



**STRATEGY
RESEARCH
PROJECT**

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INCLUSION XXI

BY

COLONEL LAWRENCE H. SAUL
United States Army

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COLONEL LAWRENCE H. SAUL
Department of the Army

Colonel Cortez K. Dial
Project Advisor

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U.S. Army War College
CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013

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ABSTRACT

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The United States has been an immigrant nation, made up of people from around the world. The US consists of a rich mosaic of different races, religions and cultures. In the 224 years since our founding, we have come a long way, in terms of race relations. Despite a history of both *de jure* and *de facto* segregation, up through the early 1960s, America has made significant progress when it comes to inclusion. The US Army has the proud distinction of being the lead agent when it comes to changes in social patterns and mores. When President Harry S Truman signed Executive Order 9981, integration of the Armed Forces became the order of the day. In the intervening 52 years the Army has become the standard setter for race relations. In recent years, since the mid-1990s, there has been an alarming increase in difficulties. These include increased official reports of discrimination, falling selection and promotion rates for African-American officers, and anecdotal evidence that junior grade Black officers are not being mentored and developed by their chain of command.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The research and writing of this project has been an uplifting and rewarding experience. I undertook to conduct research into a challenging and vexing issue that identifies a significant problem for the Army. I hope to offer some solutions to my contemporaries as they pursue the mission of making our Army the best.

This project received significant and substantial support, as well as encouragement from many fellow soldiers. I would like to thank: my fellow Field Artillery officers, LTC (P) Albert Johnson, Jr., and MAJ Kent Jacocks, for their critique and thoughts on how to improve the basic document. COL Joseph C. (Chuck) Hightower, MS, who provided thought provoking ideas and concepts, plus a large amount of historical background and material. LTC Billy R. Smith, FC, my esteemed seminar mate, who offered to read this on very short notice and gave me great ideas to improve the finished work. Adding a joint flavor, LtCol Charles R. (Chuck) Rice, USAF, offered insightful comments in the final stages that helped improve my humble work.

I would like to express my appreciation to COL Cortez K. Dial, my project advisor, for his support and encouragement. He kept me focused, suggested new ideas and recommended changes that markedly improved the final product.

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Figure 1. Washington Crossing the Delaware4

INCLUSION XXI

America has always been an immigrant nation, a country made up of people from around the world. Every nation, every continent, culture and society has sent people to our shores. America is a true "melting pot." No other nation offers its citizens and residents such unlimited and abundant hope for personal advancement, freedom and opportunity. This is what America is all about. It has become a truism that America is, in fact, a shining light, and a beacon of hope, opportunity and a future. America offers all comers the chance to improve themselves, to enjoy a life they could only dream of in their previous existence.

In spite of these amazing freedoms and chances for success, some aspects of our society appear to impose limits on certain segments of the people. What are these limitations? Who imposes them? What are the legal basis for such restrictions? These are difficult questions to answer. The Declaration of Independence calls for granting all citizens "certain inalienable rights."¹ This would imply that no legal restriction on the rights, freedoms and advancements of individuals exist. This is the legal basis, the *de jure*, for all of our rights. The Congress is given, by the Constitution, the responsibility to draft, write and pass laws for the benefit of the people. Furthermore, the Constitution demands that the government protect the people of our nation.²

In the year 2000, one must be shocked to the core that some segments of our nation still do not enjoy the full benefits of their rights. This denial is a *de facto* act. Congress has, since the 1960s, passed a host of laws ensuring equal rights in voting, employment opportunity, housing, accommodation, interstate commerce, and education. No other nation provides its citizens with such clear, concise protection. Yet, we are often reminded that discrimination still exists and that not all prejudice and hatred has been erased. It is ironic that the institution charged with the first mandated, fundamental, and detailed requirement to eradicate all aspects of racial segregation, the US armed forces, still is seen as not nearly discrimination-free. Recent reports and the results of investigations indicate troubling attitudes still exist. We must solve these problems; failure to do so will place an insurmountable obstacle in our path to the future.

All servicemen are deservedly proud of the fact that they are charged with "protecting and defending the Constitution, against all enemies, foreign and domestic..."³ Furthermore, GIs take pride in knowing they serve in an organization that is routinely cited as being the most positive environment for advancement of all members. The military is routinely singled out as one of the few organizations where minority members serve as superiors to majority members. It is completely inculcated in our ethos that Blacks boss whites, that females lead men and that

Hispanics supervise Anglos. This has been the case for many, many years. Whole generations of Americans have lived and worked in this dynamic environment. Its positive benefit has been woven into the fabric of our society since the early 1950s. We still have work yet to do.

Despite the best efforts of all, in spite of the laws, rules, regulations and customs we have adopted, there remains, if not in fact, in image, the possibility that some members of our society, while serving as soldiers, sailors, airmen and marines routinely face discrimination. Anecdotal information would indicate the existence of certain "ceilings", certain taboos that prevent minority members from advancing. In recent years, as we have celebrated the bi-centennial of both our nation and of the Constitution, we have yet to erase all vestiges of discrimination. Some would suggest it appears we still have a way to go.

The purpose of this strategic research project is threefold. In the first part I will introduce a series of Black heroes. These are great Americans who answered the call to arms. They served for many reasons, not the least of which was to secure their own freedom and the liberty of their people. In some cases, I may introduce the reader to little known people whose contributions to our nations history is unmatched. Secondly, I will discuss the current situation, as it exists between the start of the Volunteer Army to the end of the century, the period generally referred to as the Cold War. Finally, I want to offer some insights to mentoring Black junior officers, in order to reverse a current trend whereas senior officers are perceived as failing to mentor and develop their junior officers, especially Black junior officers. This may be the result of a basic lack of understanding of Black culture, primarily due to years of *de facto* segregation trends in housing and education. Many white officers have little knowledge or experience in dealing with Blacks on a day-to-day basis and are unfamiliar with many aspects of African-American attitudes, language patterns, culture, and history. I hope to enlighten the reader who may be unaware of these differences and offer insights in how to mitigate these differences. Therefore, the end result of this research project is to offer the reader an overview on the contributions of African-Americans to our military heritage, a review of the Cold War period, and look to the future by offering suggestions on mentoring Black officers.

THE AMERICAN WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE

Like all Americans during the colonial era, Blacks had much at stake in the outcome of the struggle for independence. Clearly, their freedom was their overriding concern. If freed from the imperial power, the same power that enslaved them from the start, the Black man could establish for himself a new place in a new society. It should not come as a surprise that Blacks, both free and slave embraced the cause of freedom. The contributions of Blacks to our nation's successful struggle for freedom are unmatched in history. Sadly, this incredible chapter

in our nations history is often overlooked. We owe our freedom, in part, to the contributions of these early African-American patriots.

Beyond a doubt, the first blood shed in the struggle for independence took place in Boston. That blood was from a Black man, Crispus Attucks. The Boston Massacre was the initial event in our struggle for freedom. Patriots had been demonstrating and protesting against British oppression for some time. A strong British Army presence had served to suppress the local protestors, further inflaming the mood of the people. British troops occupied Boston trying to protect His Majesty's agents and tax collectors enforcing the Stamp Act, Sugar Act, Currency Act, Mutiny Act or whatever indignity King George III imposed on the colonies. Citizens and troops fought routinely. Among the leaders of the protests was Crispus Attucks, (1723-1770). Attucks was the son of a freed slave and a Natick Indian woman. In fact, the name Attuck means deer in the Natick language.⁴

The massacre occurred on March 5, 1770. A group of patriots, led by Attucks, attacked a British sentry. This lone Redcoat was an easy target for the protesters; he was merely the target of pent-up aggression. As the incident grew in proportion, a larger British contingent arrived to support the guard. The British troops, after being pressed by a heckling, snowball throwing crowd, let loose a volley of shots. Three persons were killed immediately and two died later of their wounds. The first to fall was Crispus Attucks. He was the first man to give his life for our nation in the struggle for independence against Great Britain. Hence the flame of liberty was lit, ever so tenuously.

History tells us that of the 300,000 soldiers who served in the Continental Army under General George Washington, approximately five thousand were Black. They fought in virtually every battle of the war. For example, Blacks served as Minutemen at Concord and Lexington. A few of those early patriots include: ...Cato Stedman, Cuff Whittemore, Cato Wood, Prince Estabrook, Ceasar Ferritt, Samuel Craft, Lemuel Haynes, and Pomp Blackman.⁵ At the Battle of Bunker Hill, we know that Peter Salem fired the shot that killed British Major John Pitcarin of the Royal Marines. Pitcarin was the second in command of British Forces during the clash at Lexington. At least one Black, Caesar Brown of Connecticut died at the battle of Bunker Hill.

Through the course of American history, the story of the War for Independence rightfully remains preeminent. In song, story, verse and painting, the images of the struggle remain powerful. One of the most significant and famous paintings is the depiction of General George Washington and the crossing of the Delaware River. It is considered one of the most recognized paintings in the world, ranking with the *Mona Lisa* and *Last Supper*. The painting was the work of the German artist Emmanuel Leutze and was completed in 1851. The canvas

tells the single most critical event in our nations history. On Christmas night, 1776, Washington and the Continental Army launched a surprise attack against the British at Trenton, New Jersey. Besides the father of our country, there are three other famous Americans in the painting: James Monroe, another future president; Henry Knox, the father of the American Artillery; and Prince Whipple, a freed Black man. He is the third man back from the prow and is seen pulling on the oar at Washington's knee. Whipple was a Black patriot who has become a minor legend of the Revolution. As an early biographer said of him, "Prince Whipple was born in West Africa. He was the son of wealthy parents. When about ten years of age, he was sent by them, in company with a cousin, to America to be educated. An elder brother had returned four years before, and his parents were anxious that their child should receive the same benefits. The captain who brought the two boys over proved a treacherous villain, and carried them to Baltimore, where he sold them as slaves. General William Whipple bought Prince off the block and took Prince to his native New Hampshire where he worked for the Whipple family. The irony here is that General Whipple was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Prince Whipple was granted his freedom during the Revolutionary war. After the war he settled in Portsmouth, New Hampshire where he died at the age of thirty-two leaving a widow and children. Today, in Portsmouth New Hampshire, Prince Whipple is celebrated as a local hero.



Figure 1.

Washington Crossing the Delaware, by Emmanuel Leutze

Whipple was not the only Black soldier to cross the Delaware River with the Continental Army that night. Another prominent freedman served in the ranks that Christmas time, Oliver Cromwell also fought in the battle of Trenton. There is every likelihood that there were more

than just these two Black patriots who participated in General Washington's great surprise attack on Trenton.

There are countless Black heroes of the Revolution. They made major, significant contributions to the defeat of the British Army and establishment of liberty. Sadly, they did not realize their own personal freedom. It would be a long, and often bitter, struggle against many opponents before African-Americans would gain acceptance and freedom.

THE WAR OF 1812

Hardly had the United States been established then war raged again. Less than thirty years after gaining our independence, Britain was back for another crack at defeating our newborn nation. Having failed to achieve freedom as a result of our successful break from Britain, Blacks joined up in 1812 to serve their country. The famous Black journalist, abolitionist and Civil War veteran, Martin Delany wrote of the existing attitudes of Blacks at the time, they were "ready and willing to volunteer in your service as any other. They were not compelled to go; they were not drafted. They were volunteers."⁶ Two significant battles took place during the War of 1812 that offer excellent examples of Black contributions to our military history. Some ten percent of Captain Oliver Hazard Perry's sailors at the Battle of Lake Erie were Black. He described them in glowing terms; he was lavish in his praise for their service, highlighting their great courage and lack of fear. At the Battle of New Orleans, General Andrew Jackson's force contained a fair number of both slaves and freedmen. The crushing defeat of the Redcoats at New Orleans has entered the history books as a great moment in our Army's story, and many Blacks made great contributions and sacrifices towards winning this victory.

Civil War

The Civil War was the second struggle for independence for the African-American. Denied freedom after the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812, the Black man saw this war as another opportunity to win his liberty. The struggle would take on the mantle of a great crusade -- a crusade for freedom and liberty. Despite the continuing debate of the cause of the Civil War, the outcome cannot be denied. President Abraham Lincoln freed the slaves with the Emancipation Proclamation.

As in the Revolutionary War, the first American blood shed was that of a Black man. We see unfold here the ultimate irony. After not winning freedom with our independence from Britain, again, the Black man answered the call of arms for another attempt at freedom. Freed Blacks did not wait for the government to issue a call to arms. They flocked to their local militia to join the cause. In the case of Nicholas Biddle, he presented himself to the Washington Artillerists of Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania as a willing and able volunteer. Biddle ran away

from his southern slave owner and fled north. He settled in Pottsville, Pennsylvania. When he volunteered for service, Biddle was 65 years of age. The Washington Artillerists were mustered into service in Harrisburg, forming a battalion along with three other batteries from Allentown, Lewiston, and Reading.

The newly formed unit moved out to Washington, DC on 18 April 1861. As the Artillerists passed through Baltimore, mobs of southern sympathizers hurled insults and invectives at the soldiers. When they spotted Biddle their anger shifted from words to deeds and their violence was focused on him. They targeted him with rocks and stones. Biddle was hit several times, one blow to the head was enough to draw blood and expose bone. His fellow soldiers came to his aid and protected him from further injury. Nicholas Biddle played a minor role in our nation's history, however, his selfless service and sacrifice speaks volumes. He is buried in Pottsville and his tombstone reads, ..."His had the proud distinction of shedding the first blood in the late war for the Union, being wounded while marching through Baltimore with the first volunteers from Schuylkill County, 18 April, 1861."⁷

Blacks were not welcomed into the Federal Army during the early days of the war, although we have seen where militia units did receive them with varying degrees of warmth and welcome. It would take many battles, both in combat and in Congress, before President Abraham Lincoln succeeded in convincing the powers that be to accept Blacks into the military. On New Year's Day 1863, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation. Included in this landmark declaration was the lifting of the ban on Black enlistment. Once formed, Black units performed with great valor and honor. Many battles saw their incredible acts of heroism, valor and fidelity. As both units and individuals, Blacks made significant contributions to our ultimate success and the restoration of the Union.

Perhaps the most notable of the Black units of the Civil War was the 54th Massachusetts Infantry, made famous by the recent movie "GLORY." This regiment, based in Boston, recruited from all over New England. It was to be a model unit, made up of men from all walks of life. Blacks flocked to join the unit. Many prominent men joined up, to include two sons of Frederick Douglass, the great orator and abolitionist. Colonel Robert Gould Shaw was hand picked by Governor John Andrew to command the regiment. Although the first of many all-Black units, the 54th Massachusetts Infantry would become the standard that all others followed. Following months of training, the regiment was committed to battle at Battery Wagner, Morris Island, South Carolina, where it suffered grievous losses in its heroic struggle for freedom, dignity and honor. In this close, bloody attack the 54th lost hundreds of men, to include Colonel Shaw, their respected commander. He fell, mortally wounded, while leading his men into the

breach. Flag Sergeant William H. Carney became the first Black to win the Medal of Honor, as a result of his actions at Battery Wagner. During the assault, he rushed to retrieve the regimental colors from a stricken comrade, thereby rallying the troops to further their attack.⁸

With the ever-increasing losses and consequent requirement for more and more manpower, by the summer of 1863, the Army was authorized to form Colored Troop units. These units, referred to as USCT, consisted of Blacks soldiers and non-commissioned officers, led by white commissioned officers. Most Black state militia units were federalized, with the exception of a handful of units, to include the 54th and 55th Massachusetts Infantry Regiments. USCT units were unique in many regards. All were required to comply with War Department rules and regulations, however, in many cases; each unit had its own distinct character. An example is the Butler Medal, conceived and issued under the direction of Major General Benjamin Butler. The Butler Medal was first issued to members of Butler's USCT regiment after their heroic fight at Chapin's Farm, Virginia in September 1864. Only 197 medals were awarded during the war.

The USCT units fought both Confederates and racism. They fought with great distinction and by the end of the war earned our nation's highest awards and accolades. The Black man proved his value as a soldier and a patriot.

The history of the US Civil War is still being written. Contributions by Blacks to the restoration of the Union are immense, yet, still not fully documented. This we do know, 28 African-American soldiers earned the Medal of Honor during the Civil War. This unstinting bravery speaks volumes. It is a little known historical footnote; nearly half of the Medals of Honor awarded to Black soldiers during the Civil War were earned at the Battle of Chapin's Farm. A total of thirteen soldiers were recognized for the bravery, "above and beyond", on that fateful day in September 1864. For the next century racism would raise its ugly head during the nation's wars. Between 1865 and 1965 Blacks were denied of their rightful military honors. Sadly, the end of the war did not bring Blacks their long desired freedom. In spite of their sacrifices, they remained enslaved, this time in a more pernicious form, that being Jim Crow segregation and hateful, deadly racism. As always the Black soldier often fought two enemies: they faced racism and an armed opponent.

Once the war ended, segregated, all-Black units would remain on the active rolls, but the name Colored Troops would be relegated to memory. With the Indian Wars, Blacks would again answer the call to arms, and prove, once again, their ability as fighting men. After Appomattox, Congress reduced the size of standing Army to a mere shadow of its wartime high. The army was needed in two locations: as an occupying force in the Reconstruction South and

on the western frontier. In both regions Black units would face two tough, unrelenting foes. The Army formed four all Black units: the 9th and 10th Cavalry Regiments and the 24th and 25th Infantry. All would serve with pride and distinction in this era and in the future, as well.

As noted, the first Union casualty during the Civil War was a Black man. Another irony in our nation's history is the fact the last soldier to die was also Black. SGT Crocket, 62nd USCT was killed in action, on 13 May 1865, in a clash with rebel troops at White's Ranch, Texas. Fully, one month after Lee's surrender at Appomattox Court House.

INDIAN WARS

Large-scale migration to the newly opened West began by the time the Civil War ended. At this time the frontier was essentially Kansas and Nebraska and beyond. Treaties between Washington and the various Indian nations forbade white settlement in large areas that had been reserved for the Indians. The most significant contributing factor to the opening of the West was the completion of the transcontinental railroad. Both settlers and railroad work crews were subject to routine Indian attack. Washington was compelled to defend these two groups. The political climate in the South was exceptionally harsh due to the loss of the war and the severe hardships caused by the shattered economy. As well, the utter devastation of the infrastructure made life very difficult. Furthermore, Washington realized that the best policy was to not use Black units for occupation duty. White units would be posted in the South and charged with enforcing the laws. The period of Reconstruction was a bleak period in our history and life for Blacks in the South would be incredibly brutal for the next century.

The Army was charged with insuring safety and peace on the frontier. The 9th and 10th Cavalry, along with the 24th and 25th Infantry Regiments, would be on the front line for the last thirty years of the 19th century. Their presence would serve as a symbol of security for many a settler and farmer and as a formidable opponent to the Indians. The list of their campaign credits is impressive and reads like a history book in and of themselves. Black units would serve with great distinction during this period. However, they faced two opponents: racism and a worthy opponent, the American Indian. The Indians had a great deal of respect for the Black troopers. So much so, they nicknamed them the "Buffalo Soldiers." This was a term of respect. The Buffalo soldier was tough, hardy and resourceful. Able to withstand the rigors of campaigning on the frontier, under conditions of harshness and austerity, the members of these storied regiments have yet to have their full history told. The 10th Cavalry Regimental Distinctive Unit Insignia has as a centerpiece a buffalo. All four regiments remain on active duty today.

There was strong resistance to the establishment and continued service of these units. There was a great degree of opposition to all-Black units and this was often voiced as criticism

of the abilities and talents of the soldiers. However, one can find many and varied references to their soldierly characteristics. The soldiers who made up these four regiments have been described as excelling in "discipline, morale, patience and good humor in adversity, physical endurance, and sobriety. Above all, they performed well on campaign and in combat."⁹ This passage describes the Black soldier as an individual, capable of achieving exceptionally high standards.

An interesting aspect of these all Black units was the fact the officers were white. They too, like their troopers, were subjected to scorn and contempt by fellow white officers of other regiments. One noted historian described these units in very positive terms, "Moreover, unit pride and esprit de corps ran high in the Black regiments, the product, in part, of this personnel continuity, but also of increasing professionalism, superior performance, a solidarity born of prejudice, and a determination to demonstrate the potential of the black race."¹⁰ In 1874 General William T. Sherman went so far as to declare, "They are good troops, they make first rate sentinels, are faithful to their trust, and are as brave as the occasion calls for."¹¹ This strong endorsement from the famed Civil War commander gives credibility to the argument that Blacks served with distinction and made significant contributions to the final victory in 1865.

Any number of major campaigns, battles and clashes would capture the attention and imagination of the American public. Many clashes were brutal, bloody affairs that witnessed incredible acts of bravery. Sergeant John Denny, Troop B, 9th Cavalry Regiment was awarded the Medal of Honor for his "unusual heroism" at Las Animas Canyon, New Mexico on September 18, 1879. Another notable member of B Troop, 9th Cavalry was Sergeant Thomas Shaw. Shaw originally served with the 65th USCT during the Civil War. His military career spanned 30 years. His most notable achievement was on August 12, 1881 in an action at Carrizo Canyon, New Mexico. In this fight against Apache Indians, Sergeant Shaw demonstrated incredible personal bravery while fighting off a superior enemy force. It is sad to note that between the Indian Wars and Korean War, a period that includes the two World Wars, Blacks were not awarded a single Medal of Honor. It would take nearly fifty years to correct this injustice. In the late 1990s, several Black WWII veterans were belatedly awarded the Medal of Honor for valor during the Second World War. Clearly, this was a result of racism. It is hard to imagine a justification to deny Blacks their nation's highest award.

Several notable African-Americans would become more than footnotes in history as a result of their contributions and service. The first Black graduate of West Point, Henry O. Flipper of Thomasville, Georgia would serve in the West with the 10th Cavalry. Flipper was the son of former slaves. At the end of the 19th century he was a true trailblazer; many other

African-Americans followed him to West Point. Johnson C. Whittaker was the second African-American enrolled at the Military Academy; another cadet was John Hanks Alexander, Class of 1887. However, nearly a half-century would transpire before another Black would enter West Point. Of greater fame, future General of the Army, John J. Pershing would also serve with the 10th Cavalry. He has often been referred to as "Black Jack" Pershing, signifying his ties with the famous Black units fighting on the frontier.

SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

The Spanish-American War was the first war America fought against a foreign power other than Britain. Perhaps the signal event of the Spanish-American War was the destruction of the US Navy warship USS Maine in Havana harbor. A large number of the ship's crewmen, and consequently casualties, were Black. Another major event of the war in Cuba was the famous Rough Rider Charge of San Juan Hill, led by none other than the future president, Teddy Roosevelt. Among the many units that participated in this famous charge was the 10th Cavalry, the Buffalo Soldiers. Like in the thirty year long Indian campaign, troopers of the 10th Cavalry would demonstrate incredible valor while fighting in Cuba. Private Dennis Bell, a native of Washington, D.C. was awarded the Medal of Honor for going to the rescue of several wounded comrades. When numerous previous attempts failed, due to heavy and accurate enemy fire, PVT Bell willingly exposed himself to danger as he pulled his fellow soldiers to safety. Bell was later commissioned as an officer. He was not alone in demonstrating heroism; Sergeant Lewis Broadus received a Certificate of Merit from Roosevelt for saving the life of fellow sergeant, J. M. Thompson. SGT Broadus would serve in the US Army for more than a quarter of a century.

WWI

World War One marks America's entry into the inner circle of the major world powers. Although the US entered the war, in April 1917, nearly three years after the outbreak of conflict, it was apparent the US would, at some point, be fully involved. Remaining neutral was virtually an impossible challenge. Many segments of the US population were opposed to our entry into the war, for a variety of reasons. President Wilson had a difficult task: to remain neutral or enter the war. The Germans pushed us into the conflict when they launched unrestricted submarine warfare against virtually all trans-Atlantic shipping, regardless of the ship's nationality.

At the turn of the century, the US Army was a simple frontier police force, numbering about 75,000 troops. Portugal had a larger army. When we entered the war, the Army had grown to about one hundred thousand. By the Armistice, on 11 November 1918, that number had grown to over 3 million, with nearly 2 million serving in France. Clearly, this had been a

terrific undertaking. The rapid expansion of the force; the development of huge training bases; shipping and transportation of troops over long distances; formation of new divisions, and so on, was a daunting task. That this was accomplished, in a relatively efficient manner, is a testimony to the professionalism of our senior leadership.

Undoubtedly, the most famous of the Army's senior leaders during WWI was General John J. "Black Jack" Pershing, a former member of the famous 10th Cavalry. General Pershing was tasked with forming the American Expeditionary Force (AEF) to participate in ground combat in Europe. The challenge in this mission was to operate as an independent Army and not allow the US units to be broken up into replacement units for the British and French. Both of these two major powers saw US soldiers as simple cannon fodder for their own armies. This demand was anathema to General Pershing, President Wilson and virtually every other American. We shall see where exceptions were made to this opposition.

With the rapid expansion of the US Army, new policies and procedures were implemented. One old policy, a carryover from the 19th century, was the continuation of a segregated army. How can one reconcile the US entry into WWI, when we fought to liberate occupied Belgium and France, to prevent the fall of Britain and Russia, yet, we would deny the basic liberties and freedom for a portion of our population? That Blacks would flock to the recruiting stations to serve their nation is a statement to their continued belief that one day they too, would enjoy equality.

Despite the policy of segregated units, Blacks enlisted and were conscripted in large numbers. The decision to form all-Black divisions seemed, at the time, to be the best solution for a difficult problem. All-Black divisions offered many benefits -- or so the senior leadership of the Army hoped. With experienced white officers at the field grade level and higher, and Blacks at the company grade, these divisions would be employed as the all-white counterparts. Once the way ahead was selected, the two divisions would be designated the 92nd and 93rd Infantry Divisions. Both would serve, albeit in different sectors and campaigns, with distinction.

The two all-Black divisions, as with most other newly formed divisions, were built around a nucleus of existing Regular Army or National Guard regiments. Many of these units traced their lineage back to the Civil War and before. A classic example is the 42nd Infantry Division, the famous "Rainbow Division." The second brigade of this outfit included the 69th New York, the glorious "Fighting Irish" and the 4th Alabama, both made famous in the Civil War. It is ironic to note they fought each other at the Battle of Fredericksburg, Virginia.

Most of the newly established mobilization camps were built in the South. Good weather and agreeable climates, cheap and plentiful land, and other resources made the South an

attractive region to construct training camps. The one major drawback was the prevailing racist attitudes of the locals. Black recruits and units were unwelcome. Hostile attitudes, on the part of the locals, did not promote good relations between the townsfolk and soldiers. It is safe to assume the Black troops were more than ready to sail for France, if nothing else, but to escape the horrible treatment afforded by their Southern hosts.

Upon arrival in France, HQs, AEF decided to assign the 92nd and 93rd Divisions to the French Army. Both divisions were built around existing National Guard units. The 92nd Division was exclusively an all-Black unit. Unlike the 93rd, this division had very few white officers assigned. The 93rd Division was composed of a number of all-Black National Guard units from Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts, Ohio and Washington, DC. Perhaps the most storied was the 369th New York, nicknamed the "Harlem Hellfighters." This unit would achieve an unmatched number of decorations for bravery during its time in France.

The Hellfighters, under its commander Colonel William Haywood, claims a number of notable achievements: it was the first to "reach war strength of 2001 men and 56 officers, that it was the first in the field, that it was under fire for 101 days, longer than any other American regiment, and that after the armistice it led the French armies to the Rhine, being the first Allied unit to enter Germany. In all these ways its record is unique."¹²

Among the numerous heroes fighting with the 369th, Private Henry Johnson was one of many notable. PVT Johnson was the first American to be awarded the *Croix de Guerre*, the Cross of War, the second highest medal for bravery awarded by the French government. PVT Johnson, while on guard duty one night in May 1918 observed a German raiding party about to attack his position. Without hesitation, he launched a pre-emptive strike, killing four Germans with both rifle and bayonet. Although wounded three times, PVT Johnson put up a terrific fight. When he noticed the retreating raiding carrying away a wounded American, PVT Johnson launched a one-man counterattack and rescued the American. He certainly deserved the recognition the French bestowed upon him.

PVT Johnson was not alone when it came to awards and decorations. "One hundred and sixty-seven officers and men received decorations, including the Distinguished Service Cross, the *Croix de Guerre* and the French Legion of Honor."¹³ Sergeant William Butler on one occasion demonstrated such heroic acts that both the French and Americans honored him for his bravery.¹⁴

The 369th was just one of a number of incredible organizations, filled with a host of notable African-Americans that served within its ranks. With the end of the war, most men thought that their honorable, and in many cases heroic, service would earn them their rightful

place in a free and democratic society. Sadly, America was not yet ready to accept Blacks as equals. This surely tested the patience of the Black community. They helped to liberate an enslaved Europe; yet, at home they were still second-class citizens. How much longer, after how much sacrifice would Blacks be accepted as equals and achieve their rightful place in American society?

WWII

The United States entered World War II with the noblest of intentions: To make the world safe for democracy, for a second time. We fought on every continent, on every ocean, in every theater. It was truly a world war. One notable historian has called it "The Good War."¹⁵ Our stated goals were to liberate the oppressed, the enslaved and to restore every conquered, legitimate government. This was a daunting challenge. By every measure we were unprepared for war on such a scale. Our armed forces, our industrial base and our people were not ready or postured for such an endeavor. The "Home Front" would make a contribution as critical to our ultimate victory as would the fighting theatres.

Many similarities between our entries into both World Wars' exist. They obviously deal with the issue of military un-preparedness and the ability to participate in war of this magnitude. The Army, in particular, was woefully inadequate for the task. Units were undermanned, ill equipped and poorly trained. Our war fighting doctrine had not changed much since WWI. We had fallen behind in applying modern concepts of combined arms warfare. The morale of the Army had fallen dramatically. The lagging effects of the Depression and resultant budget shortfalls had taken its toll.

This was to be total war. All aspects of American society had to mobilize to fight the twin evils of Nazism and Japanese imperialism. Clearly, these two enemy forces, personified by Hitler and Tojo, were perfect targets for our internal propaganda. The US government could, and would, focus all efforts on rallying public opinion against these two dictators. Many of the examples used to describe their evil would focus on the racist and nationalist crimes committed by their regimes. With the revelation of the existence of Nazi concentration camps coupled with the unspeakable horrors that Jews and other "undesirables" faced, decent people would demand action. Sadly, Americans overlooked the reality of the day-to-day existence that African Americans faced as a matter of course. The US Army was as segregated in 1941 as it was in 1917. How could we, morally, oppose the actions of Hitler when elements of our own citizenry were oppressed?

There existed no hue and cry to integrate the US armed forces, until the very end of the war. That demand for change was not the result of any particular liberal or humanitarian

gesture, but was a practical response to the high casualty rates in the infantry units. We had reached the bottom of the manpower barrel. We had no pool of reserves left to replenish the depleted ranks. Our only source of supply for trained and ready troops were the Negro units. Much like their predecessors in the Civil War and WWI, segregated units were called upon to fill the ranks of the infantry units. In the European theater, a number of manpower replacement experiments were tried. All of these tests revolved around the integration of Blacks into previously all white units. (As a footnote – all white units included Hispanics and Native Americans). In the final analysis, these hastily integrated units operated successfully and set the course for the ultimate *de jure* integration that President Truman would order three years hence, in July 1948.

During the course of World WarII all-Black units would serve in every theatre. They would field every type of unit, combat, combat support and combat service support. The troops would perform every conceivable task, face every hardship and fight every enemy. Several Black units would enter the history books as a result of their pace setting, award winning or barrier busting performance. A short list includes the fighting pilots of the Tuskegee Airmen, the gallant paratroopers of the famous "Triple Nickel", the 555th Airborne Infantry Regiment or the less than glamorous, yet critically important truck drivers of the "Red Ball Express." Sadly, the public recognition they deserved was slow in coming. Their fame and glory was not widely publicized. Hence, their contribution to the war effort has, until recent years, remained muted.

It was not just on the battlefield that Blacks made contributed to our ultimate success. On the "Home Front", in factories, in farm fields, and in medical laboratories, African-Americans worked hard to help achieve victory. They too, faced much opposition. A sad example is that of Dr. Charles Drew, a preeminent medical research scientist and surgeon. Dr. Drew, through his research, discovered that blood plasma lasted longer than whole blood, thereby, developing a system that would save the lives of thousands of wounded soldiers. He was appointed the first director of the American Red Cross Blood Bank system. He was to react with shock when the Army Surgeon General ruled that racial segregation would prevail even in the matter of blood transfusion. On that note, Dr. Drew resigned from his position with the Red Cross. It is the ultimate irony that Dr. Drew would die as a result of strict racial segregation in Southern hospitals. He was seriously injured in an Alabama road accident, yet, the hospital refused to admit him, on account of his race. His death highlights the absurdity of the Jim Crow South.

The Dr. Drew case was not the only case of racial injustice during the Second World War. It was not until the late 1990s that seven Black soldiers were awarded the Medal of Honor for their heroism in WWII. There was a systematic, military wide effort to deny Blacks the award

of our nation's highest decoration for personal bravery. The wrong was righted when, at a White House ceremony, these 7 heroes received their long overdue medals.

The long war came to an end in mid-1945. The world was a decidedly different place as the mid-century point was reached. Former enemies were now allies and former allies now foes. The new threat came from Russia and Red China. Often, these two communist powers employed surrogates or puppets to spread their own form of world domination. Its doubtful many would pick the Korean peninsula as the next battlefield. However, it was here at this location that the US Army would again go to war. As well, it was the Korean War that saw the rise of a new Army, an integrated Army, made up of units that were beginning to reflect our society, in terms of racial mix and balance.

KOREAN WAR

The single most important event impacting upon the US armed forces during the interwar period of 1945-50 was President Harry S. Truman's signing of Executive Order 9981. On July 26, 1948 President Truman ordered the end of segregation within the armed forces and the immediate integration of the military. Clearly, this order has had an incredible impact on American society. From that day forward, Americans of all backgrounds have lived and worked in the closest possible personal conditions and we, as a nation, have benefited beyond measure. Obviously, this act was not met with 100% acceptance. Certain elements of society at large, and sadly, within the military as well, did not greet this with enthusiasm. As long as Jim Crow, segregation and racism existed, particularly in the southern US, the military would be challenged to create a workplace free of racism and *de facto* segregation. With the onset of the Korean War, the military entered the conflict with integrated units. More importantly, Blacks were in positions of leadership and authority. The Army underwent the smoothest transition, of all the services, but it was still a difficult period.

When the North Koreans invaded the Republic of Korea, the US Army was in the throes of fundamental change and transition. With the end of WWII and the occupation of Japan, US Army units had become soft, complacent and comfortable with living the good life. Training for combat had become unimportant. Units focused on sports and recreation. Moms' and Dads' back home were growing increasingly vocal in their lack of support of continued conscription; discipline within the ranks was eroding as leaders sought to soften the harshness of Army life and the overall attitude was one of complacency. It is against this backdrop that the Army went into the Korean War in a tumultuous condition.

Despite the worrisome condition of US Army units, the soldiers demonstrated skill and tenacity when the chips were down. Individuals and units fought with a degree of bravery and resourcefulness that reflected positively upon the Army. Some of the oldest and most storied units fought with great distinction during the war. Unlike the two World Wars, during the Korean War, Blacks received the recognition they richly deserved. Two examples come from the 24th Infantry Regiment, part of the 25th Infantry Division. The reader will recall that the 24th Infantry Regiment was one of 4 post-Civil War all-Black units that served in the West during the Indian Wars. On June 2, 1951 Sergeant Cornelius H. Carlton, Company C, 24th Infantry Regiment, "distinguished himself by conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity above and beyond the call of duty in action against the enemy near Chipo-ri Korea."¹⁶ Sergeant Carlton demonstrated incredible bravery and "indomitable courage" when he sacrificed himself while leading an attack against a heavily defended enemy position. He exposed himself to heavy enemy fire, sustaining a mortal chest wound that cost him his life.

Another member of the 24th Infantry Regiment to be awarded the Medal of Honor was Private William Thompson of Company M. On August 6, 1950 while serving as a machine gunner, PVT Thompson was recognized for his "dauntless courage and gallant self-sacrifice"¹⁷ when he refused the calls of his comrades to withdraw and remained in his position, pouring withering and sustained fire into the enemy ranks, allowing his fellow soldiers to escape death.

VIET NAM

By the time the US was fully involved in the Viet Nam War, the armed forces had been de-segregated for nearly twenty years. The progress of two decades of advancement was clearly visible. On-base housing and dependent schools, particularly in the southern states, were fully integrated and the Army society was making great strides in eradicating racism. Blacks had made tremendous progress in all aspects of the military profession, in terms of promotions to high ranks, in critical leadership positions and as role models for the hundreds of thousands of volunteers and draftees filling the growing legions of the Army.

As the war grew in intensity, beginning in late 1965, more and more US formations engaged enemy units in large scale, fixed battles. The US Army's elite 173rd Airborne Infantry Brigade was the first major formation to take the war to the enemy. In a series of clashes, the gung ho paratroopers inflicted significant defeats upon both the Viet Cong (VC) guerillas and regular troops of the North Viet Nam Army (NVA). As more and more US divisions entered the fray, increasing numbers of Blacks were advancing to higher and higher positions and ranks. Three African-Americans made history during the war. Their contributions and sacrifices are in

keeping with the finest traditions of military service and serve to remind us of the higher calling all soldiers have answered.

PFC Milton L. Olive, a native of Chicago, enlisted in the Army in August 1964, after having attended Saints Junior College. He volunteered for both Infantry and Airborne training. He was assigned to B Company, 2nd Battalion, 503rd Airborne of the 173rd Brigade in May 1965. PFC Olive became the first enlisted man and first Black to earn the Medal of Honor since the Korean War when, on 22 October 1965 he sacrificed his own life to save the lives of three fellow soldiers. PFC Olive willingly and selflessly threw his body onto an enemy hand grenade that had been thrown into the midst of his platoon. Using his body to absorb the blast, PFC Milton saved the lives of his comrades. He was awarded the Medal of Honor posthumously for his "conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity above and beyond the call of duty".¹⁸

As the war raged and the Army expanded, more and more Blacks were assuming leadership positions in vast numbers. Company command, critical for future advancement, was one position to which Blacks were routinely assigned. It was not unusual to find Black officers in other crucial positions. As upward mobility propelled young men to higher and higher positions of authority, they rose to meet the challenges. To the young grunt in the field, seeing successful Black officers was a sign of the changing times.

CPT Riley Pitts, by all measures was a truly remarkable commander. Having entered the Army in 1960, through the Reserve Officer Training Corps program of the University of Wichita, Kansas, he served as an Infantry officer in CONUS and France prior to his tour in Viet Nam. CPT Pitts was the commanding officer of Company C, 2nd Battalion, 27th Infantry. During the early days of his command tour he earned, through his bravery and sterling leadership, the Silver Star, the Bronze Star and the Purple Heart. On 31 October 1967, CPT Pitts, while leading his company against a resolute and entrenched enemy formation, with complete disregard for his own safety threw himself onto an enemy hand grenade. When the grenade failed to explode, CPT Pitts jumped up, rallied his soldiers and led the attack against an enemy bunker. He was killed by enemy small arms fire later in the battle. As a result of his conspicuous gallantry, CPT Pitts was awarded the Medal of Honor. In fact, he is the first Black officer to have been awarded the Medal of Honor since its inception. CPT Riley Pitts is truly a footnote in our Army's glorious history.

LTC Charles C. Rogers has the distinction of being the highest-ranking officer to be awarded the Medal of Honor during the war in Viet Nam; in fact, he was the first of only two battalion commanders to earn our nation's most prestigious medal. However, LTC Rogers was awarded the Medal of Honor for a specific act of conspicuous heroism during a single action.

By 1968 LTC Rogers was enjoying a highly successful career, since his commissioning from West Virginia State College's ROTC program in 1951. He had served in a wide variety of challenging and prestigious assignments, around the world. As a graduate of the US Army Command and General Staff College, LTC Rogers was assured of greater success. In 1968, his talents and abilities were recognized by his selection as a battalion commander. Clearly, he could take great pride in commanding the 1st Battalion, 5th Field Artillery in the vaunted 1st Infantry Division, the fabled Big Red One. In the early morning hours of 1 November 1968, LTC Rogers's battalion, occupying an isolated fire support base (FSB) came under a determined enemy attack. Following a rocket, mortar, and rocket propelled grenade (RPG) bombardment, the enemy launched a human wave assault by fanatical troops of a North Viet Nam Army (NVA) regiment. The enemy's attack so stunned the defenders it became a struggle for survival, characterized by bloody and gruesome hand-to-hand combat. As the firebase was over-run, LTC Rogers took up a position inside the commander's copula of a M109 howitzer, manning the Caliber .50 machine gun. He poured a withering and sustained fire into the enemy ranks. His accurate and timely fire broke up the enemy attack, allowing him to rally his troops. So effective was his machine gun fire, the enemy concentrated their weapons upon Rogers. In his exposed position, he was an easy target for the enemy. Several well-aimed rocket propelled grenades smashed into his howitzer. He suffered a number of bloody, painful wounds, yet, despite his condition, his leadership inspired his soldiers to successfully counter-attack and, subsequently, defeat the enemy assault. His conspicuous leadership, gallant actions and raw courage served to embolden his troops. As a result of his actions, LTC Rogers was awarded the Medal of Honor. LTC Rogers illustrious career continued for nearly 15 more years, culminating in his retirement as a major general and Deputy Corps Commander, V Corps in US Army, Europe, (USAREUR). The M109, 155mm self-propelled howitzer, in which Rogers manned the caliber 50 machine gun, "Charlie-22", is now prominently displayed at the US Army Field Artillery School, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

The history of the US Army, from its inception in 1775 through the end of the war in Viet Nam, is one of distinction and glory. During this period, Blacks served with great pride, dignity and valor. They made countless contributions to our freedom, and the freedom of peoples around the world. For a variety of reasons, many of these contributions are little known. The purpose of this first part of my SRP is to introduce the reader to the just a few of these great heroes. Many others served in anonymity and today are forgotten.

THE COLD WAR ERA

With the end of the war in Viet Nam, the Army entered into a new era. The draft was suspended in 1972 and the Army became an all-volunteer service. The social upheaval of the 1960s spilled over into the 1970s and the Army suffered through a severe crisis. By every measure, the decade of the 1970s was a period of complete turmoil for the Army. During this era, the phrase "Hollow Army" came to describe our condition. Graphic, but, true; our civilian leadership let us slide into a horrific decline. The US Army in Germany, in particular, was a mess. It was an ill-disciplined mob that lacked morale, motivation or purpose. Wide spread drug use and the debilitating effects of alcohol abuse were the norm. Garrisons were plagued with racial warfare. Units were nothing more than a ragtag collection of misfits and rebels. We had sunk into a pit of despair and were in serious trouble. It was clearly obvious, to friend and foe alike, how low we had sunk. Many of our NATO allies were skeptical of our ability to repel a Warsaw Pact invasion. Throughout this period, leaders at all levels were fully aware of how rotten things had gotten; furthermore, they were keenly aware of the requirement to make dramatic change.

By the beginning of the 1980s, positive change was obvious. It was slow, but steady. Only through the dedicated leadership of our best leaders was the Army able to overcome the worst aspects of these trying times. It took the dedication and professional leadership of great people to right this situation. Racial climates underwent dramatic changes. Open hostility and conflict was replaced by growing harmony and trust, however, this required a major change in race relations and sensitivity training. Vestiges of racial discrimination were being erased by the late 1970s. Some positive steps made to improve race relations include mandatory race relations training at unit level, the establishment and celebration of Black History Month at garrison level and, most importantly, the establishment of the battalion Race Relations counselor/advisor. All of these helped start a dramatic turn around in relations.

The Carter era was viewed as the "Dark Ages" for the military. The economy was weak and the lingering effect of the Viet Nam war hampered recruiting. Despite rather high unemployment rates, enlistment into the Army was poor. The disastrous hostage rescue attempt, in the desert of Iran, seemed to symbolize how low the military had sunk. With the start of the Regan era, the Army entered into its next phase. With President Reagan's election in November 1980, and inauguration in January 1981, there seemed to be almost overnight a renewed sense of pride, purpose of mission and increasing levels of satisfaction. By mid-decade, large budget increases coupled with the fielding of world class, war winning weapons systems, plus modernized facilities and the introduction of the combat training centers helped to

turn the US Army into the world's best. The Army had rarely seen such high levels of morale and esprit de corps. Re-enlistment rates and other indicators of good morale reached all time highs. Across the board, by every indicator, things were great. By the end of the 1980s, the Army was in remarkably great shape. Public opinion polls indicated that the public had regained confidence in the military and held positive views of the armed forces. Successful execution of OPERATION Just Cause in Panama served as an example of the excellence the Army had achieved. A number of events would occur, beginning in 1989 that would begin to cause significant change, for the world as a whole, and the Army in particular.

By the mid-1980s, some Blacks had reached the highest ranks of the Army. Across the board, Blacks were being selected for the most prestigious command positions. As an example, LTG Julius Becton took command of USAREUR's VII Corps in June 1978 and MG Roscoe Robinson took command of the 82nd Airborne Division in the summer of 1980. At this high level, these have been the exceptions rather than the rule. However, it was no longer unusual to find Blacks commanding battalions and brigades. It appeared to most observers that the Army had indeed reached a state of "colorblindness." This is not to imply that all things were perfect. We shall see that problems persisted. As a mitigating note to the observation that Blacks were being selected to command at increasingly higher levels of command, it should be noted that there are some units that Blacks are not normally slated to command. Examples include the 75th Infantry Regiment, XVIIIth Airborne Corps and its subordinate divisions and the 1st Cavalry Division. Why this trend exists is unknown, and is surely not Department of the Army policy. Perhaps in the future, this trend will change.

In the autumn of 1989 the Berlin Wall fell; with its demise came the greatest impact on our Army in decades. The one concrete, tangible symbol of the hostility between the West and Russia was gone. As a result of the lessened threat from the Warsaw Pact, the Army was reduced in size from 780,000 to less than a half million. The force reduction took out more troops, in terms of percentages, than some of our worst battlefield disasters. Whole cohorts were decimated.

The debate on the effectiveness of the management of the draw-down, in terms of how personnel actions were executed rages on. What is not debatable is the impact the methods employed have had on attitudes, especially those who remained on active duty. A key issue included the wholesale release from active duty of junior officers prior to completion of the active duty obligation. This huge draw down has affected the culture of the Army in many ways. We have witnessed dramatic changes in how we do business. Some changes have been perceived as negative. The Army has become staid, overly cautious and unforgiving. One example of

bad change is the adoption of a "Zero Defects" mentality. This is an attitude of allowing no mistakes. Commanders are so consumed with not failing they "micro-manage" virtually all aspects of operations, allowing their subordinates no opportunity to learn. When it comes to making mistakes, "heads roll."

For junior officers this has the chilling impact of encouraging them to take the less risky route, of being overly cautious and not "rocking the boat." This has the undesired effect of stifling initiative. Seizing the initiative is one of the cornerstones of our war fighting doctrine. As written in Field Manual 100-5, Operations, initiative "requires a willingness and *ability* to act independently within the frame work of the higher commander's intent."¹⁹ (emphasis added). Of course, the issue here is *ability*. A "Zero Defects" commander does not allow his subordinates the ability to act. The worst thing we can do, as we transform the Army, is create an officer corps that is shy and timid, leaders that fear taking action. In environments that foster this attitude, all too often, good officers perish. We are just now seeing the results of this sort of situation. We have seen many dedicated and talented young officers leave the service prematurely, many as a result of the "Zero Defects" attitude. Perhaps, more than one good young Black officer has paid an undue penalty. Some will argue that many young Black officers were particularly hard hit during this period. The reduced numbers in the combat arms branches would support this theory. We can ill-afford to lose our future senior leaders while they are still in their formative years.

It has become a truism that the success of OPERATION Desert Shield/Desert Storm was the result of 25 years of rebuilding, training and dedication. We buried the ghost of Viet Nam in the deserts of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. The Army came home from the Persian Gulf with its head held high. The troops were feted with incredible fanfare, welcome home parades, picnics and receptions. The American public embraced the soldiers, sailors, airmen and marines that liberated Kuwait. Unlike their brother veterans returning from the war in Viet Nam, Gulf War vets were treated like heroes. The young men and women who, as platoon leaders and company commanders, helped win this victory have decided to leave active duty rather than continue to serve in an organization wracked with the poor morale, stifling leadership techniques and a culture of "Zero Defects." This issue was another bombshell for the Army. Another aspect is the generation friction between company and field grades, that being the rough divisions of the so-called Xers and Boomers. This serves as an interesting description or explanation for the reasons and rationale as to why so many junior officers are leaving the Army in the mid to late 1990s.

That the generational attitudes are so vastly different, Dr. Leonard Wong, on the staff of the US Army War College, has written a great monograph on this topic. Dr. Wong's work, Generations Apart: Xers and Boomers in the Officer Corps tells the age-old story of different values of different generations. When we Boomers were in our youth we were told we were different from our elders because of the Generation Gap. As youths we were warned not to trust anyone over thirty. When we were subalterns, our wives were expected to attend ladies teas in hats and gloves. Perhaps our lieutenants' think it is quaint that our spouses volunteer at the Thrift Shop or do other community oriented work.

The American success in OPERATION Desert Shield and Desert Storm was the result of the dedication and selfless service of countless American soldiers. Regardless of their rank or background, their status or ethnicity, American soldiers contributed to the overwhelming success the coalition enjoyed in the war to liberate Kuwait. That this conflict was virtually free of the racial overtones and conflicts that characterized previous wars is a testament to the existing mutual trust and respect within all those who serve. The US military had entered a new era in racial harmony and understanding, particularly when compared to American society in general.

There is no denying that by 1990, African-Americans had reached the highest levels of the armed forces. The highest ranking serviceman, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Colin Powell, and LTG Calvin Waller, the second in command of US forces during the Gulf War are just two examples of the many Blacks to reach top. It could be argued that we had finally achieved our stated goal, a colorblind organization, and a harmonious climate where a soldier is judged by his talents and abilities and the content of his character and not the color of his skin. As a footnote, in addition to the highly visible achievements of the aforementioned generals, the Army has had two Black Secretaries of the Army, the Honorable Clifford Alexander during the Carter administration and Togo West who served under Bill Clinton.

By the mid-1990s some strains were beginning to appear and the release of the Armed Forces Equal Opportunity Survey in 1997 hit some in the Army like a bombshell. The survey, much to the shock of white officers revealed a "dual" Army, an Army where the majority was more than comfortable with the status quo. On the other hand, Black officers were cognizant of the issues affecting them. Some of the anecdotal information includes: White service members have a much more positive perception of race relations than minority service members. By comparison, only 39% of African-American service members shared this same view. On a positive note, 84% of all respondents, out of 76,000 personnel surveyed, "said they had close personal friends who were members of other races and ethnic groups."²⁰ This is heartening

news. Other good news items include the point that 90% of all service members stated they had received equal opportunity training and were familiar with reporting procedures.

Perhaps the single biggest issue, with the gravest consequences, dealt with plunging selection rates for command and general staff college, lieutenant colonel, and battalion command. These are the critical gates a successful field grade officer must negotiate. The release of the 1998 Colonels promotion list created a minor uproar. The news was bad. The selection rate for Blacks was a dismal 19%, as opposed to an Army wide selection rate of just over 50%. Does this mean that 81% of all eligible African-American lieutenant colonels were duds? Absolutely not! Many dedicated, high quality, fully qualified professional officers were passed over. What does the low selection rate indicate? That remains to be determined; however, one can draw the conclusion, without fear of being wrong, that many great Black officers received lower OER ratings, especially the very critical "Top Block" Senior Rater selection. (This is officially known as the Above Center of Mass (ACOM) block check.) These lower ratings, on average, were lower than their white counterparts. This is irrefutable. It is unfair and has damaged morale.

This point begs the issue: What has caused this situation? Statistically, the promotion rates for African-American officers remains within the same standard as whites, through captain. It is at the selection for Major and Command and General Staff College (CGSC) Blacks fall behind whites. This causes a progression of shortfalls and profession limiting impacts. To illustrate this, I will outline a typical career pattern for a career officer. Lets say that a successful career culminates at the rank of Colonel. To make colonel, you must successfully command a battalion. To be selected to command a battalion, one must be selected for lieutenant colonel. To make this cut, an officer must have served successfully as a battalion executive officer (XO) and/or a battalion operations officer (S3). To get selected for one, or both, of these career critical jobs, graduation from CGSC is essential. Furthermore, the battalion commander, who is exceptionally interested in his own successful tour as a commander, wants proven winners in these two positions. He will seek out those in whom he has the utmost confidence. All in all, we see patterns where Blacks may be excluded, mainly as a result of omission, not discrimination. This example shows how Blacks have fallen behind their white contemporaries, beyond the rank of captain and how we have arrived at our current locus.

Several years of complacency on the part of the Army senior leadership, and growing sensitivity by Black officers to "glass ceilings" had taken its toll. We had awoken to a growing problem. This awakening came as a shock to most white officers, who assumed that everything was just fine. Most white officers were totally unaware of the issues affecting their Black

contemporaries. Complacency and a sense of mission accomplishment coupled with terrific morale had lulled us into a false sense of serenity. Everything looked rosy, at least on the surface. However, as one "scratches" through this thin veneer, significant problems can be found. Some of the changes were for the worse.

Within the ranks of the Black segment of the officer corps was the growing knowledge that selection rates for promotion to the field grade ranks and command at the battalion level were below the expected rates, not to mention, well below the established goals as set by the Secretary of the Army. These goals are not quotas, but targets that generally reflect the percentage of Black officers when compared to the overall officer population. It is an accepted figure that Blacks constitute about 11% of the US general population. Therefore, we should expect that same number as a fair and equitable percentage for Black officers at all ranks, at a minimum. We can accept minimal deviations in that number, but a 19% selection rate for Blacks and more than 50% for whites is unconscionable and defies explanation.

Other issues seemed to add to the increasing levels of concern. In addition to the aforementioned DOD EO Survey, I will use a number of other articles and monographs to develop the final phase of this research project. Two in particular are the US Army War College Strategic Research Projects (SRP) of then LTC, now BG, Remo Butler and COL Carrie Kendrick. Both BG Butler's SRP, entitled Why Black Officers Fail, and COL Kendrick's SRP, African American Officers' Role in the Future Army have had a significant impact on this SRP. The influence of these two insightful commentaries should be obvious. The titles of these SRPs speak volumes. The issues addressed must be resolved. The single biggest issue we must address is the development of Black junior officers and their long-term career prospects.

In addition to the two aforementioned Strategy Research Projects, two more SRPs have had a marked influence on my recommendations. The first of the two is LTC Michael A. Andrews's Mentoring Lieutenants and the second is: Mentoring: A Useful Concept for Leader Development in The Army? by COL Gail W. Wood. The two papers were written in 1987 and 1990, respectfully. They are interesting for a variety of reasons, not the least of which is that their recommendations for formal adoption of mentoring have not been implemented, at least not by Army Regulation.

As the 20th century, and this portion of my SRP, ended, we faced several challenges. Junior officers, especially captains, were leaving the Army in droves. A number of studies were conducted to determine the cause. Shockingly, a report in late 2000 outlined that an unheard numbers of lieutenant colonels and colonels were declining command opportunities at both the battalion and brigade levels. For the professional leader who had spent 20 years of his life

preparing for command at this level, the act of refusing command was unfathomable. All officers aspire to command troops. Selection for battalion and brigade command has always been viewed as a concrete, tangible sign of professional success.

As in the early 1970s, morale was sinking to alarmingly low levels. Dissatisfaction was reaching all time highs. The Chief of Staff of the Army, General Eric Shinseki, sent a message to the field reminding senior leaders of their responsibility to develop and mentor their subordinates. Obviously, he is alarmed enough to state, "commander's counseling is the key to leader development and remains one of the most important things we do to develop future leaders of our Army."²¹ He continues with the admonition that "we must slow things down and re-energize the formal and informal counseling of our officers, especially our junior officers."²² If the Chief of Staff has to remind his senior leaders of this basic, fundamental task, we are, clearly, in trouble. For African-American officers, this was not an unexpected trend. Many of them had been without any form of development or counseling from the superior officer or senior rater.

FORCE XXI

Where do we go to from here? What goals and objectives must the Army need to meet? What changes, both long and short term, do we need to make to achieve our goals? These are the challenges that await us and demand our immediate attention. To delay or defer action is to invite disaster. We cannot afford to do nothing. The single biggest challenge we face is the development of junior officers, especially Blacks. Numerous articles, reports and studies bear this out. The success rate for Black officers, when measured by results of promotion and command selection boards is woeful. Any number of excuses can be proffered in an attempt to explain this situation. The reasons why constitute a study all its own. What is needed is an attempt to re-energize the efforts to develop all junior officers. If we fail to act or do nothing, young Black officers will draw their own conclusions when they see, repeatedly, below average selection rates for staff college, lieutenant colonel and higher, not to mention command at battalion level. If we fail to develop these young officers, they will "vote with their feet." We have heard repeatedly, from the senior most leaders of the Army, that we must stem the tide of our future leaders as they leave the Army in record numbers. What can we do to reverse this trend? What programs exist to help the leaders most able to fix this problem? Who are the leaders best positioned to get this underway? Last answer first, Battalion and Brigade commanders are best positioned to provide the solution. There is nothing new here; these lieutenant colonels and colonels have always had the most impact on junior officers. Their actions, or lack thereof, have always affected the most impressionable young people.

As the Army transforms, so too, must we transform the methods we use currently to develop junior officers. What I propose is a simple and straightforward method and system that exists now, albeit informally; an established and proven system that we have played with for years and can measure the results. That system is: *mentoring*. In the past twenty years the Army has toyed with this topic, but has never directed its full implementation. By that, I mean that we have not mandated the official implementation of a program. I know of no TRADOC school that teaches mentoring as an art. Although, some TRADOC schools have implemented programs that have faculty and staff mentor students, it is not required by any TRADOC regulation. Mentoring has become the current "hot topic" with the civilian sector and has bred a cottage industry of gurus' cranking out best sellers and "how to" manuals. Even universities are implementing these concepts for the development of both faculty and students.

In 1985, the Army Chief of Staff, GEN John Wickham issued his four pillars of the Army: Training, Maintaining, Leading and Caring. Throughout his tenure, he emphasized these four points. An outgrowth of the Leading pillar is mentoring. GEN Wickham set into motion a plan designed to provide a basis for a teaching/coaching relationship between a senior and a subordinate. The concept of mentoring was widely accepted, was the topic of many articles and was often an OER objective. But, as COL Wood points out, "...the Army had not formulated an official definition of mentoring nor had it established any guidelines for instituting a mentoring program."²³ Not much has changed since she wrote that in 1990. This is the troubling part. Virtually anyone with military service can tell you stories of how they were shaped and molded by a senior leader. Most young draftees will say it was their squad leader or platoon sergeant that turned them into good soldiers. Everyone has a story of how some wise, experienced sergeant who took the time and showed the interest in developing a new troop into a better, smarter soldier. Sometime through the recent past, we lost that art. We let it slip away. Look around you and see the evidence. Today we can see many examples: officers are doing the work enlisted men once performed. This has become a truism. Look at the average battalion headquarters, either in garrison or in the field. Who does the "dirty work"? Who makes briefing charts, mans the radios, and other forms of manual labor? Junior officers, that's who. We don't trust our enlisted men and we debase our junior officers. It's a shame. This is not healthy. It bodes poorly for the future. What type of career development and mentoring is this?

Now that I have laid out the issue of mentoring, or the lack thereof, it is incumbent that I offer some concepts and ideas on the art of mentoring. For example, what is the definition, what are some roles mentors fulfill, and finally, what are the goals a mentor accomplishes. A

mentor can be defined in a variety of ways. In his SRP, LTC Andrews offers these five excellent definitions:

1. A wise and trusted teacher or guide.
2. Father figure, teacher, trusted advisor, protector to an inexperienced person.
3. An experienced, senior leader or manager who develops a younger less experienced leader and provides career counseling and sponsorship to the individual.
4. A senior member of an organization who establishes a relationship with a junior member of the organization and is influential in molding and shaping his career.
5. A highly placed, powerful, knowledgeable individual willing to share his experience.²⁴

No matter how you choose to define mentor, the concept is the same. A senior leader who often with twenty or more years of service has the experience to perform this role. Often times, through his own trial and error he has learned the hard way. If my experiences are typical, and I believe they are, then most of my contemporaries share with me the fact we were not mentored as young officers. The concept was not in vogue. The only discussion I recall, as a lieutenant, was my own battalion commander ridiculing the idea. He went so far as to state that if one of his junior officers went outside the battalion in an effort to find a mentor, then that officer was disloyal. I hope those days are long gone.

As one reads through these definitions and roles, one can't help but think of historical examples: The first that comes to mind would be General Pershing and his able aide de camp, George C. Marshall. Later GEN Marshall would mentor many of the generals who lead us to victory in WWII, the most notable being Dwight D. Eisenhower. There are many more, from several eras of our nation's military history. However, I ask you, how many Marshalls' are we developing today? Think of the highly visible generals of our recent past and look for the rising stars they have mentored. There is no doubt that experience is the best teacher. When we can gain that experience from someone older, wiser and more mature, it has the added effect of being filtered. In our current Zero Defects environment, some experiences may prove fatal. It is clear that all senior leaders, if they hope to eradicate the Zero Defects mentality, the aftereffects of it and foster a more positive spirit within the ranks of the officer corps, must make this a top priority.

LTC Andrews credits Daniel Lea and Zandy B. Leibowitz with developing the following ten traditional roles a mentor will perform:

<u>ROLE</u>	<u>EXAMPLE</u>
Role Modeling	Father figure to venerate/emulate
Teaching	Specific skills; assisting career development
Guiding	Understanding "unwritten rules", social norms
Advising	Sharing knowledge, experience
Validating	Confirming right-wrong, good-bad
Counseling	Career planning, providing emotional support
Motivating	Sharing ideas, ideals, values; improving self-confidence
Protecting	Shielding. Providing buffer, freedom, to fail
Communication	Projecting all other behaviors
Sponsoring	Influencing opportunities, jobs, assignments ²⁵

Up to this point, I have stated that superior officers are not mentoring their subordinates. I have given examples and illustrations of this failure. If this is the case, then I am forced to make my next argument. I posit the thought that, for the most part, white superior officers have not fully mentored junior Black officers. That said, overall, the Army does not do a good job at mentoring anyone. It is safe to say that Army wide, regardless of race or ethnicity, the Army has failed miserably when it comes to mentoring. Ask yourself, have you been mentored throughout the duration of your career? Have you mentored all of your subordinates? Have you consistently sought out young, developing officers and taken them "under your wing?" So, this phenomenon is not unique to Black officers, but I use them, as they constitute the most vulnerable segment of our officer corps. I state this because only with the acknowledgment of the dramatic increase in dissatisfied officers leaving the Army have we taken action. Officers of all walks of life are leaving the Army in record numbers because they are unhappy with the way they have been treated and the fact they don't like what they see for their future in uniform.

If you agree with my assertion, that the officer corps has, for the most part, done a poor job mentoring junior officers, then it may be reasonable to assume senior Black officers have failed to mentor junior Black officers, as well. I am convinced that the failure of whites to mentor Blacks is not, for the most part, a racist, discriminatory act, but one done on the basis of discomfort, unfamiliarity with each others' backgrounds and upbringing and lack of understanding. Perhaps, the feeling of discomfort is key. For the most part, our society is

polarized, nearly segregated. Numerous examples exist: in housing patterns, therefore neighborhood schools are virtually segregated; in our religious worship practices, Sunday morning, 1100 AM has been called the most segregated hour in America. Most forms of human interaction in America today are done in homogeneous settings. In virtually every human endeavor, whites lack a basic understanding of African-Americans. This failure is one of human nature.

It is in the Army where these problems come to the fore. It is here where Americans traditionally inter-mingle for the first time. A young recruit will state that new soldiers in basic training gravitate towards those with whom they share something in common. In their new setting, at basic training, young people seek out those with whom they share something in common. I challenge you to look at your dining facility during meal times. Who sits with whom? How about at the gyms, on-post soldiers clubs or at the chapel? Hence, whites tend to associate with whites, and conversely, Blacks socialize within their own racial group. Is this a discriminatory situation? Probably not, but it is not healthy in the long run.

It bears repeating -- whites tend to be unfamiliar with Blacks. BG Butler provides some very insightful comments that bear this out. He states, "And since many white commanders have little or no experience with Black culture in America, it is difficult for many white commanders to understand and acknowledge the difference with a sense of neutrality or an unbiased perspective."²⁶ As America's population grows, particularly with increasing growth in the minority segments, we will become even more so, a multi-cultural society. This is not new. America has always been a melting pot of new immigrants. However, if we fail to adapt now, change in the future may be the result of trauma. We don't need that motivation.

Although the US Military Academy, at West Point, has increased the enrollment of Black cadets significantly, the majority of Black officers are commissioned through the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) program. A fair percentage, about 40%, of the Black officer corps is commissioned through Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) ROTC programs. The other, approximately 60% come from three sources: West Point, Officer Candidate School (OCS) and ROTC programs at predominately white majority colleges and universities.²⁷ Consequently, for a rather large portion of Blacks and whites, they interact for the first time at their branch basic course. This is rather late in life for young people to gain a familiarity with each other. Hence, as a result of these factors, Blacks and whites don't know each other. We are strangers to each other. All the fundamentals of our make-up are unknown to each other: the perceptions of our beliefs, attitudes, wishes, dreams, language patterns, etc. In many cases, these differences are huge, in others, insignificant, yet still different.

BG Butler provides another illuminating comment that highlights this particular point; "One summer day, for example, while some of my Black neighbors and I were sitting outside having a beer, a white neighbor (and War College classmate) came by and said "What be it?" Obviously he was just being friendly, but none of us had any idea what he was saying."²⁷ BG Butler illustrates, beautifully, a key point in the cultural differences between whites and Blacks. Had the white officer said, "What it be", then, perhaps the Black officers would have passed it off as his effort to be friendly, despite the backfired approach.

In his Army War College Strategy Research Project, written in 1996, BG Remo Butler states the HBCU ROTC programs do not attract "top-flight" officers as instructors. "...if one assumes that selection for battalion command is a quality cut, the data clearly shows that only a very small percentage of ROTC instructors overall are selected; and an even smaller percentage of those who instruct at Historical Black Colleges."²⁸ It has been a truism for many years that ROTC is an assignment to avoid. Most officers, when offered an assignment at one of the "Three Rs": ROTC, Recruiting Command or with the Reserve component, fight for an alternative assignment. Officers interested in university level assignments invariably fight for a prestigious school, typically West Point. The implication is obvious. To instruct at the United States Military Academy (USMA), an officer must meet a number of stringent requirements: clearly, he must be in the very top percentages of his year group and highly recommended by his chain of command. Furthermore, he must be accepted by, and graduate from a nationally recognized, highly ranked university. A fair percentage of USMA instructors are eventually selected for staff college and battalion command. These same standards should apply to ROTC instructors, regardless of the institution or college to which they are assigned.

The same selection criteria is not required of ROTC instructors, however, they may study for an advanced degree at their institution. Typically, this is done in an off-duty status, usually at night. That said, by no means am I implying that ROTC instructors are incompetent or "bottom drawer officers." Many of our ROTC instructors, past and present, are truly outstanding performers with terrific potential. However, HBCU ROTC detachments may not always receive the very best candidate. Clearly, this policy must be examined. We need our very best officers to teach, train and develop our ROTC cadets, regardless of the institution. The future of the officer corps depends upon the young people we are accessing now.

There are a number of other cultural differences that we need to consider when we look at senior white and subordinate Black officer interaction. The model I will use for this illustration is a Black lieutenant, in his initial assignment after the Officer Basic Course. He is a graduate of a HBCU and is assigned to an infantry battalion. The first challenge the young lieutenant faces

is integrating himself into the battalion's officer group. As Blacks make up about 10% of the officers assigned to the average battalion, he will be one of only three or 4 minority officers. For the most part, his peer group will be white males and will be about his own age. This may be all they have in common.

He may look at older white male authority figures with a completely different view than his white contemporaries. As a result of latent racism and other issues prevalent in the Black civilian community, such as racial profiling by the police, he may view white male authority figures with a degree of skepticism. In some communities, police departments are identified with questionable incidents where officers are not held responsible for their acts. If the young Black lieutenant's father is a veteran, it was probably during the Viet Nam War, or in the turbulent 1970s. His father may have bitter memories of his own Army experience. These are just two dynamics that may exist. This can be unhealthy for all parties involved. The young Black lieutenant may have had a negative experience with white male authority figures and this could be exacerbated in a hostile environment.

Whites must be sensitive to this issue and mitigate accordingly. Furthermore, in addition to the racial and cultural differences, we are seeing the impact of generational differences as well. As if we don't have enough to worry about, we compound the problem with other aspects that create a gulf in our ranks. However, these are not unique to just this epoch.

As a result of pre-commissioning training, plus their own motivation, all young lieutenants want to succeed and be a member of the team. It is incumbent upon the company but, more critically, the battalion commander to help the young Black officer get "on board" smoothly. He seeks acceptance. He wants to be a member of the team. He has been trained for some years now that the Army can succeed only when everyone is part of the team. That's the essence of the Army – Teamwork. It is inherent in our Army Values. We must put deeds into words when it comes to living Army Values. How can we be a fully capable team if some of our members feel like outsiders? Senior leaders must understand and be attentive to these issues and make the necessary adjustments. It is the senior leader, who works at the strategic level that is in the position to make the critical decisions affecting the Army and its people.

In most situations, it will be the battalion commander who will have the most influence and the ability to influence his young officers. Clearly, the company commander plays a role, as well. For example, the battalion commander will form an initial opinion when he first meets the young officer, however, the company commander, as he offers follow-up reports will confirm or deny the battalion commander's initial impression. That said, it is still the duty and responsibility

of the battalion commander to teach, coach and mentor his young officers, and to build cohesion for all of them, especially the minority officers assigned.

It is only natural that the battalion commander fulfills the role of mentor. He has the experience, education and training to serve as the person responsible for this act. As well, the age and maturity factor are critically important. The company commander and lieutenant are similar in age; in some rare cases the lieutenant may be older. The age similarity will hinder the full development of mentor/role model role for the captain to play.

Therefore, the battalion commander is the right person to execute the tasks of mentor and leader developer. Recent anecdotal evidence indicates the Chief of Staff, General Shinseki, is greatly concerned about the rising rates of junior officers leaving the Army. In the quest to determine why that is so, reports, interviews and studies state that junior officers feel ignored. We cannot afford to lose this generation of young people. As the saying goes, they are *THE* future.

Hence, GEN Shiseki has heard the hue and cry. On the topic of counseling, he says of that form of feedback, "counseling is most important, at this time, for young officers who are feeling particularly pressured to leave the Army."²⁹ It is obvious that GEN Shinseki has "put the ball in the court" of battalion commanders.

What is the bottom line on this topic? Young officers, regardless of the make-up, want fair, consistent counseling. This feedback must contain information that he can readily process and put into action. Platitudes and "gut feelings" don't cut it. The young officer deserves better than that. Tell him the truth. If you have failed to develop or form a "picture" of abilities, take the time to look closer, then give him a snapshot of where he is and where he needs to go. Often times, the young officer wants someone to listen as he outlines his future. The best thing to do is to listen, listen, listen. As Dr. Wong suggests, your session should be 5% talk and 95% listening. At some point in time, the young officer no longer want to hear, he wants to be heard. One of the things he wants to hear is information he can use to shape and map his career path. For career guidance, DA Pam 600-3 is the document he will consult. If he knows the pertinent information contained therein and you don't, you have problems. Make an honest effort to know the young officer, incorporate his family into all aspects of battalion life. Encourage their support of off-duty events.

CONCLUSION

The Army faces some tough times, tough choices and cannot afford to hesitate. We are losing junior officers at an alarming rate. High quality officers are refusing command at the battalion and brigade level. Morale is down considerably from recent years. We seem to be an

organization that has lost its will. The single biggest challenge we face is the inclusion of Black officers into the full spectrum of the brotherhood of the officer corps. If any are precluded, then we are to blame. So, what is the application statement? What have I presented to the senior leader that he can use? I think that the straight answer is this: Black officers, like every other commissioned leader deserve fair and equal treatment. They deserve the same leadership everyone else receives.

In the first portion of this paper, I provided an overview of African American servicemen who faced great challenges. I did this to offer my contemporaries a quick look at several men who served with incredible courage, distinction and valor. To answer the obvious question, why? I make the point that, for the most part, whites are unaware of the tremendous contributions Blacks have made to our nation. In many of the cases, these men served in total anonymity. They received little credit for their sacrifices. Their contributions to our nation and our Army deserved to be told and not forgotten. They demonstrated incredible bravery in the face of many enemies.

In the middle portion, I wanted to remind those who joined after the Persian Gulf War that their superior officers served in challenging times during the 1970s. Many of us suffered through trying times in the 1970s, when morale hit rock bottom, and we want desperately to avoid a repeat. No one generation has a monopoly on bad times, but the 1970s were years of near total despair.

Finally, in the last part I wanted to drive home the point that we face an especially larger challenge with developing junior Black officers. Recent history highlights the need for battalion and brigade commanders to re-double their efforts in this area. During my research I confirmed my suspicions that it's not just African-American officers who are not receiving this critical career development support. Yet, African-Americans constitute the most vulnerable segment of the officer corps.

My goal, in writing this paper is to offer a different perspective to a problem that we face. Many national leaders have pointed out the greatest challenge America faces is that of race relations. We can ill afford to let this problem go without resolution. The Army was entrusted with the task of integrating the ranks in the years just before the Korean War. Our predecessors did a magnificent job. They passed to us a mission that was not fully accomplished. We owe it to them, and to the Black heroes I wrote of in the early portion of this paper to continue the attack. We must win. We cannot afford the alternatives.

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ The Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776. Thomas Jefferson had in mind all men; it is debatable if that statement applied to slaves. Freed Blackmen were another question.
- ² The Constitution is the basis for virtually all aspects of our government, our rights and laws.
- ³ All servicemen take an oath of enlistment, re-enlistment or oath of office. We are charged with defending the Constitution in that oath.
- ⁴ Moore, John. Crispus Attucks: The Patriot. <http://www.crispusattucks.org>. Accessed 23 November 2000.
- ⁵ Mullen, Robert W. Blacks in America's Wars. (New York: Pathfinder Books, 1973), 11.
- ⁶ Delany, Martin R. The Condition, Elevation, Emigration and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States. (New York: Arno Press, 1969), 73.
- ⁷ Greene, Robert Ewell. Black Defenders of America. (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc, 1974), 55.
- ⁸ Ibid. 60.
- ⁹ Utley, Robert. Frontiersmen in Blue. (Bloomington: University of Indianan Press, 1973), 26.
- ¹⁰ Ibid., 27.
- ¹¹ Ibid., 26.
- ¹² Williams, Charles H. Negro Soldiers in World War I: The Human Side. (New York: AMS Press, 1923), 195.
- ¹³ Ibid., 206.
- ¹⁴ Ibid., 207.
- ¹⁵ Studs Terkel went so far as to write a book with this term as its title.
- ¹⁶ Greene, 207.
- ¹⁷ Ibid., 214.
- ¹⁸ Quoted directly from PFC Olive's Medal of Honor Citation.
- ¹⁹ Field Manual 100-5, Operations. (Washington, DC: Headquarters, Department of the Army 1993). 2-6.
- ²⁰ Department of Defense, 1997 Armed Forces Equal Opportunity Survey. Washington D.C.
- ²¹ General Eric Shinseki, Chief of Staff, Army. CSA Sends: OER. Washington, D.C. 20 November 2000.
- ²² *ibid.*

²³ Wood, Gail. Mentoring: A Useful Concept for Leader Development in the Army. (Carlisle Barracks, U.S. Army War College, 11 April 1990. 2.

²⁴ Andrews, Michael A., Mentoring Lieutenants. (Carlisle Barracks: U.S. Army War College, 23 March 1987). 3.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Butler, Remo, "Why Black Officers Fail," Parameters 29 no. 3 (Autumn 1999) 65.

²⁷ According to sources at both US Army Personnel Command (PERSCOM) and US Army TRADOC, Cadet Command, for year groups 1999 and 2000, the percentages were 45% and 38%, respectively. When averaged, this equals 41.5%

²⁸ Ibid., 66.

²⁹ Butler, Why Black Officers Fail

³⁰ Shinseki.

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