

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Folder Title:

Gays in the Military, March 1993 [2]

Staff Office-Individual:

Defense Policy-Bell, Robert

Original OA/ID Number:

739

Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:	Stack:
31	3	9	3	V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	To: Anthony Lake; From: Robert Bell; Re: President's Meeting with Joint Chiefs of Staff (3 pages)	01/24/1993	P1/b(1)
001b. paper	Meeting With Joint Chiefs of Staff (2 pages)	01/25/1993	P1/b(1)
002. briefing paper	Points to be Made for Meeting with Joint Chiefs of Staff (4 pages)	00/00/0000	P1/b(1)
003a. memo	Copy of 001a (3 pages)	01/24/1993	P1/b(1)
003b. paper	Copy of 001b (2 pages)	01/25/1993	P1/b(1)
003c. briefing paper	Copy of 002 (4 pages)	00/00/0000	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Defense Policy and Arms Control (Bell, Robert)
OA/Box Number: 739

FOLDER TITLE:

Gays in the Military, March 1993 [2]

2015-0017-F
sb1254

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

January 27, 1993

TO: SANDY BERGER

FROM: BOB BELL *RB*

Per our telecon and your request, attached is the document we discussed.

Attached as stated

TIME STAMP

**NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT**

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER: 0092

ACTION OFFICER: <u>BELL</u>		DUE: <u>7:00 AM, 27 JAN</u>																																																																																																																																																																			
☐ Prepare Memo For ~~Seeweroff~~ Howe ☐ Prepare Memo For Brady ☒ Prepare Memo <u>LAKE</u>		☐ Appropriate Action ☐ Prepare Memo For Sittmann to <u>PODESTA</u>																																																																																																																																																																			
CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS* PHONE* to action officer at ext. _____																																																																																																																																																																					
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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 01/26/93 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 7:45 A.M. 01/27
PRESIDENTIAL MEMO TO THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE RE
ENDING DISCRIMINATION ON THE BASIS OF SEXUAL ORIENTATION
SUBJECT: IN THE ARMED FORCES

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☒	☐	PASTER	☒	☐
McLARTY	☒	☐	RASCO	☐	☐
GEARAN	☒	☐	RUBIN	☐	☐
PANETTA	☒	☐	SEGAL	☐	☐
EMMANUEL	☐	☒	STEPHANOPOULOS	☒	☐
GIBBONS	☐	☐	VARNEY	☐	☒
HALE	☐	☐	WATKINS	☐	☐
HERMAN	☐	☒	WILLIAMS	☒	☐
LAKE	☒	☐	CLERK	☐	☒
LINDSEY	☒	☐		☐	☐
MONTOYA	☐	☐		☐	☐
NUSSBAUM	☒	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments directly to this office NO LATER THAN 7:45 a.m. on Wednesday, 01/27. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

CLOSE HOLD

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: vince Foster
Date: January 26, 1993
Subject: Gays in the Military

By the attached Presidential Memorandum, you direct the Secretary of Defense to submit to you prior to July 15, 1993 a draft Executive order ending discrimination in the military on the basis of sexual orientation.

The memorandum also directs the Secretary, in preparing the draft, to consult fully with the Joint Chiefs of Staff and other concerned governmental and private interests.

Attachment

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

SUBJECT: Ending Discrimination on the Basis of
Sexual Orientation in the Armed Forces

I hereby direct you to submit to me prior to July 15, 1993 a draft for my approval of an Executive order ending discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in determining who may serve in the Armed Forces of the United States.

In preparing the draft, I direct you to consult fully with the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Military Services, with other Departments affected by the order, and with concerned individuals and organizations outside the Executive Branch.

THE WHITE HOUSE.

January 27, 1993

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ROBERT BELL *RB*

FROM: KEITH HAHN *KH*

SUBJECT: Senator Nunn Statement on Homosexuals in the Armed Forces

At Tab I is the "prepared for delivery" version of Senator Sam Nunn's floor speech today on the subject of gays in the military. He deviated from this text at a few points in the speech to add extemporaneous remarks. The gist of Senator Nunn's speech is that it is the responsibility of both Congress and the Executive to set personnel policies for the U.S. Armed Forces. Given the large number of difficult and emotional issues involved, he calls for a "comprehensive discussion" of all aspects of this issue before making any change in current policy.

Attachment

Tab I Statement of Senator Sam Nunn, January 27, 1993

Statement of Senator Sam Nunn
Chairman, Senate Armed Services Committee
January 27, 1993
Remarks prepared for delivery

HEARINGS ON THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE POLICY
EXCLUDING HOMOSEXUALS FROM SERVICE IN THE ARMED FORCES

Mr. President, there has been a crescendo of interest building in recent weeks on the issue of homosexuals serving in the armed forces. Current Department of Defense policy prohibits homosexuals from serving in the armed forces.

During the Presidential campaign, President Clinton made it very clear that he intended to change the current policy. No one should be surprised that his administration is currently developing a plan to change this policy.

Contrary to some media reports, I have had the opportunity to discuss this and other important national security issues on several occasions with President Clinton. I have also had the opportunity to discuss these issues with Secretary of Defense Aspin.

I have advised both President Clinton and Secretary Aspin to seek the advice and views of a broad range of military personnel -- the people who would be most directly affected by any change in the current policy on service by homosexuals -- before making any changes.

This is certainly an appropriate issue for an initiative by the Commander-in-Chief, and executive orders are well within his constitutional powers. The Constitution, however, also clearly gives Congress the responsibility to deal with matters of this nature affecting the armed forces.

Under Article I, section 8 of the Constitution, the Congress has the responsibility to "raise and support armies ... to provide and maintain a Navy ... [and] to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces." It is the responsibility of Congress to ensure that policies of the Defense Department enhance good order and discipline, while providing for fair and equitable personnel policies.

So the question of whether homosexuals should serve in the military is an issue on which Congress and the President share constitutional responsibility. Secretary Aspin has emphasized the need for the Congress and the Executive Branch to work together on this issue, and he is absolutely right. It is in everyone's interest to see if we can resolve this issue through consensus rather than confrontation.

In recent days, I have heard a number of commentators suggest that the policy of excluding homosexuals from the military dates only from 1982. One of the issues that we will explore in our hearings is the historical development of the current policy. At this time, however, I would like to provide a brief summary of the historical development because the suggestion that the policy only dates from 1982 is inaccurate and misleading.

Until the post-World War II period, military regulations on administrative separation were drafted in a manner that gave commanders broad discretion to separate servicemembers. During World War II, for example, Army commanders were authorized to separate individuals for "inaptness or undesirable habits or traits of character." This regulation, which formed the basis for the discharge of homosexuals during World War II, did not list any specific traits.

In 1944, the Army in Circular No. 3 endeavored to distinguish between homosexuals who were discharged because they were "not deemed reclaimable" and those who were retained because their conduct was not aggravated by independent offenses. In 1945, a greater emphasis was placed on "reclamation" of homosexual soldiers. If a homosexual soldier was deemed "rehabilitated", the soldier was returned to service.

In 1947, the policy was revised to discharge individuals who had "homosexual tendencies" even if they had not committed homosexual acts. Those who committed homosexual acts were subject to court-martial or administrative discharge, with the character of discharge depending on the nature of the act.

The Uniform Code of Military Justice, enacted in 1950, included consensual sodomy as a criminal offense.

In 1950 the Army adopted a mandatory separation policy, which stated: "True, confirmed, or habitual homosexual personnel, irrespective of sex, will not be permitted to serve in the Army in any capacity and prompt separation of known homosexuals from the Army is mandatory." This policy was somewhat relaxed in 1955, permitting a soldier to be deemed "reclaimable" when they "inadvertently" participated in homosexual acts. This policy was reversed in 1958, when the mandatory separation policy was reinstated.

In 1970, DoD-wide policy was issued, authorizing separation on the basis of homosexual acts and "homosexual tendencies". There was no definition of the term "homosexual tendencies". Under the Directive, the final decision on separation of an individual soldier was a matter of command discretion rather than mandatory policy.

In the 1970s, there was increasing litigation concerning the procedures and basis for the DoD policies on the separation of homosexuals. The extent to which the authority to retain was exercised is unclear. In several court cases, the Department was asked to provide detailed reasons for not exercising the discretion to retain. This was one of the factors leading to a detailed review of the DoD policy in the late 1970s during President Carter's administration.

As a result of that review, the Department of Defense made two significant changes in policy which were set forth in a memorandum issued by then-Deputy Secretary of Defense Graham Claytor on January 16, 1981. First, the policy was liberalized by eliminating "homosexual tendencies" as a reason for separation. Second, the mandatory separation policy, which had been used in the 1950s, was reinstated. This policy incorporated without substantive change in DoD Directive 1332.14, which governs enlisted administrative separations, in 1982.

In short, the authority to separate homosexuals has been in effect over a lengthy period of time, although the manner in which this policy has been implemented has varied. The current policy dates from President Carter's administration. There has not been a thorough review of this policy in recent years by either the executive branch or the legislative branch. During the Senate's debate last year on the National Defense Authorization Act, I engaged in a colloquy with Senator Metzenbaum in which I pledged to him that the Armed Services Committee would hold hearings on the military's policy this year.

Our hearings on this issue will begin in March. We will receive testimony from the senior civilian and military leadership of the Department of Defense. I also want to hear directly from the people who would be most affected by any change in the current policy: the men and women serving in the ranks of all of the military services. We will make every effort to hear from those who support a change in the current policy as well as those who favor retention of the current policy.

Mr. President, I start from the premise that we should encourage every American to serve his or her country in some capacity. I am a strong supporter of national service, and I am delighted that we have a President who is making national service a top priority of his administration.

I applaud the patriotism of all persons, including homosexuals, who desire to serve our nation in the military. I have no doubt that homosexuals have served and are today serving in the armed forces with distinction, but most of them are not openly disclosing their sexual orientation.

I also believe that we should give very careful

consideration to the advice of our military commanders on this subject. Although we have a volunteer force, there are still important and clear differences between civilian life and military service.

Our national security requires that the armed forces maintain a high level of good order and discipline. In order to maintain military effectiveness, members of the armed forces give up many of the constitutional rights that their civilian counterparts take for granted.

Military personnel are subject to involuntary assignment to any place in the world, often on short notice, often to places of grave danger. The requirements of discipline, including adherence to the chain of command, means that their first amendment rights of speech and association are limited.

Military trials and administrative procedures have procedural safeguards, but they are not the same as the rights that apply in a civilian setting. Servicemembers are subject to searches and command inspections in living quarters that would not meet the privacy standards and warrant requirements of the fourth amendment that we take for granted in civilian society.

Members of the armed forces are subject to involuntary assignment to units, duties, and living quarters, that require living and working in close proximity with others under conditions that afford little or no privacy. Particularly when military units deploy, living conditions are frequently spartan and primitive, from foxholes to cramped quarters on ships.

In recent years, we have made important improvements in the quality of life in the military and in the rights afforded to servicemembers, but the basic nature of military service -- preparation for, and participation in combat -- means that servicemembers must continue to live in a closely regulated, highly regimented environment. General Colin Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has stated that, in view of the unique conditions of military service, active and open homosexuality by members of the armed forces would have a very negative effect on military morale and discipline.

I agree with General Powell. I also believe, however, that there are other views that ought to be heard. The Armed Services Committee will be hearing from all points of view. My final judgment on this issue will be affected by the testimony we receive from a wide range of witnesses.

Mr. President, our hearings will explore a large number of issues, including the following:

1. Should the armed forces retain the policy of excluding

homosexuals from military service?

- a. What is the historical basis for the policy?
 - b. What is the basis for the policy in light of contemporary trends in American society?
 - c. What has been the experience of our NATO allies and other nations on this issue -- not just in terms of the letter of the laws and rules but the actual practice -- recruiting, retention, promotion, and leadership of military members?
 - d. What would be the impact of changing the current policy on recruiting, retention, morale, discipline, and military effectiveness?
2. If the current exclusionary policy is retained, should there be an exception for persons whose record of service would otherwise warrant retention on military duty?
- a. If so, is it possible to draft legally defensible criteria for determining whether the exception should be applied in specific cases?
 - b. If such individuals are retained, what restrictions, if any, should be placed on their sexual conduct?
3. If the general exclusionary policy is retained, should the armed services eliminate pre-enlistment questions about homosexuality?
- a. If so, should the exclusionary policy be limited to those who actually engage in homosexual conduct after entering the service?
 - b. If such a policy is adopted, what policy should apply to those who openly declare their homosexuality after entering military service?
4. Before determining whether the policy should be changed, should there first be an effort to determine whether it is possible to draft a practical and legally defensible code of conduct regulating homosexuality in the military setting?
- a. Should the military have a single code of conduct that applies to conduct between members of the same sex as well as members of the opposite sex, or should there be a separate code for each group?
 - b. Should there be limitations as to whether a

servicemember may engage in homosexual acts --

(1) at any location, on- or off-post, where a heterosexual act would otherwise be appropriate?

(2) only off-post?

(3) with other military personnel?

(4) only with nonmilitary personnel?

c. What restrictions, if any, should be placed on conduct between members of the same sex? Should such restrictions apply in circumstances in which such conduct would not be prohibited if engaged in between members of the opposite sex; that is, where such conduct would not constitute sexual harassment, fraternization, or prohibited displays of affection in uniform -- such as:

(1) A request to engage in sexual activity -- for example, spending the night together in a motel?

(2) displays of affection while out of uniform?

(3) displays of affection that are otherwise permissible while in uniform, such as dancing at a formal event?

5. If the current exclusionary policy is changed, should there be a code of conduct regulating behavior towards homosexuals in the military?

a. What rules, if any, should be adopted to prohibit harassment on the basis of sexual orientation?

b. What rules, if any, should be adopted to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation?

(1) If discrimination is prohibited, how would a nondiscriminatory policy affect pay, benefits, and entitlements?

(2) Should homosexual couples receive the same benefits as legally married couples? For example, nonmilitary spouses now are entitled to housing, medical care, exchange and commissary privileges, and similar benefits. Military spouses also benefit from policies that accommodate marriages, such as joint assignment programs.

(3) If homosexual couples are given such benefits, will they also have to be granted to

unmarried heterosexual couples?

(4) If discrimination is prohibited, will this require express guidance in personnel actions -- such as in instructions to promotion boards?

(5) If discrimination is prohibited, will there be a related requirement for affirmative action in recruiting, retention, and promotion to compensate for past discrimination?

(6) If discrimination is prohibited, will there be a need for extensive sensitivity training for members of the armed forces?

6. The military currently endeavors to respect sexual privacy by establishing, to the maximum extent practicable, separate living and bathroom arrangements for men and women. If the policy is changed, should separate arrangements also be made for those who are declared homosexuals?

7. If the policy is changed, what accommodation, if any, should be made to a heterosexual who objects to rooming or sharing bathroom facilities with a homosexual?

8. If the current exclusionary policy is changed, what are the implications of tolerating homosexual acts among military members in light of the statutory prohibition against homosexual acts under the Uniform Code of Military Justice?

a. If the exclusionary policy is changed, is there a need to change the law?

b. If the exclusionary policy is changed but the statutory prohibition remains, can the President in the Manual for Courts-Martial specifically exempt from prosecution actions that would not be prohibited under a revised DoD Directive?

c. If so, is there also a need to address heterosexual, consensual sodomy?

d. Regardless of whether the policy is changed, should the President, who has the authority under the Uniform Code of Military Justice to establish maximum punishments, revise the current 5-year maximum punishment for consensual sodomy?

9. If the current exclusionary policy is changed, what will be the effect on pending court-martial and administrative discharge cases?

10. If the current exclusionary policy is changed, what will be the effect on the tens of thousands of past cases, particularly in terms of claims for back pay, reinstatement, promotions, and similar forms of relief?

Mr. President, these are difficult and emotional issues, but they must be addressed. Every man and woman in this country has a right to be respected. Our Constitution enshrines individual rights and liberties. Our Constitution also underscores the essential role of government in providing for the common defense. When the interests of some individuals bear upon the cohesion and effectiveness of an institution on which our national security depends, we must move very cautiously. This caution is prudence, not prejudice.

A thorough airing of these matters is essential before any final action is taken by the Department of Defense or the Congress. It is my intent that the Armed Services Committee's hearings will provide a comprehensive discussion of these issues by persons knowledgeable in military affairs, personnel management, and human relations.

TO: LAKE

FROM: BELL

DOC DATE: 27 JAN 93
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: DEFENSE POLICY

PERSONS: NUNN, SAM

SUBJECT: TRANSCRIPT OF REMARKS BY SEN NUNN RE GAYS IN THE MILITARY

ACTION: NOTED BY LAKE

DUE DATE: 30 JAN 93 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: BELL

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

BELL

NSC CHRON

COMMENTS:

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSMEM

CLOSED BY: NSJDA

DOC 1 OF 1

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

January 27, 1993

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

FROM: ROBERT BELL *RB*

SUBJECT: Transcript of Senator Nunn's Remarks on Gays
in the Military

Per our telecon last night, attached is the full transcript of Senator Nunn's remarks on this issue Monday.

He is planning a major floor speech on this topic, which may be delivered today. Knowing Senator Nunn's style, I anticipate he will:

- Reiterate his support for the current policy, but say he has an open mind;
- Urge close consultations between the President and the Hill and between the President and the Joint Chiefs; and
- List the 10-20 key questions about the practical, moral, and legal aspects of the proposed policy change that he believes have not yet been answered (or, in his view, thought through).

Attachment

Tab A Transcript of Senator Nunn's Remarks

*→ TL Nunn's
note helpful
very helpful
Comments. he
Nunn says he
open
with
him last
week.
S.*

X

Natl Sec Advisor
has seen

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- Monday, January 25, 1993

News Conference: Senator Sam Nunn, Senator Pete Domenici, Senator
John Danforth, and Senator David Boren - Consumption Tax
Transcript ID: 911613 (125 lines)

NEWS CONFERENCE WITH:
SENATOR SAM NUNN (D-GA)
SENATOR PETE DOMENICI (R-NM)
SENATOR JOHN DANFORTH (R-MO)
SENATOR DAVID BOREN (D-OK)

TOPIC: CONSUMPTION TAX

1:15 P.M.

MONDAY, JANUARY 25, 1993

SENATE RADIO/TV GALLERY

EXCERPT OF QUESTIONS ON [REDACTED]

Q Senator Nunn, could you please address Senator Mitchell's
comments yesterday that he doesn't think -- reported comments that he
doesn't think there are 30 votes in the Senate that would uphold a
resolution ending the ban on homosexual -- (inaudible) --

(Senators conferring.)

SEN. DANFORTH: Thank you very much.

SEN. NUNN: I'm sorry. Would you mind repeating.

SEN. DANFORTH: Letters over there.

Q Could you address what Senator Mitchell reportedly said that
there are not -- there are no more than 30 votes in the Senate that would
support a resolution lifting the ban on gays in the military?

SEN. NUNN: Well, I'm not sure that Senator Mitchell ever said that.
What I read in the paper was a memorandum from Congressman Aspin --
Secretary Aspin -- to President Clinton that basically talks about what
Senator Mitchell said. Senator Mitchell never said that to me, so you'd
have to ask him about that.

My own view is that I don't have any count on how people stand in the
Senate. I don't whether there are 30 votes to uphold the existing policy,
or 60 votes or -- I'm not sure.

Q Senator, what's your own vote?

Q How would you support it?

SEN. NUNN: I support the current policy, and I've said that on a number of occasions. I do believe we ought to have hearings.

The Constitution of the United States provides that the United States shall support a specific duty to provide in statutes for the provision for those who are in the question about our constitutional duty to have to address the issue.

It is the duty of the President to decide what he's going to do on the fundamental policy dealing with our national security, and the Congress of the United States.

I'm going to be having hearings on this subject. I promised Senator Metzenbaum last year, on the floor of the Senate, that we would have hearings on this subject. And we will have hearings on the subject sometime beginning in the month of March.

It may take some weeks, and it may take months. So, I'm not saying we'll wrap everything up in March. There are many complicated questions on the subject, and I plan to -- probably tomorrow -- make a speech on the floor where I will enumerate those questions that we will be going into in March.

I think our committee ought to go into the hearings with a view of hearing from everyone. All of us have our own individual views. But, I think we ought to all be willing for those views to be shaped after we have heard from the President and his team, Secretary Aspin, and also after we've heard from many members of the military on both sides of the issue.

and the military. I can assure the men and women in the military that they will be heard from whatever their views.

We'll have not only top-ranking officers and members of the Joint Chiefs -- we'll want to hear from them -- but I'll also have some enlisted people and some young officers so that we can get a view of the military. This is an important part of the military, and before we make a decision on it in the Congress, we will also hope in the future that we would have the military's input.

Q In the -- (inaudible) -- memo, it says that -- (inaudible) -- your leadership. -- (inaudible) -- keeping the ban in place, does that

Q -- (inaudible) --

SEN. NUNN: Absolutely. We'll hear from -- we'll hear from all points of view on the subject. We certainly will have people in gay groups that will be invited to be heard, both in the military and, certainly, from some organizations outside the military.

Q -- (inaudible) -- have handled it so far?

SEN. NUNN: Will I comment on it?

Q Are you concerned about the way -- the manner in which -- (inaudible) --

SEN. NUNN: We'll I'll just say that [REDACTED] (Laughter.)

Q Does that mean you're dissatisfied?

SEN. NUNN: No. It just means what I said. I just am not part of the strategy. I haven't been -- I haven't --

Q -- (inaudible) -- on the Congress concerning Zoe Baird last week, and now --

SEN. NUNN: I didn't get the question. I heard the references, but --

Q How would you describe the beginning of the relationship between the Clinton White House and Congress with the Zoe Baird -- (inaudible) -- of last week, and now this coming up Monday morning?

SEN. NUNN: Well, I didn't view that as a contest -- the Zoe Baird nomination as a contest between the Congress and the President. I think the people in the white House concluded -- as the people in the Congress and the Senate concluded as the week went on -- that this was not a nomination that could be sustained.

And I think that she was -- probably qualified for other positions, but the nature of her mistakes were basically -- went right to the heart of her job. And that's what you look at in this situation. And she would have been charged for carrying out the very laws that she had admitted she breached with knowledge.

When I first heard about the subject of Zoe Baird, I did not know whether she understood the implications of the law and had gone forward even understanding that she was violating the law. When she admitted that, then I didn't make any public statement, but it was clear to me that that went to the heart of her job.

So, I didn't see this as a contest between the President and the Congress. I don't see this as a contest -- this whole homosexual issue

between the President and the Congress. It may get down to that. We may have differences of opinion when we conclude.

But, one thing we all know is that the military of the United States is important. The morale of the military of the United States is important. We also have certain constitutional protections for every individual in this country.

We have to reconcile those things, and we have to take into account not only the views of homosexuals which are important -- many of them have served ably, and I'm sure many of them continue to -- but also the rights of privacy of those men and women in the military that are not homosexual. Both have to be heard from.

We also have a very important consideration about the military being different from any other walk of life. Almost any other job you describe, when you get through with the job, you go home at night. You have your privacy of your home. In the military, that's just not the case.

And people in the military -- who have served in the military -- understand that and understand it well. When you go into the military of the United States, you give up a certain amount of privacy. And that makes the military unique and different from almost every other aspect of life.

And we have to consider that in looking at the cohesion of the military, and looking at the morale of the military, and in determining if changes should be made; and if they are going to be made, how to make those changes.

Q Senator, as a matter of national priority, do you think that this issue at this time prevents things from the military when there are troops in Somalia, when the administration is trying to come up with an alternative policy perhaps, or continuation of the policy in Iraq -- (inaudible) -- about the former Yugoslavia? Is this the time for this issue when there are so many other military matters to consider?

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] would take any action that
[REDACTED] recommendations some time much later this year.

But, [REDACTED] platform. He has his view. And we will certainly take
[REDACTED]

Q Senator, -- (inaudible) --

SEN. NUNN: No disrespect, David. Excuse me. (Laughter.)

Q Have you and Mr. Aspin -- (inaudible) --

SEN. NUNN: I had breakfast with Secretary Aspin on Friday morning. We had many things we discussed. This was one of them. This was certainly not --

Q -- (inaudible) -- had a conversation with him prior to the Friday -- (inaudible) --

SEN. NUNN: I don't know. Friday morning is when I had breakfast with him. I'm not sure when the memo was written. I don't know the date of the memo. I had breakfast with him on Friday morning, but I've had discussions

--

Q -- (inaudible) --

SEN. NUNN: I've had several -- a number of conversations with Secretary Aspin. And there have been several occasions where this subject has come up, so it was not limited to Friday. We've had several conversations. And I've had several conversations with President Clinton.

Q Senator, it seems to me that you're the best qualified person probably in the Congress to assess the mood of the Congress. And if you don't know if -- number one: it's surprising. But, -- (inaudible) -- has to do with surprising.

SEN. NUNN: I never pretend to know the mood of Congress until we vote. I've seen Congress change it's mind on a dime.

We saw last week how quickly the Senate of the United States can react to public opinion. The ultimate question will be what the American public thinks about it.

I think until you have a thorough set of hearings, until the Congress of the United States has a chance to focus on it. Most people have been concerned about taxes or education or health. Most people haven't sat around and focused on this one issue.

So, I don't know. If they have, I don't know what the count is. And I think the American people are closely divided. I think a thorough set of hearings, perhaps a presidential commission, should precede any kind of definitive final action.

Q And do you feel there should be a recorded vote in the Congress on this?

SEN. NUNN: Well, it's -- it's just like any other vote. If it's controversial, there will be a recorded vote. If it's not -- if we were to come to some amazing consensus that had no controversy, then I would not object, per se, to a voice vote. I'd be very shocked if that happens.

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9300113
RECEIVED: 27 JAN 93 15

TO: LAKE

FROM: HAHN
BELL

DOC DATE: 27 JAN 93
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: DEFENSE POLICY

CONGRESSIONAL

PERSONS: NUNN, SAM

SUBJECT: SEN NUNN STATEMENT RE HOMOSEXUALS IN ARMED FORCES

ACTION: NOTED BY LAKE

DUE DATE: 30 JAN 93 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: HAHN

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

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DOC 1 OF 1

UNCLASSIFIED

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

0113

January 27, 1993

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ROBERT BELL *RGB*

FROM: KEITH HAHN *KH*

*Nat Sec Advisor
has seen*

SUBJECT: Senator Nunn Statement on Homosexuals in the Armed Forces

At Tab I is the "prepared for delivery" version of Senator Sam Nunn's floor speech today on the subject of gays in the military. He deviated from this text at a few points in the speech to add extemporaneous remarks. The gist of Senator Nunn's speech is that it is the responsibility of both Congress and the Executive to set personnel policies for the U.S. Armed Forces. Given the large number of difficult and emotional issues involved, he calls for a "comprehensive discussion" of all aspects of this issue before making any change in current policy.

Attachment

Tab I Statement of Senator Sam Nunn, January 27, 1993

Statement of Senator Sam Nunn
Chairman, Senate Armed Services Committee
January 27, 1993
Remarks prepared for delivery

HEARINGS ON THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE POLICY
EXCLUDING HOMOSEXUALS FROM SERVICE IN THE ARMED FORCES

Mr. President, there has been a crescendo of interest building in recent weeks on the issue of homosexuals serving in the armed forces. Current Department of Defense policy prohibits homosexuals from serving in the armed forces.

During the Presidential campaign, President Clinton made it very clear that he intended to change the current policy. No one should be surprised that his administration is currently developing a plan to change this policy.

Contrary to some media reports, I have had the opportunity to discuss this and other important national security issues on several occasions with President Clinton. I have also had the opportunity to discuss these issues with Secretary of Defense Aspin.

I have advised both President Clinton and Secretary Aspin to seek the advice and views of a broad range of military personnel -- the people who would be most directly affected by any change in the current policy on service by homosexuals -- before making any changes.

This is certainly an appropriate issue for an initiative by the Commander-in-Chief, and executive orders are well within his constitutional powers. The Constitution, however, also clearly gives Congress the responsibility to deal with matters of this nature affecting the armed forces.

Under Article I, section 8 of the Constitution, the Congress has the responsibility to "raise and support armies ... to provide and maintain a Navy ... [and] to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces." It is the responsibility of Congress to ensure that policies of the Defense Department enhance good order and discipline, while providing for fair and equitable personnel policies.

So the question of whether homosexuals should serve in the military is an issue on which Congress and the President share constitutional responsibility. Secretary Aspin has emphasized the need for the Congress and the Executive Branch to work together on this issue, and he is absolutely right. It is in everyone's interest to see if we can resolve this issue through consensus rather than confrontation.

In recent days, I have heard a number of commentators suggest that the policy of excluding homosexuals from the military dates only from 1982. One of the issues that we will explore in our hearings is the historical development of the current policy. At this time, however, I would like to provide a brief summary of the historical development because the suggestion that the policy only dates from 1982 is inaccurate and misleading.

Until the post-World War II period, military regulations on administrative separation were drafted in a manner that gave commanders broad discretion to separate servicemembers. During World War II, for example, Army commanders were authorized to separate individuals for "inaptness or undesirable habits or traits of character." This regulation, which formed the basis for the discharge of homosexuals during World War II, did not list any specific traits.

In 1944, the Army in Circular No. 3 endeavored to distinguish between homosexuals who were discharged because they were "not deemed reclaimable" and those who were retained because their conduct was not aggravated by independent offenses. In 1945, a greater emphasis was placed on "reclamation" of homosexual soldiers. If a homosexual soldier was deemed "rehabilitated", the soldier was returned to service.

In 1947, the policy was revised to discharge individuals who had "homosexual tendencies" even if they had not committed homosexual acts. Those who committed homosexual acts were subject to court-martial or administrative discharge, with the character of discharge depending on the nature of the act.

The Uniform Code of Military Justice, enacted in 1950, included consensual sodomy as a criminal offense.

In 1950 the Army adopted a mandatory separation policy, which stated: "True, confirmed, or habitual homosexual personnel, irrespective of sex, will not be permitted to serve in the Army in any capacity and prompt separation of known homosexuals from the Army is mandatory." This policy was somewhat relaxed in 1955, permitting a soldier to be deemed "reclaimable" when they "inadvertently" participated in homosexual acts. This policy was reversed in 1958, when the mandatory separation policy was reinstated.

In 1970, DoD-wide policy was issued, authorizing separation on the basis of homosexual acts and "homosexual tendencies". There was no definition of the term "homosexual tendencies". Under the Directive, the final decision on separation of an individual soldier was a matter of command discretion rather than mandatory policy.

In the 1970s, there was increasing litigation concerning the procedures and basis for the DoD policies on the separation of homosexuals. The extent to which the authority to retain was exercised is unclear. In several court cases, the Department was asked to provide detailed reasons for not exercising the discretion to retain. This was one of the factors leading to a detailed review of the DoD policy in the late 1970s during President Carter's administration.

As a result of that review, the Department of Defense made two significant changes in policy which were set forth in a memorandum issued by then-Deputy Secretary of Defense Graham Claytor on January 16, 1981. First, the policy was liberalized by eliminating "homosexual tendencies" as a reason for separation. Second, the mandatory separation policy, which had been used in the 1950s, was reinstated. This policy incorporated without substantive change in DoD Directive 1332.14, which governs enlisted administrative separations, in 1982.

In short, the authority to separate homosexuals has been in effect over a lengthy period of time, although the manner in which this policy has been implemented has varied. The current policy dates from President Carter's administration. There has not been a thorough review of this policy in recent years by either the executive branch or the legislative branch. During the Senate's debate last year on the National Defense Authorization Act, I engaged in a colloquy with Senator Metzenbaum in which I pledged to him that the Armed Services Committee would hold hearings on the military's policy this year.

Our hearings on this issue will begin in March. We will receive testimony from the senior civilian and military leadership of the Department of Defense. I also want to hear directly from the people who would be most affected by any change in the current policy: the men and women serving in the ranks of all of the military services. We will make every effort to hear from those who support a change in the current policy as well as those who favor retention of the current policy.

Mr. President, I start from the premise that we should encourage every American to serve his or her country in some capacity. I am a strong supporter of national service, and I am delighted that we have a President who is making national service a top priority of his administration.

I applaud the patriotism of all persons, including homosexuals, who desire to serve our nation in the military. I have no doubt that homosexuals have served and are today serving in the armed forces with distinction, but most of them are not openly disclosing their sexual orientation.

I also believe that we should give very careful

consideration to the advice of our military commanders on this subject. Although we have a volunteer force, there are still important and clear differences between civilian life and military service.

Our national security requires that the armed forces maintain a high level of good order and discipline. In order to maintain military effectiveness, members of the armed forces give up many of the constitutional rights that their civilian counterparts take for granted.

Military personnel are subject to involuntary assignment to any place in the world, often on short notice, often to places of grave danger. The requirements of discipline, including adherence to the chain of command, means that their first amendment rights of speech and association are limited.

Military trials and administrative procedures have procedural safeguards, but they are not the same as the rights that apply in a civilian setting. Servicemembers are subject to searches and command inspections in living quarters that would not meet the privacy standards and warrant requirements of the fourth amendment that we take for granted in civilian society.

Members of the armed forces are subject to involuntary assignment to units, duties, and living quarters, that require living and working in close proximity with others under conditions that afford little or no privacy. Particularly when military units deploy, living conditions are frequently spartan and primitive, from foxholes to cramped quarters on ships.

In recent years, we have made important improvements in the quality of life in the military and in the rights afforded to servicemembers, but the basic nature of military service -- preparation for, and participation in combat -- means that servicemembers must continue to live in a closely regulated, highly regimented environment. General Colin Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has stated that, in view of the unique conditions of military service, active and open homosexuality by members of the armed forces would have a very negative effect on military morale and discipline.

I agree with General Powell. I also believe, however, that there are other views that ought to be heard. The Armed Services Committee will be hearing from all points of view. My final judgment on this issue will be affected by the testimony we receive from a wide range of witnesses.

Mr. President, our hearings will explore a large number of issues, including the following:

1. Should the armed forces retain the policy of excluding

homosexuals from military service?

- a. What is the historical basis for the policy?
 - b. What is the basis for the policy in light of contemporary trends in American society?
 - c. What has been the experience of our NATO allies and other nations on this issue -- not just in terms of the letter of the laws and rules but the actual practice -- recruiting, retention, promotion, and leadership of military members?
 - d. What would be the impact of changing the current policy on recruiting, retention, morale, discipline, and military effectiveness?
2. If the current exclusionary policy is retained, should there be an exception for persons whose record of service would otherwise warrant retention on military duty?
- a. If so, is it possible to draft legally defensible criteria for determining whether the exception should be applied in specific cases?
 - b. If such individuals are retained, what restrictions, if any, should be placed on their sexual conduct?
3. If the general exclusionary policy is retained, should the armed services eliminate pre-enlistment questions about homosexuality?
- a. If so, should the exclusionary policy be limited to those who actually engage in homosexual conduct after entering the service?
 - b. If such a policy is adopted, what policy should apply to those who openly declare their homosexuality after entering military service?
4. Before determining whether the policy should be changed, should there first be an effort to determine whether it is possible to draft a practical and legally defensible code of conduct regulating homosexuality in the military setting?
- a. Should the military have a single code of conduct that applies to conduct between members of the same sex as well as members of the opposite sex, or should there be a separate code for each group?
 - b. Should there be limitations as to whether a

servicemember may engage in homosexual acts --

(1) at any location, on- or off-post, where a heterosexual act would otherwise be appropriate?

(2) only off-post?

(3) with other military personnel?

(4) only with nonmilitary personnel?

c. What restrictions, if any, should be placed on conduct between members of the same sex? Should such restrictions apply in circumstances in which such conduct would not be prohibited if engaged in between members of the opposite sex; that is, where such conduct would not constitute sexual harassment, fraternization, or prohibited displays of affection in uniform -- such as:

(1) A request to engage in sexual activity -- for example, spending the night together in a motel?

(2) displays of affection while out of uniform?

(3) displays of affection that are otherwise permissible while in uniform, such as dancing at a formal event?

5. If the current exclusionary policy is changed, should there be a code of conduct regulating behavior towards homosexuals in the military?

a. What rules, if any, should be adopted to prohibit harassment on the basis of sexual orientation?

b. What rules, if any, should be adopted to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation?

(1) If discrimination is prohibited, how would a nondiscriminatory policy affect pay, benefits, and entitlements?

(2) Should homosexual couples receive the same benefits as legally married couples? For example, nonmilitary spouses now are entitled to housing, medical care, exchange and commissary privileges, and similar benefits. Military spouses also benefit from policies that accommodate marriages, such as joint assignment programs.

(3) If homosexual couples are given such benefits, will they also have to be granted to

unmarried heterosexual couples?

(4) If discrimination is prohibited, will this require express guidance in personnel actions -- such as in instructions to promotion boards?

(5) If discrimination is prohibited, will there be a related requirement for affirmative action in recruiting, retention, and promotion to compensate for past discrimination?

(6) If discrimination is prohibited, will there be a need for extensive sensitivity training for members of the armed forces?

6. The military currently endeavors to respect sexual privacy by establishing, to the maximum extent practicable, separate living and bathroom arrangements for men and women. If the policy is changed, should separate arrangements also be made for those who are declared homosexuals?

7. If the policy is changed, what accommodation, if any, should be made to a heterosexual who objects to rooming or sharing bathroom facilities with a homosexual?

8. If the current exclusionary policy is changed, what are the implications of tolerating homosexual acts among military members in light of the statutory prohibition against homosexual acts under the Uniform Code of Military Justice?

a. If the exclusionary policy is changed, is there a need to change the law?

b. If the exclusionary policy is changed but the statutory prohibition remains, can the President in the Manual for Courts-Martial specifically exempt from prosecution actions that would not be prohibited under a revised DoD Directive?

c. If so, is there also a need to address heterosexual, consensual sodomy?

d. Regardless of whether the policy is changed, should the President, who has the authority under the Uniform Code of Military Justice to establish maximum punishments, revise the current 5-year maximum punishment for consensual sodomy?

9. If the current exclusionary policy is changed, what will be the effect on pending court-martial and administrative discharge cases?

10. If the current exclusionary policy is changed, what will be the effect on the tens of thousands of past cases, particularly in terms of claims for back pay, reinstatement, promotions, and similar forms of relief?

Mr. President, these are difficult and emotional issues, but they must be addressed. Every man and woman in this country has a right to be respected. Our Constitution enshrines individual rights and liberties. Our Constitution also underscores the essential role of government in providing for the common defense. When the interests of some individuals bear upon the cohesion and effectiveness of an institution on which our national security depends, we must move very cautiously. This caution is prudence, not prejudice.

A thorough airing of these matters is essential before any final action is taken by the Department of Defense or the Congress. It is my intent that the Armed Services Committee's hearings will provide a comprehensive discussion of these issues by persons knowledgeable in military affairs, personnel management, and human relations.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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001a. memo	To: Anthony Lake; From: Robert Bell; Re: President's Meeting with Joint Chiefs of Staff (3 pages)	01/24/1993	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Defense Policy and Arms Control (Bell, Robert)
OA/Box Number: 739

FOLDER TITLE:

Gays in the Military, March 1993 [2]

2015-0017-F
sh1254

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001b. paper	Meeting With Joint Chiefs of Staff (2 pages)	01/25/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Defense Policy and Arms Control (Bell, Robert)
OA/Box Number: 739

FOLDER TITLE:

Gays in the Military, March 1993 [2]

2015-0017-F
sb1254

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

January 23, 1993

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

From: The Secretary of Defense *JA*
Re: Meeting With The Joint Chiefs of Staff

On Monday, you will be meeting with the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The meeting is scheduled for one hour and there are a number of important topics to be addressed.

My recommendation is that you open the meeting with a series of comments on the American military.

- o Today's military is the best trained and the most professional in the history of our country. Throughout the country, no institution of the American government has won greater respect than the U.S. military. This is a standard you intend to maintain.
- o As Commander-In-Chief you should make clear that you will seek their advice and comments before deciding on whether to use military force. Decisions on the use of force are among the most consequential that a President will make. Therefore, you should make this request -- that they always be candid and never reluctant to say what's on their mind.
- o The Joint Chiefs will frequently be asked to appear before Congress. On the Hill, the Chiefs are frequently asked their personal views. Make clear that you expect that. However, also make clear that you do not want to be surprised. When they disagree, they should put the issue on the table with you directly.

To get the discussion started, you may want to say this:

There are a number of items we could put on the agenda -- Iraq, Bosnia, Somalia. We definitely want to cover these in the future. We will be having other meetings.

The major issue today is the question of gays in the military. I want to hear your views. I do not want you to leave this meeting without giving everyone a chance to put it on the table. So let's start there.

While you should expect the Chiefs to speak with emotion on behalf of the existing policy, you should also recognize that the elements of a compromise are falling into place.

ELEMENTS FOR COMPROMISE

On Thursday, I met with the Chiefs. The conversation was candid and, at times, emotional. Homosexuals in the military dominated the discussion. In implementing the Administration's program to end discrimination against homosexuals I outlined three objectives.

1. The policy must end discrimination on the basis of status;
2. The policy must maintain military morale and discipline. To that end, the policy must include a strict code of conduct regarding behavior of uniform military personnel toward each other to insure that all men and women are free of sexual harassment and any abuse of power. The strict code of conduct will also insure that commanders in the field will have the necessary authority to assure the discipline and esprit necessary to retain the combat effectiveness of our military units.
3. The policy must be defensible in Congress.

As expected, the Chiefs raised their objections to the change. They want an opportunity to express their concerns in person. You should know that Senator Dole has been soliciting their views. The Chiefs are aware that were they to work with conservatives in the Senate, they could win a vote supporting the current position.

The Chiefs, however, agree that their mission is "not to torpedo the President," especially in the early days of your administration.

Additionally, you have some special leverage. One thing that will push the military toward compromise is the prospect that this item will be decided by the courts. A judicial decree along the lines of the recent Canadian case would give the military little flexibility. Their incentive for compromise is the drafting of a strict code of military discipline that goes to their concerns.

At a minimum, the Chiefs are willing to stop asking the question on sexual orientation that is now required on military personnel forms. That is an important step in the right direction.

Additionally, Congressman Barney Frank has spoken with the acting Attorney General, Stuart Gerson. Gerson has offered to intervene in any pending legal cases while the Administration reviews. That is also very helpful.

OUR STRATEGY

These are the actions that are necessary to implement our strategy.

Action Number #1 -- The President Gives Instruction

By Wednesday, the President should direct the Secretary of Defense to 1) develop a policy to end discrimination based on status against homosexuals in the military and 2) to propose a strict code of conduct for military personnel regarding sexual behavior. The Secretary should have until early June to work this matter and report to the President. Gay rights groups are pressing for a date prior to a scheduled rally on April 15. I believe, however, that an April deadline will not give us sufficient time to fully consult.

Once the President has issued this instruction, as a matter of policy, the Clinton Administration will suspend any legal actions or discharges against homosexuals based on

status. I will coordinate this with the Attorney General.

Action Number #2 -- Deferring An Immediate Vote In The Senate

The situation in the Senate remains tentative. I have spoken with the Senate Majority Leader, George Mitchell. He understands our strategy, but continues to express concern that conservatives might attempt to force an immediate vote. If there were an early vote on the merits, we would not win.

To avoid the early Senate vote on the merits, Senator Mitchell is prepared to debate this topic after the Administration's policy has been detailed. We then have a chance to prevail on a substitute amendment acceptable to our position, or a tabling motion.

Senator Kennedy and Representatives Barney Frank and Gerry Studds have been consulted and have discussed the strategy with gay groups. They report a positive reaction.

Senator Sam Nunn has been straightforward in his comments. He will be initiating hearings in March. However, the fact that he plans these hearings is another argument for delaying an early Senate vote.

Action Number #3 -- Secretary of Defense Conducts A Review Of The Policy

The Secretary of Defense creates a small, internal Department of Defense task force, consults with military people at all levels and works out a strict code of conduct.

Action Number #4 -- The President Issues An Executive Order

The President issues an Executive Order after the Secretary reports back to him. At this point, the President has fulfilled his commitment. He has changed the immediate policy of discrimination based on status, while also recognizing the distinctive nature of military life and the need for morale and discipline not required in civilian life.

D R A F T

MEMORANDUM TO THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

Prior to July 15, 1993 please submit for my approval a draft of an Executive Order ending discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in determining who may serve in the Armed Forces of the United States, and mandating a strict code of conduct to be enforced uniformly.

In preparing the draft, I expect you to consult fully with the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Military Services, with other Departments affected by the Order, and with concerned individuals and organizations outside the Executive Branch.

DRAFT

PRESIDENTIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

I have today instructed the Secretary of Defense to draft for my review and approval an Executive Order to two ends.

First, the Order will fulfill my commitment that no one will be deprived of the opportunity to serve in the Armed Forces because of their sexual orientation. The order will end the practice of denying induction to or discharging gays and lesbians based on orientation. This form of discrimination has no place in our society. Many gay men and lesbians have served their country well. They have a right to serve without having to ~~hide~~^{deny} their sexual orientation.

Second, the Order should propose a strict code of conduct regarding behavior of uniformed military personnel toward each other to insure that all men and women are free from sexual harassment and abuse of power. This strict code of conduct will also insure that our commanders in the field will have the necessary authority to assure the discipline and esprit de corps necessary to retain the combat effectiveness of our military units.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff have expressed their reservations and concerns about the first of these changes. I have, in turn, assured the Joint Chiefs that they will have a full opportunity to participate in formulation of the Executive Order. I have also assured them that my Administration will engage them in developing a strict code of military conduct to be applied uniformly.

I am also aware of the fact that many members of the Congress have concerns about this policy. I am consulting with Senate and House leaders to ask their support in postponing any substantive consideration of this issue on the floor of either body until the Pentagon review is completed. That is, in my view, the appropriate time for the Congress to debate this matter.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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002. briefing paper	Points to be Made for Meeting with Joint Chiefs of Staff (4 pages)	00/00/0000	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Defense Policy and Arms Control (Bell, Robert)
OA/Box Number: 739

FOLDER TITLE:

Gays in the Military, March 1993 [2]

2015-0017-F
sb1254

RESTRICTION CODES

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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

PARTICIPANTS

The President
The Vice President
Les Aspin, Secretary of Defense
Thomas F. McLarty, Chief of Staff
Anthony Lake, Assistant to the President for National
Security Affairs
General Colin L. Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff
Samuel R. Berger, Deputy Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs
Admiral David E. Jeremiah, Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of
Staff
General Merrill A. (Tony) McPeak, Chief of Staff of the Air Force
Admiral Frank Kelso, Chief of Naval Operations
General Gordon R. Sullivan, Chief of Staff of the Army
General Carl E. Mundy, Commandant of the Marine Corps
Leon Fuerth, Assistant to the Vice President for National
Security Affairs
Robert Bell, Senior Director, Defense Policy and Arms Control,
NSC Staff

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NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9300366
RECEIVED: 08 FEB 93 07

TO: ITOH

FROM: BELL

DOC DATE: 05 FEB 93
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: DEFENSE POLICY

MEMCON

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: MEMCON OF PRES MTG W/ JCS ON 25 JAN

ACTION: ITOH APPROVED RECOM

DUE DATE: 11 FEB 93 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: BELL

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

BELL
EXECSEC
FICKLIN
SIGLER

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines,
September 11, 2006

By ADB NARA, Date 8/19/16
2045-0017-F

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSJDA

CLOSED BY: NSJDA

DOC 1 OF 1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9300366

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 ITOH
001

Z 93020809 FOR DECISION
X 93021607 ITOH APPROVED RECOM

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

CONFIDENTIAL

0366

February 8, 1993

NOTED

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM H. ITOH

FROM: ROBERT BELL *RB*

SUBJECT: MEMCON -- Presidential Meeting with the Joint
Chiefs of Staff, January 25, 1993

Attached for your approval is a Memorandum of Conversation (Tab I) based on the meeting between the President and the Joint Chiefs of Staff January 25 on gays in the military.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the MEMCON at Tab I and file as a memorandum for the record.

de at

Attachment

Tab I MEMCON for January 25, 1993 Meeting

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines,
September 11, 2006

CONFIDENTIAL

Declassify on: OADR

By *AD3* NARA, Date *8/19/16*
2015-0017-F

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

0366

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with Joint Chiefs of Staff

PARTICIPANTS: The President
The Vice President
George Stephanopoulos, Director of Communications
Leon Fuerth, Assistant to the Vice President for National Security Affairs
Anthony Lake, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Samuel Berger, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Robert Bell, Senior Director for Defense Policy and Arms Control (Notetaker)

Les Aspin, Secretary of Defense
General Colin L. Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff
Admiral David Jeremiah, Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff
General Merrill McPeak, Chief of Staff of the Air Force
Admiral Frank Kelso, Chief of Naval Operations
General Gordon Sullivan, Chief of Staff of the Army
General Carl E. Mundy, Commandant of the Marine Corps

DATE, TIME January 25, 1993 -- 4:00-6:00 P.M. EST
AND PLACE: The Roosevelt Room

The President and the Joint Chiefs of Staff met for two hours in the Roosevelt Room to discuss a number of critical defense issues, including the status of homosexuals and lesbians in the U.S. military. (C)

The President: I hope this will be the first of several such meetings. We have a lot of difficult decisions this year -- the budget, foreign policy decisions. I hope we have a close, continuing relationship. We should have the next meeting at the Pentagon, and talk some more about these issues. I know the

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

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By ASB NARA, Date 9/22/16
2015-0017-F
2006-0227-F

primary purpose of this meeting is expressing your views on the question of gays in the military. I am eager to hear them. (C)

Let me first ask General Powell to outline a general statement as to work we will do in subsequent meetings, working through Secretary Aspin. There are tough calls to make on the budget -- whether we even have a good baseline. We should use half the meeting to discuss the personnel issue. (C)

General Powell: It is a pleasure to be here. We look forward to your coming to the Pentagon. As President, you are Commander-in-Chief of an exquisite force -- the best ever we've had in peacetime. It's hard to reflect on just how far we have come the last 20 years. Twenty years ago we had drug problems, morale problems, and were just beginning with an all-volunteer force. We stuck with it and rebuilt the Army, working with people like Congressman Aspin to get well. All is now well. We can accomplish any task. (C)

Three and a half years ago, we recognized the Cold War was over. This forces us to rethink everything of the last 40 years. The military and civilian leadership came up with a new approach and changed our conceptual way of thinking. Now the emphasis is regional, dealing with regional crises. (C)

The last three years have witnessed major changes in the defense establishment. In two or three years, we will have had a 25% decline, including:

- a million personnel are to be taken out of the force including:
 - 500,000 active duty;
 - 250,000 reserves (though Congress has been blocking this);
 - 250,000 civilians
- 800 installations closed;
- 100 major programs are in progress of being killed;
- 800,000 jobs lost directly, plus 400,000 indirectly, and places like California and Texas have been hard hit. This will continue next year, too. (C)

Our goal: don't break the force. Our challenge: when we get to the base force, there will be pressures to go lower. Our argument: be careful increasing the rate of change. We are going as fast as we can now without breaking the force, but we are still doing more than during the Cold War: Iraq, Somalia, drug interdiction, etc. Our plea: give us time to work out any steeper glide path. The kind of quality force you now have -- wasn't always that way. During the Cuban Missile Crisis, JFK

blew the whistle -- but had no ready division. Now, every division, wing, ship is ready. This is the only way to have a volunteer force. But you have to make the right investment to get it. (C)

The President: I share your commitment. I accept that there is a limit to how fast we can downsize. Also, I do not want the defense budget to be used as a political football, to hide things, or to pretend it is not easy. Les (Aspin) and Leon (Panetta) are going to go to "truth in budgeting." We will try to agree on appropriate guidelines with Congress. I also want to maintain a strong commitment to our personnel. Let's turn now to the gays in the military question. (C)

General Powell: Let's have each chief make a statement. I'll go first. We are here to serve, to try to always be soldiers, but we also must give our advice. We as a group of six feel strongly about this. Also, people in the field are getting in touch with us on this. It is necessary for me to be a straight-shooter. (C)

Let me begin with a tutorial on the nature of military service. Our mission is to close and destroy -- killing -- by rifle, by plane, by ship -- and to be prepared to give your life to do it, or for your buddy. It is necessary to have teamwork to perform the mission. There is a difference between military and civilian life -- recognized as different by the courts. The UCMJ is different. Embedded deeply in our psyche and culture is teamwork, cohesion. The military must also reflect society. We are the "people's army" (a phrase that should not belong to Chairman Mao) -- a voluntary army. We must compete economically for these people. (C)

We discriminate constantly: height, weight, age, physical fitness, drugs, alcohol, and homosexuality. We can fire someone for things not suitable in civilian life. Associations in the military are not voluntary. The civilian right to privacy simply does not exist. However, the imposition of rules must be reasonable. Barracks are different -- much like ghettos. (C)

Homosexuality is a problem for us. Sodomy is against the UCMJ and contrary to the law in 24 states and the District of Columbia. This law was given to us by Congress. To go in this direction we're not sure is reflective of the views of society. (C)

There have always been homosexuals in the military, but it has been a cause for discharge. We are proud for those who served. Why do we discharge homosexuals?

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- Law requires it.
- UCMJ violated unless they maintain celibacy.
- Challenges have been rejected by courts.
- Creates discordance.
- We have dropped the security risk concern, which Dick Cheney called an "old chestnut."
- AIDS: a medical problem -- 1,700 in the force have tested positive. We have parked them; they are not deployable. They are transferred to the VA once it is manifested.
- Privacy: this is the most important reason. How do we deal with privacy in a situation where you're told who to room with? If it is a Black soldier, we say: "You must room with him." If a female showed up and the female said "no, I won't room with him," we'd say "no" -- you are mixing gender. If a homosexual shows up, do we force association? Is it like a gender difference or an ethnic problem? (C)

What do we tell the Sergeant? It is not enough to change the rules; we must give guidance on the situation. Many American parents have concerns about forced association and the immaturity of 18 year-olds. Wives are concerned about the situation at remote locations. One alternative -- to create four different genders -- is not realistic and works against unit cohesion. (C)

This is not a civil rights issue, and it is a civil rights issue. We deny civil rights all the time. The comparison with Blacks is off-base. Race involves benign characteristics; sexuality is different. It is a civil rights issue because if we say no difference with homosexuals, then all benefits must apply. We can't have two classes -- medical care, equal opportunity, promotion, schools, etc. (C)

One argument is that lots of other armies do it. But the United Kingdom -- which views its armed forces leadership as "absent parents" -- takes a stronger line than us. Armies that let gays in then find ways to pressure them out or deny them promotion. With our societal values, we couldn't. (C)

In summary, this is the most controversial issue in the force. I make no moral judgment myself, but I think they can best serve in other areas. A possible solution is this: we stop asking; it would not be a condition of entry. There would be no chasing, no witch hunting, as long as their orientation is not apparent. We could then take some time after this first step to decide what is best. (C)

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General Sullivan: We are honored you'd take time to listen. This strengthens the bond of trust that should exist between us. Trust is the essence of leadership. We have an enormous management challenge in this period of transition, but leadership is more important. In the Army, I'll take 260,000 military personnel and 100,000 civilians out of the force over four years. All nuclear weapons are out of the Army. We are coming back from overseas. We are changing our doctrine. These changes pose enormous leadership challenges. Hundreds of colonels, majors, and captains are being separated involuntarily. (C)

To say that gays in the military is an issue is an understatement. It is the issue in the U.S. Army. Everywhere I go it comes up. The majority of the U.S. Army -- the vast majority -- is opposed to changing the ban. If my soldiers were here, they'd concur. My recommendation: don't change the policy. (C)

I understand your goal of changing the status of gays, but I frankly don't know how or when you get to the second-, third-level questions. If gays are allowed to proclaim their homosexuality publicly, we must tell junior officers what to do. I believe the decision must be to put them out. What if a straight refuses to shower with a gay? Do we reprimand, counsel, or release him? What do we do with soldiers whose religious beliefs think it is a sin? Release him? This is a point cadets at West Point made to me during a recent visit there. (C)

I understand my relation to you. I am your subordinate. You as Commander-in-Chief have final say. I ask, however, that if you change the policy, you permit us to participate in the change so we can explain to ourselves what it means. My recommendation is do not change, but if we do, let them not declare. If they can do that, then we start down a slippery slope. (C)

The President: Do you have any objection to no longer asking the entry question? (C)

General Sullivan: If you don't ask and they don't declare. But if they declare, then release. (C)

General Powell: I am mindful of differences in the gay community... (C)

The President: Let's come back to that.

Admiral Kelso: Thank you for this opportunity. I'm the representative of the American sailor. He looks to us for leadership. They have pretty strong views about this. Those opposed are in the majority by a long shot. In life at sea, it

is hard to find privacy. It is not practical to separate by sex or gender four different ways. U.S. sailors are vocally against a change. I am asked, "when are you going to hear my views?"

~~(C)~~

There is no way to differentiate between avowed gays and those who do not proclaim their preference. A policy to admit, expect celibacy, then release those who are caught would be unworkable. It would severely disrupt unity. I want to keep the current policy. ~~(C)~~

There will be trouble with recruitment if the policy is changed -- retention and morale problems. The all-volunteer force is very important -- politically -- to us. We cannot go to any alternative. We're dependent on volunteers. We must have an environment people would send their children to. There is no opportunity to go to a draft. ~~(C)~~

My recommendation: retain the current policy. If it is changed, I'd like to participate. I'm willing to stop asking, but not ready if they are avowed. Then I'd still want the opportunity to discharge. ~~(C)~~

General Mundy: Thank you for this opportunity. We come today in two roles. We're receiving the same input. We are military advisers to you. You are Commander-in-Chief. Your order alone can cause us to execute. On this side of the table are 215 years of dealing with training, leading, combat, garrisoning, managing. We are not here to flaunt that. We want to make it 215 years plus six days. Our job is to help you. ~~(C)~~

We also represent and serve those who serve. It is incumbent on us to reflect their views. To do so, I'll be as direct as I'll ever be. I hope it's our toughest meeting ever. ~~(C)~~

Some perspective: we have 3.8 million active, reserve, and guard members. There are also 2.8 million family members, as much a part as the military members. They transfer, move, play in Little League, have schools. We look after them. There are also millions of veterans who write us; some get recalled. We also represent the veterans organizations you so rightly addressed. There are 8.8 million veterans; 7.5 million have sent you letters opposing a change. Finally, there are the moms and dads of our soldiers. They pass to you the ultimate authority for life and death. ~~(C)~~

Let me focus on the uniformed members. Your decision sends them to war. This is a decision over the effectiveness of their organization and what they are trained for. Sixty-six percent of the U.S. Marine Corps is under 25. This is the impressionable age, when you need maximum leadership. They can swing either way. We want the right direction if we are to have a quality force. This isn't "From Here to Eternity." They are smart,

educated, bright. Fifty percent of the Corps is married. Most of all, they are loyal. No other constituency will have this degree of loyalty to you. We swear to obey your orders. We inculcate that in our ethos. We'll not demonstrate, organize bloc votes, contribute to your opponents. They are proud of the privilege to serve. We don't pay them commensurate to their service -- six months at sea in the boiler room of a carrier. They do it for pride. They are and must be a team. Teamwork is, if anything else, selflessness. Every NFL losing team coach knows about this. (C)

For all the reasons cited by the others, my firm, strong, continuing belief is that those who admit to acts implicit in homosexual behavior or those who associate with gay pride as "licentiousness unconstrained by law or morality" (as quoted by the Queer Nation protestor who was interviewed during your inaugural parade) will have a negative effect. It doesn't matter what the Dutch have done. We're the role model; we're the best. (C)

I believe the need to proclaim "I am gay" will have the same effect as saying "I'm KKK; I'm a Nazi; I'm a rapist." It fractures teamwork. It is saying "I commit an act America doesn't accept." (C)

There are a number of myths. First, this is not a situation of the scope we are led to believe. Despite what Eric Schmitt (New York Times reporter) says, it is not true that there are tens of thousands of them there (in the military). There are not that many gay Marines at that bar outside Camp Lejeune you saw on TV -- not 100, not 40. Second, we do not have witch hunts in the Armed Forces. For the past decade, four-tenths of one percent of all discharges from the Marine Corps was for homosexuality. Of all discharges for unsuitability, only one and a half percent was for homosexuality. (C)

The stacks of letters we've received, the articles -- every form of communication recounts the emotion. Parents have called to revoke their waiver of authority for recruits have already occurred. We've gotten letters saying: "My son will not volunteer." The effect on recruitment worries me. My young leaders have written imploring me: "Disband the Marine Corps before we impose this dishonor." The emotion is that high. They simply don't agree to what is immoral, a threat to health, an intrusion on privacy, a threat to the effectiveness of the organization. If we must stop asking the question, okay. If we must stop pursuing, okay. But don't change the policy. (C)

General McPeak: I draw a distinction between orientation, status, and behavior. I think we are close on orientation and behavior. On orientation, we can agree to stop asking the question. We know homosexuals are there -- not 10%; not zero. On behavior, I like Secretary Aspin's proposal to come up with a

code of conduct that applies to all and puts certain things off limits. I think we do that now. We punish outrageous behavior. In a public relations context, we can come out with something.
(C)

Status, which I call revealed orientation, is the crunch issue. I don't know how to deal with it. I agree when someone acquires homosexual status in a unit, it will work against the cohesion of the unit. Rightly or wrongly, we discriminate against gays because we feel differently. (C)

In the Armed Forces, we've been pretty good in dealing with discrimination -- because we the senior leadership, junior officers, and NCO's got to work in an affirmative way -- not because Truman issued an Executive Order. I don't see how to do that here. I don't know how we can promote a reversal of public attitudes. (C)

I like the idea of throwing it over to Secretary Aspin for six months. I like it because it postpones it, gives us flexibility. I don't think we will come up with anything, but it helps prepare the nation. I do think you shouldn't change the rule on status while we do study. But if you change the rule, it's a de facto admission you can give up the problem we're studying. I have doubts about the courts' reaction. Courts have only focused on status cases, not behavior. This is the case in all cases where someone discharged is suing to get back in -- one has come up recently. During six months, those who acknowledge homosexuality could be dealt with by holding up cases -- not a bad idea. But if we hold up cases, we're saying we can back off on unit cohesion. (C)

I hope we can find a middle ground. But I want you to know whatever you decide, I'll salute smartly. You'll have my support. (C)

The President: Let's hear from Admiral Jeremiah after I get some medication. Senator Gore has some questions he can ask. I mean Vice President Gore. (Laughter) (C)

The Vice President: I was a "Spec Five." But I want you to hear the answers. (C)

The President: Let's take a break then for five minutes.
(Break) (C)

Admiral Jeremiah: This subject dominates the discussion of everyone, not just among us. On training commanders, at church, every discussion we have. In my time I've never seen an issue with this much resonance. It is overwhelming, dominating. (C)

The economic costs of a change are significant. Recruiting costs will go up. The cost of retention will increase. Our studies

show that whereas 11% now who say they won't stay, this goes to 45% if we change the policy. This is not a valid measure -- I recognize retention is a function of leadership -- but it gives some measure of the problem. (C)

There is an analogy with the drug era. Until we got the druggies out, the rest of the force did not agree to stay. As long as most command attention was focused on the drug problem, leadership was denied to the rest of the force. (C)

Housing is a problem -- on ships, subs. We have already dealt with that once with women. Barracks -- there is a cost aspect. Military housing and the cost of medical care. So there are economic direct costs as well as the impact on readiness. (C)

You are the Commander-in-Chief. You deserve the Armed Forces' loyalty, because of our built-in trust and confidence. Just as they are teams, so are we. We must have confidence in each other. We are strongly supportive of what must be done, but as we make this decision, soldiers will die for their country. Their views deserve to be heard. (C)

The Vice President: Let me ask you some questions and tell you where I am coming from. I have made a personal journey. I recognize analogies to Afro-Americans is different, but there are some parallels too. My question is, what is your underlying theory of homosexuality? Is it a behavioral characteristic, a choice, to use General Powell's word? Do you believe that is the case, or as a majority of scientists think, is there a genetic basis? (C)

General Powell: I don't know the answer. I don't make my case on that difference. (C)

The Vice President: For me, the answer makes a big difference. If we had all the science done, we would find a majority of homosexuals are born with a predisposition. Also, there is a continuum. Some are on the line. Assuming you have soldiers born with a predisposition; they are patriotic; and they commit no act in the military that violates the UCMJ. If that person is separated due to status, then that person in a way is discriminated against in a way similar to Blacks. (C)

When President Truman issued his Executive Order, I am informed that the Joint Chiefs were quite strongly opposed, but they made it work despite this. General McPeak said that "rightly or wrongly," discrimination is there. If the Joint Chiefs were opposed then, they still made it happen. (C)

General Sullivan made a point about religious beliefs. I'm a Southern Baptist. I go to a missionary church. I am quite aware of what you talk about, but I don't know anyone whose religious beliefs keep them from associating with someone whose own

personal beliefs are different. If the view is that homosexuality is a matter of choice, it can lead more easily to view discrimination based on status as justified. That is not so if it is genetic. It is a very different situation. (C)

The President: I owe it to you to say where I'm coming from. This whole thing on both sides causes me great discomfort. There are men and women who are patriotic, served with distinction, are otherwise highly conformist persons in the best sense. I have friends who are gay. I have always been in a funny position. I believe some are born gay, and others not. The job of society is not to discriminate on the basis of moral judgment. I believe my gay friends should be able to serve. (C)

The thing that bothers me most about status versus behavior is the privacy argument. All objections flow from what is inside other men and women in the Armed Forces, what you feel about yourself in a situation where you have no control over many things. (C)

When you back up from the argument that I'll just separate myself and consider substitutes -- the argument that no hitting in showers would mean men and women in the same shower -- I had this argument with a friend -- it is the best argument for not asking. Then there is no need to lie; it gives dignity. Then, going back to status versus behavior, only behavior matters, assuming no declaration. (C)

What I honestly believe is that there are people who love their country enough who are gay, who would be willing to adhere to very strict standards, but are asking to go the next step and declare. I still believe I should keep my commitment, but I should do nothing to violate my commitment as Commander-in-Chief, nothing to undermine morale. We should stop asking the question and ask you to look at it for six months. (C)

The legal question is in the courts. General McPeak said that stopping the kicking out will prejudice the review, but if we keep discharging, I think courts will stop it anyway. I accept that there are real, serious privacy, perhaps morality, issues. I also think many gays are willing to be held to the highest standards. We should try to get there. (C)

I would like to stop asking the question, take the next six months, and try to answer the questions. I am very mindful of my oath. I have to try to be consistent with that oath. My view is that we can work through some of these things; in some services better than others, some situations are better than others. (C)

Let's take six months; stop asking the question. The legal situation will probably grind to a halt. This will present you some problems. We will need to work through in the next 24-48 hours what that means. (C)

I think of that Army Colonel who became a media figure. Her best friend is the mother of one of my best friends. She would have gladly died for her country. (C)

I would like to have further opportunities to discuss and explore this. There is a lot of support in Congress for your position. If they are clever -- and they are -- they can do things. I hope they wouldn't do anything for six months. (C)

General Mundy: Whatever you do, it is very important you send a positive signal to your most loyal constituents. There is likely to be a great reaction of "victory" among gay rights organizations. (C)

The President: I do not consider disqualifying conduct to be confined to sexual activity. The people I would like to keep wouldn't show up at a Queer Nation parade. They demonstrated throughout my inaugural. (C)

Admiral Jeremiah: I saw two gay couples dancing at the Ball I attended. In a civilian environment, I would have no exception. At an officers' club, no. (C)

The President: Absolutely! I never said anything to suggest that my distinction against status versus behavior goes well beyond sexual conduct. Practical matters are difficult. (C)

General Powell: We need time to figure out what the practical rules are. (C)

The President: I never thought in terms of the three distinctions General McPeak made until he said it. I want to think about it. The one thing that impressed me over the years was the ones who came to me and said they were gay and really loved their country were ones trying to conform. That doesn't get into Queer Nation or gay pride. There may be a way to find distinctions. Let's lay on the table the matter of people who do nothing the next six months but say they are gay. (C)

Secretary Aspin: Let me make a suggestion. Let's get someone outside the military -- Justice -- to call a time out so the Joint Chiefs don't have to call time out. These guys must represent their constituents during the next six months. They lose credibility if they suspend cases, but if the Attorney General does call a hiatus -- a time out -- they are not involved. The Acting Attorney General is willing. Mort Halperin checked. Second, we must think about the announcement out of this meeting. Everyone is watching. We need an "honest injun" announcement. It must not look like they've caved. (C)

The Vice President: What about the truth? "We had a very frank and useful exchange of views..." (C)

Secretary Aspin: How do we characterize what we agreed on? (C)

The Vice President: "It is the President's intent that the question no longer be asked. The Chiefs agreed on that point. The related questions of how to characterize behavior and deal with status will be studied for six months. The dialogue between the Chiefs and the President will continue -- Secretary Aspin is directed to work with the Chiefs to find answers to the questions raised here. Any questions regarding prosecutions during the six months will be up to the Justice Department." (C)

The President: We don't have to have a position coming out of this meeting. We can work that out over the next 24 hours. Just say today: "very grateful Chiefs came over, very impressed with the arguments they made." Then work out a statement within the next 24 hours. (C)

Secretary Aspin: We've got a couple of days here. It is not "greased lightning" in the Congress. (Laughter) It would be helpful if there were a day or two before the announcement is made so there would be the impression you took the Chiefs' views under advisement. Ultimately, the question comes down to this: during these six months are the discussions "whether" or "how." My view -- it may be too cute to sell -- is to say this: "we're discussing "how" to decide "whether." These guys are not yet committed to "whether." The Chiefs are trying to get through the night. (C)

Mr. Berger: For some time, there has been some value in phrasing. The President can't say "whether" is up for grabs. (C)

The President: Say: "I asked you to study 'how.' You agreed." In your mind, it is still a big question of "whether." If no answer to "how," we may have no agreement on "whether." You haven't given up. Do we say "we agreed to stop asking the question?" No. Say "I asked you to look at 'how.' You agreed." This is an issue of great concern for you. You haven't agreed on "whether." You hope if "hows" are as great as you think, you'll persuade us on "whether." (C)

Admiral Kelso: I am uncomfortable in being in disagreement with you. (C)

General Powell: It is okay. (C)

The President: But you are. It is no problem. Lots of Presidents got in trouble for not allowing dissent. You'll go to the Hill and will often be asked your views. That's okay; just tell me your views first. (C)

The Vice President: Admiral Kelso has a valid point. Say, "in this meeting you did not ask them to agree to agree or disagree -- just to study the question." (C)

The President: That's a better way. It leaves my position intact. (C)

Mr. Lake: You should say that at the end of the day, you will support the President. (C)

Mr. Stephanopolus: It is important to say you have mutual respect. That's gold. (C)

Secretary Aspin: Yes. (U)

The President: Don't let the media drive a wedge between us. I'm not doing this for gay groups. I am doing it for people who are gay and want to serve their country. This has been a great meeting. I hope we have meetings with easier subjects. (C)

General Powell: I guarantee we'll always tell you what we think. (C)

The President: Thank you for coming. (U)

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003a. memo	Copy of 001a (3 pages)	01/24/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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Defense Policy and Arms Control (Bell, Robert)
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FOLDER TITLE:

Gays in the Military, March 1993 [2]

2015-0017-F
sb1254

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

January 23, 1993

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

From: The Secretary of Defense *AK*
Re: Meeting With The Joint Chiefs of Staff

On Monday, you will be meeting with the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The meeting is scheduled for one hour and there are a number of important topics to be addressed.

My recommendation is that you open the meeting with a series of comments on the American military.

- o Today's military is the best trained and the most professional in the history of our country. Throughout the country, no institution of the American government has won greater respect than the U.S. military. This is a standard you intend to maintain.
- o As Commander-In-Chief you should make clear that you will seek their advice and comments before deciding on whether to use military force. Decisions on the use of force are among the most consequential that a President will make. Therefore, you should make this request -- that they always be candid and never reluctant to say what's on their mind.
- o The Joint Chiefs will frequently be asked to appear before Congress. On the Hill, the Chiefs are frequently asked their personal views. Make clear that you expect that. However, also make clear that you do not want to be surprised. When they disagree, they should put the issue on the table with you directly.

To get the discussion started, you may want to say this:

There are a number of items we could put on the agenda -- Iraq, Bosnia, Somalia. We definitely want to cover these in the future. We will be having other meetings.

The major issue today is the question of gays in the military. I want to hear your views. I do not want you to leave this meeting without giving everyone a chance to put it on the table. So let's start there.

While you should expect the Chiefs to speak with emotion on behalf of the existing policy, you should also recognize that the elements of a compromise are falling into place.

ELEMENTS FOR COMPROMISE

On Thursday, I met with the Chiefs. The conversation was candid and, at times, emotional. Homosexuals in the military dominated the discussion. In implementing the Administration's program to end discrimination against homosexuals I outlined three objectives.

1. The policy must end discrimination on the basis of status;
2. The policy must maintain military morale and discipline. To that end, the policy must include a strict code of conduct regarding behavior of uniform military personnel toward each other to insure that all men and women are free of sexual harassment and any abuse of power. The strict code of conduct will also insure that commanders in the field will have the necessary authority to assure the discipline and esprit necessary to retain the combat effectiveness of our military units.
3. The policy must be defensible in Congress.

As expected, the Chiefs raised their objections to the change. They want an opportunity to express their concerns in person. You should know that Senator Dole has been soliciting their views. The Chiefs are aware that were they to work with conservatives in the Senate, they could win a vote supporting the current position.

The Chiefs, however, agree that their mission is "not to torpedo the President," especially in the early days of your administration.

Additionally, you have some special leverage. One thing that will push the military toward compromise is the prospect that this item will be decided by the courts. A judicial decree along the lines of the recent Canadian case would give the military little flexibility. Their incentive for compromise is the drafting of a strict code of military discipline that goes to their concerns.

At a minimum, the Chiefs are willing to stop asking the question on sexual orientation that is now required on military personnel forms. That is an important step in the right direction.

Additionally, Congressman Barney Frank has spoken with the acting Attorney General, Stuart Gerson. Gerson has offered to intervene in any pending legal cases while the Administration reviews. That is also very helpful.

OUR STRATEGY

These are the actions that are necessary to implement our strategy.

Action Number #1 -- The President Gives Instruction

By Wednesday, the President should direct the Secretary of Defense to 1) develop a policy to end discrimination based on status against homosexuals in the military and 2) to propose a strict code of conduct for military personnel regarding sexual behavior. The Secretary should have until early June to work this matter and report to the President. Gay rights groups are pressing for a date prior to a scheduled rally on April 15. I believe, however, that an April deadline will not give us sufficient time to fully consult.

Once the President has issued this instruction, as a matter of policy, the Clinton Administration will suspend any legal actions or discharges against homosexuals based on

status. I will coordinate this with the Attorney General.

Action Number #2 -- Deferring An Immediate Vote In The Senate

The situation in the Senate remains tentative. I have spoken with the Senate Majority Leader, George Mitchell. He understands our strategy, but continues to express concern that conservatives might attempt to force an immediate vote. If there were an early vote on the merits, we would not win.

To avoid the early Senate vote on the merits, Senator Mitchell is prepared to debate this topic after the Administration's policy has been detailed. We then have a chance to prevail on a substitute amendment acceptable to our position, or a tabling motion.

Senator Kennedy and Representatives Barney Frank and Gerry Studds have been consulted and have discussed the strategy with gay groups. They report a positive reaction.

Senator Sam Nunn has been straightforward in his comments. He will be initiating hearings in March. However, the fact that he plans these hearings is another argument for delaying an early Senate vote.

Action Number #3 -- Secretary of Defense Conducts A Review Of The Policy

The Secretary of Defense creates a small, internal Department of Defense task force, consults with military people at all levels and works out a strict code of conduct.

Action Number #4 -- The President Issues An Executive Order

The President issues an Executive Order after the Secretary reports back to him. At this point, the President has fulfilled his commitment. He has changed the immediate policy of discrimination based on status, while also recognizing the distinctive nature of military life and the need for morale and discipline not required in civilian life.

D R A F T

MEMORANDUM TO THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

Prior to July 15, 1993 please submit for my approval a draft of an Executive Order ending discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in determining who may serve in the Armed Forces of the United States, and mandating a strict code of conduct to be enforced uniformly.

In preparing the draft, I expect you to consult fully with the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Military Services, with other Departments affected by the Order, and with concerned individuals and organizations outside the Executive Branch.

DRAFT

PRESIDENTIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

I have today instructed the Secretary of Defense to draft for my review and approval an Executive Order to two ends.

First, the Order will fulfill my commitment that no one will be deprived of the opportunity to serve in the Armed Forces because of their sexual orientation. The order will end the practice of denying induction to or discharging gays and lesbians based on orientation. This form of discrimination has no place in our society. Many gay men and lesbians have served their country well. They have a right to serve without having to ~~hide~~^{deny} their sexual orientation.

Second, the Order should propose a strict code of conduct regarding behavior of uniformed military personnel toward each other to insure that all men and women are free from sexual harassment and abuse of power. This strict code of conduct will also insure that our commanders in the field will have the necessary authority to assure the discipline and esprit de corps necessary to retain the combat effectiveness of our military units.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff have expressed their reservations and concerns about the first of these changes. I have, in turn, assured the Joint Chiefs that they will have a full opportunity to participate in formulation of the Executive Order. I have also assured them that my Administration will engage them in developing a strict code of military conduct to be applied uniformly.

I am also aware of the fact that many members of the Congress have concerns about this policy. I am consulting with Senate and House leaders to ask their support in postponing any substantive consideration of this issue on the floor of either body until the Pentagon review is completed. That is, in my view, the appropriate time for the Congress to debate this matter.

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PARTICIPANTS

The President

The Vice President

Les Aspin, Secretary of Defense

Thomas F. McLarty, Chief of Staff

Anthony Lake, Assistant to the President for National
Security Affairs

General Colin L. Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

Samuel R. Berger, Deputy Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs

Admiral David E. Jeremiah, Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of
Staff

General Merrill A. (Tony) McPeak, Chief of Staff of the Air Force

Admiral Frank Kelso, Chief of Naval Operations

General Gordon R. Sullivan, Chief of Staff of the Army

General Carl E. Mundy, Commandant of the Marine Corps

Leon Fuerth, Assistant to the Vice President for National
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NSC Staff

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LEGISLATIVE REFERRAL

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: DEFENSE PROPOSED TESTIMONY ON MILITARY UNIT COHESION FOR 31 MARCH

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO ITOH TO FORSGEN

DUE DATE: 01 APR 93⁷ STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: HAHN

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

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D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION
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COMMENTS: _____

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EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
Washington, D.C. 20503

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March 29, 1993

LEGISLATIVE REFERRAL MEMORANDUM

LRM #M-132

TO: Legislative Liaison Officer -

NSC - William H. Itoh - (202)456-6534 - 249

FROM: JANET R. FORSGREN (for) *LS/*
Assistant Director for Legislative Reference

OMB CONTACT: Hilda SCHREIBER (395-3924)
Secretary's line (for simple responses): 395-7362

SUBJECT: DEFENSE Proposed Testimony on Military Unit
Cohesion FOR WED. MARCH 31, 1993

DEADLINE: 3 pm March 30, 1993

OMB requests the views of your agency on the above subject before advising on its relationship to the program of the President, in accordance with OMB Circular A-19.

Please advise us if this item will affect direct spending or receipts for purposes of the the "Pay-As-You-Go" provisions of Title XIII of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990.

CC:
Gordon Adams
Don Gessaman
Tom Stanners
Janet Forsgren

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RESPONSE TO LEGISLATIVE REFERRAL MEMORANDUM

You may also respond by (1) calling the analyst/attorney's direct line (you will be connected to voice mail if the analyst does not answer); (2) sending us a memo or letter; or (3) if you are an OASIS user in the Executive Office of the President, sending an E-mail message. Please include the LRM number shown above, and the subject shown below.

FROM: _____ (Date)
 _____ (Name)
 _____ (Agency)
 _____ (Telephone)

The following is the response of our agency to your request for views on the above-captioned subject:

_____ Concur

_____ No objection

_____ No comment

_____ See proposed edits on pages _____

_____ Other: _____

_____ FAX RETURN of _____ pages, attached to this
_____ response sheet

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STATEMENT BY
DAVID H. MARLOWE PH.D.
CHIEF, DEPARTMENT OF MILITARY PSYCHIATRY
WALTER REED ARMY INSTITUTE OF RESEARCH

BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

UNITED STATES SENATE

FIRST SESSION, 103rd CONGRESS

MILITARY UNIT COHESION

31 MARCH 1993

CLEARED
FOR OPEN PUBLICATION

MAR 29 1993 21

DIRECTORATE FOR FREEDOM OF INFORMATION
AND SECURITY (DFAIS)
DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

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STATISTICS CLEARED
(DA Memo 25-02)

MAR 29 1993

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Brief Biography

David H. Marlowe, born Brooklyn, New York, June 30, 1931, married, two children. B.A. Brooklyn College, 1952, M.A., 1955, Ph.D. (Social Anthropology) 1963, Harvard University. Service in U.S. Army 1956 - 1958, carried out research on psychiatric breakdown among Army trainees. Research Associate, Washington School of Psychiatry, 1958 - 1960 (field research on patterns of inter-group conflict among Somali nomads). Research Anthropologist, Walter Reed Army Institute of Research, 1961 - 1964, carried out research on patterns of delinquency at an Eastern Army Post. 1964, U.S. Army Medical Research Laboratory, Vietnam, research on the stresses of advisor-counterpart relations. 1964 - 1968, U.S. Army Component, SEATO Medical Research Laboratory, carried out research on group structure and socio-medical problems in North Thailand. 1969 - 1975, developed and directed field studies of the ecology and social behavioral aspects of drug and substance abuse at an Eastern Army Post. 1975 to present, Chief, Department of Military Psychiatry, WRAIR. Responsible for research programs in combat stress prevention, unit cohesion and assessment, field studies of the consequences of exposure to trauma in military groups, effects of combat exposure in Panama, head of "Human Dimensions field team assessing issues of cohesion, morale, adaptation and response to stress in Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm, etc..

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Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:
I am Dr. David H. Marlowe, Chief of the Department of Military Psychiatry, Division of Neuro-Psychiatry, Walter Reed Army Institute of Research. I understand that I have been invited here today in my personal capacity as an expert on cohesion in military units and not as a representative of the Department of the Army.

I have a prepared statement on cohesion that I would like to present to the committee and enter into the record.

I appreciate the opportunity to appear before the committee and shall be happy to answer any questions you may have.

WRAIR STUDIES BEARING UPON COHESION AND ITS ANALYSIS

From its creation in 1951, in response to the medical and military problems generated by the high levels of "Combat Fatigue" casualties during World War II and the high proportion of combat stress casualties seen in the first phases of the Korean conflict, the Division of Neuro-psychiatry of the Walter Reed Army Institute of Research (WRAIR) initiated long-term research about the nature of cohesion and cohesive processes in military groups. The experience of World War II (see below) demonstrated that one of the most critical buffers against the effect of combat stress was small group and military unit cohesion. Issues involving military group structure and interaction, interpersonal behavior, soldier bonding, the effects of deviant behavior, such as delinquency and drug abuse, on group bonding and process have been a recurring part of our research agenda. Above all we have been primarily concerned with those aspects of group cohesiveness that enable the soldier to deal with the untoward stresses of combat and dangerous deployments. Our concern has been to define and, hopefully, to enhance both military unit cohesion and those particular aspects of it that buffer and mediate the effects of the acute and chronic stresses to which the soldier can be subjected and to optimize the maintenance of individual and organizational mental health.

From the latter period of the Vietnam conflict through the late 1970's both the line Army and Army medical research community expressed profound concerns about the levels of cohesiveness in U. S. units. Some units in Vietnam had been polarized and riven by competing sub-groups committed not to their squads, platoons, or companies, but to others who behaved in an extra-military fashion. "Heads" (drug using groups) contended with "Juicers" (alcohol users), "hawks" with "doves", "Lifers" (career soldiers) with "O.S.s" (draftees), African Americans contended with Whites. Polarization and adherence to group identities and structures that were rooted outside the unit and the primary soldier group led to rapid rises in the incidence of "fragging" (attempts to kill unit leaders with fragmentation grenades or other arms) in 1970

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and 1971. The 1971 rate per 1000 soldiers was 2.5 times the 1969 rate. Despite the low level of actual combat in the latter phases of the war, the incidence of psychiatric admissions, few of which were traditional combat stress casualties rose markedly. As MG Spurgeon Neal M.D. put it in his study Medical Support of the U.S. Army in Vietnam:

"Unlike World War II, in Vietnam the incidence of psychiatric admissions did not co-vary with the incidence of combat injury. Rates rose despite the diminishing combat role in that country in 1969 and 1970...For Vietnam it has been suggested that identity with another peer group, such as one based upon race, political affiliation, or drug use, at the unit level has threatened the integrity of the squad as the sole reference point for the soldier in combat"

Our concerns about levels of cohesion in units continued throughout the 1970's. In studies of the ecology of drug usage at an East Coast Army post we saw groups of drug users organized against the Army and their units. That cohesion which existed seemed primarily designed to enable drug using groups to protect their using behavior, often at the expense of the mission. Care, concern and support, and commitment to mission had eroded markedly in a number of units in both the U.S. and the Federal Republic of Germany. At the same time analyses of the 1973 Arab-Israeli war demonstrated that modern, highly accurate, highly lethal weaponry had the capacity to create combat stress casualties far more quickly, in days rather than the weeks and months, than at those rates that characterized the slower tempo of battle in previous Twentieth Century warfare. Our concerns, along with those of the senior leadership of the Army during the depths of the "hollow army" period, were obviously convergent and led to 12 years of major research focus on unit cohesion, its relationships and consequences.

In 1979 a group of us from the WRAIR made a presentation to the Army Policy Council on the historically affirmed relationship of military unit cohesion to resistance to combat stress and subsequent breakdown, and the new risks for psychological breakdown in battle demonstrated in the 1973 Arab-Israeli war.

In 1981, at the request of the ODCSER U.S. Army, the Dept. of Military Psychiatry, Walter Reed Army Institute of Research, under my direction, began a program of research and evaluation of a number of significant human issues bearing on soldier mental health, resistance to stress and potential combat performance sustainability of the Army's then new COHORT Unit Manning System, the first of a number of programs designed to enhance primary group and company/battery cohesion. The COHORT (Cohesion, Operational Readiness and Training) program was designed to create conditions that would enable units to develop higher

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levels of cohesiveness and training. A primary reason for the creation of the COHORT program was to create unit climates that would mediate the effects of stress in combat and reduce the numbers of combat stress reactions. The evaluation research was conducted in response to a tasking received from The DCSPER of the Army, and was implemented via a research protocol "Behavioral and attitudinal consequences of social organization: Research study of selected COHORT companies, COHORT battalions, and the 9th Light Infantry Division in the US Army", which integrated a number of sub-studies. In the course of this program (1982 - 1989) quantitative data was gathered from over 225 combat arms units over a seven year period, and extensive individual and group interviewing was carried out in approximately 100 units, a number of which were studied repetitively over a period of years. Our major concerns were factors bearing upon the creation and maintenance of military unit cohesion and their relationship to soldier mental health, psychological readiness for combat and perceived unit effectiveness.

The ultimate tests of any set of ideas are to be found in their consequences in the real world. The world of the garrison and of training, stressful as it may sometimes be, is still a pale reflection of the world of ground combat. In 1989 at the request of the DCSPER of the Army we began a debriefing program of soldiers in units that had seen combat in Operation Just Cause in Panama, carrying out an extensive interview and questionnaire program. This program, carried out in 13 Combat Arms and Military Police battalions focussed in greatest part on the relationships between unit cohesion and unit interpersonal relationships and the consequences, for the soldier, of exposure to the stresses and traumas of the combat environment.

In September 1990 at the direction of the then VCSEA, GEN Sullivan, and the request of the then DCSPER, LTG Reno, we began an extensive program studying stress, adaptation, cohesion, sustainability, psychological readiness for combat and the psychological and psycho-social consequences of combat participation in U.S. Army troops deployed to Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm. Teams were deployed four times to SWA. Once again we utilized a combination of questionnaires and unit interviews and debriefings. Pre and post combat data were gathered from battalions in six brigades both in SWA and upon return to CONUS and USAREUR. Five combat arms brigades were followed extensively, and other data has been and is still being collected on long terms effects of deployment on 25000 service members in active duty and reserve units. In all of this work cohesion has thus far proven to be, both quantitatively and qualitatively, a critical variable affecting soldier handling of stress in combat.

COHESION

since the beginning of recorded history Armies and their leaders have had a profound concern about the cohesiveness of their constituent units. In its simplest form cohesion could be

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viewed as that set of factors and processes that bonded soldiers together and bonded them to their leaders so that they would stand in the line of battle, mutually support each other, withstand the shock, terror and trauma of combat, sustain each other in the completion of their mission and neither break nor run. Cohesion and the sense of mutual support were seen as essential in dealing with the fears and apprehensions that came as forces moved to battle and as even more critical in maintaining them in battle itself.

In psychological and social terms both pre-modern and modern warfare have demanded, within their tactical doctrines, differing technologies of warfare and the social organization of their combat forces, the systematic provision of high levels of group and psycho-social support to the soldier committed to battle if combat success is to be achieved. The earliest commentators understood the nature of the profound ties that should characterize the primary groups - those small groups of soldiers involved in face to face daily relationships upon which success in battle depended.

Wu Ch'i, the great contemporary of Sun Tzu, writing some 2300 years ago described a victorious army in terms of proper discipline stating:

"What is called discipline is that when encamped their conduct is proper; that when on the move the army is awe inspiring, so that in advance it cannot be opposed. In retirement it cannot be pursued. In advance or retirement it is in good order.... Though cut off they can reform; though dispersed they retain their files. Whether the position is secure or perilous the troops can be assembled and cannot be isolated."

In terms of creating such an Army Wu Ch'i goes on to say:

"Put men from the same villages together and the sections of ten and the squads of five will mutually protect each other."

This concept of small, tightly bonded, highly interdependent groups as the foundation and essential building block of the disciplined mass of pre modern armies was well understood from the classical period onward. In the Roman Legion, for example, it was acknowledged that the discipline and ordering of training, drill, and skills was dependent upon the social ordering, group identification and bonding of the Legionnaires.

Each legion was divided into 10 Cohorts of 1000 men, each Cohort into 10 Centuries under the command of a Centurion, and each Century was divided into squads or messes of 10 men under the command of a Decanus. These ten men, a Conturbina or Manipule, trained, ate, lived and fought together as the equivalent of

a contemporary squad. One may trace a direct line of social descent, if you will, from the Conturbina through the squad comprised of the group of tent and mess mates that characterized the units of the American civil war, to the squads, teams and crews that are the foundations of our contemporary military forces.

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Armies are not and never have been built on undifferentiated masses of soldiers operating singularly or as individuals, but are built out of highly interdependent small groups.

WORLD WAR II: THE EXTENSION OF THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE ROLE OF COHESION; COMBAT FATIGUE, SUSTAINMENT, AND PERFORMANCE

With the adoption of Selective Service and the expansion of U.S. military forces in preparation for possible involvement in World War II American psychiatry relied, initially, on its interpretations of the experience of World War I in considering the psychological sustainability of troops committed to combat. World War I military psychiatrists had correctly come to the conclusion that the large numbers of casualties classified as victims of "Shell Shock" or "War Neurosis" were essentially suffering from a class of psychological disorders rather than physically induced illnesses. Most had come to the conclusion, based upon both the psychiatric and neurological assumptions of the time, that the problem was one of individual predisposition and vulnerability based upon individual psychological and constitutional factors. Most authorities reasoned that "truly" normal men - the "psychologically strong" were at very low risk for psychological or performance breakdown in battle. Thus, with the initiation of the Draft in 1940, attempts to screen out the potentially vulnerable were central to thinking about the prevention of psychological casualties in war. Initially 5,250,000 were rejected by Selective Service and of these 1,688,000 (32%) were excluded for emotional, mental or "educational" disorders. An additional 504,000 were separated from the Army on psychiatric or behavioral grounds (Ginzberg, The Lost Divisions, Kings Press, Columbia University, New York, 1959). In addition to these outright rejections and separations, a consistent process of weeding out of those thought to be psychiatrically at risk and their movement to non-combatant service and service support units and positions, took place throughout World War II. This process was carried out by psychiatrists, other medical officers and commanders.

Despite this massive screening and purging of the potentially vulnerable, U.S. forces suffered high numbers of psychological casualties, primarily in the form of transient or more prolonged emotional and behavioral breakdown with inability to perform, called combat fatigue or combat exhaustion. Approximately one out of every five combat casualties suffered by U.S. forces was psychiatric/psychological. In addition it was observed that these overt combat fatigue casualties were but one category of risk generated by stress and concurrent psychological and psychophysiological breakdown. The breakdown of behavior came in many guises including death or wounding due to errors of judgment, sensory decrements or performance deficits generated by combat stress, an increase in illnesses known to have a psychogenic or psychosomatic component, increases in rates of injury and physical illness, and increases in illness that are preventable through volitional behavior, such as frostbite and malaria.

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The power of the battlefield to break down human behavior can never be overstated. The immediate causes of such breakdowns are well known and have been described by many authorities. It was simply put by Appel and Beebe, responsible for critical epidemiological work on combat fatigue during World War II, in an article in the Journal of the American Medical Association (131, 18, 1946):

"The key to an understanding of the psychiatric problem is the simple fact that the danger of being killed or maimed imposes a strain so great that it causes men to break down. One look at the shrunken apathetic faces of psychiatric cases as they come stumbling into the medical station, sobbing, trembling referring shudderingly to "them shells" and to buddies mutilated or dead is enough to convince most observers of this fact. There is no such thing as "getting used to combat". Each man "up there" knew that at any moment he may be killed, a fact, kept constantly before his mind by the sight of dead and mutilated buddies around him. Each moment of combat imposes a strain so great that men will break down in direct relation to the intensity and duration of their exposure. Thus psychiatric casualties are as inevitable as gunshot and shrapnel wounds in warfare...."

Examples of the levels of psychological casualty generated in line divisions in Europe in World War II are given in the following table showing combat neuro-psychiatric casualties in relationship to numbers wounded in action in a series of battles as well as the rates for one U.S. Marine Division in the battle for Sugar Loaf on Okinawa.

DIV, Battle and Time Period	# Days	# KIA	# W	
86th Gustav line 11-14May	4	2000	250	12.5
86th Gustav line 11May-10Jun	30	4000	623	15.5
88th Gustav line 11-14May	4	600	125	19.2
88th Gustav line 11May-10Jun	30	1300	248	10.0
14th Gustav line 29Jun-29Jul	36	1000	235	13.
91st Cecina River 12Jul-15Aug	35	700	250	33.
88th Volterra 1-31 Jul	23	1700	564	32.
14th Gothic Line 13Sep-26Oct	44	1000	348	21.
91st Gothic Line 13Sep-26Oct	44	2700	919	34.
88th Gothic Line 13Sep-26Oct	44	3000	817	22.
1st Arm Gothic Line 13Sep-26Oct	44	250	137	54.
85th Gothic Line 13Sep-22Nov	71	4000	582	14.9
6th Marine Okinawa 12-21May	10	2042	1809	48.4

(drawn from Mullins and Glass, Neuro-Psychiatry in War
 Mar II, Vol. II, Overseas Theaters, OTSG, Dept. of the Army, Wash. D.C.,
 1973)

*It will be noted that there are marked variations in rates

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between divisions in roughly equivalent actions and within divisions for different actions. In the latter case the most powerful single factor accounting for differences in rates is intensity and severity of combat, although other factors such as initial exposure to severe combat load the outcome. In the former case other factors, particularly cohesion and morale were consistently stated to be the major affectors of the rates.

The U.S. Army's intense attention to psychological breakdown in battle, its causes, and those factors that might prevent it or lower the levels of risk and enhance the sustainability of soldiers in combat came early in the war at the beginning of our commitment to offensive warfare in North Africa. At that time green units meeting a skilled and powerful enemy, the Afrika Korps, had unexpectedly massive numbers of combat psychological casualties, reaching levels as high as 35% of all casualties at the battles of the Kasserine and Faid passages.

In 1943 CPT Herbert Spiegel M.D., an Army psychiatrist, was sent to evaluate the factors that had affected performance and the levels of combat psychiatric casualties seen in the Tunisian campaign. Spiegel reported, in an article published in the Journal of the American Psychiatric Association in 1944, on the sustainment of performance of men in battle that:

"If abstract ideas - hate or desire to kill - did not serve as strong motivating forces, then what did serve them in that critical time? What enabled them to attack and attack, and attack week after week in mud, rain, dust and heat until the enemy was smashed? It seems to me that the drive was more a positive than a negative one. It was love more than hate. Love, manifested by 1) regard for their comrades who shared the same dangers, 2) respect for their platoon leader or company commander who led them wisely and backed them with everything at his command, 3) concern for their reputation with their commander and leaders, and 4) an urge to contribute to the task and success of their group and unit.

In other words, interpersonal relationships among men and between the men and their officers became more intense, and rank less important. These cohesive forces enabled them to identify themselves as part of their unit. It enabled them to muster and maintain their courage in the most trying circumstances. It even led them, at times to surprise themselves with gallant and heroic actions...."

This core issue of the powerful controlling role played by group relationships to effectiveness, sustainability and the maintenance of soldier mental health was underlined by the conclusions of the Commission of Civilian Psychiatrists sent by the War Department to investigate the problem of combat fatigue in 1945. Their primary conclusion was that:

"....we mean to emphasize the fact that the organized pattern of the unit and its emotional bonds constitute

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the dominant constructive and integrative force for the individual soldier in his fighting function. This group life is his inner life. When an individual member of such a combat group has his emotional bonds of group integration seriously disrupted, then he, as a person, is thereby disorganized. The disruption of group unity is, in the main, a primary causal factor, not a secondary effect, of personality disorganization.

We find that American psychiatrists and other physicians have considerable difficulty in grasping the significance of the group as the core of personality organization for the soldier in his fighting function...."

COL Albert Glass M.D. summed it up, first at the WRAIR 1957 International Symposium on Preventive and Social Psychiatry, reviewing his experience in W. W. II and Korea:

"Available epidemiological data indicated that the mental illness of troops in warfare, exclusive of psychotic disorders, is more significantly related to circumstances of the combat situation than to any personality attributes or characteristics of the individuals who are exposed to battle stress. Pertinent combat circumstances include the intensity and duration of battle which can be measured by the battle casualty rate and the days of continuous action. However, of equal importance in determining the frequency of psychiatric cases are less measurable elements of battle; to wit, the degree of support given the individual by buddies, group cohesiveness, and leaders. These less tangible influences explain the marked differences that may occur in combat effectiveness and the frequency of psychiatric cases among units which are exposed to the same intensity and duration of battle."

And then in his landmark history of neuro-psychiatry in W.W.

II:

"Perhaps the most significant contribution of World War II military psychiatry was recognition of the sustaining influence of the small combat group or particular members thereof, variously termed "group identification," group cohesiveness," the buddy system, and "leadership."....

Awareness of the foregoing social and situational determinants facilitated the use of preventive measures to enhance group identification, improve leadership and generally raise the level of group morale."

A non psychiatrist, BG S. L. A. Marshall put the issue simply and forthrightly:

"The greatest enemy of the rifleman is individual loneliness. Man is a gregarious animal. His greatest steadying force is the touch of his fellows. Under battle's pressure, he cannot long endure out of sight and voice contact with them. It was so in the time of the

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Medes and the Persians; it will be so in the wars of undefined dimension in a terrible tomorrow. Such marvels as radio and television do not change it. We need the touch of the hand, even as we need the conviction that we are a useful part of something much larger and more important than ourselves, whenever the pressures of life put inordinate demands upon our frail persons."

These observations and the other studies carried out during World War II and subsequent conflicts are responsible for the extensive research commitment of contemporary military psychiatry to the issue of cohesion, the analysis of the social organization and structure of military groups. For three decades my colleagues and I have been working to try to better understand the group processes, issues of individual and group identity, the patterns of interpersonal relationship and those other factors that protect the soldier against psychological and behavioral breakdown or that may conduce to it.

We have focussed on and explored the definition of the major psycho-social correlates and predictors of unit effectiveness and performance and sustainment of individuals and groups under stress and the nature, structure and processes of group bonding and identification.

The psycho-social factors involved have variously been referred to in military studies as "unit cohesion," "cohesion," "morale," "unit esprit," "leadership," and "unit climate." When they are analyzed they can be separated out into a set of differentiable but interrelated components. These component factors interact and cumulate to have powerful consequences for the performance and readiness of units as corporate endeavors, and their individual members in peacetime, and the effectiveness and sustainability of both in combat.

CLASSES AND CONTEXT OF MILITARY UNIT COHESION

Cohesion is neither an entity or a thing. It is not, as I have tried to indicate, a single or singular factor. It is partly a state, i.e., the unit existing as a cohesive corporate body. In other aspects it is a process comprised of ongoing interactions, judgments, perceptions, sentiments and relationships within the squad, crew, company or battery. In our work over the past years we have divided cohesion into two general categories, each has strong effects on the other but each is amenable to fairly independent analysis. These are Horizontal and Vertical cohesion. Horizontal cohesion comprehends those factors that bond and integrate the primary group, team, crew, squad and section and the extended primary group, the platoon. When we speak of horizontal cohesion we refer then to soldiers who are essentially peers as junior enlisted and junior non commissioned officers. When we speak of vertical cohesion we are speaking of the components of that bonding that exists between these soldiers and their leaders, senior non-commissioned officers and officers at the company/battery level. It is important to point out that the

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unit of analysis in which we define and measure cohesive processes and cohesion in ground combat forces is the company or battery.

Based on a large number of studies done since World War II and the body of evidence provided by Military History, memoirs and novels by active combatants, oral historical sources and our own past research, the company or battery is the largest unit in which actual interactive cohesive processes exist for most soldiers. If it is a truism that soldiers, once committed to combat, fight for each other more than for any other value or end it is critical to underline that under normal circumstances the group involved is limited to the company or battery. The strongest relationships are to be found between members of the same squad, crew or section, the next strongest within the platoon, and the outer boundary is essentially the company or battery. Our observations have underlined the fact that it is the strength of the ties within a soldier's basic primary group (squad, crew or section), seconded by his ties to his wider interactive groups (platoon and company) and the degrees to which he feels confidence and trust in the company and platoon and his unit leaders, that most effect performance.

The company is the human environment in which the soldier's face to face relationships take place. These are the relationships which provide the soldier with the primary social and psychological support that are critical to mediating the stresses of training and combat.

It must be realized that the overwhelming majority of influences on the soldier's life, commitment, satisfaction, and feelings and perceptions about the possibility of going into combat and the Army in general, are focused upon and attributed to the company/battery level. Generalities of command and organizational climate, decisions made at higher levels that affect the soldier's or his family's life for good or ill are reallocated within the company and attributed in part or in full to the company chain of command. The command climate of the wider organization, particularly of the battalion, can have powerful effects on relationships between leaders and soldiers, and between soldiers within a company or battery.

However, while a Battalion Commander, or even a Brigade or Division Commander, who is perceived as an extraordinary leader may increase a sense of common identity among his troops, such a leader may have little or no effect on patterns of face to face interaction. As in the past, and for all but its most senior leaders, the company is the arena of the overwhelming majority of intimate social, recreational and supportive interaction and relationships. During duty hours and, above all during deployments, the company defines the soldier's possible social universe.

A measure of the powerful degree to which the company and its constituents, platoon, squad etc., order relationships may be seen in a large scale sociometric study which we carried out at an Eastern Army Post in 1973. Soldiers were asked to indicate friends on Post by unit and individuals with whom they shared off

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duty recreational interests. There were over a thousand respondents who made over 4000 choices. The overall results were:

Choices within own unit (Company)	3,438
Choices in other units.....	741
Percent of choices in own Company.....	82.2%

The company level, then, is that at which we analyze and evaluate cohesion. It is at this level that we find the components of the relationships that are critical to the soldier's confidence and to his ability to survive and win in combat. The greater the personal trust that the soldier has in his peers, the greater the confidence that the soldier has in the skills of his fellow soldiers and the tactical skills of his company level leadership, the effectiveness with which his company operates and uses its weapons systems, the greater, in general, will be the units capacity to fight effectively and to sustain itself. The greater, also will be the capacity of its soldiers to sustain themselves and perform effectively for long periods in face of the stresses and trauma of combat and commitment of going against fire.

Soldiers' affiliations with larger organizations, battalions, Brigades, Regiments, Divisions, are essentially symbolic. They may play important roles in defining the soldiers self image, his expectations, and his belief in the power and effectiveness of his organization to execute its mission but they play little part in the soldiers daily routine or in the universe of his face to face behavior.

THE COMPONENTS OF COHESION MEASUREMENT AND ASSESSMENT: PSYCHOLOGICAL READINESS FOR COMBAT AND PROJECTED SUSTAINABILITY OF UNITS AND SOLDIERS

In our NRAIR studies of cohesion and in its analysis, assessment, and evaluation we see it as a major contributor to psychological readiness for, and sustainability in, combat of companies and batteries, and as critical to the maintenance of the mental health of soldiers in face of the exposure to peacetime and wartime stresses and trauma. We have developed an analytic framework for assessing, both qualitatively and quantitatively, the various components of both cohesion classes, horizontal and vertical. For the past twelve years these assessments have been carried out utilizing a combination of unit interviewing/debriefing and a series of questionnaires based upon and developed out work carried out in the U.S. and other armies since 1941. Such data have served as an excellent guide, at very high levels of correlation, to actual combat performance in both the U.S. (particularly during World War II in ETO) and other armies (particularly the Israeli Defense Force).

The data base out of which our assessment instruments were developed is, therefore, a wide scale one involving convergent

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quantitative and qualitative data sources. The sources are: historical; sociological; psychological; and observational with a bias towards measuring and evaluating those factors that have correlated best with assessed performance, combat outcomes, and measures of soldier mental health. Among the sources utilized in the framework and development of our work were: the results of the "Field Forces" surveys undertaken by the AG Research Branch in World War II (some published in Stouffer et al.s, The American Soldier, others archived as "special studies"); extensive analysis of unit performance and levels of generation or combat stress casualties in WW II and Korea undertaken by Division Psychiatrists and Corps and Theater Psychiatric Consultants; oral historical materials; military historical and climetric materials; post combat debriefings carried out by WRAIR and other personnel in Korea, Viet Nam, Grenada, and Panama; pre and post combat interview data gathered in Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm; and data gathered in the course of assessing cohesion processes and levels in the Army's COHORT program and in the development of the Army's light infantry divisions. A number of studies carried out by the Israeli Defense Forces since 1973 have also been utilized.

Based upon these data sources we define each class of "military unit cohesion" as containing the following specific components:

A. EXTENDED HORIZONTAL COHESION:

By extended horizontal cohesion we mean the bonding established between soldiers at junior enlisted through junior NCO ranks (e.g. essentially pay grades E-1 through E-5). The major components of this class of military unit cohesion include:

1. Belief that members of the primary group have the skills and abilities to successfully carry out their military tasks.

2. Belief that members of one's group will fully participate in organizational tasks and pull "their own weight."

3. Belief that the group can functionally organize itself for effective optimum performance because of its members' extensive knowledge of each others strengths and weaknesses.

4. Affective or emotional ties between soldiers as friends or buddies characterized by mutual trust and confidence and belief in group members' personal reliability.

5. Significant openness of relationships and expectation that support will be provided by other soldiers to help group members to deal with personal, family and organizational stress and minimize its effects.

6. Belief that members of the primary group are committed to taking care of each other and that in situations of stress, pressure, challenge or danger, will look out for, protect and aid each other.

Analytically we normally assess these components of Horizontal Cohesion in terms of three more inclusive factors:

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1. Affective bonding in the groups.
2. Military skill, competence and effectiveness.
3. Instrumental ties, e.g., reciprocal obligations to protect and "look out for" each other.

B. EXTENDED VERTICAL COHESION:

Of equal importance to horizontal cohesion as a sustaining factor in combat are the soldiers perceptions of and relationships with his leaders. Like extended horizontal cohesion, extended vertical cohesion is also a multiplex measure. It integrates the soldier's perceptions and evaluations of the key leaders in his chain of command and is an expression of general leader-soldier "integration". It is also weighted by the soldier's perception of the unit's key and critical leaders. In establishing the company or battery context and climate these leaders are; the Company/Battery Commander, the First Sergeant and the Platoon Sergeant. When deployed, the Platoon leaders importance rises dramatically.

The primary components of extended vertical cohesion include the following basic elements which bear on unit effectiveness and psychological resiliency:

1. Perceived technical and tactical competency of leaders.
2. Perceived degree to which leaders are concerned about the personal lives, needs and "dignity" of their subordinates, including perceived equity and lack of favoritism.
3. Perceived degree of predictability of leader actions, decisions, time management and prioritization of soldier activities and needs, particularly as it reflects upon (2) above.
4. Perceived level and accuracy of leader-soldier communication.
5. Leader abilities to impart skills to soldiers and provide effective training.

These components are normally subsumed into two broader factors characterizing extended vertical cohesion. These are:

1. Perceived professional and technical competency, trustworthiness to lead in combat.
2. Perceived care and concern for the soldier.

A number of other perceptions, grounded in the soldiers actual experiences in the unit, the challenges that the unit has met together through time, ongoing patterns of training, weapons system operation and maintenance, trust in the tactical competency of the unit overall, and perceived unit concern for soldiers' families also contribute to the development of patterns of cohesion and to the psychological readiness of the unit to enter combat and sustain itself.

FACTORS THAT ESTABLISH UNIT COHESION

Horizontal and Vertical cohesion and the interactive behavioral and perceptual components discussed above do not exist

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as an isolated set of interpersonal actions. They are the product of a set of powerful contextual factors that establish the environment and conditions in which the interactive and interpersonal actions and perceptions take place. These contextual factors shape and order the perceptions and acts that we measure as "cohesion".

The contextual factors necessary to create small unit cohesion in Army organizations are derived from the following wider patterns:

1. A common and shared organizational culture and values.
2. Common status and primary identity as soldiers, for all members of the unit.
3. A commonly shared language, constructs, and metaphors characterizing members of the primary group.
4. Experiences in which the group collectively undergoes a series of challenges and stresses and successfully achieves a set of goal in which the members of the group see themselves as having successfully mastered a set of skills and demonstrated their competency executing these skills in order to achieve their goals.
5. Minimal unnecessary turbulence and continuity of tenure within units.

THE CREATION OF A COMMON ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE AND VALUES

The primary mechanism and process utilized by the U. S. Army for socializing soldiers into a common organizational culture with common values and language, and a common identity is Initial Entry Training. We have had occasion to study IET four times in the past 30 some odd years. It consistently proves to be the most powerful creator of the contextual basis for cohesion as well as to be the single most powerful bonding experience and model of the behavior required to be part of a military group for first term soldiers.

IET provides, for almost all soldiers who complete it, a series of both individual and group successes in the form of tasks accomplished and mastery gained. In its collective tasks, its buddy system, its structured demands for interdependent and cooperative behavior, its highly defined requirement for group support to ensure success, and its well structured feedback and reward system for task mastery and "jobs well done", it provides both the opportunity for and the experience of extraordinary bonding to the soldiers who are members of the primary group.

The primary group may center on the squad, but usually extends to include the entire IET platoon and secondarily the company. This experience creates much of the internal model the young soldier will carry into the field Army. For the overwhelming majority of young soldiers, the IET experience is unique and represents a significant discontinuity from previous patterns of living and social relationships centered on individual performance and individual need satisfaction.

Most critically, the individual undergoes a positive identi-

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ty transformation, from civilian to soldier. This new identity establishes the young soldier's new status position and creates that set of expectations and cultural norms about the bounds and content of soldierly behavior expected of self and others. The new soldier almost invariably sees this IET period and identity transformation as a transition involving great personal growth and maturation.

For the overwhelming majority of trainees the experience of IET is also charismatic in the traditional sense of that word. Part of the identity transformation and extraordinarily positive response that the new soldier feels comes from the powerful experience of bonded membership in highly organized and effective primary and secondary groups: the IET squad and platoon, and the company and the Army. The new soldier sees himself as possessing greatly increased personal confidence, competency and ability. There is a new sense of power to meet challenges and conquer obstacles derived membership in his military group, its support and the successes achieved in the course of the training process. This transformation is buttressed by the strong bonding of trainees to their primary group leaders, their Drill Sergeants- who serve as powerful role models after whom trainees begin to shape and mold their own behavior. Drill Sergeants are perceived as embodiments of competency and effectiveness. Highly skilled leaders and teachers, taking care of their men and solving the problems of group members. They are also perceived as possessing exceptional power and authority, particularly to make the Army system responsive to soldiers' real needs.

The leaders greatest potency in defining the military group and creating its significance for new soldiers comes from their capacity to lead and teach, bringing the group from one measurable success to another. The training process and its leaders create a cognitive model of the cohesive, effective, military unit. They create the conditions in which new soldiers internalize this model and as esteemed leaders work to enhance to the bonding of the group, the importance of this bonding, both individual and collective self esteem, confidence and interdependence.

This takes place through continuous drill sergeant and trainee interaction and continuous role modeling and encouragement of bonding within a structure that tries to achieve continuous interplay between individual and collective success in achieving a high density of visible goals.

This pattern of events and experiences in training, underlain by the continuing and consistent support and help that trainees must give each other, develops powerful ties between the members of the group. It also creates the anticipation that such ties are critical to the maintenance and sustenance of all future primary military groups the soldier will enter. Initially, the reasons for the necessity for such strong bonding are primarily instrumental and operational, but they also develop significant affective and emotional content. This content is primarily expressed, particularly in the latter part of the training

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cycle, in the concept of the primary group "being like a family". As fellow trainees and "buddies", particularly building upon the required buddy pairings and primary group responsibilities in training. While in most cases the bonding of the group in the training company is seen as transient, it creates a powerful and important template. The effective primary group is to be a family or like a family. The more cohesive the group the more extensively and intensively soldier relationships are seen as familial and primary group obligations and commitments as those siblings are expected to have to each other imbued with the same level of commonality and trust that siblings should feel.

This socialization or "soldierization" process experienced in the Army Training Center, critically defines for the new soldier a new and powerful status and appended role - soldier, and the behaviors to be expected from those who play that role.

Initial Entry Training does not replace the previous personality or values brought into the Army by the new soldier. Rather it adds to these a new role with a new set of behaviors and standards, those that are to be exhibited, expected of others, and acted in terms of while serving as a soldier and as a member of a squad, team or crew.

These new role perceptions and the new and powerful knowledge that the group and its members' behavior are critical to ones own performance and potential survival have important consequences, both in the IET company and in future assignments. The trainees become more attentive over time to the abilities and behavior of their fellows. In the forcing ground of the training company, one's behavior comes under a searching scrutiny that seldom, if ever, exists in civil life. Both gross behavior and nuances are continually evaluated by other trainees. The poor performer, the non-adaptor or non-learner, the probable delinquent, the individual who places his or her own immediate needs above the welfare of the group, and others who impress their peers over time as potential ineffectives come to be seen as long term dangers to the group.

Initially the group will support, help, and try to work with each of its members. Ultimately, however, the group will reject the individual who appears to embody a threat based upon his or her behavior. That person will be extruded and isolated. The group will behaviorally disengage from the extruded member and psychologically bound itself against him and leave him to fail by himself.

COMMON STATUS AND PRIMARY IDENTITY

Each time a soldier enters a new unit, he or she is the object of a quiet but searching assessment by the members of the primary group already there. While some people are accepted and bonded into the unit almost immediately, much of our data has demonstrated a two phased aspect to the incorporation process. The first phase involves assessment of the soldier as member of

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the group in garrison. Most soldiers maintain that it takes between two and five weeks to determine whether a new squad or platoon member is trustworthy, meets standards, and shares enough of a common culture to be bonded into the group. The process is more intense for those who live in the barracks, where off duty as well as duty time is shared, and more focussed on duty performance and behavior for the married soldier who lives off post. The second phase takes place during the first shared prolonged field exercise where the newcomer is again assessed, both in terms of field and potential combat skills, and in terms of his or her ability to get along with others under conditions of stringency and deprivation. During duty hours, in the field or when deployed the individual is continuously evaluated by his or her peers as a "person", as a group member demonstrating primary loyalty and trustworthiness to the group, and in the exhibition of technical competence. Presenting a non-group based identity or commitment to the group has the potential to rupture group bonding. If such an identity is perceived as threatening to the survival of the group in combat as, for example, the occasional insistence of drug users in Vietnam on using drugs when on patrol, the group will take extreme and hostile action. The soldier must "belong" and belonging depends upon each member of the group playing his or her appropriate role while on duty.

The profound interdependency that characterizes military groups is grounded in the need for extraordinary levels of interpersonal trust. Common language, values and perceptions are the modes of communicating and expressing this trust. It is the foundation of that ultimately selfless and extraordinarily intimate anapa like love that characterizes the primary group in combat. As one wounded veteran put it during World War II, as quoted in The American Soldier:

"You know the men in your outfit. You have to be loyal to them. The men get close knit together. They like each other - quit their petty bickering and having enemies. They depend on each other - wouldn't do anything to let the rest of them down. They'd rather be killed than do that. They begin to think the world of each other. It's the main thing that keeps a guy from going haywire."

This same deep intimacy is implicit in the following passage from Roger Little's study of an infantry company in Korea when he was assigned to WRAIR during the Korean Conflict:

"....From comments of these men and others, and the way they behaved, a set of norms that seemed to guide the behavior of buddies can be formulated.

First, a buddy had to "understand" in a deeply personal sense. Buddies became therapists to one another. Infantrymen were most likely to encounter situations provoking unusual and deviant reactions. One man said of another whom he had chosen as a buddy, "Our minds seem to run together."

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 "A buddy understands you and is interested in your story. Some big mouths talk as if everyone is interested in their story, but they're not. You've got to find a guy you like and he likes you, then you're buddies and you know he'll listen to you when you want to talk. A buddy shares everything; if you don't get mail, he lets you read him."

This same profundity of the relationship between combat soldiers (in this case Marines) in Vietnam was feelingly put by Philip Caputo in his introduction to A Rumor of War:

"I have also attempted to describe the intimacy of life in I (infantry) battalions, where the communion between men is as profound as any between lovers. Actually, it is more so. It does not demand for its sustenance the reciprocity, the pledges of affection, the endless reassurances required by the love of men and women. It is, unlike marriage, a bond that cannot be broken by a word, by boredom or divorce, or by anything other than death. Sometimes even that is not strong enough. Two friends of mine died trying to save the corpses of their men from the battlefield. Such devotion, simple and selfless, the sentiment of belonging to each other, was the one decent thing we found in a conflict otherwise notable for its monstrosities"

In our work in both Operation Just Cause and Operation Desert Storm we heard the same theme expressed over and over again. In squad after squad, in its simplest and most powerful form we were told:

"We are family. We are brothers. We can make it only because we have each other." ✓

OTHER FACTORS BEARING UPON COHESION

A number of other factors that bear upon military unit are worth mentioning at this point. Continuity and tenure in the military unit with ample time for both mastery of collective skills and establishment of the deep relationships of trust is critical. Such tenure, combined with prolonged, demanding and challenging field training provided the basic conditions for soldiers getting to know each other in depth. It brings with it the intimate knowledge of each other, of skills, strengths and weaknesses, and knowledge of how to provide both emotional and technical support that both creates and sustains the highly effective unit. The highest average levels of cohesion that we have ever measured in regular Army units that are not "hyper-elite" like the Ranger battalions, were units in Saudi Arabia in November/December of 1990 and early January of 1991. In all of our interviews, as well as our quantitative data, soldiers were agreed that the prolonged period of living together with each other and their leaders, working together, training hard, and

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becoming "a family" was critical to their ability to withstand the prolonged stresses of the Shield period (Separation, heat, crowding, isolation, etc.). It was also widely perceived as having been critical to the achievement of the extremely high level of effectiveness and success when committed to combat. There was a widespread feeling that the very high levels of cohesion and corporate skill achieved in the desert had been critical in the absolute minimization of the number of casualties that U.S. ground forces had taken in combat.

It should be pointed out that our follow up work on ODS has shown a drop in the high levels of cohesion that characterized the force in ODS. While some of this was predictable our interviews have indicated that an appreciable amount of this drop is probably due to the high levels of turbulence and turnover that have come with the down sizing of the army and the withdrawal of troops from Germany.

The issue of continuity and prolonged field and training time together is of special importance given the demography of the new volunteer, professional army with its high married content. In the era of the draft army the majority of off duty time was spent with other soldiers in ones unit, today this true only of the single, unmarried soldier living in the billets. The married soldier spends his or her off duty time with spouse and children. Overall this has lessened the degree to which informal, off duty relationships and interaction extend and support interpersonal bonding in the company or battery. High levels of bonding thus appear to require more continuity of tenure and field experience than they may have in the past.

COHESION AND FUTURE WARFARE

We face grave difficulties whenever we attempt to extrapolate from today to "the day after tomorrow." However I believe that only in understanding the compelling enduring human realities of combat and military organization can we contend with the future. I would offer the thought that technological advances, smaller forces, battlefield dispersal and the shift to a force projection modality have made the continuing maintenance of highly cohesive military units more important to the future than they even have been in the past and the immediate present. In the past, in time of danger we have usually been, one way or another, afforded the luxury of time in which to create highly cohesive units to counterpunch or strike the enemy. When we have not had that luxury the results, as in the initial weeks of the Korean Conflict, were disastrous for our soldiers. The speed with which events and their consequences now overtake us make it imperative that our forces be able to make an immediate transition from peace to war. High continuing levels of cohesion are critical to making that transition with maximum unit effectiveness and minimal short or long term negative effects on the mental and physical health of the soldier. We must always remain aware of the admonition of Cato the Elder and it should

Cato the Elder

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constantly underlie our concerns that:

"...misconduct in the common affairs of life may be retrieved, but that it is quite otherwise in war, where errors are fatal and without remedy, and are followed by immediate punishment."

COHESION, STRESS, TRAUMA AND MENTAL HEALTH: SOME FINDINGS FROM JUST CAUSE AND DESERT SHIELD/DESERT STORM

In the last two armed conflicts that U.S. Army units have been engaged in we have, among many other factors and findings been able to establish quantitatively as well as qualitatively that:

1. Buddy and fellow squad and platoon members are the primary sources of social support enabling the soldier to deal with the anticipatory stresses of combat, the stresses of the combat situation and post-combat feelings.
2. That both horizontal and vertical cohesion of the unit during the combat period and the unit in the post combat period have strong effects on the post combat adjustment and the levels of post combat stress symptoms that the soldier experiences.
3. That both pre and post combat psychological symptoms are significantly affected by levels of unit cohesion. Expected apprehension about potential commitment to combat is not simply an individual and independent phenomenon but is mediated and affected by unit cohesion levels.
4. The primary factors in the management of deployment stress were squad/platoon cohesion and leader behavior and image.
5. Perception of leaders exerted a strong effect on levels of report of psychological symptoms by soldiers.
6. Consistently, our longer term follow up shows that post combat stress symptoms and post combat adjustment are both mediated by levels of past and present unit cohesion.

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-0000

March 24, 1993

Major General Jerry C. Harrison
Chief, Legislative Liaison
Department of the Army
The Pentagon
Washington, D.C. 20310-1600

Dear General Harrison:

The Senate has directed the Committee on Armed Services to "conduct comprehensive hearings with respect to the service of homosexuals in the military services." The committee intends to begin those hearings later this month.

The Committee's opening hearings will set the context for our review by examining the historical and legal background of current Defense Department policies, and the relevance of unit cohesion and its implications on readiness.

We would like to invite Dr. David Marlowe, Chief, Department of Psychiatry, Walter Reed Army Institute of Research, to testify before the Committee on Wednesday, March 31 on work the Institute has done on unit cohesion. The hearing will start at 9:30 a.m. in room SM-218 of the Senate Hart Office Building. The Committee would like Dr. Marlowe to submit his prepared remarks for this hearing to the Committee at least two full working days prior to the hearing.

The Committee would like Dr. Marlowe to provide as broad a survey as possible on the recent research done in the area of unit cohesion. The Committee is particularly interested in Dr. Marlowe's views on the importance of cohesion to the effectiveness of combat units, and on the factors that contribute to or detract from unit cohesion.

Dr. Marlowe will be testifying on a panel that will include Dr. William Darryl Henderson, Colonel, USA (Ret.), and Dr. Lawrence J. Korb, of the Brookings Institution.

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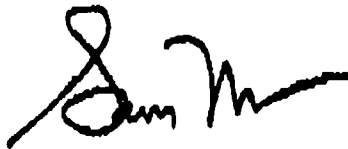
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We appreciate your assistance in this important matter, and look forward to Dr. Maslowe's testimony before the Committee. If you or Dr. Maslowe have any questions, please contact us or Mr. Fred Pang of the Committee staff at (202) 224-3128.



Sam Mann
Chairman

Sincerely,



Strom Thurmond
Ranking Minority Member

GAYS IN THE MILITARY

Q: The New York Times today reports that your Administration has done little work on lifting the ban on gays in the military, and that your own Pentagon is actively undermining your policy. Are you satisfied with the progress to date? Is your military in control on this issue?

A: -- When I met with the Joint Chiefs of Staff in January, we set forward a plan to address this issue over the several months. I am confident that the Defense Department and the military Services are approaching this issue seriously, and I look forward to working closely with them as final decisions are made.

-- I expect to receive Secretary Aspin's recommendation on July 15, as planned.

Q: Do you believe that the Navy acted improperly in providing to Congress a court document that contends that the reinstatement of Navy Petty Officer Meinhold has been disruptive to his squadron?

A: -- No. The document in question -- a statement by Petty Officer Meinhold's commanding officer -- was provided to Congressional committees at their request. As part of the documentation filed with the district court in California, it is publicly available and is not of a privileged nature.

Q: Are you concerned that lifting the ban on homosexuals in the military will hurt recruiting so badly that the military might have to return to the draft?

A: -- No. I agree with Senator Nunn's assessment in that regard -- that we will continue to be able to draw top caliber men and women and to maintain ready, quality military forces.

Q: Do you still support your campaign pledge to lift the ban?

A: -- I am firmly committed to ensuring that American citizens who want to serve their country should be able to do so unless their conduct disqualifies them from doing so.

-- I believe that behavior can and should be strictly regulated. I do not think people should be disqualified merely on the basis of status.

-- I do not believe individuals should be excluded from military service solely on the basis of their status.