Manpower, Reserve Affairs, and Logistics)
ASR	Adjusted service rating
ASU	Army service unit
AUS	Army of the United States
AWCOC	Associate WAC Company Officers Course
BIET	Basic Initial Entry Training
Bn	Battalion
BOB	Bureau of the Budget
BT	Basic training

Bul	Bulletin
Bur	Bureau
CASP	Civilian Acquired Skills Program
CG	Commanding general
CINC	Commander in chief
CINCUNC	Commander in chief, U.N. Command
Cir	Circular
CMH	Center of Military History
CNO	Chief of naval operations
CofS	Chief of staff
Comdr	Commander
CONARC	Continental Army Command
CONUS	Continental United States
DA	Department of the Army
DA GO	Department of the Army general order
DACOWITS	Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services
DASA	Deputy assistant secretary of the Army
DASA (M&RA)	Deputy assistant secretary of the Army (Manpower and Reserve Affairs)
DASA (RA)	Deputy assistant secretary of the Army (Reserve Affairs)
DASD (M&RA)	Deputy assistant secretary of Defense (Manpower and Reserve Affairs)
DASD (M&RA) MPP	Deputy assistant secretary of Defense (Manpower and Reserve Affairs) military personnel policy
DCS	Deputy chief of staff
DCSLOG	Deputy chief of staff for Logistics
DCSOPS	Deputy chief of staff for Operations
DCSPER	Deputy chief of staff for Personnel
DepDir	Deputy director
DF	Disposition form
Dir	Director; directive
Div	Division
DMPM	Director, Military Personnel Management
DMPP	Director, Military Personnel Policies
DOD	Department of Defense
DOPMA	Defense Officer Personnel Management Act
DOPMS	Defense Officer Personnel Management System

DOT	Director, Organization and Training
D/PAD	Director, Personnel and Administration
DPD	Director, Procurement and Distribution
DPPB	Director, Plans, Programs, and Budget
DSM	Distinguished Service Medal
DWAC	Director, Women's Army Corps
EEO	Equal Employment Opportunity
EO	Executive order
EPD	Enlisted Personnel Directorate
ERA	Equal Rights Amendment
ERC	Enlisted Reserve Corps
ETO	European Theater of Operations
ETS	Expiration of time in service
EWITA	Evaluation of Women in the Army study
FECOM	Far East Command
FMCR	Fleet Marine Corps Reserve
FORSCOM	Army Forces Command
G-1	Assistant chief of staff, Personnel
G-2	Assistant chief of staff, Intelligence
G-3	Assistant chief of staff, Operations; Assistant chief of staff, Organization and Training
G-4	Assistant chief of staff, Logistics
GAO	General Accounting Office
GED	General educational development [test]
GHQ	General headquarters
GO	General order
GPO	Government Printing Office
HDoc	House document
HR	House resolution
HRpt	House report
Incl	Inclosure
Ind	Indorsement
INSCOM	Intelligence and Security Command
IRR	Individual Ready Reserve
JAG	Judge advocate general
JCS	Joint Chiefs of Staff

LAW	Light antitank weapon
M&RA	Manpower and Reserve Affairs
MAAG	Military assistance advisory group
MACV	Military Assistance Command, Vietnam
Maj Coms	Major commands/commanders
MAX WAC	Women Content in Units Force Development Test
MDW	Military District of Washington
MFR	Memo for the record
MILPERCEN	Military Personnel Center
Min	Minutes
MOS	Military occupational specialty
MP	Military police
MPPD	Military Personnel Policies Directorate
MPPSD	Military Personnel Procurement Services Division
MSC	Medical Service Corps
Mtg	Meeting
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCO	Noncommissioned officer
OCS	Officer Candidate School
OMB	Office of Management and Budget
OPD	Officer Personnel Directorate
OPLAN	Operations plan
OPMS	Officer Personnel Management System
OPO	Office of Personnel Operations
ORC	Organized Reserve Corps
OSD	Office of the Secretary of Defense
OSUT	One-station unit training
OTEA	U.S. Army Operational Test and Evaluation Agency
PL	Public law
PMDO	Personnel Management Development Office
PROVIDE	Project Volunteer in Defense of the Nation

RA	Regular Army; Reserve Affairs
REFORGER	Repositioning of Forces in Germany
Reg	Regulation
Ret	Retired
RG	Record group
ROA	Reserve Officers Association
ROK Army WAC	Republic of Korea Army Women's Army Corps
ROPA	Reserve Officers Personnel Act
ROTC	Reserve Officers' Training Corps
Rpt	Report
S-1	Personnel officer
S-2	Intelligence officer
S-3	Operations/training officer
S-4	Supply officer
SAMVA	Special assistant for the Modern Volunteer Army Program
SecAF	Secretary of the Air Force
SecArmy	Secretary of the Army
SecDef	Secretary of Defense
SecNav	Secretary of the Navy
SMD	Staff Management Division
SOS	Services of Supply
SPARS	Women's Coast Guard Reserve
SPD	Special Planning Division
SR	Special regulation
SS	Summary sheet
SUE	Special unit enlistment
SWPA	Southwest Pacific Area
TA	Table of Allotment
TAADS	The Army Authorization and Documents System
TAG	The adjutant general
TAGO	The adjutant general's office
TD	Table of Distribution
TJAG	The judge advocate general
TM	Training manual
TO	Table of Organization
TOE	Table of Organization and Equipment
TRADOC	Training and Doctrine Command
TSG	The Surgeon General of the Army

USAF	U.S. Air Force
USAFFE	U.S. Army Forces, Far East
USAFPAC	U.S. Army Forces, Pacific
USAR	U.S. Army Reserve
USAREC	U.S. Army Recruiting Command
USASA	U.S. Army Security Agency
USASTC	U.S. Army School/Training Center
USCG	U.S. Coast Guard
USMC	U.S. Marine Corps
USMCR	U.S. Marine Corps Reserve
USN	U.S. Navy
VA	Veterans Administration
VCofS	Vice chief of staff
VOLAR	Volunteer Army project
WAAC	Women's Army Auxiliary Corps
WAC	Women's Army Corps; a member of the WAC
WAC C&S	WAC Center and School
WAF	Women in the Air Force
WAFC ARVN	Women's Armed Forces Corps, Armed Forces of the Republic of Vietnam
WASP	Women Air Service Pilots
WAVES	Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service (USN)
WBOQ	Women's bachelor officer quarters
WCOC	WAC Company Officers Course
WD	War Department
WD GO	War Department general order
WDGS	War Department General Staff
WEEM	Women's Enlisted Expansion Model
WITA	Women in the Army
WM	Women Marines
WO	Warrant officer
WOBC/OCC	WAC Officer Basic Course/Officer Candidate Course
WOOC	WAC Officer Orientation Course
WOSM	Women Officers Strength Model

Note on Sources

The framework for this volume is the chronological history of the Corps maintained by the Office of the Director, WAC (ODWAC). This chronology is a part of the ODWAC Reference File held by the Army Center of Military History (CMH) in Washington, D.C. In published form, it is included in *The Role of the WAC* (ST 35-150), a special text prepared by the WAC School, Fort McClellan, Alabama, to present a narrative history of the WAC, its training centers and schools, and its participation in the national defense effort. First issued in 1962, the volume was revised several times.

Archival Material

The bulk of the source material used in this volume is from documents that originated in the offices of the assistant chief of staff, G-1, (ACofS, G-1) and the director of the Women's Army Corps (DWAC). Beginning in 1944, the ODWAC was assigned to the ACofS, G-1 (Personnel) on the Army general staff for administrative services including records management. Thus, correspondence, reports, and records of permanent value originated by the DWAC are included with the ACofS, G-1, files, held by the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) at the National Archives in Washington, D.C., or in its regional record centers.

The files of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) and the Women's Army Corps (WAC) 1942 through 1950 are in Record Groups (RGs) 165 and 319 in the Modern Military Branch, NARA, Washington, D.C. These record groups also contain files retired by the various general and special staff divisions of the War Department and the Department of the Army (e.g., G-1, G-2, G-3, G-4, Budget Division, Information and Education, etc.). Record Group 165 holds WAC correspondence, administrative reports, legislative background material, and the "Hobby files," which contain Colonel Oveta Culp Hobby's personnel files and WAAC records accumulated in 1942 and 1943. Record Group 319 occasionally overlaps RG 165, but it primarily contains correspondence between 1942 and 1950, papers collected by WAC historian Mattie E. Treadwell, correspondence concerning the National Civilian Advisory Council on the WAC 1944-1948, WAC recruiting campaign publicity 1943-1944, files of the special assistant to the DWAC 1942-1943, and records relating to WAC personnel and administration 1945-1950. Record Group 319 also contains the files of the director of personnel and administration which

include WAC records for the period 1950-1954. WAC records after 1954 are held in the Military Archives Division, Washington National Records Center, Suitland, Maryland.

In locating the ODWAC records it is useful to know the various titles held by the G-1 (Personnel) after 1945. Between 1946 and 1950, he was known as the director of personnel and administration (DPAD), Department of the Army. In March 1950, he reverted to the title assistant chief of staff, G-1 (ACofS, G-1) and held it until January 1956 when another reorganization gave him the title deputy chief of staff for personnel (DCSPER), the title he holds today.

ODWAC Reference Files

The DWAC often initiated requests for new or revised policies affecting women but, because her duties were advisory rather than functional, she seldom initiated the official staff work that went to the chief of staff or to the secretary of the Army for approval. For example, to change a recruiting policy, the DWAC would forward her recommendation on an interoffice memorandum to the chief of the DCSPER directorate having functional responsibility for enlisted procurement (i.e., the Directorate for Procurement and Distribution). That directorate would prepare the staff action and coordinate it within the DCSPER directorates, including the DWAC, and with other staff divisions or agencies having an interest in the action before sending it up to the chief of staff or higher for approval.

This staff procedure was generally followed when any division or agency wanted to change an Army policy. The directorate that prepared the official staff work was responsible for maintaining and, later, retiring the file that accumulated on a particular action. An office that had a vested interest in a particular staff action was authorized to collect copies of the action as it progressed through the staffing procedure. These files, known as "convenience" or "reference" files, could be retained as long as desired by an office. Often the availability of storage space determined the length of stay. In the ODWAC three or four file cabinets held reference copies of official staff work on the subject ranging from "assignment" to "weapons training." Between 1948 and 1971, as storage space diminished, each director would transfer some of her reference files to the WAC School for safekeeping. There, the director of doctrine and literature and, later, the school librarian integrated these files with reference files from the WAC Center commander's office and that of the assistant commandant of the WAC School; the collection became known as the "WAC Archives." Before the WAC Center and School was deactivated in December 1976, the WAC Center commander transferred the "WAC Archives" to the curator of the Women's Army Corps Museum. In 1977, the newly constructed WAC Museum building was

opened at Fort McClellan and these files were placed in the research room where they are available for use by serious researchers. The collection occupies approximately eight steel file cabinets and is called the WAC Historical Reference Collection. In this volume, the collection is cited as History Collection, WAC Museum. The WAC Museum also maintains a collection of WAC photographs, clippings, films, scrapbooks, periodicals, regulations, books, and audio-visual items that may also be consulted with the curator's permission.

In 1978, the last DWAC transferred custody of her convenience or reference files to the author at the Army Center of Military History. In this volume, these files are cited as ODWAC Reference File, CMH, with a folder title.

Unpublished Monographs

A number of unpublished monographs in the Army Center of Military History helped in the preparation of early chapters of the volume. Those covering World War II included "The History of Military Training, WAAC/WAC Training in the Army Service Forces" by Maj. Lavinia L. Reed, 1945; "The WAC Program in the Army Forces" by Lt. Col. Betty Bandel, 1946; and "The WAC in the Army Ground Forces, World War II" by Lt. Col. Geraldine P. May, 1947. The last named contained numerous appendixes including an interesting and candid daily journal kept by the WAC plans officer, Lt. Col. Anna W. Wilson, between August and November 1945. Information on utilization and location of WAC personnel during the Korean War was found in "Personnel Policies in the Korean Conflict" by Maj. Elva Stillwaugh, 1953. "The History of Army Service School Training in the Quartermaster Corps (1945–1953)" by Thomas A. Johnson contained information on WAC specialists training during the period when the WAC Training Center was co-located with the Quartermaster Training Center at Fort Lee, Virginia.

The Doctrine and Literature Division of the WAC School produced a number of studies between 1955–1965 that are retained in the WAC Historical Reference Collection. Among these are the "Feasibility of Establishing an NCO Academy for WAC Personnel" (1956), "WAC Necrology 1941–1963," "WAC Decorations and Awards" (1963), "Comparative Attrition Rates WAC OCS 1942–1962" (1964), "Statistical Analysis of the College Junior Program 1956–1965" (1965), "Women in the Military Services of Countries Other than the United States" (1963), "WAAC/WAC Staff Conferences" (1963), and "Summary of Information on Negro Women Who Have Served or Are Serving in the Women's Army Corps 1942–1963 with Particular Reference to WAC Officers" (1963). Most of these studies were written or inspired by Lt. Col. Mary

Charlotte Lane, who headed the Doctrine and Literature Division between 1961 and 1965.

Historical Reports

The internal reports of historical activities prepared by commanders and chiefs of staff divisions at the WAC Center and WAC School provide a valuable source of information on WAC training activities. These reports were furnished monthly or quarterly to the WAC Center historian who prepared the semiannual, annual, or biennial summary of major events and problems for the command. Most of these annual reports are in the Reference Branch, CMH. A complete set of the reports (1948-1978) and the feeder reports prepared by the commanders and division chiefs are preserved in the WAC Historical Reference Collection of the WAC Museum.

Histories of WAC detachments in the field, prepared by the unit commander, were included in the summary of major activities of their next higher command, usually the commander of special troops or the headquarters commandant. Historical reports submitted by the latter were consolidated and included in the summary of major events and problems submitted by the post commander through channels to Department of the Army.

The DWAC submitted her annual historical report to the G-1 (Personnel)/DCSPER, who then included it as a separate chapter in his overall summary of major events and problems.

WAC Conference Reports, Memos, Newsletters

Colonel Hobby initiated the annual WAC staff advisers conference. Beginning in 1950, lack of travel funds frequently prevented the DWAC from convening her staff advisers that frequently. The director's staff prepared a report of each conference. During the early years, the report was a verbatim record of the talks and discussions. After 1950, the report included an agenda for each day and copies of talks and reports made during the conference. To ensure a timely flow of information to the staff advisers, in December 1958, Colonel Milligan began sending them a monthly memorandum containing news and reminders of Army and WAC plans and policies. Subsequent directors continued sending the memorandums until January 1970. Thereafter, news for the staff advisers was included in the *WAC Journal*, a quarterly magazine published by the WAC School until December 1975 when funds for such publications were curtailed. While some of these records are in the ODWAC Reference File, CMH, a complete collection is maintained in the WAC Historical Reference Collection at the WAC Museum.

Other publications were also helpful to the author. The *WAC Newsletter* (1944–1946) was published by the Information and Education Division of the War Department. A private national magazine, the *WAC Journal* (originally titled *Squeaky Crumbs*), was edited and published between 1946 and 1950 by a former WAC officer, Alva Christensen, and several friends. In 1949, the National WAC Veterans Association began publishing a monthly newsletter, the *Channel*, to keep members informed of meetings, organization, and general WAC news. The *Channel* continues to be published today. The WAC Foundation, a private corporation that supports the WAC Museum, publishes a semiannual newsletter, the *Flagpole*. Almost complete sets of these publications are on file at the WAC Museum.

Army Publications

The Army uses regulations, circulars, memorandums, and letters (listed in descending order of permanence) to publish official policies and procedures. Until the WAC entered the Regular Army and Reserve in 1948, the adjutant general (TAG) issued circulars to publish directives affecting the WAC. However, Army regulation (AR) provisions were extended to include women by adding the sentence: "Whenever the term 'enlisted men' is used, it will be construed to include enlisted women of the Women's Army Corps unless obviously inappropriate." In 1949, TAG assigned a block of AR numbers "625" to the Women's Army Corps, as it did to other branches. Early in World War II, TAG had assigned the WAC a basic number, "35," to identify its field manuals, mobilization training programs, and pamphlets.

The first Army regulation devoted to the WAC was AR 625-5, Women's Army Corps General Provisions, 25 January 1949; the first special regulation (SR) was SR 625-5-5, Discharge of Officers and Warrant Officers on Marriage and Pregnancy, 11 January 1949. Special regulations, created in 1949, added detailed information to the basic policies of a parent AR. Usually an AR generated several SRs to explain any complex provisions. In 1955, the Army discontinued SRs and lumped all the information into the basic regulation. A few years later, the Army discontinued the practice of assigning a series of AR numbers to each branch and, instead, assigned blocks of numbers by subject matter. WAC Regulations, General Provisions, were renumbered AR 601-110 on 8 July 1958 and listed under "Personnel, General." On 26 July 1967, the WAC regulation was renumbered AR 600-3.

The WAC regulation contained extensive information for the convenience of commanders and personnel officers who administered WAC officers and enlisted women. It contained the mission and organization of the Corps and described the duties of the director, WAC staff advisers,

and detachment commanders. It outlined policies and procedures (e.g., utilization, separation, detention, training, promotion, etc.) for WACs that differed from those for men and listed other regulations that affected WAC management, housing, uniforms, or investigations.

When special regulations were discontinued, nine concerning the WAC were integrated into others for men on the same subject. Only two ARs pertaining to WACs (AR 600–3, General Provisions, and AR 670–30, Uniforms and Insignia for Women in the Army) remained by 1960. An AR on the WAC Student Officer Program, AR 601–115, initiated in 1967, was discontinued in February 1975. AR 600–3 was discontinued directly after the Corps was disestablished in 1978, and AR 670–30 was absorbed by AR 670–1, Army Uniforms and Insignia, February 1979.

Oral Histories

Between 1974 and 1978, students at the Army War College interviewed several WAC officers as part of the school's oral history program. Interviews with Maj. Gen. Mary E. Clarke, Brig. Gen. Mildred I.C. Bailey (two volumes), Col. Mary A. Hallaren, Lt. Col. Hortense M. Boutell, and Lt. Col. Lucy C. Bond were audio-taped, and, by 1984, all but the latter had been transcribed and were available to researchers at the Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania.

In 1981 and 1984, the WAC Foundation, located in the WAC Museum, prepared video-tape oral histories on Colonels Hobby, Hallaren, Rasmuson, Gorman; Brigadier Generals Hoisington and Bailey; and Maj. Gen. Mary E. Clarke. The Foundation also video-taped interviews with dozens of other officers and enlisted women on a range of subjects including service in World War II, Korea, and Vietnam, recruiting duty, serving as cadre, in the WAC Band, in the 149th WAAC Post Headquarters Company, the move to Fort McClellan, and many others. These tapes are available for research at the WAC Museum.

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