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To Transform a Culture: The Rise and Fall of the U.S. Army Organizational Effectiveness Program, 1970–1985

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TO TRANSFORM A CULTURE: THE RISE AND FALL OF THE U.S. ARMY

ORGANIZATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS PROGRAM, 1970–1985

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A DISSERTATION

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This is to certify that the Dissertation entitled:

TO TRANSFORM A CULTURE: THE RISE AND FALL OF THE U.S. ARMY
ORGANIZATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS PROGRAM, 1970–1985

prepared by

James Michael Young

Is approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in Leadership and Change.

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I am very thankful to Mr. Scott Gower, archivist of Special Collections, National Defense University, for providing me extensive access to the papers of General Bernard Rogers. My hope is that these papers will soon be declassified so that other historians may have access to these remarkable documents. The archivists at the Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, were likewise very accommodating in providing me access to Army War College resources.

Finally, a special thank you to Colonel Tony Nadal, the "father" of Army OE. As great as your leadership was in the Ia Drang Valley in 1965, it was even greater in your efforts to promote OE. You showed us all the enormous difference one person can make in changing an organization.

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It is impossible to dedicate this work to any one single individual because, as I reach the age of sixty, I see that it is the culmination of a lifetime of education and experiences. In the process of researching and writing this story, my mind often focused on so many people who have had a transformational impact on my life. So, I would like to dedicate this work:

To Dr. Allan R. Millett, and Dr. Williamson Murray—my teachers, my mentors, and my friends—who gave a young ex-infantryman and mediocre undergraduate student the opportunity of a lifetime to join the best graduate program in military history in the nation.

To Colonel Steve Knudsen, my boss in the 82nd Airborne Division and 5th Special Forces Group, and Lieutenant Colonel Rob Soeldner, my boss in the 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment (Boeselager), the only two transformational leaders I had as commanders during my thirty years in uniform. Thank you for always listening and for giving me the freedom to speak my mind.

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To the soldiers of the 384th Military Police Battalion for their professionalism in carrying out a difficult mission at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, and especially for making me a better commander and a better human being.

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And to the thousands of soldiers who gave their lives, portions of their bodies, and their minds to the conflict in Afghanistan and in the unjust war in Iraq. Thank you truly for your sacrifices. Most of you deserved better leaders than the ones you had.

Abstract

In the early 1970s, following a decade of social upheaval in the US and a traumatizing military defeat in Vietnam, a group of progressive army officers, armed with recent graduate degrees in the social and behavioral sciences, created a grass roots movement that soon led to the implementation of the largest organizational development program ever conducted. Wartime atrocities and chronic careerism in the Army officer corps, along with President Richard Nixon's promise to create an All-Volunteer Force (AVF), opened up a window of opportunity for these progressives to promote transformational leadership theories grounded in humanistic psychology. In institutionalizing OD across the Army, these officers attempted to transform the leadership culture throughout the institution. However, various strategies employed to effect cultural change met with strong resistance from an officer corps that rejected the strong humanistic elements that characterized OD in the 1970s. Although institutionalization progressed with strong support from Army Chief of Staff (CSA) General Bernard Rogers, the program proved unsustainable once he vacated his position. By 1980, conservative views of leadership permeated the Army's school system and its leadership doctrine. Concurrently, OD evolved in its theoretical application and shifted its emphasis from humanistic psychology to open systems. At that point, the Army OE Program was relegated to a far less priority and essentially became a process improvement mechanism. By 1985, a new CSA terminated the program. This is a history of the Army OE Program and the efforts of the progressive officers who implemented it. The electronic version of this Dissertation is at OhioLink ETD Center, www.ohiolink.edu/etd

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Preface

No one [has] advanced a grand theory of *leadership*.

For the study of leadership, the crucial distinction is between the quest for *individual recognition and self-advancement,* regardless of its social and political consequences, and the quest for the kind of status and power that can be used to advance collective purposes that transcend the needs and ambitions of the individual.[1]

James MacGregor Burns

In many ways, I began this dissertation project in 2001 when, upon being notified of my promotion to the rank of lieutenant colonel, a general officer, whom I greatly admired, took me aside and asked me one simple question: "Mike, why should an officer seek promotion?" I gave a typical response I both believed and had heard many times before, saying "I care about soldiers and want to serve my country to the best of my ability." My mentor smiled, shook his head, and replied that the only reason an officer should seek promotion is because the new rank will place him or her into a position where he or she *can do more for more soldiers.* He added that there are really no other reasons. I was stunned. He was absolutely correct. This revelation brought immense clarity and immediately explained my disappointment with so much dysfunctional leadership behavior that I had witnessed in two and a half decades of service. To truly serve soldiers before self was an epiphany of sorts. As a military historian fascinated with the caliber and effectiveness of Army organizations—or lack thereof—throughout the twentieth century, I reflected on this to a great degree and, in the process, re-examined my previous work on the activities of the West German and American armies since the Second World War.[2] I came to believe that

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1. Both quotes from James MacGregor Burns, *Leadership* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978). Emphases are the author's.

2. James M. Young, "The SPD and the Creation of the 'Parliamentary' Army in West Germany: 1954–1957" (master's thesis, Ohio State University, 1983). This was an extraordinary story of how the Germans re-built their Army from scratch (legislatively). Their foremost objective was to protect the rights

the US Army, especially the officer corps, does not understand this phenomenon called

leadership. Digging deeper, I observed that the Army officer corps faced a serious cultural

leadership crisis in the latter half of the Vietnam War and, despite claims to the contrary, has

never really corrected those deficiencies nor transformed the leadership culture of the time

to this very day.[3]

Introduction and Thesis

The US defeat and withdrawal of all combat troops from South Vietnam in 1973 dealt

a terrible blow to the Army's collective psyche and esteem. The loss also marked a novel

milestone in the annals of American military history. For the first time, the US Army had

failed to carry out its contract with society to win the nation's wars. The Army returned home

to a hostile citizenry, with its spirit broken and its infrastructure rife with racial conflict, drug

and alcohol abuse, and an officer corps riddled with careerism and a record of numerous

leadership failures.

The society to which the Army returned was undergoing similar trauma. Social

protests were widespread and spanned many movements. From civil rights to women's

liberation to the violent anti-war demonstrations, these rebellions against the status quo and

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of soldiers and to build an institution where even the newest and youngest voices could be heard. Although they did not employ OD in a direct sense, some of the methods and processes they used resembled OD techniques. More importantly, the Germans paid extremely close attention to the staffing of the officer corps. In the end, they achieved the most democratic army in the world and a leadership culture that truly adheres to the tenets of servant leadership. They succeeded by primarily discarding all assumptions and old ways of thinking—a great example of an adaptive challenge. Also, James M. Young, "The Dissolving of a Dream: Military Civic Action in Latin America and the US Army's Development of a Counterinsurgency Doctrine: 1961–1968" (master's thesis, Defense Intelligence College, 1988). It is an account of how the Army's senior leaders resisted radical change and resented President John Kennedy's infatuation with special forces, especially their use in unconventional warfare. In the end, the Army attempted to apply unconventional warfare to some of its conventional divisions. Vietnam, however, basically ended the promising use of military civic actions as US special forces were deployed into combat.

3. See any issue of the *Army Times* in the last three years. Examples abound of toxic leadership at the most senior levels of command. Compounding this problem are the many examples of sexual abuse and unprecedented suicide rates, all indicators of dysfunctional and poor leadership behaviors.

authority called out for radical change.[4] The scope of these events, combined with their speed and frequency, forced national-level stakeholders to confront both planned and unplanned change to an unprecedented degree. The same was true for the Army's most senior officers. In the early 1970s, within a very short span of time, the Army had to withdraw from Vietnam, carry out a large reduction in force, end conscription, plan and implement an all-volunteer army, heal itself of alcohol and drug abuse, diffuse severe racial tension and integrate women within its ranks, re-write conventional operational doctrine after a decade of counter-insurgency warfare, and bolster its NATO commitments in Europe.

To affect these changes and heal the institution, the Army had to transform itself. The question was, to what end-state? Faced with so many problems, the Army was not opposed to large-scale changes and reforms. In fact, the stewards looked forward to leaving Vietnam behind and to resurrect their preference for conventional warfare. Unfortunately, at the time senior Army leaders did not fully appreciate that true transformation would require a much larger change in institutional culture than they ever anticipated.

Some of the older stewards of the institution instinctively turned to traditional modes of organizational improvement and redress. Viewing and anticipating these challenges as definable problems, they employed traditional methods such as revising training and operational methodologies and doctrines, reorganizing the force structure, and moving ahead with the adoption of advanced warfighting technologies that the war had largely postponed. More importantly, they were not insensitive to the radical social

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4. Stewart Burns, *Social Movements of the 1960s: Searching for Democracy* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1990).

changes that American society had endured while the Army was fighting in Southeast Asia. Recognizing that most Americans favored an all-volunteer armed force, the Army's senior leaders began planning for its implementation several years before the end of the war. As they did so, some Army officers looked to academia and corporate America to examine recent research in the social and behavioral sciences and new management techniques for ideas on how to make military service attractive for a generation that had largely protested the Vietnam War.

Within this context, the Army readily questioned and reassessed its personnel administrative practices and its authoritarian, rank-structured behaviors. In the process the stewards asked themselves what practices they could alter or eliminate in order to create an Army that young people would voluntarily join. Planners initially viewed the problem primarily in economic and administrative terms. They foresaw monetary incentives (much higher wages and education benefits) and personal privileges (lifestyle amenities) as solutions to the problem. However, despite strong evidence to the contrary, the senior stewards of the institution saw little need to reform leadership practices within the Army officer corps. This was not surprising, given that in American military history senior Army officers have never felt compelled to fundamentally question the basic nature and soundness of leadership doctrine and philosophies, especially in terms of improving personnel and organizational performances. Reform initiatives have tended to focus on training and operational doctrine (not leadership doctrine), while planned change efforts have targeted force modernization and reorganization.[5]

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5. Many insightful writings illustrate these preferences and emphases. See Robert A. Doughty, "The Evolution of US Army Tactical Doctrine, 1946–76," Leavenworth Paper Number 1. (Fort Leavenworth, KS: Combat Studies Institute, US Army Command and General Staff College, August 1979). See also the several "net assessment" studies of Allan R. Millett and Williamson Murray, especially *Innovation in the*

As senior leaders in the Army agreed to look at current research and literature in the social and behavioral sciences in planning for the All-Volunteer Force (AVF), several officers separately stepped forward to suggest a close look at the work coming out of the fields of social and organizational psychology as well as sociology. Initially unaware of the others' advocacy of more humanistic leadership behaviors, these officers essentially created a grass-roots effort that would carry the Army in those directions. Some initially acted or lobbied on their own, while others "piggy-backed" on the experiments that the Army at large initially conducted in 1971 and 1972. These early advocates of bringing new organizational development techniques into the Army shared several similarities: they were all combat veterans, and most held graduate degrees from the social sciences.

What propelled these officers forward were a series of serendipitous events. Indeed, timing and context proved extremely fortuitous. The year 1970 brought forth the realization that leadership in Vietnam had failed. Westmoreland, although shielding the officer corps from further examination of its leadership health, set the conditions that allowed these progressively thinking officers to implement and formalize the largest organizational development (OD) program ever attempted in the United States.[6] In risking their careers, these officers advocated extensive innovative and novel ideas about leadership that, to some, were far too liberal and threatening to the Army's traditions. Why did they attempt to implement and institutionalize emerging theories of

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Interwar Period (Alexandria, VA: Office of the Secretary of Defense, Office of the Director of Net Assessment, June 1, 1994). Also, Brian McAllister Linn, *The Echo of Battle: The Army's Way of War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

    6. Marilyn Woody Barrett, "A Case Study of the Army Organizational Effectiveness Program" (PhD diss., School of Public Administration, University of Southern California, 1986), http://armyoe.com. As stated at that time. However, in my extensive research efforts, I could find no other example of a large- scale OD program since that time in the US.

OD and state-of-the-art OD technologies—young and largely unproven constructs at that time—into one of the most conservative institutions and insular cultures in the United States? How were they able to do so and for an extended time? Why did the Army Organizational Effectiveness program (i.e., its adaptation of OD), which emphasized participative behaviors between the leaders and the led, succeed on so many levels yet face termination in the end? Why was the failure of the institutionalization of Army OE significant, and what ramifications did this failed effort have on the Army then and now? In short, this group of OD innovators and reformers sought to deliberately transform the leadership culture of the United States Army.[7]

Military History and the Discipline of Leadership and Change

The loss of a military campaign or a war is a powerful incentive for an army to seek reform. However, peacetime or inter-war reforms in the military have predominantly taken the forms of tactical or technological innovations and adaptations. Rarely have such post-war changes focused on the behaviors of military leaders, that is, how leaders gain influence with their soldiers and win their trust in order to improve unit effectiveness and morale—the ultimate goal of all commanders. The absence of such studies is difficult to understand given that evolving generational differences drive cultural change over time. Each new generation of youth to enter the ranks of the Army

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7. No historical works have appeared that recount this large program that spanned a decade and a half, over 2000 full time direct participants, many millions of dollars, and many more millions of man hours from all participants. Besides Barrett's dissertation, only two other writers have written about the program. Former participant Dick Deaner wrote two short essays chronicling the demise of the program. See, C. M. Dick Deaner, "The US Army Organizational Effectiveness Program: A Eulogy and Critique," *Public Administration Quarterly* (Spring 1991); 12–31; and "A Model of Organization Development Ethics," *Organizational Development Journal* (Winter 1994): 435–446. Army officer Mike West wrote a master's thesis based largely on the interviews of four former participants while attending the US Army Command and General Staff College in 1990. See Michael R. West, "The Army Organizational Effectiveness Program: A Historical Perspective," (master's thesis, US Army Command and General Staff College, June 1, 1990).

bring different or new sets of values and perspectives. To create and lead effective

military organizations with new generations of young soldiers, leader behaviors must

change and keep pace as well. Yet seldom, if ever, in American military history has the

Army seriously questioned and reevaluated its concept of leadership. This observation

also is difficult to explain given that "no other human endeavor presents such consistent

and ferocious challenges for the human psyche as does war."[8] At the end of the day,

war is first and foremost about people, their behaviors, and their interactions.

It is not by chance that the disciplines of organizational psychology, sociology,

and social psychology provide a large backdrop to the field of leadership and change.

Since the Second World War, numerous social scientists have contributed to the

evolution and maturation of this interdisciplinary field. Interest in leadership grew

exponentially in the United States, where industrial and economic power soared after

that war, as people sought to understand the difference between management and

leadership. While the study of leadership has existed since Aristotle's time,

management is largely a twentieth-century construct that evolved from the industrial

revolution.[9] Today, the growing field of leadership and change allows us to better

understand the complexities of these important differences.

Without a doubt, management is far easier to comprehend than leadership. For

many decades now, numerous theorists and practitioners have written about the

differences. Peter Guy Northouse, in surveying the history of leadership theories, offers

that "the overriding function of management is to provide order and consistency to

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8. Williamson Murray, *Military Adaptation in War: With Fear of Change* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 9.
9. Peter Guy Northouse, *Leadership: Theory and Practice* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2007), 10.

organizations, whereas the primary function of leadership is to produce change and

movement. Management is about seeking order and stability; leadership is about

seeking adaptive and constructive change." While managers certainly care about their

workers, if for no other reason than to ensure productivity, their behaviors are distinctly

different from those of leaders who must establish a climate of trust that fosters willing

followers. This is especially true in professional organizations that are strongly grounded

in a foundation of moral and ethical values—such as the United States Army.

Unfortunately, the Army has always confused the two subjects.[10]

No other theorist in the field of leadership and change has inspired and

influenced me more than political scientist and presidential historian James MacGregor

Burns—the "father" of Transformational Leadership. I I believe that he has come closer

than anyone to understanding the true nature of leadership. I also empathize with him

because we both deviated from our initial groundings in traditional academic disciplines

(Burns with political science and I with history). Whereas Burns initially focused his

academic energies on "the great constitution makers of the world," I was always drawn

to the great military commanders of history. Like Burns, my field of study left me feeling

a bit empty because "I rarely felt satisfied that we had gotten to the heart of the interplay

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10. Ibid. As this dissertation will illustrate, the confusion as reflected in military journals between the two concepts has strongly persisted in the Army over time (to present day) and contribute to the Army's inability to grasp the complexity of leadership and articulate its power in practice. Army officers in the decades since Vietnam overtly demonstrate this confusion in their many writings appearing in the Army's professional journals or as the central topic of their dissertations. See bibliography for numerous examples. Two officers, however, who sought to understand this confusion were: John R. Combs, "Management Versus Leadership As Reflected In Selected Military Journals 1970–1985," (master's thesis, US Army Command and General Staff College, June 6, 1986), DTIC accession number: AD-A172831; and Mitchell M. Zais, "Leadership, Management, Commandership and Organizational Effectiveness: A Model and Comparative Analysis," *OE Communique* 6, no. 1 (1982): 47–54, http://armyoe.com/OE_Communique_Journal.html.

of environmental and personal forces that shaped the actions of leaders and rulers."[11]

Eventually, Burns looked to psychology for better answers, while I turned to leadership and change.[12]

Whereas social scientists have focused increased attention on the nature of leadership only in recent decades, military historians have studied the subject since the days of Herodotus and Thucydides. While military historians thus may have had a tremendous head start, today they both share striking similarities in their inquiries: the quest for causality and an understanding of how leaders influence and inspire followers.

For Burns, causation will always remain an elusive endeavor because there are too many variables in the mix, such as human motivations and ambitions, creativity, conflict, and power, as well as "the nature and interaction of agency and of situation."

> Explanations of single acts taken in isolation, such as an assassination, might be relatively easy and perhaps valid, but events such as war and social transformations inevitably involve a wide array of complex causes that our conventional intellectual resources have been incapable of analyzing.[13]

Burns believes, as do I, that no single discipline "can deal adequately with causation" because this subject transcends disciplines. A synthesizing process must take place across disciplines to create a new disciplinary approach that uses "the widest array of conceptual and empirical tools." For Burns, this new discipline is "leadership—the X factor in historical causation."[14]

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11. James MacGregor Burns, *Transforming Leadership: A New Pursuit of Happiness (*New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2003), 9.

12. Burns served in the military as combat historian in the Pacific theater during World War II; he was awarded the Bronze Star and four Battle Stars. Throughout his military adventures, Burns noticed that when leadership was mentioned, it was in terms of officers and their traits and qualities, but did not include soldiers.

13. Burns, 21. *Transforming Leadership*. Italics are my emphasis.

14. Ibid.

The second commonality we share—understanding how leaders influence and inspire followers—is more difficult to articulate than causation. When commanders command, they essentially leverage a complex, dynamic relationship with their subordinates. To casual observers, it largely appears authority-based. Ranks are displayed everywhere. However, we now recognize that the factors of *authority* and *power* have less impact than previously assumed, even when the consequences of dissent or disobedience can mean punishment. Officers cannot be effective leaders without willing followers, and often the influences of informal groups within a unit or organization are the most powerful factors of leadership.[15] If this is true, then what does it tell us about the dynamics that take place within organizations to effect the most important outcomes of influence: morale and trust?

What Is Leadership?

This is a question that has puzzled scholars, especially historians, for over 5000 years. In the course of human history, people have regularly and ruthlessly settled their differences through violence and armed conflict. Across the many centuries, those who followed their leaders into battle—and often death—did so for countless reasons. As we explore the lives and experiences of those who led their followers, we must take care in drawing the appropriate lessons from these military histories.[16]

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15. This is true for both positive and negative outcomes. For an exceptional example of a negative outcome see Hollywood director Oliver Stone's fictional film *Platoon.* Also, many social science studies conducted in the 1970s revealed many positive and negative outcomes (many are included in the bibliography). Best examples are Stephen D. Wesbrook, "Morale, Proficiency, and Discipline," *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* 8 (Spring 1980): 43–54; and Kurt Lang, "American Military Performance in Vietnam: Background and Analysis," *Journal of Political and Military Sociology.* 8 (Fall 1980): 269–286.

16. This "care" is basically a cautious warning and poses a real dilemma for soldiers wishing to learn from military history. The danger, explored to some degree in this dissertation, is that officers will attempt to adopt and mimic leadership traits of past commanders that are no longer relevant or have little meaning in today's context. More importantly, as this dissertation illustrates, traits and styles do not make effective leadership because they are leader-centric and largely omit the role of followers. For example,

Throughout the ages, leader-follower relationships have been relative and contextual. Societal norms certainly shaped those relationships and, in turn, determined the leadership behaviors that would define how leaders would influence their subordinates. In previous centuries, humanistic factors were non-existent or less important than blind obedience, and the threat of harsh discipline largely formed the basis of motivation. In turn, commanders were judged—by their troops, their contemporaries and, ultimately, by historians—for individual, self-centered traits and attributes such as personal courage, physical prowess, oratory skills, a strict but fair approach to discipline, assertiveness, tactical and technical competency, and the ability to show no emotion or hesitancy in front of their men. This is not to suggest that famous leaders were insensitive to the needs of their troops or were less effective or successful in motivating and instilling confidence and morale in their soldiers. On the contrary, throughout much of ancient and modern history the most successful commanders usually were those who cared for and fulfilled the *basic* needs of their troops.

The norms of those times enabled such results based on criteria that are not necessarily relevant to recent generations of soldiers.[17] This is especially true for Americans, from baby boomers to millenials, who have enjoyed the freedoms of an open democratic society, high levels of education, and ready access to information, particularly in the Information Age.[18] In American culture, especially since the Second

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armor officers today greatly admire WWII hero General George Patton. However, in today's environment, his behaviors would likely label him a "toxic" leader.

17. See for example Gerhard Kuemmel, "A Soldier Is a Soldier Is a Soldier!?" in Giuseppe Caforio, *Handbook of the Sociology of the Military*. Handbooks of Sociology and Social Research (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2003), 417–433.

18. There are many recent studies of these generational differences (some are listed in the bibliography). See especially Steve Peck, "Postmodern Chapel Services for Generation X and Millennial Generation Soldiers" (master's thesis, US Army Command and General Staff College, June 13, 2008), DTIC accession number: AD-A483200, and Raul O. Rodriguez, Mark T. Green, and Malcolm James Ree,

World War, from the time that we are young children and begin to join social organizations, we are constantly told and encouraged to be leaders. The word's prevalent, everyday use now evokes strong emotions in most of us. Yet, our elders rarely attempted to define that term beyond "taking charge," "leading by example," or being "a good team captain."[19] In the era of the All-Volunteer Force, soldiers from our contemporary generations have carried these vague, nebulous notions of leadership into the Army only to find similar ambiguity based on outdated and vague leadership doctrine and, more importantly, inconsistent application of leadership behaviors by their senior NCOs and officers.[20]

   As a military historian and retired soldier, I have spent my academic and professional life thus far constantly exposed to the term "leadership." Yet, in some ways, I am no closer to truly understanding the core essence of leadership than I was as a young infantryman in 1973. In this, I stand in good company. Leadership scholar Warren Bennis wrote in 1959 that "probably more has been written and less known about leadership than about any other topic in the behavioral sciences."[21] Almost twenty years later, in 1978, James MacGregor Burns noted that "leadership is one of

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"Leading Generation X: Do the Old Rules Apply?" *Journal of Leadership and Organizational Studies* 9, no. 4 (2003): 67–75; Craig A. Triscari, "Generational Differences in the Officer Corps: Sociological Factors That Impact Officer Retention," (master's thesis, US Army Command And General Staff College, May 31, 2002), DTIC accession number: AD-A415965.

   19. Northouse, 2. Since the 1950s, scholarship has yielded more than "65 different classification systems [that] have been developed to define the dimensions of leadership." Burns noted that "a recent study turned up 130 definitions of the word." Burns, James MacGregor, *Leadership*, 2. Within the US Army, every single Army chief of staff who oversaw revisions of the Army's leadership doctrine since 1946 has re-defined the definition of leadership (see Appendix A – US Army Doctrinal Definitions of Leadership).

   20. See Appendix B – A Critical Analysis and Assessment of US Army Leadership Doctrine: 1946–2006.

   21. Warren G. Bennis, "Leadership Theory and Administrative Behavior" in *Administrative Science Quarterly* 4 (1959): 259–301. Incidentally, Bennis was a protégé of Douglas McGregor.

the most observed and least understood phenomena on earth."[22]   In 2014, I believe these statements remain valid.

A more discerning and important question is: what is *effective* leadership? For this dissertation we must place this question within the social and cultural context of the Army's post-Vietnam period that witnessed the termination of conscription and the introduction of an AVF. At that time, the social and behavioral sciences were experiencing tremendous growth and expansion. Leadership research that gained momentum in the 1950s and 1960s yielded a plethora of knowledge at a time when the Army turned to academia to seek ideas on how to relate to a new generation of youth. What Army planners found were several largely independent directions of research that had produced a number of leadership theories, some more mature than others and few ready for practical application.

For the first half of the twentieth century, Trait Theory, also known as the Great Man approach, dominated the research and literature on leadership.[23] After the Second World War, when management flourished as the United States greatly expanded its economic might, researchers moved away from the theory that great men possessed leadership traits that were innate and began to believe that people could become great leaders by learning and demonstrating certain leadership skills and styles*.* However, these newer theories based on leadership skills and styles remained primarily focused on the leader. In fact, leader-centric theories remain active today as some researchers still believe that certain

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22. James MacGregor Burns, 2.

23. Although historians had cited the behaviors and traits of great leaders for centuries, Trait Theory was formally postulated by Thomas Carlyle in 1910. See T. O. Jacobs, *Leadership and Exchange in Formal Organizations,* Alexandria, VA: Human Resources Research Organization, 1970, 3, DTIC accession number: AD-0725584.

people possess leadership traits, skills, and styles that may be both innate *and* learned.[24]

The Army has always favored this direction of leadership research and in the 1990s, when

Trait Theory enjoyed a large renaissance, it wholeheartedly re-embraced the theory to

continue to promote leadership doctrine along traditional lines.[25] Leader-centric theories

have offered the Army two attractive benefits: they align with and foster Army traditions,

largely based on the exploits of great commanders and, with the exception of Trait Theory,

they encourage "leadership development" training.

A second direction of research expanded in the 1950s and 1960s, focusing on

situation or *context* as a key to understanding the behaviors of leaders. A large amount of

scholarship led to conclusions that varied dynamics at play between personal styles and

situational variables shaped leadership effectiveness. Leadership researchers believed that

effective leaders were those people who could adapt their leadership styles to the demands

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24. Northouse, Chapter 4. Many Army officers believe so as well. See for example Rebecca S. Halstead, "Visionary Leadership," (master's thesis, US Army Command and General Staff College, June 4, 1993), DTIC accession number: AD-A272692. She heavily advocates learned traits. Also, Robert J. Paquin, "World War I Leadership Characteristics That Could Make Future Military Leaders Successful," (research paper, US Army School of Advanced Military Studies, December 16, 1998), DTIC accession number: AD-A366268.

25. See Appendix B for my analysis on the evolution of Army leadership doctrine. This renaissance was also apparent from the noticeable increase in papers and masters theses from officers attending professional schools. Many, in choosing leadership as their research topic, compared and contrasted the actions of historic figures, especially praising traits. For example see Hampton E. Hite, "A Leadership Analysis: Lieutenant General James Longstreet During the American Civil War," (master's thesis, US Army Command and General Staff College, June 2, 1995), DTIC accession number: AD-A299311. Also Curt Lapham, "Major John Wesley Powell: Leadership on the Colorado River, 1869," (master's thesis, US Army Command and General Staff College, June 7, 1996), DTIC accession number: AD-A272825; Randall E. Twitchell, *Hannibal: A Leader for Today,* (master's thesis, US Army Command and General Staff College, June 5, 1998)DTIC accession number: AD-A350178. Some chose to hone in on very specific skills such as rhetorical skills, willpower, and judgment. See John M. Hinck, "The Military Leader and Effective Rhetorical Skills," (master's thesis, US Army Command and General Staff College, June 6, 2003), DTIC accession number: AD_A416892; David Schappert, "Willpower: A Historical Study of an Influential Leadership Attribute," (master's thesis, US Army Command and General Staff College, June 6, 2003), DTIC accession number: AD-A416683; Slade H. Beaudoin, "Can Judgment Be Developed: A Case Study of Three Proven Leaders," (master's thesis, US Army Command and General Staff College, June 16, 2006), DTIC accession number: AD-A463781; and Colin Darryl Bassett, "Does the Leadership Style and Command Method of General Sir John Monash Remain Relevant to the Contemporary Commander?," (master's thesis, US Army Command and General Staff College, December 11, 2009), DTIC accession number: AD-A512537. He believes "leadership attributes remain timeless."

of different situations in which they found themselves.[26] Ralph M. Stogdill first suggested

this possibility in 1948. He believed that "leadership must be conceived in terms of the

interaction of variables which are in constant flux and change."[27] Although the role of

followers began to receive more attention at this point, the spotlight still shone on the

leader. During the 1950s, Stogdill expanded his research at the Ohio State University,

where his group studied "patterns of behaviors of position holders."[28] In general, Stogdill

and his team concluded "that an organizational position is a focus of interrelationships that

are oriented toward accomplishment of purposes which are mutually understood by

organizational members."[29] During those years, other researchers explored similar

concepts. For example, in 1952 organizational theorist and future Nobel laureate Herbert A.

Simon suggested that followers accept the leader's position within the organization and

their assigned roles in exchange for "inducements," an arrangement he called "the

employment contract."[30] In 1956, organizational psychologist Rensis Likert took this idea

one step further and suggested that followers should participate in some manner or form in

the organization's goal setting process. Likert believed that if leaders allowed their followers

some degree of participation, they would signal followers that they were valued and

important and, consequently, workers would be more productive.[31] However, the most

widely recognized and influential of these situation/context theorists in the 1950s and 1960s

arguably was organizational psychologist Fred Fiedler at the University of Illinois.

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26. Jacobs, *Leadership and Exchange*, Chapter 1. Also Northouse, 91.

27. R. M. Stogdill, "Personal Factors Associated with Leadership: A Survey of the Literature," *Journal of Psychology* 25 (1948): 35–71.

28. Jacobs*, Leadership and Exchange*, 22. Most of this research was conducted with the US Navy.

29. Ibid., 25.

30. Herbert A. Simon, "Inducements and Incentives in Bureaucracy," in *Reader in Bureaucracy,* ed. Robert K. Merton, Ailsa P. Gray, Barbara Hockey, and Hanan C. Selven, (Glencoe: Free Press, 1952), 327–333.

31. Jacobs, *Leadership and Exchange*, 44.

Fiedler essentially married *styles* to *situation*. In many ways, Fiedler's work was a synthesis of the first two broad directions of leadership research that accelerated in the mid-1960s and expanded for several decades, during which many other contributors added to the field generally known as Leader-Match Theory. Fiedler's Contingency Theory suggested that a leader's effectiveness relied on how well the leader's leadership style fit the context of the situation. The name came from the idea that "effective leadership is *contingent* on matching a leader's style to the right setting." Some conservative Army planners in 1970 and 1971 were especially drawn to Fiedler's work because it was current, offered a rationale for existing leadership doctrine, and appeared more practical and less theoretical than other leadership theories, such as organizational development. Fiedler also appealed to these Army planners because he had conducted his research in military organizations.[32] Simultaneously, in 1967, as Fiedler generated much discussion about Contingency Theory, organizational change scholars Paul Hersey and Ken Blanchard developed Situational Leadership Theory, which placed them among the first to seriously consider the role of followers. In essence, they believed that leaders must match their style "to the competence and commitment of the subordinates. Effective leaders are those who can recognize what employees need and then adapt their own style to meet those needs."[33] The Hersey-Blanchard work, which also received much attention at that time, complimented Fred Fiedler's Contingency Theory well.[34]

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32. Northouse, 113–120, and my Appendix B – A Critical Analysis and Assessment of US Army Leadership Doctrine, 1946–2006.

33. Ibid., 92.

34. Jacobs, *Leadership and Exchange*, 47–62. Also Northouse, 113. F. E. Fiedler, *A Theory of Leadership Effectiveness* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967). Note that these theories would reach their peak, in terms of research, in the 1980s. Other important contributions included R. J. House's work on Path-Goal Theory in the 1970s with contributions by M. G. Evans and C.A. Schriesheim; and later Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) Theory with significant contributions by G. B. Graen (1970s and 1980s) and M. Uhl-Bien and G Yukl into the early 1990s.

Despite the promise and attractiveness of the different Leader-Match theories in bringing forth new knowledge and understanding of leadership, it is important to note that these theories largely remained leader focused. Although the situation/context researchers increasingly advocated the inclusion of follower concerns, the concept of "participative leadership," that is, the idea that followers should participate in the decision-making process within organizations, was just beginning to emerge.[35] By the late 1960s, it is fair to categorize almost all of the aforementioned theories as *transactional* in nature; that is, followers explicitly or implicitly transact a need or a want with their leaders. In short, followers receive some form of inducement or material reward for conforming to or abiding by the directives of their leaders.[36]

Finally, a third vein of leadership research actually began in the late 1930s and 1940s but was slow to mature and received less attention than the other two directions during the 1950s and 1960s.[37] In essence, this body of work posited that leadership was an inter-active *behavioral process* between the leader and the follower. The first of these theorists was Kurt Lewin, the "founder" of social psychology who today is considered the "father" of OD. Lewin first developed his ideas in the late 1930s when he became curious about *group dynamics*, a term he coined. Like the later situational leadership theorists, Lewin was interested in the environmental context surrounding groups. However, unlike the situational theorists, his focus was on the group as a defined entity rather than as a collection of individuals, which was the accepted view at that time. Lewin believed in the

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35. See especially the work of House and Mitchell. R. J. House and R. R. Mitchell, "Path-Goal Theory of Leadership," *Journal of Contemporary Business* 3 (Fall 1974): 81–97.

36. Northouse, 185–186.

37. My own observation based on extensive readings. In addition, Northouse omitted the work of Kurt Lewin, Chris Argyrus, and John French in his otherwise superb book that chronicled the history of leadership—an omission that is difficult to explain or understand.

power of synergy and the idea that the sum is greater than the parts. In the 1940s, Lewin

became interested in change processes, trying to understand how work environments

created leadership climates.[38] Here, Lewin developed several useful methods that proved

effective in assessing changes in organizations, most notably Action Research and T-

Groups. In 1946, Lewin advocated real-time research that would take place within an

organizational change event or situation that would yield practical and employable results.

In using the term *action-research*, he asserted that it was "a comparative research on

the conditions and effects of various forms of social action, and research leading to

social action. Research that produces nothing but books will not suffice."[39] Lewin

conceived of T-Groups (training groups) as a learning technology that could affect

change. T-Groups, a form of sensitivity training that is still used extensively today,

include a trained facilitator (sometimes acting as a change agent) interacting within the

group to create an experiential learning environment. "Learning comes from analysis of

participants' own experience, including feelings, reactions, perception and behavior."[40]

Twenty-five years later in the 1970s, Burns would build upon Lewin's concepts and adapt

them directly to leadership theory. More importantly, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the

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38**.** For a good, concise summary of Lewin's work and influence see the article "Kurt Lewin: Groups, Experiential Learning and Action Research, on the infed.org Website, http://infed.org/mobi/ kurt-lewin-groups-experiential-learning-and-action-research/, last accessed 1 June 2013; also see Kurt Lewin, "Defining the 'Field at a Given Time.'" *Psychological Review* 50, no. 3 (May 1943): 292–310.

39**.** Kurt Lewin, "Action Research and Minority Problems," *Journal of Social Issues* 2, no. 4 (November 1946): 34–46. This was a small, modest beginning to a practical concept that would grow and expand into an extensive, fundamental method that tens of thousands of researchers would use in the decades that followed. Note that Chris Argyris would follow-up on Lewin's work with his concept of Action Science.

40. In 1973, psychologist and psychotherapist Carl Rogers stated the importance of T-Groups; "The trend towards the intensive group experience is related to deep and significant issues having to do with change. These changes may occur in persons, in institutions, in our urban and cultural alienation, in racial tensions, in our international frictions, in our philosophies, our values, our image of man himself. It is a profoundly significant movement, and the course of its future will, for better or for worse, have a profound impact on all of us." Carl R. Rogers, *Encounter Groups*, Pelican Books, 1973.

Army Organizational Effectiveness Staff Officers (OESOs) would heavily utilize these methods as they helped implement OD throughout the Army.[41]

Lewin was especially interested in understanding the difficulties that organizations experienced in creating and executing planned changes. He envisioned a framework he called Force Field Analysis to conceptualize and focus on the human aspect of change processes. Lewin saw sustained change as a shift in equilibriums from the state of the present situation to the level of the desired state. In essence, he described three stages of planned change that enable this equilibrium shift: the unfreezing stage, the change or transition, and the refreezing stage.[42] Importantly, in foreshadowing the work of leadership theorists decades later, Lewin recognized significant egocentric or personality barriers to change, such as prejudices, complacency, and self-righteousness. Lewin firmly believed that for each stage to be established and accepted, a "catharsis" must occur from a deliberate "emotional stir-up" within the entire group.[43]

Similarly, Harvard professor and management theorist Chris Argyris spoke about the problem of the "undiscussable" as a barrier to change.[44] He believed that senior leaders pursue "policies and practices that are contrary to their managerial stewardship" primarily

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41. It is important that the reader understand the evolution of leadership research as it existed in the early 1970s. In doing so, it becomes clear that these Army officers who advocated OD were doing so on the frontiers of this evolution.

42. Lewin, like many of his contemporaries of his age (and after), was significantly influenced by the seminal publication of Thomas S. Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Kuhn's conception of paradigm shifts and their impact on revolutions and transformations have now impacted many different academic disciplines. In some ways, Lewin's force field analysis explains the process of a paradigm shift. In retrospect, as will be analyzed later, the OD initiative was a tool in affecting a paradigm shift in the institution's leadership culture. Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

43. Kurt Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflicts and Field Theory in Social Science* (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 1997): 330.

44. Chris Argyris, "Making the Undiscussable and Its Undiscussability Discussable," *Public Administration Review* 40, no. 3 (May–June 1980): 205–213.

because they bypass root causes. "They equate being realistic with being simplistic" and, in the process, make all of the uncomfortable but necessary conversations and actions within the group "undiscussable."[45] In many ways, T-Groups and Action Research permit the "undiscussables" to be discussed and facilitate and manage "emotional stir-ups" within the organization, as Lewin had asserted long ago.

Beginning his work in 1957, Argyris—like Lewin—was drawn to how organizations affect and sustain changes. Underlying a career that would span five decades was his belief that leaders who positively interact with their followers as responsible adults will achieve higher levels of organizational performance. He was convinced that organizations that experienced personnel problems did so because the leaders employed outdated practices. For Argyris, the key was organizational learning (not training). Argyris introduced the concept of "single and double loop learning" to explain why some organizations could achieve sustainable change while others failed. In short, he envisioned two levels of change. First-order change takes a mechanistic approach that "yields temporary advances counter-acted by resistance, sabotage, and loyalty to the status quo [that are] brought to the forefront by the imposed change."[46] Second-order changes transform underlying assumptions. Here, leaders are not reluctant to question institutionalized rules, regulations, and conventional ways (behaviors that military leaders and organizations are very reluctant to demonstrate). In the late 1960s, Argyris's and Lewin's work directly contributed to the rise

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45. Chris Argyris, *Overcoming Organizational Defenses: Facilitating Organizational Learning* (Engelwood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1990), 6.

46. Chris Argyris and Donald Schoen, *Organizational Learning* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1978) as cited in Jean M. Bartunek and Michael K. Moch, "First-Order, Second-Order, and Third-Order Change and Organizational Development Interventions: A Cognitive Approach," in *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, vol. 23, no. 4 (1987): 483–500.

of organizational development as both a theory and practice.[47] In many ways, they set a high standard for subsequent researchers and theorists who also believed that leadership was essentially a behavioral process between the leader and the led.

At the heart of Argyris's and Lewin's writings was an emphasis on the follower as a participative, integral member of the group, and that the leader hold a moral imperative toward the follower. Others believed so as well. In 1970, Robert Greenleaf coined the phrase "servant leadership." He believed that "the servant-leader *is* servant first. . . . It begins with the natural feeling that one wants to serve, to serve *first*. Then conscious choice brings one to aspire to lead. That person is sharply different from one who is *leader* first, perhaps because of the need to assuage an unusual power drive." At the heart of his work was the concept of moral and ethical leadership. Greenleaf asked, "Do those served grow as persons? Do they, *while being served*, become healthier, wiser, freer, more autonomous, more likely themselves to become servants?"[48]

During the decade of the 1960s, the fields of sociology and psychology experienced unprecedented growth. As the 1970s began, scholars were acutely aware that leadership was much more complex than previously imagined. Lewin, Argyris, Greenleaf, and others, by believing that leadership was a dynamic behavioral process between leaders and followers, essentially advocated what Burns would soon call Transformational Leadership. Although that term was not commonly utilized until after Burns's 1978 publication of *Leadership,* Lewin and those who came after him promoted the ideas behind the concept.

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47. Chris Argyris, *Management and Organizational Development: The Path From XA to YB* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971).

48. https://www.greenleaf.org/what-is-servant-leadership. Last accessed 3 May 2013.Note that italics in Greenleaf's quote are his.

They did so by contrasting their observations and theories with those who advocated leader-centric and Leader-Match theories.

One of the first to examine the different directions of leadership research in a broader, more comprehensive framework was psychologist and former Antioch president Douglas McGregor. In 1960, in an expansion of contingent reward theories, McGregor posited that managers perceive people in two distinct ways. Some, he asserted, believe that people are not ambitious and find work distasteful. Therefore, leaders must closely control and coerce followers in order to achieve the organization's goals. McGregor labeled this view as Theory X. In contrast, he suggested that a Theory Y existed whereby some leaders recognize that their workers are driven by esteem and self-actualization. Theory Y proponents link the higher-level needs of individuals with the organization's goals and objectives. Tapping into people's motivations and creativity to achieve collective goals harness higher-order needs such as self-fulfillment. By doing so, people will seek responsibility.[49] Like many of the theorists of his day (and since), McGregor applied his theory directly to psychologist Abraham Maslow's model of human motivation that envisioned a hierarchy of human needs. Maslow's model was pyramidal, with physiological and safety needs at the bottom and esteem and self-actualization forming the top. In retrospect, we can generally see that the early trait, skills, styles, and situation/context theorists (transactionalists) targeted the lower levels of Maslow's model, while the behavior process theorists (transformationalists) aimed for the higher levels of his pyramid.[50]

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49. Douglas McGregor, Warren G. Bennis, Edgar H. Schein, and Caroline McGregor, *Leadership and Motivation; Essays* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1966); also Douglas McGregor, *The Human Side of Enterprise* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960).

50. Abraham H. Maslow, *Motivation and Personality*, Harper's Psychological Series (New York: Harper, 1954).

In 1978, three years after the start of the Army OE program, a clear and more useful framework would come with Burns's *Leadership*. In defining his conception of the inter-relationships between leaders and followers, Burns described "transformational" leadership as the "process whereby a person engages with others and creates a connection that raises the level of motivation and morality in both. This type of leader is attentive to the needs and motives of followers [in order to help them] reach their fullest potential."[51] For Burns, transformational leadership had a large moral dimension. This moral dimension led him to contrast transformational leadership with transactional leadership, which was conceived as an extension of the earlier leader-centric and leader-match theories that accommodated the basic needs of workers. Transactional leaders motivated followers by rewarding or punishing worker performance or behaviors.[52] Today, Burns's transactional-transformational conceptualization of leadership still provides a useful framework in which to examine the various complexities of leadership theories and practices.[53]

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51. Northouse, 176. Northouse notes that Burns saw Mohandas Gandhi as the quintessential transformational leader because he "raised the hopes and demands of millions of people and in the process was changed himself." Northouse, 185.

52. In 1981 and 1982, the work of McGregor and Maslow were the mainstays of my ROTC leadership course in military science at The Ohio State University. As young lieutenants, we were expected to thoroughly know and apply their work as we grew into our careers as Army officers. Indeed, McGregor's and Maslow's concepts strongly influenced and permeated the Army's leadership doctrine throughout the entire period examined in this dissertation. See US Department of the Army, *FM 22-100, Military Leadership* (Washington, DC: Headquarters, Department of the Army, November 1965), http://armyoe.com/uploads/FM_22-100_1965.pdf; US Department of the Army, *FM 22-100*, *Military Leadership* (Washington, DC: Headquarters, US Department of the Army, June 1973); and US Department of the Army, *FM 22-100, Military Leadership* (Washington, DC: Headquarters, Department of the Army, October 1983). See also Appendix B – A Critical Analysis and Assessment of US Army Leadership Doctrine, 1946–2006.

53. In the late 1970s and beyond, other important theorists developed models and defined leadership styles that either complemented or built upon Burns's work. Warren Bennis and Burt Nanus concluded that transforming leaders were successful change agents when they consistently demonstrated clear values and norms, real trust, and positive self-regard. Northouse, 186–187. In the 1980s, Bernard Bass emphasized the needs of followers taking precedence over the needs of leaders. He also presented a strong argument that transactional and transformational leadership existed on the same continuum (a view I strongly adhere to). Northouse, 179–183. Peter Block, whose work has proven especially informative as I read and assessed the collective papers of many Army chiefs of staff. He defined "stewardship" as "the willingness to be accountable for the well-being of the larger organization by operating in service, rather

Different Perspectives

Events taking place in the United States and in Vietnam between 1968 and 1972 opened up a large window of opportunity for many in the Army to question and reassess the Army's overall concept of leadership. As the AVF became a reality and its start date drew nearer, several distinct and emotional points of view arose within the Army officer corps in the course of this reassessment. Indeed, in the process of re-evaluating leadership and management practices and experimenting with new ideas, the Army officer corps splintered into several camps as Army planners debated the nature of change and reform that was required to meet the demands of an all-volunteer army. Most understood what was at stake, namely a fundamental change in the culture of the institution.

The first camp consisted of careerists scattered throughout the Army, the senior noncommissioned officers (NCOs) and officers who had soldiered for many years and generally accepted time-honored conventions and practices. These soldiers were the "Traditionalists." Many if not most had served in the Second World War. They were extremely protective of the Army's traditions, customs, and courtesies. For them, Vietnam was an aberration, and the permissive culture of American youth posed a direct threat to both their authority and their institution. The Traditionalists initially opposed the end of conscription until they were ordered to cease their opposition. In preparing for the AVF, the Traditionalists passively resisted many of the initial experiments and changes. In their view, leadership was not broken. What was needed

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than in control, of those around us." Peter Block, *Stewardship: Choosing Service Over Self-Interest* (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, 1993), xx. Ira Chaleff thoroughly explored courage and personal integrity that focuses on the leader-follower relationship. Chaleff emphasized the leadership behaviors of followers. He dedicated his book "to all those who have found themselves formally in the role of a follower and who acted on the courage of their convictions despite strong external pressure and cultural inhibitions against doing so." Ira Chaleff, *The Courageous Follower: Standing Up To and For Our Leaders* (San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler: 2009), v.

for the post-Vietnam Army was some backbone and a return to the "brown-boot" Army of the 1950s and early 1960s.[54] For them, the soldier-leader relationship was grounded in strong discipline and training and therefore authority-based.

The "Healers" comprised the second camp. They harbored strong empathy for the views of the Traditionalists and were likewise protective of Army traditions. However, they were also pragmatic. Whereas the Traditionalists nostalgically looked to the Army of the past as a model for the future AVF, the Healers looked forward to a postwar institution that would require a time of healing and recovery. In recognizing the tremendous changes that were taking place in American society, they reluctantly accepted the end of the draft and understood that to create an all-volunteer army, they had to make the Army more appealing to young people. The Healers wanted to put Vietnam behind and extensively reform the Army. They believed the key to this reform was force modernization and reorganization—especially given the size and state of readiness of Soviet forces in Europe. Essentially, the Healers wanted to rearm, reequip, re-man, and retrain the Army and "get back" to NATO. Their primary focus for the 1970s was on updating tactical and operational doctrine, and developing a training system that would align doctrine with advanced technological capabilities. In their view, leadership was not broken but did need some fine-tuning. In forming their concept of Army leadership, the Healers embraced leader-centric and situational styles that could be adjusted to meet the basic needs of soldiers. For them, the soldier-leader relationship was contractual and therefore transactional-based.

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54. The Army did not fully switch to black combat boots until the early 1960s. Veterans from that era view the brown boot with much nostalgia, and many kept their brown boots after their careers as fond mementos of their time in service. Colloquially, the term "brown boot soldier" has referred to soldiers who served in the pre-Vietnam Army.

Finally, there were the "Progressives." They had little objection to force modernization and certainly believed that the Army needed time to recover from the war. However, these were Army officers who, either by experiences, formal education, or personal humanistic philosophies, believed that recent advances in the behavioral sciences held the key to both modernizing the Army and preparing for the AVF. Most of the Progressives held advanced degrees in the social and behavioral sciences or the humanities, and all were combat veterans, though few had served in the Second World War. Based on their wartime experiences, they believed that leadership was broken, or at least they expressed deep concern for the poor state of morale and lack of unit cohesion that they had witnessed or experienced in various Army units. Armed with the latest theoretical work coming out of the behavioral sciences, the Progressives strongly embraced the theories that leadership was a behavioral process (i.e., a dynamic, interactive relationship between the leader and the led). For most of the Progressives, leadership was more about the followers than the leaders, and therefore they advocated participative practices and empowerment for soldiers. For them, the soldier-leader relationship was moral and therefore transformational-based.

What Are Organizational Development and Organizational Effectiveness?

Organizational Development, which today is considered a discipline, arose in the late 1950s and then flourished a decade later as the earlier work of Kurt Lewin expanded.[55] Theorists such as Chris Argyris, Edgar Schein,[56] Warren Bennis, and

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55. "OD absorbed the 'modernist' assumptions of scientific reason and progress from organizational theory and as it did so it became a well-defined discipline because it synthesized early psychodynamics with organismic sociology resulting in its major focus on group and organization-wide change efforts." Jim Grieves, "Images of Change: The New Organizational Development," *Journal of Management Development* 19, no. 5 (2000): 348.

56. Edgar H. Schein studied at the University of Chicago, Stanford University (M.S. in psychology), and at Harvard University (Ph.D. in social psychology). He worked in the areas of organizational culture,

others built upon Lewin's concepts and methods of force field analysis, action research, and the use of T-Groups. In general, their collective goal was to understand more fully how to plan and manage change in organizations in order to improve an organization's health and effectiveness. At its core, OD was anchored in the belief that leadership was an interactive behavioral process, and as such, it closely aligned with transformational leadership concepts.

During the 1960s, behavioral scientists who found great value and merit in the work of Kurt Lewin, developed new theories about the relationships between leaders and followers. These theorists, greatly affected by the social upheaval in American society during those years, observed that the new generation of young adults greatly questioned the values and materialism of the older generations. With minorities gaining unprecedented levels of independence and with more widespread access to new ideas and knowledge, these youth turned away from their collective perception of America as a bureaucratic authoritarian state, in which the individual was seen a production resource. Instead they discarded the older "values" in favor of a new set that underscored humankind's individuality and centrality. Robert Tannenbaum and Sheldon A. Davis, two early OD pioneers, described the transition of values as such:

- away from a view of man as essentially bad toward a view of him as basically good,

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organizational development, process consultation, and career dynamics. Earlier in his career, he had direct experience with the Army having served as chief of the social psychology section of the Walter Reed Army Institute of Research from1952 to 1956. He also worked as a professor of organizational psychology and management at MIT's Sloan School of Management. He authored fourteen books, and was a co-editor with the late Richard Beckhard of the Addison-Wesley Series on Organizational Development which has published over thirty titles since its inception in 1969. http://www.careeranchorsonline.com/SCA/ESabout.do?open=es, last accessed 1 October 2012.

- away from avoidance or negative evaluation of individuals toward confirming them as humans beings,

- away from a view of individuals as fixed toward seeing them as being in process,

- away from resisting and fearing individual differences toward accepting and utilizing them,

- away from utilizing an individual primarily with reference to his job description toward viewing him as a whole person,

- away from walling off the expression of feelings toward making possible both appropriate expression and effective use,

- away from maskmanship and game playing toward authentic behavior,

- away from use of status for maintaining power and personal prestige toward use of status for organizationally relevant purposes,

- away from distrusting people toward trusting them,

- away from avoiding facing others with relevant data toward making appropriate confrontation,

- away from avoidance of risk-taking toward willingness to take risks,

- away from a view of process work as being unproductive effort toward seeing it as essential to effective task accomplishment,

- away from a primary emphasis on competition toward a much greater emphasis on collaboration.[57]

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57. Robert Tannenbaum and Sheldon A. Davis, "Values, Man, and Organization," in Margulies and Raia, *Organizational Development*, 11–24.

Having witnessed firsthand so much social change, these behavioral scientists believed that for organizations to be effective, organizations had to adopt these strongly humanistic values.

From these beliefs arose a new complex discipline called organizational development. By 1970 and 1971, OD was a body of concepts, tools, and techniques borrowed from anthropology, sociology, psychology, and economics. In essence, OD was a system of three related elements: values, process, and techniques. Theorists Newton Margulies and Anthony P. Raia described the values of OD as

- providing opportunities for people to function as human beings rather than as resources in the productive process

- providing opportunities for each organizational member as well as for the organization itself, to develop to his full potential

- seeking to increase the effectiveness of the organization in terms of all of its goals

- attempting to create an environment in which it is possible to find exciting and challenging work

- providing opportunities for people and organizations to influence the way in which they relate to work, the organization, and the environment

- treating each human being as a person with a complex set of needs, all of which are important to his work and in his life

Theorists such as Wendell French fully agreed and saw such values "as the underlying basis for developing techniques and models of organizational change." French believed

that OD was essentially the implementation of Douglas MacGregor's Theory Y and that internal resources (i.e. change agents) were necessary for effective change.[58]

At the heart of OD was the concept of continuous learning, both individually and collectively. However, the OD proponents of the 1970s rejected traditional university-style learning (i.e., rote training) in favor of experiential learning and the laboratory (sensitivity) method. They followed Kurt Lewin in what is known as the Gestalt School of learning theory. The Gestalt theorists believed that learning was complex, and that it was cognitive and involved the whole personality. They valued the power of insight often occurring instantaneously in the experiential learning experience.[59]

Most of the OD theorists of the 1970s believed that the laboratory method was an essential component of organizational development. The laboratory method was an experience-based process that involved action research. Action research is basically applied research that combines both the research process and the learning process. The intent is to create "research data which can be incorporated into learning and which will result in social change."[60] Believing in the power of the laboratory method, most of the early OD proponents favored the use of Kurt Lewin's T-groups or sensitivity training. Chris Argyris believed that T-Groups could expose the existing values of executives that "unless modified would impair interpersonal relations and consequently ineffective organizations."[61]

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58. Newton Margulies and Anthony P. Raia, eds., *Organizational Development: Values, Process, and Technology* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972), 6.

59. Leslie E. This and Gordon L. Lippitt, "Learning Theories and Training," in Margulies and Raia, *Organizational Development*, 87.

60. Newton Margulies and Anthony P. Raia, "Action Research and the Consultative Process," in *Organizational Development*, 121.

61. Chris Argyris, "T-Groups for Organizational Effectiveness," in Margulies and Raia, *Organizational Development*, 318.

> The T-Group experience was designed to provide maximum possible opportunity for the individuals to expose their behavior, give and receive feedback, experiment with new behavior, and develop everlasting awareness and acceptance of self and others. . . . [I]t is [in] the T-Group that one learns how to diagnose his own behavior, to develop effective leadership behavior and norms for decision-making that truly protect the [dissenter].[62]

Robert J. House, best known for his Path-Goal leadership theory, described the T-Group experience as "a very soul-searching process; it requires the individual to become introspective, to look at his own values and his own emotions, to ask himself whether and why he likes them, and whether he wishes to live the way he has."[63]

In sum, the OD theorists of the 1970s believed that all organizations consist of three major elements or subsystems: the technical, the managerial, and the human or personal-cultural system. The technical or task system dealt with workflow and required task rules. The managerial or administrative system focused on organizational structure, policies and procedures, and rules, and other mechanisms of bureaucracies. The human system was "primarily concerned with organizational culture, values, and norms and the satisfaction of personal needs. Also included in the human system are the informal organization, the motivational level of members, and their individual attitudes."[64] It is important to note that these early days of OD focused extensively on the latter. Over time, however, the discipline would gravitate toward an emphasis on the technical and especially on the managerial components. The story that follows is closely aligned with that evolution.

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62. Ibid., 323.

63 Robert J. House, "T-Group Training; Good or Bad?" in Margulies and Raia, *Organizational Development*, 495.

64 Margulies and Raia, *Organizational Development*, 3.

In 1969, as the Army began to prepare for the AVF, Richard Beckhard defined

OD as "an effort, planned, organization-wide, and managed from the top, to increase

organizational effectiveness and health through planned interventions in the

organization's processes, using behavioral-science knowledge."[65] Similarly, in 1972

Wendell French and Cecil Bell stated that

> organizational development is a long-term effort led and supported by top
> management, to improve an organization's visioning, empowerment,
> learning, and problem-solving processes, through an ongoing,
> collaborative management of organizational culture with special emphasis
> on the consultant-facilitator role and the theory and technology of applied
> behavioral science, including participant action research.[66]

At that time, the work of Beckhard, French, Bell and their colleagues explored human

relations in order to better understand human motivation. Collectively, they focused "on

consent, authority and the moral responsibility of the manager to his subordinates."[67]

As discussed in the following chapters, the Army experimented with OD in the

early 1970s alongside other modernization and reform experiments that were part of an

eighteen-month program entitled the Volunteer Army (VOLAR) Program.[68] Initial results

were encouraging and prompted the early proponents to successfully push for the Army

to train and employ internal OD "consultants," first on an experimental level and then as

a formal process. Indeed, the promise of trained OD facilitators taken from the ranks led

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65. Richard Beckhard, *Organization Development: Strategies and Models*, Addison Wesley Series on Organization Development (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1969). As cited at http://www.odportal.com/OD/whatisod.htm. Last accessed June 2, 2013.

66. Wendell L. French and Cecil Bell, *Organization Development: Behavioral Science Interventions for Organization Improvement* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972), as cited at ibid.

67. Jim Grieves, "Images of Change," 347. As we will see, remarkable about this stage in the evolution of OD during the late 1960s and early 1970s is that the early grass-root proponents of OD in the Army were recent university graduates of this scholarship, at the masters or doctorate levels, and saw great potential in implementing OD in the Army despite its embryonic state.

68. VOLAR is extensively explained in Chapter I.

to the startup of a formal training center two years before the Army institutionalized OD throughout the Army.

In 1975, the Army officially embraced organizational development and re-branded it with the term "Organizational Effectiveness" (OE). The initial implementers had originally used the term "human resources management." However, given the dire problems of racial tension as well as drug and alcohol abuse so chronic at that time, many feared that people would inadvertently or incorrectly associate OD with efforts to solve those problems.[69]

The Army did not formalize the definition and regulations of OE until November 1977, a year after the institutionalization of OE began. OE was then defined as

> a four-step process designed to improve the functioning of an
> organization, or unit, by applying selective behavioral science and
> management concepts and techniques to the processes and structures of
> that organizational system. . . . [It] is the systematic military application of
> selected management and behavioral science skills and methods to
> improve how the total organization functions to accomplish assigned
> missions and increase combat readiness. It is applicable to organizational
> processes (including training in interpersonal skills) and when applied by a
> commander within an organization, is tailored to the unique needs of the
> organization and normally implemented with the assistance of an
> Organizational Effectiveness Staff Officer (OESO). [70]

The story of Army OE is a story about innovation, vision, and the Progressives' abilities to take leading OD theories and methods and place them into practice. In the process, they attempted to teach the Army the difference between leadership and management.

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69. There remains some ambiguity as to who coined the term "OE." Tony Nadal credits General William DePuy, first commanding general of Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC).

70. Department of the Army. *AR 600-76, Organizational Effectiveness (OE) Activities and Training* (HQ Department of the Army, Washington DC: 8 November 1977), 1-1. By this time (November 1977) the OE Program was well underway and Army Regulation *AR 600-76* was a way to consolidate and articulate the work that had been accomplished to that date. Creating an Army regulation for OE was another important step in solidifying the institutionalization of the program.

Clarifying the Terminology

In looking back on the work of Kurt Lewin and his successors, we can more fully

appreciate that Lewin's focus on behaviors in social environments was a first step into a

complex world that would need new or refined terminologies to describe novel theories

and concepts. While it is not uncommon for words to carry different meanings across

academic disciplines, much of the terminology used in the interdisciplinary field of

leadership and change poses a particular problem in recounting the Army's embrace of

OD. As military historians select descriptive terminology for their narratives, what is

often unclear in historical accounts of armies that reformed themselves following a war

are clear definitions of the terms "change," "transformation," and "adaptability" or

"adaptive thinking." This is especially true in contemporary American military history,

where these words are commonly used interchangeably with "innovation" and

"modernization." Because the US Army has focused so heavily on technology

throughout much of its history, Army leaders also have tended to equate change with

technological innovation and modernization. Likewise, they confuse transformation with

reorganization or organizational realignment around those technology innovations.[71]

Further, this confusion has intensified as the common, general use of these terms has

now extended beyond technology and more broadly into the realm of tactics,

operations, and doctrine.[72]

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71. Army leaders have even gone so far as to call them "military revolutions" or a Revolution in Military Affairs (RMAs). For example, see Williamson Murray, "Thinking about Revolution in Military Affairs," *Joint Forces Quarterly* (Summer 1997): 69–76.

72. Indeed, the Army developed a strong fascination with military "transformation" in the 1990s. Numerous reports, studies, and monographs routinely used these terms with distilled, generic meanings. Others agree. See Bryon E. Greenwald, "The Anatomy of Change: Why Armies Succeed or Fail at Transformation," *Land Warfare Paper No. 35* (Association of the United States Army, Arlington, VA: Institute of Land Warfare, September 2000). See also Williamson Murray, *Army Transformation: A View*

Fortunately, research and discourse within the social and behavioral sciences have brought much clarity to these concepts and terms since Lewin's time. Peter Vaill, an organizational change theorist and a leading scholar on organizational behavior, has described turbulent organizational and social conditions as constant change or "permanent whitewater."[73] Change is not an *event* but rather an ever-present *condition*. Change is dynamic and is happening now, all around us.

If change is constant, real-time turbulence within our everyday living environments, then what constitutes a transformation? In short, transformations are impactful changes that result in a paradigm shift. Within their discipline, it may be valid for historians to argue that "transformations" are not infrequent and are made possible through revolutionary technological innovations or through significant revisions of tactical or operational doctrine. The invention and adoption of radar, the weaponization of nuclear science, the mechanization of the cavalry, and AirLand Battle Doctrine are several examples that come easily to mind. However, the casual, general use of the term "transformation" dilutes or undermines the powerful meaning that it conveys in the field of leadership and change.[74]

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from the U.S. Army War College (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, July 2001), DTIC accession number: AD-A394377. Many more examples appear in my literature review below.

73. Peter B. Vaill, *Learning as a Way of Being: Strategies for Survival in a World of Permanent White Water,* The Jossey-Bass Business & Management Series (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1996).

74. This dilution is especially unproductive within the Army's military education system today as the institution struggles to determine and establish the best methodologies to develop more effective leaders at all levels. The term is used so frequently and generically that it has lost much of its impactful meaning. In essence, it has become a simple substitute for "change." In my view, Army officers today would be hard pressed to accurately distinguish between the terms "change," "transformation," and "revolutionary." There are numerous examples in military writings. See Ancel B. Yarbrough II, "Transformation: Are We on a Joint Path?" (research paper, US Army School of Advanced Military Studies, 2003), DTIC accession number: AD-A413259; Joseph S. McLamb, "Transforming the Combat Training Centers," (research paper, US Army School of Advanced Military Studies, 2003), DTIC accession number: AD_A416196; Timothy P. Leroux, "Intervention, Stabilization, and Transformation Operations: The Army's New Mission" (master's thesis, US Army Command and General Staff College, June 17, 2005), DTIC accession number: AD-AA437025; and Van R. Sikorsky, "Developing a Paradigm for the U.S. Army Transformation,"

The key discriminating term here is "paradigm." A transformation does not automatically occur simply because of an accumulation of many changes or successful major innovations. While many successive improvements and innovations may lead to effective modernization and organizational realignments, they do not necessarily result in a true paradigm shift (i.e., a transformation). However, innovations can help bring about transformations when they include mechanisms that promote and involve stakeholders in institutional learning, thinking, and reflection (what I will refer to here as the "human dimension" of organizational transformations). Unfortunately, the US Army has long been missing "a robust and coherent framework [that] allows officers and enlisted men to codify their experiences and to think clearly and systematically about concepts, technologies, and *organizations.*"[75]

Most transformations are more easily identified with hindsight. As a military historian enthralled with leadership and change, I have a difficult time accepting that military transformations transpire as frequently as some assert, largely because most accounts are missing the human dimension in their analyses.[76] While technological and operational changes may bring about new ways of training and fighting, true transformations result in an evolution of institutional cultures.[77] As we will see, for the

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(research paper, US Army School of Advanced Military Studies, December 2000), DTIC accession number: AD-A394375.

75. Mark David Mandeles, *Military Transformation Past and Present: Historical Lessons for the 21st Century* (Westport, CN: Praeger Security International, 2007), 4. Emphasis is mine. I largely agree with Mendeles but differ in that I believe that the Army has thought too deeply about technology.

76. All Army chiefs of staff have misused these terms. This is especially true of General Eric Shinseki. See, for example, Eric K. Shinseki, "The Army Transformation: A Historic Opportunity," *Army Magazine* 50, no. 10 (2000), 21-30. Shinseki and many Army writers of his time routinely used the terms transformation as a synonym for change, and used both terms in close conjunction with the term modernization.

77. A good current example: the extensive replacement of piloted aircraft with Unattended Aerial Vehicles (UAVs) may greatly affect US Air Force organizational structures, R&D programs, budgets, and even operational and tactical doctrine. However, fewer pilot billets and new tactics based on UAV capabilities most likely will not change the organizational cultural in the Air Force.

US Army in the post-Vietnam decade it was much easier to "transform" the Army in "how to train and fight" than in "how to lead." The former required little or no change in organizational culture, while the latter would have required deep soul searching about leadership and the questioning of basic assumptions, something the officer corps was unwilling or incapable of doing on its own.[78]

It is also important to recognize that the human dimension is as submerged in "whitewater" as is everything else. This is why generations possess distinct collective personalities that are themselves constantly changing as they age. The *weltanschauung* of baby boomers differs significantly from that of succeeding "X," "Y," and millennial generations. My baby boomer generation questioned authority and those of us who voluntarily enlisted in the Army on the heels of Vietnam, experienced enormous friction with our platoon sergeants and officers. In contrast, the millennial generation not only questions authority but will seek out the knowledge they want very quickly and on their own. This generation knows no world without instant Internet access. Like the Army, higher education is having a difficult time in relating to millenials because today's students largely reject the teachers and professors who preach—the "sages on the stages"—and prefer someone who will not lecture or impart knowledge but rather *facilitate* their learning.[79] Effective leaders today embrace this dynamic and do not feel threatened by it. Traditionalists, however, view such behaviors as a threat to their authority, control, power, and titled positions or ranks.

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78. See Chapter 1. Despite Westmoreland's open-mindedness about exploring the social and behavioral sciences for new ideas on leader-follower relationships, he quickly and deliberately closed the door on any retrospective examination of his officer corps.

79. See for example Kara Mangold, "Educating a New Generation: Teaching Baby Boomer Faculty about Millennial Students," *Nurse Educator*, vol. 32, no. 1 (2007): 21–23; Diana Oblinger, "Boomers Gen-Xers Millennials," *EDUCAUSE Review 500* (2003): 36; and Scott Carlson, "The Net Generation Goes to College," *Chronicle Of Higher Education* 52, no. 7 (2005): A34.

Finally, no other term is more misunderstood or misused than the word "adaptive." Its widespread use throughout the Army over the last fifteen years has placed it in the military vernacular as a synonym for "adjusting to rapid change in the operational or tactical environment."[80] Ronald Heifetz has offered the definitive concept of the word in describing how leaders approach complex problems or challenges. He described adaptive challenges as those challenges that

> can only be addressed through changes in people's priorities, beliefs, habits, and loyalties. Making progress requires going beyond any authoritative expertise to mobilize discovery, shedding certain entrenched ways, tolerating losses, and generating the new capacity to thrive anew."[81]

Heifetz's clear distinction between those types of changes that are technical in nature and adaptive challenges constitutes an important foundation and interpretive framework for the historical narrative that follows. He differentiates the two by contrasting their functions. For example, authorities "direct" by providing definition and solutions for technical problems rather than producing questions about problem definitions and solutions for adaptive challenges. Similarly, authorities protect their organizations in addressing technical challenges rather than disclosing the external threat for adaptive challenges. In "controlling conflict," authorities restore order rather than exposing the conflict or allowing it to emerge.[82]

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80. In my view, "taking initiative to improvise" would better suit the intended meanings than "adaptive." This is not a new characteristic of the American soldier. The US Army has always taken great pride in soldiers (especially enlisted men) doing this. Since the Second World War, stories abound of Americans reacting to new situations with unorthodox means. See especially Michael D. Doubler, *Closing with the Enemy: How GIs Fought the War in Europe, 1944–1945*. Modern War Studies (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas), 1994.

81. Ronald A. Heifetz, Alexander Grashow, and Martin Linsky, *The Practice of Adaptive Leadership: Tools and Tactics for Changing Your Organization and the World*, (Boston: Harvard Business Press, 2009), 19.

82. Ronald A. Heifetz, *Leadership without Easy Answers,* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), 127.

For example, as we will see, there was no question that both President Richard Nixon and General William Westmoreland faced extensive challenges as they both dealt with large social change after 1968. However, I believe that Westmoreland had the more difficult road ahead because he faced a complex, adaptive challenge. Nixon had already achieved consensus among all interested parties, and his efforts were directed at draft reform, which was largely a technical rather than an adaptive problem. In the short term, this technical problem was solved, albeit with some dissatisfaction, by the draft lottery (and shortly thereafter with the AVF). Westmoreland, on the other hand, had an Army to heal, morally, physically and psychologically. As one historian has aptly noted, the Army had to "strengthen and rebuild itself, and at the same time to create an army that young people might want to join."[83]

Unfortunately, the US Army has a long history of viewing all problems as technical challenges. Consequently, the officer corps has become basically immune to effective change. This "immunity" is not intentional, nor is it a result of deliberate resistance to change. On the contrary, senior Army officers are energetic, intelligent people with great insight. Unfortunately, the real problem is "the inability to close the gap between what we genuinely, even passionately, want and what we are actually able to do." This gap, assert Robert Kegan and Lisa Laskow Lahey, is caused by a "hidden

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83. Beth L. Bailey, *America's Army: Making the All-Volunteer Force,* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 37. Westmoreland was faced with more than one adaptive challenge. Others included: gender integration as well as rampant drug and alcohol abuse (both embedded in the culture). The term "adaptive" is critical to our understanding of effective leadership. The layman use of the term poses a very real obstacle to our understanding of "adaptive thinking." Perhaps a better distinction would be "adaptivity/adaptive thinking" (academic) vs. "adaptability/adaptive (layman).

dynamic" that prevents senior leaders from changing. This hidden dynamic is essentially an unconscious "devotion to preserving our existing way of making meaning."[84]

Kegan and Lahey argue that this hidden dynamic is the "complexity" of our minds, how we send and receive information. In short, in a greater complex world that is more rapidly changing and evolving, it is not sufficient to improve or change organizations by "dealing" or "coping" with greater complex problems. Kegan and Lahey believe that the "human capability will be the critical variable in the new century." Therefore, leaders must be truly open to receiving information from all directions because "what might have made sense today may not make as much sense tomorrow."[85] Kegan and Lahey warn against confusing mental complexity with IQ and intellect. In short, mental complexity is largely a product of thinking/reflection *and* feelings.[86] Both dimensions must exist.

Kegan and Lahey argue that adults demonstrate three levels of mental complexity, a powerful force that shapes how individuals view organizational cultures or change initiatives. "These three multi-tiered adult meaning systems—the *socialized mind*, *self-authoring mind*, and *self-transforming mind*—make sense of the world, and operate within it, in profoundly different ways."[87] How people send and receive information through an organization significantly determines its effectiveness.[88]

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84. Robert Kegan and Lisa Laskow Lahey, *Immunity to Change: How to Overcome It and Unlock Potential in Yourself and Your Organization*, (Boston: Harvard Business Press, 2009), x. In retrospect, it is fair to say that the Healers viewed healing the Army as a series of planned technical changes while the Progressives saw the post-Vietnam need for reforms as adaptive challenges.

85. Ibid., 19–20.

86. Ibid., 21–30. Because I use this framework for analysis, it is important to note that the work of Chris Argyrus and Ronald Heifetz greatly influenced the thinking of Kegan and Lahey.

87. Ibid., 16–17.

88. Peggy Combs parallels Kegan and Lahey and uses the term "higher order thinking." Peggy C. Combs, "US Army Cultural Obstacles to Transformational Leadership," (research project, US Army War College, 2008), 19, DTIC accession number: AD-A469199. Similarly, David Fastabend and Robert

The *socialized mind*, at the lowest level, is largely self-oriented. Here people are shaped "by the definitions and expectations of [their] personal environments." They align and are loyal to that which they self-identify in their relationships with people, schools of thought, etc. They tend to have a strong filter through which they send and receive information based on their perceptions of what others want to hear.

Those with *self-authoring minds* also have a filter but are "able to step back enough from the social environment to generate an internal "seat of judgment" or personal authority that evaluates and makes choices about external expectations." They align their sense of self with personalized belief systems or ideologies, and are self-directed, "take stands, set limits, and create and regulate its boundaries on behalf of its own voice." Using an automobile analogy, Kegan and Lahey compare the two thusly: ". . . [M]ental complexity strongly influences whether my information sending is oriented toward getting behind the wheel in order to drive (the self-authoring mind) or getting myself included in the car so I can be driven (the socialized-mind)."[89]

Lastly, at the highest level is the *self-transforming* mind where higher mental complexity is achieved through deep reflection and feeling. Here

we can step back from and reflect on the limits of our own ideology or personal authority; see that any one system or self-organization is in some way partial or incomplete; be friendlier toward contradiction and opposites; seek to hold on to multiple systems rather than projecting all but one onto the other. Our self coheres through its ability not to confuse internal consistency with wholeness or

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Simpson suggest that higher ranking officers (inculcated with their power and authority) obstruct change because of "their inability to leave rank at the door [to] stimulate critical thought." David A. Fastabend and Robert H. Simpson, "Adapt or Die," in *Army Magazine* 54, no. 2 (February 2004): 16–17. Also cited in Frederick S. Clarke, "Changing Army Culture: Creating Adaptive and Critical Thinking Officer Corps," (master's thesis, US Army War College, March 15, 2008), DTIC accession number: AD-A478309. See also Williamson Murray, *Military Adaptation,* 9. He states that discipline and respect "are antithetical to the processes of adaptation, which require a willingness on the part of subordinates to question the revealed wisdom of their superiors."

89. Kegan and Lahey, *Immunity to Change*, 19.

completeness, and through its alignment with the dialectic rather than either pole.[90]

Mental complexity directly affects organizational effectiveness and performance. Because the officer-soldier relationship is basically a behavioral process based on information flow, these mental properties "translate into real actions with real consequences for organizational behavior and work competency."[91] Kegan and Lahey found great value in Heifetz's distinction between technical and adaptive challenges. In their overall conclusions they demonstrated clearly that adaptive challenges require leaders who first understand Heifetz's distinctions between technical and adaptive problems and, second, possess self-transforming minds.[92] For example, the authors suggested that leaders often profess to being more receptive to new ideas (as behavior goals). However, in their daily activities, they often give "curt responses to new ideas" or speak in an "overruling tone." In doing so, they reveal "hidden competing commitments" as the authority figure (and in the case of the Army, as the commander) "to have things done my way!"[93]

There is little doubt that Army officers seek command with good intentions in mind. Unfortunately, many cultural, institutional, bureaucratic, and personal obstacles combine to create immunity to change. Unfortunately, the senior leaders the Army tends to produce find themselves trapped in the third column (hidden commitments) and prevented from implementing real change that will achieve the goals in the first column. That is why all eleven versions of the Army's leadership doctrine since 1946 *(FM 22-*

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90. Ibid.

91. Ibid., 21.

92. I beg the reader's patience through these concepts and definitions. They form an important analytical framework for the narrative that follows.

93. Kegan and Lahey, *Immunity to Change,* 36.

100) have been "what the ideal driver should look like" manuals. Even the 2006 revision

(now re-named *FM 6-22*), with its detailed emphasis on leader development, will not be

enough to help create officers with self-transforming minds. Kegan and Lahey note that

". . . what passes for 'leadership development' will most likely amount to [simply]

'leadership training'."[94]

  Can innovative, insightful leaders orchestrate a transformation? Yes, but with

extreme difficulty. Both academics and practitioners have striven (and are still striving)

to understand how this may actually occur. We do know, however, that institutional

transformations—by my definition a paradigm shift driven by or directed at the human

dimension—are powerful, enduring, and usually irreversible. They result in cultural

change. In the case of the Army, racial integration, the AVF, gender integration, and the

recent acceptance of gays and lesbians are all powerful examples of institutional

changes—authentic *cultural* transformations. The story that follows is a perfect example

of how difficult it is for visionary innovators and change agents to transform a strong,

insular culture.[95]

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94. Kegan and Lahey, *Immunity to Change,* 39.

95. Military sociologists have written extensively on military cultures and have offered varying definitions. However, I find most of those to be too limited, too general, or inadequate, such as Dr. Don Snider, former colonel and Emeritus Professor of Political Science at West Point. He identifies discipline, professional ethos, military etiquette, and espirit de corps as the four key elements in military culture. Don M. Snider and Lloyd J. Matthews, *The Future of the Army Profession* (Boston: McGraw Hill, 2005), as quoted in Clarke, *Changing Army Culture,* 16). For this discussion, I embrace Edgar H. Schein's definition of organizational culture as an organization that exhibits "a pattern of basic assumptions—invented, discovered, or developed by a given group as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration—that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems." Edgar H. Schein, *Organizational Culture and Leadership*, Joint Publication in the Jossey-Bass Management Series and the Jossey-Bass Social and Behavioral Science Series (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1985), 9.

Changing the Army's Culture

An officer entering the US Army today has a less than one percent chance of becoming a general officer a quarter of a century later. Along that grueling professional development path lie a number of hurdles that this young man or woman must leap in order to become a senior steward of one of the world's largest, most lethal institutions in the world. Cultural pressures play a significant role in creating the compliance and conformity that are required to make this journey. Conformity starts early and takes many shapes and forms. In addition to careerism, fraternal loyalties are strongly enforced, both overtly and covertly. Compounded by historically rich unit heritages, "mission first" pressures have become institutionalized and are taken for granted by all officers. To cite a popular colloquium: failure is not an option. For officers looking to win the approval of the senior commander, means versus ends can become a very real dilemma.

At the top of this conservative bureaucracy sits one of the most powerful people in the world—the Chief of Staff of the US Army (CSA). Among the many prerogatives of the CSA is his heavy hand in influencing the choice of officers entering the lower general officer ranks and the management of general officer assignments. All chiefs have had patrons who brought them along as well.[96] As officers become generals, all believe, and have been told repeatedly, that they have gotten leadership "right." Consequently, each CSA has spoken extensively on the criticality of leadership, ethics, and values. In fact, in their published collective papers, Army leadership and character

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96. Edward C.Meyer, Ancell R. Manning, and Jane Mahaffey, *Who Will Lead? Senior Leadership in the United States Army* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1995). See especially their chapters five and six. Promotion into the upper general officer ranks is a story of patron-protégé. For 4-star generals to handpick their successors and dictate the career direction for the 1- and 2-stars, this begs the question: Is this mentorship or cronyism?

(morals, values and ethics) were their most frequent topics of choice.[97] Furthermore, in desiring to leave their mark on the subject of leadership, several chiefs have changed the lists of Army values and even the definition of the term leadership itself.[98] Because these stewards seek to "own" the topic of leadership, they must also be held accountable for its effective assimilation (or lack thereof) throughout the institution.[99]

In March 2007, Army War College student Colonel Peggy Combs wrote a monograph entitled "US Army Cultural Obstacles to Transformational Leadership," in which she argued that organizational culture and leadership have a symbiotic relationship, and that contrary to the statements of recent Chiefs of Staff, the Army's culture has impeded the development of leaders that the Army needs for the twenty-first century. Specifically, Combs cited CSA General Dennis Reimer's (1995–1999) call for the "Pentathelete" leader (i.e., by his definition a transformational leader with an agile mind who is innovative, flexible, and imaginative). She believes, as do I, that the "by the book, by the numbers, process-driven culture obstructs the development of transformational leaders."[100]

Combs concluded that the evaluation of Army leadership potential appears to be based more on the ability to *follow* directives and cultural system control artifacts than to *lead*. By "cultural system control artifacts," she does not mean bureaucratic

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97. See John Adams Wickham, "Collected Works of the Thirtieth Chief of Staff, United States Army, June 1983–June 1987 (Washington, DC: US Department of the Army, 1987), DTIC accession number: AD-A184564. Carl E. Vuono, *A Trained and Ready Army: The Collected Works of the Thirty-First Chief of Staff, United States Army: June 1987–June 1991* (Washington, DC: US Department of the Army, 1992). Gordon R. Sullivan, *The Collected Works of the Thirty-Second Chief of Staff, United States Army* (Washington, DC: US Department of the Army, 1996). Dennis J. Reimer, James Jay Carafano, and the Center of Military History, *Soldiers Are Our Credentials: The Collected Works and Selected Papers of the Thirty-Third Chief of Staff, United States Army, CMH Pub 70-69* (Washington, DC: Army Center of Military History, US Army, 2000).

98. See Appendix A – US Army Doctrinal Definitions of Leadership.

99. The CSA orders and directs revisions to Army Leadership Doctrine. He is the final authority for approval and validates the release by his official signature.

100. Combs, "Cultural Obstacles."

impediments but rather the predominance of Field Manuals (FMs), Training Manuals

(TMs), Army Regulations (ARs), Standing Operating Procedures (SOPs), Inspector

General (IG) checklists, and command policies that tell subordinate leaders what to do.

Consequently, these directive and prescriptive "artifacts" create an organizational

culture and climate that "defines success in terms of measurable short-term

performances." The Army, asserts Combs, "produces outstanding managers of short-

term results."[101] Combs's analysis of the Army today closely describes the state of the

Army's bureaucratic and careerist-centric culture that emerged from Vietnam.[102]

So how do all of these elements come together to help us understand the

historical significance of the Army OE Program? In short, when viewed together, they

provide a framework that illustrates the growing disconnect between the rapid

evolutionary progression of more humanistic leadership practices (based on the

successful implementation of theories over time and distinct generational differences),

and the resistance or reluctance of US Army leaders to embrace new ways of effectively

exercising influence over soldiers.

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101. In recent years, others have put forth similar assessments. See Clarke, "Changing Army Culture." As a student at the Army War College in 2008, Clarke argued that Army culture, with its emphasis on "rewards process behavior" discourages critical and adaptive thinking.

102. Sadly, we see the same consequences persisting well into the twenty-first century. One obstruction, however, particularly stands out as entrenched in US Army culture—the "myth of heroic management." The myth of heroic management posits that a good leader knows what is occurring in the organization at all times, should be able to solve any problem that arises, should always know how the organization is working, and possess more technical expertise than any subordinate. See Combs, "Cultural Obstacles," 16. This myth has permeated Army culture throughout most of its history and goes a long way in explaining why antiquated leadership theories such as Great Men and Trait Theory are still prevalent today. One needs to look no further than the Officer Evaluation Report (OER) to see such a strong adherence to the myth of heroic management.

Table P.1. The Evolution of Leadership – A Proffered Framework for Analyses

	Great Man/ Trait Theory	Management Skills/Styles	Contingency/ Transactional Leadership	Trans-formational Leadership	Servant Leadership
Era Dominant	Pre-WWII and WWII	1950s-1960s	1970s to present	1980s to present	Not dominant
Motivation	To command & control	To command & manage	To manage & lead	To lead & facilitate individual goals	To serve first then lead; to facilitate learning
Leader Initiatives	To direct, inspire by force of personality capabilities	To direct and to quantify – results oriented	Behaviors based on situation	Idealized influence, intellectual stimulation, individualized consideration	Valuing & developing, building community, sharing leadership
Org. Com-munication	Top-down driven	Top-down driven	No dissent but may invite participatory communi-cation	Welcomes & rewards open communi-cation & dissent	Welcomes & rewards all comuni-cation
Resulting Org Culture	Obedient – ends justify means	Functionally efficient, goals are quantitative	Achievement oriented – behaviors rewarded	Climate: proactive, empowered, and innovative	Climate: Trans, plus personal & generative
Generation Influence By	Pre-Depression, Depression	Depression era ("Greatest Generation")	Greatest Generation and baby boomers	Baby boomers, & generations X and Y	Generations Y and millenials
In Army Leadership Doctrine	Persistent in all FMs (1946-2006)	Persistent in all FMs (1946-2006)	FMs 1973-2006	Minor rep in FMs 1999 and 2006	Not present
As Applied to Maslow Model	Lowest	Lower	Lower and middle	Higher	Highest
As Applied Theory X/Y	Theory X	Theory X	Theory X and Y	Theory Y	Theory Y
As Applied to Heifetz	Technical	Technical	Technical	Technical and Adaptive	Adaptive

As Applied to Kegan & Lahey	Socialized mind	Socialized mind	Socialized mind & self-authoring mind	Self-authoring & self trans-formational	Self transform-ational

Note: This matrix takes each of the major leadership theories that evolved over time and correlates it with the evolution of Army leadership doctrine. This framework clearly reveals a historically selective and conservative approach.

The conclusion we can draw from the trends presented in the analytical model above is that the Army, since Vietnam, has predominantly and consistently preferred leaders who exercise transactional leadership styles that appeal to soldiers operating at the lower levels of Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Exacerbating this persistent trend has been the Army's poor understanding of leadership and, consequently, its inability to develop and promote adaptively thinking officers with self-transforming minds into the upper officer ranks.[103]

Literature Review

Few scholars have chronicled fundamental changes in the US Army's leadership concepts, doctrine, and culture (i.e., the relational behaviors between the leaders and the led). Consequently, there is a large gap in the historiography. Even fewer have noticed this gap. One exception is military historian and University of North Carolina professor emeritus Richard H. Kohn. Writing in 1981, Kohn pondered the vast number of veterans in the United States and the absence of any history on their social experiences: "Historians have neglected one of the most pervasive experiences in American life, one especially suited to the new social history. . . . What did they think? How did they behave?" He asserted that such histories were needed because old myths and stereotypes about the behaviors and

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103. Source: my construct as compiled in part from: Northouse*;* Brien N. Smith, Ray V. Montagno, Tatiana N. Kuzmenko, "Transformational and Servant Leadership: Content and Contextual Comparisons," *Journal of Leadership and Organizational Studies* 10, no. 4 (2004): 80–91; Kegan and Lahey, *Immunity to Change;* and Heifetz, *The Practice of Adaptive Leadership.*

social experiences of soldiers—largely originating in the Second World War—were still

persistent "with remarkable durability."[104] Kohn noted that throughout much of American

military history, soldiers frequently deserted because of the way they were treated. He

condemned generalizations and stereotypes about why men fight—an acknowledgment that

each succeeding generation is different, serving and fighting within different contexts.

"Understanding the true identity of soldiers means grounding them in the communities and

times in which they lived."[105] Kohn expressed dismay for this neglect, especially for the

soldiers that are examined during the period covered in this dissertation. "Virtually the entire

literature on the volunteer Army debate of the last decade and a half has treated the

American soldier as an object, a unit of labor, an 'asset' without humanity in an historical

sense."[106]

Kohn also suggested that the social experiences of soldiers can explain primary

group cohesion, which is often a psychological phenomenon. He reminded his readers

that battle is all about emotions, as this dissertation similarly asserts that leadership is all

about emotions. On close inspection, both battle and leadership essentially share many of

the same emotions. Certainly, most military historians would agree that battle is a contest

where one cohesive group attempts to disrupt or destroy the cohesion of another cohesive

group. The trust that is required to form this cohesion is achieved through the relationship

between the leader and the led. Thus, organizational effectiveness and leadership are

tightly intertwined.[107]

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104. Richard H. Kohn, "The Social History of the American Soldier: A Review and Prospectus for Research," *The American Historical Review* 86, no. 3 (1981): 553–567.
105. Ibid., 564.
106. Ibid., 562.
107. My survey of the literature beyond Kohn's time (1981) yielded no significant findings for writings that could fill this void.

In many ways, Kohn's concern for the lack of historical writings on the social experiences of soldiers was an extension of a similar view expressed five years earlier in an article entitled "The Present State and Development of Sociology of the Military" written by George A. Kourvetaris and Betty A. Dobratz. Published in *The Journal of Political and Military Sociology* in 1976, this lengthy article presented a comprehensive survey of the state of the discipline at that time. The authors found that the "sociology of the military still occupies a marginal and ambivalent position within academic sociology."[108]

> Since sociology of the military has not been able to establish a broad base of academic legitimacy and institutionalization, it has not provided young sociologists in the field a "frame of reference" similar to those provided in other more accepted and developed areas of sociology. This may be due in part to the anti-military liberal academic environment and to *the semi-closed nature of the military*. The latter may tend to *hinder critical sociological analysis*.[109]

In surveying almost 200 publications, Kourvetaris and Dobratz observed two major perspectives or directions for sociology of the military. In terms of its utility, the subject was, first, useful for increasing "the efficiency and effectiveness of the military organization" (precisely the focus of the Army OE Program) and, second, to understand the military "as a major social institution having wide societal and political ramifications."[110] The authors identified fresh new trends that supported a growing belief that the Army "no longer rewards competence in combat but rather favors the bureaucratic managerial type," and that "concepts such as decision-making, organizational choice, leadership, and the implementation of decisions are important for future analysis." Unfortunately, for their time

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108. George A. Kourvetaris and Betty A. Dobratz, "The Present State and Development of Sociology of the Military," *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* 4, no. 1 (Spring 1976): 67–108.

109. Ibid. Emphasis is mine—important because it supports my contention that the Healers, despite their alleged embrace of behavioral science research, resisted any serious consideration of new leadership theories and practices.

110 Ibid., 68–69.

(1976) and beyond, such trends and needs, which fell into the category of this first direction, were greatly subordinated to the second direction—to understand the military "as a major social institution having wide societal and political ramifications."[111] Indeed, in the decades following this article, a large body of work emerged under the over-arching term "civil-military relations," which today is practically synonymous for "sociology of the military."[112]

Still, despite Kourvetaris, Dobratz, and Kohn's observations and concerns about the under-studied field of social history between the leader and the led, a large volume of literature has emerged since the publication of their articles that inform the thesis of this dissertation. These two broad areas of post-Vietnam literature may hold clues and explanations about the ultimate fate of the Army OE program. In general, they address (1) the performance of the officer corps in Vietnam, and (2) the post-war "transformation" that occurred.

In regard to the first, this dissertation examines the implementation and institutionalization of cutting-edge behavioral science (i.e., OD) within the entire Army. Army officers took this action primarily because they saw a need for planned, large-scale

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111. This is not meant as a criticism for the subordination of the study of military organizations in sociology. As we now know, sociology *and* psychology have since become the backbone of such research—an embryonic combination at that time. Again, a void has largely existed since then. Fortunately, the expansion of social and institutional history in recent years and growing interest in leadership and change are beginning to fill that void. More importantly, Kourvetaris and Dobratz underscore very clearly that the Progressives were pioneer adopters of recent behavioral science research (OD). Most of the researchers at that time tended "to be more conservative and thus less critical of the military. [In addition] there [was] also a lack of consideration of the ethical and moral implications of military activities." Ibid., 95.

112. The lack of authorship on leadership and soldier behaviors in the 1970s is partially addressed with psychologist and former soldier Larry H. Ingraham's *The Boys in the Barracks.* Ingram's ethnographic study of the life of soldiers living in the barracks is an excellent treatment of the *cultural* attitudes of the junior enlisted men who made up the first wave of the AVF. This is a "must" read for those wishing to fully understand the social attitudes and mindsets of that generation. Ingraham explains the nature of their drug-laden, counter-culture behaviors which are useful in understanding not only the dramatic generational differences between soldiers and their NCOs/officers but also the potential for OD (Army OE) to have a significant impact. Larry H. Ingraham and Frederick J. Manning, *The Boys in the Barracks: Observations on American Military Life* (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1984).Similarly, see also David Gottlieb, *Babes in Arms: Youth in the Army* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1980).

change to address poor individual and organizational performance. Based on events in

Vietnam, most planners believed that the Army should reexamine or reevaluate, albeit to

various degrees, its practice of leadership, either to prepare for the practicality of an AVF, in

this case the view of the Healers, or to question its concept and the very nature of leadership

in order to transform the culture into a healthier and more effective environment, the

defining view of the Progressives. Critically shaping their approaches to planned change

was the fundamental question of the Army officer corps' behavior and performance in the

war. Without doubt this fundamental question lies at the root of most writings on Vietnam.

The authors of these writings are important to the story of OE not because they assessed

the nature and concept of leadership in Vietnam (which few did) but because they set the

conversational and contextual framework in which assumptions were formed for the

development of post-war reforms and alleged transformations. In essence, two camps

emerged from the writings that appeared in the 1970s. The first camp argued that the

Army's leadership and performance in the war was poor and that the institution had itself to

blame. The second camp, in reaction to the first, asserted that outside influences, many

beyond the Army's control, handicapped Army leaders throughout the war. The starting

point for the emergence of the two contrasting, emotional viewpoints can be traced to

the Army War College's *Study on Military Professionalism* of June 30, 1970.[113]

Prior to the study, the Army officer corps presumed that the Army's chronic

problems were due to the nature of warfare in Vietnam and a spillover of the social

upheavals back home, such as a permissive, anti-authoritarian youth and their embrace

of liberal and radical behaviors. The study debunked these perceptions and proved to

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113. Department of the Army, United States Army War College, *Study on Military Professionalism*, June 30, 1970.

be an unvarnished, scathing indictment of the corrupt, self-centered, managerial-like behaviors of Army officers at all levels (discussed at length in Chapter I). The investigators found pervasive careerism to be dysfunctional and destructive. More importantly, however, the 1970 study concluded that the Army *system* was seriously flawed, not the nature of America's youth. The impact of the Army War College's *Study on Military Professionalism* cannot be overstated. The study served as the credible, argumentative foundation for most of the critical analyses and commentaries which posited that the Army imploded and self-destructed in Vietnam, and that a culture of careerism within the officer corps was primarily at fault.

The first book to appear in print that seriously questioned the leadership competency of the Army officer corps was *Defeated: Inside America's Military Machine* by Stuart H. Loory, published in 1973. Loory, a former journalist and professor at the Ohio State University, spent the years 1971 and 1972 travelling to numerous posts and bases around the world to interview service members from each branch of the US armed forces. While much of what he wrote fueled the public's awareness of the poor state of race relations in the armed forces and the chronic abuse of drugs and alcohol, his underlying assertion was that America's armed services—"the machines"—were fundamentally broken. Written with a flair for the dramatic, Loory nevertheless pointed to several chronic issues that would lead to serious examination by other scholars and proven valid.[114] Loory found ample evidence that illuminated the pervasive "CYA" culture of the officer corps. "Mistakes could be tolerated but not the exposure of mistakes. [This led to] always putting the best face on any situation, then to the

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114. Stuart H. Loory, *Defeated: Inside America's Military Machine* (New York: Random House, 1973), Chapter 17.

encouragement of cover-up and finally to the widespread practice of lying."[115] To

support his assertion, Loory augmented his own interviews with those from the 1970

AWC *Study on Military Professionalism*. [116]

Two other books of that early period that were highly critical of the Army's

leadership in Vietnam were William Hauser's *America's Army in Crisis: A Study in Civil-*

Military Relations in 1973, and Zeb B. Bradford and Frederick Joseph Brown's *The*

United States Army in Transition in 1974. Although both primarily dealt with broader

issues of civil-military relations, each author argued that the Army's culture was not able

to adapt to change. Hauser wrote that the Army was entering into its most problem-

riddled crisis in history and that its inability to adapt was at the root of all other ills.

Because the Army could not adapt to the changing values of society, the institution

faced a "crisis of confidence." While he did not directly attack the integrity of the officer

corps, Hauser asserted that the "self-serving careerism" of the officer corps contributed

to this crisis. Similarly, Bradford and Brown argued that the Army's inability to adapt to

social changes was serious.[117]

In Spring 1976, one of the Army's own—Brigadier General Douglas Kinnard—

published the results of a study he conducted at Princeton in the *Journal of Military and*

Political Sociology in an article entitled "The Vietnam War in Retrospect: The Army

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115. Ibid., 334–335. Also cited in David MacIsaac, "Of Victories, Defeats, and Failures: Perceptions of the American Military Experience," *Air University Review* (November–December 1974), http://www.airpower.au.af.mil/airchronicles/aureview/1974/nov-dec/macisaac.html.

116. Loory escaped a lot of backlash and criticism at the time; most likely because, as a journalist, he lacked credibility among the military and because his book was published before the war ended.

117. As with the reaction to Loory's work, both authors probably escaped much overt criticism because their arguments did not directly condemn the Army officer corps in toto. A better explanation may be that these works appeared just as the war was ending—there had been little time yet to reflect.

Generals' Views."[118] As a respected, recently retired general officer, Kinnard was well

positioned to ask such uncomfortable questions as "whether the war effort in general

was worthwhile." Most remarkable about his study was his access to so many general

officers who had held commands in Vietnam; Kinnard, in total, surveyed 173 individuals

who held general officer command positions in Vietnam from 1965 to 1972. His intent

was to assess elite attitudes toward the management of the war from the perspective of

those elites who directly led operations in Vietnam. Of the 173 surveys of sixty

questions that he distributed, Kinnard received 108 responses (a rate of 65 percent).

The majority of the results substantiated the findings of the 1970 AWC *Study on Military

Professionalism*—remarkable considering that such admissions, promised under strict

provisions to protect anonymity, could be viewed as self-incriminating. Kinnard's

concluding paragraph is telling in this regard:

> One thing that the responses show is a substantial degree of introspective criticism of the Army's own efforts. This point is interesting in view of the defensiveness alleged to be characteristic of military elites. There exist two plausible but untested interpretations of these inclinations to criticize. Retrospective assessments of the war in 1974 came at a time when emotional aspects of the war and the exigencies of personal responsibility had been largely attenuated, and respondents were able to view their experience from a detached and presumably less idealized perspective. The other interpretation is that the critical inclinations which were always there emerged in part because of the anonymous nature of the responses. This latter point does raise a question as to why some of this group did not speak out earlier during the course of the war on such matters as the body count or on larger issues concerning the manner in which war was being fought. Perhaps the main lesson for the future that this suggests is that *the system has to permit more dissent without the sacrifice of careers as the price.*[119]

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118. Douglas Kinnard, "The Vietnam War in Retrospect: The Army Generals' Views," *Journal of Military and Political Sociology* 4 (Spring 1976): 17–28. A year later he expanded his work in a book. See Douglas Kinnard, *The War Managers* (Hanover, N.H.: Published for the University of Vermont by the University Press of New England, 1977).

119. Ibid. Emphasis is mine. What is striking about Kinnard's observation is that even in retirement, these senior leaders were afraid to speak their minds and state the truth as they believed unless their

At the same time (May 1976) that Kinnard publicized his study, two veteran Army officers, Paul L. Savage and Richard A. Gabriel, emerged with several articles and a book that would serve as a lightning rod for the second camp's counter-arguments.[120] In opposing the growing and popular belief that poor behaviors in Vietnam reflected declining values and attitudes toward authority in society, the authors were primarily interested in examining indicators of disintegration that affected military cohesion.[121] They described the deteriorating socio-military process as such: first, a managerial disposition that had formed throughout the 1960s replaced a warrior ethos in the officer corps. Second, a bloated officer corps resulted in the assignment of many poorly qualified leaders to command assignments (exacerbated by the short six-month tenure policy). Finally, the destruction of primary military groups—largely a result of short rotation policies—prevented the formation of unit cohesion and created a tremendous gulf between officer and enlisted personnel. In general, the authors strongly believed that unit cohesion dissolved because "managerial careerism" replaced officer professionalism, and that this disintegration "operated independently of sociopolitical factors in the larger American society."[122] In addition, they asserted that poor morals and ethical behaviors of Army officers were the fundamental root causes for the poor performance and defeat in Vietnam. Gabriel and Savage concluded that only a serious reformation of the Army officer corps could correct poor leadership.[123] Like the AWC

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anonymity was protected. On a personal note, in my thirty years in the Army, I only worked for two commanders with whom it was safe to offer a dissenting view and to speak my mind.

120. Richard A. Gabriel and Paul L. Savage, *Crisis in Command: Mismanagement in the Army* (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 1978).

121. This assertion is important because it implies that, following Vietnam, the Army was in desperate need of OD practices and methodologies.

122. Paul L. Savage and Richard A. Gabriel, "Cohesion and Disintegration in the American Army: An Alternative Perspective," *Armed Forces and Society* 2, no. 3 (May 1976), 341.

123. Savage and Gabriel, *Crisis in Command*, 366.

Study on Military Professionalism, the impact of Savage and Gabriel's *Crisis in Command* cannot be understated. The authors' wide readership and the conversations they stirred throughout the officer corps fueled additional reactions from the "apologists" and, with their strong substantiation of the 1970 AWC study, the force of their arguments influenced the thoughts and reflections of more junior officers well into the 1980s and 1990s.[124]

Then, in 1981, an anonymous author using the pseudonym "Cincinnatus" published a condemning critique of the Army officer corps under the title *Self Destruction: The Disintegration and Decay of the United States Army during the Vietnam Era*. Cincinnatus, a former Army officer who had served as a captain in Vietnam in 1968, substantiated all that Savage and Gabriel had argued several years before. However, his framework differed in that he wrote clearly from the perspective of an insider who was on the ground as a junior officer. Although much of his writing cast a wide net to encompass a myriad of problems and frustrations from those down below, his narrative was greatly enriched with the experiences of many other officers. Like Kinnard's promise to protect the identities of his fellow generals, Cincinnatus obtained frank input from many officers from the lower and middle-grade ranks (company and field-grade officers) with the same pledge.[125]

Cincinnatus challenged the growing revisionist belief that the war was really lost at home, primarily by the military's civilian masters, and insisted that the Army's senior

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124. A comprehensive survey of the Army's professional journals during these years reflect such an impact. However, most writings supported the views of the revisionists, especially in the wake of Harry Summers's book *On Strategy* in 1982 (discussed below).

125. Cincinnatus, *Self-Destruction, the Disintegration and Decay of the United States Army during the Vietnam Era* (New York: Norton, 1981). Cincinnatus's real name was Cecil B. Currey. The fact that he himself had taken an alias most likely helped in soliciting frank input from other officers.

leaders were to blame. His thorough treatment of this theme pointed to numerous examples of poor leadership and ineptitude at the senior levels of command. The senior leaders of the Army in Vietnam were never adaptive (within Heifetz's definition) because they "ignored calls for change that came from within." Like General Kinnard's aforementioned remark that "the system has to permit more dissent without the sacrifice of careers as the price," Cincinnatus believed that for the Army to ever become an effective organization, "it must learn to encourage suggestions and criticisms from within its own ranks and listen to challenges to its doctrines. . . ."[126]

Until Cincinnatus's book appeared, strong objections and counter arguments came from within the Army War College. Colonel Anthony L. Wermuth, in his emotional article "A Critique of Savage and Gabriel," described the authors' assertions as "gratuitous libels on one of the finest professional groups in the nation: the officer corps of the United States Army."[127] His primary objections were that the authors relied too heavily on the "over critical self-appraisal" 1970 Army War College *Study on Military Professionalism* (the irony apparently lost on him) and his insistence that the Vietnam experience was only a portion of the entire institution.[128] Any poor behaviors in the war zone reflected the "dissident behaviors" of the conscripts and not the professionalism of the institution. Wermuth concluded his list of objections by denying that careerism was out of control, comparing the drive and ambition of Army officers to be analogous to the

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126. Cincinnatus, xii.

127. Anthony L. Wermuth, "A Critique of Savage and Gabriel," *Armed Forces & Society* 3, no. 3 (Spring 1977): 481–490.

128. As with any academic institution, not all faculty members will share the same views. However, the backlash to the 1970 study was especially strong from the same college that had recently produced it. Indeed, two AWC follow-on studies on leadership attempted to downplay the 1970 study (discussed at length in Chapter I).

rest of American society. He then defended the notion that "rank has its privileges" by stating that senior officers had earned such status by virtue of their rank and positions.

In 1982, another apologist—Harry Summers—strongly struck back with a widely-read book entitled *On Strategy: A Critical Analysis of the Vietnam* War. Although a number of revisionist "histories" had appeared prior to *On Strategy,* most were autobiographical accounts of the senior leaders' experiences in Vietnam who all argued that Washington and political considerations greatly restrained their actions and decision-making in the war.[129] Summers, best known of the "Clausewitzian revisionists," adroitly contrasted Clausewitz's dictums on strategic doctrine with the US conduct of the war in Vietnam. Like other Clausewitzians, Summers pursued arguments that the Army could have won the war if only the civilian masters had not interfered. The Army officer corps loved this book. Summers, a retired Army colonel and combat veteran, was then a member of the faculty at the Army War College where his book was extensively used in the curriculum throughout the 1980s. It was also popular because "the US military ostensibly worships Clausewitz as the principal prophet of war."[130]

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129. To fully appreciate the large number of revisionist writings on Vietnam and, more importantly, the subdivisions of Vietnam revisionism, see Gary Hess's historiographical review. Gary R. Hess, "The Unending Debate: Historians and the Vietnam War," *Diplomatic History* 18, no. 2 (April 1994): 239–264. Hess cites several of the revisionists, but there are many others. See especially, David Richard Palmer, *Summons of the Trumpet: U.S.-Vietnam in Perspective* (San Rafael, CA: Presidio Press, 1978); Shelby L. Stanton, *The Rise and Fall of an American Army: U.S. Ground Forces in Vietnam, 1965–1973* (Novato, CA: Presidio, 1985); David H. Hackworth and Julie Sherman, *About Face* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989); Phillip B. Davidson, *Vietnam at War: The History, 1946–1975* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1988); and Andrew F. Krepinevich, *The Army and Vietnam* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).

130. Robert M Cassidy, "Prophets or Praetorians? The Uptonian Paradox and the Powell Corollary," *Parameters* (Autumn 2003): 130–143. "Summers's 'lessons' became the dominant school of thought and evolved into the 'never-again school.' In the years to come, the never-again school would dominate American military culture: it was articulated in the Weinberger Doctrine in the 1980s, and was subsequently embodied by General Colin Powell as the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) at the end of the decade." To be fair, Summers also criticized Army leaders for not being more assertive with their political masters. The timing of this book is important to the story of the Army OE program because it appeared at a precarious time in the institutionalization of OE. Discussed in Chapter 4.

Over time, interest in "what went wrong" in Vietnam has continued. While numerous writings over the last three decades have examined the defeat from various perspectives and viewpoints, no major books appeared after the early 1980s that would question the viability and health of the officer corps. If anything, subsequent authors put forth an argument that the junior officers who observed the dysfunctionalities of their senior commanders in Vietnam learned from those times and, consequently, performed brilliantly—by almost any measure—in the First Gulf War in 1991. Most popular in this regard is James Kittfield's 2009 book entitled *Prodigal Soldiers: How the Generation of Officers Born of Vietnam Revolutionized the American Style of War*. In this colorful biographical tracing of the careers of several officers who would eventually achieve four-star rank at the time of the Gulf War, Kittfield tells a very positive story of how these Vietnam-era captains and majors learned from their bad experiences and observations and went on to transform the Army to an unprecedented level of quality and expertise as general officers. While Kittfield makes a strong case that these very capable officers mastered their craft (operationally and technologically) and ultimately performed well in Operation Desert Storm, there is little critical analysis of their leadership abilities other than that they were engaged, caring commanders in all of their assignments. This is a "feel good" book that ignores other factors such as their role in creating the conditions that would allow careerism to reach a point in 1992 and 1993, only months after their superb performances in the Gulf, whereby the junior officers in the Army were leaving, almost en masse, largely due to a perceived culture of careerism and risk aversion reminiscent of Vietnam.[131] Despite the title's implication, this book has very little to do with leadership.[132]

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131. This exodus occurred under their stewardship. There were also signs that gender integration,

Kittfield's view is prevalent in the literature. Yet if we truly examine the combat experiences of the lieutenants and captains in Vietnam, we see that their greatest challenges were related to the poor leadership and command relationships they experienced or witnessed with their seniors. The plethora of personal accounts that have appeared in print in the decades following the war attest to these poor leadership behaviors. Besides giving great credibility to the findings of the 1970 *Study on Military Professionalism*, these narratives are almost universal in their observations. For example, the gulf between the lieutenants fighting the war on the ground and their commanders micromanaging them in helicopter gunships, stacked by succeeding levels of rank and command, above the jungles is illustrated in almost every personal account. Other themes include the ill effects of platoon leaders and company commanders serving only six months in combat, the risk aversion of more senior leaders, the widespread emphasis to lie about the number of enemy casualties, and the tendency to falsify reports.[133] Yet, on close examination of Kittfield and his contemporaries' writings, the brilliant performances in 1991

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long underway throughout the second half of their careers, was not going well. The Army's largest sexual abuse scandal occurred in 1996 and abuses have grown worse ever since despite repetitive promises of "zero tolerance." See Jackie Spinner, "In Wake of Sex Scandal, Caution is the Rule at Aberdeen," *Washington Post*, Friday, November 7, 1997, Page B01; and http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/military/july-dec97/harassment_9-11a.html, "Aberdeen revealed a widespread problem." Last accessed June 30, 2013.

132. Continuing in this vein that the Army in recent times has produced exceptional, almost flawless senior leaders, see Greg Jaffe and David Cloud, *The Fourth Star: Four Generals and the Epic Struggle for the Future of the United States Army* (New York: Crown, 2009); Meyer, Manning Ancell, and Mahaffey, *Who Will Lead?*; and Edgar F. Puryear *19 Stars: A Study in Military Character and Leadership* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2003). For a look at risk aversion from one of those captains at that time see, Joseph P. Buche, "A Formula for How to Screw Up the Army: Take No Risks and Make No Mistakes," (research paper, US Army School of Advanced Military Studies, December 18, 1997), DTIC accession number: AD-A339453.

133. There are literally hundreds that share these themes. See especially James R. McDonough, *Platoon Leader* (Novato, CA: Presidio, 1985); Peter Louis Goldman and Tony Fuller, *Charlie Company: What Vietnam Did to Us* (New York: Morrow, 1983); Al Santoli, *Everything We Had: An Oral History of the Vietnam War by Thirty-Three American Soldiers Who Fought It* (New York: Random House, 1981) and *To Bear Any Burden: The Vietnam War and Its Aftermath in the Words of Americans and Southeast Asians* (New York: Dutton, 1985); Robert Mason, *Chickenhawk* (New York: Viking, 1983); and Mark Baker, *Nam: The Vietnam War in the Words of the Soldiers Who Fought There* (New York: William and Morrow, 1981).

and beyond have little to do with improved leadership behaviors and everything to do with the successful implementation of operational doctrine (the 1982 AirLand Battle doctrine) and the scores of advanced weapons systems fielded in the 1980s (including the Abrams tank, the Bradley fighting vehicle, and the Apache helicopter).[134]

The other major subject area that informs the thesis of this dissertation is the widespread belief that the Army radically and successfully transformed itself after Vietnam. Putting aside any debates over definitions for terms such as "transformation," "revolutionary," or "adaptive," it is clear that the Army became a much healthier institution in the decade following the war. Still, becoming healthier and achieving a cultural transformation are two different things. While many authors of this period have written numerous accounts about these reforms and modernization efforts, they often attribute successes to excellent "leadership" within their narratives but never define the term's meaning in relation to the changes they describe. Like Kittfield, they frequently praise the excellent and "insightful leadership" of these innovators and reformers but assign no definition of what leadership is or how it contributed to the improvements. Again, these authors assume that every reader possesses the same definition or same understanding of this complex term. Other than *managing* a reorganization of the Army or *managing* the implementation of advanced technologies, how did they actually *lead* in creating a new, all volunteer Army?[135] In general, the transformation literature falls within three topical areas:

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134. AirLand Battle doctrine defined combat power as a combination of maneuver, firepower, protection, and leadership   It also emphasized leadership as the "crucial element of combat power." Yet the definition was confined to that of technical and tactical proficiency, as well as junior leader initiative and rapid decision-making. See Jonathan Lee Due, "Seizing the Initiative: The Intellectual Renaissance That Changed U.S. Army Doctrine, 1970–1982" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina, 2007), 79–81; US Department of the Army, *FM 100-5, Military Leadership* (Washington, DC: Headquarters, US Department of the Army, September, 1983).

135. Indeed, the Army OE program greatly suffered as a result (the subject of Chapter IV). A good example of this point is *Transforming the Army TRADOC's First Thirty Years, 1973–2003*, TRADOC 30th

the revision of training and operational doctrine, the organizational transition to the AVF, and

the implementation of advanced technologies in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s.

The new training and operational doctrines, as integrated with new technological

advancements, have served to impart a false impression that leadership—especially leader

development—has proven effective over time because of the 1970s reforms. As most Army

officers acknowledge, General William DePuy's reconceptualization of Army tactical and

operational doctrine revolutionized Army warfighting methodologies after Vietnam.[136] The

most thorough treatment is Paul Herbert's *Deciding What Has to Be Done: General*

William E. DePuy and the 1976 Edition of FM 100-5, Operations. Herbert clearly

illustrated its impact and, more importantly, the thinking process DePuy employed (and

authoritatively controlled) to radically reform training and operational doctrine.[137] By

tightly integrating training and training management with tactical and operational doctrine,

DePuy (and his later successor General Donn Starry) greatly distilled the complexity of

leadership, boiling it down to an essentially simple (but erroneous) definition of "technical

and tactical proficiency." This oversimplified perception of leadership has persisted over

time because there is little doubt that the Army became a very healthy and effective

professional fighting force as a result of these changes. Also, Robert A. Doughty's *The*

Evolution of US Army Tactical Doctrine, 1946–76 similarly chronicles this revolutionary

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Anniversary Commemoration. TRADOC Historical Study Series (Military History Office, US Army Training and Doctrine Command Fort Monroe, VA: 2003).

136. There are many published examples. See Anthony J. Gasbarre, Jr. "The Evolution of Training Management Doctrine 1945 to 1988" (master's thesis, US Army Command and General Staff College, June 5, 1992); and Suzanne C. Nielsen, "U.S. Army Training And Doctrine Command, 1973–1982: A Case Study In Successful Peacetime Military Reform" (master's thesis, US Army Command and General Staff College, June 6, 2003).

137. Paul Herbert, *Deciding What Has to Be Done: General William E. DePuy and the 1976 Edition of FM 100-5, Operations.* Leavenworth Papers Number 16 (Department of the Army. Fort Leavenworth, KS: Command and General Staff College, 1988). See also Henry G. Gole, *General William E. DePuy: Preparing the Army for Modern War* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2008).

course over a longer period of time very well. Likewise, the brilliant integration of DePuy and Starry's operational doctrine with new training management methods and new combat technologies is well illustrated in John L. Romjue's *From Active Defense to AirLand Battle: The Development of Army Doctrine, 1973–1982.*[138]

In sum, the post-Vietnam transformation literature essentially views the American military experience since the war through the trifocal lens of technology, reorganization, and (operational/tactical) doctrine. In many ways, this view has always defined Army culture, especially since the Second World War. Critical to the thesis of this dissertation are two key points. First, the timing of initial modernization efforts—especially the Army's strong embrace of many new technologies beginning in the late 1970s—helps to explain the sudden demise of the Army OE Program after a decade of institutionalization. Second, a conceptual analysis of leadership (i.e., the behavioral relations between the leader and the led) has largely been missing for almost four decades, despite tremendous advances in

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138. DePuy's and later Starry's reforms created perception problems for the Army OE Program (discussed in Chapters III and IV). Robert A. Doughty, *The Evolution of US Army Tactical Doctrine, 1946-76*. Leavenworth Paper Number 1 (Combat Studies Institute, US Army Command and General Staff College Fort Leavenworth, KS: August 1979), and John L. Romjue, *From Active Defense to AirLand Battle: The Development of Army Doctrine, 1973-1982*, TRADOC Historical Monograph Series (Historical Office, US Army Training and Doctrine Command, Fort Monroe, VA: June 1984). Note that like the successful doctrinal reforms away from counterinsurgency and back to conventional maneuver warfare, the Army's transition to the AVF—especially the immediate post-conscription years—has become, over time, a subject of much scholarship. In addition to the number of writings on the draft and the AVF, many authors have also argued that the reorganization of the Army's force structure and its subsequent technical modernization reforms and programs resulted in one of the largest and most significant transformations in the Army's history. Reorganization and technical modernization went hand in hand, and DePuy and Starry's operational doctrine was the glue that tied it all together. Ibid. There are many examples. See especially Lewis Sorley, *Thunderbolt: General Creighton Abrams and the Army of His Times* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992). I argue that while these extensive reforms brought many positive changes, they did not result in a transformation because they largely excluded the human dimension in favor of modern management practices. In addition, my bibliography also lists many other examples of the structural reorganization of the Army. See especially Suzanne C. Nielsen, "US Army Training and Doctrine Command, 1973–1982: A Case Study in Successful Peacetime Military Reform." Master's thesis, US Army Command and General Staff College, June 6, 2003; and her *An Army Transformed: the U.S. Army's Post-Vietnam Recovery and Dynamics of Change in Military Organizations*, (Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, PA: September 2010). Further, Nielson believes that only the generals could have performed these reforms.

our understanding of human relations and how those relations fundamentally determine and shape organizational effectiveness. To say that there is a gap in the literature is an understatement.

Leading the effort to redress this gap is a small group of British social historians who have written on the social experiences of soldiers in the First World War. The most impressive work in this genre, and one that comes closest to the aim of this dissertation, is G. D. Sheffield's *Leadership in the Trenches: Officer-Man Relations, Morale and Discipline in the British Army in the Era of the First World War*.[139] Uniquely, Sheffield's focus throughout this impressive work remains tightly on the behavioral inter-relationships between the leader and the led. He first describes the existing culture of the pre-War British Army with its stereotypical but accurate descriptions of strict discipline and the great social gulf between officers and enlisted that made this authoritarian-based system function. All of that changed as Britain required enormous numbers of soldiers for attrition warfare on the western front. This need created many new military organizations whose ranks were largely filled by the middle class and upper working class, for both officers and enlisted. Consequently, the social behaviors between the officers and their men radically changed and significantly resulted in a new leadership culture, most apparent from battalion level down.

While Sheffield never asserts that discipline fundamentally weakened because of the new social makeup of these units, he does argue that the relationships were defined by mutual respect, largely derived from the shared experiences of all having attended public schools. "Applying the public school ethos to military leadership was effective.

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139. G. D. Sheffield, *Leadership in the Trenches: Officer-Man Relations, Morale and Discipline in the British Army in the Era of the First World War*. Studies in Military and Strategic History (Basingstoke, New York: Macmillan in association with King's College, St. Martin's Press, 2000).

Paternal, courageous, self-sacrificing officers earned the loyalty and love of their

men."[140] In addition, such empathy, combined with a culture of paternalism within the

junior officer corps, created "mutual understandings" within the tactical units that

resulted in shared trust and unit cohesion. Based on a large volume of primary sources,

specifically personal letters and testimonies, Sheffield unearths the dynamics of these

mutual understandings. At the root of these are emotions and feelings.[141] Proof of such

effectiveness, asserts Sheffield, was the fact that the British Army experienced no

serious mutinies (unlike the French) and held together through the end of the war

despite many units suffering more than 80 percent casualties.

Other war and society historians from this group include Leonard V. Smith, who

described similar "mutual understandings" between officer and enlisted in the French

Army, and John Baynes, whose arguments in his work on morale in a small Scottish

unit parallel Sheffield's.[142] Peter Simpkins, another historian of war and society, also

shared Sheffield's views in his *Kitchener's Army: The Raising of the New Armies, 1914–*

16 on the positive impact of shared social identities between the leaders and the led.[143]

As Sheffield has accomplished for the British Army of the Great War, hopefully this

dissertation, despite its narrow focus, will help to fill that void for the post-Vietnam War and

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140. Ibid., 51.

141. One could argue that emotions and feelings of Britain's Great War generation share much with America's post-9/11 generation. Beyond that, however, context makes almost any other comparisons inaccurate. The point here is that paternalism and shared middle class experiences were *new* factors in breaking through social and cultural barriers in Great Britain. The rebellious 1960s generation of young Americans, with their perceived radical behaviors and suspicions of authority, posed a similarly *new* social and cultural barrier for the Army officer corps.

142. Leonard V. Smith, *Between Mutiny and Obedience: The Case of the French Fifth Infantry Division During World War I* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994); and John Christopher Malcolm Baynes, *Morale: A Study of Men and Courage: The Second Scottish Rifles at the Battle of Neuve Chapelle, 1915* (London: L. Cooper, 1987).

143. Peter Simkins, *Kitchener's Army: The Raising of the New Armies, 1914–16* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988).

the baby-boomer generation. Likewise, we will need another for the Iraq and Afghanistan wars and their respective generation.

Positionality

An interdisciplinary doctoral dissertation demands a clear statement of positionality. Thus far, I have attempted to present a strong foundation of the social and behavioral science dimensions that directly inform the historical narrative that follows. I initially struggled with categorizing this work. Is it behavioral science or history? I am not the only student of contemporary history who expresses concern for identity. Labels are important. Scholars spend lifetimes carving out areas of expertise. Much of their efforts are grounded in particular disciplinary learnings and methodologies. In the process of becoming degreed scholars, students conform to established conventionalities as they seek the acceptance and approval of their teachers or their colleagues with publications of their work in thematic professional journals. Has leadership and change now evolved into a full discipline? If so, is this a leadership and change monograph as opposed to a military history narrative? As a professional military historian, am I inappropriately (or even illegitimately) straying from my field? Do I risk being dismissed as a relevant member of my profession?

In May 2006, Dr. Roger Spiller, the former George C. Marshall Professor of Military History at the US Army Command and General Staff College, delivered the keynote address at the annual meeting of the Society for Military History at Kansas State University. In his remarks, Spiller gently chastised his colleagues for being too intellectually conservative. The impetus for his criticism centered on the perceived diminutiveness of academic military history and the decline of dedicated military history

positions in recent years across academia.[144] Spiller recounted the contemporary

evolution of the field, tracing it back to the immediate post-Vietnam years when the

"New Military History" emerged.[145]

The "New Military History," a much debated subject in the late 1980s and early

1990s, was a term applied to a new generation of historians who were producing

scholarship that greatly broadened the study of war and the military beyond traditional

boundaries. Widespread debates and discussions on this trend led to the 1991 Fifty-

eighth Annual Meeting of the American Military Institute's adoption of the topic as its

annual theme. The conference "ably demonstrated [that the New Military historians

were] interested in social and political, technology, culture, and the relationship of war

and the military to society, the state, and international relations."[146] Although the

participants of the conference expressed predictable views—with traditionalists

suggesting that the New Military History was "abandoning the battlefield" and "escaping

from war"—well-respected scholar Peter Paret reminded his audience that the New

Military History was "not entirely new, and not all the 'old' military history was bad."

Paret shared that the New Military History was still in its infancy and had yet to produce

great works as had the traditionalists. However, he viewed the trend as positive in that

researchers were now formulating new problems, discovering new material, and

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144. At the core of this issue was the persistent myth among historians in general that military history was "a small, arcane specialty, unresponsive to larger historical concerns. Some scholars still consider it uninformed and narrowly focused, the remnants of an old 'drums and trumpets' school of military history that recounts, for an audience of professional soldiers and battle buffs, battlefield maneuvers and the exploits of "great commanders." John Whiteclay Chambers II, "The New Military History: Myth and Reality," *Journal of Military History* 55:3 (July 1991): 395–406.

145. Roger J. Spiller, "Military History and Its Fictions," *Journal of Military History* 70, no. 4 (October 2006): 1081–1097.

146. Chambers, "The New Military History," 395.

consequently asking the right questions and providing "insightful answers."[147] In the same year, Paret expanded on his views in an article for the Army War College's journal *Parameters,* in which he stated that the New Military History was "an expansion of the subject of military history from specifics of military organization and action to their widest implications, and also a broadening of the approaches to the subject, [and] of the methodologies employed."[148]

That this concern over identity issues would continue for another fifteen years, as evident by Spiller's keynote address in 2006, is testament to a widely-held, serious concern for the future of academic military history. Yet Spiller offered a perceptive solution: ensure that your work, regardless of the period of specialization, is relevant to contemporary affairs. He reminded everyone that military history is a critical element in the education of the profession of arms. The leaders of our armed forces frequently look to military history for guidance, advice, and examples of past performances that might shed light on possible solutions to current, very real challenges in contemporary military affairs.

> There never was a time [like today] when the possibilities for the advancement of historical understanding were so promising, or so challenging. In a world now so beset by war, this is particularly true of the practice of military history, where the interrelationship between past and present is so acute, and where the connection between thought and action can sometimes be startling direct. . . . We are more than others obliged to look beyond our immediate interests to the world beyond—to other disciplines for any intellectual, conceptual, or methodological advantage that might advance our work. . . . [S]houldn't we face our connection to the present more directly?[149]

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147. Ibid., 397.
148. Peter Paret, "The New Military History," *Parameters: The Journal of the Army War College*, 21 (August 1991), 10-18.
149. Spiller, "Military History and Its Fiction," 1084–1085.

Whatever label is appropriate for this work, I am not deserting the battlefield.

Military history, at its very core, has always been about leadership and change. For me,

when Karl von Clausewitz, "the most perceptive of all theorists of war," writes about

"friction" in war, he is describing the "permanent whitewater" of change.[150] Because

change is a constant condition, it does not cease or begin when war ends and armies

return home. When I look back on American military history, I see that our nation has

been at war approximately twenty percent of the time since we declared independence

in 1776. That means that for eighty percent of our history, our Army has been

recovering from war and training and preparing for the next conflict. Therefore, leaders

must continue to deal with the impact of change beyond the battlefield that is often more

arduous than combat itself. The list of technical and adaptive challenges is endless, with

problems such as budget battles, weapons modernization, post-war doctrinal

development and training, force reconstitution and modernizations, reductions in force,

military operations other than war, and more. If military history is about "the military,"

should we not also focus our scholarship on interwar activities? If leadership is indeed

central to quality and effective organizations (and perhaps the "X-Factor" in historic

causation, as Burns asserted), then is it not critical that we ask about its nature and the

effectiveness of leaders and organizations in preparing our Army for future warfare?

<div align="center">*</div>

In the narrative that follows, Chapter I, entitled "The Need for Better Leaders:

Vietnam and the Specter of an All-Volunteer Army," covers the years January 1968 to

December 1972 and speaks to the criticality of context. Events in Vietnam set in motion

a number of responses and actions that created the conditions for unprecedented

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150. Murray, *Military Adaptation in War*, I-9. His view of Clausewitz.

change and the potential for a true transformation of institutional culture. I explore the rise of the Healers and Progressives, and their early initiatives and activities that set the stage for the Army OE program.

Chapter II, entitled "Presenting and Testing New Concepts: The Early Initiatives of Army OE," explores the early activities of the Progressives—especially Colonel Tony Nadal's actions—in promoting OD for the Army. General George Forsythe, the Special Assistant for the Modern Volunteer Army (SAMVA), began placing a structured approach in place. More importantly, large-scale OD initiatives were tried at the Army's Military Personnel Center (MILPERCEN) in Washington and in Europe. Between January 1973 and mid-1975, the experiments at Fort Ord quickly evolved and resulted in the Army's decision to expand Army OE initiatives. Throughout this time period, the important "behind-the-scenes" activities of Lieutenant General Bernard Rogers were seen as a strong foundation of support for the OD movement.

Chapter III, entitled "Growing Pains and Turf Wars: The Weyand Years, covers mid-1974 to mid-1975 when Frederick Weyand served as CSA and Rogers commanded FORSCOM (Forces Command, the Army's highest-level command for operational forces). With authority over the Army's combat forces, Rogers began efforts to institutionalize OE. In the process he confronted resistance to change from the Traditionalists at large and more importantly from TRADOC (Training Command, the Army's highest level command for training). Despite this resistance, Army OE surged forward, especially at Fort Ord with the establishment and expansion of the Army's Organizational Effectiveness Training Center (OETC).

Chapter IV, entitled "The Institutionalization of Army OE: The Rogers Years," covers the years when Rogers served as the Army CSA (October 1976 to June 1979). As CSA, he formally implemented and institutionalized OE. OETC experienced growing pains, refined its curriculum, and produced numerous OE products. However, in reaction to increasing resistance from the Army, questions of identity and relevance surfaced. Consequently, the program was forced to "adapt or die" despite indications of success in several units throughout the Army. More importantly, TRADOC succeeded in excluding progressive views of human relations in its leadership instructional/doctrinal material for the Army's training schools. In mirroring trends in industry, Army OE largely jettisoned its humanistic elements and expanded the managerial and technical dimensions.

Chapter V, entitled "Conclusion: Lost Victories," summarize the program's "fall" as it existed under the stewardship of Rogers's successors, generals Edward Meyer and John Wickham (1979–1985). I explore why the Army OE program failed to endure and what would be required for it to succeed today. I conclude that while the Progressives failed to transform the Army's culture, they may have affected positive change in ways that are not readily apparent. The dissertation ends with an argument that the Army of 2014 is facing its most serious leadership crisis in forty years and prescribes the resurrection of Army OE to once again attempt to heal a dysfunctional leadership culture.

Transforming the culture of a large, conservative professional institution like the United States Army is like asking an aircraft carrier to pivot on a dime. The narrative that follows is steep in the details of a number of bureaucratic activities indicating that the devil was certainly in the details. However, I surly hope that these bureaucratic initiatives that I

have tried to reconstruct may someday provide future change agents with guideposts or

"lessons learned" so that they may one day transform our beloved Army into a more

humanistic and therefore more effective organization. JMY/June 2014.

Chapter I

The Need for Better Leaders:

Vietnam and the Specter of an All-Volunteer Army

> Because it is easier to look for heroes and scapegoats than to probe for complex and obscure causal forces, some assume that the lives of the "greats" carry more clues to the understanding of society, history, and current events than the lives of the great mass of people, of the sub leaders and the followers.
>
> James MacGregor Burns

Every aspect of the US Army Organizational Effectiveness Program was about one thing—people. The Army exited Vietnam with "people problems." Drug abuse and racial tensions had torn units apart, while their rotating officers—the "lifers"—"punched their tickets" for short-term combat experience necessary for promotion. Draftees sought to survive their one-year tour of duty in 'Nam, literally counting the days until they could return to "the World," their homes as civilians. As unit cohesion throughout the Army disintegrated to various degrees, some people stepped forward to heal the institution. Many lifers, those who had not demonstrated careerist behaviors or risk aversion in the war, took initiatives to offer solutions—some with traditional conservative remedies, others with novel and progressive ideas. The latter group saw hope in recent behavioral science research. They advocated a new technology for improving organizations— something new called Organizational Development—as a way to not only restore cohesion in the units but to also *relate* to a new generation of people the Army desperately needed in a post-conscription America. "To relate" meant that leaders now had to form a different kind of "relationship" with their volunteer soldiers, their *customers.* Conscripts had never been customers, but the "be all that you can be" volunteers certainly were. The Progressives understood that this relationship-building process was the very nature and essence of this complex dynamic

called "leadership." People had corrupted the system; now people had to heal it. From this realization came the Army OE Program. Within the tumultuous social context of that time period, the actors involved in this process, whether they were Traditionalists, Healers, or Progressives, all shared one important trait—they loved their Army and wanted to make it better. Their individual histories—their backgrounds, experiences, beliefs, and emotions— are all important pieces of this post-Vietnam reformation mosaic. Individually and collectively, this is their story.

The Winds of Change

It all started with losing the war in Vietnam. The country-wide Tet Offensive of late January 1968 and the later revelations about the My Lai massacre that occurred in March of that same year as the offensive came to an end, along with other tumultuous social and political events then taking place in the United States, combined to fertilize the future for the Army's initial embrace of modern organizational development methods and techniques. While the major impact of My Lai would take time to play out, Tet resulted in an immediate loss of faith in the Army's ability to successfully prosecute the war. On the heels of Tet, the Army lost the confidence of the Johnson administration, the American public, and America's youth who would constitute the pool of potential recruits in the near future of an all-volunteer armed force. More importantly, in the aftermath of Tet, many of the youth already in uniform, especially those fighting in Army combat units in Vietnam, began to lose trust in the leadership of their officers. The Army Organizational Effectiveness Program was indirectly born from these strategic political and social ramifications.

The year 1968 was violent, both in Vietnam and on the home front. On January 31, 1968, North Vietnamese forces launched a country-wide campaign that resulted in attacks on more than 150 towns and villages, numerous military installations, and five major cities.[1] By the time the city of Hue fell in May, more than 5000 Americans had died in the fighting, and Viet Cong dead numbered more than 43,000. In the South, more than 40,000 people were killed or wounded and over one million left as refugees. In the United States, on April 4, 1968, James Earl Ray assassinated civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. On April 23, the anti-war protests at Columbia University resulted in 712 arrests and 148 people injured, which in turn spawned numerous other demonstrations on college campuses across the United States.[2] On June 5, the nation lost another visionary leader when presidential hopeful Senator Robert F. Kennedy was shot and killed in California. These and many other tragic events of that year set the context for radical social and cultural change both within the United States in general and inside the Army in particular. Inside the Army, William "Westy" Westmoreland was at the center of almost anything dealing with Vietnam. Within the Army officer corps, his fellow officers were not surprised by his remarkable record of achievement to the top levels of leadership. Westmoreland graduated from the Military Academy in 1936 and, despite his relatively low overall academic ranking, was named First Captain of the Corps of Cadets.[3] In the Second World War, he distinguished himself as an artillery officer in the campaigns of North

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1. Palmer, *Summons of the Trumpet*, 187. Spector places the number at 85,000. Ronald H. Spector, *After Tet: The Bloodiest Year in Vietnam* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1994), 25, 135, and 279. Spector stated that ARVN figures were not calculated but based on past reports, the casualties were probably twice as many as US. See also William C. Westmoreland, *A Soldier Reports* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976), Chapter 17, 407–439; and Lewis W. Walt, *Strange War, Strange Strategy; a General's Report on Vietnam* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1970), 169.

2. http://beatl.barnard.columbia.edu/Columbia68/. Last accessed on 16 February 2013.

3. The First Captain is the highest rank in the entire Corps of Cadets. However, it does not reflect academic standing. Academically, he was ranked 112th out of a graduating class of 276. Sorely, *Westmoreland*, 4.

Africa, Sicily, France, Belgium, and Germany. After the war, he transferred to the

infantry and held several elite commands during the Korean and Vietnam conflicts. As a

general officer, Westmoreland commanded the elite 101st Airborne Division ("the

Screaming Eagles"), the XVIII Airborne Corps and, by 1964, the US Military Assistance

Command in Vietnam (MACV).

From 1964 to 1968, Westmoreland managed the war in Vietnam. However, on

the heels of Tet, the White House announced on March 23, 1968, that General

Creighton Abrams, Westmoreland's deputy, would assume command of MACV and that

Westmoreland would replace General Harold K. Johnson as CSA. Given the extent of

societal unrest at the time and the realization that the war was unwinnable, Johnson

had little choice. To many observers, Westmoreland's "promotion" to the top job in the

Army—a career goal that he had envisioned since his cadet days at West Point—was

seen as a relief of duty for failed leadership in Vietnam.[4]

As CSA, Westmoreland lacked credibility with the Nixon administration. Nixon

viewed the new CSA as a "political liability," and Dr. Henry Kissinger, Nixon's national

security advisor, "held Westmoreland responsible for the failures of the Vietnam War."[5]

More disconcerting was that the secretary of the army, Stanley R. Resor, and the Joint

Chiefs of Staff believed that Westmoreland "was too invested in the war in Vietnam to

offer strong leadership."[6] This lack of faith extended well into the Army ranks.

Westmoreland, feeling somewhat persona non grata in Washington, believed he could

best serve the Army by travelling throughout the country to help rebuild the Army's

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4 Lewis Sorley, *Westmoreland: The General Who Lost Vietnam* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2011), 193.

5. Bailey, *America's Army*, 35, and Sorley, *Westmoreland*, 241.

6.Ibid.

image. Because he was away so frequently, many senior leaders throughout the Army viewed his vice chief of staff, General Bruce Palmer, as the de facto chief.

Despite Westmoreland's frequent absenteeism from the Pentagon, he was a much better steward of the institution than most have credited. Westmoreland was a Traditionalist placed uncomfortably into the position of "Chief Healer" of the institution. Indeed, his work in preparing the Army for the quickly approaching AVF was significant. First, while he may have felt under-appreciated in Washington, he travelled to every state in the Union because he saw himself as the primary "spokesman of the Army."[7] While many have noted that he spoke often about his role in Vietnam in his speeches, he genuinely cared for the reputation of the Army and wanted the American public to "understand the military."[8] Second, in terms of civil-military relations, he strongly believed in the sanctity of civilian control. If nothing else, in all of his interactions with his senior civilian masters, Westmoreland was always subservient and loyal. This was especially true in bringing about the All-Volunteer Army.[9] Third, although he had a reputation for being a non-intellectual and was not well-read, he had a strong propensity to initiate studies and did so quite frequently. This inclination served the Army's transition to the AVF well and, importantly, opened the door for the early Progressives to move their ideas into the mainstream and to attempt to transform the leadership culture within the Army officer corps.

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7. Bailey, *America's Army*, 40.

8. Ibid., 35.

9. Historians are split on this point. Bailey fully believes so, as do I, based on the vast amounts of publicized comments and the absence of any documents that would negate his public comments. However, Sorely expresses doubts. He believes that Westmoreland, when not in the public eye, offered passive resistance to the idea of an AVF. See Sorley, *Westmoreland*, 234–235.

Soon after occupying the CSA position, it had become clear to Westmoreland that the political winds of change supported the creation of an AVF. The idea was not new. Since 1964, four presidential commissions had been established to study the feasibility of ending conscription.[10] By late 1968, with the draft becoming the focal point for the growing anti-war movement, both political parties favored the idea, albeit to various degrees. While Nixon is well-remembered as the architect of the AVF, which he formally announced as a campaign promise on October 17, 1968, it is significant to note that Westmoreland ordered a formal feasibility study of an all-volunteer army seven weeks earlier on September 3.

Westmoreland, still settling into his new role as CSA, directed the Personnel Studies and Research Directorate of the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel (DCSPERS) to conduct this study to consider the ramifications of transitioning to an AVF. More specifically, he asked the staff to "reexamine the Army's position on the subject, if such is warranted."[11] The Directorate appointed Lieutenant Colonel Jack R. Butler to head-up this investigation. Butler was an experienced infantry officer and Vietnam combat veteran who possessed a master's degree in psychology from Tulane University. In leading the study, he sought to answer the following questions: Why is an AVF needed and is it achievable? Is it desirable or are there legitimate objections to an AVF? What must we accomplish to make it work?[12]

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10. Bailey, *America's Army*, 41. Nixon's Gates Committee in 1970 would be the fifth.
11. Ibid., 38.
12. Jack R. Butler, "The All-Volunteer Armed Force-Its Feasibility and Implications," *Parameters* 2, no. 1 (1972): 17–29. See also John William May, "The All-Volunteer Army: Impact on Readiness," (master's thesis, US Army Command and General Staff College, 1979), Chapter 2.

Completed in December 1968, the Career Force Study (or the Butler Study, as it became known), offered a sober but balanced assessment.[13] In retrospect, Butler and his group identified the core essence of the issues that would later influence the views of the Traditionalists, the Healers, and the Progressives, namely, the feasibility question that centered on the debate between quantity versus quality. The Army at large, and later Congress, feared that an all-volunteer force would never attract enough recruits to meet future personnel requirements. Given the unpopularity of the Army at the time, this was a legitimate concern, and one that the Traditionalists and the Healers both shared. For the latter, preliminary research based on pre-Vietnam manpower requirements and voluntary enlistment statistics indicated that there would be a significant shortfall of personnel in the AVF. In reorganizing the Army, especially to meet large NATO requirements in Europe, the math did not add up.[14] For the Traditionalists, the prospect of an all-volunteer force conjured up emotional feelings that young American citizens were abrogating a fundamental imperative of citizenship. Butler acknowledged this and commented that "[t]hey cannot be faulted seriously for a deep dedication which has imbued in them a belief that all young men owe their country a military obligation."[15] Later, in looking back, Butler noted that

> [t]he older officers and noncommissioned officers were not ready for the dramatic changes which were thrust upon them. . . . They could not see a need for change, since the traditional ways of doing things had served the military and country well in the past [and the new] actions disrupted conditioned ways of doing business. This, in turn, gave rise to tensions

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13. When Westmoreland received the final report in December 1968, he ordered it "close hold," meaning that it was classified confidential. For some unimaginable reason, the Career Force Study is still classified confidential today. Attempts to get the study de-classified were unsuccessful. Jack R. Butler, C. C. Martin, L. H. Owens, and J. H. Kelly, "Career Force Study," Washington, DC: Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel, Department of the Army, (September 9, 1968).

14. Gus C. Lee and Geoffrey Y. Parker, *Ending the Draft: the All-Volunteer Force*, HUMRRO Final Report 77-1, DTIC ADAO44158.

15. Butler, "Career Force Study," 25.

and stress; and defensive behavior patterns emerged. This psychological manipulation contributed significantly to hostile attitudes toward the agent of change [the AVF].[16]

The Butler Study directly challenged the Traditionalists to look beyond their "emotional or philosophical" orientations and to think pragmatically. In this vein, the most pragmatic factor highlighted in the study was the potential costs of an all-volunteer force. Indeed, the projected costs of the future AVF were enormous, ranging anywhere from three to seventeen billion dollars annually above current level of spending, depending on the future end-strength required of the post-war force structure. At this early stage, the Healers—with their eyes on how to reorganize, reequip, and retrain the Army after Vietnam—had yet to wrap their arms around the scope of this challenge. It was becoming clear to them, however, that the Army had to change, and change big, in order to attract enough soldiers.[17]

If the quantity factor was one artery running through the body of the Butler Study, the other artery was quality. Obviously, everyone wanted to fill the ranks of the Army with high-quality soldiers. However, in the extensive debates that soon followed—both in the Army and in Congress—quality took a back seat to quantity. Historically, the draft brought older, higher educated people into the Army. During Vietnam, however, a large number of enlistees were "draft motivated," that is, they enlisted for Army occupations of choice rather than face conscription into the combat arms and, consequently, combat duty in Vietnam.[18] The Butler Study data revealed that "as age and educational levels

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid., 26. Butler assumed that the Army would decrease from 3.5 million in 1968 to approximately 2.5 million in the 1970s. Based on that assumption, he calculated that the Army would need one half million recruits each year. Because 60% were draft motivated, he estimated that the shortfalls would well exceed 150,000 recruits each year.

18. Ibid., 21. Butler reported that in recent history, only 1.7% of enlistees chose the infantry.

rise, so does draft motivation." In a post-Vietnam AVF, they expected draft motivation to disappear and the potential pool of recruits to consist largely of high school dropouts and a disproportionate percentage of economically challenged minorities. If true, the Army would be forced to lower recruiting standards in order to achieve manpower quotas, especially to fill the ranks of the combat arms.[19]

While the Traditionalists would remain skeptical, the Healers were hopeful that the right marketing campaign could attract quality recruits. In their minds, the reorganized post-Vietnam Army would finally receive significantly advanced technological weapons systems that would demand highly trained and skilled operators. The key to everything, they believed, was to make the Army more appealing to a new generation of youth. Because most of the Healers were very sympathetic to the views of the Traditionalists, the challenge was to make the Army more attractive without damaging traditions and sacrificing their view of professionalism. Above all else, the process of shaping and defining this challenge was what would separate the Healers from the Progressives in the decade to come. By December 1968, when Westmoreland received the Butler Study, these "camps" were still forming. In the following year, they would emerge more clearly as the first innovators initiated several independent experiments.

The Butler Study was important for several reasons. First, it dispelled the myth that the Army "was dragged reluctantly into the all-volunteer force era." During these

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19. Note that this concern permeated almost every debate on the AVF throughout the 1970s. Even today, opponents of the AVF believe that we have a "mercenary" AVF that offers relatively large monetary incentives that predominantly appeal primarily to the third and fourth economic quintile of American society. See Kathy Roth-Douquet and Frank Schaeffer, *AWOL: The Unexcused Absence of America's Upper Classes from the Military—and How It Hurts Our Country* (New York: Collins, 2006).

early years of debate and experimentation, many confused the Army's caution with

obstructionism. "Psychologically at least the Army's leaders were thus prepared for the

transition many months before it was officially ordered."[20] Second, the study offered a

realistic first appraisal that set an important foundation for the follow-on studies and

experimental programs. Lastly, Butler's leadership of the project was first rate. As a

psychologist, Butler most likely understood that the way ahead was all about human

beings and the Army's ability to meet the needs of young people. Improvements would

come, Butler asserted, "by paying more attention to soldiers as individuals:"

> Perhaps the most valuable byproduct of the [volunteer Army] effort is that,
> for the first time, the Army is taking a hard, scientific look at leadership and
> training. Old ways of doing things are being questioned. *Human factors
> are receiving long-delayed attention*.[21]

Nixon's election victory over Democratic candidate Hubert Humphrey on

November 5, 1968, was hard fought. Winning with a margin of less than 0.7 percent of

the popular vote, Nixon faced severe challenges in dealing with various social issues

and problems. However, with the anti-war movement in full swing, he clearly received

strong support from both political parties to address the unpopularity of the draft. On

January 29, 1969, only nine days after his inauguration, President Nixon notified

Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird that he was committed to the creation of an all-

volunteer force. In a letter to Laird, Nixon asked for recommendations on potential

members for an independent committee that Nixon intended to establish "to develop a

detailed plan of action for ending the draft"[22] Laird, who had previously advised Nixon to

retain the draft until after Vietnam, recommended instead that the president keep such a

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20. Robert K. Griffith, *The U.S. Army's Transition to the All-Volunteer Force, 1968–1974,* Army Historical Series (Washington, DC: US Army Center of Military History, 1996), 17.
    21. Butler, "Career Force Study," 28. Emphasis is mine.
    22. Griffith, *Transition,* 20.

study in-house. Nixon rejected Laird's advice but allowed the Department of Defense (DOD) to conduct its own study. Laird wasted little time and appointed Roger T. Kelley, his new undersecretary of defense for manpower, to head up a study group called the Project Volunteer Committee. Although Laird prompted Kelley to begin working in late February, even before Kelley's confirmation, Laird delayed his announcement of Kelley's group until Nixon had formally announced the creation of his Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force on March 27, 1969. To head the committee, Nixon appointed former secretary of defense Robert Gates. Subsequently, the group would be known as the Gates Commission.[23]

Westmoreland, however, stayed one step ahead of Laird and Nixon. Having received a "bootleg" copy of Nixon's letter to Laird, the CSA initiated his own detailed study within days of Laird's letter. Although he planned to eventually utilize the Army study for input into the DOD study, he directed Lieutenant General Albert Connor, the DCSPERS, to keep their work "close hold" (i.e., confidential). At this point, Westmoreland had another advantage. Connor appointed Jack Butler to head the study group, which became known as Project Volunteer in Defense of the Nation (PROVIDE). In many ways, PROVIDE was a continuation of the Butler Study, completed only two months earlier, but much more in depth and comprehensive.[24]

Butler and the PROVIDE team started and completed their work within four months.[25] This "broad-ranging and thoughtful effort [sought] to determine how the army

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23. Ibid., 20–21.

24. Bailey, *America's Army*, 38.

25. Dept of Army, Directorate of Personnel Studies and Research, "PROVIDE, Project VOLUNTEER in Defense of the Nation," Vol I, "Executive Summary," 1970 (McLean, VA: Research Analysis Corporation, June 1970).

might stand a reasonable chance of achieving the objective of an all-volunteer army."[26] The final report, delivered to Westmoreland in June (and only one month after the first meeting of the Gates Commission), concluded that an all-volunteer army was feasible but that it would be very expensive and still might not attract enough recruits. Indeed, the study anticipated that "if the draft were ended and no additional incentives were available, the Army would be down to a strength of 577,000 by 1979—far below the pre-Vietnam strength of 950,000. The . . . costs estimated to maintain post-Vietnam strengths at 950,000 on a volunteer basis [ranged from] $2.2 billion to $8.1 billion."[27] The Butler Report cautioned that the Army had to remove "irritants" in Army life and field an extensive number of recruiters, backed by an annual advertising campaign budget of $36 million (a twelve-fold increase up from 3 million) to attract enough enlistees. In terms of the former, the report offered a number of lifestyle changes that could potentially improve a soldier's life in the Army.[28]

In retrospect, the original Butler Report and the follow-on PROVIDE Study did little to eliminate the skepticism of the Traditionalists and served to bolster the concerns of the Healers. In essence, it constituted the first reality check on the enormous scope of the transition to an all-volunteer force. In this regard, the findings were important in shaping the future framework of the formal experiments. For the early Progressives, PROVIDE offered a potential doorway to real reform, as the unilateral activities that were taking place at Fort Ord revealed (discussed below).

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26. Bailey, *America's Army,* 39.
27. Lee and Parker, *Ending the Draft*, 53.
28. It is unclear how much Davidson and the Fort Ord initiatives influenced the PROVIDE study. Their use of terms such as "irritants" and the similar recommendations would suggest some association. Note that this recognition of "irritants" is extremely important. It is the single core issue that lies at the center of all views on how to achieve an AVF and, more importantly, directly shapes the definitions of "leadership" and "professionalism"—all interpreted differently by the Traditionalists, the Healers, and the Progressives.

Westmoreland was more concerned about the president's independent Gates Committee that was just beginning as the PROVIDE group completed its work in June 1970. In his view, Jack Butler was doing well in defining the real barriers to the transition. However, this was a process that was confined to the Army and under the full control and protection of the CSA. The Gates Commission, on the other hand, was tasked with the same effort at the national level, concerned with all of the armed services, and under strong influence from both the president and Congress. In this arena, the CSA held little sway.

Historians have well chronicled the dynamics and inner working of the Gates Commission. All have concluded that the members never really addressed whether the United States *should* have an AVF but rather *how* the government would achieve one.[29] This occurred because the economists on the commission—Alan Greenspan and Milton Friedman—largely dominated the discussions. In short, the feasibility question was viewed as an economic problem, that is, a supply and demand problem that required a strong marketing effort as well as wages and other incentives that could successfully compete with the private sector. In other words, the AVF was very achievable; all the Army had to do was make soldiering more attractive by removing some "irritants" and paying the volunteers well.[30]

The two military members of the Gates Commission, General Lauris Norstad and General Alfred M. Gruenther, exercised little influence during the study. Both were

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29. Griffith, *Transition,* 29-44, and Lee and Parker, *Ending the Draft*, 39. Also, Bailey, *America's Army*, 36–40; and George Q. Flynn, *The Draft, 1940–1973,* Modern War Studies (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993), Chapter 10.

30. These high-level events are important to the story of Army OE because they addressed monetary incentives for attracting volunteers. Such incentives are "transactional" because they only address the very lower levels of Maslow's hierarchy of needs.

strong Traditionalists and highly respected former NATO supreme allied commanders during the Eisenhower administration. Norstad (West Point class of 1930) had retired from the Air Force in 1963, and Gruenther (West Point class of 1917) had retired from the Army in 1956.[31] During the course of the study, the economists' positions clearly overshadowed the generals' views. Indeed, the majority of the commission, consumed with manpower and economic issues, largely ignored the generals' input as well as the Army's non-economic responses to the draft report in January 1970. However, in seeking a unanimous endorsement for the final report, Gates entertained Norstad's argument that "the AVF would lead to inferior enlisted men," and Gruenther's concerns that the AVF would create "a military elite." To assuage both concerns in order to garner their endorsements, Gates and the committee agreed to recommend a "standby draft" in event of a national emergency.[32] By February 23, 1970, when Nixon formally received the final report—and endorsed it with an executive order in April to end the draft by July 1973—it was clear to the Army that the AVF was definitely coming. The primary question at that point was what an all-volunteer army would look like.

The Progressives Emerge

As distasteful as the AVF appeared to many of the Army's NCOs and officers (the Traditionalists), some forward-thinking officers saw the handwriting on the wall and began to take independent action to prepare for an all-volunteer army. In June 1969, as his peers were testifying before the Gates Commission in Congress, Major General Phillip Davidson assumed command of Fort Ord, California, then a major training

31. For an official biography on Norstad, see http://www.af.mil/information/bios/bio.asp?bioID=6616, accessed 6 April 2013; and for Gruenther, see http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/gruenthe.htm, accessed 6 April 2013.
32. Flynn, *The Draft*, 265–266.

installation of the Army. This proved to be a fortuitous assignment in terms of setting the foundation for the future work of the Progressives.

Davidson was clearly a bit of an enigma. As a close associate of Westmoreland, and based on his extensive military career, outwardly he appeared to be a Traditionalist.[33] In retrospect, however, he was a Progressive and an intellectual from the humanities who demonstrated adaptive thinking and higher-order thinking skills by his strong embrace of innovation in anticipation of a future AVF. He showed a strong "willingness to experiment" and "over the years had developed his own system of organizational analysis and management that he invariably applied to any new job."[34] Only one month after assuming command of Fort Ord, Davidson formed the Training Management Evaluation Committee (TMEC). Because Fort Ord was a training installation largely charged with preparing soldiers for tours of duty in Vietnam, Davidson's interests were directed at improving the management of basic and advanced soldier skills.[35] His overarching goal was to overhaul the entire training program in order to reduce the costs of training without lowering the level of performance (i.e., improving organizational effectiveness). Indicative of the emphasis he placed on the initiative, Davidson appointed some of his best commanders to staff the TMEC. To chair the committee, Davidson chose his 1st Brigade commander, Colonel Martin J. Slominski.

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33. Author unidentified. Series of biographical profiles presented by the US Army Intelligence Center and School. See official US Army web site at http://huachuca-www.army.mil/files/History_MDAVID.PDF. Accessed 26 Jan 2012. Davidson was the first officer to achieve general officer rank in the Military Intelligence Corps. In 1965, intelligence became a major field command of the Army known as the Intelligence Corps Command.

34. Harold G. Moore and Jeff M. Tuten, *Building a Volunteer Army: The Fort Ord Contribution* (Washington, DC: US Department of the Army, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), 19.

35. Known as BCT (Basic Combat Training) and AIT (Advanced Individual Training).

Davidson also turned to the civilian world for expertise with the TMEC. Unusual for this time, Davidson had previously sought external advice and assistance to improve his organization when he served as the commandant of the Army Security Agency (ASA) School at Fort Devens, Massachusetts from 1963 to 1965. As commandant, Davidson had undertaken radical improvements in intelligence training and had solicited the help of an academic psychologist, Dr. William R. Tracey, whose work in the 1960s and 1970s focused on training organizations from a systems perspective.[36]

For research assistance with his initiatives at Fort Ord, Davidson contracted with the Human Resources Research Organization (HumRRO). HumRRO was founded in 1951 by psychologist Dr. Meredith P. Crawford as an R&D center located at George Washington University in Washington, DC, and funded by the Department of the Army.[37] In 1963, HumRRO relocated to Alexandria, Virginia, and in 1969 became an independent nonprofit corporation chartered in the District of Columbia.[38] Throughout the 1950s, HumRRO expanded its work with the Department of Defense and became a significant behavioral science research asset for the Army. By 1954, HumRRO had conducted more than 100 studies, although the vast majority of these were focused on training methodologies that would assist in improving soldier skills such as gunnery, map reading, and the use of training devices.[39] Because the Army had always believed

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36. Moore and Tuten, 20. In 1971, Tracey published a book that remained in print until the last edition of 1993. William R. Tracey, *Designing Training and Development Systems* (New York: American Management Association, 1971).

37. Crawford's work with DOD began in the early 1950s when he evaluated psychological stresses of soldiers participating in the many nuclear tests in Nevada. From that early work, he recruited a first-rate team of psychologists.

38. http://www.humrro.org/corpsite/tags/history. Accessed 26 Jan 13.

39. Human Resources Research Office, "What Humrro Is Doing," Research Bulleting 1. (Alexandria VA: George Washington University, March 1954). HumRRO "Leadership" studies were extremely rare in the 1950s and 1960s. Of the many long-term programs, only one was dedicated to leadership—codenamed OFFTRAIN. In these studies, leadership was judged on the basis of how well soldiers

that leadership should be a function of personnel administration and management, all HumRRO contracts were overseen by the DCSPERS.[40] By 1969, HumRRO had proven itself as a valuable resource for new training methodologies and improvements. Davidson's strong embrace of HumRRO, specifically Division 3 under the directorship of Dr. Howard H. McFann, ensured that the TMEC would consider and include modern social science research findings in their recommendations.[41] More importantly, this strong working relationship would later carry over into the Army's formal experimentations with new programs designed to appeal to the volunteer soldier.

With adequate command emphasis and internal and external resources supporting the committee's efforts, the TMEC acted quickly. In addition to thoroughly analyzing the Fort Ord Training Center environment, committee members separated into eighteen "task forces" to address specific topics and to conduct fact finding visits to the Army's other training centers at Fort Benning, Georgia; Fort Jackson, South Carolina; and Fort Polk, Louisiana. The majority of the eighteen task forces explored more deeply or expanded upon subject areas that HumRRO researchers had specialized in since the early 1950s. However, two subject areas targeted new and innovative initiatives that the Traditionalists would question or resist. The first involved a serious attempt to identify the numerous nonoperational or nonessential tasks that consumed almost every waking moment of a soldier's service life. For example, Task Force C-6 explored ways to reduce the impact on training of administration

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performed their skills and how officers rewarded or punished soldiers for good or poor performances. Indeed, the oldest division of HumRRO, the Training and Methods Division, would dominate for many decades.

40. This responsibility is especially important to note because later this continued belief would serve as a critical obstacle for the institutionalization of OD throughout the Army.

41. Moore and Tuten, 20.

requirements associated with guard, fatigue, and burial details; kitchen police (KP); and medical and dental appointments. Task Force C-7 wanted to improve post services for soldiers by relating operating hours of post activities to the training mission (minimum activities they studied included the post exchange, concessions, commissary, central issue facility, weapons and equipment pool, clothing sales store, and clothing issue branch). The second subject area, Task Force P-3, worked to develop policies and procedures to improve trainee motivation and morale. This area had direct implications for the Progressives and their future advocacy for OD.[42]

In retrospect, it is clear that Task Force P-3 had the most difficult assignment. Fortunately, Davidson recognized this and pulled Fort Ord's deputy chief surgeon, Colonel Llewellyn Legters, to lead this work. Letgers carried a lot of credibility with Davidson. A veteran of Vietnam with the 82nd Airborne Division and the 5th Special Forces Group, he was known to Davidson as someone who could "express his views in a compelling manner."[43]

Letgers, a specialist in tropical medicine and viruses, realized immediately that he needed the expertise of a behavioral scientist and enlisted Fort Ord's chief psychologist, Lieutenant Colonel William E. Datel, who had already established a strong reputation in psychological research. Recently, Datel had served as the chief of the Department of Clinical and Social Psychology at the Walter Reed Army Institute of Research where his personal interests focused on the field of achievement motivation in military environments. Later, Davidson would comment that Datel was a brilliant scientist and psychologist: "I unleashed him and sometimes wondered what the hell I'd

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42. Ibid., 21–22.
43. Ibid., 29.

unleashed. . . . [He had] a lot of common sense and wasn't swept away with these charts and things. He was inclined to give you broad interpretations and then to relate to the real life situation."[44]

The most difficult elements of Task Force P-3's work dealt with examining the psychological factors of motivation and morale. After much discussion, they defined motivation as "those forces which impinged on the individual from the environment" and morale as "the individual's state of feeling, or attitude, [that] was considered to reside within the individual."[45] From there, the vast majority of their work employed quantitative research methods that resulted in the development of motivational survey tools. They then utilized these tools to survey the likes and dislikes of basic training graduates. In the final analysis, the researchers found that the training programs were culturally dysfunctional and rested on a strong foundation of punitive methods. In late 1970, Letgers and Datel published their research in the *Journal of Biological Psychology*. In their article they stated that

> military traditionalists may argue that it is necessary to "break" the recruit to make him into a well-disciplined soldier, fully obedient to orders, and totally committed to the service. It is implicit in this view that basic training is primarily an initiation rite. The new recruit must submit, surrender, abjure, and sacrifice to become a full-fledged member.
>   Ritualistic initiation rites ordinarily involve some kind of suffering, relinquishment, or self-abuse on the part of the initiate. In basic training, this requirement is apparently fulfilled by stripping the trainee of his personal identity, and by constant reminders of his demeaning status. The value or ethic seems to be that the initiation process (with its indignities and devaluation of self) is absolutely necessary to bind the individual to his new reference group. . . . If the initiation or "conversion" process is

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44. Ibid.

45. In retrospect, these definitions—clearly crafted with a new kind of Army leadership climate in mind—are extremely important. Not only did they align with transformational leadership theory and OD principles, but they also served to set in place a firm foundation for OD to move forward in the direction it did at Fort Ord. Ibid., 32.

foregone, the argument runs that the soldier will be less fully committed to the military subculture and may renege in the heat of battle.

Our position is otherwise. Our findings suggest that the new recruit already accepts the necessities of military duty and the legitimacy of military service. He enters the Army willingly and in good faith. It is superfluous—but more important, it is psychologically destructive—to undertake a process of forced re-education and commitment.[46]

Real, substantive results came out of Task Force P-3's survey work. In addition to finding many administrative areas of improvement, most of which were useful to the other TMEC task forces, the researchers discovered that the vast majority of young soldiers valued time off and promotion in rank above all other forms of merit and positive conditioning (to include military awards).

The most important experiment involved the creation of company trainee councils. The task force recommended this novel idea because such councils would improve communication up and down the chain of command and would thus serve to "de-emphasize aversions."[47] For that era, this recommendation was viewed as far too liberal and radical. Allowing recruits to voice opinions, let alone criticisms or suggestions for change, directly challenged the omnipotent authority of the drill instructors. Indeed, even Letgers showed "considerable trepidation" in presenting the idea to Davidson.[48]

By the end of September 1969, the TMEC had largely completed its work and on November 2 briefed their findings to Davidson. To everyone's surprise, Davidson accepted every recommendation from all eighteen work groups. The trainee councils proved to be one of the first new initiatives that Davidson implemented, with a post regulation formally establishing the councils in February 1970.

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46. William Datel, "The Psychology of the Army Recruit" in *The Journal of Biological Psychology* 12, no. 2 (1970): 34–40.

47. Moore, *Building a Volunteer Army,* 33.

48. Ibid., 35.

Davidson was pleased with this extensive effort, which also had caught the attention of his commander, Lieutenant General Stanley R. "Swede" Larsen, and Larsen's boss, General James K. "Gentleman Jim" Woolnough. Both of these West Point–educated commanders, seasoned combat infantry officers with several wars under their belts, were eager to hear about Davidson's experiments. In a briefing on November 10, 1969, Davidson explained to them the new ideas and experiments in trainee motivation and morale. While we may never know why these two strong Traditionalists allowed Davidson such free reign, especially given the managerial culture of the time and the challenges of supplying fresh combat troops to Vietnam in 1969, it is significant that they were open to new ideas about training improvements. Both were serving in their last years of very long careers, neither in positions that directly influenced the introduction of the all-volunteer army. Most likely, they harbored strong feelings at that time about the need to more effectively train soldiers. Perhaps they were concerned about reports coming out of Vietnam at this time that indicated deterioration in the quality of infantrymen. Only weeks before, the combat refusal of A Company, 196th Infantry Brigade in Vietnam had been highly publicized in the press.[49]

The Army OE Program owed a debt of gratitude to the adaptive thinking of Davidson. At a time when none of the other training centers were taking risks with new ideas or conducting experiments, Davidson questioned some time-honored assumptions about the Army's training culture and sought assistance from multiple sources, both military and civilian. While these training improvement activities were far from any OD education and practices, collectively they constituted a giant step in that

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49. Frequently cited. See for example http://libcom.org/history/vietnam-gi-resistance, accessed July 6, 2013.

direction, especially in light of the work accomplished on the factors of morale and motivation. The most significant result of Davidson's actions was that, though never formally concluded, they were allowed to progress beyond his command tenure at Fort Ord, which ended in June 1971. Davidson had put the Army on notice that Fort Ord was an innovative, forward thinking training center. His successor, Major General Harold "Hal" Moore, would comment in 1972 that "Fort Ord was to go on to become a sort of field test training center where new ideas, both self-generated and otherwise, were very carefully tried and evaluated."[50]

Phil Davidson was not the only adaptive thinker taking command of an infantry division in mid-1969. Thirteen hundred miles to the east, Major General Bernard "Bernie" Rogers took the helm of the 5th Infantry Division at Fort Carson, Colorado, three months after Davidson's appointment at Fort Ord. At Fort Carson, Bernie Rogers would begin his ten-year effort to humanize Army leadership and, in the process, become the "Godfather" of the Army OE program.[51]

Rogers was a unique Army officer. He had that rare ability to excel both as an infantry soldier and as an intellectual.[52] Rogers graduated from West Point in 1943 and, like Westmoreland, was First Captain of the Corps of Cadets. Upon graduation, Rogers was commissioned a second lieutenant of infantry and assigned to the 275th Infantry Regiment of the 70th Infantry Division, which had just been activated for deployment to

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50. Moore, *Building a Volunteer Army*, 27.
51. The lengthy biographical review that follows is important because Rogers's education and key assignments help to explain how an intellectual could rise and excel in the overt masculine culture of the infantry at that time.
52. Despite claims to the contrary, the Army has always had a bias against intellectualism, favoring physical prowess and athleticism over brains. I can think of no other Army general since his time who has risen to the top in both realms other than General David Pratraeus. Ironically, Pratraeus was well known for forming his first impression of almost anyone based primarily on his or her physical fitness. See for example Rick Atkinson, *In the Company of Soldiers: A Chronicle of Combat* (New York: Holt, 2004).

Europe.[53] Interestingly, Rogers instead stayed at West Point as an instructor of economics, government, and history from 1944 to 1946, a very unusual posting for such a young officer. The exceptional assignments continued. From 1946 to 1947, Rogers served as the aide to the Commander of the Sixth Army (and US High Commissioner to Austria), General Mark W. Clark.[54] From 1947 to 1950, he attended Oxford University, England, as a Rhodes scholar, where he received bachelor and master of arts degrees in philosophy, politics, and economics. Following his graduation, Rogers became the aide to the Chief of Army Field Forces for the years 1950 and 1951.[55]

Although Rogers had yet to serve in an infantry unit, he attended the Infantry Officers Advanced Course in 1952 and then deployed to Korea where, as a major, he commanded the 3d Battalion, 9th Infantry Regiment of the 2nd Infantry ("Indian Head") Division. After six months on the line, Rogers once again found himself serving at the highest levels when he was assigned as the aide-de-camp to General Mathew Ridgway, the commander in chief (CINC) of the United Nations Command, Korea.[56] When the war ended in July 1953, Rogers remained on the Far East Command's (FECOM) staff as an intelligence staff officer in the intelligence section.

Rotating back to the United States in 1954, Rogers spent at year at the US Army Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth before re-joining the Indian Head Division at Fort Lewis, Washington. This assignment became another opportunity to lead infantry soldiers as commander of the 1st Battalion of the 23rd Infantry

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53. The 70th ID was activated on 15 June 1943 and participated in the Rhineland and Central Germany campaigns. Shelby L. Stanton, *World War II Order of Battle* (Novato, CA: Presidio, 1984), 139.

54. General Mark W. Clark served from July 5,1945, to May 16 ,1947. http://www.usarmygermany.com/Sont_USFA.htm

55. http://www.history.army.mil/books/CG&CSA/Rogers-BW.htm. Accessed July 2, 2013.

56. Ridgway had replaced General Douglas MacArthur after President Harry Truman fired MacArthur on 10 April 1951.

Regiment. After his successful command tenure, the Army pulled Rogers into the

Pentagon where he served as the executive and senior aide to the CSA—General

Maxwell Taylor.[57] Rogers developed a close mentorship with Taylor that endured for the

remainder of their lives.[58] The timing of this assignment also played a key role in

preparing Rogers for more senior-level positions. Being the executive during Taylor's

last year as President Eisenhower's CSA, Rogers witnessed first-hand the enormous

friction between the two. Taylor had been a strong critic of Eisenhower's national

defense policy—"the New Look"—which relied heavily on America's nuclear capabilities

and greatly subordinated the Army's conventional roles and missions. His disagreement

with Eisenhower led him to retire in July 1959 and to air his arguments openly with the

publication of his book *The Uncertain Trumpet* in January 1960.[59] When John Kennedy

succeeded Eisenhower, the new president leaned heavily on Taylor for his counsel and

assistance as the Kennedy Administration adopted a new national security policy known

as "Flexible Response." Swimming in these political waters, Rogers gained significant

insights into the inner workings of the top echelon of the Pentagon that would later

serve him well.

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57. A point worth speculating (and deserving of more research) is that Rogers probably caught the attention of Matt Ridgway in Korea, who recommended Rogers to Taylor. Remarkably, Rogers was not a paratrooper. Within the Army's strong "tribal," insular culture of that time, with clear boundaries in the combat arms between artillery, armor, straight infantry, and airborne infantry, Rogers's close association with two of the three greatest US Army paratroopers of all time (Ridgway, Taylor, and James "Jumpin' Jim" Gavin) is yet another example of his ability to excel in different influential circles. Note that Ridgway was a strong mentor to Taylor. See especially Clay Blair, *Ridgway's Paratroopers: The American Airborne in World War II* (Garden City, NY: Dial Press, 1985); and Gerard M. Devlin *Paratrooper! The Saga of U.S. Army and Marine Parachute and Glider Combat Troops during World War II* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979).

58. Readers of the Rogers Papers in the archives at the National Defense University will see the extensive and personal connection between Taylor and Rogers. Indeed, in the correspondence, Rogers is referred to as "the last of the Taylorites." I believe Rogers"s ascension into the highest ranks was largely due to Taylor's influence.

59. Maxwell D. Taylor, *The Uncertain Trumpet* (New York: Harper, 1960).

After attending the US Army War College and commanding the 1st Battle Group, 19th Infantry, 24th Infantry Division in Augsburg, Germany, Rogers returned to the Pentagon in late 1962 as the executive to the chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff. Here, he remained for four years working again for his mentor Taylor (chairman from October 1, 1962, to July 1, 1964) and Taylor's successor, General Earle G. "Bus" Wheeler. Rogers thus was uniquely positioned to witness the growing escalation of the war in Vietnam for which he departed in 1966 to join the Big Red One.

In Vietnam, Rogers served from November 1966 to August 1967 as an assistant division commander in the 1st Infantry Division. During his time in Vietnam, he worked for major generals Bill DePuy (until 9 February 1967) and then John H. Hay, Jr., and participated in the planning and execution of two significant operations, Cedar Falls and Junction City.[60] Because of Rogers's deep involvement in both operations, Westmoreland requested that Rogers write the Army's definitive account of both offensives. In doing so, Rogers drew important lessons on the criticality of low-level leadership. The squad- and platoon-sized combat that he witnessed in these operations was not dissimilar to his own experiences in the Korean War.[61]

In the summer of 1967, Rogers returned from Vietnam to his alma mater, the US Military Academy at West Point, to serve as Commandant of Cadets. Affected by his wartime experiences in both Korea and Vietnam, Rogers spoke often to the cadets about the criticality of effective small-unit leadership. For example, in his speech to the

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60. DePuy commanded from March 1966 to February 1967. This experience cemented the friendship between Rogers and DePuy, arguably the two most important leaders in the post-war decade with the exception of Abrams.

61. Bernard W. Rogers, *Cedar Falls-Junction City: A Turning Point,* Vietnam Studies (Washington, DC: US Department of the Army, 1989), http://www.history.army.mil/books/Vietnam/90-7/cont.htm. Westmoreland tasked Rogers because he was "concerned about the lack of authoritative accounts of various actions and activities in Vietnam."

first class cadets (seniors) in October 1967, he stressed decision making at the lowest

organizational levels and the importance of trust throughout the chain of command.[62]

His time at West Point also brought Rogers into contact with America's youth, albeit

some of the brightest in the nation, at a time when social unrest was reaching its peak,

and the new president and commander-in-chief was calling for an end to the war and

the draft.

Thus, going from West Point to Fort Carson to command an infantry division was

much like stepping from the tranquility of a church into a rowdy bar. At that time, the 5th

Infantry Division (the "Red Diamond Division") was considered to be one of the most

disorganized and unprepared units in the Army. Racial conflict and drug abuse were

serious problems. The division also experienced a high turnover rate as soldiers rotating

back from their tours of duty in Vietnam served out the remainder of their enlistments.

Unlike most of the other Army infantry divisions that had enjoyed long-term stability and

unit cohesion, the 5th had been splintered several times in recent years to augment

other units bound for Vietnam.[63]

When Rogers took command of the 5th Infantry Division in September 1969, as

one historian noted, Rogers inherited an organization "that suffered all of the problems

associated with the U. S. Army of that period: high personnel turnover, crime, absences,

drug abuse, and racial conflict."[64] Rogers commanded 26,000 soldiers, and his

organizations experienced a 14 percent turnover rate *each month*. Approximately 60

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62. Rogers, "Address to the First Class on Combat Leadership," October 12, 1967, Rogers Papers.

63. http://www.history.army.mil/documents/ETO-OB/5id-eto.htm. Also, Shelby L. Stanton, *Vietnam Order of Battle* (Washington, DC: U.S. News Books, 1981). Indeed, the turmoil would continue. In September 1969 the Army activated the 4th Brigade, 5th Infantry Division at Fort Carson, although, on the later return of the 4th Infantry Division home from Vietnam in December 1970, the 4th Division replaced the 5th Division at Fort Carson and the 5th Division disappeared from the active force.

64. Griffith, *Transition,* 65.

percent of his soldiers were serving out the final few weeks of their post-combat tours of duty and enlistments. In short, organizational cohesion was practically non-existent.[65]

Sometime in the fall of 1969, after assessing all of the problems of his division, Rogers discarded the Army's traditional methods for dealing with troublemakers—non-judicial punishment—and abruptly changed tactics. Coincidentally mirroring the work that was underway with Letgers's team on the TMEC at Fort Ord, Rogers reached out to the junior enlisted ranks to understand their issues.[66] In bypassing the traditional chain of command downward—a behavior that irritated many Traditionalists—he personally devoted much time and attention listening to their complaints and grievances. Rogers quickly came to the conclusion that he needed a formal process and framework by which he and his leaders could listen, receive, and then act on legitimate issues. On February 17, 1970, Rogers issued Fort Carson Regulation No. 600-16, "Enlisted Men's Council."[67]

As a large combat unit, the organizational health issues were significantly more complex than those that Davidson faced at the training center at Fort Ord. At Fort Ord, the motive was to improve basic and advanced combat arms training for young soldiers who were new to the Army and would soon move on to field units around the world. At Carson, Rogers commanded a large combat infantry division that had a significant number of disgruntled soldiers, many of whom were drafted combat veterans with little love for the Army.

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65. Wright, "Innovations at Fort Carson".

66. There is no evidence that indicates that Rogers was aware of the TMEC's Task Force P-3's work on trainee councils. This novel initiative was being formulated during the same period of time.

67. Headquarters, 5th Infantry Division (Mechanized) and Fort Carson, *Regulation No. 600-16,* February 17, 1970, Rogers Papers.

For Rogers, the risks were significant. First and foremost, he risked alienating his subordinate officers and NCOs as he personally bypassed them to closely listen to the most junior soldiers in the division, a practice that they perceived as undermining their authority. Second, Rogers had to create a climate where soldiers would safely speak their minds without fear of retribution. His success depended on achieving real trust from both camps.

To earn this trust, Rogers was clear about his objectives and methods. His overarching goals were succinct: first, improve communications between enlisted men and their commanders; second, review and recommend changes in procedures, techniques, and policies that would improve conditions for the junior enlisted men, and third, "establish a means for airing complaints, suggestions, irritations, misunderstandings, and dissatisfaction among enlisted personnel."[68] To be fair to all commanders, Rogers stipulated that each level of command would create a council comprised of soldiers holding the rank of E4 or below (i.e., first-term enlistees). Soldiers were to elect members to their councils, and one member of each council would serve on the council of the next higher command. At the top, one member of each of the brigade level commands served on the Fort Carson Enlisted Men's (EM) Council whose meetings Rogers attended.

The Traditionalists' passive resistance was apparent from the start, so much so that Rogers was forced to relieve two brigade commanders and to issue a warning, via memorandum, to all of his commanders on February 26, only nine days after the regulation was published:

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68. Ibid.

> It has come to the attention of this headquarters that some commanders are not selecting enlisted men to be representatives on referenced council in accordance with the Commanding General's desires. The enlisted men representatives on this council will be those selected by the enlisted men and not those hand-picked by the commanders. In addition, the chairman of the council will be selected by the council itself.[69]

To ensure compliance, Rogers, with unusual enforcement, required each commander to personally phone in his acknowledgement of the order.[70]

The twenty-member Fort Carson EM Council, chaired by 20-year old combat veteran Specialist 4 Scott M. Gray, of the 43rd General Support Group, almost immediately gained real traction. Within four weeks, the lower-level councils established themselves, met for the first time, and elected representatives to serve on the higher level councils. By March 27, the Fort Carson council held its first meeting, which Rogers personally conducted. At this initial meeting, Rogers spoke briefly about his intentions and strong commitment to positive change. He then spent the next two hours listening. By the end of the meeting, the council had identified eighteen areas for improvement. Rogers accepted all eighteen and directed his staff to act on each recommendation.[71] By July 27, only four months after the first meeting, the EM Council had discussed 192 items, identified 107 improvement initiatives, and implemented sixty-nine

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69. Headquarters, 5th Infantry Division (Mechanized) and Fort Carson, "Enlisted Men's Council," memorandum (February 26, 1970), Rogers Papers.

70. One of the brigade commanders was Colonel Ralph Puckett, Jr., a highly decorated officer who had fought in some horrendous battles in Korea and Vietnam. Indeed, Puckett won the Distinguished Service Cross and was also hospitalized for over a year with severe injuries. He retired soon after his relief of command and in 1996, was named the honorary colonel of the Ranger Regiment—an extremely high honor in the Army today. Nadal: "[Rogers] fired, I think erroneously, two colonels whom I had run into all the way [back] to my cadet days. He led the 8th Army ranger company in Korea, and [was a] great hero of the Korean War. He got fired because Rogers was trying to do innovative things . . . and these guys were recalcitrant. They were both very good—I forget the other guy's name—but they were both very good guys, in my view, but didn't fit the mold of what Rogers wanted to do " Nadal interview.

71. Headquarters, 5th Infantry Division (Mechanized) and Fort Carson, "Initial Meeting with Fort Carson EM Council," memorandum (March 27, 1970), Rogers Papers.

recommendations.[72] In the eight months that Rogers remained in command, the council implemented a total of 149 improvements. Rogers reviewed every recommendation and kept his soldiers informed by publishing frequent progress reports. Indicative of the emphasis that Rogers placed on the EM Council, the group met weekly for the remainder of Rogers's command tenure.[73] While many of these issues reflected lifestyle items, it is important to note that several dealt directly with human dignity, courtesy, and trust that soldiers felt were missing in their relationship with leaders.

As a testament to the effectiveness of these outcomes, Rogers received praise even from his staunchest critics. For example, draftee Specialist 5 William J. Rosendahl, a former college campus demonstrator "with a master's degree in urban organizing and political views," told reporters that "I'm committed to social change, I'm a political animal. . . . I had just about given up any hope of working for change within the system when Bobby [Senator Robert F. Kennedy] was shot. Now General Rogers has given me a new faith in that at least some people in the power structure are willing to listen."[74]

On November 30, 1970, nine days before Rogers relinquished command, Westmoreland requested that Rogers brief the Army's most senior leaders at the CSA's annual Army Commanders Conference (discussed later). Aware of the successes at Fort Carson, Westmoreland wanted his other leaders to listen and follow suit, all the while knowing that Rogers's audience was saturated with Traditionalists. Embedded in

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72. Headquarters, 5th Infantry Division (Mechanized) and Fort Carson, "Data Pertaining to Enlisted Men's Council," memorandum (July 27, 1970), Rogers Papers.

73. Headquarters, 5th Infantry Division (Mechanized) and Fort Carson, "Suggestions Made by the EMC and Implemented by the CG," memorandum (October 30, 1970), Rogers Papers.

74. Robert A. Wright, "Innovations at Fort Carson Make Army Life More Bearable for Draftees," *New York Times*, clipping in Rogers Papers circa early November 1970.

his 3600-word address are clear examples of Rogers's behavior as a strongly adaptive thinker. More importantly, he espoused some of the basic ideas behind transformational leadership.

> We have . . . revalidated the need for enlightened order and discipline in a military institution. We have found at close range the extent to which American society has changed—and is changing—and how these changes in turn impact upon the characteristics, qualities and attitudes of our *customer* today, the young soldier who comes to us from that society.
>   We have found . . . impediments to morale, spirit and unit effectiveness which are self-inflicted and which can be largely overcome. These lie within the realm of policies, procedures and practices which have built up over the years like barnacles on the bottom of an essentially sound ship. Individually, and at the time of initiation, each may well have been justified; but today some are irritants which impede progress. Part of our approach has been to question each one anew, holding nothing as sacrosanct except the need for basic discipline and the retention of the moral fiber of our service. Those practices found relevant in 1970 have been sustained; those which seem irrelevant have been changed or revoked where it lay within our authority to do so.
>   As we have looked at our programs and at our day-to-day conduct of business, we have tried to keep in mind the societal changes and characteristics which affect our soldiers. . . . I speak of such qualities of our customer as their desire to participate in the administration and policy-making of the institution of which we are a part . . . their curiosity, asking "why," and not prepared to settle for answers based on faith, authority, or "We've always done it that way;" their being prepared to stand up and be counted, to speak their piece, tell it to us as it is; their being intellectually better prepared than was my generation. . . .[75]

Rogers stated strongly that every leader had a responsibility to "question all our practices, as opposed to principles, in terms of validity in 1970," and to "remove the burs from under our saddles, where indicated." Finally, we must "develop new approaches to old and new problems, seeking to capitalize on the positive qualities of today's soldiers, and thus to elicit their positive support of us and our mission." In a nod toward the heated debates of that time over draft reform and the AVF, Rogers cautioned that these

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75. Emphasis is mine. "Talk to Army Commander's Conference, 30 November 1970," speech, Rogers papers. Rogers was the first and only Army officer I could find who used the term "customer" to describe the volunteer recruit. This term alone must have unsettled the Traditionalists in the audience.

were behaviors that were required of leaders at all times "whether draft or zero draft [i.e., AVF], but the commitment to zero-draft makes them all the more essential."[76]

Bad News and Bad Leaders

The importance in the timing and substance of Rogers's speech cannot be understated. By November 1970, the nation and the Army had already experienced a gut-wrenching year. Twelve months earlier, in November 1969, the largest anti-war demonstration to date was held in Washington, and from then on, the anti-war movement picked up tremendous momentum.[77] Six months after that, on May 4, 1970, during an anti-war demonstration on the campus of Kent State University in northern Ohio, Ohio National Guardsmen shot and killed four students, sparking more than 500 follow-on demonstrations across the country. Two weeks after the shootings, the rock group Crosby, Stills, Nash, and Young released the popular song "Four Dead in Ohio," which was immediately picked up as an unofficial anthem of the anti-war movement. Like others, the Kent State demonstration had been a reaction to events taking place in Vietnam. Despite the President's promise to de-escalate the war and to bring the boys home, US forces invaded Cambodia on April 30, an operation the Johnson administration had always forbidden. By the time of Rogers's appearance at the Army Commanders Conference in November 1970, US troop strength in Vietnam was in decline but still remained at more than 334,000,[78] and American deaths had averaged more than 500 per month for the year.[79] In addition to dealing with the difficult disengagement from the war in Southeast Asia, senior Army leaders were faced with

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76. Ibid.
77. See especially Stewart Burns, *Social Movements of the 1960s*.
78. http://www.americanwarlibrary.com/vietnam/vwatl.htm. Accessed 9 February 2013.
79. http://www.americanwarlibrary.com/vietnam/vwc24.htm. Accessed 9 February 2013.

the Army officer corps' most serious crisis in its history, brought on by the revelations that American soldiers had massacred 504 civilians on March 16, 1968. The subsequent investigations revealed that leadership in the Army was severely broken.[80]

Twenty months passed between the time the atrocities occurred and the time they were published by journalist Seymour Hersh. During that time, the killings went unreported as officers in the division involved attempted to cover up the event. It may have remained buried if not for the efforts of Ron Ridenhour, a Vietnam veteran turned journalist who had heard about the actions of Charlie Company, 1st Battalion, 20th Infantry Brigade of the 23rd (Americal) Infantry Division. At the center of the atrocity was the platoon leader of Charlie Company's 1st Platoon, Second Lieutenant William L. "Rusty" Calley, the one who ordered the shootings and who conducted many of the killings himself. In early April 1969, troubled by the accounts he knew, Ridenhour wrote to thirty congressional representatives and senators describing what he had heard. His own congressman, Morris Udall, acted on the information by informing the Pentagon.[81]

Westmoreland received Udall's report immediately but found it difficult to believe. "Despite the obvious sincerity displayed by Ridenhour, I found it beyond belief that American soldiers, as he alleged, engaged in mass murder of unarmed South Vietnamese civilians."[82] He asked MACV Headquarters in Saigon about the allegations and received the reply that something unusual had indeed occurred in that area during the time reported. At that point, the Inspector General's office became involved and, soon thereafter, a formal investigation began with the Army's Criminal Investigation

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80. See Seymour M. Hersh, *Cover-Up* (New York: Vintage Books, 1973). Hersh broke the story in a cable filed through Dispatch News Service and picked up by more than 30 newspapers.

81. Ron Ridenhour's remarks at Tulane University in December 1994. David L. Anderson, *Facing My Lai: Moving beyond the Massacre* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998), 40.

82. Westmoreland, *A Soldier Reports*, 494–495.

Division (CID). By early fall, CID investigators had uncovered enough evidence that indicated a possible cover-up to warrant a formal, independent inquiry. To lead such an inquiry, Westmoreland turned to a man who had an impeccable reputation for integrity within the officer corps—Lieutenant General William R. "Ray" Peers.

Ray Peers, with a flat boxer's nose and always seen chomping on a cigar, was a warrior's warrior long before Vietnam. Commissioned in 1938 with a degree in education from the University of California at Los Angeles, he served in the Second World War with the Office of Strategic Services' (OSS) elite Detachment 101 in Burma, worked for the CIA after the war, returned to Burma during the Korean War to organize resistance groups against Communist Chinese forces and, during the first years of the Vietnam War, served in several high positions within the special operations community before taking several command positions in Vietnam. Peers had an exemplary reputation within the officer corps. Since he was not a military academy graduate, "there could be no presumption that ties among brother officers from West Point would be involved".[83]

On November 26, 1969, the secretary of the Army (Resor) and Westmoreland issued a joint memorandum directing Peers to conduct an investigation.[84] It is important to note that the Peers inquiry was not established to investigate the atrocities for prosecution, a common misperception due to the detailed facts that it uncovered. The appointment memo clearly stated that the Peers Inquiry "will be concerned with the time

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83. Westmoreland, *A Soldier Reports,* 495. Westmoreland was serious. When he heard that the White House was beginning to interject, he informed Brigadier General Al Haig (Henry Kissinger's military advisor) that if it continued he would insist on meeting with Nixon to stop it. Samuel Zaffiri, *Westmoreland: A Biography of General William C. Westmoreland,* (New York: Morrow, 1994), 335.

84. US Department of the Army memo signed by Westmoreland and Resor, "Directive for Investigation," 26 November 1969, included in "Report of the Department of the Army Review of the Preliminary Investigations into the My Lai Incident," Volume I, March 14, 1970, 1–6. www.armyoe.com.

period beginning March 1968 until Mr. Ronald L. Ridenhour sent his letter, dated March

29, 1969, to the Secretary of Defense and others. The scope of your investigation does

not include, nor will it interfere with, ongoing criminal investigations in progress."[85] In

other words, Peers was directed to identify leadership failures at all levels of command

in both the actions of the participants and, more importantly, in the attempts by the

senior leaders to cover up the war crimes.

Westmoreland was clearly committed to uncovering the truth. Alert to the

damage that the atrocity inflicted on the Army's integrity and reputation, Westmoreland

took special care in selecting impartial members of the inquiry team and essentially

granted Peers total autonomy and unlimited resources. Peers, sensitive to any potential

criticism from Congress and the press as to the impartiality of the Army investigating

itself, requested the participation of two highly respected civilian attorneys— Robert

"Bob" MacCrate and Jerome "Jerry" Walsh.[86]

Working long hours throughout the length of the investigation, to include

Thanksgiving, Christmas, and New Year's Eve, Peers and his team interviewed

hundreds of potential witnesses, including villagers living in the My Lai area. The Peers

Report, released on March 14, 1970, almost two years after the massacre, was a

scathing indictment of the many NCOs and officers involved in the cover-up. As Peers

noted in the opening paragraph of his 1979 account, "in analyzing the entire episode,

we found that the principal breakdown was in leadership. Failures occurred at every

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85. Ibid. See also document appendices in William R. Peers, *The My Lai Inquiry* (New York: Norton, 1979).

86. So concerned was Westmoreland that he first considered an all civilian board but decided against it because of the complexity of Army culture and organization. "Like Peers, both believed that truth was an absolute and that they had to discover that absolute no matter what it took or whose reputation was damaged in the process." Zaffiri, *Westmoreland*, 335. MacCrate had once served as New York Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller's counsel and was experienced in "complex private litigation."

level within the chain of command, from individual noncommissioned-officer squad leaders to the command group of the division."[87]

The voluminous report offered indisputable evidence that a cover-up had occurred up the chain of command and into the general officer ranks. The most senior officer involved was the Americal Division commander, Major General Samuel Koster, a close friend of Peers, who had since returned from Vietnam to serve in the coveted position of Superintendent of West Point. In drafting the final report, Peers was adamant that it include a final chapter on how such an event could have occurred. Although his colleagues recommended against it, Peers "felt strongly that if we are going to include the details of the operation we should provide some explanation of why it had developed into a massacre."[88] These reasons included racist attitudes of American soldiers toward the Vietnamese population; lack of proper training; psychological factors (unnecessary fear and apprehension); organizational problems (the incoherency of the task force composition); inadequate plans and orders; the nature of the enemy (insurgents); the attitude of local South Vietnamese government officials (in believing that the My Lai inhabitants were all Viet Cong); and, most importantly, leadership. The list of leadership failures was long and included signs of careerism with the company grade officers of the task force competing for the highest body count. To Peers, "perhaps the outstanding command failure on the day of the operation was that not a single commander landed his helicopter to check on the conduct and progress of the operation."[89]

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87. Peers, xi.
88. Ibid., 229.
89. Ibid., 233. They all flew low in close proximity to the movements on the ground.

Peers's outrage, at both the massacre and the cover-up as well as at the failure

of the Army to punish those responsible (all but Lieutenant Calley), was apparent in his

1979 writings. He recounted how he approached Westmoreland to offer up his personal

thoughts on the entire matter, which the CSA welcomed. Dated March 18, 1970,

Peers's memo is a timeless testament to sound leadership:

> [T]here can be no vacillation with the truth. . . . [O]fficers who [do so]
> violate their commission. . . . [A]n officer's highest loyalty is to the Army
> and the nation. On those rare occasions when people around him engage
> in activities clearly wrong and immoral, he is required by virtue of his being
> an officer to take whatever remedial action is required, *regardless of the
> personal consequences*.[90]

Westmoreland sent Peers's memo to Lieutenant General Walter "Dutch" Kerwin,

the DCSPERS, with a directive "to study it and submit recommendations based upon

it."[91] Peers then did something that would have a profound effect on the future birth of

the Army Organizational Effectiveness Program. He handed Westmoreland a personal

note stating that "something had gone terribly wrong within the Army officer corps." This

simple act resulted in the production of one of the most significant studies to ever come

out of the USAWC.

Introspection

Jolted by the confidential note that was derived from Peers's clear outrage over

the war crimes at My Lai, Westmoreland moved aggressively to investigate the health of

his beloved officer corps. In Westmoreland's mind, leadership failures of this scope, if

true, directly threatened the professionalism of the Army. Again leveraging his power

and authority to launch high-level studies, the CSA turned to the Army War College, the

hallmark of Army professionalism, to conduct an independent inquiry into the state of

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90. Ibid., 249. Emphasis is mine.
91. Ibid.

leadership and professionalism in the Army's officer corps. Westmoreland wanted this study completed in ten weeks—a remarkably short time frame for a study of this nature and complexity.

To do so, the Commandant of the Army War College, Major General George S. Eckhardt, selected his best people to lead the study group. Eckhardt chose two up-and-coming lieutenant colonels from his faculty: Walter "Walt" F. Ulmer, Jr., and Dandridge M. "Mike" Malone. Ulmer was a 1952 graduate of West Point and an armor officer who spent time in his career in Japan and Korea, taught at West Point, deployed to Vietnam, where he worked in MACV and as a senior advisor to a Vietnamese Infantry regiment, and served tours with the 82nd Airborne Division as a company and a squadron commander. A graduate of the Command and General Staff College as well as the Army War College, he remained at the latter as a member of the faculty. In contrast, Mike Malone began his Army career as an enlisted infantry soldier and fought in the Korean War. After his enlistment, he earned a bachelor of science degree from Vanderbilt University and a master of science degree from Purdue. Malone served in the Army for almost thirty years and gained a reputation for his teachings and writings on small-unit leadership.[92]

Ulmer, Malone, and their team launched the study on April 21, 1970, only three days after Westmoreland drafted his written directive to do so.[93] The study group utilized a mixture of quantitative and qualitative social science research methods. In

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92. Dandridge M. Malone, *Small Unit Leadership: A Commonsense Approach* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1983); also his collection of unpublished writings entitled *The Trailwatcher*, at www.armyoe.com, courtesy of Lieutenant General Walt Ulmer, Ulmer Papers.

93. "Analysis of Moral and Professional Climate in the Army," Memo, Chief of Staff, April 18, 1970 as included in Inclosures [sic], US Department of the Army, *Study on Military Professionalism* (Carlisle, PA: US Army War College, 1970), 53–54.

determining their methodology, they succinctly recognized the interdisciplinary nature of the term "professionalism."[94]

> Military professionalism involves a whole panorama of disciplines of varying precision and sophistication. Exactly what it encompasses—either quantitatively or qualitatively—is a matter of widely differing opinion. *But the focal point of the profession is clearly man himself: as an individual, a member of a number of groups and sub-groups, and a product of his culture.* The behavioral sciences, with their reliance on intuitive judgment and their preoccupation with being as unemotional and non-subjective as possible, represent the primary disciplines which would be the theoretical framework for further and more abstract exploitations of the content of this report. The foundations of this study were the <u>perceptions</u> of the existing climate by members of the Officer Corps. Regardless of whether all of these are in accord with the facts, they appear to reflect accurately the widespread convictions within the Officer Corps as to what the facts are.[95]

Consequently, they relied heavily on recent military personnel studies as well as academic references from the fields of social psychology, sociology, and personnel management.[96]

The study group quickly realized that the primary problem with the health of the officer corps, and central to all other issues and observations, was the large gap between the Army's stated, written, and espoused standards (i.e., values and behaviors), and those standards actually practiced. This gap, which the group termed "climate," was so large and prevalent that it defined a corrupt culture of careerism that permeated the entire officer corps. Standards of behavior and values were routinely verbalized but infrequently demonstrated because the promotion system rewarded perfection and statistically cited results. For officers to earn promotions, they had to

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94. As mentioned in the Preface, the complex terms "Professionalism" and "Leadership" (as used by the Army) are closely related and their traits are intertwined.

95. *Military Professionalism*, 2. Emphasis is mine. Underline in the original.

96. *Military Professionalism*, A-4, Primary authors they examined were David Krech, Dorwin Cartwright, Alvin Zander, Marie Jahoda, Morris Janowitz, Samuel Stouffer, C. H. Coates, R. Pellegrini, Rensis Likert, and Marvin Dunnette.

show perfect records of achievement. The slightest blemish or mistake could mean the end of one's career. Consequently, a culture of careerism formed.

The culture of the Army officer corps had become dysfunctional over time. Vietnam did not create this poor state of affairs—the entire Department of Defense throughout the 1960s had adopted and institutionalized systems of quantitative measurements (i.e., McNamara's systems analysis) and resource management.[97] However, Vietnam came to showcase the insufficiency and misuse of statistics to prove combat success. High body counts and the capture of enemy weapons and supplies highlighted every after action report (AAR), and higher levels of command tallied their subordinates' AARs to illustrate that Westmoreland's strategy of attrition warfare was working. If anything, the Peers Report had shown the worst-case example of this system gone awry. By 1970, however, careerism was out of control and had all but destroyed effective leadership throughout the institution.

To make best use of the short time available and to cast as wide a net as possible to solicit adequate participation, Ulmer, Malone, and their team visited six Army schools.[98] Officers attending military schools were usually between military assignments and not typically members of any field units, thus representing participant groups of individuals who had recently completed tours of duty from practically every field unit in the Army. More importantly, the schools offered "safe" environments in which officers

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97. See for example, David Halberstam, *The Best and the Brightest* (New York: Random House, 1972). The 1960s was the era of "management." In making organizations more effective during those years, many confused management skills with leadership behaviors. This, in part, explains why the Army's leadership doctrine, especially revisions in 1961, 1965, and 1972, were vague and full of generalities. See Appendix B – A Critical Analysis and Assessment of US Army Leadership Doctrine 1946 to 2006.

98. These were the Artillery School, the Transportation School, the Infantry School, the Chaplains School, the Command and General Staff College, and the USAWC. *Military Professionalism*, A-16. The 25 groups totaled 90 captains, 82 majors, 41 lieutenant colonels, and 26 colonels.

could speak their opinions without fear of repercussions. The team conducted twenty-

five group discussions, each lasting two hours, with officers ranging in rank from captain

through colonel. Of the 450 participants, 250 were students at the various schools, while

the other 200 were students and faculty members at the Army War College.[99]

As articulated in the final report, fourteen themes emerged to define the climate

of the Army officer corps, that is, the gap between the ideal and the existing values and

standards of behavior. The ideal climate was characterized by "individual integrity,

mutual trust and confidence, unselfish motivation, technical competence, and an

unconstrained flow of information," almost all basic tenets of transformational

leadership.[100] However, the report concluded that the existing climate

> includes persistent and rather ubiquitous overtones of: selfish behavior
> that places personal success ahead of the good of the service; looking
> upward to please superiors instead of looking downward to fulfill the
> legitimate needs of subordinates; preoccupation with the attainment of
> trivial short-term objectives even through dishonest practices that injure
> the long-term fabric of the organization; incomplete communications
> between junior and senior which leave the senior uninformed and the
> junior feeling unimportant; and inadequate technical or managerial
> competence to perform effectively the assigned duties.[101]

While the surveys offered consistent quantitative data to draw such conclusions,

the individual comments of the discussion groups qualitatively depicted the negative

impact of the climate. These extensive comments revealed the real feelings and strong

emotions of the participants. The consistency and pervasiveness of their experiences in this

insular culture was striking and underscored the severe dysfunctions that the unemotional,

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99. Ibid.

100. Interestingly, the survey questionnaire included many traits of Transformational Leadership theory. See *Military Professionalism*, Appendix 1, "Questionnaire;" Appendix 2, "Worksheets;" and Annex B, "Findings and Discussion."

101. Ibid., B-6.

quantitative data indicated in formulating the fourteen themes.[102] These themes, reduced

to their basic foundations apparent in the officers' comments, encompassed the following

three areas: careerism ("zero defects," perfect statistics, "ticket punching," and exemplary

Officer Evaluation Reports – OERs); communication (listening, counseling, and permission

to voice dissenting viewpoints); and standards of behavior (morals and ethics). Throughout

almost all of the themes, many of the officer comments suggested a dire need for

transformational/servant leadership behaviors. For example, one captain stated that "too

many officers place the value of a high OER over the welfare of their men. . . . The

Army should select men for command positions who have some backbone and who

care about the unit and the men *more than they care about their career*."[103] One major,

in recognizing that leadership is a social behavior that encourages open

communications, stated that "only when a commander establishes an atmosphere of

freedom of expression will he get accurate information and be believed when he gives

his reasons. Training in really listening should be given to all commanders at every

echelon. They have to hear what is being said. . . ."[104] Finally, perhaps the most

poignant comment came from one captain who believed that "the subordinate who even

suspects that his superior "gives a damn" for him will give, without demand, more

"followship" [sic] than a leader ever dared hope for."[105]

Embedded throughout the report was a realization that a generation gap existed

within the officer corps. The authors of the study specifically noted this when they observed

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102. The 14 themes were: selfish and ambitious behavior, passing the buck; mission accomplishment-regardless of means or importance; poor army image; acceptance of mediocre and unsatisfactory officers; distortion of reports, to include the OER; over-supervision and squelching of initiative, "don't rock the boat"; varying standards; army system of rewards; technical incompetence; lying, cheating, and stealing; lack of esprit and pride; tolerated deviance; one way communications; and loyalty and dedication. Ibid., B-28–B-30.
103. Ibid., 15. Emphasis mine.
104. Ibid., B-1-6
105. Ibid., B-1-7

that the higher-ranking officers perceived less of a gap between espoused and practiced

values. The "apparent grouping of officers of lieutenant through major in one group, and

lieutenant colonel and colonel in another . . . could be considered a military "generation

gap."[106] While this gap did not reflect any major differences in the general *weltanschauung* of

junior and senior officers, it did shed light on their different perceptions, beliefs, and behaviors

as Army leaders. A major commented that "too many colonels and generals appear to want

all junior officers to suffer like they did." One officer commented that "I feel that many

senior officers need exposure to modern concepts of personnel management,

communication techniques, motivation, and *the need for self-actualization that young*

officers [already] possess."[107]

Frustration with their inability to interact and communicate with senior officers

underscored the majority of junior officer comments. They cited many reasons why strong

barriers existed. Some commanders, the junior officers felt, only welcomed good news

because bad news might reflect poorly on the command. Other seniors expected and

demanded total loyalty from their subordinates but never reciprocated loyalty downward.

This expectation of full and unquestionable loyalty to the boss stifled risk-taking and

innovation. A major noted that "our junior officers and NCOs are more intelligent and

capable than ever before but they are afraid to make mistakes . . . [and] hesitate to

make decisions because they fear they will lose respect or be clobbered by their

seniors."[108] Suggestions or dissenting views were impossible to give for fear of career-

ending retributions and were considered a form of insubordination. One group stated

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106. Ibid., B-10
107. Ibid., 16. Emphasis is mine.
108. *Military Professionalism*, B-1-27.

that if "we played devil's advocate for about one millisecond . . . we were demolished immediately."[109]

Overall, the study described a professional officer corps that, in many ways, did not resemble the trademarks of a "profession." Unlike many other value-based professions where older and younger members routinely interact and openly share information with one another, professional orientations within the Army officer corps rested on a rigid stratification of peer year groups. Interactions occurred horizontally across rank structures but seldom vertically. Not only did this stratification block information flow, especially from the bottom up, it left junior officers feeling alone and isolated.[110] Consequently, junior officers "learned" their profession by observing and mimicking their seniors.[111] The authors noted that the junior officers really wanted to learn from their seniors. "Every junior officer group that we talked to was looking so strongly at their senior officers for a standard that they could follow that it almost hurt . . . the number of times that they felt they had been let down by looking for higher standards from the senior officers and not finding them." The study summarized that overall

> junior officers expressed the view that they need counseling. They want it, they would like to be able to talk to their senior officers but they find in their view a lack of interest. . . . [They expressed] a real need to be allowed to make mistakes and to be counseled on their mistakes rather than have them reflected on their efficiency reports. . . . At the end of almost every seminar the officers would come up to us and say "thank you for letting us talk to a senior officer on the subject. This is the first time it has ever happened. And thanks for listening."[112]

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109. *Military Professionalism*, B-1-26.

110. Though anecdotal, I experienced this personally, in almost every type of social interaction, throughout my entire career, both as a company grade and field grade officer.

111. Note that along these lines, the study strongly underlined the widely held views of junior officers who were coerced into behaving unethically to submit perfect reports.

112. *Military Professionalism*, B-1-14.

For the senior officers who participated in the discussion group, the safe environment offered a rare opportunity to reflect. One colonel confessed that he and his peers would often fail "to pass on to junior officers results of their suggestions or outright ignoring them . . . [I]n *some* cases the upper levels of command actually are unaware that they are unapproachable."[113] One lieutenant colonel believed that "there is a crying need for majors through generals to do a better job of communicating with their subordinates on a very personal basis."[114] Finally, another colonel stated that "patience with and responsibility toward subordinates needs to be stressed at the highest level. We still treat our junior officers and enlisted men as things rather than as people."[115]

Perhaps the most telling aspect of the study was the effect that the process had on the study group team itself—the senior officers from the USAWC. The report noted that

> they were impressed with the insight, energy, maturity, and outlook of the captains and majors particularly. And some of the team members felt that had they been somehow exposed to the barrage of unfiltered, straightforward perceptions of the junior officers a few years ago they would have done a better job as battalion commanders.[116]

The report concluded with thirty-one recommendations, some that the Army could implement immediately and others that would require additional study and resources. However, two overarching findings dominated the entire study. The first was the conclusion that the poor leadership climate within the Army officer corps was self-

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113. Ibid., B-1-6
114. Ibid.
115. Ibid., B-1-7.
116. Ibid., 18.

inflicted and did not arise from any negative influences from the "permissive" society.[117]

The second conclusion was that the problem was not "self-correcting."

> The pervasiveness of this climate, and the understandably human motive—such as drive for personal recognition—which tend to perpetuate the distortion of the professional ethic, indicate that the situation is probably not self-correcting. The strong desire expressed almost unanimously by officers to make the operative system more nearly perfect represents a healthy reservoir of energetic idealism. But the individual officer is greatly hampered in any local crusade for adherence to ideal methods by the need to produce results in order to remain competitive for future advancement. *Change, therefore, must be instituted from the top of the Army.* Admonition is not enough. The implementation of corrective measures must be comprehensive. . . .[118]

Ulmer and Malone completed their report on June 30, 1970, and personally presented their findings to Westmoreland during the first week of July. With a commanders conference underway at that time, quite a few senior officers were in attendance in the briefing room at the Pentagon. Several historians have recounted this briefing and Ulmer and Malone's frank, professional delivery of unvarnished information that they knew "gored a sacred ox in the herd of [every] one of the generals present."[119] At the end of their briefing the generals sat stunned and many expressed disbelief. Westmoreland himself "sat with a stunned expression. "I just can't believe that," he kept repeating, looking askance at the faces around the room." "One three-star general stood and shouted, "that's not the goddamn Army that I know!"[120]

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117. Ibid., v.

118. Ibid., vi. A prescient statement for the Army OE Program. Note that a strong patron at the top is advocated for the successful implementation of any OD program. Emphasis is mine.

119. James Kitfield, *Prodigal Soldiers: How the Generation of Officers Born of Vietnam Revolutionized the American Style of War* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995), 111. See also Sorley, *Westmoreland*, 222–224.

120. Ibid., 112. Kitfield reported that another general office challenged his outraged colleague with "Yeah, well, apparently that's the goddamn trouble. . . ." Ulmer corrected that in our interview and stated that his boss, Major General Eckhardt, the Commandant of the USAWC, was the one who replied—unemotionally and respectfully.

Obviously, this was not the message that the Army's senior leaders wanted to hear. The Traditionalists and most Healers would soon discount or ignore the conclusion that external influences did not account for the poor climate and that the officer corps could not "self-correct." At that time, though, Westmoreland was caught in a bind. While he personally believed that the Army officer corps was ethically sound (thinking that some bad officers had entered the ranks as the war demanded an unusually high number of lower-ranking officers), he could not ignore the report's data and the participants' testimonies. Aware that the clock was ticking on the elimination of the draft, Westmoreland had to act. What troubled the CSA most was the report's first and foremost recommendation that the findings be released and shared with the entire Army. This, he concluded, he could not do for fear that the Army could not take another bloodbath in the media so soon after My Lai. Therefore, he informed Ulmer and Malone that they could brief their findings at the Army's service schools but that the report was now classified "close hold"—meaning that its dissemination was strictly controlled. "Both Ulmer and Malone felt that Westmoreland was making a serious blunder. Without the study to provide a framework and context, the recommended changes would likely be seen as disjointed and piecemeal."[121] Subsequent events validated their concerns.

The 1970 *Study on Military Professionalism* was a milestone document that, historically, carries much more weight than most historians and writers have realized. *It was the first and only time in the Army's history that the institution examined—that is, questioned, scrutinized, and criticized—the integrity and ethical soundness of the officer corps and its leadership effectiveness.* Ulmer and Malone noted this in the final report: "Seldom if ever has the Army looked inward to the value system of its Officer Corps

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121. Ibid.

through the medium of organized study or empirical research."[122] In retrospect, this was a major turning point affecting the changes taking place that would determine the scope of any post-Vietnam transformation. Westmoreland, ever the cautious Healer, by subduing the impact of the report closed the door on any further introspection of the officer corps. This action allowed the Traditionalists and the Healers to focus exclusively on the enlisted corps as the Army headed toward the AVF. For the Progressives, Westmoreland's actions served to make their work much more difficult. For the Army OE Program to succeed, it would need strong involvement from the officer corps in the years ahead.[123]

Westmoreland and the All Volunteer Army

Despite his numerous shortcomings and cautions, Westmoreland showed strong stewardship of the institution with these demonstrations of pragmatism. With the Gates Commission report, the Butler Study, the PROVIDE Report, and now the USAWC *Study on Military Professionalism* in hand, the CSA moved assertively to formalize preparations for an all-volunteer army, despite harboring some private concerns and objections. If nothing else, all of these studies and findings strongly indicated that enormous change was required for the Army to move forward.

Westmoreland strongly signaled such change on October 13, 1970, when he leveraged the annual conference of the Association of the United States Army (AUSA) to announce his full support for the AVF. AUSA was and remains a highly influential association comprised of current and former members of the Army, primarily officers and

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122. *Military Professionalism*, B-6.
123. Westmoreland's protection of the officer corps from any additional scrutiny of its leadership behaviors may have emplaced a permanent and perhaps insurmountable obstacle in the path of the Progressives.

senior NCOs, and key business executives with direct ties to the defense industry and to Congress. The Army has traditionally utilized this large forum to present new initiatives, showcase new systems and technological innovations, and promote discussions on operational and strategic directions. Historically, each CSA has leveraged the conference to articulate his current and future priorities.

On this day, the CSA was clear about his near-term priorities. Although he outlined few specifics, Westmoreland strongly stated that "the Army is committed to an all-out effort in working toward a zero-draft—a volunteer force." He told his audience that the Army had to change its personnel policies because they were damaging to recruiting and enlistments. The scope of these changes, he vaguely stated, would demand "dedicated and imaginative leadership at all levels of the Army." However, the most important—and only specific— action he announced was his appointment of a special project manager to lead the implementation of an all-volunteer army. The man he chose was well-respected Lieutenant General George I. Forsythe, Jr., then serving as the commanding general of the Army Combat Developments Command. Westmoreland considered Forsythe "to be an innovator and capable of independent thought and actions."[124] Forsythe's actions in the months ahead would prove Westmoreland right. George Forsythe was an adaptive thinker whose skills as a strong innovator and higher-order thinker would pave the road ahead for his fellow Progressives.

Because of his age and his participation in the Second World War, at first glance George Forsythe possessed the resume of a strong Traditionalist. A 1939 ROTC graduate from Montana University, Forsythe was a career infantry officer who saw combat in the Pacific Theater of WWII in the invasion of Kwajalein Atoll (Marshall Islands) in January

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124. Griffith, *Transition*, 53.

1944. He then transferred to the XIX Corps in England and participated in the planning for the invasion of Europe. Throughout the 1950s, Forsythe served in various command and staff positions in the United States and Germany. In June 1962, he occupied the gatekeeper position when he became executive officer and senior aide to the Army chief of staff (for both General George H. Decker and General Earle G. Wheeler). Promoted to brigadier general in August 1963, Forsythe went on to serve in command positions as the assistant division commander of the 25th Infantry Division, and later as commander of the 1st Cavalry Division in Vietnam. In June 1969, he was appointed commandant of the US Army Infantry School.[125]

Like Bernie Rogers, somewhere along that successful conventional path Forsythe developed a reflective, humanistic mindset that genuinely viewed the Army through the eyes of junior enlisted soldiers. For example, in his initial address to the Infantry school in July 1969, he used terms that reminded everyone that the school was "an educational institution which is *adapting* to the *technology* of our times. . . . [W]e will always regard the *individual* officer and soldier as our greatest asset—our main point of focus. We are here to *serve* them, and you."[126] The use of such terms is common today but was rare at that time.[127]

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125. George Forsyth, "Commandant's Notes," *Infantry Journal*, July–August 1969, 2.

126. Emphasis is mine. For that time, these were uncommon, powerful words that few general officers used. Indeed, this was the same summer in which his colleagues, Davidson and Rogers, were just beginning their command tours at Fort Ord and Fort Carson. George Forsythe, "Commandant's Notes," *Infantry Journal*, July-August 1969, 3. Also note that the term "technology" had a vastly different meaning then than it does today. At that time it was analogous to "innovative techniques or methods." Similarly, throughout the duration of the Army OE Program, OE literature would use the term "technology" to describe recent or innovative OD techniques and methods.

127. There are many testaments to Forsythe's transformational leadership behaviors. See especially Henry G. Gole, *Soldiering: Observations from Korea, Vietnam, and Safe Places* (Dulles, VA: Potomac Books, 2005), 232. Gole worked in SAMVA. He fondly recalls the open trust that Forsythe had in his officers, often passing on their work to Westmoreland without delay or review. "That impressed me mightily. Most of the little old ladies posing as senior officers and running the Army would have played copyeditor and schoolmarm. George Forsythe did not speak of trust and confidence. He gave it, and he got it. He treated subordinates with respect, as junior colleagues seeking the same excellence as he pursued. We responded with our best efforts for a man who gave and deserved loyalty. The papers I

Pulling him away from command, Westmoreland officially appointed Forsythe to the newly created position of Special Assistant for the Modern Volunteer Army (SAMVA) on October 23, 1970. Forsythe told the CSA that he would accept the job but only on condition that he would not be a "three-star recruiter" and that he "would have a role in reforming the Army." Westmoreland granted Forsythe extensive autonomy and authority as well as direct access to the office of the CSA and the secretary of the Army.[128]

Forsythe wasted little time. In building his team from scratch, he began by surrounding himself with other innovative thinkers. For a short while, he had Jack Butler on his team (Butler had been promoted to Colonel and would leave SAMVA in June 1971 to attend the USAWC). Butler provided critical continuity from the Butler Study and the PROVIDE group to SAMVA. More importantly, Forsythe was able to secure Colonel Robert M. Montague, Jr., as his first choice for "right-hand man." Fortuitously, Montague was currently holding a senior position under Rogers at Fort Carson and was deeply involved in Rogers's initiatives there. Academically, Bob Montague had graduated number one in his West Point class of 1947 and later earned a master of science degree in nuclear physics from the University of Virginia. Montague was an artillery officer and had compiled a stellar record of achievement in various assignments both in the field and in Washington. In total, Montague served five years in Vietnam where, in one assignment, he played a key role in the US pacification program while working with Forsythe. Less than two years after joining Forsythe at SAMVA, Montague would step off the fast track to senior rank by retiring early as a brigadier general to become the Director of the Special Olympics, a position he

wrote would go out as I wrote them. That told me to do them right. I experienced some fine leaders over the years, but he was the best of the senior leaders, an exemplar, the helpful uncle to the willing colleague. But, alas, he was an exception. Many regarded by the system as leaders were, in fact, journeymen shouters who endorsed the 'when in doubt, yell and shout' principle."

128. Griffith, *Transition*, 53.

sought without invitation.[129] By his deeds and words, it is clear in retrospect that Montague shared the same view toward soldiers as did Forsythe and Rogers.

Almost immediately, Forsythe realized that he needed more time if he was to reform the Army in any meaningful way. Fortunately, the ongoing budget battles at the time of Forsythe's appointment offered up a solution. Although the Gates Commission had optimistically recommended that the AVF begin in mid-1971, now only eight months away, it was clear to the Army and the Nixon Administration that a two-year extension on the draft was essential not only to funding the AVF but also to supplying combat arms soldiers to the war in Vietnam. On January 28, 1971, Nixon informed the American public of his intent to ask Congress to extend the draft. Due largely to budgetary concerns, Congress debated Nixon's request for eight months before approving it.[130] This extension created valuable breathing room for SAMVA and for the Progressives to promote their ideas and innovations (discussed in detail in Chapter II).

Believing that an extension of the draft was inevitable but unsure of the start date for the AVF, Forsythe and the SAMVA office compiled a growing list of initiatives during the last week of October and the first three weeks of November 1970. Picking up where PROVIDE left off, the SAMVA team dug its heels into the details of the "dehumanizing

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129. See Sargent Shriver memorial address at http://peaceinstitute.sargentshriver.org/files/1996%20-%20MEMORIAL%20SERVICE%20FOR%20ROBERT%20M%20MONTAGUE%20JR%20POST%20CHAPEL%20FORT%20MYER%20VA.pdf. Accessed July 7, 2013. This is a wonderful testament to Montague's humanism and humility. Shriver recounts how Montague sought him out for this fledgling program called the Special Olympics. Shriver, not knowing Montague, called his close friend Max Taylor to ask about him. Taylor was shocked and flabbergasted to hear that Montague wanted to leave the Army.

130. Griffith, *Transition,* 59. A point worth mentioning is that during the budget debates, Forsythe fought and lost the battle to award proficiency pay to combat arms soldiers. Congress preferred enlistment bonuses. This is a key data point that illustrates the philosophical differences between Army officers trying to build a professional volunteer Army and Congress and the executive branch simply trying to attract enough recruits with monetary incentives. The Army viewed enlistment bonuses as a form of bounty.

practices associated with Army enlistment life."[131] Additional ideas came from the work

accomplished at Fort Ord and from Bernie Rogers at Fort Carson by way of Montague,

who "brought with him a wealth of ideas about how to make the all-volunteer concept work.

. . . [U]nder Rogers' leadership the division experimented with several nontraditional

approaches to solving personnel problems that Montague would later commend to

Forsythe as they launched the Modern Volunteer Army Program."[132] Forsythe and

Montague both strongly believed that "innovative programs often required unorthodox

means of implementation to assure success."[133] They were determined "to push SAMVA

initiatives without regard to normal Army staff procedures [and] expected resistance not out

of ulterior motives but due to bureaucratic inertia and traditionalism."[134] For this adaptive

challenge, the key was experimentation.

Thanks to Montague as well as Butler's knowledge and previous work, the SAMVA

team had plenty of new ideas to test.[135] Additional ideas were generated in the first half of

November when Forsythe held a series of planning meetings that included Army personnel

from the targeted installations conducting the experiments as well as representatives from

higher education and the behavioral sciences.[136] By November 23, Forsythe was ready to

launch his program—officially termed the Modern Volunteer Army Program (MVAP). At

first, Butler proposed testing the new ideas at one Army post. However, Forsythe wanted

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131. From the PROVIDE Report as quoted in Ibid., 62.

132. Griffith, *Transition*, 64–65. Montague was serving as the 5th Division Artillery Commander. Monatgue's command time had aligned with Rogers's (his immediate boss), so he was directly involved and closely familiar with all of Rogers's initiatives at Carson.

133. Ibid., 65–66. Adaptive thinkers with self-transforming minds!

134. Ibid., Griffith notes how the two leveraged their authority and direct accesses to maximum benefit. Whenever their new idea failed to make it through the Army staff and General Palmer, they would route it through the Secretary of the Army's office or a friend in Congress, and vice versa.

135. The PROVIDE Report had identified 228 proposed actions. Willard Latham, *The Modern Volunteer Army Program: The Benning Experiment, 1970–1972,* (Washington: DC: US Department of the Army, 1974), http://www.history.army.mil/html/books/090/90-2/CMH_Pub_90-2.pdf, 7.

136. Moore, *Building a Volunteer Army,* 51.

to go big and wide. Instead, he asked Westmoreland to formally launch MVAP and its initial

initiatives at the upcoming Commanders Conference scheduled only a week away,

November 30. The SAMVA team planned to simultaneously launch a series of experiments

at four Army posts. They called their eighteen-month experimental program VOLAR (for

Volunteer Army) and scheduled the formal experimental programs to begin on January 1,

1971.[137]

In short, SAMVA had two overarching goals: to overhaul the Army recruiting system

and to make the Army attractive to potential recruits.[138] In retrospect, Forsythe, as evident

by his subsequent actions, accurately viewed the former as a technical problem and the

latter as an adaptive problem. Because "he harbored grave concerns about the

institutional health of the Army," Forsythe focused his efforts on internal improvements,

clearly the adaptive challenge. In doing so, he picked up where PROVIDE had left off.

While PROVIDE had illuminated antiquated practices associated with Army enlisted

service, it had not really defined the nature and scope of such practices.

Realizing that the AVF concept attracted many proponents and opponents, all of

whom emphasized various emotional and political arguments, Forsythe cleverly and

carefully positioned VOLAR within the framework of "professionalism." Unfortunately, the

complex, emotional term "professionalism," so closely associated with the term "leadership"

in Army culture, was still very subjective and ill-defined despite the clarity that the USAWC

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137. MVAP was the program name for all of SAMVA's work. VOLAR was the name for the formal experiments that occurred from 1 January 1971 to 30 June 1972. Over time, VOLAR ursurped MVAP as a general term that people used to describe the Army's early initiatives in the 1970s and, over time, it came to carry a negative connotation.

138. The Gates Commission had largely identified both the problem and the solution to recruiting. The Army needed a "Madison Avenue" marketing campaign and lots of money to incent enlistments. No one knew at this point how to make Army life more attractive. This fundamental adaptive question was at the center of the entire story on the AVF. The Progressives argued that OD could solve this adaptive challenge.

Study on Military Professionalism presented only five months earlier. Still, Forsythe realized

that most NCOs and officers would probably agree that, following Vietnam, the Army

needed repair. While this framework of professionalism would unite the profession for the

challenges faced in a post-Vietnam Army, it would also do a disservice to the work required

to bring about a post-war transformation of the institution. Without clarity, the Traditionalists,

the Healers, and the Progressives were left to their own interpretations of the term. This is

exactly what occurred when the Army received Westmoreland's "guidance" on VOLAR.

Certainly, Westmoreland's comments on the AVF and MVAP at the AUSA

conference on October 13 served as a wakeup call to the officer corps that big changes

were coming and that all discussions about preserving the draft should cease. Unfortunately,

beyond those two points, Westmoreland did little to clarify the nature of such changes. He

told his audience that "those of us in positions of high responsibility must attack this problem

[of making the Army attractive] with all the vigor and imagination and enthusiasm we can

muster. . . . [W]e must eliminate unnecessary elements and unattractive features of Army life

wherever they exist." At the same time, however, he stated that "military order—the soul of

the Army" would not be sacrificed in the process.[139]

On November 23, the official start date of SAMVA's MVAP, Westmoreland sent a

lengthy "back channel" message to his senior commanders, forewarning them of his

comments on VOLAR for the upcoming commanders conference only days away.

Although the CSA intended his message to "give you my current thinking . . . to aid you in

your preparation for the conference and to serve as guidance," his verbiage sent

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139. Westmoreland's remarks at AUSA Conference, reprinted in Moore, *Building a Volunteer Army*, 87.

ambiguous, mixed messages. On the one hand, he focused on a new environment of

trust:

> I applaud and support changes that clearly focus on increasing the
> challenge and rewards of true professionalism. . . . Today our society is in
> the throes of change and there are real pressures for immediate and
> drastic changes to the Army. In some areas we are prepared to meet this
> new environment. These are areas which involve creating conditions
> where every man can serve with dignity, where we give our individuals a
> keen sense of job challenge and satisfaction, and where we put our trust
> in those people who have clearly demonstrated their ability to merit our
> trust. These are the areas in which we will make changes.[140]

Yet, on the other hand and within the same paragraph, he stressed the

importance of discipline and obedience:

> We will not make changes by reducing our proper professional standards.
> . . . Changes are not to occur in measures that maintain and develop
> proper discipline and standards of performance. I want to make very clear
> that we are engaged in a development - not a "giveaway" program. We
> want to build units around the qualities of competence, confidence, and
> teamwork. Good discipline is essential. We must insure that leaders trying
> to be "in tune with the times" do not walk a razor's edge between a
> disciplined and an undisciplined unit by moving blindly off the deep end.
> This requires the best officers and non-commissioned officers in
> leadership positions.[141]

All of the events from October 13 to November 30, 1970—Westmoreland's

speeches and announcements, and SAMVA's fast-paced beginning—served to catapult

the Army into a post-Vietnam mindset and the realities of an approaching AVF. Most

significant about this time period is that Westmoreland's actions *forced* and *required* the

entire Army to get on board the MVAP bandwagon. Prior to this time, only Davidson and

Rogers had willingly and seriously embraced new ideas about human relations and their

importance to the effectiveness of organizations. Unfortunately, Westmoreland's

guidance served to send mixed messages. Professionalism and leadership were terms

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140. Ibid., 88.
141. Ibid.

assumed to have shared understood meanings. Consequently, the task of sorting out

the CSA's broad guidance and ambiguity fell on Forsythe's shoulders. The result was

an experimental program that, in order to meet the Chief's guidance, had to include two

distinctly different, and sometimes conflicting, goals.

VOLAR – The Formal Experiments

From the formal start of the VOLAR program on January 1, 1971, SAMVA was clear

about the overarching goals of the extensive VOLAR field experiments: first, to make "the

Army a more satisfactory place to work in by fostering professionalism, identification with

the Army, and greater job satisfaction among officers and enlisted men alike," and second,

to take "actions directed toward making the Army a better place to live in by improving the

quality of life and removing unnecessary sources of irritation and dissatisfaction." [142]

SAMVA chose five installations. Three would conduct large, extensive programs while the

other two would initiate smaller, specific activities. In addition to the five VOLAR posts, two

additional installations would serve as control groups in the evaluations. The primary posts

were Forts Benning, Carson, and Ord. The secondary installations were Fort Bragg and

Headquarters of US Army Europe (USAREUR). SAMVA identified Forts Knox and Jackson

as control groups. [143]

In shaping each experiment, Forsythe and Montague smartly leveraged the ongoing

work of Davidson and Rogers. Fort Ord would continue and build upon the work in

progress on recruit training and management. Although Rogers relinquished his command

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142. Robert Vineberg and Elaine N. Taylor, *Summary and Review of Studies of the VOLAR Experiment, 1971: Installation Reports for Forts Benning, Bragg, Carson, and Ord, and HumRRO Permanent Party Studies*, HumRRO Technical Report 72-18 (Alexandria, VA: Human Resources Research Organization, May 1972), 3. Hereafter cited as *HumRRO Installation Reports*.

143. The other control group was the Fort Jackson Training Center, South Carolina, which served as a comparison group to the Fort Ord Training Center, *HumRRO Installation Reports*, 3.

at Fort Carson in December, just days before the start of VOLAR, the 5th Infantry Division would continue with improvements already underway, paying particular attention to raising the level of combat unit performance. SAMVA instructed Major General Orwin C. Talbott, commanding general of Fort Benning, to focus his VOLAR efforts on the development of non-commissioned officers (NCOs) and commissioned officers.

The linchpin post was Fort Benning, home of the infantry. Of the various subcultures within the Army, the infantry had largely dominated the Army's power structure since the Second World War. Westmoreland was an infantry officer, as were seven of his ten predecessors.[144] In 1971, Benning was an important choice not only because Vietnam was an infantryman's war but also because all infantry officers received advanced skills training there and rotated through the post several times throughout their careers. At that time, it was also home of infantry doctrinal development, which served to influence the Army's generic perception of "leadership." Indeed, this latter point was underscored by SAMVA choosing Benning as the experimental post to explore the "development" of NCOs and officers.[145]

In terms of financial resources, each VOLAR post received $5 million. For assessment and evaluation, SAMVA leaned heavily on external consultants, primarily the Human Resources Research Organization (HumRRO), to conduct the evaluations. Throughout the three phases of the eighteen-month experiment (each phase lasting six months), HumRRO conducted extensive periodic surveys. In total, HumRRO ultimately surveyed more than 26,000 enlisted men and 2100 officers. [146]

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144. Chiefs of staff: Eisenhower was armor, and both Taylor and Lemnitzer were artillery.

145. The Infantry motto is "Follow Me!" To be clear, Benning had the most important experiment with its efforts directly centered on leadership and the preponderance of participants being NCOs and officers.

146. *HumRRO, Installation Reports*, viii. Also Latham, *The Benning Experiment*, 27.

When the VOLAR field experiments ended on June 30, 1972, the findings revealed many promising results and a few surprising trends and conclusions. The behavioral scientists at HumRRO, deeply aware of current behavioral science research, designed their questionnaires in accordance with current quantitative methods to directly address the core components of VOLAR's two primary goals. The first goal (to make "the Army a more satisfactory place to work in by fostering professionalism, identification with the Army, and greater job satisfaction among officers and enlisted men alike") led the researchers to focus on "professionalism" and "greater job satisfaction." This focus directly related to their assessment of "leadership." The second goal (to take "actions directed toward making the Army a better place to live in by improving the quality of life and removing unnecessary sources of irritation and dissatisfaction") had the researchers assess "irritants" and to identify "lifestyle" activities that the Army could easily implement. These distinctions were critical in not only shaping the structure of the HumRRO questionnaires but, more importantly, in framing the future views and debates over the nature of modernization and reform for the post-Vietnam/AVF Army. In short, during VOLAR and after, the Progressives would see great promise and opportunity in the first goal that addressed "professionalism" (leadership), and "job satisfaction." The Healers would largely ignore, minimize, or self-define the first goal and devote their time and attention to the second goal of "irritants" removal and "lifestyle" improvements.

In formulating the questionnaires, HumRRO structured their questions—with the two stated goals as guidelines—to assess overall attitudes toward the Army. Important subsets included "career behaviors and intentions," morale indicators, and impact of lifestyle improvements on discipline. Specifically, HumRRO asked each participant to rate

situations and conditions according to three criteria: their personal importance, "the extent

that they see the Army taking action about them," and "their influence on a decision to

remain in or leave the Army." The extensive attitudinal surveys appeared to represent

Maslow's model of hierarchical needs well. The researchers used a set of four factors for

the classification of items. In climbing Maslow's pyramid, these classifications were

security, inequity, involvement, and leadership.[147]

Each of the VOLAR posts approached the experiments seriously and expeditiously.

The installation commanders devoted many resources and an enormous amount of time to

implement as many improvements as possible given the time constraints and financial

limitations. While each post was assigned different emphases as targeted objectives based

on the installation's mission and associated force structure, they all adopted similar ideas

and methods throughout the length of the experiments. What differed, however, was the

emphasis that each post commander placed on the two overarching goals. As reflected in

survey results and installation reports, Carson sought a balance between the two goals.

The commander of Fort Benning, though, heavily focused on removing irritants and

adopting lifestyle improvements. In doing so, he relegated the leader/professional

development initiatives to a lower priority. Benning's diminished preference on the latter

was puzzling (and a bit ironic), given that it was the only post that was asked to direct its

experiments specifically toward officer and NCO development, and because Fort Benning

representatives were present at the SAMVA planning sessions in November 1970 when

Forsythe brought in behavioral science educators and researchers.[148] It appeared that

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147. *HumRRO Installation Reports*, 6.
148. Latham, *The Benning Experiment*, 27-30.

Benning was not only the home of the infantry, it was also the home of the Traditionalists and cautious Healers.

Surprisingly, given its mission as an initial entry training center, Fort Ord led the way in exploring leadership and professionalism. HumRRO's 1972 report on the entire VOLAR program clearly revealed this "Great Divide" between goal one (leadership/professionalism) and goal two (irritants and lifestyle). In consolidating all of the surveys from the VOLAR posts, the control groups, and a survey conducted Army-wide, HumRRO ordered in rank those items "on which the most Army action was seen" for officers and enlisted men. Both groups listed a large number of lifestyle and irritant items as observed VOLAR actions or improvements. Neither officers nor enlisted men, however, listed lifestyle and irritant items as improvements that were *personally* important. On the contrary, leadership factors dominated their top personal concerns but were not observed as actions taken in the VOLAR initiatives.[149] Consequently, the authors of the report highlighted their belief that the greatest opportunities for improving the areas categorized as "leadership" and "involvement," and that would "have the largest impact for enlisted men," would be "the soldier's need for self-esteem, . . . the soldier's need to feel that he is wanted and valued as an individual, . . . and the consideration for them by their superiors, expressed in the form of reasons. . . ."[150] Similarly, the report's conclusions about discipline (i.e., AWOLs, non-judicial punishment, etc.), and re-enlistment intentions—all traditional measures of a commander's leadership effectiveness—revealed little or only slight improvements.

In addition to the HumRRO reports, Fort Benning and Fort Ord later published comprehensive accounts of their particular VOLAR programs. The differences in their

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149. *HumRRO Installation Reports*, Tables 45 and 46
150. Ibid., 8.

narratives were striking in several ways, but what really stood out was the power and influence of the commanding generals who clearly shaped and steered the direction of the experiments. At Fort Benning, Talbot was in command during all three phases of VOLAR but preferred to leave the oversight of the program to Colonel Willard Latham.[151] Latham commanded the 197th Infantry Brigade (the largest primary unit at Benning) during Phase I and II of VOLAR, and then served as Talbot's deputy commander and chief of staff for Phase III. Latham would prove to be a strong Traditionalist and reluctant Healer.

At Fort Ord, Davidson relinquished command to Major General Harold "Hal" Moore near the end of VOLAR Phase I in early June 1971. Moore, a Progressive, was a perfect choice to succeed Davidson. A graduate of West point and a career infantry officer, Moore as company commander during the Korean War, taught at West Point, and held staff positions, including a NATO assignment in Oslo, Norway. Several assignments, with the 82nd Airborne at Fort Bragg and at the Pentagon, included work with experimental projects and programs. In addition, Moore earned a master's degree in international affairs from George Washington University.

Moore is best known, however, for his command of a battalion in the new, experimental 11th Air Assault Division that was testing innovative concepts in the use of helicopters for air mobility. In July 1965, the 11th Air Assault Division was re-designated the 1st Cavalry Division (Air Mobile) and deployed to Vietnam. In November 1965, Moore's under-strength battalion, the 1st Battalion, 7th Cavalry, fought in the Army's first major engagement of the Vietnam War in the Ia Drang Valley.[152]

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151. Latham, *The Benning Experiment*, Chapter II, It appears likely that the highly publicized trial of Lieutenant Calley for the My Lai massacre, which the Army conducted at Fort Benning, consumed Talbot's time.

152. http://www.westpointaog.org/page.aspx?pid=576. Accessed June 17, 2013.

With an extensive career in experimentation, Moore took over command of the Army

Training Center at Fort Ord in June 1971, during the initial phase of the VOLAR field

experiments.[153] He quickly picked up where Davidson left off. Like Davidson, Moore

personally invested much time and effort into the program. In fact, shortly before

relinquishing command in 1973, Moore would coauthor his installation's experience with

VOLAR in the publication *Building a Volunteer Army: The Fort Ord Contribution.* In a clear

recognition of the leadership goal, Moore noted that "greater attention was to be given to

professionalism and to the legitimate physical and *psychological needs* of the men and

women who filled the Army's ranks."[154] For example, in marching in step with his fellow

Progressives, Moore noted that

> a great shift in American cultural patterns in the last twenty or so years
> seems fully apparent. Particularly among the young, there have been
> sweeping changes in values, aspirations, and goals. The problem was to
> identify the direction and end results of these shifting cultural patterns as they
> related to the young people entering the Army and, where appropriate, take
> these new factors into consideration when devising life-style improvements.
> Otherwise, all efforts would be liable to misdirection, and could, in the long
> run, be counterproductive. In other words, it was necessary to establish a
> dialogue [with young soldiers] to find out "where they were at. . . ." [We] fully
> recognized that improvements in life-style would have to be accompanied by
> across-the-board improvements in the quality of leadership and the
> standards of professionalism within the Army in order to be truly effective.[155]

Importantly, the Fort Ord report spoke to Ord's approach of reaching out to current

pedagogical research and methods in structuring their Experimental Volunteer Army

Training Program (Fort Ord's VOLAR). "A major reason for change was normally the result

of a desire to test an instructional technique or new methodology which offered a chance of

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153. http://www.westpointaog.org/page.aspx?pid=576. Accessed June 17, 2013.
154. Moore, *Building a Volunteer Army,* 48. Emphasis is mine.
155. Ibid., 83.

improvement."[156] As he had done for Davidson, Datel continued his work under Moore in conducting this type of research alongside HumRRO. His ideas were especially effective in the aptitude strategy experiments. The tests were so successful that these new "pedagogical changes which were the core of the experimental training program" were subsequently applied on a "large scale" to all areas of combat arms and combat support training at Fort Ord.

In contrast, the report from Fort Benning, which Latham authored in late 1973 under the title *The Modern Volunteer Army Program: The Benning Experiment, 1970–1972,* spent much time recounting the startup of VOLAR. Because Davidson, Letgers, Datel, and HumRRO had accomplished so much work prior to the official start of VOLAR, Benning was at least a year or more behind Fort Ord. However, Talbott and Latham moved aggressively ahead to catch up. They turned to Colonel William B. Steele, director of the Leadership Department of the US Army Infantry School (USAIS), to directly manage Benning's VOLAR program. In doing so, Talbott could then incorporate VOLAR activities for the entire installation, while Latham could offer up his 197th Infantry Brigade as a test bed with his full involvement.[157]

Latham's account of the VOLAR program at Benning gave good, insightful detail of the planning and implementation of the Benning VOLAR initiatives. It recounted the first-rate team of infantrymen that Steele recruited and the criticality of getting the proper framework established and articulated prior to beginning the experiments. Here, though, is where the Benning and Ord programs significantly diverged. Whereas Davidson and

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156. Ibid., 78.
157. Latham and Steele were openly strong, devout Christians and believed that strong faith was a vital ingredient in leadership. Too lengthy to recount here, Latham wrote a first person, seventeen-page monograph about his very conservative and traditional views on leadership, which advocated Christianity as a strong, essential leadership trait, in his Benning publication. Latham, *Benning Experiment*, 122-139.

Moore saw both Westmoreland's and the SAMVA guidance as their framework (obviously,

since Forsythe formulated his guidance on Davidson's previous work), Steele only cited

one small portion of Westmoreland's pre-commanders conference backchannel message

as the basis and guiding principle of this framework and future reforms:

> In considering possible actions to be taken, the study group followed
> General Westmoreland's guidance on the volunteer Army. "Nothing is
> considered sacrosanct except when military order and discipline—the soul of
> the Army that ensures success on the battlefield—are jeopardized."[158]

In contrast, Moore included Westmoreland's entire message in his account and showed

how the CSA and SAMVA guidance were complimentary and comprehensive in forming the

Ord framework for VOLAR.[159]

In Latham's view, the Benning Plan did not ignore or disregard leadership. In fact,

the plan included a day-long "block of instruction" entitled "Enlightened Leadership." All

officers and NCOs stationed at Fort Benning received this course, as well as the students

who attended the infantry school during the VOLAR period. However, there was nothing

new or experimental about this course. In dramatic contrast to Fort Ord's embrace of new

pedagogical ideas and methods from the behavioral sciences, the Fort Benning

enlightened leadership course "did not present new material but reviewed *proven tenets of*

leadership and re-emphasized their importance in the movement toward a Modern

Volunteer Army."[160] In other words, existing leadership doctrine was viewed as sound and

just needed a bit of modification to explain how new freedoms and amenities for soldiers

did not foster "permissiveness" or threaten authorities.

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158. Ibid., 11.
159. Moore, *Building a Volunteer Army,* 47–48.
160. Latham, *The Benning Experiment*, 37. Emphasis is mine.

Particularly for the students in the infantry school (predominantly lieutenants and captains attending the officer basic and advanced courses), the instructors expanded their current "program on the contemporary problems facing today's leaders. Instruction on race relations, drug abuse, and prevention of AWOL was given to all leadership students."[161] Latham noted in his report, without detail or explanation, that this course contributed to "increasing professionalism." That Latham, Steele, and the other implementers of the Benning plan viewed leadership in this manner only fostered and promoted the misperception that organizational effectiveness measures were designed to eliminate racism, drug abuse, and desertion. Indeed, such beliefs would haunt the Army OE program well into the 1980s.

Finally, the largest action Benning took to address the leadership goals of VOLAR was the expansion of its management curriculum for captains attending the infantry officer advance course. Under VOLAR, Latham and Steele increased the "management" block of instruction from twenty hours to forty-four. As Latham explained,

> the expanded program emphasized general management procedures and used the case study method to stress the functions of management and the techniques of solving management problems. "Management Practices in TOE Units" was added to the program to teach students to relate industrial management techniques, work flow, distribution, and other similar practices of Army units.[162]

Remarkably, to make room for expansions of management instruction, the school cut its only two viable leadership programs in May before the end of VOLAR Phase I. One was the Peer Evaluation Program, "designed to provide each student with a leadership profile and enable him to capitalize on strengths and correct weaknesses." The other

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161. Ibid., 62.
162. Ibid., 62-63.

eliminated program was four hours of instruction on "relevant problems encountered by the newly commissioned officer."[163]

Both Latham's and Moore's reports illustrated the difficulty their programs experienced in dealing with resistance, especially from their senior NCOs. Moore lightheartedly recalled that at Fort Ord, "it was always easy to spot the drill sergeant— he was the man who was gritting his teeth."[164] The perception that VOLAR was designed to cater to young recruits and that the All-Volunteer Army would become very permissive spread throughout the entire Army, well beyond the VOLAR posts. Indeed, such notions became pervasive throughout VOLAR, and the press reported on the initiatives quite frequently, so much so that over time VOLAR became synonymous with "beer in the barracks" and "go-go girls in the clubs."[165]

SAMVA and the CSA were both to blame for the propagation of such attitudes. Their programs, underscored by the guiding but nebulous terms "professionalism" and "leadership," left far too much room for interpretation. Consequently, everyone found something in the guidance that they liked. For the Traditionalists, the terms required no explanation. The Army simply had to get back to basic soldiering. The Healers, certainly pragmatists, favored many lifestyle changes because they knew that the future AVF had to attract large numbers of recruits. In their view, allowing beer in the barracks and hiring civilian KPs, for example, did not really threaten traditions or the authority of officers and NCOs. In the Healers' minds, happier soldiers would be easier to train and manage. The Army would develop effective leaders through hard training; a modernized, reequipped and

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163. Ibid., That they would jettison the only two blocks of instruction that came closest to modern leadership theory and research in favor of more management instruction is telling.
164. Moore, *Building a Volunteer Army*, 93.
165. Griffith, *Transition*, 110.

re-manned force; and a return to conventional warfighting doctrine. Well-trained soldiers, proficient in their tasks and enjoying the lifestyle of the 1970s with more free time and money, would commit to the Army over time and, in turn, become leaders by training those who came after them. For the Healers, removing irritants and emphasizing hard realistic training largely *defined both professionalism and leadership.*

For the Progressives, VOLAR offered an opportunity for the Army to strongly embrace the behavioral sciences and to experiment with recent research and theories, especially in the fields of social and organizational psychology as well as with new pedagogical methodologies. Fort Ord was their initial beachhead and VOLAR their air support and cover. SAMVA had officially placed a seal of approval on their efforts to date. More importantly, the Progressives could now point to the HumRRO reports that clearly supported the Progressives' view that leadership improvements (as defined in the behavioral sciences) offered the greatest means for real change and positive impact.[166]

In sum, the greatest obstacles to breaking down the "Great Divide" were the ill-defined terms "professionalism" and "leadership." The Peers Report and the USAWC *Study on Military Professionalism* showed that the two terms shared many of the same traits and were thus interrelated. Within the Army's culture, both terms were also intertwined with "officership," especially in the eyes of the Traditionalists. The problem was that all three terms were complex and evoked strong emotions from most NCOs and officers and, consequently, accurate and meaningful definitions were left to individual interpretation or, more consequential, to the espoused interpretations of senior commanders who held

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166. This is quite evident in the concluding narratives of the final report. From HumRRO's perspective, the VOLAR experiments were primarily about leadership. Indeed, their contract with the Army was entitled "Army Project 2Q062107A712, "Training, Motivation, and Leadership Research."

significant power and influence over their subordinates. Certainly, Westmoreland exacerbated this problem. In retrospect, the greatest unintended consequence of VOLAR and HumRRO's findings was that the experiments solidified the Great Divide and permanently defined and articulated the boundaries between the Healers and the Progressives.

VOLAR and the Conversational Framework

From the Hersch revelations about My Lai in November 1969 until the start of VOLAR in January 1971, the national news media increasingly published stories of an Army in crisis. Most of these articles detailed the deteriorating state of discipline in Vietnam as the Army slowly disengaged from the war. Common themes were drug and alcohol abuse, fraggings, combat refusals, and racial conflict. These stories carried a central theme of "permissiveness" among the nation's youth and perpetuated the common notion that anti-authoritarian beliefs and immoral behaviors carried over into the Army's junior ranks.[167] Although the USAWC's *Study on Military Professionalism* dispelled and rejected this connection, the idea continued to grow, fueling the Traditionalists' views in the short term and offering some rationale to those in the years ahead who sought to explain the defeat in Vietnam. By fusing the "Army in crisis" theme with the "permissiveness" theme, the national press quickly and primarily viewed VOLAR as a lifestyle improvement program— thus ignoring the other important elements of change and reform.

Throughout the eighteen-month experiment, the popular press generated much discussion and speculation about the changes the Army would eventually adopt for the AVF. Almost every major publication in the nation ran numerous articles on the various

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167. See for example the weeklong series "Army in Anguish," in the *Washington Post,* September 13–20, 1971. Also, Bailey, *America's Army*, 37.

VOLAR initiatives. Unfortunately, these articles and commentaries created confusing misperceptions of VOLAR that resulted in skeptical and critical attitudes toward the Modern Volunteer Army Program (MVAP). VOLAR was quickly forgotten as an eighteen-month experimental effort and soon became synonymous with the MVAP; consequently, the negative connotations of VOLAR carried into the initial years of the All-Volunteer Army. In short, "the national press boiled down VOLAR, MVA, and the All-Volunteer Army into 'beer in the barracks.'"[168] Despite Forsythe's quick recognition of this problem and his attempt to frame the conversation into one of professionalism rather than permissiveness, SAMVA was unsuccessful at dispelling the growing perception that change and true reform in a post-Vietnam Army was much more than a kinder, gentler Army willing to offer good pay and a lot of lifestyle amenities to attract recruits. The Healers, of course, welcomed this perception. Lifestyle changes were palatable and, if managed correctly, compatible with their plans to reorganize, reequip, and re-man the force.

As if SAMVA's attempts to sell all of the new concepts and ideas to the public at large were not challenging enough, Forsythe's efforts within the Army became more difficult during the VOLAR months as well. The rank and file of the entire Army weighed in on the conversation, predominantly through the widely-read *Army Times*—a weekly independent newspaper that chronicles current events in the Army. The popular "Letters to the Editor" section became a sounding board for both enlisted soldiers and officers on the ills and merits of VOLAR. The majority of these opinions clearly exposed the colors of the Traditionalists and the Healers. Mirroring the civilian press, the vast majority of the discussions centered on lifestyle changes. By 1972, the dialog between these two camps became significantly divisive. Where once they had stood shoulder to shoulder on their

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168. Bailey, *America's Army,* 60.

concepts of leadership, professionalism, and officership, the two groups were now clearly separated. The Traditionalists viewed lifestyle changes as a direct assault on discipline and authority, and therefore a threat to these important concepts. The Healers saw the VOLAR initiatives as benign adjustments required to appeal to young soldiers as the Army rebuilt itself. If controlled and implemented properly, the new changes would enhance the concepts of leadership, professionalism, and officership without seriously modifying their current nature or presumed definitions.

While emotional views about VOLAR and the coming AVF found expression in numerous media outlets—both internal and external to the Army—a more serious, reflective dialog began to take shape at the USAWC and in Army professional publications. In the respected *Military Review*, published by the Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, numerous articles began to appear in 1970 that offered higher-caliber discussions on the evolving changes and reforms. In fact, a significant number of the articles published between late 1970 and the end of 1972 were about the AVF and leadership. Yet, most were merely more sophisticated discussions than those appearing in the press at large. Almost all of these authors were predominantly Army field-grade officers who generally sided with either the Traditionalists or the Healers.[169] In *Parameters*, the professional journal of the USAWC, six articles related to leadership and the ongoing changes within the Army appeared during the same time frame but were much more scholarly, as one would expect. All tended to be conservative, and the authors primarily aligned with traditional views of

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169. See for example Colonel Selwyn P. Rogers, Jr., "An All Volunteer Force," *Military Review* (September 1970): 89–95; Colonel Donald F. Bletz, "After Vietnam: A Professional Challenge, *Military Review* (August 1971): 11–15; and Major David H. Price, "The Professional Leader: A Personal Model," *Military Review* (November 1972): 52–57.

officership and professionalism.[170] What is striking about all of these articles is that the terms leadership and professionalism were never defined or clarified in the narratives. They were presumed to hold the same meanings for everyone. The tone was that these were concepts or terms that needed no explanation for any commissioned officer.

As conservative and supportive of traditional views as the Army's publications were during the VOLAR period, a more influential force was at play throughout 1971 inside the USAWC. On January 21, 1971, only three weeks into the VOLAR experiments, Westmoreland approached the USAWC to conduct yet another study. This time, the CSA asked the college to study "leadership for the professional soldier." Specifically, he requested a "critical examination of the appropriateness of the Army's concept of leadership."[171]

Westmoreland gave the study team three guiding parameters: first, survey as "wide a base of Army leadership" as possible; second, employ the same research methods as the previous *Study on Military Professionalism,* which had included "an introspective study of Army officer values and standards"; finally, produce "utilitarian results which could be applied readily to Army leadership without the requirement for additional studies *or extensive interpretation of theoretical findings."*[172] In other words,

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170. See for example General Omar N. Bradley, "Leadership", *Parameters*, vol. 1 (Winter 1972); and "The Impact of Societal Change on the US Army," *Parameters*, vol. 1 (Winter 1972). Only one article represented the progressive viewpoint. Following the release of the Butler Study, Butler produced his article "The All-Volunteer Armed Force."

171. US Department of the Army, *Leadership for the 1970s: USAWC Study of Leadership for the Professional Soldier* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College, July 11, 1971), DTIC accession number: AD-A100327, i. Hereafter cited as USAWC *Study of Leadership*.

172. Ibid., 3. Emphasis is mine.

they were to come up with realistic, practical definitions and solutions that avoided theory.[173]

To answer the overarching research question as to what type of leadership was required, the team also posited two supporting questions: "To what extent will existing principles meet requirements?" and "What group of leadership principles and behaviors will meet requirements?" At that time, with VOLAR just beginning and with Nixon's order to initiate the AVF by July 1973, these were prudent questions that acknowledged the tumultuous social changes occurring in American society. The authors of the study appeared to recognize this:

> Inasmuch as Army leadership policy and practice have developed for almost 20 years in an environment where personnel sustainment was insured by conscription, there was good reason to believe that a "zero-draft" condition would present leadership challenges sufficiently different to warrant some modifications of existing leadership practices. Accordingly, a derivative objective of the AWC study was to assess the validity of the Army's institutional concept of leadership, reflected in the commonly accepted 11 Principles of Leadership, and, should this concept and these principles appear inappropriate or to some degree deficient to the leadership requirements of a zero-draft condition, to determine the concept and principles that would be appropriate. The ultimate purpose of the Army—success in combat—remained the single overriding consideration in both study design and execution.[174]

This study was a natural extension of the *Study on Military Professionalism*. In fact, Westmoreland referred to the previous study as such and directed that the new study team follow the same research methodologies. Like his predecessor before him, the new commandant of the USAWC, Major General Franklin M. Davis, Jr. (Eckhart had since returned to Vietnam), included both faculty and students on the study team. Sixty

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173. Such as OD. This is an important constraint. The Progressives were advocating a fair amount of recent theoretical research.

174. USAWC *Study on Leadership*, 2.

officers volunteered, primarily lieutenant colonels and colonels. Eighteen were chosen, including Ulmer and Malone.

More importantly, the study team reached into the civilian world to consult with several prominent social scientists, all of whom held PhDs in their fields of study: David G. Bowers, Thomas O. Jacobs, Rensis M. Likert, Charles R. Moskos, Donald R. Penner, and Ralph M. Stogdill. Except for Moskos, a prominent academic in the growing field of military sociology, the others generally worked in the areas of social or organizational psychology. As discussed in the Preface, these scientists were engaged in research work in the post-World War II era that strived to move beyond the Trait Theory of leadership, so dominant throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[175] The USAWC study team members were especially drawn to the work of these scientists on the styles approach to leadership.[176]

By far the most influential participant in the USAWC *Study on Leadership* was Stogdill. Indeed, the study pointed directly to his work at the Ohio State University (OSU)

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175. Ibid., ii, also see Preface. With the exception of Stogdill, Likert was the most influential participant in the USAWC study. In the 1950s, Likert, Dr. Daniel Katz, and others advanced their work beyond the traits and skills approach and, believing that leadership behaviors could be learned, developed the styles approach to leadership (the traits approach emphasized the personality characteristics of the leader and the skills approach emphasized the leader's capabilities). Likert and Katz had started the human relations program in 1947 at the University of Michigan (UM) in order to better understand what characteristics of leadership and structure would make organizations more effective. He was "an organizational psychologist and developer of the Likert Scale—a scale widely used in survey research. He also developed a system for identifying organizational styles. Likert was known for his support of interdisciplinary collaborations and emphasis on using social science research to effect positive change." http://home.isr.umich.edu/about/history/timeline. Accessed 10 April 2013.

176. The styles approach focused "exclusively on what leaders do and how they act." Likert and his colleagues looked closely at "the impact of leaders' behaviors on the performance of small groups." In assessing this impact, the UM researchers "expanded the study of leadership to include the actions of leaders toward subordinates in various contexts." Known as the University of Michigan Studies, this work essentially identified two types of leadership behaviors: "employee orientation" and "production orientation." The latter views workers as resources that accomplish tasks while the former pays attention to workers as human beings and their personal needs. At first, the UM researchers believed that the two orientations formed an inverse relationship along the same continuum. However, later they saw that the orientations actually were independent of one another. All quotes from Northouse, 69.

that he conducted in the 1950s and early 1960s.[177] In the 1950s, researchers at OSU were

interested in "how individuals acted when they were leading a group or organization."[178]

Their approach was to identify certain types of behaviors that leaders demonstrated from

the perspective of followers. Of the 1800 or more behaviors they compiled, 150 became the

basis of a survey that they called the Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire (LBDQ).

After giving the LBDQ "to hundreds of people in educational, military, and industrial

settings," the researchers found certain "clusters of behavior" that were common to all

leaders. These clusters fell within two general categories: "initiating structures" behaviors

and "consideration" behaviors. In short, they were very similar to the two categories found

in the UM studies and were each viewed as independent. In 1963 Stogdill greatly

expanded on the LBDQ and produced an abbreviated version called the LBDQ-XII that was

the most widely used survey in research for many, many years. In fact, Stogdill was still

advancing his work at OSU when the USAWC solicited his participation in its study.[179]

The USAWC research team then used a questionnaire similar to the LBDQ-XII to

survey 1800 soldiers from seventeen different Army posts "on specific kinds of leadership

behavior" from the perspectives of both subordinate and superior.[180] Approximately forty

percent of the participants came from the enlisted ranks, while the remainder came from

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177. USAWC *Study on Leadership*, 4.

178. Northouse, 70. Note that in his research, Stogdill worked closely with the US Navy. The Ohio State University. Personnel Research Board., and Ralph M. Stogdill. *The Prediction of Navy Officer Performance.* (Columbus: Ohio State University Research Foundation, 1953). Note that the USAWC team directly cited this work as the basis of their research. See Ibid., 19.

179. Ibid., Stogdill published one of his most important works three years after the USAWC Study. See Ralph M. Stogdill, *Handbook of Leadership : A Survey of Theory and Research* (New York: Free Press, 1974). Note that the Styles Approach was an important advancement in the history of Leadership and Change because it looked at how leaders optimally mixed task and relationship behaviors. This, in turn, gave rise to the concept of "situational leadership" which Army leadership doctrine later examined.

180. USAWC *Study on Leadership*, ii.

the officer corps, including forty-six general officers.[181] Like the approach that Ulmer and

Malone had taken with their previous study, the team also conducted group interviews with

450 of the survey takers. The group participants were asked two questions: first, "What are

the leadership problems at your grade level" and second, "What do you expect of the

leadership of your immediate superiors? Your immediate subordinates? Your

contemporaries and yourself?"[182] The team leaned heavily on Stogdill's 1950s work with

the Navy because they believed that those findings "described relatively pure leadership

behavior."

> These findings are generally regarded as a milestone in leadership
> research because they gave definition in an area which previously had
> been highly subjective. Extensive follow-on research established the
> validity of these items of leadership behavior. Selected items of leadership
> behavior from the Ohio State research were adapted to the military
> environment and used in the USAWC study as an operational definition of
> leadership which, for the purposes of the study, represents the application
> of leadership principles.[183]

In other words, current doctrinal definitions of Army leadership and the eleven leadership

principles were re-validated. In essence, the team married the forty-three items with the

existing eleven doctrinal leadership principles to assess and rank order the behaviors. They

concluded that "[t]he findings show dramatically that the Army's time-honored principles of

leadership are accepted overwhelmingly by leaders at all levels as appropriate for the

coming decade."[184] The study's primary (and only) criticism was that Army leaders were

not applying the eleven leadership principles consistently.[185]

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181. Ibid., 6. This broke out as 19% junior enlisted (first termers), 25% NCOs, 27% company-grade officers (including 50 warrant officers), 26% field-grade officers, and 3% general officers.

182. Ibid., 8

183. Ibid., 19. The questionnaire consisted of 43 "items of leadership behavior." Emphasis is mine.

184. Ibid., iii.

185. Ibid., 19. "The problems of leadership appear to lie not in the principles themselves, but rather in the application of these principles."

Interestingly, the team's analysis of the inconsistent application of principles revealed several important trends that actually supported the findings of careerism and the assessment of poor leadership throughout the officer corps that came out of the previous USAWC *Study on Military Professionalism*. For example, they cited lack of communication and inattention to human needs as "significant defects."[186] Similarly, they also found that field-grade officers demonstrated "overly ambitious behavior far more than their superiors and subordinates think they should [which] could be a graphic illustration of "ticket-punching" syndrome."[187] Yet, in contrast to the previous Ulmer-Malone study, the final report downplayed or minimized these and other similar problems.

One explanation for the report's ultra-conservative outcomes was that the initial framework of the study design itself was too restrictive. The team narrowly interpreted Westmoreland's guidance (1) to avoid theory and (2) to not assume that current leadership doctrine was flawed. Consequently, in regard to the latter, their initial surveys revealed that almost everyone viewed the eleven leadership principles as a valid concept of Army leadership.[188] Unfortunately, that conclusion shut the door to any examination or assessment "of the Army's institutional concept of leadership," contrary to Westmoreland's specific directive.[189] Indeed, the study team leaned heavily on existing Army publications for the majority of their research, namely *FM 22-100, Military Leadership* (1965), DA

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186. Ibid., 36. Remarkably, they actually quoted the Ulmer-Malone study in regard to these defects but downplayed its significance. "This cautions patience, and illustrates the snail pace of organizational change when that change effects the attitudes, values, and standards of the members of the organization." Ibid., 38.

187. Ibid.,19.

188. Ibid., 16. "The participants in the study, when asked to select the most and least important of the principles, were reluctant to put any principles in the latter category—it was difficult for them to consider any principle as 'least important.'"

189. Ibid., 2. "A derivative objective of the AWC study was to assess the validity of the Army's institutional concept of leadership, and, should this concept and these principles appear inappropriate or to some degree deficient to the leadership requirements of a zero-draft condition, to determine the concept and principles that would be appropriate."

Pamphlet 600-15, *Leadership at Senior Levels of Command* (1968), and T. O.

Jacobs's *Leadership and Exchange in Formal Organization.*[190] The final report

included an extensive annotated bibliography of the other sources that the team

utilized. Of the 175 sources, 124 were military publications.

To avoid theory, the team turned to established social science research that had

been underway since the early 1950s. In doing so, they found merit in concepts of

leadership that were leader-centric. The Style approach, with its advocacy that

leadership behaviors could be learned, tended to confirm for the War College that the

Army's leadership training programs throughout the institution were adequately

developing leaders.[191] More damaging in the long term, however, was their fundamental

belief that "the findings produced by rigorous analytical techniques were "consistent"

and "comparable'' with the "intuitive judgments of experienced military professionals."[192]

This core belief held by both the Traditionalists and the Healers, that leadership was

essentially "plain old common sense" that came with experience and more senior rank,

ultimately proved to be the primary obstacle to change for the proponents of the Army

OE Program.

Finally, to meet Westmoreland's guidance "to produce utilitarian results which

could be applied readily to Army leadership," the study provided the Army at large with a

workable or operational concept of leadership that leveraged the existing Army

leadership principles to produce "The informal contract." In acknowledging that a

leader's human skills (as largely defined by Stogdill and Likert) required the creation of

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190. This manuscript was unpublished at the time. Jacobs was working for HumRRO at Fort Benning.
191. They did, however, believe that the curricula needed some adjustment. "Much of our leadership instruction was behind the times in terms of method and content." USAWC *Study on Leadership,* 57.
192. Ibid., 10.

a positive relationship between the leader and his followers, the informal contract would

be fulfilled when the expectations of both parties were met. As the USAWC

commandant explained,

> in accordance with our guidance from General Westmoreland, we have
> attempted to produce a utilitarian report which can help commanders
> identify and diagnose leadership problems, and discover ways whereby
> leadership climate can be improved. We offer no panacea, nor do we
> ignore the fact that there are other ingredients than leadership in the
> formula for long-term effectiveness of the Army. The central theme of our
> study is that both the Army and the soldier must see themselves as parties
> to an informal contract. In this informal contract, the Army expects
> proficiency and disciplined response from the soldier. The soldier, on the
> other hand, expects fairness, worthwhile work, and sufficient pay from the
> Army.[193]

The USAWC's acceptance of the informal contract as a working definition for

both Army professionalism and leadership served to formally establish the official views

of the Healers. On one hand, the 1971 USAWC *Study on Leadership* was very important

to the evolution of Army leadership conceptualization in the 1970s because it showed

willingness on the part of senior conservatives in the Army officer corps to explore

some social science research. On the other hand, instead of leveraging current

research to *drive* the discussion about the nature of leadership for the 1970s, they

utilized established research (not to mention existing pre-war, outdated Army leadership

doctrine) to support their foremost argument that the Army (i.e., primarily the officer

corps) already understood leadership quite well. From this point on, the Healers could

state and believe that they were embracing change and transforming the Army for the

AVF with an appreciation for social science research. For example, with verbiage that

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193. Ibid., i–iii. Note that the informal contract was also defined as a "reciprocity of professionalism," thus officially assigning the same definition to the terms "leadership" and "professionalism."

sounded contradictory to the findings and overall tone of the study, the team noted

that

> nowhere, except at the US Military Academy, did they find professional soldiers with formal leadership training in the scientific study of leadership. The relative newness of leadership as an area of scientific endeavor, no doubt, accounts for this phenomenon, but it is essential that the Army establish its requirements for officers formally trained in the scientific study of leadership and enlarge the advanced degree program in this area without delay.[194]

The study also served to establish a permanent demarcation line, with little room for

compromise, between the Healers and the Progressives. From the Progressives' point of

view, operating on the cutting edge of humanistic leadership theories, the informal contract

was welcomed, but more freedom in the barracks and higher wages had little to do with

leadership. The study targeted the lower levels of Maslow's model and only simplified the

complexity of interactive behaviors between leaders and followers to mean that effective

leadership would result when the contractual agreements between the leader and the

follower were met. As such, there was nothing utilitarian about the study because the

findings were descriptive and not prescriptive. In essence, the study told everyone to

abide by the existing eleven principles of Army leadership, accomplish the mission, and

look out for the welfare of the men. In so doing, officers fulfilled their part of the informal

contract.[195]

On July 8, 1971, Davis submitted the final report of the USAWC *Study on Leadership*

to Westmoreland. Less than two weeks earlier, Davis had received and subsequently

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194. Ibid., 60. Perhaps even the military academy needed modification. At this time, a major study of leadership and professionalism—as related to the academy's fourth class system—was nearing completion at West Point. The study was initiated by commandant of cadets Rogers (the "godfather" of Army OE), and conducted by a team that included Tony Nadal (the "father" of Army OE, and Bill Golden (a future commandant of the Army OE school). Both were members of the Department of Military Psychology and Leadership. Discussed in Chapter II.

195. Indeed, "accomplish the mission" and "look out for the welfare of your men" were the basic tenets of all leadership doctrinal manuals dating back to the first (1946) manual.

approved a request from his Chairman of the Department of Research and Studies, Colonel

John B. B. Trussell, Jr., to conduct a similar study on "Professional Generalship." Most

certainly aware of his colleagues' ongoing work on *Leadership for the 1970s*, Trussell

similarly wanted to "define in comparatively precise terms what 'professional generalship'

can be considered to encompass."[196] Because all general officers are graduates of the

USAWC, with twenty percent of all attendees becoming generals, Trussell's primary goal

was to update and improve the War College's curriculum. More importantly, as part of

determining what generals actually do, *he also proposed an assessment of their

leadership.*

> Using literature in the field of academic research on leadership, identify
> the system of values we should adopt in distinguishing good or successful
> leaders from others, and *define the behavioral patterns which characterize
> those who are "good leaders.*"[197]

Trussell conducted his study throughout the summer and early fall of 1971. In the

process, he surveyed every three- and four-star general in the Army. He began with the

May 1, 1971, general officer assignment list as his baseline, and from there organized

everything that generals do into nine categories. In his final assessment, Trussell

concluded that the USAWC curriculum was adequate for five of the subject areas but

needed modification in four others. These four were all relationship issues: with Congress,

with the media, "legal relationships and responsibilities of senior commanders," and oral

communications.[198]

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196. Memo from Chairman, Department of Research and Studies, to Commandant, USAWC, "'Definition of 'Professional Generalship,'" 25 June 1971. Note that the final report of the study took the form of a thirty-page memo to the USAWC commandant entitled "'Professional Generalship' and the USAWC Curriculum." The cited memo is included in the final report as Appendix 1. www.armyoe.com.

197. Ibid. Emphases are mine.

198. Ibid., 2.

The final report revealed Trussell's second research goal had been omitted, most

likely by Davis.

> The memorandum at Appendix A [Trussell's 25 June proposal] proposed a further question: "What system of values should we adopt in distinguishing good or bad leaders from others, and what behavioral patterns characterize those who are 'good leaders'?" Subsequent reflection has led to the conclusion that this question, involving as it does issues of character, personality, and style, *was not completely relevant to this study, and therefore was omitted*.[199]

Remarkably, in recognizing that significant changes were afoot throughout the Army and

that the USAWC needed to define leadership for the 1970s and adjust its curriculum

accordingly, the College deliberately saw no need to include leadership in their thorough

exploration of what generals do (despite Colonel Trussell's belief that it was important to do

so). Yet the study stressed management/administration and communication with civilian

bodies.

> Within the frame of reference of his relationships with other military personnel, a general officer's influence is such that his judgments of subordinates are crucial to insure both fairness to individuals and the future best interests of the Army. Hence, he needs thorough understanding of the Army's present and developing requirements, and *an ability to judge the attributes of individuals accurately and objectively* in terms of those requirements.[200]

At best, the *Study on Professional Generalship* endorsed the "informal contract." At

worst, the study's great emphasis on generals managing large, complex

organizations perpetuated the cultural status quo that the Ulmer-Malone study had

condemned. Viewing the *Study on Leadership* and the *Study on Generalship*

through the lens of the University of Michigan and Ohio State leadership studies,

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199. Ibid., 3. Emphasis is mine. The statement speaks for itself and implies that generals do not need any leadership awareness or development.
200. Ibid., 11. Emphasis is mine. Good judgment is not the definition of leadership.

"professional generalship" meant emphasizing "individuals as resources" to meet requirements over "individuals as humans beings."

Given that only the highest-rated field grade officers in the Army were selected to attend the USAWC, it is no surprise that the 1971 studies on leadership and generalship were conservative and appealing to traditional views. After all, these officers had been told since they were lieutenants that they were exceptional leaders. For the generals, the topic was not even up for discussion. Yet, these findings contrasted sharply with the 1970 *Study on Professionalism*. Was the Ulmer-Malone report an aberration, an outlier? Were the two subsequent studies an attempt to tone down or counter-balance the 1970 *Study on Professionalism* in some way?

The three USAWC studies are crucial to the history of the Army OE program because the college exercised tremendous influence in setting the cultural climate of the Army officer corps. Whereas the Ulmer-Malone study had initially forced an important, albeit uncomfortable, dialog on the health of Army leadership, the two follow-on studies just as quickly dampened those conversations. This, combined with Westmoreland's "close hold" order on the first study, served to make the Progressives' work much more difficult. Still, a large window of opportunity remained open for the Army to embrace a much more humanistic form of leadership grounded in the primary tenets of what Burns would describe as "transformational."

In these early days, the progressive generals' power and authority were key in igniting positive change toward new ideas about the nature of the officer-soldier relationship. While Rogers would go on to occupy higher positions within the Army,

whereby he could shepherd the Army OE Program, the most influential grass-roots organizer was just getting started on the east coast. Major Tony Nadal, fresh from school and teaching sociology and psychology at West Point, felt strongly enough about recent advances in the behavioral sciences that he drafted his thoughts and boldly approached Westmoreland with his ideas. While many senior officers would likely look upon such audacity with great scorn, young Nadal was confident that recent research in academia held much potential in making his Army a healthier institution. Unbeknown to Nadal, the timing of his encounter with Westmoreland could not be more fortuitous. The "father" of the Army OE program had just stepped across the starting line of a long, exciting and sometimes painful journey. This journey would not only dictate and largely define the remainder of his career but, more importantly, would place him out front in taking the Army into a new direction of human relations that had the potential to fundamentally transform Army culture.

Chapter II

Presenting and Testing New Concepts:

The Early Initiatives of Army OE

> Of all the kinds of leadership that require exceptional political skill, the leadership of reform movements must be among the most exacting. Revolutionary leadership demands commitment, persistence, courage, perhaps selflessness and even self-abnegation (the ultimate sacrifice for solipsistic leadership). Pragmatic, transactional leadership requires a shrewd eye for opportunity, a good hand at bargaining, persuading, reciprocating. Reform may need these qualities, but it demands much more. Since reform efforts usually require the participation of a large number of allies with various reform and non-reform goals of their own, reform leaders must deal with endless divisions within their own ranks. While revolutionaries usually recognize the need for leadership, anti-leadership doctrine often characterizes and taunts reform programs.[1]
>
> James MacGregor Burns

Shortly before noon on November 14, 1965, company commander Captain Tony Nadal and his headquarters section were aboard the second lift of Huey helicopters flying into landing zone (LZ) X-Ray for a combat assault into the Ia Drang valley of South Vietnam. Nadal was the first man of Alpha Company to step onto the LZ, just as his battalion commander—Lieutenant Colonel Hal Moore—had been the first soldier of his entire battalion to do so an hour earlier. Over the next three days, Moore, Nadal, and the rest of the understrength 1st Battalion 7th Cavalry (1st Cavalry Division) would fight the first major combat engagement of the war against a force of North Vietnamese regulars four times in size. The battle would endure for three days and, in the end, result in seventy-nine Americans dead, 121 wounded, and almost 2000 enemy killed and wounded. While the

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1. James MacGregor Burns, *Leadership*, 169.

battle resulted in "a sea change in the Vietnam War," it also taught young Nadal a thing or two about leadership.[2]

Tony Nadal Steps Forward

Several months later, as his tour of duty in Vietnam was coming to an end, Nadal was thinking about his future. At that point in time, Nadal was a senior captain and, despite the early stage of the war, already completing his second tour in Vietnam, having served earlier with the US Army Special Forces. Soon becoming eligible for promotion to the rank of major likely meant an assignment to a staff job somewhere in the United States. However, West Point wanted him.

> I was sitting in a rice paddy in Vietnam [when] I received a letter from the Department of [Military] Psychology and Leadership asking me if I wanted to go back there and teach. So I said, "under the circumstances, hell yes! Tomorrow!" Anyway, I went to graduate school. I [then came] back with all this professed knowledge but [my leadership training did not align with all of] my observations of the soldiers' behaviors in really tough combat situations. . . . A lot of the courses I took were social psychology. . . . I said to myself, "Everything I thought I'd learned, everything I thought I'd discovered, is in these textbooks. But the Army never taught me all that." And that's the thing that really struck me. I was not properly prepared, even though I'd been through four years at West Point, ranger school, and all that. . . . Graduate school was a revelation to me in that there was so much written about human behavior and leadership that was congruent with my experiences—especially my experiences in combat. No one in the Army had pointed out to me all of the things that were in these books of management and leadership and organizational behavior, and I had to learn them in the "school of hard knocks."[3]

After earning his master degree in psychology from Oklahoma State University in 1967, Nadal taught in the Department of Military Psychology and Leadership at West

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2. Memo, Official After Action Report, "IA DRANG Valley Operation 1st Battalion, 7th Cavalry, November 14–16, 1965," Nadal Papers. Also Harold G. Moore, and Joseph L. Galloway, *We Were Soldiers Once–and Young: Ia Drang, the Battle That Changed the War in Vietnam* (New York: Random House, 1992), 199. Due largely to illnesses, B company and Nadal's A company were at 70% strength while C and D companies were at 65%; This battle was the starting point for the escalation of airmobile ground warfare for the next seven years. Hollywood produced a film of the battle with the same title in 2002. Actors Mel Gibson played Hal More and Jsu Garcia played the role of Tony Nadal.

3. Nadal interview.

Point. During his three years there, from 1967 to 1970, he also became director of research for the department, which allowed him to "explore in depth the areas of organizational behavior."[4] At West Point, Nadal worked with two other officers who would later play key roles in the Army OE program. The first was Lieutenant Colonel William "Bill" L. Golden, who would later become an aide to the president of the United States and, thereafter, the most effective commandant of the Army Organizational Effectiveness Training Center (OETC) at Fort Ord. The other officer was Brigadier General Bernie Rogers, the Commandant of Cadets and the emerging "godfather" of Army OE. In 1969, these three, along with four other officers from the Department of Military Psychology and Leadership, produced a fascinating study that, in retrospect, mirrored and foreshadowed many of the initiatives that were yet to come Army-wide.[5]

While the most senior officer at the Academy was and is the superintendent (by position a lieutenant general), the commandant (a brigadier general) is arguably the most influential because he or she directly oversees the corps of cadets. Historically, the Army has assigned its top officers into this position, fully aware that the commandant personifies the values and ethics of the Army officer corps and is the first senior role model cadets observe as they begin their careers in the Army.[6] As commandant, Rogers grew concerned with the negative leadership behaviors he observed in the academy's fourth class system (i.e., the subservient and often belittling regimen of a cadet's freshman year at the

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4. Ibid. Note that the Department of Military Leadership and Psychology was not an academic department of the faculty but rather a department within the corps of cadets.

5. The other members of the study team were Lieutenant Colonel R. H. Marcrum, Majors R. M. Macedonia, D. J. Erickson, and J. W. Baker.

6. The vast majority progressed into the three- and four-star ranks. The most notable probably was military strategist Emory Upton. Upton was a brilliant Civil War general and, more importantly, later became the Army's greatest reformer. He advocated for the creation of a large, standing professional Army for the first time in US history. The list is virtually a "who's who" of well-known generals of all the nation's wars. For a quick overview see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Commandant_of_Cadets. Last accessed August 17, 2013.

Academy). In his mind, the academy's mission was to produce officers who "set the standards of professionalism for the Army."[7] Yet, from his observations, a new cadet's first-year experience was largely negative and punitive. Rogers was also concerned about the growing attrition rates of cadets that at that time had reached an unprecedented level. In late 1968, he tasked the Department of Military Psychology and Leadership to conduct a study of the fourth class system, paying particular attention to "the mission, functions, history, and the positive and negative effects of the system."[8] Based on the commandant's guidance, the study team was clear about their goal: "This study is concerned solely with the contribution which the fourth class system is making to the basic mission [of producing professional officers] and whether or not modifications can be made which will enhance the quality of our product."[9]

The six officers on the team, all possessing recent formal education (master degrees or PhDs) and teaching experience in various areas of psychology, and armed with current research methods and theory, collectively produced an impressively thorough study. From the start, beginning with an initial analysis of the central problem, the team made clear that "unlike earlier studies, the present one will make extensive use of the growing body of knowledge concerning human motivation, personality development, socialization processes, the effects of reward and punishment, reactions to various leadership styles and related matter."[10] To do so, they utilized surveys and questionnaires that they randomly distributed

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7. R. H. Marcum, W. L. Golden, R. M. Macedonia, D. J. Erickson, R. A. Nadal, and J. W. Baker, *A Preliminary Evaluation of the Fourth Class System* (West Point, NY: United States Military Academy, 1969), 1. Hereafter cited as USMA Study.
8. Ibid, 1-4.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., 2.

to twenty percent of the classes of 1970, 1971, and 1972 (i.e., seniors, juniors, and sophomores).

Strongly aware of the pressures of tradition and culture (and despite them), the study team discarded all assumptions and addressed the fundamental question: Why do we have a fourth class system and what is its purpose?[11] The team quickly discovered that although the academy codified the system in 1919, there had never been any "effort to establish any causal relationships between what the system does and what its objectives are." In short, they determined that the system existed for four primary reasons: "the military socialization of new cadets, equalization of new cadets, identification of those cadets who cannot function under stress and the furtherance of leadership opportunities for the upper classes."[12]

The 122-page report found that the fourth class system was in a "monstrous state" and that the primary operative factor of the existing system was "stress."[13] They reported that the generation of stress was "not tied to any particular mode of behavior or set of regulations," and that hazing frequently occurred as senior cadets "led" their plebes. Indeed, the study team determined that the system had evolved over time to resemble the widespread practice of hazing that was common on US college campuses throughout the twentieth century. Of serious concern was that the data revealed that the high attrition rates

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11. Ibid., 1. The report acknowledged these pressures: "Comments have been elicited which reflect beliefs that study groups were motivated by a desire to make the System more "permissive" or to create a civilian college environment at the Academy." Ibid., 1. Also, this is a perfect example of an adaptive challenge, as Heifetz would describe it.

12. Ibid., 4. In the final report, the team provided a current definition of the fourth class system objectives based on what they discovered and a proposed definition of objectives based on their recommendations. The primary objective of the fourth class system was defined as "an artificially generated stressful situation which facilitates the socialization and equalization of cadets, assists in the identification of the maladjusted cadet and provides an opportunity for leadership development of the upper classes. The essence of the Fourth Class System as it currently exists is stress." The team, however, proposed: "To develop each new cadet in a manner which provides him the opportunity to achieve his full potential within an environment which supports his efforts to do so." Ibid., 6 and 30.

13. Ibid., 27.

were due to motivational losses, with two-thirds leaving voluntarily. "A sizeable number" of these losses were cadets who had demonstrated average or above average "officer potential."[14] This was a tragic revelation, given that 74 percent of all cadets stated that their number one reason for attending West Point was for "leadership training."[15] Indeed, the supporting data indicated that the system had "the opposite effect from what we would desire" because its methods actually "detracts from the effort to motivate new cadets toward the military."[16]

In retrospect, this detailed report, with its extensive findings released in the spring of 1969, was a harbinger of the same conclusions that Phil Davidson would discover with his TMEC initiatives at Fort Ord later that year and that the VOLAR experiments would unearth by 1972. Bernie Rogers would soon hear similar concerns from his enlisted men councils in the months ahead as he assumed command of Fort Carson in his next assignment. What these studies and experiments all shared were two things: (1) that the Army had to remove countless "irritants" from all corners of its institutional culture, and (2) that the institution had to relate more relevantly to society if it was to attract good officer candidates (for West Point) and voluntary recruits (for the future AVF).[17] To the latter point, it is clear that Golden, Nadal, and their colleagues all believed that the academy was out of step with America's youth and that the behavioral sciences held the keys to successfully adapting the culture to a new

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14. Ibid., 7.

15. Ibid., 9.

16. Ibid., 8—10. In essence, the study team concluded that the plebe (freshman) year mirrored the perceived antiquated system of basic training for recruits at Fort Ord: "There seems to be an inherent assumption that the entering Plebe lacks the motivation required to do a good job and that he therefore has to be constantly harangued in order to perform. In actuality the entering Plebe is highly motivated and the current System serves to reduce this motivation." Annex C, 2.

17. The long list of "irritants" discovered in the data closely reflects the types of complaints found later in the VOLAR experiments. For example, they cited cadets doing trivial chores and providing services for upper classmen such as laundry pickup. The team indicated that these were abuses of power and that some chores could be outsourced. Ibid., 21—22.

generation.[18] They were supported in this belief by the 1969 reaccreditation process of West

Point. The Middle States of Higher Education Evaluation Team, which visited the academy

in February, noted that

> [t]he Academy's present concern about the increasing ratio of 'low
> motivation' separations from the Cadet Corps, and a decided decline in
> admissions applications provide evidence of rapidly developing changes in
> American society, and draw attention to the need for a sense of urgency in
> adapting Academy practices and programs to *a new kind of student*.[19]

The *Fourth Class System* report made clear that leadership and leader

development were central to redressing all issues. In their analysis and rationale, the

team heavily embraced the writings of Chris Argyris, Kurt Lewin, Abraham Maslow, and

Douglas McGregor.[20] They were clear that the current system was "an extreme example

of a program based on Theory X assumptions [and that it] should be completely

rewritten under Theory Y assumptions."[21]

More importantly, the study team's adherence to the tenets of transformational

and some servant leadership principles threaded the entire study. Based on their formal

education and a clear understanding of current research, the team viewed leadership as

"an interpersonal process."[22] Likewise, they saw leader development and "the teaching

of leadership [as having] evolved over the past ten years from a system in which certain

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18. Ibid., 3. The "last major point in this analysis is that the system has failed to keep in step with the times."

19. Ibid., 11. Emphasis is mine.

20. Ibid., Annex C, 12.

21. Ibid., Annex G, 1. This references McGregor's work. See Annex D for Maslow's influence as a framework for analysis. Also see Ibid., Annex B: "It is tenuous to assume that the methods we used to accomplish these objectives in earlier years are equally effective today, primarily because the product with which we are working may have undergone significant change."

22. It is important to remember that the members of the Department of Military Psychology and Leadership were highly educated psychologists. Unlike Westmoreland's guidance to the Army War College to "avoid theory" in their leadership study (see Chapter 1), this study team noted that "the efficacy of any of our systems or methods must be assessed in light of current trends and requirements. . . .As the behavioral sciences have developed, much has been learned about human development and motivation. Very little of this has succeeded in making its way into the design of the system." Ibid., 5–6.

leadership principles were taught to a system based on the realization that leadership is

a complex inter-relationship of a leader and his followers."[23] In essence, Golden, Nadal,

et al. were the first to clearly define the views of the emerging Progressives:

> The end result of a leadership development program should be a cadet
> who has internalized certain attitudes as to how to best lead and control
> people. These attitudes should reflect an understanding of *what makes*
> *people perform to their fullest and a realization of their responsibility as*
> *officers to aid and assist in the development of their subordinates*.[24]

Finally, the team recognized significant resistance to change. They discovered in the

survey results that the senior cadets saw less of a need to change the system than their

juniors. Foreshadowing the feelings of the Traditionalists and the Healers, the

upperclassmen were

> very reluctant to change the Fourth Class System or delete anything,
> because they know the System helped them develop, and are afraid of
> deleting something essential. It is this fear of some of the upper class that
> we of the study group are perceived as being destroyers of their System,
> rather than builders that causes defensiveness on the part of some cadets
> and some officers.[25]

The team noted that correcting the system would require a lot of explanation and education.

They stated that such change in attitudes must be generated internally and that the scope of

the challenge went beyond technical changes and required a broad social change.[26] "Any

modification to the Fourth Class System will be perceived as a threat and resisted by

some cadets unless the Corps of Cadets is educated to the fact that the modification will

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23. Ibid., 14.
24. Ibid., 16. Emphasis is mine.
25. Ibid., 26.
26. Ibid., Annex A, 1. The team saw great value in Paul R. Lawrence's work on organizational change: "If technical changes will result in social changes (where established relationships are altered), then the technical changes will be regarded as a threat to the members of the System. This social aspect is what determines the presence or absence of resistance." Paul R. Lawrence was the Wallace Brett Donham Professor of Organizational Behavior Emeritus at Harvard Business School. During his forty-four years on the Harvard faculty, he taught in all the School's programs and served as chairman of the Organizational Behavior area. He authored more than 26 books. See http://prlawrence.com/memorial. Last accessed 18 August 2013.

better accomplish the objectives of the System."[27] Indeed, a decade later, one could accurately rephrase this latter statement, in regard to the Army OE program, to read: Any modification to the *Army's leadership culture* will be perceived as a threat and resisted by some *officers* unless the *Army* is educated to the fact that the modification will better accomplish the objectives of the System.

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Proud of his contributions to the study and left with one more year of teaching at West Point (August 1969 to May 1970), Nadal reflected on his learning and began to formulate more specific ideas as to how the Army could benefit from the exciting work that was emerging from behavioral science research. As the department's director of research, Nadal had the time and resources to firm up his thoughts and began looking for opportunities to present his ideas. Largely unaware that generals Davidson and Rogers were experimenting with similar beliefs at Forts Ord and Carson during his last year at the academy, Nadal finally got his chance in May 1970, when General George Forsythe visited the Military Psychology and Leadership department at West Point. Assigned as Forsythe's escort officer, Nadal bluntly told his future SAMVA boss that, in his opinion, the Army was "not making full use of the available knowledge about organizational behavior—particularly in the areas of job satisfaction and motivation in developing the volunteer Army." Forsythe listened carefully and asked Nadal to send him his ideas in a letter. Nadal did so but did not hear back from Forsythe in the months ahead.[28]

Two months later, in July 1970, Nadal moved to Quantico, Virginia, to attend the year-long Marine Corps Command and Staff College. Throughout that fall and winter,

27. Ibid., 28.
28. Nadal interview.

against the backdrop of Westmoreland's pledge to fully support the AVF, the formal

beginning of VOLAR, and Forsythe's assumption of the SAMVA lead, Nadal continued to

refine his ideas. In January 1971, Nadal learned that Westmoreland would soon visit

Quantico and anticipated that the CSA would most likely meet with all Army officers who

were assigned there. With the CSA's visit scheduled for late February, Nadal drafted a

paper of "suggestions."

On February 25, as Westmoreland concluded a luncheon with the Army officers at

Quantico, Major Nadal—in a bold and gutsy move for such a junior officer—handed the

CSA his paper entitled "Suggestions for General Westmoreland."[29] "When the opportunity

presented itself, I gave the letter to General Westmoreland telling him that a full explanation

was not possible in the short time available."[30] In essence, Nadal's premise for his

suggestions was that the Army could "remain an effective, relevant instrument of our

changing society only through the application of the principles of behavioral science."[31]

Apparently, the CSA read the document right away, for several days later Westmoreland's

staff called Nadal to schedule lunch with the CSA (March 4) to discuss the ideas. Nadal,

fully aware that others at the Pentagon would review his paper for comment, arrived early in

Washington in order to speak with those who had already examined the paper. Armed with

their opinions and attitudes, Nadal drafted two pages of notes and arrived at the luncheon

to present and, if necessary, defend his thoughts. To his surprise, some of the Army's top

officers were present: Lieutenant General George Forsythe (SAMVA), Lieutenant General

Walter T. "Dutch" Kerwin (the DCSPERS), Lieutenant General William C. Gribble, Jr. (Chief

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29. Tony Nadal, "Suggestions for General Westmoreland," typed essay, Nadal Papers.
30. Nadal taped narrative circa 1980, Herrick Papers.
31. Army Staff Study, "Analysis of Suggestions by Major Ramon A. Nadal to CSA for Improvement of U. S. Army," [no date], Nadal Papers. Also ibid.

of Research and Development or CRD), and Colonel Volney F. Warner (Westmoreland's executive officer). They all listened closely. After some discussion, Westmoreland asked Nadal what they could immediately implement. Without hesitation, Nadal replied "that we set up a group of people to present workshops throughout the Army—much as the civilian industry did on the latest findings on leadership and behavioral sciences."[32] Westmoreland immediately agreed and also directed that Nadal soon be assigned to his office to work for Forsythe. In the meantime, Nadal returned to Quantico, correctly assuming that the Army staffing process handling his suggestions would take time to play out.

Unbeknown to Nadal, Westmoreland had already thought long and hard about the concept of travelling teams. The CSA was still in the process of formulating the best method for disseminating the findings of the Ulmer-Malone study that he had received eight months earlier and that remained restricted ("close hold"). Now Westmoreland saw Nadal's recommendations as a potential means to both convey the study's findings and to offer potential improvements in leadership training. In mid-April, eager to begin implementation, Forsythe pulled Nadal out of the USMC Command and Staff College several weeks prior to Nadal's scheduled graduation. Forsythe was comfortable with turning Nadal lose but realized that this junior field grade officer did not carry enough rank to effectively engage with the senior officers he would encounter: "I got called by Forsythe who said to me, Tony, I know this is your program but you don't have the horsepower as a major to make this happen, to influence the Army. They [Westmoreland and Forsythe] wanted to have a guy with a great reputation as a combat leader."[33] As a result, Forsythe

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32. Nadal interview.
33. Ibid.

assigned Nadal to the Continental Army Command (CONARC) Leadership Board that Westmoreland was then establishing to disseminate the findings of the Ulmer-Malone study Army-wide. Created on April 26, 1971, the CONARC Leadership Board was headquartered at Fort Bragg under the direction of Brigadier General Henry Everett (Hank) Emerson, the commanding general of the US Army Special Warfare Center.

Hank "the Gunfighter" Emerson was known throughout the Army as one tough soldier. He had earned his nickname by the non-authorized cowboy-styled six-shooter he wore in lieu of the standard issue .45 caliber pistol. The gruff and irascible Emerson was a strong Traditionalist, cut from the same cloth as Bill DePuy. Among the general officer corps, Emerson was highly respected for his innovations in infantry and airmobile tactics in Vietnam and his successes as a field commander. Like DePuy, Emerson believed in hard, stringent training. In Vietnam, he insisted that his troops only train at night in order to "out-guerrilla the guerrilla."[34] This man was now Nadal's immediate supervisor, and the young major knew the new concepts would be a tough sell.

While Emerson was known to excel with any mission he had ever undertaken, he struggled with the proposed concepts. In retrospect, it appears likely that he wrestled with how Nadal's progressive ideas and recommendations should actually be integrated into the leadership training curricula that the CONARC Leadership Board was tasked to improve. Still, Nadal became frustrated with Emerson's perceived reluctance to fully embrace and integrate the new concepts. While Nadal was in Washington one weekend to handle a family emergency, Forsythe asked him about progress. Nadal told his boss frankly that

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34. Emerson was awarded 2 Distinguished Service Crosses, 5 Silver Stars, 2 Bronze Stars and was wounded in combat twice (2 Purple Hearts). After leading the CONARC Leadership Board, he commanded the 2nd Infantry Division in Korea, and the XVIII Airborne Corps at Fort Bragg. He retired as a lieutenant general in 1977.

Emerson was reluctant to follow his advice. This led to an immediate phone call to

CONARC headquarters, where Emerson was coincidentally briefing the CONARC chief of

staff (Major General George Putnam) and other senior CONARC officers on the program.

Informed that he SAMVA Chief was on the phone, Putnam left Emerson's briefing and took

Forsythe's phone call. As Nadal recalled,

> Forsythe says "I want you to understand what the chief [Westmoreland]
> wants done. Make sure these guys are doing it because he's going to hold
> you all accountable for making sure this goes along the way that was
> recommended by Major Nadal and that he approved." And then Forsythe
> described the proposed program that had been briefed to the Chief. And
> Putnam, lying, says, "Yes, sir, we're in this briefing right now and that's
> exactly what they're doing. . . ." Putnam comes storming back into the
> room and says, "Wait, wait, this isn't what he wants. I just had a call from
> Forsythe and he wants this and this. He wants us to do what that major
> [Nadal] told the chief of staff. [The following Monday, I was ordered to
> report] to Emerson and he starts tearing into me. And I said, "Sir, I was
> sent here by the chief of staff of the Army to carry out a program which he
> approved. If you don't want to do that, I will go back. You can fire me, and I
> will go back to Washington this afternoon." So then he said, "Okay, you'll write
> the damn seminar, and we'll see."[35]

For three days, Nadal locked himself in his quarters to do just that. The result was

impressive. The entire seminar consisted of two sections. The first section conveyed the

findings of the Ulmer-Malone study—the AWC *Study on Military Professionalism*. The

design, Nadal recalled, allowed the briefing team to present the professionalism study first,

"because this set up the talk, you know, this is how bad it is out there and this is how we fix

it." Nadal's section would then follow. Emerson, however, remained skeptical. Before giving

his approval, he wanted to test the waters.

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35. Nadal interview. This was not Nadal's first exposure to Emerson's blunt opinions. During their
initial meeting after Nadal first reported in at Fort Bragg, where Nadal explained the concepts and the
travelling teams, Emerson "looks at me and he says, and this is a quote, 'If you think I'm going to go
around and tell my peers, the officers and my peers, how to lead troops—you're full of shit.' And I said,
'Sir, that's the concept you've been ordered to carry out.' He was pissed."

He [Emerson] brought in the oldest, crustiest airborne colonels, all veterans of Bastogne and whatever, that were hanging around Fort Bragg to be my audience. It was a tough crowd. At the end of it, he had them fill out a form, do you like this, not like this. And all the feedback he got from these guys was really good stuff![36]

Nadal's half of the travelling seminar was a seventy-page instructor manual entitled "Leadership for Professionals" that, as stated, was designed to "present some insights into behavioral sciences that will enable us to tie together the results of the professionalism study with recent findings in behavioral sciences."[37] In essence, this was not a lecture on recent research in behavioral science but an interactive "informal dialog" in which all participants could discuss the topic of leadership as they received some exposure to recent research from academia and industry. Nadal's overall intent was for the participants to reflect and think about "better leadership techniques" they could develop in relating to subordinates. Like the other Progressives, Nadal's material largely espoused the soldier-leader relationship as moral (transformational) rather than contractual (transactional). Nadal was clear about this from the beginning of his presentation where he, or the appointed instructor, told the audience that leadership was a behavioral interaction process that emphasized the needs of the individual soldier and included current social attitudes and values. Nadal's seminar emphasized Maslow's hierarchy of needs. By soliciting much input and group interaction, the seminar instructor would ask

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36. Ibid. From this point on, the relationship significantly improved. In fact, on more than one occasion, Nadal and Emerson flew to the renowned Center for Creative Leadership (CCL) in Columbia, SC, to solicit their input. There they consulted with Dr. James Farr, one of the leading researchers in the nation on organizational psychology who specialized in work motivation, team innovation, and creativity. Shortly thereafter, Farr joined the Department of Psychology at the Pennsylvania State University where he has remained ever since. The highly respected (non-profit) CCL has been a world leader in leadership development and research since 1970. Incidentally, Emerson and Nadal would actually land their helicopter in the CCL parking lot, an act that many CCL alumni still talk about today. See http://www.ccl.org/leadership

37. Tony Nadal, "Leadership for Professionals" (Fort Bragg, NC: CONARC Leadership Board, July 26, 1971, 1. Nadal papers.

for "a list of behaviors that result when we find ourselves unsatisfied with our work—when we are put in an environment which does not fulfill our needs. How would you behave in those circumstances?"

The seminar also included a short film on Herzberg's Motivational Hygiene Theory (also known as Herzberg's Two-Factor Theory of Job Satisfaction), which in the early 1970s was one of the best known and widely accepted job enrichment approaches to increase worker productivity.[38] More importantly, Nadal challenged the audience to think beyond Army-specified values and to consider today's "youth values." In generating discussion, the seminar leader asked "What factors have changed in our culture [in which] values are derived? What are the factors that have caused changes in the young men?" The seminar sought to assuage the concerns of those who believed that the new approaches were catering to the liberties of young soldiers, brought up in the hippie era, at the loss of good order and discipline. In this regard, Nadal challenged the participants to define "discipline." After much discussion, he offered a definition: "discipline is an internal attitude or an internal value. Discipline represents a commitment to carrying out orders by the individual. Discipline is doing a [good] job when the boss is not around."[39] This, of course, led to active discussions about punishment. Nadal argued that soldiers willingly follow orders that are rational and based on competence. He posited that rational orders require open communications, and that the soldier's "ability to communicate upward and to make his views felt that the order was not rational are also important. To insure rationality, orders must have an

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38. For the military's view of this during that time period see Nelson H. Noell, "Herzberg's Two-Factor Theory of Job Satisfaction," (research paper, Defense Systems Management College, January 1976, DTIC accession number: ADA-033841.

39. Nadal, "*Leadership for Professionals*, 19.

explainable and logical foundation. *We've got to be able to explain what we do and why we do it.*"[40] The latter statement was a view that, at that time and in the existing culture, the Traditionalists rejected and the Healers only accepted with strong caveats.[41]

Between July 11 and October 17, 1971, Emerson's eight teams travelled to more than seventy Army organizations worldwide to deliver the seminar. These visits coincided with the beginning months of the VOLAR Phase II experiments. Against that background, there is a strong likelihood that the audiences perceived the material within that context; that is, that these were *experimental* ideas and that receiving the seminars was in no way a directive to implement the concepts. Also important to note is that with the exception of two SAMVA officers serving on the teams (albeit with strong backing from Forsythe and Westmoreland), this was a CONARC program. For Emerson, the most substantial outcomes of the CONARC Leadership Board were the recommendations on how to improve leadership development instruction in all of the Army schools.[42]

The final, 159-page report of the CONARC Leadership Board stressed Emerson's emphasis while remaining inclusive and fair to the work of Nadal, Ulmer, and Malone. It carefully articulated the Board's overall approach to the study, the Board's mission, a review of current studies and literature, the research design, and the Board's findings and recommendations. The majority of the primary narrative listed recommendations that, based on eighteen findings, attempted to describe remedies or modernization updates to the curricula of the Army's schools, called Programs of Instruction (POI).

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40. Ibid., 22. Emphasis is mine.

41 The seminar went on to include discussions on power, especially the negative results of coercive power; Douglas MacGregor's Theory X – Theory Y; various leadership behaviors and situational leadership theories; and group and organizational behaviors.

42. The other SAMVA officer was Barry McCaffrey, a highly decorated and well-respected officer who would later lead the 24th Infantry Division in the First Gulf War and obtain the rank of general (four stars). After retiring, McCaffrey became the Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) under President Bill Clinton (the nation's "drug Czar").

Several of the eighteen findings stressed the need for more behavioral science

knowledge, both in the curricula of the Army school system and for the instructors at those

schools. However, while it acknowledged that the numerous POIs were all outdated,

"inadequate" and in need of more "instructors trained in human behavior," the board's

primary concern was that the existing POI did not address contemporary problems such as

drug abuse and that the leadership training did not prepare officers or NCOs for the duties

of their next assignment. In these recommendations, the verbiage equated leadership

instruction with rank levels as though "leadership" was a matter of the administrative and

managerial functions of those ever increasing positions of responsibility. In this regard, they

specified schools that prepared NCOs, company grade officers, and majors. Other

recommendations stressed the need for an updated pedagogy that was more interactive,

an improvement of ROTC courses, and the development of an Army training management

system to ensure quality and consistency. To help institutionalize these improvements, the

board favored more civilian education for selected officers, better utilization and placement

of officers possessing advanced degrees in the social sciences, a self-development

program, a "practical counseling manual," and a revision of Army leadership doctrine that

would address current social problems. In addition to these prescriptions, the study argued

that the findings of the Ulmer-Malone study be released to the Army at large.

The most peculiar finding warned that

> to preclude an anti-leadership syndrome, [the Army needed to] ensure
> quality control of leadership study activities through centralized
> coordination of field survey operations.[43] . . . . The potentially good effects
> of leadership research and studies could be negated if such efforts are not
> coordinated and controlled. Too many seminars and surveys could do
> more harm than good if they are not aimed at a common objective.
> Lacking central direction, such efforts could create the feeling that the

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43. Nadal, "*Leadership for Professionals*,36.

> Army is thrashing about desperately for solutions. Central direction of leadership research and its application will ensure that the Army receives maximum benefit and that soldiers in the field will be receptive to these activities.[44]

No rationale was provided nor did the board explain this caution. Indeed, their only recommendation was that CONARC should monitor and coordinate field leadership survey operations. Given that SAMVA had been underway for over nine months at this point (and served as the Army's oversight body for the initiation of all leadership activities), and that VOLAR was 50 percent complete at the time of the report, it is difficult to understand the rationale or motives behind this finding. By this time, many installation and unit commanders outside the VOLAR program were initiating their own improvements, almost always on a very small scale and usually in the form of increasing amenities and removing "irritants." Perhaps this finding reflected a disfavor of those independent activities. It is more likely, however, that either Emerson or the majority of the team members (or both) wanted to send a message of caution in light of the speed in which so many new and perceived liberal ideas were proliferating throughout the Army.

The latter viewpoint has merit. Because of the board's short time frame to accomplish its mission, the board leaned heavily on the current work of the Army War College and the United States Military Academy (USMA), the only two Army schools excluded from the report's findings as needing correction and improvement. Indeed, the report noted that both schools "provided considerable assistance and saved extensive research time."[45] Yet both schools had already expressed skepticism about the new

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44. Ibid.
45. Ibid., ii. Note that it is very likely that the USAWC *Study on Leadership* greatly influenced Emerson's final report. The USAWC *Study on Leadership* was released on July 8 and Emerson's study

concepts, apparent at USMA from the reaction to the *Fourth Class System study* and at

the War College where the *Study on Leadership* sought to distance itself from the

Ulmer-Malone *Study on Military Professionalism*. Consequently, the report had plenty of

material that both the Healers and the Progressives could find appealing. For example,

for the Progressives, the report noted that

> fresh from that society—and still tied to it—young soldiers tend to reflect
> its social values. They cry for more participation, understanding and
> individuality. They criticize the concepts and procedures that historically
> have enabled the Army to get the job done. Indeed, they warn that our
> leadership situation is not what it should be, that it is out of step with the
> march of time.[46]

At the same time, they reassured the Healers by reaffirming existing leadership doctrine

and principles:

> The Army historically has supported the concept of getting the job done
> while taking care of its soldiers and preserving their dignity. Our research
> validated this concept as well as the Army's leadership principles. Neither
> recent changes in the Army nor fundamental changes in society at large
> have made them obsolete.47

By October 1971, with the CONARC Leadership Board adjourned and the AWC

Study on Leadership completed, the Healers could say, with some degree of legitimacy,

that they had consulted the behavioral sciences and had found some merit. However,

the debate was just getting started. In truth, neither the Progressives nor the Healers

had yet to adequately articulate their leadership philosophies or recommend how those

philosophies would work in practice.

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on July 30. In any case, they both conveyed the same cautious and conservative tones and both
reaffirmed existing leadership doctrine and principles.
    46 Ibid., 2.
    47 Ibid., ii.

Nadal Gains Traction

In mid-October 1971, Nadal returned to Washington to continue working for

Forsythe. A few days later, on October 20, General Palmer, the Army Vice Chief of Staff

(VCSA), finally received the Department of the Army (DA) staff study on Nadal's

"Suggestions for General Westmoreland." He was not pleased. Not only had the study taken

nine long months to complete, it basically "offered innocuous comments and reflected a

status quo position."[48] Forsythe also was disappointed in the findings, so much so that

he drafted a content-rich memorandum for Palmer on November 17. Forsythe was

blunt: "As indicated by the generally negative tone of the staff's comments on Nadal's

suggestions, we have not really faced up to his basic argument—i. e., that recent

advances within the behavioral science disciplines have very significant implications for

the Army but that these implications are either largely ignored by the Army or else, for

one reason or another, simply not applied."[49] The eight-page memo cited several

relevant findings from the CONARC and AWC studies as well as data that supported

the gross underutilization of officers possessing advanced degrees in the social

sciences.

The following week, on November 24, 1971, Palmer held a key meeting to

discuss the Nadal suggestions. In attendance were fourteen general officers, most of

whom were principals of the Army staff, and ten field-grade officers. The meeting was

this large because Palmer had encouraged the generals "to bring action officers who

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48. Palmer's comments on November 24, 1971. "VCSA SEE ME ref Suggestions for General Westmoreland from LTC Ramon A. Nadal," VCSA memorandum for record (November 26, 1971), Johns Papers.
49. "Suggestions for General Westmoreland from LTC Ramon A. Nadal," SAMVA Office memorandum (November 17, 1971), Nadal papers.

might have "some bright ideas to contribute."[50] The behavioral science agnostic Palmer

opened the meeting by stating frankly that "the fact that the action on Nadal's

suggestions took so long . . . is indicative of the controversial nature of the subject." The

thrust of Palmer's introductory remarks was that from his perspective, there really was

no divide (between the views of the Healers and the Progressives) because the Army

could be "mission-oriented and people-oriented at the same time." The VCSA

concluded his remarks by reminding everyone that the recent "Emerson Board had

validated Nadal's comments." While this was not exactly true, Palmer's tone served to

set a neutral and safe climate in which an honest and open dialog could ensue.[51]

The Traditionalists were the first to offer comment. Several stated that "what

VCSA was describing as problems could best be solved by good leadership and we

may be diverted from the right track if we go for new terms of the behavioral scientists."

Their solution was that "the Army should return to the leadership principles of earlier

years." Indeed, the general consensus in the room was that the Army's existing

leadership principles were sound.[52]

Forsythe closely listened to the debate. When he finally spoke, he warned

everyone "against polarizing 'leadership' vs. 'behavioral science.'" To his credit, he did

not attempt to explain that the two were dynamically intertwined, that behavioral science

helps to explain the complexities of leadership. Instead, he prudently argued that even

some of the Army's best leaders could benefit from behavioral science knowledge. "If

we send good leaders for training in this knowledge, we will have better leaders." He

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50. Note to addresses by Colonel Thomas U. Greer, Executive to the Vice Chief of Staff, October 26, 1971, Johns Papers.

51. "VCSA SEE ME ref Suggestions for General Westmoreland from LTC Ramon A. Nadal," VCSA memorandum for record, (November 26, 1971), Johns Papers.

52. Ibid.

concluded by reminding everyone about social change and that the Army "didn't accurately predict what was coming" with racial integration.[53]

The remainder of the meeting was devoted to discussions on what actions the Army could begin implementing. Palmer cited Forsythe's recent eight-page memo and essentially stated that the Army needed to clearly identify positions for educated behavioral scientists and to understand the degree to which current officers with behavioral science backgrounds were underutilized and positions unfilled. Some had already done their homework. Major General Seitz, from the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel (ODCSPERS) stated that his large office only had one designated position and that the Office of the Chief of Staff of the Army (OCSA) had none. Seitz also reported that the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations (ODSCOPS) had none except in its psychological operations branch (PSYOPS). Palmer replied that this needed correction because "the lack of such people was causing us to overlook important knowledge" and suggested that Army chaplains were perhaps the only people who had initiated behavioral science–related studies (such as soldier motivation and the high AWOL rates). Brigadier General Robert Gard from ODSCPERS, an emerging Progressive who would soon play an important role in promoting OD, agreed and stated that what really bothered him was that "we hadn't even thought to ask for such a study."[54]

By this time, Palmer, perhaps guided by his awareness that Westmoreland wanted stronger action, had set the tone that the Army (meaning everyone in the room) would embrace behavioral science more closely. Lieutenant General Gribble (CRD)

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53. Ibid.
54. Ibid.

stated that moving ahead required both a research effort to get the data and the actual use of behavioral science throughout the Army. To ensure such progress, Palmer voiced that they needed a single staff agency directly within the OCSA. His deputy, Lieutenant General Bill DePuy (AVCSA) agreed, suggesting that a high-ranking officer should head this office to "push" it forward and to "give it proper emphasis." Forsythe concurred by stating that the CSA needed "advice on a day-to-day basis." The Healers in the room largely remained silent, although one argued that "we must translate behavioral science research into understandable language if it is to be worthwhile. Others agreed that this could be a real problem, especially given the number of service schools, if behavioral science "language" was not adequately translated. The meeting concluded with Palmer directing Forsythe to form a temporary study group within SAMVA that would: (1) develop a proposal for a permanent group in OCSA to advise the CSA on behavioral science matters and direct the Army's use of behavioral science; (2) develop specific study proposals for behavioral science research; and (3) develop a plan to identify positions in the Army that need to be filled with personnel with behavioral science education.[55]

Immediately following Palmer's meeting, Forsythe appointed Nadal to head up the Behavioral Science Working Group (BSWG). Over the next two weeks, Forsythe, Montague, and Nadal formulated the tasks of the BSWG and, on December 9th, communicated their intent to Palmer, seeking his approval to begin. The BSWG mission was to: (1) propose a permanent group in the OCSA to advise the CSA on behavioral

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55. Ibid. Interestingly, two important Progressives attended the meeting but did not speak: Nadal, for obvious reasons, and Bernie Rogers who was then a major general serving as the Chief of Legislative Liaison (CLL), his follow-on assignment after his command at Fort Carson. The CLL would never have been invited but Nadal had recommended to Forsythe that he should attend. Unfortunately, there are no records to indicate what the future godfather of Army OE thought about this meeting.

science matters, (2) survey recent research, both military and civilian and "identify useful material" and gaps in the Army that could utilize new research, and (3) determine how best to utilize officers with advanced education in the behavioral sciences throughout the Army. Forsythe also indicated that "because many of the Army staff agencies are involved in this broad field, the working group should include [their] representatives."[56]

Upon Palmer's immediately approval of the BSWG agenda, Nadal's team began their effort on December 13, 1972, just as SAMVA's VOLAR Phase II was coming to a conclusion. Over the next two months, the BSWG spent many hours working on the various dimensions of the project, including visits of many large corporations in the civilian sector, such as AT&T, GM, DuPont, and Sears, to understand their efforts. By February, 10, 1972, Nadal was prepared to present an interim report to the CSA and produced a "talking paper" that summarized progress thus far. The paper confirmed that the initial BSWG objectives, as Palmer had approved, were correct and progressing well. In addition to validating the progress on those pre-identified tasks, the BSWG also reported a need to obtain motivational and attitudinal data to fill in existing research gaps. More importantly, Nadal reported that the top companies in industry had established what they called "an office or department of organizational development" to improve organizational effectiveness. The talking paper heavily stressed the adoption of OD. The BSWG recommended that the Army establish an OD office in the OCSA and that select Army officers attend graduate schools to receive formal education in OD. With such expertise in hand, the Army then should update the POIs at the service schools to include OD. Going further, Nadal recommended that the Army should soon employ "OD techniques and capabilities throughout the Army hierarchy."

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56. Brigadier General Montague to General Palmer, "Use of Behavioral Science," SAMVA Office Memorandum (December 9, 1971). Nadal Papers.

He even suggested that the CSA utilize OD "diagnostic tools and strategies to improve the efficiency of the Army staff." The BSWG interim report was incredibly important to the evolution of the Army OE program because it was the first time that the Progressives specifically cited OD as the primary driver of their initiatives. Indeed, OD offered the Progressives a mechanism for translating their leadership philosophy into substantive actions and activities.

In mid-February 1972, Nadal presented the BSWG interim report in a formal briefing to Westmoreland. The briefing did not go well because, as Nadal recalled, "General Westmoreland was confused by the technical nature and jargon of the recommendations that we made. He directed that we go back and try again." Although this was only a minor setback, Westmoreland's reaction was a sharp reminder of the point that the Healers had made during the Palmer meeting three months earlier. Indeed, the Progressives' challenge with translating behavioral science language into "Army speak" would haunt the Army OE program for years to come. Nadal took Westmoreland's reaction to heart. Counter to the bureaucratic culture of the Pentagon, Forsythe had not "pre-briefed" Nadal and fully trusted Nadal to articulately present the findings. As Nadal recalled,

> if a lieutenant colonel is to give a briefing to the Army Staff Council or the Chief of Staff, he . . . would be rehearsed by the colonel, then you'd be rehearsed by the brigadier general, then you'd be rehearsed by the 3-star before they exposed you to the chief. [However], Forsythe said, you have this briefing to do. . . . I'll see you there. . . . Forsythe was just the most unusual general . . . personality wise. He is really a guy who exercised positive leadership. . . . [Westmoreland's reactions would have,] in many ways, ended my career. Forsythe put his arm around me, and we walked down the hall together, and he said, "Don't worry about it. Next time we'll set it up so that another day you can do it again. And when you do it, just let me look at that stuff before you do it." That was it. Just the fact of the

way he handled it made me beholden to that guy for the rest of my life. I worked like hell to make it better.[57]

In fact, Nadal and his team doubled their efforts. Extending the anticipated completion date of the BSWG from March to June, the team members once again hit the road in search of information and examples. Nadal, though, went in search of allies. With his re-brief to the CSA scheduled for April 11, he spent March visiting his former commander Hal Moore at Fort Ord and Major General Sidney B. (Sid) Berry in Washington.[58] Berry had been present at Palmer's November meeting and seemed supportive. At that time, Berry was chief of the Army's Military Office of Personnel Operations (OPO) that was soon renamed the Military Personnel Center (MILPERCEN), the organization that controlled all personnel assignments throughout the Army. A highly decorated combat veteran of the wars in Korea and Vietnam, Berry held a master's degree in international relations from Columbia University and had taught social sciences at West Point.[59] After their initial meeting in March, Berry seemed amiable to the idea. To educate Berry on the practical concepts and potential benefits, Nadal flew with Berry to Columbia, South Carolina, to visit the Center for Creative Leadership just as he and Emerson had done earlier. Following that visit, Berry committed his organization to the project.

Nadal then flew to Fort Ord to visit his former commander, Hal Moore, who had assumed command of the installation from Phil Davidson the previous June. For five days,

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57. Nadal interview. A superb example of trust and positive leadership.

58. Nadal 1980 transcrip, Nadal papers. "To make the briefing more effective and less threatening, I decided to obtain the agreement of a few major generals who would be willing to use their organizations as test beds for an OD project. I selected General Sid Berry because he had a reputation as being a bright and articulate, innovative sort of individual. I selected Fort Ord and General Harold Moore because he had been my battalion commander in Vietnam, and I held him in very high regard; and I thought that he also held me in this stead and might be willing to listen to my appeal to use Fort Ord as a test bed. Unbeknownst to me at that time, Fort Ord was involved in some form of OD as a result of an earlier test project on motivation of trainees."

59. http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/18/us/lt-gen-sidney-berry-west-point-chief-dies-at-87.html?_r=0 Last accessed September 4, 2013.

Nadal stayed at Moore's home where they had an opportunity to discuss many of the

ongoing initiatives on post. Nadal was impressed with Moore's progressive activities and

was surprised to learn about the scope of work that Letgers and Datel had already

completed. He discovered that three months earlier, Moore had initiated week-long

programs of awareness training—an OD technique—for middle- and senior-level officers

and civilian supervisors. "The training was directed primarily toward the development of self-

awareness, group problem-solving, recognition of hidden goals and motivations, and

improved interpersonal communications."[60] In March, based on the success of the self-

awareness training, Moore had formally approved the Army's first OD program that included

authorized funding and the involvement of HumRRO. Letgers spent time showing Nadal the

program and essentially proved to Nadal that Moore not only already had a strong OD test

bed underway but also one that was on the same trajectory as Nadal's.

Nadal rendered his report to Forsythe upon returning to Washington. The SAMVA

chief was so pleased with Nadal's visits, especially the Fort Ord trip, that he immediately

wrote to Major General Ira A. Hunt, Jr., the Deputy Chief of Staff for Individual Training at

CONARC, seeking permission to use Moore's pilot program as a test bed for the entire

Army. Hunt expressed his support and approved Forsythe's request.[61]

Nadal then turned his attention to preparing for his re-brief to Westmoreland and to

working with the team to complete the final BSWG report. With the briefing rescheduled yet

again, for June 8, the BSWG had time to complete the final report and to improve the

briefing at the same time. The final report was rich in detail. The main body of the report,

twenty-nine pages long, consisted of twelve general findings and twenty-nine specific

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60. Golden manuscript, 8. This course was the beginning of the L&MDC—laboratory
method/sensitivity training (i.e. mainstream OD).
61. Ibid., 9.

recommendations.[62] The introductory pages contained a thorough narrative that diplomatically acknowledged that the "common sense" approach had historically served the Army well. It went on to say that in light of the fact that the BSWG advocated research and, in some cases, unproven practices, the Army still needed to rely on common sense to some extent. The report cautioned that "as will be seen in the study, the findings of behavioral science sometimes run counter to our common sense practices.[63]

Overall, though, the report heavily underscored the point that the Army possessed little if any behavioral science knowledge.[64] To redress this state, the BSWG recommended four areas of action: (1) significantly increase the number of personnel educated in the behavioral sciences, (2) augment the DA staff with an organization to facilitate and exploit the use of the behavioral sciences, (3) improve user-researcher relationships, and (4) consider the successes that have proven effective in industry and that "might have a place in the Army."[65] Of the twenty-nine recommendations, many were meant to remedy the shortfall of qualified personnel both short- and long term through various personnel management strategies. Above all else, the report emphasized that OD was the mechanism to implement planned change throughout the Army.

> OD provides a framework for initiating deliberately planned change and emphasizes learning and problem solving by people in any organizational unit. By using the knowledge and techniques of the behavioral sciences, OD assists managers in *integrating individual needs* for growth with

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62. Behavioral Science Working Group, "Behavioral Science Study: Executive Summary and Main Body," Volume I (Washington, DC: Office of the Special Assistant for the Modern Volunteer Army, July 1972). Hereafter cited as BSWG Study.

63. The comments on "common sense" were important. Then, and in the decade that followed, those officers who opposed or passively resisted OD would always counter that good leadership was simply common sense.

64. The BSWG found that there were 191 validated positions for officers with advanced degrees from the behavioral sciences. As of April 1971, only 31 positions were filled with qualified officers. In addition, because of an officer's career path, the Army needed between 300 and 400 qualified officers on active duty to ensure that the 191 positions always remained filled.

65. Ibid., 10.

organizational goals and objectives in order to make a more effective corporation. Some of the specific objectives are: to increase professionalism by *creating an open, problem solving climate* throughout the corporation; to *locate decision-making and problem-solving responsibilities as close to the information as possible*; to build trust among individuals and groups and thereby *increase their self-direction*; and to develop reward systems which recognize the *individual's contribution* to the corporation's mission.[66]

The report called for the immediate implementation of an OD office on the DA staff, the creation of "an in-house capacity to conduct OD activities" on a "consulting basis" Army-wide, and the Army "OD teams at the G-level [i.e., division level] to advise and assist commanders in applying behavioral science knowledge and OD techniques." The latter two recommendations were the most important of the entire report because these specified activities essentially became the basis of the Army OE program.

Three other interesting points stood out in the report. First, historically the Army had done a poor job of properly conducting research into "people problems" and the research that did occur seldom made it to users who could utilize the results in any practical way.[67] The BSWG strongly argued that behavioral scientists in the Army were ideal for solving this problem. Second, an introductory course on OD should be developed and provided to all officers currently in command positions. Of note, counter to conventional wisdom, the

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66. Ibid., 20. Emphases are mine to underscore that this statement is packed full of fundamental elements of transformational leadership traits. Over time, continued resistance to change would erode their strong emphases.

67. BSWG Study, 26–28. These appear as recommendations 8-1, 8-2, 8-3, 8-4, 9, and 10. The BSWG was correct. The Army Research Institute (ARI)—the Army's long standing organization for social science research had predominantly focused on human engineering. This is why the Army had relied heavily on HumRRO since the early 1950s, even though much of HumRRO's research fell within the domain of human engineering as well. As we have seen, HumRRO began to focus on behavioral science with Davidson's use of them at Fort Ord and their heavy participation in VOLAR. For ARI's historical emphases see especially, Joseph Zeidner and Arthur J. Drucker, *Behavioral Science in the Army: A Corporate History of the Army Research Institute* (Alexandria, VA: US Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences, 1987); and US Department of the Army, *List of Research Publications 1940–1980* (Alexandria, VA: US Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences, October 1981), DTIC accession number: AD-A109592.

BSWG singled out colonels and generals for attendance.[68] Third, these efforts would take

time to put in place and would require initial programs to "create a climate" that would lead to

"a structure which can maintain the requisite level of interest and understanding *over*

the next few years and allow for the detailed work required to convert recommendations

to functioning programs.[69]

On June 8, 1972, Nadal got his second chance to brief Westmoreland. Most likely,

Forsythe had kept the CSA informed of SAMVA's progress because this briefing was

scheduled as a "decision brief." A decision briefing is a formal presentation at the end of a

planning process that then requires the commander's approval and guidance for program

implementation. Nadal was ready; the extra time had allowed the BSWG to put the final

touches on all recommendations, including budget numbers. More importantly, Nadal had

invited Letgers from Fort Ord to co-brief the presentation.

Nadal faced a tough crowd. In addition to the CSA, the audience included most of the

principals of the Army staff—one general (VCSA Palmer), four lieutenant generals, and five

other general officers. Nadal had learned from his earlier mistakes, though. With much

confidence, he clearly stated in his introductory remarks that everyone needed to know only

two terms: "behavioral science" and "organizational development." After offering succinct

definitions for both, Nadal presented the findings of the BSWG report. Undergirding his

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68. Note that one week prior to the release of the BSWG report, Colonel John Trussell proposed his general officer study at the AWC to look at what generals do and "what behavioral patterns characterize those who are 'good leaders'?". As discussed in Chapter I, the commandant excluded any look at general officers leadership because they had supposedly already mastered the topic.

69. BSWG Study, 11. Emphases are mine. Two other "warnings" stood out in the narrative. The first was a shot at the Army's infatuation with technology: "Some of the creativity and resources formerly reserved for hardware must be shared with those seeking the maximum realization of human potential." The second was a pointed statement about resistance to change: "All organizations resist change, but resistance is particularly great in large, traditional organizations. A scientific approach to human behavior tends to be viewed with distrust by many officers who consider their own experience as successful leaders as evidence that there is no need for change." Ibid., 22.

entire briefing was the clear message that "the Army is not fully using behavioral science knowledge to improve professionalism and leadership."[70] After outlining some of the report's specific recommendations, Letgers followed Nadal with a summary of the work that had been completed at Fort Ord and Hal Moore's current plans for OD. Letgers stressed that OD had already provided "valuable command tools" for commanders to identify "favorable and unfavorable trends in leadership." He went on to explain successes to date with their leadership awareness training for senior leaders, and he reported the results from the positive feedback that eighty-nine field-grade officers had already provided Moore. In fact, the demand at Fort Ord for more OD training currently exceeded available resources.[71]

Nadal, in his concluding remarks, asked Westmoreland to approve five initiatives: (1) establish a small behavioral science element in OCSA, (2) establish an advisory board of prominent behavioral scientists, (3) identify and validate positions for advanced degrees in behavioral science Army-wide, (4) establish an instructor training course for personnel to teach leadership in the service schools, and (5) conduct a pilot OD test at the Department of the Army level and at a field installation (Fort Ord). The CSA wasted no time in approving all of the recommendations. He congratulated the BSWG for their "excellent job," adding that they had "come to grips with the problem and that the proposed program was a modest one."[72]

Westmoreland then solicited comments. At first, the general consensus was supportive. Then, importantly, Palmer's deputy and strong Traditionalist, Bill DePuy, carefully offered his support but predicted that it would "take a new generation of officers

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70. "OSAMVA Decision Briefing on Behavioral Sciences," memorandum for record (June 12, 1972), Johns Papers.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid.

before the program is fully accepted." He recommended that "we put more emphasis on pilot projects and careful demonstration of the value of behavioral science techniques before we talk too much about abstract theory to the Army." DePuy advocated that the OD element be subordinated within ODCSPERS rather than in OCSA. DePuy's frankness undoubtedly encouraged others to speak their opinions. Lieutenant General Gribble and Major General Bolton readily agreed with DePuy that OD should fall under the DSCPERS. Lieutenant General Dutch Kerwin, the DCSPERS, who would receive all of this, disagreed and sided with SAMVA that OD should be directly under the sponsorship of the CSA, and if the program was successful, consideration should be given for OD to move into the personnel channel. Westmoreland broke into the debate with a compromise suggestion. He advocated placing the program in the OVCSA (Palmer) because as a new program, OD needed full support from the top of the Army. If at some future date OD proved successful, then—as Kerwin had suggested— it could move to the DCSPERS. Palmer agreed but reminded his boss that with VOLAR coming to an official end in less than three weeks (which appeared to some as ending SAMVA's mission and reason for being), that they defer any further plans until they determined the future of SAMVA. That meeting was scheduled to take place immediately following Nadal's decision brief.

This debate was extremely important to the evolution of Army OE for several reasons. First, it acknowledged that social science terminology and new behavioral science research constituted a very real obstacle to progress and the acceptance of new ideas, especially if new programs were perceived as basically theoretical in nature. In this regard, Forsythe and DePuy reached polite agreement that "it was essential that we demonstrate

the usefulness of behavioral science before too much 'pure theory' is disseminated."[73]

Palmer readily agreed but bluntly stated that he disliked the terms "behavioral science," "organizational development," and "human resources management." Although SAMVA had suggested the latter term, Palmer asked Forsythe "to work on that." Second, the dialogs reflected the emotional underpinnings of the individuals' views on leadership and whether the Army truly had a problem with its leadership health or current condition throughout the institution in light of the improvements that VOLAR had already emplaced. In essence, the group represented all three camps: the Traditionalists (DePuy, Gribble, and Bolton), the Progressives (Berry, Forsythe, and his team), and everyone else in the room falling within the Healers' camp. Finally, most important was the debate over where OD should reside within DA. Forsythe, Nadal, and Letgers, knowledgeable of OD, fully understood that successful OD programs required a strong, powerful champion at the very top. They recognized that placing it any lower than the OCSA would most likely doom the program from the start as it would inevitably become mired deep inside a cumbersome Pentagon bureaucracy.[74]

Unfortunately, their fears would be realized at once. In the meeting immediately following Nadal's decision briefing, the Army's senior leaders debated the next steps for SAMVA. With VOLAR coming to an end at the end of the month and the results looking very positive in terms of removing "irritants" and emplacing more soldier services and amenities, SAMVA, by all accounts, had done a good job. The Healers were pleased. In fact, Palmer

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73. Ibid.

74. Nadal interview. "You can't do it [OD/OE] from there [DCSPERS]. The chain of command eats you alive. You have all of these troglodytes. No matter how passionate you are, if I had been down there in DCSPERS, they would have defied me . . . or ignored me. My boss, whoever he might have been, or his boss—there'd be a colonel, and a BG and a 3-star over me, and I'd never see daylight. Which is why nothing ever gets [advanced]. . . . Nothing ever happens in the Army because all these guys above you have a vested interest in where they are. They got to be 3-star General Jones because they did "the right things" expertly. . . . So the resistance to change in that hierarchy and the way it operates is terrible."

and Kerwin were encouraging Forsythe to end all experimentation (that is, declare that VOLAR had succeeded and that the Army should now stabilize "the all-volunteer effort on terms favorable to the Army").[75] Forsythe and Montague, on the other hand, did not consider the job complete. Irritants and amenities were merely technical problems that managerial change efforts could easily implement with adequate funding. The two had worked tirelessly to address the more adaptive challenge—introducing the entire officer corps to new behavioral science research and leadership philosophies, employing new research methods to improve human relations and communications and, more recently, implementing OD as a leadership tool to manage planned change and to improve unit effectiveness. They could not understand why the Modern Volunteer Army (MVA) Program's Master Plan—produced in January 1971—had met so much resistance, especially since VOLAR (the experimental arm of the plan) appeared successful and acceptable to the Healers. The two Progressives were disappointed with everyone's decision to terminate SAMVA, but they were too exhausted to oppose it.[76]

Throughout the VOLAR experiments, Forsythe and Montague had grown weary of Westmoreland's and Palmer's "fearful leadership" practices, that is, the tendency of the CSA and VCSA to veto VOLAR initiatives simply because they personally did not like them or believed that subordinate commanders would not approve. Forsythe was frustrated with

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75. Griffith, *Transition,* 150.
76. Jack Butler suggested later that despite Westmoreland and Forsythe's efforts to thoroughly inform the Army (with Westmoreland's Commanders Conference, the creation of SAMVA, VOLAR, the CONARC Leadership Board, etc.), the changes still produced a strong "culture shock among many professional soldiers. This sudden change in direction created many false impressions." Butler believed that because the plan was never staffed through DA (because SAMVA had full autonomy), it was never disseminated properly, thus "instead, information reached the field in a piecemeal fashion creating confusion and doubt. The official master program was not distributed until nearly a year after the birth of SAMVA." Butler, 1972, 28. The plan was initially issued as VOLAR Phase I began and quickly proved incomplete, immature, and under developed. In March 1971, three months after it was issued, Forsythe recalled the plan and produced an improved version entitled *The Modern Volunteer Army: A Program for Professionals*. The original plan focused too much on actions (i.e. the elimination of irritants). The second plan reflected the Progressives' philosophy and Army professionalism. Griffith, *Transition,* 151.

their cautious hesitancy and criticized their proclivity to "let's think about this, let's study it some more, let's have somebody do a research project on it."[77] When Forsythe disseminated initiatives to the Army's field commanders, they complained to Palmer that SAMVA had created a dual, confusing process that supplanted DA's normal communication channels. Palmer agreed and ordered Forsythe to "use established notification procedures."[78] Montague voiced even stronger opinions and viewed Palmer as a staunch Healer who was a major roadblock and "reluctant dragon." Montague believed that "farming [ideas and initiatives] out to the Staff will not likely result in any positive action." Instead, he preferred using external consultants and researchers.[79]

By the time of the Nadal briefing and SAMVA decision meeting, Palmer's attention had turned to budget matters and preparation for fiscal year 1973 budget approvals—the year that ended conscription and took the Army to the inauguration of the AVF. Palmer believed that the many life-style amenities programs were vulnerable to budget cuts if they were viewed as experimental, especially since they were funded as supplemental requests. Having viewed SAMVA primarily as a semiautonomous organization that served to facilitate the transition from a conscripted army to an all-volunteer institution, Palmer saw no need for SAMVA if those program monies came under control of the DA staff as part of the Army's base budget.[80] Forsythe did not disagree with the necessity to protect the program's monies

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77. It is ironic that Forsythe felt this way given that SAMVA owed its existence to Westmoreland's initiation of numerous studies like the Ulmer-Malone study and those that followed, including Nadal's.

78. Oral History Interview, LTC Edward Smith with General Bruce Palmer, Jr., 23 April 1976, Military History Institute, as cited in Griffith, 72–73. Palmer considered half of Forsythe's proposals "half baked" and acknowledged that he had succeeded in "quashing" them. Forsythe was also unhappy with numerous budget battles both within DOD and with Congress. See Griffith, *Transition,* Chapter IX.

79. Oral History Interview, Griffith with Montague, 11 March 1983, as cited in Griffith, *Transition,* 73.

80. Griffith, *Transition,* 152. Lieutenant General Kerwin, the DCSPERS, also feared that the new programs would cut into the Army's base budget. Palmer and Kerwin's concerns were valid given the fiscal constraints of 1973. Nixon was aggressively reducing federal spending. The administration anticipated that the large reduction in force and a smaller Army would also lead to reduced expenses for

and helped to bring the "soldier-oriented" programs under the Army's base budget. In doing

so, however, those activities proved to be the last significant act of SAMVA. Realistically,

Forsythe and Montague had anticipated the June 8, 1972 meeting for several months.

Westmoreland had notified Forsythe in January that SAMVA should henceforth phase out of

their purview those activities that were considered successful and enduring. Also since

January, Palmer had been forthright with Forsythe in stating his desire to transfer the

SAMVA programs to the DA staff. Subsequently, he asked Forsythe to revise the SAMVA

charter to prepare for that eventuality.[81] With those notifications, Montague had had enough

and left in April. On June 30, 1972, three weeks after the Nadal and SAMVA meetings,

Westmoreland and Forsythe both retired from the Army.

In retrospect, Forsythe and his "SAMVA warriors," as they called themselves, had

accomplished much in their twenty months of existence. Years later, Forsythe would look

back on those experiences with some pride. However, at the time of his departure, he was

disheartened by overall resistance to change, and Palmer and Westmoreland's arbitrary and

unilateral vetoes of even minor ideas and suggestions. Everyone's concern about preparing

for the end of conscription and rushing to get the new All-Volunteer Army "right" created high

expectations throughout the institution that could not be met in such a short time frame. As

Butler noted only a year later,

> SAMVA did not experience a natural birth. Because of the urgency of time,
> it came into being by caesarean and grew to maturity before its

quality of life programs. For the FY72 SAMVA-controlled budget, Forsythe had planned for $1.3 billion (later reduced to $613 million). However, Forsythe realized at the time that SAMVA would not receive the projected $3 billion that had been anticipated for the program in 1973. Indeed, the annual projections for the SAMVA programs were estimated at $3.3 billion through FY 77.

81. Ibid., 155. Griffith writes that the final decision to end the SAMVA program was not reached until "late spring" but emphasized that Palmer anticipated it because he thoroughly reviewed the various elements of the program to personally decide which components would stay or be eliminated. That way, the new CSA (Abrams) would not need to review the MVAP and decide its future. Transferring it before July 1st would solve that problem. Griffith, *Transition,* 172.

musculature was developed enough to support it. It was not expected to solve all problems immediately, yet many thought it should and would.[82]

Forsythe and Montague's gloomy disposition did not infect any of the Progressives. On the contrary, they were ecstatic with the outcomes of the Nadal decision brief. Westmoreland, originally a staunch Traditionalist whom Nixon had forced to become a reluctant Healer had suddenly empowered the Progressives to a level they likely had not expected. Not only had Westmoreland formally sanctioned their views and work thus far, he had officially approved OD as the mechanism to govern behavioral science change efforts and to improve leadership in the Army well beyond the confines of Fort Ord. At a moment in time when the vast majority of the Army staff wanted to permanently end all experimentation, the CSA authorized several high level OD pilot programs to begin. In all probability, on that day in June 1972, Westmoreland did not fully realize or appreciate that he had just unleashed arguably the most intellectual program the Army had ever seen.

East Meets West

Following the Nadal decision brief, Letgers must have felt nothing but excitement and validation on his journey back to California. Westmoreland's decision had just transplanted the seedlings of OD from the small installation-level garden at Fort Ord into the institutional-level fields of the Army. Still, much work lay ahead; Letgers was smart enough to know that, at this point, a lot of cultural resistance existed.

In many ways, Letgers was just beginning to see traction with OD at Fort Ord. Six months earlier, he and his team had begun conducting week-long programs of "awareness training" for mid- and senior-level officers. This awareness training was

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82. Butler, "The All-Volunteer Armed Forces," 29.

really a T-Group that utilized the laboratory method (sensitivity training). The course

was the first iteration of the Leadership and Management Development Course

(L&MDC) that would soon become the cornerstone of the OESO course. At this stage it

emphasized the development of self-awareness, group problem-solving, recognition of

hidden goals and motivations, improved interpersonal communication, conflict

resolution, leadership awareness, and leadership counseling. Letgers and his team

received positive feedback from the participants throughout the spring of 1972.[83]

Now that Westmoreland had directed Fort Ord to formally develop OD for wider

use in the Army, Moore could devote more resources to establishing a directorate

dedicated to this effort. Authorization to proceed arrived on July 13, when the Office of

the Special Assistant for Training (OSAT) formally directed Moore to develop a two-year

pilot program. The directive tasked Moore to complete a comprehensive plan no later

than October 1, 1972.[84]

The initial challenge was finding a qualified director and more personnel with

expertise in OD or recent behavioral science research. While the search went on for a

director, on August 25, 1972, the existing OD staff moved into building 2864. This small,

thirty-year-old, two-story wooden structure was just one of the scores of such buildings

that the Army had constructed at the beginning of the Second World War to train the 7th

Infantry Division. Three weeks later, on September 20, Lieutenant Colonel Richard A.

Robinson became the acting director of what was now called the Organizational

Development Directorate (ODD). He and his people worked hard on developing a plan

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83. Ibid., 12. Golden manuscript. It is important to note that Hal Moore had suggested this program in late 1971, fully recognizing the criticality of educating senior leaders and obtaining their support.
84. Ibid.

that would fully meet Westmoreland's guidance. They based their plan on the CSA's

five specified tasks:

1. determine minimum staffing required for OD activities at other army

installations,

2. refine OD techniques/procedures applicable in the Army's organizational

setting,

3. measure the effects of OD on typical army organizations,

4. determine how behavioral science instruction in OD techniques and

procedures could best be incorporated into the officer and NCO educational-

system, and

5. develop educational materials for this latter purpose.

Work on the comprehensive plan was well underway when, on November 1,

Colonel John R. Elliott took over as the ODD's first director. Within two months, the

team completed the plan for a January 1, 1973, implementation. Fully understanding the

complexity of an OD program, Elliott and his team envisioned four six-month phases for

the two-year pilot: Development, Testing, Execution, and Evaluation.

Phase I, the *Development phase* (January through June 1973), allowed the ODD

to identify which components of OD were most appropriate for an Army organizational

environment, focusing explicitly on the elements of surveys, team-building workshops,

data feedback, and consultations and contracts (the formal process of initially meeting

with commanders to understand their goals and to agree on an OD plan for the

organization).[85] The ODD designed Phase II, the *Testing phase* (July through

December 1973), to refine the components identified in the Development phase. These

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85. Ibid. GOS – the General Organizational Survey.

included tighter controls over the survey process, process consultation, action planning, and data feedback. More importantly, the Testing phase placed great emphasis on experiential learning. Using experiential learning methods, ODD personnel presented topics such as conflict management, role definition and clarification, formulation of unit issues, goal setting, and inter-group confrontation.

In essence, Phase III, the *Execution phase* (January through June 1974), served as a "dress rehearsal." It incorporated the best "lessons learned" from the previous two phases. This phase validated the use of the GOS as a starting point and included the use of a control group to validate results. In addition to utilizing workshops, interviews, and experiential-based instruction, the team employed the L&MD course as a major component of an OD program. Finally, the ODD envisioned Phase IV, the *Evaluation phase* (July through December 1974), to assess the entire pilot program. During this phase, they hoped to evaluate all of the OD processes and techniques employed to date at another installation.[86]

Detailed plans were also formulated in Washington, albeit in a nebulous environment. Whereas Moore was in a position to support and control the rapid progress at Fort Ord, the DA staff struggled to wrap its collective arms around the myriad of expanding initiatives in Washington and throughout the Army. With Montague gone since April and the retirement of Westmoreland and Forsythe on June 30, Nadal found himself once again "walking point" to keep the fledgling program on course and moving in the right direction. Nadal was determined to execute a smooth transition from SAMVA to OSAT. Scheduled to depart for a three year assignment to Germany on July

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86. Ibid.

23, Nadal drafted a formal OD work plan for OSAT that articulated the tasks that needed completion. Issued on June 15, 1972, the extensive plan identified the following:

- finalize OSAT's organizational plan and staffing requirements,

- assist Fort Ord in their effort to implement an OD pilot program,

- develop guidance for ODCSPER for the expansion of graduate programs in the behavioral sciences,

- initiate action for the development of a civilian advisory board to the CSA in OD and behavioral science matters,

- implement OD seminars for the Army staff,

- monitor and assist OPO (MILPERCEN) in development of a pilot OD program,

- develop contractual procedures,

- monitor R&D activities in carrying out the behavioral science research program, and

- develop, plan, and implement an OD educational program.[87]

Nadal had some unexpected assistance from Palmer. When Westmoreland retired on June 30, Abrams faced some strong resistance to his appointment as CSA and did not receive confirmation until October 11.[88] Palmer, the acting CSA during this interval, continued to strongly push Westmoreland's directives for OSAT and the Army's

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87. Memo, "Organizational Development Work Plan, 14 June–1 September 1972," Office of the Special Assistant for the Modern Volunteer Army, Office of the Chief of Staff, June 15, 1972, Nadal Papers.

88. The Senate armed services committees was slow to approve Abram's confirmation because of an ongoing investigation related to the violation of the rules of engagement (ROE) in the bombing campaign of North Vietnam. General John D. Lavelle, commander of the 7th Air Force in 1971 and 1972, was under investigation for authorizing air strikes into restricted areas. Because Abrams had been Lavelle's boss at the time of the violations of the ROE, some members of Congress believed Abrams was complicit. Abrams was eventually vindicated.

implementation of OD.[89] Despite his personal views that SAMVA/OSAT should end

experimentations, solidify the VOLAR successes (irritants and amenities), and get on

with the business of restructuring and rebuilding the Army, Palmer empowered OSAT to

move the programs forward. He wholeheartedly supported Lieutenant General Glenn D.

Walker (Forsythe's successor) as head of the new OSAT. Also, like Nadal, Palmer

wanted to see a seamless transition from SAMVA. While it is unclear whether the

unassuming Walker was a Healer or a Progressive, he had a strong, favorable

reputation among his peers. Walker had served four straight years of combat duty in

Vietnam and had significant experience with the Army's personnel system as a staff

officer of DCSPER and a G-1.[90] Now, in the summer of 1972, he replaced Forsythe—

certainly a hard act to follow—not only to oversee several complex pilot programs Army-

wide but also to guide OSAT through turbulent waters as many on the Army staff

lobbied for the subordination of his organization out of the OCSA and into the

DCSPERS.

Fortunately, Walker had powerful assistance in the form of Colonel John Johns,

the head of the OD element in OSAT. Johns had earned a master's degree in

psychology from Vanderbilt University and had taught leadership and ethics at West

Point. He would exercise significant influence with Bernie Rogers and the evolving

direction of the Army OE program at the DA level over the next several years. With no

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89. Sorley, *Thunderbolt*, 328—341.
90. Walker commanded a brigade task force of the 25th ID in significant fighting (Operation Paul Revere) from May 10 to August 3, 1966, for which he was presented with Vietnam's highest military award. Walker served under General Frederick Weyand, the 25th ID commander and later successor to Abrams as CSA. With his beloved 4th ID—the division in which he served for most of the Second World War—Walker was first an assistant division commander and then as of November 1969, the commander. Decorated for valor, Walker earned the Silver Star and was also awarded the Army Distinguished Service Medal. See http://theworldsmilitaryhistory.wikia.com/wiki/Glenn_D._Walker, last accessed October 12, 2013.

break in stride, Johns, Nadal, and several other SAMVA/OSAT personnel executed several key initiatives during the transition period. Among those, the most notable included the formal authorization to Fort Ord on July 13 to proceed with Letger and Moore's OD initiatives, two minor ongoing studies with the Center for Creative Leadership (CCL) and, certainly the most important, the planning for the OD pilot with OPO/MILPERCEN.

Several months earlier, SAMVA had asked the CCL to assess eleven battalion commanders, all lieutenant colonels, to discern similar or different leadership behaviors. CCL ran the commanders through a week of intense assessments, utilizing current research techniques and comparing the results against an extensive data set from many similar studies, including previous work with hundreds of other Army officers.[91] This rich, detailed study, though only a footnote in the evolution of the Army OE program, contained hidden gems that articulated and differentiated, in clear, concise terms, those behaviors that are "transformational" from those that are managerial or transactional. In short, the author—Dr. Douglas Holmes—presented some of the psychologists' findings within the context of officers having a strong preference for a "structure/role" orientation over a "consideration/self" orientation. The former reflected "the extent to which an individual is likely to define and structure his own role and those of his subordinates toward goal attainment." The individual—"the commander"—was viewed as the person directing group activities such as planning, communicating, scheduling, and criticizing. The "consideration/self" orientation reflected "the extent to which an individual is likely to have job relationships with his subordinates characterized

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91. Douglas S. Holmes, "A Report on an Evaluation of Eleven Battalion Commanders," Center for Creative Leadership, Greensboro, NC, 1972, 19, Powell Papers.

by mutual trust, respect for their ideas, consideration of their feelings, and certain warmth between himself and them."[92]

The overall findings indicated that 70 percent favored structure over consideration. "This result suggests some preference for satisfying organizational needs before satisfying the needs of individuals within the organization."[93] Seventy percent was also the percentage of officers who possessed the same Meyers-Briggs personality profile, although they were split between introversion and extroversion.[94] In the final report, the researchers found that the battalion commanders were "highly motivated to achieve, very bright intellectually, more energetic than most people, and that they possess a strength of personality that enables them to cope well with stressful situations."[95] However, in doing so, they were seen as "self-contained, distant, and removed from their fellow man." They scored low on "having to do with ease of maintaining good human relationships in a variety of circumstances [and] low on a variable measuring the raising of morale. Observers had the impression that most of the battalion commanders . . . were not freely experiencing their human relationships to the extent necessary to adapt effectively to the subtleties and nuances of human interactions."[96] Their scores reflected low interest in, "and [being] responsive to, the inner needs, motives, and experiences of others."[97] The strength of this entire study and

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92. Ibid.
93. Ibid., 12.
94. Ibid.,14. Remarkably, in 2002, Judith Stiehm's experience at the Army War College revealed that 70% of her group shared two of the sixteen Meyers-Briggs personality types (ISTJ and ESTJ). Other studies have shown that a strong majority of general officers in the Army today possess the same traits (STJ). See Judith Stiehm, *The U.S. Army War College: Military Education in a Democracy* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002).
95. Ibid., 16. At the time, CCL's influence was significant. Both Hank Emerson and Sid Berry had visited the center.
96. Ibid., 13.
97. Ibid., 15.

its findings, as articulated in the second half of the report, was the clarity between

leadership behaviors defined as role oriented and those as self-oriented. In hindsight, it

is clear that the CCL was conveying a message that for the AVF to work, the Army

officer corps had to change its methodology for leadership development. That is, for the

All-Volunteer Army to succeed, officers had to become more "self" oriented than "role"

oriented, and commanders had to embrace "consideration" over "structure."[98]

> In our judgment, it is impossible to turn back the clock on the recently
> visible, wide-spread demands of many individuals for greater self-
> expressiveness and lesser role-prescribed behavior, especially among the
> young. Although such demands may be held in check with varying
> degrees of success for a prolonged period of time, the time is almost over
> when an organization can manage itself effectively without greater in-
> depth social-psychological understanding of the forces at work and of the
> various internal management strategies and tactics that it might adopt in
> its efforts to remain or to become a viable, optimally effective
> organization.[99]

Following the termination of SAMVA, OSAT continued to work with Holmes at the

CCL to produce a follow-up study entitled "A Report on an Evaluation of Twelve

Brigadier General Designees." Released in November 1972, this study discovered that

the twelve colonels closely mirrored the findings of the battalion commanders. "We used

the same assessment procedures with the BG designees as with the battalion

commanders. The more general organizational implications that we described in the

earlier report remain unchanged by our evaluation of the BG designees."[100] All scored

extremely high for intelligence, and possessed strong personality strengths and a drive

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98. Ibid., Although overlooked at the time, this study offered the clearest distinctions yet between the views of the Progressives and those of the Healers. The former strongly advocated the "self/consideration" models. See especially page 3.

99. Ibid., 58.

100. Douglas S. Holmes, "A Report on an Evaluation of Twelve Brigadier General Designees," Center for Creative Leadership, Greensboro, NC, 1972, 1, Powell Papers.

to do well.[101] In terms of the latter, they scored considerably higher than the battalion

commanders on "capacity" or drive for status.[102] Interestingly, unlike the battalion

commanders, the group scored similarly to high level corporate executives in

managerial traits: a strong need for achievement, order, dominance, endurance, and

deference. Still, the group aligned with the battalion commanders on the majority

possessing the same Myers-Briggs personality, which the report generalized as the type

of individual who was "dependable, cautious, and managerial."[103] Like the previous

group, this group strongly favored "role/structure" over "self/consideration."[104]

The report's final conclusions, similar to the one from the battalion commander

report, underscored the role that personality types play in leadership and change.

> We believe a major determinant in an organization's adaptability and
> future direction of movement is the proportions of different types of
> individuals who occupy the more influential positions in an organization.
> [Our data] supports this view, especially if it is recognized that the stated
> beliefs about change in the Army are determined by personality type.[105]

Holmes followed this statement with the hypothetical question: "How do I become a

general?" He concluded that

> it is better to favorably impress the right people, to perform well on all
> assignments, to gain the range of experiences thought by decision-makers
> to be necessary or highly desirable for promotion [and] that you should
> appear to be, psychologically-speaking, a certain type of person in order
> to be tapped for higher levels of responsibility.106

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101. Ibid., 5–7.
102. Ibid., 12.
103. Ibid., 27.
104. The report acknowledges that the two studies represented only a dozen or so participants. However, in the case of the general-designees, 12 people constituted 20% of those colonels selected for promotion that year—a sizeable sampling, and one that adds credence to Judith Stiehm's findings at the AWC. Ibid., 44.
105. Ibid., 47.
106. Ibid., 48. Note that the CCL/Holmes study looked closely at the personality and leadership behaviors of soon-to-be generals. It is ironic that less than a year earlier, the commandant of the AWC had vetoed Trussell's inclusion of similar observations on his study of three- and four- star generals (see Chapter I). As the reader will recall, Trussell wanted to use "literature in the field of academic research on

In other words, the more junior officers should follow or mimic the behaviors of their seniors.

As important and insightful as the two CCL studies were to the work being done at OSAT, by far the most important projects on the horizon in the summer and fall of 1972 were the official notification to begin (i.e., continue) the OD initiatives at Fort Ord (issued on July 13) and the planning for a major OD pilot program for OPO. OPO was headed by Major General Sid Berry, one of Nadal's few allies who had been present at both the Palmer meeting the previous November and the June decision briefing for Westmoreland. Fortunately, Nadal had already received Berry's commitment prior to the CSA decision brief and could now hand that initiative off to OSAT as he departed for Germany on July 23. Palmer, as the acting CSA, continued to push the OPO project forward by formally announcing to the heads of all Army staff agencies that OPO would initiate a large OD engagement. In his memo dated September 8, Palmer reminded the Army's senior leaders of the June 8 decisions and that current thinking supported the assumption that "OD techniques and principles can improve the organizational effectiveness of the Army." He informed them that the goals of the pilot were (1) to "provide for developing concepts for similar projects in other Army staff agencies," and (2) to "develop an in-house (OPO) capability for sustaining project efforts following the termination of the contract." He ended by stating that OPO would begin the program as soon as they could award the contract.[107]

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leadership, identify the system of values we should adopt in distinguishing good or successful leaders from others, and *define the behavioral patterns which characterize those who are "good leaders."*

107. Memo, "Organizational Development (OD) Pilot Project for the Office of Personnel Operations," Office of the Chief of Staff, 8 September 1972, Nadal Papers.

Palmer followed up that memo with another dated September 25, 1972, in which

he announced to the entire Army that OSAT would govern all of these pilot projects

within a program entitled the Motivational Development Program (MDP). The memo

reinforced DA's current definition of "behavioral science" and defined motivational

development as "the applied use of behavioral science knowledge to improve the

effectiveness of organizations by improving the motivation of individuals within these

organizations."[108] Palmer again reminded the Army's most senior leaders of

Westmoreland's June 8 directives while at the same time stressing that DA supported

the findings of the Behavioral Science Working Group (BSWG) report that had

undergirded the June 8 decision briefing. More importantly, this memo formally tasked

both OSAT and the DCSPERS to implement the CSA's directives by specifying each

component and assigning responsibility. Although OSAT was already on top of its action

items, it is noteworthy that Palmer assigned the execution of the pilot OD program at

OPO to the DCSPERS instead of OSAT. This tasking signaled the impending

subordination of OSAT (i.e., OD) to personnel channels (DCSPERS).[109] In retrospect,

Palmer's September memos favored the Progressives' agenda because they served to

firmly entrench OD before the arrival of Abrams. Although Abrams would prove to be

the most important Healer of his generation and beyond, the strong-willed general could

have easily scrapped the OD pilots given the scope of his strong desire to reorganize

the Army and his other enormous challenges with force modernization.[110]

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108. "Motivational Development Program," memorandum, Office of the Chief of Staff (September 25, 1972), Nadal Papers. This memo differentiated the responsibilities between OSAT and DCSPERS.
109. Ibid.
110. In reviewing Rogers meticulous notes (as the DCSPERS) from his meetings with Abrams, it is clear that Abrams showed minimal interest in the OD projects.

It certainly is important to not overemphasize the assignment of the OPO pilot project to DCSPERS. During these months, the Army staff was beginning to undergo huge changes and reductions that resulted in major reorganizations and consolidation of offices. Indeed, between January 1969 and June 1973, the DA staff was reduced from 9600 personnel to 4816—a 50 percent reduction.[111] Just weeks before the Palmer memos in September, ODCSPERS took significant steps at internal reorganization. It converted the Discipline and Drug Policies Division (DDP) into the Human Resources Development Division (HRD) "in order to place required emphasis on the need for a positive approach to leadership and motivation."[112] At the helm of HRD was the liberal-minded, energetic Progressive Brigadier General Robert G. "Bobby" Gard, whom Nadal held in great respect.[113] Gard was frustrated with the confused restructuring, noting that the reorganization and HRD's responsibilities for the pilots did not come with a needed increase in personnel. In fact, he was appalled that the old division was responsible for the "leadership function" but that this function only consumed a portion of one officer's time and responsibilities. The new HRD division now faced the conversion of two existing positions "to begin preliminary work on upgrading leadership training throughout the Army and to coordinate with and respond to DCSPERS for tasking by the Motivational Development Section of OSAT."[114] This was the crux. Ever since the death of SAMVA and the birth of OSAT on July 1, 1972, everyone understood that once the pilots had produced tangible results, OSAT and the Motivational Development Program

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111. US Department of the Army, *Historical Summary: Fiscal Year 1973* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1973), 48.

112. "Utilization of Personnel from Motivational Development Section of OSAT," memorandum, Brigadier General R. G. Gard, Director of Human Resources Development (March 21, 1973), Nadal Papers.

113. Nadal interview. Nadal stated that Gard was among the top three of the best instructors at West Point he had ever encountered.

114. Gard memorandum (March 21, 1973).

would dissolve (just as SAMVA and the VOLAR program had). That dissolution would mean that DCSPER could at some point assume all responsibility for OD and all of the other behavioral science initiatives. Unfortunately, bureaucratic turmoil ensued during the DA downsizing, leaving OSAT (responsible to the CSA) and HRD (subordinate to DCSPERS) in a state of flux. Gard believed that OSAT should pass those personnel spaces to HRD sooner rather than later, given the scope of new responsibilities and the task of overseeing the pilot programs. "The combination of space reductions and the need to continue performing the various assigned functions precluded adding personnel to the area I consider the highest priority and greatest need within the Army: leadership and motivation."[115] Unfortunately, these inadequacies would endure until DCSPERS completed its reorganization in spring 1973.

On October 12, 1972, General Creighton Abrams began his first day as CSA. Palmer had performed well during the interim, but there was much to hand-off to his new boss.[116] The last of the Army's combat troops were returning from Vietnam, the DA staff and the Army at large were downsizing, the Army faced enormous budget challenges, poor race relations and drug abuse were pervasive and at chronic levels throughout the Army, the presidential elections were only four weeks out, and everyone was nervous about the start of the AVF—now less than eight months away. For the time being, Abrams would focus on these major issues. Not until the following March would he have the time to wade in on the Motivational Development Program in any significant way. Fortunately, he would not need to do so. Less than three weeks in the job, Abrams

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115. Ibid.
116. Abrams was already aware to some extent. He had occupied a small office in the Pentagon while awaiting confirmation and had received a number of briefings. However, during those three months, he extensively travelled with his family throughout the US. Sorley, *Thunderbolt*, 335–336.

chose Bernie Rogers as his new DCSPERS. As Chief of Legislative Liaison working in the Pentagon, Rogers had stayed closely informed of the ongoing initiatives. Now, upon becoming the DCSPERS on November 1, the Godfather of Army OE was well positioned to shepherd the Progressives' agenda, beginning with the OPO project.

One Giant Step Forward

From September to December 1972, OSAT sought a contractor for the OD pilot project with Sid Berry's OPO. In January 1973, OSAT awarded this contract to System Development Corporation (SDC) and received their OD program proposal on February 16. The 119-page SDC proposal was thorough and written with minimal behavioral science jargon so that Berry and his direct leadership team could easily understand the OD goals and objectives. SDC expressed a clear understanding of the intent of the pilot: "SDC views the current effort as a prototype OD effort operating within a setting which has all of the complexities of large, high technology industrial organizations, plus the unique characteristics of a military organization."[117] The proposal included several details: the program would (1) be tailored to the needs of OPO (as all OD projects should be); (2) the results would inform the Army's senior leaders on how best to adapt OD to the Army at large, and (3) the pilot should devise a methodology to teach Army officers to be internal OD "consultants." The latter point was extremely important. For an insular culture like the Army, drawing OD expertise from the ranks would carry credibility. To the credit of Westmoreland, Palmer, Forsythe and most other senior leaders of that period, all understood this imperative from the beginning. However, as will be seen, only those at Fort Ord fully realized that building that internal expertise was

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117. System Development Program (SDC), "Organizational Development Program for US Army Office of Personnel Operations (OPO)," Proposal 73-5482, February 16, 1973, 2-1, Powell Papers.

a long, intensive process. Contracting such an effort in just one pilot engagement would likely be ineffective or unsustainable.

In addition to clearly understanding the intent, SDC also recognized the uniqueness of Army culture, that is, the "series of constraint conditions that are unique to the Army and OPO setting." These "constraint conditions" included the following:

- OD must be developed as Army in-house capability,

- OPO must develop as OD leader for the Army as part of its mission,

- techniques developed must be flexible and responsive to Army needs, not just OPO problems,

- the application of techniques must not interfere with mission, and

- the results and their evaluation are unambiguous to the DCSPER relevant to the extension of OD techniques to other organizations within the Army.[118]

It is important to note that both the Progressives and key Healers who were involved in bringing about the pilot programs recognized these cultural constraints from the very beginning of the Army OE program by. Yet, charges that OD/OE was incompatible with the Army—culturally and for mission (especially combat)—would persist to the very end.

SDC envisioned four phases: (1) *Start-up Planning* (an organizational diagnosis); (2) *Prototype Program Development* (employing specified OD techniques while training "OD interns"); (3) *In-Place Assistance* (to sustain initial efforts and planning for expansion to other DA organizations); and (4) *Documentation of Plans and Reports*.[119] In laying out each phase of the program, the authors warned Berry about assumptions

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118. Ibid.

119. SDC assigned four people to the project: Mr. William Curra, SDC's OD manager as project lead; Dr. Gloria Grace (holding a PhD in experimental psychology from Columbia University) to head the evaluation efforts; and Edward Meyer and George Lord, from SDC's Human Factors Design, Exercise, and Analysis Branch, who would operate on site for the duration of the engagement.

and expectations. They succinctly stated that OD was not a "magic potion" or a quick fix for specific problems and that the evaluation process was complex and included both hard and soft data. Full implementation of an OD program would most likely require four to five years because "the transition from a closed system to an open system requires iteration of many OD interventions and processes." Therefore success "is a function of command involvement and requires an environment that stresses openness, participation, and commitment to the program." SDC also warned Berry that disruption would most certainly occur as the "undiscussables" were discussed. However, they stated that benefits would come because "conflict is healthy when it helps identify critical issues, and concurrently establishes procedures to resolve conflict constructively rather than suppressing it with the resultant behavioral dysfunctions."[120]

Berry and his team reviewed the proposal for several months and finally gave SDC the green light in mid-May. On July 17, 1973, SDC returned to Berry, who now commanded the new Military Personnel Center (MILPERCEN), with a preliminary diagnosis.[121] Although they had compiled an extensive set of data from interviews and surveys for their proposal, SDC was clear that the preliminary diagnosis presented a set of issues and problems that Berry should not immediately confront.

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120. SDC, "Organizational Development Program For U. S. Army Office Of Personnel Operations (OPO)," Vol. 1. www.armyoe.com. The SDC proposal is still fascinating to read today because it clearly reflected the philosophies of the Progressives. This OD program was very transformational oriented, resting firmly on a foundation of Kurt Lewin (T-Groups and Force Field Analysis), Chris Argyris (the need to discuss the 'undiscussables'), Douglas McGregor (strong preference for Theory Y), James MacGregor Burn (that leaders must listen to and recognize the views and personal goals of their followers), and Maslow (upper level hierarchy of needs). Contrary to the views of the CSA and the AWC, the authors stated that OD was new and still emerging, and that should new behavioral science theories arise during the course of the engagement, SDC would assess their value and possibly include them in the engagement. See page 4-33.

121. In March 1973, with the DA staff drawdown largely completed, DCSPERS had finalized its internal reorganization. OPO was no longer a DA staff organization within DCSPERS but had become a command (headed by a two-star general). Sid Berry transitioned in-place to become the first commander of MILPERCEN.

> We are attempting to identify issues that lend themselves to OD intervention. We will leave for another day discussions about what· specific response is most appropriate for each issue.[122]

During the diagnosis phase, SDC held several meetings with Berry and his top leadership team, interviewed more than forty division- and branch-level managers, and conducted more than twenty "sensing sessions" with a large number of employees, both military and civilian. Based on that information, SDC held feedback sessions with higher-level managers to present all data gathered in order to construct a raw picture of the health and the dynamics of the organization. They then conducted "real time feedback sessions" to the employees with their leaders present in order to demonstrate that the bosses were willing to listen to everything—good and bad. SDC then created a customized attitude survey to address the issues that the consultants "believed to be indigenous to MILPERCEN." They also reviewed a large quantity of organizational documents that would educate the SDC team on the nature of MILPERCEN's organization and missions.[123]

The most interesting aspect of the July diagnosis report, besides the 110 pages of rich, extensive data, was SDC's recommendation for a course change in the scope and direction of the program. The original proposal had envisioned a "test bed" approach that would focus on a few small units within MILPERCEN. This "crawl-walk-run" approach targeting smaller organizational sizes would greatly facilitate the training of Army "OD interns." However, whether it would serve to accurately identify those

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122. System Development Program (SDC), "MILPERCEN: A Preliminary Diagnosis," July 17, 1973, 1–2, Powell Papers.

123. I beg the reader's patience with this lengthy narrative on the MILPERCEN engagement. It is important to recognize that SDC followed a "typical" process to develop the most appropriate OD engagement (although no two OD interventions look exactly the same). As other OD/OE engagements are narrated in this history of the Army OE program, we will assume that the reader now has an introductory understanding of the OE process.

elements of OD that the Army could potentially export to other organizations was questionable.[124] The test bed proposal closely paralleled the Fort Ord plan, with the only difference being the scale of effort and the fact that Fort Ord's ODD had already recruited a core team, both civilian and military, that now possessed an extensive set of skills. However, SDC now advocated a "systemic-organic" approach; in other words, they wanted to engage the entire command. They reassured Berry that this strategy would not result in a program that was "a mile wide and an inch deep." SDC's compelling rationale was that the initial data overwhelmingly reflected a pervasive perception, throughout all of MILPERCEN, that the command was "fractionated;" that is, MILPERCEN consisted of "a series of branches, units, and people going about their business without understanding the larger picture within which they fit." SDC argued that the OD engagement could actually exacerbate this "fracture" by choosing some units and excluding others: "by saying, for instance, that we are going to work only with OPD [a division within MILPERCEN] would reinforce the already present sense of elitism within OPD and the sense of 'second class citizenship' present in the other directorates."[125] Berry concurred and approved the change in scope.

Here we begin to see the roots of a serious divergence in the early evolution of the Army OE program. The Fort Ord team had years to ramp-up, and consequently, were building a knowledgeable cadre of OD experts who were capable of training internal consultants to conduct effective interventions. Therefore, the Fort Ord core team turned to consultants to *augment* their efforts, not to drive and conduct OD

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124. SDC was blunt with Berry. "If the objective is to find the safest place to test OD and to bias all of the factors toward success, then perhaps this approach still makes the most sense. This would have less effect on the organization as a whole, but probably— almost certainly—would have greater effect on those few small units chosen.

125. SDC, "Preliminary Diagnosis," 26–28.

engagements as the primary agents of change management and new leadership techniques. MILPERCEN took the opposite approach, thinking that they could conduct a large-scale OD program and, at the same time, develop an internal cadre of "OD interns." However, because they broadened the scope of the project, the interns essentially became administrative assistants for the two full-time on-site SDC contractors. The sixteen interns, a mixture of civilians, NCOs and officers, received only three days of training from August 14 to 16, 1973. While SDC recognized that this effort would only provide them a "rudimentary grasp of the principles of OD," the company was overly optimistic that the interns would continue an OD program beyond the length of SDC's involvement. For the long term, this was wishful thinking because the sixteen volunteers thought of their "internships" as an additional responsibility to their normal jobs. In sum, on the East Coast, MILPERCEN sought to achieve everything that Fort Ord had done to date with a single shotgun blast of OD from SDC.[126]

From May 1973 to August 1974, when MILPERCEN received the fourth and final technical report, SDC performed exceptionally well in delivering the contracted objectives. Everyone at MILPERCEN had participated in the program in one form or another via one or more OD techniques. MILPERCEN personnel had spent an enormous amount of time in their interactions with the consultants and yielded an enormous volume of data that painted a picture of numerous ineffective sub-organizations comprised of employees who felt that the majority of their "leaders" (i.e., managers) were not engaged, were poor communicators, and were perceived as being largely uncaring.

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126. System Development Program (SDC), "MILPERCEN Technical Report No. 1: Beginning the Process of Change," August 31, 1973, 5-1, Powell Papers.

Overall, the SDC engagement unearthed significant but typical behaviors that defined the negative elements of a dysfunctional leadership culture, something future Army OE Staff Officers (OESOs) would see as well. Primary examples included poor communication; frequent internal reorganizations; officers compelled to always appear decisive and the needing "to make their mark;" officers being task- and role-oriented and unwilling to share their feelings; ceremony and etiquette resulting in too much emphasis on rank and status; a culture of blind obedience and "telling the boss what he wants to hear;" and risk aversion due to one's perceived place in the organization, that is, lower rank or status.[127] As expected, by late summer 1974, some of these negative perceptions began to change as positive, participatory activities started to pay off. SDC had taken on a massive OD effort in a large, diversified and complex organization (that had just formed), and had performed reasonably well. As such, it was really a microcosm of what the Army at large would soon face as it reorganized for the AVF and post-Vietnam commitments in Europe. All of the perceptions and challenges that were yet to come were present here—and largely dealt with in a respectful, professional manner. However, in retrospect, the MILPERCEN OD pilot was a missed opportunity for the Progressives to educate the rest of the Army early on about OD interventions, their extensive time frames and difficulties, and the fact that the onus of success was a function of internal investment, not externally-managed "quick-fix" programs. Unfortunately, there is no evidence that the MILPERCEN successes or even the "lessons learned" were ever effectively shared throughout the Army. Perhaps, as a pilot (and with other pilots underway), interested parties saw little need to do so. In any case, the SDC project illuminated the two most significant "lessons learned" of any OD

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127. Apparent in all of the SDC technical reports.

engagement: (1) the criticality of "top down" support (which was there), and (2) the difficulty in measuring success (which was absent).

In terms of a champion at the top, MILPERCEN proved to be an exemplar of a showcase OD program. Berry's consistently strong support enabled and, more importantly, empowered SDC to proceed at full throttle. Even though Berry left MILPERCEN before the first technical report arrived in August 1973—a full year before the end of the pilot—he had done all that he could to effect a smooth handoff to his successor.[128] Fortunately for SDC and the people of MILPERCEN, as fate would have it, the new commanding general was none other than the Progressive Hal Moore, fresh from two years at Fort Ord. At this point, no other serving general in the Army knew more about the application of OD than Moore. It is clear from all of the SDC reports that Moore's strong involvement ensured a continued, successful engagement. In years to come, this single factor—the strong commitment from the commander at the top—would mean the difference between successful or failed OD interventions.[129]

The second critical factor—effective measures of success—was the most difficult obstacle to surmount, both in the MILPERCEN program and in all future OD efforts. All OD consultants recognized that OD interventions were long-term investments that took *years* to show positive improvements. Changing the leadership culture of any organization took much time. Indeed, SDC clearly stressed this point in the initial

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128. Berry left MILPERCEN in August 1973 to take command of the 101st Airborne Division at Fort Campbell, Kentucky.

129. This is not to suggest that Berry and Moore had the full support of their subordinate senior leaders. As SDC reported, "There was initial skepticism concerning genuine support from the "top team" [the other generals and colonels] being applied to the undertaking, doubt concerning practicality of OD implementation in MILPERCEN, and further doubt as to any real benefits to be obtained. An impressive shift from these positions occurred as the meetings progressed, and they ended with general enthusiastic optimism and expressions of eagerness to become involved." SDC Technical Report No. 1, 3–14.

proposal and continued to emphasize it in every technical report. For example, in

Technical Report No. 1, the authors wrote in a rarely used italicized font that *"it is*

extremely important to recognize that OD should be judged by what happens in the

hearts and minds of people, not by the weight or quantity of documentation." In

Technical Report No. 2, they estimated a minimum of five years for changes to take

hold.[130] In retrospect, these two OD obstacles exposed the greatest institutional

dysfunctional behavior in the Army officer corps; namely, a commander's overwhelming

drive to show positive change and improvement within a short period of time. By and

large, Army commanders since the Second World War have been exceptionally strong

managers. As such, they spend many years learning to identify problems in technical

terms rather than in adaptive terms. Unfortunately, short command tenures exacerbate

the ills of this methodology. Officers take command with little time to make their mark

(perceived as necessarily for advancement) or, in the case of Army chiefs of staff, to

establish their legacies. Building upon your predecessor's success has not offered a

typical route to these personal objectives.[131] As the OE program participants would

learn, these two issues went hand-in-hand: strong championship at the top demanded

continuity of support from commander to commander, and new commanders had to

realize that easily quantifiable returns on investment in OD might not occur during their

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130. Ibid., 2–5.

131. Any former commander will tell you that it is far better to inherit a "broken" unit than a healthy one. Although anecdotal, my own experiences as both a company and battalion commander attest to this. As a company commander in the 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment, I inherited a superb company that my predecessor had worked hard to heal (a rare transformational leader whom I greatly admired). I worked exceptionally hard to *sustain* his successes. Yet, I was perceived as a mediocre commander at the end of my tour, although the performance data indicated otherwise. As a battalion commander, I obtained command after the previous commander was relieved. This battalion was perceived as the worst in the brigade by my commanding general. My soldiers, "allowed" to speak openly without risk, and to make changes and decisions, made it the "best" in the brigade within two years. Consequently, we were "hand-picked" to deploy for sixteen months to Guantanamo to lead the detention mission during its most precarious year (2003–2004).

tenure. The selfless, seamless Berry to Moore (and later to Gard) handoffs offered the greatest positive example, then and now.[132]

Growing Pains on the West Coast

While SDC was busy working with MILPERCEN, the ODD at Fort Ord implemented its four-phase plan with three different organizations. The ODD Director, Colonel John Elliott, and his team had drafted a sound plan and enjoyed the full support of Hal Moore. However, several obstacles arose that directly affected the execution of all four phases of the plan. Phase I, the development phase, was largely a failure. The staff wanted to start with a small organization but Hal Moore requested that the directorate begin with the installation's Provost Marshal's Office (PMO). The PMO was a complex organization with over 550 personnel—both military and civilian—and various, distinct sub-organizations to include the installation's confinement facility. Because of the scope involved, ODD personnel did not complete an OD plan for the PMO until late April 1973.

Although team members would learn from the experience, the team committed several critical mistakes that led to a poor implementation of OD within the PMO. For example, the instructors allowed participants to take home the surveys to complete and return later but few did. In addition, although the Provost Marshal (the head of the PMO himself) had volunteered his organization to Moore, his immediate subordinate leaders failed to "convey a sense of purpose or upper-level organizational commitment to

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132. OD/OE consultants, from start to finish, struggled most with the strong institutional pressures to demonstrate short term improvements. It is interesting to note that SDC, for their final report, requested that the top team (Moore and his direct reports) write letters of testimony. All had positive comments and considered the OD program successful. Colonel Bill Golden, as commandant of the OE school, would later resurrect this practice as his OESOs faced the same difficulties. See Chapter 4.

individuals receiving the surveys."[133] In retrospect, the ODD did not devote enough time to educating senior leaders on OD. Although the initial phase had planned for two installation-wide "Get Acquainted with OD" seminars, time constraints and mission requirements resulted in only a handful of senior officers receiving an orientation.[134]

While the three-day team building workshop and the weekly consultation meetings proved fruitful, most of the other activities for the PMO were hampered by significant obstacles. Four months into the engagement, Fort Ord received a new PMO (in September 1973) who was not impressed with the program. He greatly curtailed the ongoing efforts and only agreed to review the data feedback from the surveys and a four-step OD operation in the confinement facility. The OD team working on that project enjoyed some success until a new confinement facility officer arrived in February 1974, at which time the program stopped.

Although Phase I had begun with a slow, awkward start, the ODD initiated Phase II (testing) on time in July 1973. This time their client was a training battalion, a much more homogeneous and manageable organization. The battalion commander deserved much credit for the successful start and acceptance of the program. He took the time to understand OD, achieved buy-in from his staff, and personally explained the scope and importance to all members of his battalion. In August, after receiving an assessment briefing from the ODD team, the commander agreed to all components of the proposed program. These included a five-day team building workshop for the battalion staff

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133. Golden manuscript, 15.

134. This was a mistake that SDC did not make. Berry spent a large amount of time educating his senior subordinate leaders. Surprisingly, it appears that Moore succumbed to his subordinate leaders concerns about aligning everyone's time commitments. The seminars were cancelled and ODD personnel were asked to meet individually with selected people. Even then, only half of the scheduled interviews took place. Ibid.

officers and company commanders, data feedback, process consultation, and an "action plan" for the commander to allow him to address the issues derived from the survey feedback. More importantly, the plan included linkage of key components down to platoon level, which allowed soldiers to feel that they each had a role—and a voice–in the program. In December 1973, the battalion received a new commander but this time, unlike the PMO case, the new commander accepted all ongoing efforts and continued the engagement.

In early 1974, external factors disrupted progress. First, the training battalion was inundated with an entirely new training environment filled with changes and challenges the Army had instituted the previous July with the start of the All-Volunteer Army. Second, the impact of the post-Vietnam reduction in force (RIF) began to take its toll, resulting in extensive personnel turnover. These factors also interfered with a second project that had begun in November 1973 with the Comptroller Office.

In November 1973, the Fort Ord comptroller volunteered his office as part of the pilot program. Although the comptroller initially agreed to the proposed plan, he soon demonstrated a lack of commitment that quickly permeated the organization. The ODD team struggled to salvage the engagement by convincing the comptroller to hold two one-day team building workshops that were designed to teach top managers how to "link down" to lower-level work groups and to teach participants of the managerial team a systematic method of problem solving through goals-planning.[135] The ODD team conducted these workshops in February, while in March they were able to conduct some survey work and several office process observation/consultation sessions. Soon thereafter, the comptroller chose not to evaluate the assessments and terminated the

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135. Golden manuscript, 1980, 20.

engagement in April 1974, just as the training battalion engagement came to an end. No "link-down" to the subordinate organizations ever occurred.

Just two weeks earlier, in early February 1974, the ODD implemented Phase III Three of its pilot with two larger-scale OD interventions. The first involved three companies within one battalion anonymously identified as "Hotel" Battalion (H Bn.). At this point in the evolution of the Army OE program, OSAT interjected itself into the initiatives at Fort Ord. OSAT directed ODD to structure the intervention to test and compare each company of H Bn., with "Alpha" Company (A Co.) receiving a full OD program, "Bravo" Company (B Co.) receiving only the popular L&MDC, and Headquarters and Headquarters Company (HHC) serving as a control company (i.e., assessed without any OD intervention). By now, ODD had settled on two standards for OD programs: the first was their use of the GOS at the start and conclusion of each intervention, and the second was the inclusion of the L&MDC.[136]

ODD personnel conducted the bulk of their work in March. The full-up effort in A Co. proved fruitful, largely due to the participative engagement of the battalion commander and his staff in the process.[137] However, in B Co., the L&MDC unearthed a host of issues that quickly derailed the instructors' course schedule. "The energies and focus of the group were constantly straying to specific company issues and problems. As a consequence, the workshop moved in that direction, and many planned L&MD exercises were abandoned in the course of the week. There was also continued

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136. Ibid., 15–16. The L&MDC became popular throughout the Army because most participants believed that the skills obtained in the course were transferrable and applicable the work environment. These skills were: self-awareness, interpersonal communication, decision-making, problem-solving, conflict resolution, leadership awareness, and leadership counseling. For the course manual, see my web site www.armyoe.com.

137. The A Company program covered orientation on OD, self-awareness, interpersonal communication, conflict management, leadership and management, intra- and inter-group awareness, and goal-setting.

evidence of some lack of commitment to the [OD effort]." However, all was not lost. A follow-up three months later showed that some learning had occurred, especially in the area of performance counseling.[138]

The largest effort of ODD's Phase III began in mid-April, with four battalions participating in OD operations in which two would receive interventions and two would serve as control groups. Although the ODD had largely discerned effective OD techniques in the first two phases of the two-year pilot, the goal here was to evaluate testing methodologies on a large scale. "L" Battalion received pre-measures, team-building and post measures activities. "J" Battalion received pre-measures, survey feedback and post measures. "K" Battalion utilized the same pre- and post-measure instruments but received no OD techniques, while "M" Battalion only participated in the post-measures activities. The strongest emphasis, however, was on "J" Battalion, with its use of survey feedback not as an instrument of measuring results but as an initial tool to disclose "the good, the bad, and the ugly." The idea was to document the "undiscussables, as Chris Argyris had advocated long ago, and then use that survey as an OD technique. That data, shared first with the leadership team at the top, would then "waterfall down" through controlled, facilitated venues to the lowest levels where the data originated. OSAT directed this structure, largely due to early results from another pilot in USAREUR (discussed below) but also because of Dr. David G. Bowers's current successes with the US Navy and American businesses. What is puzzling is that SDC

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138. Golden manuscript, 16–17.

used this approach eight months earlier with strong success. Was OSAT not sharing information across pilots?[139]

Time proved to be a significant detriment to the full success of the four-battalion engagement—not due to the scope of the project but because of the personnel turmoil that occurred during the first year of the All-Volunteer Army. With the war over in Vietnam, the Army ended Fort Ord's training mission and converted the post into the home installation of the newly reactivated 7th Infantry Division. This transition required an extensive shift in staffing requirements, and different military occupations and ranks. Consequently, many of the participants rotated out of the test battalions during the pilots, including a significant number of company commanders. Those soldiers who came in, many in the upper ranks, had no understanding of OD. Still, the ODD salvaged the engagement with some degree of success. While one of the control groups ("K" Battalion) showed no appreciable change, the two OD battalions revealed significant differences in several measurable indices. "On that basis, and on the largely favorable anecdotal and enthusiastic subjective comments gathered by the OD staff from the participants in both OD battalions, the operation was considered a success."[140]

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139. The Fort Ord documents, dated 1980, express a tone of novelty about this test and no indication that they were aware of three other uses of this important technique (MILPERCEN, USAREUR, and Bowers' businesses)—especially since this effort began in late spring 1974. Hard to explain given that OSAT oversaw all pilots, issued directives, and was under pressure to field an Army-wide program. It was the first of many data points that DA (OSAT/DCSPERS) would poorly implement an Army-wide program. David G. Bowers was the Principal Investigator for the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan and had recently conducted studies as well for the Navy. See especially his "Development Techniques and Organizational Climate: An Evaluation of the Comparative Importance of Two Potential Forces for Organizational Change," Technical report (Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1971), DTIC accession number: AD-0731666.

140. Ibid.

Change, Change, and More Change

By November 1974, the several two-year OD pilot programs were coming to an

end. Any understanding of the impact of these pilots on the transformation of Army

leadership culture must be viewed within the context of Abrams's challenges as the

Army exited Vietnam and pivoted from a conscripted to an all-volunteer force. Abrams,

perhaps the most significant reformer in the last fifty years, became Chief in October

1972 but would die in the position on September 4, 1974. During those twenty-three

months, Abrams directed and oversaw two huge organizational changes: (1) the

dissolution of CONARC and the creation of Forces Command (FORSCOM) and

Training Command (TRADOC); and (2) the expansion of the Army from thirteen

divisions to sixteen divisions, despite a significant reduction in force. Both initiatives

would profoundly affect the Army for decades to come.

Prior to the formation of FORSCOM and TRADOC, CONARC functioned as the

headquarters for all Army training and combat readiness. Alongside CONARC, the

Combat Developments Command (CDC) focused on current contingencies and future

needs. A third command—the Army Materiel Command (AMC)—handled logistics.

Abrams dissolved CONARC and CDC in order to cleanly differentiate the training

mission of the Army (i.e., the Army's extensive school system and doctrinal

development) from the "field" Army (i.e., the combat, combat service, and combat

service support operational units).[141] AMC would continue to support the Army at large.

In addition to overseeing all operational divisions and strategic units located in

the continental United States (CONUS), FORSCOM also oversaw the Army Reserve

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141. US Department of the Army, *Historical Summary*, 45. Abrams formally announced the
restructure on January 11, 1973.

Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) program, all Army reserve units, and the readiness of

the Army National Guard. Headquartered at Fort McPherson, Georgia, FORSCOM

represented about 60 percent of total Army strength. TRADOC merged CDC's

responsibilities with all of the service schools. Three new centers assisted the TRADOC

commander in coordinating the combat developments effort. These were the Combined

Arms Center (CAC) at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas (to include the Army Command and

General Staff College); the Logistics Center at Fort Lee, Virginia; and the Administration

and Personnel Center (ADMINCEN) at Fort Benjamin Harrison, Indiana, with the latter

playing a role in the Army OE Program. Headquartered at Fort Monroe, Virginia,

TRADOC represented approximately 22 percent of the active force.[142]

As noted earlier, the extensive reorganizations in 1973 also affected the Army

staff, reducing personnel strength by more than fifty percent. Importantly, DA's

involvement within the domain of the major commands largely diminished as a result of

the organizational changes. Now, the Army's top headquarters had a more sharply

defined mission "to plan and integrate broad programs, develop policy, arrange

priorities, and allocate resources. It will pull together the activities of the three major

commands, control the tasking of new missions, and provide for the disciplined use of

resources." For the DCSPERS, this reduction resulted in the elimination of three of its

seven divisions and led to the creation of Army Military Personnel Center (MILPERCEN)

on January 15, 1973, in Alexandria, Virginia. "By combining personnel assignment,

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142. Ibid., 45–46. "Under the new organization, the importance of the installation commander has increased. Without intervening headquarters layers, he now has a direct line to his parent major command." In other words, the layer of Army-level headquarters was removed. For example, had TRADOC existed in 1969, Phil Davidson would not have been required to brief both the Sixth Army commander and the CONARC commander on his experiments (only the TRADOC commander). See Chapter I.

career planning, counseling, and personnel-related factions, the Army set up a one-step center for military personnel and reduced the operational functions of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel."[143] This restructuring, more than anything else, was responsible for OSAT moving "down" into the DCSPER. Fortunately, Bernie Rogers was the DCSPER at the time (since the previous October) and was personally interested in consolidating all of the behavioral science initiatives under his (DCSPERS) purview.[144]

As if undertaking the most extensive peacetime reorganization of the Army in history was not enough of a challenge, convincing Congress to expand the Army during a reduction in force seemed, at first, a quixotic quest.[145] Yet, Abrams pulled it off. At the time, the Army planned to stabilize on thirteen divisions with an estimated end-strength of 825,000 soldiers (with some in Congress calling for as few as 8 divisions and 500,000 personnel). Bill DePuy, still serving as the AVCSA, notified Abrams that in terms of personnel and materiel, the Army could only outfit ten divisions. Abrams acknowledged the math but was determined to stop the personnel hemorrhage and to build up from the existing thirteen divisions. His solution was to build "into the sixteen-division structure a reliance on reserves [so] that the force could not function without them, and hence could not be deployed without calling them up."[146] Just three weeks

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143. Ibid., 47–48. Establishing MILPERCEN as a two-star command was a huge change. It not only took the Office of Personnel Operations (OPO) out of DCSPERS (hence Sid Berry's seamless move) but also absorbed large portions of the Adjutant General's Office. In retrospect, the organizational turmoil generated with the creation of MILPERCEN in early 1973 makes success of the SDC OD pilot even more impressive.

144. The Rogers Papers contain Rogers's handwritten notes from his meetings with Abrams during his entire tenure as the DCSPERS. Written in extraordinarily small script on 3X5 cards, they shed an interesting light on the substance of Abrams's areas of interest. Abrams' various directives and comments substantiate Sorley's wonderful descriptions of Abrams's view toward minorities, women, and soldiers as real, caring people.

145. Sorley, *Thunderbolt*, 362.

146. Ibid., 363–365. The Army referred to this integration as "round-out" units. Abrams said "They're not taking us to war again without calling up the reserves." Many historians have written about the Army's disenchantment with President Johnson's politically-motivated refusal to mobilize the reserves for the war.

before his death, Abrams formally announced to the Army that Congress had approved

his proposal and that the authorized end-strength of 785,000 for fiscal year 1975 would

remain fixed through 1978, at which time the additional three divisions would come on

line.[147]

Abrams did not necessarily desire a bigger Army, just a better, more professional

Army that could fulfill its NATO commitments. He readily accepted the challenges

brought forth by the AVF that required the Army to acknowledge social changes and a

new type of volunteer soldier. Although he was not a Progressive (especially in terms of

leadership philosophy), he valued the soldier as an *individual*. While a large end-

strength number was critical to fielding a sixteen-division Army, Abrams was adamant

that his soldiers were not a "commodity:"

> By people, I do not mean end strength. . . . I mean people as individual
> human beings who make up the squads and the companies and the
> divisions. . . . They have confidence and anxieties. They have abilities and
> shortcomings. They have ideals, ideas, and hopes—and some
> uncertainties and fears, too. And they have names and faces.[148]

Abrams's view toward people is important to the story of the Army OE program

because the Army as an institution, then and now, view him as the most effective leader

of his generation and the man who deserves the most credit for reforming and healing

the Army after Vietnam. While his organizational reforms certainly deserve such

accolades, evidence of his leadership behaviors and styles indicate that he was a

traditional military leader willing to explore certain elements of transactional leadership

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In the Army's view, failure to do so divested the American public from the war effort. In 1991, the First
Gulf War would test the concept (with mixed results). Still, the integration of active and reserve forces
remain Abrams's greatest legacy—as we have witnessed in the recent wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

147. Sorley, *Thunderbolt*, 362–364.

148. Ibid., 351. Abrams is also remembered for quadrupling the number of women in the Army during
his short tenure as CSA and his work toward increasing opportunities for minorities.

theory—especially with the All-Volunteer Army beginning on his watch.[149] Such "exploration" was instinctual and derived from personal philosophy and love of the hard-working soldier that he witnessed over three decades and three wars. Yet, unlike his predecessor, he saw little integrity crisis within the officer corps. He simply expected commanders to weed out the bad soldiers, whether officers or enlisted. Nor did Abrams spend much time on the Army's extensive exploration of the behavioral sciences. By all indication, he trusted Bernie Rogers to shepherd those programs.[150] In this regard, he was the consummate Healer. Since he was CSA, this made him the strongest, most powerful Healer of that time. Unfortunately, Abrams's personal views and the example they set cosmetically blurred the lines between the views of the Healers and the Progressives. "Respect and love for the soldier," and "take care of your men" (a statement that appeared in every leadership manual dating back to 1946) fueled the notion that "leadership was just plain old common sense" and allowed the Healers to point to *some* behavioral science research for support.

The best leadership lesson we can discern from Abrams's behaviors was his very healthy and modest ego. He clearly detested all of the outward vestiges and symbols of his rank, authority, and position. For example, when he took over command of MACV from Westmoreland in Saigon, he refused the traditional change of command ceremony and ordered all of the plush office furnishings removed. Gone were Westmoreland's elaborate office adornments, expensive carpet, and executive-style furniture, replaced with a small, old, gray Army-issued steel desk with only a side table

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149. By many accounts, he was as gruff and irascible as Bill DePuy and Hank Emerson. Bill Livsey, Abrams's executive officer and former aide-de-camp, referred to him as "the King Crab." Sorley, 348.

150. Rogers Papers. As DCSPERS, Rogers's small, meticulous notes of his meeting with Abrams predominantly show the CSA heavily engaged in senior officer assignments.

and chairs. Four years later, when he became CSA, Abrams exchanged Westmoreland's luxurious black Cadillac limousine for a "small Chevelle from the Pentagon motor pool that was painted robin's egg blue. No amenities, not even a star plate." Similarly, he kept only a small personal staff and avoided the media at every opportunity.[151]

Rogers as DCSPERS

Bernie Rogers worked for Abrams at a pivotal time in the Army's institutional history. As the DCSPERS, he was perfectly positioned to advance the Progressives' agenda. Rogers's first serious embrace of the behavioral sciences had occurred at West Point, when he commissioned the Fourth Class Study.[152] From then on, he was hooked. Perhaps the findings of that study and the recent research upon which it was based provided an intellectual framework for his personal leadership philosophy that he practiced while in command at Fort Carson. In any case, as previously noted, he stayed close to the early OE initiatives as they developed. By the time he became the DCSPERS, Rogers found himself in a position in which "he could do more for more soldiers."[153]

Working as Abrams's DCSPERS from November 1972 to August 1974 was no easy task. As the Army's top personnel chief, Rogers had primary oversight of the institution's large reduction in force, personnel redeployments from Vietnam, manpower planning for the extensive reorganizations throughout the Army, the creation of

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151. Sorley, 348. Sorely recounts that Livsey "had been making arrangements to get the Chief of Staff's official portrait painted. Abrams had just received the Defense Distinguished Service Medal, and Livsey asked whether he wanted to wait to have the portrait done until they could get that decoration on his jacket. That sent Abrams into orbit. "Medals? Medals?" he thundered," and then sent Lindsey away with a demeaning remark.

152 Johns interview.

153. His early commitment confirmed by John Johns. My interview with Johns, July 20, 2012.

MILPERCEN and his own reorganization on the DA staff, as well as the inauguration of

the All-Volunteer Army (with grave concerns that it would not attract enough volunteers).

Despite this heavy workload and pressure, Rogers devoted significant energy to moving

Army OE forward. Fortunately he had exceptional assistance with the talented John

Johns, Bobby Gard, and George Blanchard.[154]

Johns, the intellectual Progressive, was the driving force within OSAT throughout

the summer and fall of 1973. As the pilot programs progressed against the backdrop of

the creation of TRADOC and FORSCOM, it was Johns who noticed a fundamental flaw

in the Army's organizational overhaul. In October 1972, Johns attended the final briefing

of Operation Steadfast—the program name for the creation of TRADOC and

FORSCOM. With his boss, General Walker, out of town, Johns represented OSAT.

Although Bill DePuy exercised a strong guiding hand in Steadfast, it was Lieutenant

General James G. Kalergis who functioned as the project manager and architect of the

reorganization. Central to the reorganization was the aforementioned creation of

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154. In their post military careers, these two progressive liberals would invest themselves in social justice issues. Johns retired as a brigadier general from the Army in 1978 in order to complete his PhD in sociology from American University. As a professor of political science at the National Defense University, he taught courses on strategic decision-making and ethics. Johns later served as a deputy assistant secretary of defense and served as the dean of faculty and academic programs at the Industrial College of the Armed Forces. In recent years, Johns actively spoke out against the detention mission at Guantanamo and the need for diplomatic solutions with Iran. Gard earned a PhD in political economy and government at Harvard University. After serving as the Director of the new Human Resources Division of DCSPERS under Rogers, Gard served as special assistant to the assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs, and as president of the National Defense University. He retired as a lieutenant general from the Army in 1981. He was a strong opponent of the war in Iraq and, like Johns, has strongly supported diplomatic solutions with Iran. He currently serves as the Chairman at the Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation. For a short while, Rogers also had General George Blanchard as his Director of Plans, Programs (MVA), and Budget (Blanchard had just completed two years in command of the 82nd Airborne Division and was in a "holding pattern" for nine months as he received his third star and command of VII Corps in Germany). The competent, energetic Blanchard was rapidly rising in rank to four stars and would soon play an important role in promoting OD. See especially his memo to Rogers that provided a thorough assessment of the main initiatives underway. Blanchard's comments clearly reveal his strong support of the MDP. "I believe that this [MDP] is important because of the expectations of our younger enlisted men and the acceptance of and commitment to enlightened leadership." Major General George S. Blanchard, Director of Plans, Programs (MVA), and Budget to LTG Rogers, "Identification of Problem Areas," memorandum (February 6, 1973)," Rogers Papers.

specialized "centers," which the briefing explained in detail. Johns, as most others, was

pleased that these centers could now devote enormous talent and resources to the

professionalization of personnel (S1/G1), intelligence (S2/G2), operations (S3/G3), and

logistics (S4/G4)—in other words, preparing primary staff officers for duties from

battalion level on up. Kalergis showed adequate resources and staffing at Fort

Huachuca for intelligence, at Fort Leavenworth with 375 personnel to handle operational

doctrine and G3 activities, and at Fort Lee for logistics with over 400 spaces. When

Kalergis briefed the staffing numbers of only seventy-five for the Army Personnel

Administration Center (ADMINCEN) at Fort Benjamin Harrison, Johns fully expected

Dutch Kerwin, the DCSPERS at the time, to strongly object. Seventy-five was barely

adequate for training and doctrinal oversight for personnel administration. With future

leadership and management activities and doctrine to soon fully reside within personnel

channels (largely between the DCSPERS and Fort Harrison), Johns foresaw a disaster

for the future of OD and the Army OE program.[155]

Johns, more than most others, believed that the personnel arm of the Army

needed more reforms than any other occupational component. Heretofore, officers filling

S1/G1 positions were combat arms officers in "holding patterns" awaiting command

opportunities. Soldiers working in personnel career fields were administrative "paper

pushers," and their officers at personnel sections were adjutant or finance officers. With

huge initiatives underway now to deeply embed and infuse behavioral science in the

Army, Johns feared for the future survival of OD and everything that SAMVA, the MVA

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155. Johns interview. Perhaps if Walker had been there, he might have spoken up. The reader should keep in mind that Johns was a colonel at this time—perhaps the lowest ranking officer attending this briefing. Also note that with the creation of centers, DA taskings to the centers would officially flow through TRADOC HQ, thus creating a huge bureaucratic filter. This new chain of command could conceivably mire the efforts of DCSPERS/OSAT as they tried to field OD throughout the Army.

(Modern Volunteer Army) Program, VOLAR and now OSAT had accomplished to date. More importantly, Johns clearly advocated the Progressives' view on leadership. In his mind, commanders should have staff officers who could advise them on leadership and OD just as S2s advised their bosses on intelligence, or chemical officers offered advice on chemical warfare.

When Walker returned to the Pentagon, Johns expressed his strong objections. Walker concurred and promised his assistance. He suggested another meeting with Palmer, but Johns reminded Walker that Palmer already understood the situation. Instead, Johns was able to arrange a meeting with Kalergis for November 2. "What the hell are you so upset about," asked Kalergis. Johns explained; Kalergis listened and finally said, "Well, what you are saying makes since. But I won't [interject]. General Rogers just took over as the DCSPERS yesterday. I want you to go down and talk to him."[156] Johns smiled as he left the office. He already had a special relationship with Rogers.[157] As Johns recalled,

> I went down and laid this out to [Lieutenant] General Rogers and his [brigadier] generals. He'd just taken over from "Dutch" Kerwin. And he said, "I have two questions for my generals. First of all, how in the hell did this reorganization go through this process without this glaring deficiency showing? Secondly, why do we have to have Colonel John Johns come up from the office of chief of staff [OSAT] to point it out to us? Bobby? Bobby Gard, you work with John. And you tell me what spaces we need at Fort Ben Harrison to make it into a broad concept of personnel management, a critical component of which is human resources development, to include and establishing a leadership division in Bobby Gard's shop [DCSPERS/HRD].[158]

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156. Johns interview. Kalergis also told Johns, "I thought you were going to come down here with that Tony Nadal bullshit." Kalergis was a Traditionalist—an old artillery officer with experience in armor. He served in WWII and Vietnam and was really in the DePuy camp. In reference to the Nadal comment, Johns pointed out to me that Nadal deserves all the credit for starting the whole behavioral science initiatives with Westmoreland.

157. Ibid.

158. Johns Interview.

This meeting marked an important juncture on the road toward the institutionalization of Army OE. Rogers brought OSAT and DCSPERS much closer together that day and paved the way for DCSPERS to adequately consolidate all OD activities the following year (1973). More importantly, Johns and Gard worked well together and produced new definitions of "personnel management" that included strong resources for human resource development, with specific emphasis on leadership. They sought to dispel the notion that only the commander is responsible for leadership and that personnel educated in the behavioral sciences could serve in advisory roles to commanders.[159]

In retrospect it is clear that Rogers gained his initial foothold as the godfather of Army OE while serving as the DCSPERS. During the first several months of their working relationship, November 1972 to February 1973, Rogers kept Abrams well informed of the OD initiatives underway and the progress that his DCSPERS, working with OSAT, was making with the pilot programs.[160] On March 6, Rogers provided an extensive briefing to Abrams that painted an accurate picture of the shortfalls within the Army on the utilization of recent behavioral science knowledge. In attendance were his strong supporters, namely Bobby Gard and Sid Berry. Gard, in proffering perhaps the most insightful observation of anyone during those early years of the Army OE program, strongly asserted that

> there is a considerable *void in leadership doctrine* designed to solve the "people problems" which pervade our Army today. As a result, only scant improvement has been made in the quantity and quality of leadership instruction in our service schools; field commanders are trying to make up the difference by experimenting with new ways to improve leadership

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159. Ibid.
160. Rogers Papers.

through development of their own leadership and professionalism courses.[161]

Abrams listened carefully and agreed. "Our lyrics for taking care of people are fine, but when it comes to doing our business, the human element is in last place."[162] On the surface, his comments mirrored the strong beliefs of the Progressives. However, Abrams was firmly entrenched in the Healers' camp. At that briefing he directed that

> we develop a cohesive program to use organizational and motivational development techniques both to upgrade leadership instruction in our service schools and to provide useful information to the field in practical language that will permit building on the solid base of traditional leadership traits and principles . . . our proven principles [and] not throw those away.163

To provide oversight to ensure that his directives moved forward within the framework of the MDP, Abrams established the Motivational Development Program Advisory Group on May 1, 1973. In that directive, he specified that the membership should include representatives from OSAT, DCSPERS, OPO, and CRD.[164] More importantly, the memorandum charged the advisory group to monitor the progress of the pilots underway at Fort Bliss (performance coaching), Fort Benning (assessment center), Fort

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161. Brigadier General M. C. Ross, Director of Human Resources Development, "CSA Tasking of DCSPERS, 6 March 1973," memorandum (November 2, 1973), Nadal Papers. Ross replaced Gard as HRD Director in July. Gard's comments are remarkable for two reasons. First, Gard is the only actor in this story to understand that institutionalization and doctrine must be tied together—it never was. Second, ironically, the new *FM 22-100* was in publication for a release in June! This FM was weak and included almost nothing from current behavioral science initiatives. See Appendix B – A Critical Analysis and Assessment of US Army Leadership Doctrine, 1946–2006.

162. Brigadier General R. G. Gard, Director of Human Resources Development, "Utilization of Personnel from Motivational Development Section of OSAT," memorandum (March 21, 1973), Nadal Papers.

163. Ibid. Also Brigadier General M. C. Ross, Director of Human Resources Development, "CSA Tasking of DCSPERS, 6 March 1973," memorandum (November 2, 1973), Nadal Papers. Ross replaced Gard as HRD Director in July.

164. CRD was the Office of the Chief of Research and Development. At that time, headed by LTG Deane.

Ord (OD), and in USAREUR (attitudinal surveys).[165] For Rogers, the creation of the MDP Advisory Group (with its membership dominated by Progressives) was another important step forward in the institutionalization of OD.

Despite the enormous workload levied on his organization during his tenure as the DCSPERS, Rogers found time to promote his strong advocacy for the new behavioral science movement. He remained in close contact with Berry and Moore as MILPERCEN progressed through the SDC OD project, and was fully aware and supportive of Hal Moore's efforts in July 1974 to continue OD beyond the SDC engagement. Also in 1974, Rogers took a strong interest in attending the innovative Army Science Conference at West Point from June 18 to 21, 1974. In fact, he agreed to chair a panel entitled "Human Resources Research: The Volunteer Army's Investment for the Future," and took an active role in selecting the panel members. The five-member panel of presenters included Dr. Jerald Bachman from the prestigious Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan, Dr. Meredith Crawford, president of HumRRO, and Dr. P. Phillip Sidwell, Georgia State University. Bachman's presentation spoke to societal changes and the impact on the Army, and Crawford, fully aware of his organization's work at Fort Ord, addressed training systems and quality performance. Sidwell had captured the interests of Rogers and the Secretary of the Army, Howard H. "Bo" Callaway, for his work on measuring motivational aptitude for recruits (Sidwell frequently corresponded with Callaway).[166] Rogers clearly set the tone of the panel with

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165. Major General Ralph Foster, Secretary of the General Staff, "Motivational Development Program Advisory Group," memorandum (May 1, 1973), Nadal Papers. Note that an examination of the assessment center and performance coaching are beyond the scope of this dissertation.

166. Rogers Papers. With Rogers's strong interest in attending, his staff began planning for this in January. See especially Lieutenant Colonel Jacoby to DCSPERS, "Panel Member Selection and Guidelines – Army Science Conference, 1974," memorandum (March 11, 1974); and transcript of Rogers's remarks on the panel, dated June 1974 (LTC Smith).

his opening remarks: "We will be talking about my favorite subject—people. Not the mechanistic approach—the management and use of people, but the humanistic aspects of people—the what, the how, and the why."[167] All of the presenters spoke to current behavioral science research, albeit within their areas of expertise. The conference served to reinforce Rogers's support for current research and its applicability to the reforms underway in personnel channels. His participation also sent a strong message that the work of the Progressives would continue.

By late summer of 1974, Rogers could look back on his time as the DCSPERS with a strong sense of accomplishment. The All-Volunteer Army was a year old and off to a cautious but promising start. The DCSPERS office was reorganized, streamlined and, after OSAT dissolved, capable of providing adequate oversight of all of the behavioral science initiatives. Indeed, the hard work and expertise of Walker, Johns, and the other personnel in OSAT had made Rogers's efforts much easier. When OSAT transitioned into the DCSPERS on June 28, 1973, Johns and his team brought with them their just completed "Final Report on Motivational Development."[168] In reality, this lengthy two-part document was more than a "report." In fact, it served as *the* comprehensive plan for a viable framework within which the DCSPERS could manage and coordinate the numerous initiatives that VOLAR and the pilots had generated. In essence, it built upon the 1972 SAMVA BSWG report, making clear that Westmoreland's directives were now permanent and that OD was the system of change management that the Army would use going forward. The authors of the report clearly stated the three strategic objectives of OD: changing attitudes or values, modifying

167. Ibid. Emphasis is his.
168. US Department of the Army, *Final Report on Motivational Development* (Washington, DC: Office of the Special Assistant for Training, July 1973).

behavior, and inducing change in structure and policies. Importantly, the document

served as the best reference to date to clearly articulate the Progressives' views and

ideas on transformational-type leadership behaviors and how OD would translate their

views into practice:[169]

OD is basically concerned with persons and their interactions as the basic

resources of any organization and its basic goals include the following:

1. To increase openness of communication in all directions without fear of

retaliation, to increase trust and support between groups, and to diminish

goal-unrelated competition and conflict in favor of goal-related

collaboration.

2. To develop a climate reinforcing self-direction, increased competence

and responsibility in sharing planning and implementation, and increased

identification of personal with organizational aims.

3. To aid executives in generating objectives relevant and meaningful to

organizational purpose and to the work force.

4. To create a climate in which creative and open problem-solving can

exist with minimal personal conflict.

5. To increase open and honest confrontation and solution of

organizational problems at the level at which they exist, in contrast to

covering or ignoring them, or referring them to higher levels for decision.

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169. Ibid., 23. This report was the first formal document to state that the Army had an erroneous view of leadership. "The term management was developed in industry to refer to the executive's use of his total resources. Traditionally, the Army used the term leadership to connote the same process." Also, "the weakness in the Army's Personnel Management System appears to stem from two factors: vague concepts of leadership, command, and management and their relationship to each other, [and] lack of expertise in personnel management."

6. To create a climate in which rank authority is augmented by knowledge or technical authority.

7. To locate decision-making and problem-solving responsibilities as near to relevant information sources as possible.

8. To develop a climate that reinforces and integrates organizational goal attainment and development with personal goals and development.

By August 1974, Rogers also saw that key Progressives were occupying critical positions to keep the momentum going. Gard had left the summer before to take command at Fort Ord as he relieved Moore who, in turn, replaced Berry at MILPERCEN. Gard would keep OD moving forward at Fort Ord. Nadal was just finishing up a year at USAREUR HQ to run the survey feedback system pilot there, with significant success. As Rogers left the Pentagon in August to pin on his fourth star and to take command of FORSCOM, the godfather of Army OE was fully prepared to make many of the behavioral science initiates permanent throughout the institution. In Rogers's mind, "permanence" meant "institutionalization." As his personal papers reveal, he was under no illusion that this would be an easy task. Going into 1975, the real barriers to change were no longer at the Pentagon. General Frederick Weyand, who succeeded Abrams as CSA in September 1974, would serve only two years in that position and prove to be an extension of Abrams—dutifully implementing his predecessor's re-organization initiatives. Rogers would also have strong allies in Washington with Moore as his successor and with Johns in HRD. Gard would take command of MILPERCEN from Moore, perfectly positioned to make the SDC project permanent. No, the real challenge would boil down to his relationship with Bill DePuy,

the first commander of the newly formed TRADOC. Although DA sat above TRADOC and FORSCOM in the bureaucratic pecking order, the institutionalization of OD was largely embedded within training and doctrinal development—DePuy's domain. To date, DePuy had shown little inclination to embrace OD and was on the record early on about ending all of the experiments. In essence, he was the chief spokesman for the Healers who believed that VOLAR had succeeded in identifying irritants and implementing amenities. For Rogers and DePuy, institutionalization of OD would reveal the true strength of their friendship and illuminate two totally distinct views on how best to improve the Army.

Chapter III

Growing Pains and Turf Wars: The Weyand Years

The genius of leadership lies in the manner in which leaders see and act
on their own and their followers' values and motivations.

James MacGregor Burns

On September 4, 1974, only a few weeks after Bernie Rogers assumed command of FORSCOM, Creighton Abrams died. The entire Army mourned the great armor officer's passing. During his short tenure as CSA, Abrams had set in motion, in terms of scope and effectiveness, unprecedented reorganizational reforms that would stand the test of time. His sixteen-division Army would soon become a reality that later not only would fulfill US obligations to NATO but also , without firing a shot due to their excellent state of readiness, would help bring down the Soviet empire. Abrams's envisioned force structure included the most advanced technological weapons and battlefield operating systems in the world—including a new superb battle tank bearing his name. His renewed Army would train to a new operational doctrine, *AirLand Battle*, which would prove overwhelmingly successful in the First Gulf War. More importantly, a rejuvenated and fully integrated Army Reserves component would deploy in all subsequent wars alongside the active components.

General Frederick Weyand formally became Abrams's successor on October 3, 1974. Like most of his peers, he was a veteran of three wars. In the Second World War, he served as a staff officer in the China-Burma-India theater of operations. In the Korean War, Weyand commanded the 1st Battalion, 7th Infantry Regiment in the 3rd Infantry Division, and later served as the division G3. He fought during the toughest fighting of the war that would see the 3rd Infantry Division receiving ten battle stars and

eleven Medal of Honor recipients. In the 1950s and early 1960s, Weyand served in several assignments in Germany and Washington, including deputy chief and chief of legislative liaison from 1961 to 1964. In 1964, Weyand commanded the 25th Infantry Division in Hawaii, and deployed it to Vietnam. Relinquishing command in 1967, he became deputy, then commander of II Field Force, responsible for the III Corps Tactical Zone that comprised the eleven provinces around Saigon. With experience in intelligence, Weyand convinced Westmoreland to pull more troops into the Saigon area just prior to the Tet Offensive—a move that proved extremely fortuitous. He also gained notoriety for dissenting with Westmoreland's conventional war strategy.[1] In 1970, he became deputy commander of the Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (MACV), and succeeded Abrams as commander of MACV on June 30, 1972. It was Weyand who brought the Army home from Vietnam.[2]

Upon becoming CSA, Weyand was determined to complete what Abrams had started. He knew the vision and goals well, having served as Abrams's Vice Chief for more than a year.[3] During his two-year tenure as CSA, Weyand succeeded in forming the sixteen-division force. He did so by improving the combat-to-support troop ratio and logistical readiness across the Army. More importantly, he focused his efforts on integrating the reserves into the regular Army and making Abrams's "roundout" concept feasible. However, his actions and decisions as CSA had virtually no impact on the Army OE program. He simply showed no interest. In October 1974, and for the next two

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1. He did so anonymously with the press. Weyand believed that counterinsurgency was more about winning the hearts and minds than a war of attrition with insurgents and regular forces.

2. Weyand was also decorated for valor. He received two bronze stars and a silver star, and was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross.

3. In May 1973, Weyand replaced Alexander Haig (who only served as VCSA for five months). Haig had replaced Palmer in January 1973.

years, the evolution and fate of the Army OE program fully and firmly rested in the hands of the FORSCOM and TRADOC commanders.

Spreading the Seeds of Institutionalization

When Rogers assumed command of FORSCOM in August 1974, FORSCOM was entangled in the throes of radical change. As Weyand carried out the Abrams reforms, the heavy lifting of expanding the Army and integrating the reserves fell squarely on Rogers's shoulders. Interwoven through both of those challenges were the Army's chronic racial problems and pervasive drug and alcohol abuse. With the All-Volunteer Army barely a year old and the verdict still out on its sustainability, Rogers's primary task was to make all combat forces in the Army combat ready—a formidable challenge.

In Rogers's mind, solutions could be found in the human dimension. Pragmatically, Rogers fully understood that strong management was required to restructure, re-man, and reequip the force. Those activities, while difficult tasks and time-consuming on his and his subordinate commanders' part, were underway. Despite spending an enormous amount of time away from his headquarters visiting active and reserve units, Rogers also expended much energy on propagating OD throughout the Army. As FORSCOM commander overseeing all of the Army's operational forces, he had the authority and power to highly encourage the use of OD within those units. Full institutionalization, however, required a significant revision of the programs of instruction (POI) for the dozens of Army schools. Bill DePuy, as TRADOC commander, "owned" those elements. Despite that fact, Rogers did what he could to keep the OD momentum rolling.

Rogers's shepherding of OETC while serving as Abrams's DCSPERS from 1972 to August 1974 certainly granted him a power base as well as a framework in which to prepare the Army's personnel channels to become more amiable to receiving OE initiatives in the future. However, in August 1974, upon receiving a fourth star and becoming the commander of FORSCOM, Rogers's scope of influence dramatically expanded. He now found himself in a position where he could empower the Progressives to actually implement the Army OE program throughout the Army's combat corps and divisions. He clearly recognized that he needed OESOs in his combat divisions sooner rather than later.

His eagerness appeared early on. Only days after he assumed command of FORSCOM, Rogers deeply involved himself in Phase IV of the Fort Ord pilot that called for a full-fledged OD engagement in two combat divisions, excluding the 7th Infantry Division at Fort Ord that was already heavily tested and committed to OD. ODD was forced to delay the start of Phase IV, however, when the commanding generals of the 9th Infantry Division (Fort Lewis, WA), 4th Infantry Division (Fort Carson, CO), and 1st Infantry Division (Fort Riley, KS) all declined to participate. After Rogers offered some "persuasion," the latter two agreed to conduct the engagements. The 1st Infantry Division, Rogers's combat alma mater, bore the bulk of the Phase IV pilot. In addition to conducting the Installation Wide Survey (IWS), members of the division participated in six L&MD courses and three Senior Officer Awareness Training courses.[4] This was only the beginning of his keen interest in OETC. Throughout his entire period of command at

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4. Ibid., 20. None of these commanders were aware of Rogers's personal interest in the pilots—until he phoned them. Obviously, pressure was brought to bear. All the courses included an introduction to OD concepts and discussion of possible future applications in the Army. The courses were enthusiastically received, and the instructors reported indications of considerable support for OD among the students attending." Fort Carson only conducted the IWS.

FORSCOM, Rogers showed no hesitation to involve himself in the affairs of OETC,
purely a TRADOC entity.

When Rogers replaced Dutch Kerwin as FORSCOM commander in August 1974,
he inherited a myriad of problems that Kerwin had just begun to address. Kerwin, like
Weyand, had been committed to putting the extensive Abrams reforms in place, and in
the thirteen months that Kerwin served as FORSCOM commander, his primary job was
to staff the new headquarters and establish associated administrative processes. When
Rogers took command of FORSCOM, his major focus was on making the field forces
combat ready; a task that appeared daunting. Yet Rogers was convinced that the Army
OE program could help facilitate the improvement initiatives by focusing on people—
especially quality junior officers and enlisted personnel—rather than the technical
challenges associated with Army reorganization and modernization. As he travelled the
country visiting active and reserve units, Rogers always stressed his humanistic views
of leadership. His personal papers contain many examples. At a "leaders luncheon" at
Fort Campbell on November 12, 1974, Rogers first presented a truthful picture,
undergirded by numerous statistics, of the poor state of the Army. He quickly addressed
the many efforts underway to redress these problems. What he stressed, however, was
what "leaders" at all levels could do to make the most difference. He challenged the
audience to "question all practices, procedures, policies and to ask why." He stated that
leaders must genuinely "give a damn for them [soldiers]" and that their priority should be
"dignity and respect [and developing their] potential."[5] He was even more frank with the
colonels attending the Army War College when he addressed that class on October 16,
1974. Armed with much data, he depicted the poor state of readiness throughout the

5. "Ft Campbell–12 Nov 74, Leaders' Luncheon," Speech notes, Rogers Papers.

Army but offered that the All-Volunteer Army could only be successful if the officer corps "provided a professionally satisfying environment for our soldier and his family." He stressed that this was about "improving leadership—not authoritarian compliance but positive motivation." He placed these senior officers on notice and told them that junior officers questioned the "integrity, honesty, loyalty, motivation for self-interest" of their senior officers. Soberly, he noted: "We have all contributed our share to a lessening of credibility."[6]

The moment he became FORSCOM commander, Rogers formulated a clear vision to institutionalize OE forever. The first overt evidence appeared in mid-1975 with the FORSCOM publication of a widely disseminated pamphlet. This artful, black-and-gray pamphlet, distributed throughout FORSCOM, was unusual in that it resembled a modern, commercially produced marketing tool. Cleverly folded in a multi-layered, cascading tri-fold, the pamphlet "sold" OD with a long bullet list of OD "services" that could improve not only management practices but also "self-awareness of leadership styles and the understanding of organizational behavior." It stressed the OD four-step process as a way for people to acquire a number of organizational, human resource, and technical skills such as leader development, effective listening, motivation and job enrichment, and counseling. More importantly, one entire panel quoted Rogers's recent remarks at the 1975 TRADOC Leadership Conference:

> I hope I have made the point that I am convinced there are scientific tools and techniques which a leader can use to enhance the capability of the organization itself, to provide a greater payoff to that leader and to the organizational climate of the unit. In other words, there are means available, if we want to use them, to improve the behavior of the organization as well as the behavior of individual leaders. We have to provide these tools to the young leaders. . . .

6. "AWC–16 Oct 74," Speech notes, Rogers Papers.

Our objective is to improve the climate, enhance discipline, raise motivation, increase commitment and improve organizational effectiveness. All of this in turn will impact favorably upon training and upon the state of readiness, which is the Army's primary mission during peacetime. It requires that we develop some personnel with the appropriate skills, seed our organization—our Army—with those individuals, and get the system institutionalized, so that 10 or 15 years from now, those young bucks who come behind us will be saying, "You mean we have not always done it this way?" It is going to take that long, in my opinion, to get what I am talking about institutionalized."[7]

While Rogers was correct that marketing OE was vital to institutionalization and that a successful marketing campaign was a long-term endeavor, what he really needed in 1975 for effective advertising were immediate, clear successes of OE in his combat divisions. At Fort Bragg, North Carolina, Rogers found his strongest supporter in Major General Thomas H. Tackaberry, the commanding general of the 82nd Airborne Division.[8]

Tom Tackaberry held much credibility with Rogers as well as within the Army officer corps. A career infantry officer and paratrooper (he attended jump school in 1944), Tackaberry held command and staff assignments during the Korean and Vietnam Wars, including one where he was one of Rogers's subordinate commanders. Staff assignments continued with postings to the XVIII Airborne Corps at Fort Bragg, the Pentagon, and command of the 82nd Airborne Division.[9]

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7. FORSCOM OE Pamphlet, Powell Papers.

8. Tackaberry served in this position from October 8, 1974, to October 11, 1976, precisely coinciding with Rogers tenure at FORSCOM.

9. http://veterantributes.org/TributeDetail.php?recordID=1562. Last accessed 31 January 2014. Later Tackaberry earned his third star and served as the Deputy Commander of VII Corps in West Germany from October 1976 to July 1977, and finally commanding general of the XVIII Airborne Corps at Fort Bragg from July 1979 until his retirement from the Army on October 1, 1981. Remarkably, Tackaberry earned three Distinguished Service Crosses during his career. He is the fifth most decorated American in US history (see *VFW Magazine*, April 2014, 43). The others were GEN Douglas MacArthur, COL David Hackworth, LTG James Hollingsworth, and COL Edward Rickenbacker.

As a close acquaintance and former brother officer of the Manchus, Tackaberry was well aware of Rogers's passion for OE when his tour of duty in legislative liaison coincided with that of Rogers as the DCSPERS. Tackaberry possessed a masters degree in psychology from Tulane University and had quickly grasped the potential of OD. The driving force behind Tackaberry's extensive employment of OD during his tenure was the exceptional Lieutenant Colonel Roy Ray, the 82nd Airborne Division's first OESO. Together, they formed a close working relationship and demonstrated very clearly that for OE to succeed, it had to have the strong support and committed involvement of the commander.

Tackaberry and Ray's extensive use of OE in the 82nd Airborne Division is well-documented. In fact, Nadal later credited Ray with enabling FORSCOM to strongly propagate OE during Rogers's tenure as commander. During his previous tour of duty at MILPERCEN, then Major Ray had been a strong participant in the SDC engagement there as one of the internal "OD interns" and had played an instrumental role in sustaining OD at MILPERCEN after SDC departed. Although Ray had not attended the OESO course at Fort Ord, his vast knowledge and experience at MILPERCEN allowed him to obtain an assignment to Fort Bragg as the 82nd Airborne Division's first OESO.[10] In a letter to the commandant of OETC, Tackaberry stated that he and Ray had initiated a number of "extended problem identification and problem solving sessions."

> Those sessions resulted in the identification and resolution of numerous
> problems, some of which we had not known existed. Although there are
> no records available to provide details of specific savings, the workshops

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10. 1980 Nadal Transcript. Note that Ray was one of the seven officers officially awarded ASI 5Z without attending OETC.

always caused greater cohesiveness and effectiveness among my staff
and subordinate commanders.[11]

Tackaberry cited specific examples, including a number of initiatives and improvements

in tactical training, operations, and command management. These were critical

testimonials from a credible commander coming at a time when the Healers were

beginning to question the real value of OE, especially its use for improving combat

readiness. The Army was much larger than just the 7th Infantry Division and the 82nd

Airborne Division, though. The FORSCOM commander needed more FORSCOM units

to accelerate OE's acceptance and institutionalization.

A Big Push In Germany

Rogers received that additional boost from United States Army, Europe

(USAEUR). In July 1972, when Tony Nadal first transferred to Germany after assisting

in the handoff between SAMVA and OSAT, he was assigned to USAREUR

headquarters. One of the last actions Nadal completed before his departure from

Germany was to arrange a contract with Cambridge Communications Group (CCG) to

carry out a survey feedback system for use at the company and battalion level in units

assigned throughout USAREUR. The Army Research Institute (ARI), the Army's long

standing organization for social science research joined the project, with Dr. Doug

Holmes in the lead for ARI and Dr. Scott M. Cunningham as the project leader for

Cambridge. Holmes had recently left the Center for Creative Leadership to join ARI and

held much credibility with DA (OSAT), especially as a result of his authorship of the two

recent reports on the studies of battalion commanders and brigadier general selectees.

He was a known personality to Nadal, who now worked as the Chief of the Policy and

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11. Letter from Tackaberry to Golden, 28 March 1980, as printed in the *OE Communique* 3-80
(Summer–Fall 1980), 5–6, www.armyoe.com.

Conduct Branch in the Human Resources Division (HRD) of the USAREUR DCSPERS (G1).

The contract with CCG specifically stated that the project should "provide information on actual and potential value of a survey feedback system in USAREUR, by assessing its effectiveness, feasibility, and acceptability; and to develop suitable materials and procedures for an operational survey feedback system."[12] The selection of USAREUR was a natural extension of the earlier VOLAR experiments there when HumRRO had first issued attitudinal surveys throughout the USAREUR units to unearth "irritants" in Army life.[13] OSAT viewed this project as a pilot because it fundamentally differed from the previous generalized surveys and, if proven feasible (i.e., accepted by field commanders as an effective assessment tool), it would become an important mechanism of the Army OE four-step process. Indeed, as the early OD proponents knew, surveys were fundamental OD techniques and were vital to most OD engagements.

Nadal worked on the project for more than eighteen months. The plan called for CCG and ARI to administer the surveys to the soldiers of sixty companies (fifteen battalions). They would then provide the results to the company commanders and summarized feedback to the battalion commanders who, in turn, were encouraged to

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12. Douglas S. Holmes, Harold C. Strasel, and Charles Consentino, *Survey Feedback in Combat Units in the U.S. Army In Europe: A Pilot Project*, Research Problem Review 77-2 (Alexandria, VA: US Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences, March 1980), DTIC accession number: AD-A076693, 2.

13. See James S. Goffard, James S. DeGracie, and Robert Vineberg, *Attitudinal Studies of the VOLAR Experiment: A Longitudinal Study, 1971–72,* HumRRO Technical Report 73-6, (Presidio of Monterey, CA: Human Resources Research Organization, Division No. 3, March 1973), DTIC accession number: AD-A758873; and Robert Vineberg and Elaine N. Taylor, *Summary and Review of Studies of the VOLAR Experiment, 1971: Installation Reports for Forts Benning, Bragg, Carson, and Ord, and HumRRO Permanent Party Studies,* Technical Report 72-18 (Alexandria, VA: Human Resources Research Organization, May 1972), DTIC accession number: AD-A744449.

meet with their subordinates to plan action responses. The team trained the company

commanders to use the survey data in a cycle of diagnosis, action planning, action, and

evaluation. Survey questionnaire items were related to leadership, organizational

climate, job satisfaction, administrative functions, and training activities. The project

would run for a year, from June 1974 to April 1975, with the research team

administering the surveys each quarter.[14]

Despite exposure to the OE process, it is important to note that these efforts did

not constitute a full OE engagement. The survey was only one OD technique of an OE

project, albeit a critical component.[15] Still, the project constituted the largest effort to

date to apply new behavioral science theory and research methods in the field Army.

Although Nadal left in early spring 1974, several months before the first survey was

administered, Rogers could take comfort in knowing that John Johns and Fred Schaum

were overseeing the project from DA/DCSPERS and that Nadal had formed a first-class

team. Nadal left USAREUR HQ to take command of the 2nd Battalion, 13th Infantry of

the 8th Infantry Division in Mannheim, where he found himself on the receiving end of

Army OE.[16] Fortunately, momentum continued to build as a bright, energetic lieutenant

colonel arrived from Washington to take his place.

Lieutenant Colonel Richard E. "Dick" Powell was an avid proponent of OD and

proved to be one of the strongest "true believers" among the Progressives. A New York

state native, Powell received his bachelor of science degree in psychology and an

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14. Holmes, et. Al, *Survey Feedback*, 5.
15. Ibid. Also Nadal interview.
16. Nadal and Powell interviews. Nadal's battalion was one of the participating units. Nadal's time in command was uneventful in terms of the history of the program. Incidentally, he was credited with averting a serious accident when he rushed into a burning armored personnel carrier to remove live ammo and subsequently was awarded the Soldier's Medal (the highest award for heroism in peacetime).

ROTC commission from Middlebury College in the early 1960s. As a junior officer, he was "troubled by some lousy leadership" he experienced, and during his time with the 1st Cavalry Division in Vietnam and with the XVIII Airborne Corps at Fort Bragg, "it had become increasingly clear that the culture of fear within organizations [was] precluding open communication, fair treatment of people, and accurate information for decision-making."[17]

In 1970, by the time he was attending Command and General Staff College, Powell went in search of more knowledge. While his classmates enjoyed time off playing golf or spending time with families, Powell enrolled in a graduate course at the University of Kansas entitled "The Psychology of Communication in Human Relations." As he later recalled, "the experience formed a foundation of knowledge and a set of beliefs that I knew I would act on in my personal and professional life." Indeed, months later, while assigned to the Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence (OACSI) in the Pentagon, Powell began pursuing a masters degree in human relations with the University of Oklahoma. During this time, like Nadal, Powell learned about new theories of leadership and management that were blossoming at the time. In his studies, he was attracted to the method of T-Groups as well as other progressive research and assessment methods coming out of the behavioral sciences.

In early 1972, Powell learned that Westmoreland had commissioned a study group to explore the use of behavioral science in the Army. Bored with his job in intelligence, Powell sought out the BSWG team that included Tony Nadal, Fred Schaum, and Don Sawtelle.[18] From these initial conversations, Powell returned to his

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17. Dick Powell, unpublished autobiographical manuscript, Powell papers.
18 Powell Interview.

studies determined to learn as much as possible about OD. Six months later, Sawtelle

invited Powell to participate in the process to select a contractor for the OD pilot project

with MILPERCEN. Once the team selected SDC to conduct the engagement, Powell

worked hard to convince all of the stakeholders to include him in the project. After much

convincing, his boss permitted him to work one half day a week as one of the project

interns. Powell was ecstatic. He used his work with SDC as part of his masters thesis,

received his degree, and then sought out Fred Schaum to join the OD effort. Fred

connected Powell with Nadal, who wanted to leave the USAREUR project in good

hands as he took command in Mannheim. Powell arrived in Heidelberg in April 1974,

just in time to begin the execution phase of the project. As he recalled, his

> explicit role was to oversee and support the pilot tests. . . . Also, I was
> expected to manage the branch and our assigned programs which
> focused on troop morale and behavior, and implement the eventual results
> of the OD pilot tests. I knew my implicit mission was to pave the way for
> introduction of OD in USAREUR.[19]

Powell soon found that the senior officers on the staff at USAREUR headquarters

were a mixed bag. Some, like General Michael Davison, the USAREUR commander,

and Powell's outgoing boss, Major General Doc Hayward, the USAREUR DCSPERS,

appeared supportive. Others, however, remained skeptical, such as Hayward's

successor Major General Robert McKinnon. "McKinnon was a healthy skeptic at first but

patiently listened and learned." In retrospect, the new USAREUR DCSPERS may have

chosen to conform. Rogers was just completing his time as the DA/DCSPERS and had

"encouraged" all of the subordinate commands' DCSPERSs to support the OD

initiatives. Powell, with finesse and astuteness, remained sensitive to the controversial

nature of the program.

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19. Powell manuscript, Powell Papers.

> During the first year, I had a lot of educating and informing to do, often to very suspicious and reluctant ears, some in my own branch and division. COL Duke [Powell's immediate supervisor] gave tacit support. So I walked carefully on a dangerous line between survivor and advocate in softening the staff to the inevitable arrival of a program which would make use of OD technology.[20]

During his first year at USAREUR, Powell pioneered several other OD projects, to include the Noncommissioned Officer Professionalism Program (NCOPP). The goal of the NCOPP was to discover what NCOs believed they needed to improve their professionalism (as opposed to previous practices whereby officers directed improvements). The program received high-level support. It began with a steering committee headed by the deputy commander of USAREUR and the USAREUR command sergeant major. Powell leveraged opinion surveys to unearth the real issues and found great reward in observing the NCOs actively plan and implement a program that would directly affect their lives. The end result was a program that "enhanced responsibility, developed careers, and increased education, respect and effectiveness of the NCOs."[21]

As the CCG/ARI survey pilot progressed throughout the summer and fall of 1974, Powell had an opportunity to conduct a small workshop and to share some of the initial results with the senior USAREUR commanders at a race relations/equal opportunity conference held in late fall. Because some of the data revealed quantitative indications of serious racial problems in many of the units, Powell experienced "quite a bit of reticence to discuss data that suggested shortcomings in unit leadership." In concluding his presentation, Powell appealed to the general officers to utilize OE to improve interpersonal communications in their units. In doing so, he remained nervous. "I felt

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20. Ibid. Powell jokingly referred to his careful handling as "guerrilla operations."
21. Ibid.

that I had taken a big risk in introducing the feedback/dialogue process to the top of the organization without getting killed. . . . This was all risky business for me—pushing senior commanders in particular to look at social and psychological conditions that they had had a hand in perpetuating which were not especially helpful to unit effectiveness"[22]

During the conference, Powell noted that USAREUR's two corps commanders, Lieutenant General George Blanchard of VII Corps and Lieutenant General William Robertson Desobry of V Corps, reacted quite differently to his presentation. Blanchard showed a lot of interest, whereas Desobry and others seemed disinterested. Powell took heart in watching Blanchard actively dialog with the other commanders in the small group discussions in the workshop. Unbeknown to Powell at the time, Blanchard would soon take command of USAREUR and, in that position, propagate the Army OE program throughout Europe.[23]

Still, Powell was encouraged. In the spring of 1975, Rogers visited USAREUR headquarters and received a briefing on the various OD initiatives, especially on the success of the NCOPP and on progress made thus far with the CCG/ARI survey project (CCG/ARI did not release the final report until July 1977). At one point during Rogers's visit, Powell passed a note to the Chief's aide-de-camp that suggested that the Army

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22. Ibid. Powell later commented: "I was so committed to seeing OD come into the Army that I decided to make it my life's work knowing full well that this strategy would endanger my chances for promotion to colonel by not following a more traditional track. Fortunately I did get some support from those who did not feel threatened by the self-examination process inherent in OD."

23. To non-military readers: USAREUR is the highest-level command for the Army in Europe, commanded by a four-star general. USAREUR has two subordinate commands, called corps, that are commanded by three-star generals. The V Corps commander was LTG Robertson Desobry, a staunch Traditionalist who had achieved fame within the officer corps for commanding an armored battalion as a young major during the Battle of the Bulge, where he was wounded and taken prisoner. Desobry retired from the Army nine months after this conference (August 1975).

should staff OD consultants down to battalion level. A year later he discovered that his note appeared in a DA decision paper that addressed this suggestion.[24]

On June 30, 1975, George Blanchard assumed command of USAREUR. For Rogers, Blanchard's promotion could not have come at a better time. Rogers was well aware of Blanchard's exceptional record in the Army which, in many ways, resembled his own. Blanchard had entered the Army via the National Guard, where he served as a sergeant. He earned an appointment to West Point and later served with the 70th and 78th Infantry Divisions in Europe in 1944 and 1945 as an infantry officer. Like Rogers and Cushman, Blanchard held several assignments in Washington as an assistant to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (General Omar Bradley), and as the executive officer for two secretaries of the Army. For his command assignments, Blanchard served as the commander of the 2nd Battle Group, 503rd Infantry in the 82nd Airborne Division, and later returned to Fort Bragg to command that division. In Vietnam, Blanchard was the assistant division commander of the 1st Cavalry Division, and later served as chief of staff for I Field Force.

Within a few days of assuming command, Blanchard welcomed the visit of Colonel John Johns and Major Fred Schaum from the DA/DCSPERS Human Resources Division (HRD). Johns, as HRD's director, led the briefing to explain the plan to propagate OD throughout the Army. "Blanchard liked what he heard and said, 'let's go.'" The HRD plan envisioned three phases that would run from December 1975 to December 1977: (1) prepare the various HRD offices of the higher, command-level

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24. Ibid. Note that the concept of an OESO did not originate with any single individual. OD, as an established practice in the civilian world, required trained consultants. The early Progressives, both on the East and West coasts, had discussed the position and role of the OESO for some time (1973-1975). The primary question was whether the consultant should be a soldier or a contractor (i.e., internal or external).

staffs throughout the Army, (2) initiate OD engagements, and (3) expand OE through the commands.

Powell viewed the first phase as the most difficult because it required an enormous amount of effort to prepare the commanders within USAREUR for OE. Fortunately, he received strong assistance from Blanchard and Johns. Blanchard agreed to personally conduct two seminars to jumpstart the two-year program. These would be action planning conferences like the ones SDC had held for MILPERCEN. In fact, SDC's John Hallen, still under contract, accompanied Schaum to Heidelberg to lead the conferences. The first of these conferences would include Blanchard and many of his subordinate commanders and their command sergeants major. The second one would involve the USAREUR staff as well as the staff sergeants major from USAREUR and the many subordinate commands. Powell realized a lot was at stake. "The future of OE in Europe hinged on a successful initial learning experience for these key participants."[25]

USAREUR headquarters sponsored the conferences (really seminars) on March 16–17 and 19–20, 1976. The primary goal of the program was to acquaint the attendees with OD and the new Army OE Program. Hallen and Schaum provided a review of all activities that had occurred since the 1970 Fort Ord experiments. Especially important were the discussions of the current FORSCOM initiatives that were well underway as Rogers was nearing the end of his tenure as the FORSCOM commander. The briefers carefully explained the definition and concept of Organizational Effectiveness as well as its process and methods. They reviewed the areas and guidelines for the application of OE with examples from current Army OE operations, such as Tackaberry's successes

25. Ibid.

at Fort Bragg. Above all, the presenters were careful to define the roles of the chain of command and the OESOs by clearly underscoring the point that OE was a commander's program and in no way undermined the commander's authority.[26]

The seminar included material that articulated the differences between leadership and management. This was an important lead-in to the group activities and other practical exercises that followed. In fact, for the commanders' seminar, the participants returned in the evening after dinner to conduct a feedback exercise on management styles and an exercise on intergroup problem-solving.[27] The material covered additional topics, such as organization assessment methods, survey-guided development, small group sensing sessions, team assessments, action planning and implementation methods, small-group problem solving, and designs for effective communications. Hallen and Schaum also provided a document that outlined the fourteen steps of the OE process, noting again the criticality of the commander's strong involvement, and reiterating that OE was voluntary and not a threat to the commander's authority.[28]

In practical terms, the briefers provided the commanders with information on the importance of surveys and their use in the OE process. Since some of the commanders in the seminar had subordinate units that had recently participated in the CCG/ARI survey project, the message was well understood. In addition to a thorough discussion on surveys, the commanders received a handout that showed how survey data could help them assess the health of their organizations. The handout consisted of a matrix showing the survey data that fell under the categories of leadership, motivation,

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26. Ibid.

27. "CINCUSAREUR Human Resources Development Seminars," conference packet, Powell Papers.

28. Ibid. These 14 steps represented but one sample engagement. See Appendix D.

communication, decisions, goals, and control. These subject areas reflected

uncomfortable questions: "How free do they [soldiers] feel to talk to superiors? Are

subordinates' ideas sought and used? How accurate is upward communication? At what

level are decisions formally made? Are subordinates involved in decisions related to

their work? What does your decision-making process contribute to motivation?" The

presenters then displayed examples of what the survey data revealed about the

command. The results provided an assessment on the supervisor's behavior, the work

team process, job satisfaction, influence, communications, management practices, work

conditions, work relationships, concern for the individual, organizational satisfaction,

and organizational effectiveness.[29]

Blanchard and all of the event organizers were pleased with the conferences. As

Powell recalled,

> the seminars came off rather successfully in late March, although, as we
> expected, there was still plenty of skepticism among participants about the
> abundance of participative practices uncommon in the Army's culture. On
> the face of it many saw these approaches to leadership as giving up control
> and command responsibility. In spite of that, the process unveiled critical
> issues in the command and consensus about priorities and actions. GEN
> Blanchard expressed his strong support for the methods, indicated his
> intent to use them in his work, and encouraged his commanders and staff
> to be open minded and support HRD as well. He was so impressed with
> Fred's smooth delivery and command of the material he closed saying,
> "Major Schaum is wise beyond his years." We had hit the home run we
> wanted.[30]

Blanchard was true to his word about his intent to use OE in his work. Only one

week after the conference, he called on Powell's group to organize and facilitate his

upcoming USAREUR-wide commander's conference scheduled for April 27 and 28.

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29. Ibid. They provided an example of one of the surveys for organizational effectiveness that
included 95 questions such as "My supervisor is willing to listen to my problems" and "When I talk with my
supervisor, he/she pays attention to what I am saying."
30. Powell manuscript.

Although a commander's operations staff (DCSOPS or G3/S3) typically organizes such conferences, Blanchard wanted to utilize the new "HRD" format (i.e., OE) to design this important event. On April 8, 1976, Powell learned that he would be Blanchard's chief facilitator and met with ODCSOPS (Operations) to discuss the format that would address Blanchard's theme of "where we are and where we are going in readiness and training."[31] In short, the USAREUR commander wanted to use OE's problem solving techniques to address his primary questions. Two weeks later, on April 22, Powell met with Blanchard for thirty minutes to review the conference plan and agenda.[32]

Blanchard kicked off the conference on April 27 with some introductory remarks on combat readiness and informed his commanders that they would use small groups to identify problems. He introduced the fourteen facilitators and data collectors and stressed that HRD would guide the agenda. Many were surprised. Commander conferences were almost always a series of briefings in which the most senior ranking personnel dominated the conversations. Blanchard told his commanders that he expected everyone to be open and to say what they really thought. He promised to listen because he genuinely wanted to help them do their jobs better, adding that he expected everyone to "be imaginative and bold, and to take risks."

In addition to the USAREUR staff principals, the attendees totaled two lieutenant generals, eleven major generals, eight brigadier generals, and twelve colonels (of whom several had recently been selected for promotion to brigadier general). The two lieutenant generals were Donn Starry and Frederick Kroesen, who recently had taken command of V and VII corps, respectively. After a brief introduction to OD problem

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31. Powell manuscript.
32. "ODCSPER Support of CINCUSARER's Commanders' Conference 27–28 April 1976," memorandum for record(May 20, 1976), Powell Papers.

solving techniques, the commanders divided into four working groups. These groups

met in separate rooms to identify issues and to brainstorm approaches to problem

solving. Blanchard floated among the groups and often counseled that brainstorming

meant "anything goes." He stressed that "consensus meant everyone had to buy into

the proposed solution to some degree." Buy-in, he stated, "required persuasion, not

coercion." His heavy involvement was key because each group comprised officers

ranging from colonels to lieutenant generals. At one point, the USAREUR commander

became so enthused in the collective discussions that he

> gestured for me [Powell] to stay put as he would do the recording. As each group reported he paraphrased and rapidly wrote the points they were offering. When he got to bottom of the first chart, without hesitation, he removed his 4-star blouse, got on his knees and completed the chart. I and 40 others were astonished. This was indeed a different process and image of CINCUSAREUR. He understood the symbolism of support, and was challenging all present to follow his lead in supporting the OE way. . . . I was thrilled to see that he had a natural bent to the participative process and the trust and support he was extending to me personally. This was a heady experience for me to be guiding CINCUSAREUR in a novel approach to leadership of his 50 or so top commanders and staff officers.[33]

Still, not all of the commanders bought into the new process and methods.

Powell's work group included Starry, the new V Corps commander. Starry, DePuy's

protégé, had taken command of V Corps two months earlier when Blanchard relieved

his predecessor, Lieutenant General Robert L. Fair, for poor leadership behaviors.

Fair's relief caught the media's attention because Fair was the only corps commander to

be relieved of command since the Second World War. As *Time Magazine* reported, Fair

relished his nicknames "old hardnose" and the "iron general." Fair had publicly stated

that "you have to reward and punish to get what you want done." Blanchard was aware

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33. Powell manuscript.

that Fair's officers, "whose palms sweat when Fair raked them over with abrasive

questions, disliked him intensely."

> Blanchard fretted that Fair's tough-guy approach might reverse the
> gradual improvement of morale from its post-Viet Nam nadir of racial
> conflict, drug abuse, alcoholism and boredom. A former commander of the
> 82nd Airborne Division, Blanchard, 55, is no cream puff either. But by
> contrast with Fair, he adopted a more relaxed attitude toward his forces,
> encouraging his troops to take time off, learn German and meet local
> people. He approached enlisted men as citizens in uniform.[34]

Still, Starry showed little interest in the work group sessions. Powell, who was Starry's

work group facilitator, remembered that the new V Corps commander had "not shown

much enthusiasm at the HRD Seminars" in March either. "So I sucked it up [his attitude]

and went at the process, and got reasonable cooperation knowing much of that was due

to the CINC's insistence to follow the facilitators' lead."[35]

Clearly, this group of commanders consisted of a mixture of Traditionalists,

Healers, and Progressives. As some offered final comments during the wrap-up, Starry

was not alone in his ambivalence. Major General Cleland, commander of the 8th

Infantry Division, offered positive comments but believed that HRD (i.e., OE) should not

be used for most conferences. Colonel Withers stated that he "needed time to reflect"

on the process. Colonel Harper voiced that he believed that the USAREUR commander

should have picked the issues to discuss. Brigadier General Faith stated that in his

opinion, the topics were "too large, too broad, and too vague." Starry, very much

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34. "A Fair Deal for Old Hardnose?" editorial, *Time* 170, issue 5 (February 2, 1976), 28. Fair was an infantry officer. He was proficient in Japanese and had served on Douglas MacArthur's staff as an interpreter immediately after WWII. He also experienced difficult fighting in Korea, where he earned the Silver Star for valor. Fair commanded the 1st Brigade of the 25th Infantry Division in Vietnam, and later commanded the 2nd Armored Division at Fort Hood.

35. Powell narrative. Dr. Donald G. Walizer, representing ARI and the only civilian at the conference, noted that "I detected from LTG Starry's tone that he wasn't satisfied that ARI had provided very much of use to date.

connected to DePuy's ongoing work at TRADOC, openly stated that USAREUR wasn't asking the right kinds of question about training."

Other commanders differed and shared Blanchard's enthusiasm. Major General Dillard believed that the senior people talked too much and that the "junior people must input more." Brigadier General Lynch surprised some of his colleagues by saying that "we need to involve battalion commanders in these conferences. They can better identify issues." Finally, Blanchard offered his final remarks. "I'm convinced these HRD techniques are helpful and I expect you to consider using them." He noted that OETC would soon deliver the first wave of new OESOs to most of the commanders present— eighty consultants over the next two years—so that they would have the "resources to help you apply these techniques."[36]

The significance of Blanchard's support for Army OE cannot be overstated.[37] His heavy use of OE came during a time when Rogers, as FORSCOM commander, needed strong supporters in order to institutionalize the program. Powell fully recognized this fact. "Knowing too that Rogers was solidly behind these developments was hugely

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36. "ODCSPER Support of CINCUSARER's Commanders' Conference 27-28 April 1976," memorandum for record, May 20, 1976, Powell Papers; also "Dr. Walizer's Participation in the USAREUR Commander's Conference, 27 and 28 April," memorandum for record, USAREUR ARI Field Unit, Powell Papers. One commander was so impressed that he immediately approached the facilitators to help him replicate the same process for his upcoming conference. He was Brigadier General Robert C. Gaskill, commander of the 1st Support Brigade in Kaiserslautern and one of the few African-American general officers in the Army at that time. Gaskill had attended Howard University and Harvard University. He retired as a major general in 1981. Also Powell interview.

37. By nature, experience, and education (with a master's degree in public administration from Syracuse University), Blanchard was a true Progressive. He died on May 3, 2006. As his obituary in the *Washington Post* noted, Blanchard "was credited with being a creative operational leader who cared about the individual soldier. He instituted the use of television to broadcast command information. With a focus on improving life for soldiers and their families, he began a comprehensive off-duty education program. In 1973, he created the Sergeant Morales competition, a leadership program to help improve the morale and performance of the noncommissioned officer corps [one of the most coveted awards in the Army today]. Gen. Blanchard, concerned about alcoholism among officers and enlisted men in [his command]. . . . created the first alcoholism treatment center for officers and senior enlisted men in Europe." After retirement, Blanchard served as president of the United Service Organization (USO). Yvonne Lamb, *Washington Post*, May 18, 2006.

encouraging to me. These were indeed exciting times for me, as we worked toward our vision of seeing OD practices and practitioners working as part of the maturing Army culture."[38] With Blanchard remaining in command for several more years and Rogers only weeks away from becoming the Army Chief of Staff, Powell capitalized on the momentum and pushed the program forward. Indeed, immediately following the conference, Powell dove into the extensive planning for a consultant-based OE project at USAREUR Headquarters, earmarked for January 1977. In June, he formally issued a request for proposal to solicit experienced OD contractors such as CCG and SDC to conduct the engagement.[39] As Rogers entered his last few months as FORSCOM commander, it was clear to him that OE in Europe was alive and well, and headed in the right direction. The seeds of institutionalization were fully sown at Fort Ord, Fort Bragg, DA/DCSPERS, and now throughout Europe.

The Return of Nadal

Just as Rogers looked out across his FORSCOM units to showcase successes for the institutionalization of Army OE, he likewise required the same emphasis within his own headquarters. However, despite his numerous personal efforts during his first year at FORSCOM (August 1974 to July 1975), he lacked a hard-hitting power figure within his own building to help him fight that fight. In the summer of 1975, Tony Nadal completed his time as a battalion commander and prepared to return to the United States. In looking for a new assignment, he initially wanted to go back to West Point since he had recently learned that the Department of Leadership and Psychology was

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38. Powell manuscript.
39. Powell interview. Importantly, from May 11 to 13,1976, Powell brought in LTC Lawler from OETC to deliver the Organizational Effectiveness Executive Course (OEEC) for the senior officers at USAREUR Headquarters. Golden manuscript.

looking for a permanent professor. To prepare his application packet, Nadal asked

Rogers for a letter of recommendation. Rogers wrote Nadal a stellar letter. Then, should

Nadal not receive the assignment, worked to place the father of Army OE on his staff.[40]

When Nadal returned from his three-year tour of duty in Germany, he did end up

at FORSCOM. Rogers assigned him to his DCSPERS shop to work in the Human

Resource Division (HRD). Once there, Nadal familiarized himself with the progress thus

made throughout the FORSCOM units. He concluded that there had not been much

traction with OE during his time in Europe. Rogers somewhat agreed. He told Nadal that

"it is your job to embed OE so deep that it will be easier to leave it in place than to get

rid of it."[41] To empower Nadal, Rogers soon removed the existing HRD director (a

colonel) and emplaced Nadal as the head despite his junior rank (lieutenant colonel).[42]

Nadal approached his new job with vigor. His first order of business was to

surround himself with fellow Progressives. As the new chief of Human Resource

Division in FORSCOM , Nadal recruited majors Chick Berrera, Bob Jackson, Bob

Edwards, and John Emington. He also received a highly qualified civilian, Dr. Jack

Collier. Together, they planned the utilization structure for the first wave of OESOs that

called for two OESOs in every FORSCOM division and one OESO per separate

brigade. These were some of the OESOs that Blanchard had referenced at his

commanders conference.[43]

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40. Letter of Recommendation for Tony Nadal, Rogers Papers. This is not to imply that Rogers thwarted Nadal from getting the position. Indeed, permanent professorships at USMA are greatly coveted and the selection process is highly competitive.

41. Nadal Interview.

42. Ibid.

43. Nadal Interview. Jackson and Emington had graduated from the first OESO course (1-76). Collier earned his PhD at Georgia State University in Education Administration specializing in leadership.

Nadal and his team then created a consulting cell within his department that could serve the FORSCOM units. As he recalled, "we wanted to model behavior that said that at FORSCOM there would be a group of more expert consultants than were available in the field." Nadal already envisioned a need for more experienced consultants at higher levels of command. He and the FORSCOM OE consulting cell anticipated a time in the future when OESOs would serve a second tour of duty at higher echelons after gaining significant experience in the brigades.[44] In the interim, the FORSCOM HRD OE consulting cell could serve in that role.

The OE team at FORSCOM also initiated a monthly publication entitled *The OE Forum*. This publication highlighted the activities of the Army OE program both within FORSCOM headquarters as well as in the field. It was during this time that Nadal reconnected with Roy Ray. Ray and Nadal leveraged the *OE Forum* to publicize General Tackaberry's OE projects at Fort Bragg, thus broadcasting published testimonials that other FORSCOM division commanders read. Rogers, in his travels and remarks, would often site examples from the *Forum* articles.[45]

The FORSCOM team placed considerable emphasis on education. In the two years that Nadal ran HRD at FORSCOM, he organized three OE workshops in Atlanta "in which we brought people in to share experiences, to be exposed to new knowledge and techniques, and to hear from the commanding generals and the general officers at FORSCOM, of their interest in the program." Nadal's major goal for the workshops was to expose OESOs to recent research and to create a supportive climate and network for

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44. Ibid.
45. Ibid. For non-military readers: the 82nd Airborne Division was/is considered the most elite combat division in the Army. If the 82nd embraced OE, then there was no reason for any other division to object to its use.

the OESOs. He believed that this support network was "important, especially in those early days, because we were asking the OESOs to venture forth into uncharted waters and to carry on a job at high personal risk and high anxiety."[46]

By far the most important program that Nadal and his team created was a two-day action research workshop directly targeting division commanders. Although Rogers had no intention to order or direct the use of OE in the divisions, he certainly wanted all of the division commanders to thoroughly understand OE. In essence, Rogers saw the action research workshops as a way to force his commanders not only to learn about OE but to also to experience one important OE technique. Rogers directly informed his subordinate commanders that his HRD OE team would conduct the workshops and that he expected full participation by them as well as their brigade commanders.

In many ways, the workshops resembled the road shows that Nadal and Hank Emerson had conducted years before with the CONARC Leadership Board. The workshops were designed to familiarize the commanding general and his staff with OE, to give them an actual OE experience through participation in an action-planning workshop, and to introduce the newly assigned OESO to the division staff and the other commanders of the division.[47] Just as he had demonstrated for Westmoreland, Nadal was not shy about leveraging the authority and empowerment he obtained from Rogers as he travelled to the FORSCOM units to deliver the two-day workshops. In most cases, the commanders knew he represented Rogers and appeared supportive.[48]

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46. Ibid.

47. Ibid. Later, in 1976 and 1977, as more OESO graduated from OETC, Nadal tried to arrange "our workshops so they would coincide with the arrival of a trained OESO at that installation."

48. Ibid. As Nadal recalled "There were usually three of us that would travel to an Army division. General Rogers sent out [a letter] to the commanders, saying, "I want this to happen. And we're going to educate you, you and your commanders, on what this [OE] means. . . .And I'm sending this guy around

The action-planning scenarios were essentially group problem solving exercises,

with participants divided into groups comprised of different ranks. Initially, participants

tended to express some degree of skepticism and doubt about the utility of OE.

However, as Nadal recalled, many of them quickly overcame their initial reservations:

> One simulation we had was this . . . little tank [built] out of Lego toys. And
> this little tank was inside a box. You could look at it but you couldn't touch
> it. The task was to replicate that tank. We broke up the attendees into
> three groups. It became very competitive—and I knew that these guys
> were so intrinsically competitive that they busted balls to be the winner,
> particularly since the division commander was one of the participants.
> Only one person at a time could go up and observe the tank from each
> group. Their initial response was, "You're wasting my fucking morning
> here playing with Legos?" But they'd get so into it. I was the process
> observer, myself and one of my other guys, and we were taking notes.
> After each event, I would process their relationship, the interactions, and
> their effectiveness and point out that the more dictatorial ones were
> predictively unsuccessful.[49]

Several officers proved extremely supportive, such as Lieutenant General Robert

M. Shoemaker, the commander of III Corps at Fort Hood. "I showed up at Ft. Hood, and

he treated me like his son. [This] was the first seminar for a corps and corps staff. And

present were the division commanders. And Shoemaker gives me this glowing

introduction. Well, when that happens, everyone else in the room says, 'I'd better be

nice' and, you know, no problems."[50] Another strong supporter was Major General

Julius Becton, commander of Shoemaker's 1st Cavalry Division. Becton "was very cool

on the whole thing, very soft-spoken, didn't get excited, took some time to get himself

and his guys [involved]. His group was [tight]. . . . He had the staff officers working right

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[Nadal]." Then when I arrived at Ft. Whatever, people knew why I was there and they're weighing to some degree, small degree, the stars of the [FORSCOM] commander."

49. Ibid.

50. Shoemaker was a peer of Hal Moore's. They served together in Vietnam with the 1st Cavalry Division. Shoemaker commanded the 1st Battalion, 12th Cavalry when Moore commanded the 1st Battalion, 7th Cavalry. Shoemaker would earn a fourth star and later serve as the FORSCOM commander in 1978.

with him." Becton approached Nadal and requested that Nadal return to deliver the workshop for his command. One of the brigade commanders who stood out was John "Jack" Woodmansee, Jr. Woodmansee made a point to tell Nadal that he thought the workshop was "extremely useful."[51]

Indeed, Nadal experienced only one engagement where the commanding general showed an open disdain for the workshop. A month before Nadal ran the workshop for Shoemaker's III Corps, Nadal and his team conducted a session with Major General George Patton IV, commander of the 2nd Armored Division. As Nadal recalled, "that was the most miserable experience."

> I was there for two days, and the whole time, he and one of his brigade commanders played off each other, laughing and making snide remarks to each other, and whatever. So, at the end of this first day, I'd had it, and I got up in front of the group and said, "General Patton, I came here because the [FORSCOM commander] asked me to help spread the knowledge of OE. It doesn't seem that anyone here is interested. So, if nothing changes I think I'll go home." He said, "Oh, no, we understand, whatever, we're fine, we will cooperate." Then, a month later or so, I go back out there and I do the corps. Well, Shoemaker invited the division commanders. And Patton shows up, shakes my hand. I'm talking to Shoemaker, and Shoemaker says, "So, General Patton, I'd like you to meet Tony Nadal." Patton says, "Oh, I know Tony, sir, I had him out to 2nd Division. Yeah, he did a great job for us!" Typical of the way the Army functions. Nobody tells the truth. I saw that with [the incident between] General Putnam and General Forsythe; with General Emerson, and then with Patton and Shoemaker. How do you create an organization where folks don't feel compelled to lie?[52]

While such confrontations and open resistance were rare, Nadal and his team always faced a mixed crowd of Traditionalists, Healers, and Progressives. Once, at Fort Lewis, Washington, they delivered a workshop for Major General Volney Warner,

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51. Nadal Interview. Woodmansee and Nadal knew each other from West Point. Woodmansee taught in the history department at the same time that Nadal worked in the psychology and leadership department. Woodmansee would go on to earn three stars and to command V Corps in Germany.

52. Ibid.

commander of the 9th Infantry Division, who was very enthusiastic about the sessions. Warner had earned a masters degree in psychology from Vanderbilt University and had previously taught in the Department of Psychology and Leadership at West Point. "So he, of most people in the Army, understood what I was trying to do." Despite the strong support from the Progressive Warner, one of Warner's subordinate commanders became so frustrated with the workshop that he openly exclaimed "This worthless fucking exercise. Doesn't show anything about anyone." As Nadal recalled, "I just let it roll off my back."[53]

In retrospect, Nadal and his team of OD experts deserve great credit for doing the hard work to propel Rogers's vision forward. Yet, one thing was missing—a strong bond between DA, FORSCOM, and OETC. While it was true that these organizations communicated and worked together to plan out the utilization of the first 200 OESOs, they did little else to move OD into one concerted direction. For example, Nadal's workshop served the same purpose as OETC's Organizational Effectiveness Executive Course (OEEC), yet there was no coordination of content or effort to ensure that they delivered the same message to the participating colonels and general officers.[54] In many ways, the grassroots movement that had its conception at Fort Ord in 1969 basically remained a grassroots movement. In reality, however, there was only so much that DA and FORSCOM could do. As the pioneers, their largest contribution was the

53. Ibid. Warner would later earn four stars. Like Rogers and Cushman, Warner was a warrior-intellectual. He had been awarded two silver stars for valor and, as a colonel (and chief of staff of the 82nd Airborne Division), had received enormous credit for keeping violence from escalating during the Wounded Knee Incident in South Dakota (his home state) in 1973. In retirement, Warner publicly criticized the Iraq War and has often spoken out against the concept of pre-emptive war.
54. Golden Manuscript. OETC conducted four OEECs during 1976, precisely the same period of time that Nadal was delivering his workshops.

fertilization of the institution to prepare the ground for the arrival of the internal consultants. Their efforts, albeit important, would only take the movement so far.

Turf Wars

While the Progressives were influential in two of the three centers of power in the Army (DA/DCSPERS and FORSCOM), at TRADOC the Healers ruled supreme. Led by DePuy, they were aggressively pursuing their own radical reforms. The story of Bill DePuy's obsession with re-writing Army tactical/operational doctrine is well known. As several authors have noted, the horrendous casualties he personally witnessed in the days following the Normandy invasion of 1944, as the Allies fought desperately to clear the Cherbourg Peninsula, left an indelible mark upon his psyche. He attributed many needless deaths to inadequate training and poor leadership. In the post-Vietnam world, he was genuinely concerned about the threat Soviet forces posed in Eastern Europe. With the US Army in Europe greatly outnumbered, he looked for qualitative ways to even the odds. He found his answers in lessons from the Second World War and in the recent Yom Kippur War, as well as in American advanced technology.[55]

DePuy was TRADOC's first commander when it was activated on July 1, 1973. During his first year in command, "he was concerned first and foremost with getting his new organization off to a good start with efficient administration and financial management." In terms of healing the Army, DePuy wanted to end gross inefficiencies in the way that "the Army Materiel Command dominated the equipment development process." He wanted to close the "gap between the development of doctrine on the one

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55. See especially his own recollections in Romie L. Brownlee and William J. Mullen, III, *Changing an Army: An Oral History of General William E. DePuy*, United States Military History Institute (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1980). Also, Gole, *General William E. DePuy*; and Herbert, *Deciding What Has to Be Done.*

hand and equipment specifications on the other [which] was 'big enough to drive a truck

through.'"[56] Threading all of DePuy's thinking was the fundamental question: How does

the Army fight? In his view, the answers to that question differed at each level of rank

and organization. Company-grade officers led soldiers within the tactical realm of

warfare, that is, with their platoons and companies, while field-grade officers and

general officers led larger organizations in the operational level of war. Therefore, for

soldiers to be ready to fight without lengthy mobilization times, their equipment,

doctrine, and training had to be closely synchronized. Officers and their soldiers had to

master the technical tasks for their occupational specialty *at that particular level*. To do

all of this, DePuy went after standardization. "By combining combat developments with

the schools under the same command, the Army hoped to shift the emphasis in materiel

development from the scientists, engineers, and contractors to the fighters and, in the

process, make a more persuasive case for its modernization needs."[57] Within this

context, it was DePuy's intent to modernize the institution by reorienting the Army away

from counterinsurgency back into a conventional, mid-intensity war mindset. He fully

backed Abrams's vision of a sixteen-division force; in his mind, the spear-point of a

reformed, highly equipped and well-trained Army would reside in Germany.

    The Israeli counterattacks in the October 1973 war greatly impressed DePuy and

other American military observers. Egyptian and Syrian forces had surprised the Israelis

on October 6, 1973, with coordinated attacks across the Suez Canal into Sinai and

against the Golan Heights. After three days of deep encroachments into their territory,

Israeli counter attacks halted the invaders amidst heavy fighting. With the Arabs

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56. Herbert, *Deciding What Has to Be Done,* 28.
57. Ibid.

equipped with Soviet armaments and indoctrinated in Soviet tactics, the Israeli

response, using primarily American or NATO equipment, was a litmus test of an

American-Soviet engagement. DePuy was impressed with the Israelis' use of antitank

weapons and tactics. Indeed, he quickly dispatched his protégé (and future successor)

Donn Starry to Israel to meet with Israeli officers and to learn as much as possible.

Depuy also proved to be a strong Germanophile and was enamored with the

Wehrmacht's large counterattacks on the Eastern Front during the Second World War.

As the German Army retreated westward in 1943 and 1944, their superb execution of

innovative, mobile defensive/counter-attack tactics resulted in several large defeats of

Soviet armored and mechanized forces.[58] In DePuy's mind, the Israelis and Germans

had demonstrated a mastery of "active defense"—precisely the situation NATO would

face should the Soviets invade Germany and western Europe.

Throughout 1974 and 1975, DePuy devoted much time and energy to rewriting

the Army's most important doctrinal manual: *FM 100-5, Operations*. At the same time,

he sought to reinvent training and training management.[59] The many new advanced

weapons systems planned for production, manned by highly trained soldiers, would

make his new tactical doctrine feasible. Although the Army largely would reject his life's

most important work, DePuy recognized that doctrine should be the articulation of ideas

that are approved and shared in order to support the Army's "planning, organization,

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58. Ibid. See also Gole, *General William E. DePuy*; and Erich von Mannstein, *Verlorene Siege*, (Bonn, Germany: Athenaum-Verlag), 1955. DePuy had very close ties to the new German Army's most senior leaders. Similarly, they, too, had learned from their recent past. DePuy found great merit in their doctrine of "forward defense."

59. *FM 100-5, Operations.* "The service schools are the Army's source of combat development and doctrine, and an important means by which we inculcate leaders and trainers with the tactics and techniques which will contribute to battle success. The service schools express standards for training throughout the Army by the way they teach, by the manuals they write, by the Army Training and Evaluation Program (ARTEP). Training development must provide training standards and techniques *matched closely to the realities of the modern battlefield".* Italics in original.

training, leadership style, tactics, weapons, and equipment." In short, he "demystified"

doctrine, making it readable, usable, and the basis for all training.[60] DePuy's greatest

legacy is that he forced the Army to pay close attention to doctrine.[61] With the exception

of leadership doctrine, the Army has continued to do so to this very day. Indeed, in

terms of his own concepts of leadership, DePuy was a traditional autocratic officer. He

personally led by authority and power: "Decide what has to be done, tell someone to do

it, and check to be sure that they do."[62]

In drafting the new operational doctrine, DePuy centralized all efforts within his

headquarters, surrounded himself with an obedient group of writers, and wrote some of

the chapters himself. People who disagreed with him were beaten down. The best

example was his confrontation with Major General John H. Cushman, who in 1974 was

the commandant of the Combined Arms Center (CAC) at Fort Leavenworth (one of

three subordinate centers under TRADOC). In the fall of 1974, when DePuy decided to

rewrite all of the Army's doctrinal manuals, he first turned to Cushman to rewrite

operational doctrine. This request conformed precisely to DePuy's strong belief that

TRADOC—by charter—have sole responsibility for writing doctrine. CAC would write

operational/tactical doctrine, the logistics center at Fort Lee Virginia would write logistics

doctrine, and ADMINCEN would write leadership/personnel administration doctrine.

These centers would also exercise authority over all schools within their jurisdictions.

However, DePuy rejected Cushman's initial product, and their disagreements revealed

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60. Herbert, *Deciding What Has to Be Done,* 3.
61. Ibid., 106.
62. Ibid. DePuy had a strong record of firing people—many people. See especially Henry G. Gole, "General William DePuy: His Relief of Subordinates in Combat," http://www.vmi.edu/uploadedFiles/Archives/Adams_Center/EssayContest/20062007/GoleH_0607.pdf Last accessed April 10, 2014.

"significant philosophical differences between [them]—and therefore within the Army— about the purpose of doctrine and the conduct of warfare."[63] Consequently, DePuy took the task away from Cushman and devoted himself to the effort.[64]

DePuy's behavior with Cushman is telling and informs the story of the Army OE program and TRADOC's view of Army OE in the early stages of institutionalization. The conflict between Cushman and DePuy was precisely the conflict that the Progressives were experiencing with the Healers throughout the Army. Cushman enjoyed a strong reputation throughout the officer corps "as one of the Army's real intellectuals."[65] Unlike DePuy, he did not experience the horrors of close combat in the Second World War, although he served three tours of duty in Vietnam.[66] In many ways, he closely resembled Rogers; that is, he built a strong career record with his intellect through assignments within the upper levels of DOD, such as serving as the military assistant to the Secretary of the Army. And, like Rogers, he could effectively soldier with the troops, having recently served as the commander of the 101st Airborne Division.[67]

As the CAC commander, Cushman viewed his primary responsibility to be the stewardship of the Army Command and General Staff College (CGSC). He set out to overhaul the entire curriculum because he wanted it "to be real" and to "make them [the

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63. Ibid., 51.

64. When Herbert first approached Cushman about this, Cushman replied that "my experience with that revision had been very painful and that I wanted nothing to do with his [Herbert's] project." Fortunately, he later changed his mind. Cushman, "Fort Leavenworth—A Memoir," 49.

65. Ibid.

66. http://www.west-point.org/publications/cushman/cushmanbio.html. Last accessed 10 November 2013. Cushman commanded a brigade of the 101st Airborne Division in the heavy fighting around Hue during the Tet Offensive; and later served as the division commander. He retired as a lieutenant general in 1978 and later authored many books and papers. In 1994 he was named Author of the Year by the U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings.

67. As commander of the 101st, Cushman had devoted the vast majority of his time in rebuilding the division. It had been one of the last units to depart from Vietnam and was essentially decimated of personnel upon its return to Fort Campbell. Cushman knew firsthand the challenges of relating to America's youth and the Army's dependence on volunteers. See John H. Cushman, *Fort Leavenworth—A Memoir* (September 2001), http://www.west-point.org/publications/cushman/VolOne-1.pdf, 29.

students] think." As Cushman recalled, "General DePuy was determined to teach the Army in the field, and Leavenworth students, 'how to fight.' I wanted to teach the students 'how to think about how to fight.' We never quite connected."[68]

Cushman pushed his progressive views to an extreme. He constantly challenged his students outside of the CGSC curriculum by asking them to write essays of 500 words or less on provocative questions he posed. For example, he asked them "how to attract young Americans to join a Volunteer Army, <u>as infantrymen</u>." Consequently, and to Cushman's delight, the students began to speak up and "to bring up issues such as ethics and integrity."

> By now something unexpected was happening. . . . The Commandant's requirements were clearly troublesome materiel for them. . . . For example, when does an officer speak his mind, stand his ground, or even resign? It was clear that the students were interested in tackling basic questions such as honesty, candor, and the freedom to fail without committing career suicide. . . . These [thematic] cases touched the students' nerve ends. Heated discussion ensued, not simply about the particular cases, but about a range of issues as to lying, honesty, and integrity, and especially about integrity in the face of command pressures.

These discussions and debates excited Cushman. In response, he organized two symposia planned for 1974 and 1975 on "officer responsibility." He drew on the Ulmer-Malone study as a basis of discussion and promoted reflection on the Army officer corps "professional ethic." The symposia posed tough questions, such as "how do we help create an environment of integrity as the routine order of things?" More importantly, Cushman recognized that "the event belonged to the students. It was for them to ask, and if possible to answer, the questions. Hard questions [such as] Is the individual first a

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68. Cushman, 47.

military officer, responsible to the dictates of the system, or first a human being answerable to personal conscience?[69]

In sum, as Herbert recounted, the differences between Cushman and DePuy could not be more different:

> General DePuy believed that real initiative was rare in human beings and that an organization functioned best when its members were frequently told in simple terms what to do. Major General Cushman believed that an organization worked best when liberated, to the degree possible, from the artificial constraints placed on the tremendous creative potential of the group. . . . Cushman would more likely involve many in the problem-solving process and would encourage alternative solutions. DePuy wanted USACGSC to *train* its students to be experts in handling a division in combat and to take with them to their field assignments a learned system for training their division's subordinate elements. Cushman wanted to *educate* students as well as train them, to make them think, to enrich them personally and professionally, and to prepare them intellectually for all of their years as field grade officers. DePuy was confident, analytical, and decisive and never hesitated in delivering a "that's *wrong"* when the "cold hard facts" told him it was needed. Cushman was thoughtful and reflective, acknowledging at least philosophically the potential merit in all ideas.[70]

In retrospect, the Progressive Cushman appears to have been a strong, adaptive thinker, with a self-transforming mind who, like Bernie Rogers, displayed the behaviors of a transformational leader. For example, he believed that "the search for valid doctrine is, at its root, a search for truth."[71] For Cushman, education, in *addition* to training, was the key to this search. "Therefore, the Army as an institution must constantly study war thoroughly and make available to all within it the latest and best thought about

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69. Ibid., 61–62. "In February 1976, General DePuy, who had never thought well of our Symposia, ordered the one we had been planning for April 1976 to be cancelled. In its stead [CAC was asked to organize] a similar assembly of senior officers to convene with the students in a like discussion on 'Obstacles to Readiness.'" 64.

70. Herbert, 54.

71. U.S. Army Combined Arms Center, Pamphlet no. 1, "The CGSC Approach to Writing Doctrinal Literature," by John H. Cushman (Fort Leavenworth, KS, September 18, 1973), 6, as cited in Herbert, 55.

warfare."[72] DePuy, on the other hand, believed that there was already too much

emphasis on education:

> Down at Fort Benning most of the training of the lieutenants was accomplished in a classroom instead of out with troops. The orientation was very academic, very intellectual. I don't know whose fault it was. Some people didn't think it was a fault. There's been a big argument for years about education and training. I'm not sure what all the differences are.[73]

Cushman's views did not prevail; instead, DePuy's doctrinal field manuals would

tell soldiers what to do and how to do it. DePuy developed a methodology for training in

which every task, regardless of occupational specialty, was spelled out within a

framework of a *task*, a *condition*, and a *standard*—a rote approach where success was

determined by proficient demonstration.[74] "*FM 100-5* was DePuy's one-liner on

leadership applied to the Army at large." In the end, DePuy fielded the FM too rapidly

and tried to shove the new doctrine down the throats of the entire Army. "Ironically, the

Army perceived the doctrine as an oversimplification that paid too little attention to the

human dimension of warfare."[75]

> DePuy believed that the Army's increasing dependency on highly sophisticated weapons and equipment and the support services necessary to sustain them signaled the Army's evolution from an organization of people with weapons to an organization of weapons with crews.[76]

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72. Ibid., Cushman strongly invited *theoretical* discussions. Contrast this with the Healers' strong attempts to keep theory out of any discussions about leadership during this time (at the AWC, at West Point, and in DA).

73. Brownlee and Mullen, 183.

74. In later years, when task, conditions, and standards were mandatory for every training curriculum or POI, the Army OE school grew frustrated with trying to apply this framework in educating students on OD concepts and theories, and other behavioral science topics.

75. Ibid., 101.

76. Ibid., 95. Despite rhetoric to the contrary, the Army today, with its recently organized Stryker Brigades (organizations named after a vehicle!), still sees the Army as "an organization of weapons with crews."

In some ways, the Army can trace its overwhelming reliance on technology, and the dominant, superior role that technology has played in "reforming," "transforming," or "modernizing" the institution back to DePuy's doctrinal and training reforms.

Within this context, it is clear that OD was far removed from DePuy's field of vision. During Rogers's tenure as FORSCOM commander, DePuy, by his actions (and inactions) signaled that he found the new leadership concepts distasteful. During his tenure as TRADOC commander, DePuy did little to allow progressive, humanistic views on leadership to impact the training curriculum in the Army school system. While the clearly charted missions of TRADOC and FORSCOM delineated well-defined jurisdictional boundaries, the one single exception was OETC. From the moment of its inception, OETC was an anomaly of sorts because its unorthodox activities straddled DA/DCSPERS and TRADOC and then, in October 1974, FORSCOM.

The ADMINCEN-OETC "Tug of War"

In October 1974, several weeks after Rogers assumed command of FORSCOM, Fort Ord lost its mission as a training center and began its conversion as the home installation of the reactivated 7th Infantry Division. The 7th would be one of the three new divisions that would take the Army to its new size, from thirteen to sixteen divisions. This meant that Fort Ord would be a FORSCOM rather than a TRADOC installation. Bobby Gard, nearing the end of his two-year tenure there, was the initial commander. In January 1975, he relinquished command of the division to fellow Progressive Major General M. C. Ross.[77] With the pilots coming to an end soon, Ross immediately made the decision to make ODD's OD plan a permanent fixture at Fort Ord. "The plan

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77. As a colonel, Ross had served as one of Rogers's brigade commanders at Fort Carson. He then followed Rogers's footsteps into subsequent assignments I Legislative Liaison and later as DCSPERS. Ross also followed Gard as commander of the 7th ID at Fort Ord where he shepherded the OE work.

borrowed heavily from experience gained during the pilot test, and in final form described in detail how the 7th Division, or any large organization, might embark on a comprehensive OD program."[78] In the view of Ross and Rogers, OD was now ready for the rest of the Army. More importantly, the right people were in the right places to make it happen. In addition to the influential positions held by Ross and Rogers, Gard returned to Washington to replace Moore at MILPERCEN. Moore, in turn, became the DCSPERS and inherited the invaluable Colonel Johns as the head of his new Leadership Division.

In working with Gard at Fort Ord, Moore (as the DCSPERS) expedited the formalization of the ODD as a permanent organization. In November 1974, Moore pushed for ODD to continue beyond the last pilot. With several years of extensive development of OD and its testing of OD's application to the Army's culture, ODD had already gained tremendous momentum to carry the Army OE program forward. Indeed, in late 1974 and early 1975, the transition of ODD from a prototype directorate to an official training center was practically seamless in terms of growing the Army OE program. Yet, jurisdictional friction continued to surface as Moore and Rogers kept a close eye on the events at Fort Ord, and as DePuy pushed hard for the fledgling ADMINCEN to assert more control. In fact, by December 1974, DePuy became frustrated with his headquarters being the "middleman" in the formal communication flow between DCSPERS and ADMINCEN, so much so that DePuy met with Johns on

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78. Golden manuscript, 21.

December 16, 1974, to tell Johns that TRADOC approved of DCSPERS going directly

to ADMINCEN—a practice Moore took care not to violate.[79]

On the surface, DePuy's comments seemed to reflect accommodation for the

growth of the program. However, DePuy's real agenda for his meeting with Johns was

to get Moore and Johns to quickly and deeply embed OD into the personnel

management channel so that he could focus attention on ADMINCEN to modernize

training and to write OE and leadership doctrine. DePuy "stressed that the motivational

development program must offer some practical techniques that can be applied in field

units and that the projects must be moved out of the experimental stage."[80] In short,

DePuy wanted tangibles, not theory. Indeed, he had always been outspoken about his

dislike of behavioral science jargon, so much so that during this time period, it was

DePuy who suggested to Rogers that the Army call OD "organizational effectiveness."[81]

DePuy then pressed Johns for details on how DCSPERS would embed OD.

Even more pointedly, DePuy insisted that all parties must work together to strengthen

ADMINCEN. DePuy "referred to his comments in 1972 whereby he stressed that the DA

DCSPER [Rogers at the time] must take a personal interest in the broadened concept.

He observed that GEN Rogers had not visited Ben Harrison after the initial meeting in

1972 to set up the HRD element and had not brought up the subject with him until 25

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79. DePuy called these informal communication channels "black cables," and expressed frustration that for the primary DA staff organizations—intelligence (DCSINT), operations (DCSOPS), and logistics DCSLOG)—the DA principles had established black cables with their respective centers, therefore Moore should do the same. Moore, however, had little incentive to do so. He possibly recognized that ADMINCEN had severe limitations (as the center for finance and personnel administration), and that OD would die if it were embedded there at this point.

80. John Johns, "Meeting with General DePuy," memorandum for record (December 17, 1974), Johns Papers. His emphasis on "practical techniques" is important—he was then formulating his task, condition, and standards methodology.

81. Confirmed by both Johns and Nadal.

October 1974."[82] This was an important meeting because by December 1974, DePuy was serious about rewriting all of the Army's doctrinal manuals. In DePuy's mind, ADMINCEN had full responsibility for writing leadership doctrine. However, no one at ADMINCEN had any expertise to write on leadership, OD, or any other behavioral science subject; the center of that expertise was Fort Ord.[83] Yet, at the same time, no form of relationship existed between MDP/ODD and the ADMINCEN. In essence, DePuy was trying to light a fire under Moore to make that happen. Johns, a bit overoptimistic at the time, left the meeting thinking that DePuy could be supportive "of making the personnel staff officer capable of doing the things we want him to do [if DePuy] is convinced we know what we want."[84] Although Johns noted at the time that DePuy wanted to meet with Johns at Fort Harrison on January 15 and 16 to "discuss how we can achieve our goals," DePuy wasted no time in firming up his position. On December 30, 1974, he approved and issued TRADOC Regulation 600-3 "Human Resources Development." Its stated purpose was to "define the TRADOC responsibilities as the Army's proponent for human resource developments and leadership activities." Despite using half of the two-page regulation to explain the terms "military personnel management" and "human resources development," no definition was provided for "leadership," although that was the stated purpose of the regulation. The substance of the regulation fell under paragraph 3 "Concept of Operation." Here, DePuy formalized Moore's "black cable" by authorizing a "special relationship" between

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82. Johns, "Meeting with General DePuy."

83. Historically, Fort Benning (the Infantry School) and Fort Knox (the Armor School) had been the nexus of leadership doctrinal development.

84. Ibid. Indeed, DePuy told Johns "to make sure General Moore and General Gard fully understand the concepts and are unequivocally committed to the plan." Johns, as a colonel, was undoubtedly caught in a crossfire, of sorts, between a powerful four-star and a three-star general (his boss).

DA/DCSPERS and ADMINCEN "for the purpose of establishing a direct channel of communication for liaison, guidance, monitorship, assistance, tasking, and priority of effort." In defining "tasking," DePuy made clear that ADMINCEN would write and produce leadership doctrine "to meet the needs of the Army," and could directly "task TRADOC service schools to develop, revise, or modify human resources development training literature." As subsequent events revealed, the TRADOC regulation was just as much about DePuy establishing firm control over OETC (via his ADMINCEN) as it was about improving relationships with DCSPERS or OETC.[85]

The most apparent demonstrations of TRADOC's efforts to promote ADMINCEN's control over OETC were the frequent attempts in 1974 and 1975 to move the OE school to Fort Benjamin Harrison, Indiana. On February 6, 1975, just weeks after the issuance of TRADOC regulation 600-3 and DePuy's first meeting with Johns, TRADOC and ADMINCEN again raised the subject of the OE school moving to Indianapolis. Johns argued a strong case that it was imperative for the OE school be located on a FORSCOM installation in order to conduct the end-of-course practicum with an operational unit. The practicum, he explained, was the culmination of sixteen weeks of work during which students would actually implement an OE engagement for a FORSCOM field unit. Fort Ord was the home of the 7th Infantry Division, while Fort Benjamin Harrison was only a TRADOC training center. Johns also argued that the OE faculty consisted of highly educated civilians who were not likely to relocate to Indiana. These twenty-one civilians comprised half of the faculty and had developed strong relationships with California universities, HumRRO, the Naval Postgraduate School, and

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85. US Department of the Army, "Human Resources Development," TRADOC Regulation 600-3, (Fort Monroe, VA: US Army Training and Doctrine Command, December 30, 1974), Johns Papers.

other important civilian organizations. Ever frank, Johns also stated that if OE were located with ADMINCEN, the Army's perception would be that OE was just another "people program," and would even perceive the program as part of the AG and Finance school. These were sound arguments. After much discussion, DePuy reluctantly agreed to leave the OE school at Fort Ord for the next three years. During that time, he said, ADMINCEN should plan to bring the center to Indiana and develop an "expanded training capability." However, six months later, DePuy backtracked on his position and informed Major General Stan L. McClellan, the TRADOC DCSPERS, that the OE school should begin movement in August 1976 and be prepared to resume courses at Fort Benjamin Harrison by that November. As subsequent events played out, that plan never produced any traction.[86]

As the powers-that-be fought these turf wars, their subordinates worked hard to formulate effective working relationships with each other. On March 10, 1975, Moore and Johns organized a conference at Fort Ord to work out program details and to clarify the roles and responsibilities of the various stakeholders. In attendance were representatives from DCSPERS, TRADOC, FORSCOM, ADMINCEN, 7th Infantry Division, and ODD. The meeting proved fruitful: "Basic decisions on the nature of the training, content of the POI, support relationships, and utilization of available personnel were made and formed the basis for a consolidated plan of support." By the end of the month, the participants had finalized required staffing levels, a budget, and a plan for the facilities.[87] In regard to the latter, they all agreed to recognize the results of the DePuy-Johns meeting and TRADOC regulation 600-3—that ODD would remain at Fort

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86. Golden manuscript, 35.
87. Golden manuscript, 22.

Ord as a tenant organization and fall under the control of the new ADMINCEN at Fort

Harrison rather than being a direct subordinate to TRADOC.

At the same time, with virtually no in-house expertise on recent behavioral

science research, ADMINCEN attempted to assert its new jurisdiction over all things

deemed "leadership." In addition to the aforementioned efforts to move OETC to Indiana

and to make clear that ADMINCEN would produce leadership doctrine, the center early

on (September 1974) began to produce a series of publications entitled "The

Leadership Monograph Series." The stated purpose of the entire, multi-year series was

to "keep Army leaders abreast of pertinent and recent findings and research in the fields

of management and leadership." [88]

From the first issue on, there was no *recent* research of leadership drawn from

the behavioral sciences. ADMINCEN released the first publication of the series at the

time of the DePuy-Johns meetings in January 1975. This publication combined

monographs one through five. All twelve monographs in the series were actually the

products of the Army War College (AWC). These writings were an extension of the 1971

AWC *Study on Leadership* (see Chapter I) and heavily drew upon the vast amount of

data that the authors had gathered for the initial study. For the first five monographs,

AWC members Don Penner, Mike Malone, Tom Coughlin, and Joe Herz drew upon that

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88. Donald D. Penner, Dandridge M. Malone, Thomas M. Coughlin, and Joseph A. Herz, *Monograph No. 1: Demographic Characteristics of US Army Leaders,* Leadership Monograph Series (Carlisle, PA: US Army War College, June 1973); Donald D. Penner, Dandridge M. Malone, Thomas M. Coughlin, and Joseph A. Herz, *Monograph No. 2: Satisfaction with US Army Leadership,* Leadership Monograph Series (Carlisle, PA: US Army War College, September 1973); Donald D. Penner, Dandridge M. Malone, Thomas M. Coughlin, and Joseph A. Herz, *Monograph No. 3: Junior NCO Leadership,* Leadership Monograph Series (Carlisle, PA: US Army War College, October 1973); Donald D. Penner, Dandridge M. Malone, Thomas M. Coughlin, and Joseph A. Herz, *Monograph No. 4: Senior NCO Leadership,* Leadership Monograph Series (Carlisle, PA: US Army War College, January 1974); Donald D. Penner, Dandridge M. Malone, Thomas M. Coughlin, and Joseph A. Herz, *Monograph No. 5: Company Grade Officer Leadership,* Leadership Monograph Series (Carlisle, PA: US Army War College, March 1974).

data to "lay a foundation" of demographic analyses for subsequent writings. From the very beginning, the authors were clear that the monographs were directly tied to the original study and that "this monograph series retains the same focus." That focus centered on the concept of an informal contract which exists between the individual and the organization.

> The basic idea is that the individual leader at any level in the organization expects certain behavior from his superior, from his subordinates, and from himself. Also, both his superior and his subordinate expect certain behavior from him. It appears that only when these expectations—the "terms" of the informal contract—are known and met *that true leadership can take place*.[89]

This perspective perfectly aligned with DePuy's world view that subordinate soldiers should be told what to do, and that their superiors should check to ensure that they accomplished all tasks. More importantly, the monographs also reinforced DePuy's and the AWC's belief that leadership differed at each level of rank. In this way, ADMINCEN's leadership doctrine would go hand-in-glove with DePuy's FMs that defined the skills and proficiencies required at each rank level in accordance with the relevant doctrine and technology employed. In October 1976, those views were codified in ADMINCEN's issuance of *Monograph No. 8: A Matrix of Organizational Leadership Dimensions* and, six months later, in *Monograph No. 9: Organizational Leadership Tasks for Army Leadership Training* (discussed in Chapter IV). Those two publications were arguably the most important of the series because they provided a behavioral science foundation to TRADOC and ADMINCEN's views on leadership and the development of leaders.

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89. Penner, et. Al, *Monograph No. 1*, vi. Emphasis is mine.

Although the publication's disclaimer stated that "the views expressed are those

of the authors and not necessarily those of [ADMINCEN]," *Monograph No. 8* served as

ADMINCEN's established view of organizational aspects of leadership. The authors

were Major Stephen D. Clement, a West Point graduate and artillery officer who had

recently earned an MS in industrial relations and a PhD in organizational

communication from Purdue University, and Ms. Donna B. Ayres, a colleague of

Clements from Purdue.[90] Leaning heavily on management literature and "a survey of

prominent industrial executive development programs," the authors identified nine

dimensions of organizational leadership, of which only one was "human relations." In

short, the authors focused on different levels of management and, in the process, made

little distinction between leadership and management. In fact, they deliberately

combined the two terms and left any definitions up to the reader.

> Precise definitions of leadership and management have been avoided.
> Leadership and management are such diverse concepts that the attempt
> to create a generally accepted definition becomes so profoundly involved
> that it hinders rather than helps further thought on the subject.[91]

In *Monograph No. 8*, Clements and Ayers sought to determine common tasks

and behaviors related to different organizational levels of management. In short, they

wanted to quantify what leaders/managers do at each level of responsibility. They

aligned the Army's rank structure with five civilian management levels, equating junior

NCOs with supervisors/managers and general officers with industry executives. Their

intent was pedagogical, and their aim was to produce a matrix that would be useful in

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90. For Clements biographical information see
http://www.organizational.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=9:stephen-d-clement-ph-d&catid=9:about-org&Itemid=102. Last accessed April 22, 2014. For Ayers biographical information see http://www.zoominfo.com/p/Donna-Ayres/1485340982. Last accessed April 22, 2014.

91. Ibid., 4. Given the vast amount of literature available at the time and the widespread discussion taking place throughout the Army about how leaders should relate to the new all-volunteer soldier, this huge caveat seems remarkably naive.

the "leadership development effort within the Army." The 115-page monograph reflected the work of four sources: Stogdill's Ohio State studies (underway since 1948), Likert's University of Michigan studies (also underway since 1948), and the work of two leading management scholars—J. K. Hemphill (early 1960s) and R. Stewart (late 1960s).

The terminology the authors used throughout their monograph was strongly antithetical to the views of the Progressives. For Clements and Ayers, leadership was positional and leaders were appointed. "In reviewing the literature regarding leadership, one finds that there has been a shift from . . . the personality of the individual leader to the job requirements (i.e., behavioral demands) of the leadership role." By behavioral demands, the authors did not mean relationships between the leader and the led but rather the increasingly complex scope of tasks associated with higher levels of responsibility. They stated that

> [t]he aim of this monograph, then, is to classify skills and competencies representing essential requirements for effective organizational leadership functioning. The emphasis is upon preparing a prospective leader to display skill proficiency once he assumes a leadership role.

In short, Clement and Ayers, while clearly rejecting the Great Man theory of leadership, also largely rejected the "styles" approach to leadership and the notion of situational leadership. They strongly embraced a leader-centric view of leadership in which the term "management" totally subsumed the term "leadership." They favored Hemphill's 1957 definition that stated that "leadership is the behavior of an individual when he is directing the activities of a group toward a shared goal." Indeed, the authors seemed to dismiss even transactional leadership theories that many of the Healers found worthy of consideration. However, ADMINCEN's monographs conformed perfectly with DePuy's view of leadership and training management. TRADOC must have been pleased—the

Leadership Monograph Series perfectly complimented the family of field manuals that would soon appear, especially the technologically reliant operational doctrine.

In retrospect, the ADMINCEN *Leadership Monograph Series* publications (really AWC productions) played an important role in the story of the Army OE program because they helped to institutionalize the Healers' views and definition of leadership. Despite the disclaimers that the views expressed in the monographs "were those of the authors and not ADMINCEN," the series became the conceptual framework for developing leadership doctrine and the basis for all revised leadership training POI in the Army schools. Over time, TRADOC would cement the Healers' definition of leadership—transactional/contractual—throughout the Army training system. Simultaneously, TRADOC would bring the term "management" back into vogue, and eventually blend that term with "leadership" to such a degree that the Army has confused the terms to present day. Looking back at these series of events, we can trace those origins to *Monograph No. 8* and *Monograph No. 9*.

OETC Blossoms

While DePuy, Moore, and Johns wrestled over important matters of program jurisdiction and future directions, the new commanding general of the 7th Infantry Division, General Ross, moved to make the ODD a standing consultative and training organization. On July 1, 1975, ODD officially became the US Army Human Resource Management Training Activity. Colonel Porcher L. Taylor, Jr., replaced Elliott as the commander and, as of that date, the new organization transitioned from TRADOC to ADMINCEN. However, the name was not fitting of the mission and was soon changed

to the US Army Organizational Effectiveness Training Center (OETC).[92] OETC's

mission was

> to train personnel in Organizational Effectiveness skills who can assist
> commanders in enhancing mission accomplishment; establish and
> maintain liaison with commanders utilizing these personnel, develop and
> evaluate organizational effectiveness techniques, develop and refine
> instrumented survey systems and data processing requirements to
> support Organizational Effectiveness programs.

> To accomplish this mission, OETC was initially organized into five sub-

organizations:

> 1. Operations and Management Division, responsible for administration,

> 2. OE Training Division, responsible for conducting the 16-week OE Staff Officer

> Course,

> 3. Survey and Measurement Division, responsible for survey development and

> data processing,

> 4. L&MD Course and the Management Development Instructor's Training

> Course (essentially a division), and

> 5. Organizational Development and Evaluation Division to develop and evaluate

> OE techniques, refine the contents of the OE course, assist in student practicum

> and maintain liaison with other organizations doing OE work.[93]

By August 1975, OETC had an assigned strength of nineteen officers, six enlisted

soldiers, and twenty-one civilians. It was now ready to educate the first wave of "internal

consultants—Organizational Effectiveness Staff Officers (OESOs)—for the Army. With

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92. Golden manuscript, 29. This happened on 1 December 1975 but the official change date was backdated to 2 September. For simplicity, I refer to the OE School as OETC for events taking place in 1975.
93. Ibid., 26–27.

this, Johns got his wish: staff officers, educated in OD, who would advise their

commanders on leadership and change.

Although ADMINCEN had jurisdiction over the new OE center at Fort Ord,

Rogers wasted no time in exerting his influence during the school's early development.

Only two weeks after the school "stood up," Rogers met with Brigadier General William

L. Mundie, the commanding general of ADMINCEN, to ensure that quality personnel

were assigned to Fort Ord. They met on July 15 and 16, 1975, to formulate the criteria

for the selection of officers who would become OESOs. They agreed that the *screening*

criteria for prospective officers would be senior captains or majors with strong

performance records, placing them in the upper half of their peer groups. Other basic

criteria included an undergraduate degree, previous company command, and

graduation from the advance course in their career branch. Upon graduation from the

OE course, the officer was expected to volunteer to enter the personnel career field as a

secondary specialty OPMS 41. Rogers, however, tightened up the actual *selection*

criteria. Prerequisites for the course were education or experience in one or a

combination of: (1) formal education and a terminal degree (i.e. bachelor, masters, or

PhD) in management/behavioral science; or an undergraduate degree with some

graduate level courses in behavioral science; (2) former participation in civilian OD

professional development programs or prior experience in managing or conducting OD

operations; and (3) hold the rank of captain, major, or lieutenant colonel with a

secondary specialty of personnel management, and prior experience in leadership

command or management positions.[94]

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94. Ibid., 36. In October, just a month into the first course, OETC recognized that the selection criteria was too stringent and accepted the screening criteria as adequate.

The first course began on September 8, 1975. The organizers, former ODD

personnel with several years of experience and evaluation at this point, structured the

prototype course to prepare the faculty and staff of the school for the hundreds of

students who would soon attend. Of the original sixteen students selected, several were

earmarked to join the school after graduation. The faculty wanted to limit initial course

attendance to sixteen personnel because they wanted a small student to teacher ratio.

The curriculum placed high demands on the students, was self-paced, and emphasized

small-group activities. The course designers stressed that instructors would not conduct

"platform-type lecture/conference techniques" that were the hallmark of Army training

schools. However, Rogers again interceded, just weeks before the start of the course,

and doubled the number of attendees. The FORSCOM commander wanted trained

OESOs out in the field units as soon as possible.[95]

The initial curriculum carefully defined the role of the OESO. From the beginning,

OETC insisted that OESOs were not leadership experts.[96] Their job was to apply

acquired skills and knowledge from the behavioral sciences that would assist

commanders by collecting and analyzing organizational effectiveness indicators, "to

interpret this data for the commander, and to assist him in developing and implementing

action plans to resolve significant problems."[97] The curriculum embraced the current

behavioral science research and theories that emphasized humanistic and

transformational leadership principles. Thus, OD became the mechanism that enabled

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95. Ibid., 37. That the FORSCOM commander would personally and strongly intervene like this in a purely TRADOC matter would be practically unheard of today.

96. In looking back on their graduate school education and the curriculum of OETC, I would strongly argue against this assertion—especially in light of the definition of leadership that I use in this narrative. At that time, more than any other group in the Army, to include general officers, they were indeed the Army's leadership experts.

97. Golden manuscript, 33.

the faculty to take these principles beyond philosophy and theory and to place them into

practice within a pertinent, Army-adapted brand of OD called Army OE. From the

beginning, OETC also was careful to articulate what the OESO was not:

> The OESO does not operate or achieve success at the expense of command perogatives or through by-passing channels. He is not trained to prescribe ready-made solutions for organizational issues or problems without application of the 4-step process and the desires of the commander. The OESO does not engage in long-term theoretical studies of management problems. He is not a systems analyst or a time and efficiency expert. He is not a "spy" or undercover agent for the commander. He is not trained to train other OESOs.[98]

By the time of the first course, the faculty had matured the core components of

the OE curriculum. The three pillars of the OE program were the "Four-Step Process,"

the popular L&MDC, and the end-of-course practicum. The four-step process was

OETC's way of simplifying the basic OD process; that is, "de-jargonizing" h ow an OD engagement works and assuring the Army that the commander was at the center and in control of the entire process. Although assessments could lead to a number of different

Figure 3.1. The Army OE program simplified the conventional flow of an organizational development process to help educate clients. This also served to reassure commanders that they were at the center of the process and had ultimate authority over its utilization.

engagement techniques, the process revolved around the commander's commitment to

accept the results of the assessments and then work closely with the OESO to plan and

implement improvement activities. By the fall of 1975, the process was sound. It had

matured from all of the Fort Ord experiments dating back to 1969 as well as recent

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98. Ibid., 34.

pilots. The four-step process diagram subsequently promoted institutionalization by appearing on the inside covers of many OETC publications.

More than any other component of the OE curriculum, the L&MDC best expressed the transformational, humanistic underpinning of the entire Progressive movement. The week-long course utilized an experiential learning model that was

> based on a cyclical learning process of five separate but interlocking procedures. As implied by the name of the model, the emphasis is on the direct experiences of the learner. It is based on the premise that experience precedes learning and that the learning, or meaning, to be derived from any experience comes from the learner himself. Any individual's experience is unique to himself; no one can tell him what he is to learn, or gain, from any activity. Probable learnings can, of course, be devised, but it is up to the participant to validate these for himself.[99]

Each new situation, as faced by the individual, served as an entry point into the cyclical model. The five steps involved the following:

1. CONCRETE EXPERIENCE: The process starts with a concrete experience. The participant becomes involved in an activity; he acts or behaves in some way or he does, performs, observes, sees, says something. This initial experience is the basis for the entire process.

2. PUBLISH AND PROCESS: Following the experience itself, it becomes important for the participant to share or "publish" his reactions and observations with others who have either experienced or observed the same activity. The dynamics that emerged in the activity are explored, discussed, and evaluated (processed) with other participants.

3. GENERALIZE: Flowing logically from the processing is the need to develop principles or extract generalizations from the experience. Stating

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99. "Leadership and Management Development Course (Revised): A Five-Day Experience-Based Workshop for Leaders and Managers," Fort Ord, CA: OETC, June 1976, Powell Papers.

learnings in this way can help participants further define, clarify, and

elaborate them.

4. DEVELOP COURSES OF ACTION: Generalized learnings usually

suggest alternate courses of action and speculation of outcomes if an

event were repeated differently–this speculation can be formed into a

plan for application of the principles derived from the experience.

5. APPLY COURSES OF ACTION: The final step in the cycle is not

complete until a new learning or discovery is used and tested

behaviorally. This is the "experimental" part of the experiential model.

Applying, of course, becomes a new experience in a NEW SITUATION

and, with new experience, the cycle begins again.[100]

The course comprised twelve subject areas with learning objectives that focused

heavily on individuals learning to be open to sharing information and experiences,

especially of a personal nature, in a group environment. Clear communication skills,

with a focus on listening skills, were critical. Another focus were the application of FIRO

theory, the development of performance objectives and, finally, the application of the

learnings on the job.[101]

The faculty referred to the attendees as "learners" rather than students. Their

philosophy was that the attendee "has the responsibility to actively learn in light of the

requirement that he function and be treated as an adult learner rather than a person

passively receiving teachings." Although the course was entitled "leadership and

management,"—and succinctly differentiated the two— the course was predominantly

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100. Ibid., ii
101. The course curriculum (L&MDC POI) is accessible at www.armyoe.com.

focused on the former. It strongly reflected the work of Kurt Lewin with its T-Group-like framework and espoused Chris Argyris's belief about unearthing and discussing "the undiscussables." For most of the attendees, it was a unique, often unsettling experience at first.

The sixteen-week OESO course began with the L&MDC. Dr. Jerry Eppler, a strong humanist, facilitated the L&MDC as well as the second and third weeks. Over time, Eppler became the "soul" of the Army OE program, beloved by all those who attended the course and worked at OETC. To this day, he remains the "spiritual father" of Army OE. In the early 1970s, he was drawn to Fort Ord by an overwhelming desire to serve, to be a part of something important and much bigger than himself. In 1974, with a PhD in psychology from the University of Arizona, Eppler was a practicing child psychologist in La Jolla when a colleague in the OD community told him about the OD experimental program that the Army was conducting at Fort Ord. In time, he managed to get an interview with Colonel Robinson and the officers of ODD. As Eppler recalled,

> [o]f course they were all no hair on their heads. I had hair down to my shoulders. They were all just "STRAC" officers in the Army . . . a couple of SF guys and a couple of airborne guys. There were a couple of artillery guys. So there were about six or seven guys. I walked away from them and that first meeting—it was about a five hour interview—and I said, "Wow! They look different than I do, but we're talking the same thing. They have similar values that I have myself. I was amazed, surprised.[102]

Lieutenant Colonel Jim Looram's experience was typical of many who attended the OESO course. Like most of the other Army officers who attended the course, Looram's initial exposure was novel and very alien to his previous experiences. A career infantry officer, Looram was a 1961 West Point graduate. After spending his lieutenant

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102. Eppler interview. STRAC was "a 1970's era US military acronym, meaning: Strategic, Tough, and Ready Around the Clock. To be labeled "STRAC" was considered high praise. "He was a STRAC trooper."

years with the 101st Airborne Division, he attended the Defense Language Institute's

Vietnamese course where he was the honor graduate. He spent his first tour of duty in

Vietnam with the 1st Air Cavalry Division and then, after an assignment at Fort Benning,

returned to Vietnam to serve as a briefer to General Creighton Abrams in the

headquarters of Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (MACV). Selected to teach at

West Point, Looram was promoted "below the zone" (i.e., ahead of his peers) and

attended the University of Hawaii. As he recalled,

> [graduate school] totally radicalized me and changed me. For the first time,
> I saw the power of the behavioral sciences. When we were taught
> leadership at West Point, it was the Great Man Theory: it's all about you,
> you this, you that. I saw the power of what the behavioral sciences could
> do and that was in the early 1970s when leadership still wasn't that well
> codified. [When I] came back to West Point, I thought I was just different at
> that point. I didn't want to be part of the [old] system.[103]

Following his time at West Point and after serving as a staff officer in the 7th Infantry

Division at Fort Ord, and now a lieutenant colonel, Looram chose to become an OESO

and joined the faculty at OETC. In recalling his experiences of the L&MDC and Jerry

Eppler's first three weeks of the course, he noted that

> I had a hard time with it, from where I came from [but] it did me a lot of
> good.
> They twisted my head 27 different ways in the process. . . . [Jerry and his
> colleagues] grounded you in the first half of the program in all the
> communications skills that you needed, not as a colonel, but as a person
> dealing with somebody else. A lot of active listening, a lot of developing
> your own sense of presence, a lot of interaction, so it really took away a lot
> of what you were trained to do, and it was excellent, excellent. . . . You
> could put [Jerry] in a room with twelve people, and he'll get everybody to
> cry eventually. . . . It was grassroots. We were cutting out a new cloth out
> there with some really unusual men. But we kept it at a really sensitive
> level. Basically it was an encounter-group operation. [In the end], we were
> reborn. We saw another way to be.

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103. Looram interview. Note that his comment about not wanting to be part of the system did NOT
mean that he was no longer committed to the Army. On the contrary, Looram eagerly wanted to get back
to the infantry, to be with troops again.

The third pillar of the OESO curriculum was the end-of-course practicum. The practicum was an impressive, real-world OE engagement in an active duty unit. The event involved a great amount of planning and preparation. Behind the scenes, the faculty had to find a unit somewhere in the Army that was willing to receive the fledgling OESOs to tackle legitimate problems. In the early days of the school, this was no easy task. In later years, after OE was somewhat established, the new OESOs were able to communicate with their earmarked units of assignment to identify OE opportunities. These were month-long engagements that involved many long hours. In the years ahead, the term "practicum" was discarded in the effort to "de-jargonize" OE. Instead, OETC used the term "field training exercise" (FTX) to legitimize the engagement in the eyes of the Army.

The course presented a radical departure from the Army's traditional "platform" training methodology. Instructors at all of the other Army schools literally lectured from raised wooden platforms, with students sitting in rows dutifully taking notes and regurgitating the correct answers on exams for each "block of instruction." Often, the instructor would stomp his foot, signaling that the particular point would appear on the exam. As DePuy's training management system evolved in the years ahead, platform training would become even more regimented as each block of instruction tightly conformed to a "task, condition, and standard."

Although the prototype course was planned out in detail, it did experience growing pains. It got off to a slow start primarily due to administrative issues caused by Rogers sending additional students and by the need to hold classes in Fort Ord's Family Life Center while permanent facilities were prepared. Although the sixteen-week

framework of the course was sound, the instructors relied on some of the students who would soon be faculty to teach as well. This meant that the details of the course were still evolving. Still, the first ten weeks of experientially-based "laboratory training" worked well as the students divided into teams of eight students each. For the following month, the students conducted their practicum by implementing an OE engagement with one of the infantry battalions of the 7th ID. While the battalion commander was supportive, his unit was preparing for a major external evaluation which detracted from the project. Still, the practicum and the course overall proved to be a promising start.

In December 1975, faculty, staff, and students all came together to assess the prototype course. The students commended the excitement of the staff and the skills of the outside consultants. They expressed appreciation for the opportunity for personal growth and for allowing the "students to take some of the responsibility for themselves." In terms of the curriculum, the students found the L&MDC and the practicum with the infantry battalion the most valuable. As expected, they disliked the administrative detractors, especially early on, and found that some of the instructors avoided conflict and were indecisive. Chroniclers of the critique attributed the latter comments to the fact that "the students and faculty were suffering something similar to an identity crisis."[104]

For the faculty, the prototype course prompted an intense introspection. On one hand, the overall course proved very sound, based on years of development, testing and evaluation. The foundation was firm as a result of the faculty having practiced mainstream OD with some of the Fort Ord units. The intense, post-course assessment, which involved everyone, also validated the components of OD that were appropriate and effective for the Army's institutional culture. On the other hand, the course

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104. Ibid., 40.

demonstrated that much fine-tuning was needed to ensure that OETC actually produced well-qualified OD consultants. OETC demanded a lot from the students. In sixteen short weeks, OETC attempted to produce what college graduate programs often took two years of study to accomplish. For captains and majors to serve with credibility as OESOs on higher-echelon staffs, advising their colonels and generals, they had to possess not only a high level of expertise in the behavioral sciences (primarily OD) but also the poise and communication skills that were imperative to win the trust and confidence of skeptical participants. This reality was precisely the reason why Rogers wanted to set the selection criteria so high and fought TRADOC on reducing the length of the course below sixteen weeks. TRADOC's view was that the OESO course was just another specialty school. [105]

The second serious introspection concerned the intense, experientially-based laboratory framework of the curriculum that heavily stressed T-Groups and sensitivity training. Halfway through the course, the faculty grew concerned when DA issued a directive that race relations training could no longer employ sensitivity training. Throughout 1974 and 1975, the Army had attempted to heal the chronic racial tension that pervaded the ranks with mandatory race relations training. These sessions were eight hours long and involved fifteen to twenty soldiers, unfamiliar with each other, sitting in a circle with a facilitator. The organizers were careful to enroll an equal proportion of races in an attempt to balance out the dialog and interactions. The intent of the course was sound, with the instructors attempting to unearth the

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105. The Army had/has a system of schools that prepare soldiers to work in a secondary occupational specialty, often with a specific skill set. Upon graduation from these courses, soldiers are awarded an ASI (Additional Skill Identifier). Examples included "Electronic Warfare Officer (5M) – two week course; or "Parachutist" (5P) – three week course. The OESO course at sixteen weeks was the longest course in the TRADOC system that produced ASIs. The OESO was awarded the ASI "5Z."

"undiscussables." Unfortunately, the course tried to ramrod an experientially-based

method that normally required a certain level of maturity and weeks of assimilation into

several hours. Soldiers often left these sessions feeling angry and frustrated.[106] When

the DA message arrived on October 1, only three weeks into the course, OETC

instructors feared that although the OETC curriculum was not a race relations course,

it's very structure that rested on the foundation of laboratory training could be perceived

in the same vein. In the ensuing discussions, the faculty expressed divided opinions.

One group advocated a more didactic-oriented approach, while the other group wanted

to retain the existing experiential orientation. "Adding to the dilemma was the lack of a

clear definition of sensitivity training." As one chronicler noted,

> this issue required a lot of time and energy on the part of the organization
> to define what was actually happening in the course and how this differed
> from sensitivity training. The result was that what the school was doing
> had a stated goal and sensitivity training did not.[107]

Most impressive about the results of this "soul-searching" was that the group essentially

employed OD on their own organization. This event marked the beginning of an

improvement process that never ended throughout the lifetime of the Army OE program.

In short, OETC continuously sought to improve its effectiveness, that is, it "practiced

what it preached."108

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106. Although anecdotal, as a junior enlisted soldier, I attended two of these sessions in 1974 and 1975. Both were very contentious. The first one resulted in a big fist fight. We all felt like they were a waste of time and made things worse.

107. Golden manuscript, 36.

108. I beg the reader's forgiveness in not providing details about the curricula, the internal organization and its membership throughout this narrative. The truth is no two courses looked exactly alike. OETC constantly fine-tuned its internal staff organization, refined the curriculum, and routinely modified the course as they gained new knowledge and experiences over time. It was the epitome of a "learning organization." However, I have posted the OESO POI to www.armyoe.com.

OETC Is Open For Business

On January 8, 1976, OETC opened its doors to the first full course of thirty-five future OESOs. To mark the importance of this event, Rogers—again flexing his muscles in TRADOC's back yard—sent Major General Calvert P. Benedict, his top personnel chief (i.e., the FORSCOM DCSPERS) to formally address the class at the start of the course. Benedict reassured the students that OETC had strong support at the highest levels and that as OESOs, they were bringing advances in science "into the areas of military life that can have a major impact on effectiveness."[109]

While Course 1-76 was underway from January 8 through April 30, 1976, the OETC faculty and staff produced an enormous amount of work that would meet TRADOC and DA's guidance on propagating OE throughout the Army. The staff devoted much of their time and effort in developing appropriate instructional materials and literature to support OE instruction in other TRADOC service schools. Especially noteworthy was the development of the competency planning system that determined "whether or not students in training were receiving appropriate material in a number of areas, such as self-awareness, interpersonal relations, group community relationships, organizational development and other professional areas of functions."[110]

This system was important because it established a mechanism to ensure that high standards were clearly defined and followed. These standards not only were applied to the students in the resident course but also established the criteria that allowed exceptionally qualified officers to receive certification as OESOs without having

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109. Golden manuscript, 43. This did not go unnoticed by TRADOC. When the class graduated on April 30, 1976, DePuy sent his DCSPERS, Major General Stan L. McClellan (Benedict's counterpart at TRADOC), to the school to deliver the graduation address.
110. Ibid.

attended OETC. In the history of the program, only seven officers received the OESO additional skill identifier of 5Z by virtue of formal education and experience.[111]

By spring 1976, the competency planning system had identified 44 knowledge areas and 44 skill areas. The staff also accomplished a number of other projects to include pioneer work in the use of data processing to assist with survey work (novel at that time) that would greatly assist OESOs in the field; the design of a survey officer's course and a survey data processing course; an assessment model that combined systematic feedback from the field, action research, and an accurate appraisal of the effects of the OE effort; a civilian/NCO concept-course development that determined the appropriate rules for civilian/NCO participation in OE; and inputs to survey and management doctrine and policy at ADMINCEN, MILPERCEN, and DA.

Perhaps the most important work during these months was the creation of the Organizational Effectiveness Executive Course (OEEC). OETC personnel designed this course specifically for senior commanders (colonels and general officers) in order to demystify OE and to educate commanders that OE was a tool that would assist them in achieving organizational goals. OEEC was the key to breaking down resistance to the Army OE program. In May 1976, TRADOC school representatives attended the first OEEC at the Casa Munras hotel near Fort Ord. At this conference, OETC also presented much of the aforementioned work, "an initial literature package," to TRADOC. This delivery served to fulfill one of the major tasks that Westmoreland, Forsythe, and others had foreseen; namely, the inclusion of behavioral science in the Army's extensive school system. At this point in time, it was clear to everyone at Fort Ord that

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111. These were LTC Frank Burns, LTC Thomas S. Myerchin, LTC Ramon Nadal, LTC Roy Ray, MAJ Fred W. Schaum, LTC Richard A. Robinson, Jr., and LTC Richard E. Powell.

OETC was much more than a TRADOC school. Indeed, with all of the projects underway, OETC was already a research and educational center.

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OETC entered 1976 with a running start. On January 8, 1976, Nadal's boss, FORSCOM DCSPERS Major General Calvert P. Benedict, formally opened OETC class 1-76 with a key note address. In his remarks, General Benedict "reinforced the high level of support for the OE program" (meaning from his boss, Rogers), and reminded each of the thirty-five students of their exceptional "technical expertise" and their potential to "bring the advances of science into the areas of military life that can have a major impact on effectiveness." Having fine-tuned the curriculum from the prototype course, the faculty delivered a rich program that included a matured L&MDC and practicums at Fort Ord and Fort Lewis. The participants graduated on April 30, 1976, with Major General Stanley L. McClellan, the TRADOC DCSPERS, attending as the guest speaker.[112]

It is important to understand that by early 1976, OETC had become more of a center than a school.[113] The OESO course, while certainly the cornerstone of institutionalization, only constituted a portion of the OETC workload. As the first course was underway, the center underwent a significant reorganization that would better align with the expansion of its other missions. This reorganization, largely transpiring in March, followed on the heels of Colonel Taylor's departure as commandant on January

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112. Golden manuscript.

113. This fact was always lost on ADMINCEN and TRADOC, largely because OETC was an anomaly in comparison with all of the other schools in the TRADOC system. Note that these were the tumultuous months when TRADOC was attempting to move OETC to Fort Benjamin Harrison and ADMINCEN tried to shorten the course length causing Rogers to directly intervene (as discussed at the beginning of this chapter). OETC always viewed itself as an academic, educational organization (which it most certainly was) whereas TRADOC always viewed it as just another training school among the scores of others scattered throughout the Army.

28. His successor, Colonel Phillip B. Merrick, oversaw the organizational changes, in which the divisions essentially became directorates. The directors were Lieutenant Colonel R. A. Robinson (resource management), Lieutenant Colonel Frank Lawler (training), Mr. Savard (evaluation), and Dr. Mel Spehn (development).

Spehn's Development Directorate arguably undertook the most important and difficult work at the center: the planning and development of OE curricula. His team's most pressing task in the early spring of 1976 was the development of POI for TRADOC. This was a major project that resulted in the development of materials and literature to support OE instruction in the other TRADOC service schools should ADMINCEN accept them. His team completed an initial package that they distributed to TRADOC school representatives during the OEEC course held in Monterey in May.[114] At the same time, Spehn's team began to work on expanding OE into the Army Reserves and the National Guard. This expansion aligned with the Army's organizational "round-out" plans to fully integrate the active and reserve components. Finally, the Development Directorate planned for the introduction of NCOs into the OESO course. Their vision was to produce OE NCOs who would aid OESOs in the field as assistant internal consultants. This initiative also proved to be an important step in the institutionalization of the OE program as Army OE expanded beyond the officer corps and into the NCO corps.

On top of this heavy workload, Spehn dealt with the curriculum development for the OESO course. With lessons learned from the recent prototype course and as class 1-76 was underway, the directorate worked hard to improve the curriculum. Their work

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114. TRADOC and ADMINCEN dragged their heels on reviewing and incorporating the material into the various POIs (discussed in Chapter IV).

was made more difficult as Spehn fought with ADMINCEN to keep the course length at sixteen weeks. ADMINCEN wanted to reduce the course to fourteen weeks by eliminating the material that prepared OESOs to instruct the L&MDC. As described above, Rogers's recognized the criticality of the L&MDC and personally intervened to prevent the curtailment. Rogers's intervention ensured that the more humanistic elements of leadership development would propagate throughout the Army, as the OESOs could now teach the L&MDC beyond the confines of Fort Ord. For the Progressives, this was an important component of institutionalization.[115]

Whereas the Development Directorate had a clear path to follow, albeit with a heavy workload, the Evaluation Directorate was just beginning an arduous, difficult journey that would ultimately struggle to show the value of Army OE. Those were battles yet to come. In March 1976, the directorate's primary mission was the development of a plan to evaluate all facets of the OE activities both in the field and at OETC. The plan was difficult to formulate because only a handful of OESOs from the prototype course were in the field.[116]

Fortunately, that number would soon increase. Class 2-76 began on April 30, 1976, with forty students. This class experienced an improved curriculum and an expanded practicum. Students from class 2-76 travelled to Fort Riley, Fort Lewis, Fort Hood, and the Presidio of San Francisco to conduct their OE FTXs. At their graduation on August 13, Rogers sent Brigadier General Phillip Kaplan, the FORSCOM Assistant

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115. Ibid. This was a "train the trainer" concept, that is, OETC's attempt to propagate L&MDC throughout the Army.

116. Ibid. Prior to March, the directorate primarily worked on all aspects involving surveys—policies, processing, etc. With the March reorganization, "the Directorate divested itself of all activities that were not an integral part of OE evaluation." This was an important recognition that evaluations would soon constitute the most important factor in determining the long-term sustainability of the program.

DCSPERS, to be the guest speaker. One week later, on August 20, 1976, class 3-76 began with forty students. This class included three NCOs who would test out the concept of the OENCO, First Sergeant Larry G. Hibbs, Sergeant First Class Richard L. Hines, and Staff Sergeant Callie M. Edwards. Class 3-76 conducted FTXs at Fort Hood, Fort Carson, and Fort Riley. They graduated on December 10, 1976, with Major General Robert L. Kirwan, Commander of Fort Ord's 7th Infantry Division, as guest speaker.

During the course for class 3-76, the Army DCSPERS, Lieutenant General Hal Moore, visited OETC and spoke with the students. In the conversations that ensued, the students "expressed concern about their acceptance as OESOs" in the field. Specifically, they told Moore that they feared that their future commanders would suspect them of trying to "usurp the chain of command prerogatives." Moore reassured the class that the OESOs were welcomed. Upon his return to Washington, Moore sent the class a memorandum on December 1, 1976, that stated that "the OESOs were being well received and supported in the field."[117]

This was an important conversation because it revealed that the students had already sensed resistance to the Army OE program, enough to cause them some degree of anxiety. It was too early for such feedback to come from the OESOs out in the units. After all, the students from the previous classes (1-76 and 2-76) had only recently arrived in their organizations. Whatever source of their concerns, the conversation reflected a real fear that their involvement with OE could jeopardize their careers. As senior captains and majors, these students, at this point in their lives, were fully committed to a twenty-plus year career path in the Army. More importantly, their anxiety

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117. Golden manuscript, 49.

revealed a *pervasive* level of skepticism that OE posed a threat to a commander's position and authority, despite extensive efforts to dispel that perception. In retrospect, it is clear that this fear reflected widespread resistance to change, both then and in the years ahead.

Unfortunately, TRADOC did little to understand the extensive work underway at Fort Ord. In part, this inattention was deliberate—DePuy was comfortable with Fort Benjamin Harrison's charter to pull OETC into the ADMINCEN family. However, friction between ADMINCEN and OETC began to mount in the spring and summer of 1976, as OETC made tremendous progress in both the OESO course and the numerous administrative projects. This friction created a "real upheaval between the organization and the ADMINCEN . . . . There appeared to be a lot of dissent between the two headquarters. [T]he results were unrest, concern, and a general feeling that there was an eruption about to occur."[118] Both sides contributed to the escalation of tension. Perhaps bolstered by the strong support from FORSCOM (i.e., Rogers) and by the success of the prototype course, the new OETC commandant—Colonel Phillip B. Merrick—wrote Major General Mundie requesting that ADMINCEN change OETC's name to the Organizational Effectiveness Institute (OEI). Merrick wanted the Army to know that OETC was much more than a TRADOC school. The name would "clearly denote OETC's position as a small, highly-specialized element of a larger educational organization, at the same time implying that OETC performed a variety of tasks other than training." Mundie never acknowledged the request. This was followed by ADMINCEN's suggestion that OETC shorten the course by two weeks that Rogers successfully thwarted. On July 30, ADMINCEN requested Merrick's input on what

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118. Golden manuscript, 36.

support would be needed to move OETC to Fort Benjamin Harrison. Merrick's staff was prepared. On the same day, they provided ADMINCEN with a thorough staff study that indicated that Fort Harrison would not have the space and equipment to house the staff and school. More importantly, the move would seriously interrupt the OE program by as much as a year. This estimate, however, assumed that Indianapolis could provide the civilian expertise that the Monterey area now contributed. Above all, the study underscored the high level of expertise that had taken years to achieve.

ADMINCEN did not respond to Merrick's input, which meant to the people at OETC that a move appeared imminent. Indeed, on August 3, the ADMINCEN comptroller contacted TRADOC to understand budget impacts of moving OETC to Indiana.[119] Throughout August and September, ADMINCEN remained silent on the proposed move, which caused considerable apprehension among the staff and faculty, most of whom just had recently relocated to Fort Ord. Fortunately, the matter was settled on October 15, 1976, when Mundie finally replied to Merrick and advised him that OETC would remain at Fort Ord "for the foreseeable future." Rogers's hand in the matter was apparent—he had become Chief of Staff of the Army only two weeks earlier.

In late September 1976, as Rogers departed FORSCOM, he had done all that he possibly could to make Army OE acceptable and perhaps "permanent" in the Army's combat divisions. In looking back on his twenty-five months as the commander of FORSCOM, Rogers took heart that OE was on the right path. He frequently spoke about the evolution of this enormous effort and frankly told his audiences that it would take a decade or more for OE to really become entrenched in the culture. He also

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119. Ibid., 43. To TRADOC's credit, Lieutenant Colonel R. M. May, head of TRADOC's Resource Evaluation Division, informed Lieutenant Colonel Elliot J. Welch, the ADMINCEN comptroller that DePuy had previously conceded OETC's point about the problem with civilian expertise.

closely embraced, rewarded, and empowered his junior Progressives as they performed

the hard work on the front lines. In September 1976, these troops consisted of his

longtime dependable "right hand" men, Nadal, Schaum, and Johns, as well as the first

wave of true believers that included Powell, Ray, the faculty and staff at OETC, and the

100 new OESOs that were just initiating numerous OE engagements throughout the

Army. Typical of his transformational leadership behaviors, Rogers consistently trusted

them and openly received their counsel. Indeed, on the eve of becoming CSA, he once

again accepted Nadal's unsolicited critique and recommendations. As Nadal recalled,

> [o]ne of the things that I did prior to General Rogers's departure from
> Forces Command was to write him a letter. This letter was sent to his
> home so it would not be intercepted by the bureaucracy or by his
> gatekeepers. The letter said that, basically, I had enjoyed working for him
> and helping get OE started, but that it was my conviction that at DA and
> throughout the rest of the Army there was no master plan to implement the
> OE program.[120]

Rogers concurred with Nadal's assessment. In fact, in the weeks ahead, Rogers would

turn to Nadal to develop a 3- to 10-year master plan for the program. Rogers's selection

as CSA delighted the Progressives. They realized that Rogers had been and would

continue to be "the locus of power for the evolution of the program," and that "when he

became Chief of Staff of the Army, much of the power shifted with him to the Chief's

office and to DCSPERS."[121]

By the fall of 1976, the Healers and the Progressives strongly clung to their

respective views and did so simply because nothing drove or required them to reach

across their largely philosophically borders to shake hands. As FORSCOM commander,

Rogers had recognized this and leveraged Nadal and his team to spend a large amount

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120. Nadal Letter.
121. Nadal interview.

of time with brigade, division and corps commanders. Fortunately, as Rogers neared

the end of his tenure at FORSCOM, OETC was poised to take a quantum leap in the

propagation of Army OE. By the end of September 1976, as Rogers left FORSCOM to

serve as the Army Chief of Staff, OETC had graduated a hundred OESOs. Indeed, the

momentum at Fort Ord was accelerating. From this point on, Rogers could provide

powerful "top cover," especially in terms of pressuring TRADOC to promote OE, but the

fate of institutionalization now resided within OETC.

Chapter IV

The Institutionalization of OE: The Rogers Years

> Cross-cultural research and analysis in popular motives and values at last permits us to avoid parochial notions of authority and power and to identify broad patterns of leadership-followership interaction as part of a broader concept of social causation. At last we can hope to close the intellectual gap between the fecund canons of authority in a new and general theory of leadership.
>
> James MacGregor Burns

On October 1, 1976, General Bernie Rogers became chief of staff of the US Army. Five weeks later, on November 2, Jimmy Carter defeated incumbent Gerald Ford for the presidency of the United States. Rogers would serve as the CSA for thirty-two months, through the majority of the Carter Administration. In November 1976, as control of the executive branch shifted from the Republican to the Democratic Party, the service chiefs braced themselves for possible radical changes in the defense establishment. Carter had campaigned on a pledge to reduce defense spending by seven billion dollars and to balance the budget by 1981. The president-elect and his new secretary of defense, Harold Brown, favored the use of systems analysis, former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara's system of quantifiable management, now abhorred by the military due to its use of demanding statistics and quantifiable measures for managing the war in Vietnam. It was clear in late 1976 that Carter would dive deep into the armed services' budgeting processes precisely at a time when key reforms in the Army heavily depended upon budget increases.[1]

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1. John D. Mini, "Conflict, Cooperation, and Congressional End-Runs: The Defense Budget and Civil-Military Relations in the Carter Administration, 1977–1978," (PhD dissertation, University of North Carolina, 2007), http://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/etd/id/889, 31. Brown had served as McNamara's head of R&D in the Pentagon. See also, Frank L. Jones, "A 'Hollow Army Reappraised: President Carter, Defense Budgets, and the Politics of Military Readiness," The Letort Papers, Strategic Studies Institute (Carlisle, PA: US Army War College, 2012), DTIC accession number: AD-A566298, viii.

Rogers inherited from outgoing Chief of Staff Weyand an Army that was adrift in a sea change of force modernization and reform. Weyand had pushed Abrams's expanded force structure too quickly by activating too many units for the sixteen division force too soon. Consequently, the Ford Administration and Congress had approved the expanded structure but not commensurate increases in personnel or funding. As Rogers became CSA, Army units throughout USAREUR suffered extensive shortages of supplies, spare parts, ammunition, and fuel. These were serious concerns for Rogers given that the Soviet threat in Europe was the US and NATO's primary concern. Exacerbating this state of readiness, as Rogers assumed his new responsibilities on the first day of fiscal year 1977, was a serious problem with recruitment. Congress had reduced the Army's recruiting budget from $72 million to $29 million for FY77 and had ended the Vietnam-era GI Bill—a major incentive for attracting volunteers.[2]

The Godfather Takes Action

Against this contextual backdrop, Rogers hit the ground running in setting priorities. Timing proved fortuitous as the annual Army-wide commanders' conference was scheduled for the end of November. Of all the issues facing the Army at that time— recruitment challenges, widespread concern over the Soviet threat, readiness, women entering the force, race relations and drug abuse, underfunded procurements for long-overdue modernization—he chose the topic of Army OE for his keynote address.

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2. Frank L. Jones, "A Hollow Army Reappraised: President Carter, Defense Budgets, and the Politics of Military Readiness," Letort papers (Carlisle Barracks, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, October 2012), DTIC accession number AD-A566298, 20–22. See also US Department of Defense, "Report of Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld to the Congress on the FY 1978 Budget, FY 1979 Authorization Request, and FY 1978-1982 Defense Programs," 17 January 1977 (Washington DC: Office of the Secretary of Defense). DTIC accession number: ADA-082839. The tone of this report was severe in regard to the Soviet threat. Albeit anecdotal, I experienced these severe shortages first hand. As I left the Army in Germany during Rogers's first month as CSA, we were cannibalizing our vehicles to keep others operational and buying toilet paper on the German economy because we could not get it through Army supply channels.

Rogers delivered this address to all of his senior commanders on November 30, 1976.

One week earlier, he had tasked Fred Schaum to put together his talking points. His full

trust in Schaum was evident as he retained almost all Schaum had drafted.[3]

The new CSA made clear from the very beginning of his remarks that he

intended to institutionalize OE and that he viewed OE as a way to address most, if not

all, of the Army's organizational challenges:

> As all of you know, I have for sometime been interested in Organizational
> Effectiveness (OE) as a technology and capability for strengthening and
> improving the Army in the broadest sense. The results obtained from
> pioneering efforts with OE during the past four years have been
> illuminating, but are only the tip of the iceberg. Collectively, these early
> initiatives in line and staff units signal a significant long term contribution to
> the Army. For this reason it is important for us to discuss OE at this
> conference and to use this discussion as a starting point for developing a
> shared viewpoint of how to institutionalize and employ this capability in the
> coming years.[4]

Rogers first cited examples of successful OE engagements underway, giving particular

credit to Blanchard and Powell's work in USAREUR and the work at FORSCOM with

Nadal. He was also careful to note that he intended to expand its use within his own

extensive staff at DA.

The remainder of Rogers's speech dealt with the nature of institutionalization. He

heavily emphasized that OE was a tool for the commander and that its use was

voluntary. However, he informed his commanders that certain aspects of the OE

program were obligatory. Rogers was clear and direct: "We are proceeding to develop

an Army OE capability which will be self-sustaining. This part is mandatory." By this he

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3. Major Fred Schaum, "CSA Remarks on Organizat1onal Effectiveness (OE) for the Army Commanders Conference," memorandum for Chief of Staff of the Army (November 23, 1976), Nadal Papers.

4. "CSA Comments on Organizational Effectiveness (OE) Army Commanders Conference," speech, November 30, 1976, Rogers Papers.

meant the creation of spaces for OESOs, adequate funding, policy and doctrine,

education and training, and strong support for follow-on research and evaluation. He

acknowledged the existence of widespread skepticism but informed his audience that

those who had tried it found it successful, so successful, in fact, that in those commands

requests for OE were greater than the OESOs could accommodate. While Rogers

sought to paint a very positive picture, he also issued a stern warning that

> those commanders who chose not to selectively use this technology
> should not preclude their subordinates from using it. . . . Some people in
> the Army are trying to second guess my sincerity. Others may be "buying
> in" because it appears to be a good horse to ride. This can get in the way
> of attaining any genuine success, so we must change these attitudes.5

The most powerful message of his remarks was his distinction between

leadership and management. He delineated the differences especially in emphasizing

that the former was all about people, and that OE was a "practical and systematic way

of looking at how the Army and its organizational elements function by reflecting on the

distinctly human nature of any organization." Succinctly, he stated that

> we need to proceed toward institutionalizing OE with the same degree of
> interest that we devote to a new weapon system. But we also need to
> recognize that the attainment of this goal is even more complex than
> bringing a new weapon system on line because we are dealing with the
> human dimensions of the Army. . . . There is a danger of pushing too far
> and too fast because the successful use of OE involves people. It is not
> something done to them.6

During his speech, Rogers informed his commanders that he had created a study

group to assess "the Army involvement in OE to find out where we are, where we are

trying to go, and how we should proceed to get there." Rogers established this group—

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5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.

the Organizational Effectiveness Study Group (OESG)—on November 17, as a direct

follow-up to Nadal's personal letter from September criticizing the lack of a strategic

plan for OE. Although Nadal was still assigned to FORSCOM, Rogers chose Nadal to

head up this small group that also included OE all-star veterans Lieutenant Colonel Roy

Ray from the 82nd Airborne Division and DA/DCSPERS/HRD's own Major Fred

Schaum.[7]

Nadal's team had the mission of assessing where the Army currently stood with

OE activities and to then recommend an appropriate strategy and courses of action that

would facilitate institutionalization. Rogers's initial guidance to Nadal and his team was

to "operate in a consultative manner and provide assistance for ensuring that an Army-

wide OE capability is institutionalized with an emphasis on quality." With the study group

directly focused on institutionalization, their task was not to study the state-of-the-art of

OD but rather to determine the "long-term development and sustainment of an Army-

wide OE capability from the standpoint of organization, staffing, resources, and

management requirements." Rogers emphasized to the team that

> the orientation of the study reflects a commitment to bring OE on line as a
> technology in a substantive and deliberate manner and to fully integrate its
> use by the chain of command across all levels and functional areas. The
> establishment of this capability is a top priority Army goal.[8]

Nadal and his team spent five weeks, from November 17 to December 21, 1976,

assessing current Army-wide OE efforts. The study group then briefed Rogers on their

interim assessment on December 22. After hearing their report, Rogers directed the

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7. Ramon A. Nadal, William E. Duey, Roy Ray, and Fred W. Schaum, *Organizational Effectiveness in the US Army,* Final Report of the Organizational Effectiveness Study Group (Washington DC: Office of the Chief of Staff, US Department of the Army, April 1977), DTIC accession number: AD-A043500. Hereafter cited as OESG Final Report. Duey joined the group in January 1977 to represent TRADOC.
8. Ibid., 17.

study team to draft a memo for his signature that would direct specific Army staff

agencies "to initiate certain time-sensitive actions which were supportive of the study

objective." He also asked them to draft a concept paper that described the capabilities

and structures for an Army-wide OE program, and to create a time-phased plan for

institutionalizing Army OE.[9]

Eager to move OE along, Rogers wasted little time in issuing his directives to the

heads of several Army staff agencies. On February 9, 1977, the CSA directed the staff

to create an OE consulting cell within the Office of the CSA that would advise the CSA

on OE and provide OE consulting services to the entire DA staff. Rogers also directed

Hal Moore, his DCSPERS, to compile a list of key positions at various headquarters that

required knowledge of OE and to identify and begin to assign "the most qualified officers

available" to staff those positions "by reason of civilian education, training, or

experience." Moore's office was also asked to prepare an Army regulation on OE, to

publish a DA pamphlet on Army OE, and to work with the Chief of Public Affairs, Office

of the Secretary of the Army, to draft a plan to inform the Army of the OE program.

Finally, the DCSPERS was to work with the Army chief of legislative liaison to "prepare

material to inform Congress of Army OE efforts." Rogers expected his tasked generals

to complete these directives no later than April 1, 1977.

The OESG Delivers

From December 22, 1976, through March 1977, the OESG completed the Chief's

assigned directives. Nadal, Schaum, and Ray were careful to ensure that they received

as much data and feedback from the field as possible. For example, from March 22 to

25, the OESG conducted a four-day conference with twenty-five OE staff personnel

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9. Ibid.

from a number of major commands and Army staff agencies. During the conference,

they reviewed the draft findings and developed recommendations for a time-phased

institutionalization plan. More importantly, the OE personnel who attended the

conference were asked to staff these recommendations within their commands for

comment and suggestions. Overall, the OESG emphasized discussions with

commanders and staff officers who were using OE-trained personnel. In total, they

visited seventeen Army installations and eleven service schools. They interviewed thirty

general officers and "tapped the views and experiences" of thirteen major commands

and thirteen Army staff and field operating agencies.[10]

Serendipitously, the OESG was able to incorporate data from phase I of the

three-year OETC Evaluation Program. OETC's effort was a data-base analysis of 132

OESOs conducting OE engagements in the field. OETC was interested in the extent to

which OE was being accepted in the Army. By that time, the OESOs who responded

represented fifty-eight Army locations around the world. The OESG found the data

especially useful because "the majority of the OESG observations were substantiated

by [OETC's] evaluation effort."[11]

The most important input that the OESG received during this time was SDC's

twenty-one page report entitled "Summary of Organizational Effectiveness (OE) on the

Army Staff" the OESG had requested earlier. The report was released on March 21,

1977, in time for the findings to be shared with the four-day conference that began the

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10. Ibid., 20. Impressively, the OESG also found time to attend critical OE forums during this short time frame such as the ODCSPER General Officer Steering Committee meetings on December 15 and March 30, and the TRADOC Instruction Meeting at Fort Ord in January. Nadal, Ray, and Schaum also actively participated in OE activities, such as the Brigadier General Designee Conference, on March 3, and the OE Workshop at CGSC on March 8–9.

11. Ibid.

next day. This rich, comprehensive report outlining SDC's previous four years of OD

work with DA and especially with MILPERCEN not only reported the successes and

challenges of their work thus far but also accurately described the cultural resistance to

change in general and Army OE in particular. In essence, the report summarized the

"basic issues which have surfaced again and again" since their initial engagement in

May 1973 with OPO/MILPERCEN and subsequently with DA DCSPER, DA DCSLOG

(logistics), DA DCSOPS, Office of the Director of the Army Staff, DA Chief of Public

Affairs, FORSCOM, USAREUR, and the Military District of Washington.[12]

In sum, the most habitual and extensive problem was communications and

interpersonal relations. SDC noted that the problem with communications was twofold.

Communications, on one hand, "can refer to the procedures, regulations, and forms

through which information is processed on paper, or it can refer to interpersonal

relationships and how they affect what goes on a paper and how it is processed." John

Hallen, the author of the report, explained that because the Army "places great value on

hierarchy and rank, the information flow . . . is more filtered and controlled than it need

be." Within the Army bureaucracy, officers at each level in the chain of command place

their own interpretation on the information. The result of the "filtering phenomenon" is

that the final product may often distort or deviate from what was actually requested.

"Thus, information that reaches the top is often less valid than information available at

lower organizational levels." Hallen reported that immense authorities associated with

rank and positions and the extreme competitiveness within the Army officer corps

resulted in decisions being made "on the basis of rank rather than on the basis of data."

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12. John F. Hallen, "Summary of Organizational Effectiveness (OE) on the Army Staff," System Development Corporation, March 21, 1977, 1, Powell Papers.

In echoing an underlying philosophy of Army OE, Hallen expressed his view that "it does not follow that a person of higher rank necessarily is better informed about specific issues." As a consequence of these organizational dysfunctions, the system "creates a climate in which subordinates tell their superiors only what they think superiors want to hear," and in which officers become "risk takers [in name only] who carefully avoid any potential conflict with superiors."[13]

The OESG completed their report in early April 1977. The framework of the 140-page report articulated eleven "guidelines" that were required as a foundation for the creation of a comprehensive strategy to guide the Army OE program toward full institutionalization. These guidelines reflected three general concerns derived from the thirty-four specific findings and sixty-nine recommendations: TRADOC's slow progress, a lack of senior officer involvement, and the necessity of quality OESOs.[14]

In regard to TRADOC, the team reported that TRADOC lacked trained OE personnel and lagged behind all other actors in pushing Army OE forward. While the OESG also noted that some major commands had yet to embrace OE, they attributed that issue to the limited number of trained OESOs in the field. The report stated that TRADOC's shortcomings were serious because a lack of policy and doctrine resulted in a state of "ad hoc management" of OE throughout the Army. Exacerbating ad hoc management was the widespread belief that the Army was not serious about OE (despite the CSA's remarks at the previous commanders' conference) because there

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13. Ibid., 2–3, Hallen noted that that division chiefs and branch chiefs (colonels and brigadier generals) expressed these "patterns of behaviors" more than any other group. The second half of the report outlined how the various techniques of Army OE could greatly improve the effectiveness of the various Army staff organizations. I encourage the reader to read this report because it will become apparent that the same dysfunctionalities have persisted to this very day. See www.armyoe.com.

14. Nadal et. al. "Final Report of the OESG."

was no comprehensive DA plan or DA regulation that spelled out the OESO's duties and responsibilities. For successful institutionalization, the authors emphasized that OE doctrine must appear in Army doctrinal literature.[15]

The OESG report made clear that quality OESOs and willing commanders were vital to the institutionalization of the program. Indeed, the vast majority of the report identified many recommendations that would address these two imperatives. Willing commanders required subordinate commanders who were educated in OD/OE theory and practice:

> We know from experience, within and outside the Army, that the only way OE can be institutionalized is for the chain of command to be actively involved, supportive, and responsible for its application. A staff function and a group of specialists cannot assume this role. One of the major findings of this report is the lack of a shared understanding on the part of senior officers about what OE is and how it should be used. If this is not addressed rather expeditiously in the next 1-2 years, OE will be relegated to the status of another "gimmick" that had a short existence.[16]

Again, in drawing attention to TRADOC, the report criticized the lack of OE educational material in the school system, especially noting its absence at the Army War College. "Eventually the TRADOC school system, in conjunction with the Army War College, will ensure that senior officers are knowledgeable about OE. In the immediate future, however, some exceptional measures are required." By "exceptional measures" the authors meant that the CSA would have to remain heavily involved.

> The introduction of OE into the Army is a complex, long-range effort. It is, in many ways, an attempt to constructively change and revitalize part of the Army culture. Recognition of these facts means that the institutionalization of OE will have to be managed by exception from the highest levels of the Army until some time in the future when its acceptance is more clearly assured.17

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15. Ibid., 3.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.

With substantive recommendations in hand, the team did well to help reviewers of the report by charting a path between forcing OE down the throats of the entire Army—as DePuy was currently attempting to do with his new operational doctrine—and educating and demonstrating that, in the long term, OE could offer commanders tremendous benefits and payoffs. To accomplish the latter would take time—a great deal of time. The authors warned that to "cultivate a receptive environment for OE, [the program] required at least a decade of concerted effort," especially since the Army was "working on the forefront of this technology."[18]

The most important message from the OESG report was its realistic recognition that key personnel (i.e., specific Progressives and especially the CSA) would only remain in their current influential positions for a relatively short period of time. A successful decade-long maturation period for OE rested firmly in the hands of a world-class center for OE education and its production of quality OESOs. As ongoing and subsequent activities at Fort Ord revealed, OETC heard this message loud and clear (discussed below). While Nadal, Ray, and Schaum all recognized that Fort Ord would hold the fate of Army OD in its hands, long-term centralized oversight was required at the DA/DCSPERS level to ensure not only the production of quality OESOs but the ability of OETC to retain its humanistic, people-centric focus over time. Indeed, the report's most important (and prescient) recommendation was that "additional monitorship of the OE Training Center is required to ensure that its focus does not shift

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18. Ibid. Fred Schaum stated in March 1978 that it could take two decades to institutionalize. Fred Schaum, "The Strategy and Practical Realities of OD in the U. S. Army," *Southern Review of Public Administration* 1, no. 4 (March 1978): 455.

from the current emphasis on organizational and interpersonal processes to a more generalized and mechanical resource manager point of view."[19]

On April 7, 1977, Rogers received the OESG final briefing. The team emphasized two main points: (1) "Institutionalization of OE will ultimately be accomplished by high quality, well-trained OE staff officers working with commanders who understand the OE process," and (2) "specific actions need to be taken to create the conditions for institutionalizing OE." In regard to the latter, the briefers emphasized that quality OESOs required a high-priority emphasis in the selection process for officer assignments. Developing the correct staff structures throughout the Army was critical for the assignment of OETC graduates and for the appropriate support of OE activities. Finally, they stressed that these efforts would fail to promote institutionalization unless "commanders and staff officers at all levels understand the purpose and functions of OE and the OESO."

Because this presentation was essentially a decision briefing, Rogers immediately approved the report and issued specific taskings:

1. the DCSPER will implement the OESG plan as approved,

2. manpower spaces for institutionalizing OE on the Army Staff and the OESO School will be made available,

3. MACOMs [major commands] will be required to convert and identify a total of approximately 363 spaces to OESOs with no additional duties (based upon rule of thumb of two per division/installation, one per separate brigade or equivalent,

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19. Nadal et. al. "Final Report of the OESG."

4. an OE branch will be established within OCSA to provide OE

consulting services to the Army Staff,

5. Director of Management will identify and assist in providing the

necessary spaces to support an OE division within ODCSPER,

6. a memo to CG MILPERCEN will be prepared expressing CSA desires

concerning the priority for selection and assignments of OESOs and key

OE staff managers,

7. DCSPER will ensure that appropriate OE positions are validated for

graduate education,

8. a memo will be prepared for DCSRDA [Deputy Chief of Staff for

Research and Development] emphasizing CSA desires that OE research

be adequately supported at all levels and receive appropriate priority,

9. a study will be conducted to determine the feasibility of fencing

personnel research money from other research monies and including

these funds in the DCSPER budget, and

10. that the OESG brief the Army Staff Council on 20 April.[20]

Rogers paid particular attention to the report's findings that TRADOC lagged the

furthest behind in promoting the Army OE program. While most of his directives fell to

DCSPERS to implement, the Chief directed TRADOC to "investigate the most

appropriate manner to educate senior officers on OE," and to brief him "on plans for

introducing OE and OE-related instruction into the service schools." The former was

primarily directed at CGSC and the AWC, while the latter sent a strong message that

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20. Brigadier General Carl E. Vuono, Executive to the Chief of Staff, "Organizational Effectiveness Study Group Briefing for CSA," memorandum for record, (April 12, 1977), listed as Annex C in the OESG Final Report.

the Chief of Staff of the Army was personally invested in seeing OE appropriately established throughout the Army's entire school system.[21]

Two weeks later, at Rogers's request, the OESG briefed the Army Staff Council on the findings and recommendations. Rogers made clear to his senior generals that "the commitment to institutionalize OE Army-wide was a high-priority goal." When the OESG finished their presentation, the Chief

> indicated that this is a long-term, complex task requiring substantive allocation of both personnel and resources, continued emphasis on quality, creative use of this OE capability by knowledgeable senior officers and noncommissioned officers, and retention of the OE Training Center (OETC) as an integral part of the service school system with the highest quality staff and faculty, curriculum, and facilities.[22]

Rogers then followed with a long list of specific action items that further expanded or clarified his previous directives as well as some new items for DCSOPS. For example, he informed Moore that the DCSPERS conversion of the aforementioned 363 dedicated OESO positions was a "minimum Army-wide OE capability" and that he expected that number to grow as the Army implemented the "Total Army" plan (i.e. the "round-out" force structure) that would soon include civilians, NCOs, and Army reserve personnel. Future OESOs should be the best officers in the Army and given the opportunity to attend graduate schools that offered best education in OD.[23]

Significantly, Rogers announced to the council that he was reorganizing the DA staff to enable better oversight of the program. Within DCSPERS, he created an OE division "to provide an adequate level of focus and emphasis for Army-wide OE matters.

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21. Ibid.
22. Lieutenant General John R. McGiffert, Director of the Army Staff, Chief of Staff Memorandum for Heads of Army Staff Agencies, "Organizational Effectiveness," (June 10, 1977). Nadal Papers.
23. "Round-Out" was the title given to the entire program to integrate the active and reserve components.

In not wanting any OE function or requirement to be overlooked, he tasked DCSPERS

to "establish an OE technical support system and provide appropriate guidance for

managing and sustaining this system, especially with those agencies and organizations

which are not under the normal purview of OE staff elements." The CSA tasked

DCSOPS to ensure that OETC had adequate staffing. Finally, he directed the

Management Directorate to create a consulting cell of OESOs, much like Nadal had

done at FORSCOM, to provide consulting services to the Army Staff. Rogers specified

the position of a full colonel to head the cell. These and Rogers's other actions

throughout the first nine months of his tenure as CSA not only reflected his careful

stewardship over the program but also signaled his desire to lead the way by employing

OE throughout the entire DA staff. During the same meeting, Rogers tasked Lieutenant

General John R. McGiffert, Director of the Army Staff, to "conduct OE activities within

the Army staff during FY 78," only ten weeks away. As the meeting concluded, Rogers

stated his strong desire to stay engaged in the progress of the initiatives and informed

his principal staff officers to schedule "in-process reviews" (IPRs) "on an as required

basis but no less frequently than quarterly."[24]

Rogers's reorganization of the DA staff was important not only because it

significantly created more spaces and functions for OE personnel but also because

these positions were filled by recent graduates of OETC. In this way, Rogers helped

close the gap between DA and OETC and thus provided a more concerted direction

than had previously existed. From DA, Rogers employed the "intellectual father" of

Army OE, Major Fred Schaum, as his Special Advisor for Organizational

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24. Ibid.

Effectiveness.[25] From OETC, Rogers obtained Lieutenant Colonel Mike Plummer as Chief of the OE Division in DCSPERS that was formed on April 19. Arriving on July 11 to assume his duties as division chief, Plummer and his seven colleagues identified five division priorities: (1) begin developing the 3-10 year OE plan, (2) educate and expand the OESO base, (3) educate potential OE users, (4) develop feedback mechanisms, and (5) "fine tune as we go." However, with so many CSA directives and activities underway, the division would take almost a year to firm up even a sound concept for a proposed 3- to 10-year plan. In the meantime, the Progressives throughout the Army OE program would utilize the OESG report as their short-term plan. Over time, the participants referred to the OESG report as the 1-3 year (phase I) OE plan.[26]

Throughout the remainder of 1977, as Rogers entered his second year as CSA, DA established and implemented several more milestones on the road to institutionalization. In late May, DA/DCSOPS issued a message to all major commands (MACOMs) to convert 247 personnel positions to OESO positions no later than December 1977, and to convert the remaining 117 earmarked positions by December of the following year. Positions for the distribution plan called for eighty-one for FORSCOM, ninety-five for TRADOC, eighty for USAREUR, thirty for DARCOM (Development and Readiness Command), and the other MACOMs receiving the remainder.[27] Then, on November 1, 1977, the Army issued regulation AR 600-76, "Organizational Effectiveness (OE) Activities and Training." This AR defined the objectives of Army OE activities, provided operating instructions, and established responsibilities. AR 600-76 essentially formalized the mandatory components of the

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25. Nadal's description of Schaum. Nadal Interview.
26. *OE Communique,* October 1977, 7. www.armyoe.com.
27. Ibid.

Army OE program. The regulation codified the space requirements in the MACOMs for OESOs and required the MACOMs to obtain trained personnel to fill those positions, to allocate funds to support OE functions, to develop policy for the use of OE, and to provide opportunities for the continuing professional education of assigned OE personnel.

Clearly, by mid-point of his tenure as CSA, Rogers had done his part to propel Army OE forward. By late summer of 1977, he had received Johns back as his new director of the Human Resources Division in DCSPERS. Largely thanks to Rogers, Johns had received his promotion two years prior and had then served as the assistant division commander of Rogers's alma mater, the 1st Infantry Division. With Johns back at the helm and Schaum as his personal advisor, the Chief had a strong team at DA. This was important because DA retained policy and officer assignment authority for OETC and the OESOs who attended the course and served throughout the Army. Now, the detailed, hard work rested in the hands of OETC. Full institutionalization required much more than just producing quality OESOs. Indeed, for OE to become fully assimilated into Army culture, the center had to produce numerous support programs and OE doctrinal material. They also had to plan for OE expansion to meet the Total Army goals that included women, NCOs, and the inclusion of the Army Reserves and the National Guard. Fortunately, the OETC faculty and staff were up to the challenge.

OETC Delivers

Rogers's ascension into the CSA position served to elevate OETC to a level few at Fort Ord could have imagined only a year earlier. From the moment the Godfather of OE took charge of the Army in October 1976 and through the end of 1977, the faculty and staff at OETC took on a mountain of work, fully aware that the momentum of full institutionalization had shifted into their hands. Empowered by the OESG report and Rogers's directives, the school received a significant increase in personnel. On April 1, 1977, OETC was authorized a total of 77 personnel, which included 39 officers, 8 enlisted soldiers, and 30 civilians. These 77 people were organized into five directorates: Operations and Support, Training, Evaluation, Concepts Development, and Training Developments.[28]

Throughout 1977, OETC continued to expand its "products" and services. The staff spent much time identifying the concept, roles, and responsibilities for expanding OE into the NCO ranks. They envisioned trained "OESNCOs" who would assist OESOs in all aspects of their work. This vision was critical to achieving full institutionalization because the program would introduce modern leadership philosophies into that part of the Army that harbored the most Traditionalists; that is, the NCO corps. The planners recognized the power of doing so—sergeants were much closer to soldiers than were the officers.

While Rogers had clearly articulated that TRADOC was responsible for training all soldiers on Army OE, OETC acted independently of TRADOC to educate officers. As

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28. Golden Manuscript. The 77 assigned personnel "represented a cross section of the Army including combat arms, combat support and combat service support officers. Twenty-five percent of the civilian instructors had prior military service, and the educational level represented a total of 34 advanced degrees. Although educational levels alone are not the sole indicator of quality, there was substantial talent in the teaching staff and faculty at OETC."

evident from experiences to date and reports from the field, OETC was fully aware that resistance to change largely came from the upper field-grade officer ranks (lieutenant colonels and colonels). As a result, they developed an OE educational block for the Army's pre-command course that prepared new colonels for command at the battalion and brigade levels.[29] In addition, OETC continued to refine the Key Managers Course that they conducted each quarter. Also in 1977, the OETC staff developed a four-hour block of instruction on OE for ROTC programs.

Throughout the year, the school made significant changes to the 16-week OESO course POI. By far, the most important development and expansion effort was the increased emphasis placed on the L&MDC. By December, OETC had trained more than 1500 soldiers and certified 115 as L&MDC instructors at various locations throughout the United States. The staff had also designed a pilot test program for drill sergeants that would introduce a modified L&MDC for an entire week of their six-week drill instructor POI. In addition, they drafted a version of the course specifically designed for field grade officers. Finally, the staff had completed a modification in the OESO course POI that would certify all students as L&MDC instructors beginning with Class 1-78.

By the latter half of 1977, the extensive workload at OETC appeared to foreshadow a successful future for the Army OE program. The increase in enrollments for the OESO course and the vast expansion and production of educational and OE/OD doctrinal material led the OETC commander, Colonel Palmer, to remark that "the beads of perspiration have arrived." Yet, a serious concern surfaced that would continue to grow in the months and years ahead. The Army at large was beginning to ask about the

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29. Ibid. They referred to that course as the Command Refresher Course.

program's "return on investment." What were the payoffs? How did OE directly contribute to combat readiness?

The Challenge of Evaluation

The Progressives, of course, were well aware that the benefits and real improvements in the effectiveness of organizations would take time to surface. After all, that was the nature of organizational development. At OETC, the staff and faculty believed that the key to demonstrating success was the quality OESO in the field who built a strong, trustful relationship with the commander and, together, fully implemented the four-step process. Thus, in late summer 1977, OETC designed a long-term evaluation program to assess and document the value of using the OE process. The planners drafted a five-phase Evaluation Program "directed at determining if OE is doing what it is supposed to do."

The plan called for the phases to run from spring 1977 through the end of 1979. In phase one, the center surveyed the 250-plus OESOs who had already graduated from the course and were conducting OE in their assigned units. Questionnaires and structured interviews were designed to address the training and assignment of OESOs, and to assess how those factors impacted on OE levels. In general, the survey focused on the organizational climate, the OE process and the OESO. OETC personnel travelled to more than fifty installations, obtained responses from 919 questionnaires, and conducted 290 interviews. Commanders in the field had ample opportunity to provide input to the evaluation.

From the perspective of organizational climate, it appeared that as familiarity with OE increased, command support also increased. However, one of the major

disadvantages to senior commanders in evaluating the impact of the OE effort within their organizations was "a lack of systematic feedback on OE operations in subordinate units [because] feedback [was] often blocked by the privileged information policy." This practice presented a real dilemma for OESOs. Successful OE required absolute anonymity and confidentiality in order for participants to honestly contribute and to trust the process. There was always an underlying fear that OESOs could act as a "political commissar" for senior commanders. Though rare, some OESOs experienced attempts to use them as such. What exacerbated this revelation in 1977 was the fact that OE engagements to date had largely taken place at the company or battalion level. Consequently, battalion and brigade commanders—the lieutenant colonels and colonels—(i.e., those ranks offering the most resistance to change), were eager to learn what the OESOs unearthed.

The phase one data also revealed that some OESOs were spending a great deal of time on non-OE related functions. Indeed, some initially found themselves in non-OE positions, despite the CSA's directive to fully staff them as OESOs. In addition, the location of the OESO within the chain of command varied widely. The most common location was in the G-1 (personnel) channel. This location seemed logical as it tended "to be seen as proving a minimal threat and being a people program." The latter view proved cancerous to the program over time because by late 1977, the mainstream Army had grown weary of all of the programs that were born of VOLAR to remove "irritants" and increase amenities. Indeed, most "old timers" or "lifers" throughout the Army believed that the Army had already gone too far in catering to the young All Volunteer soldier. Consequently, the term "people program" took on a negative connotation, and

OE was thereafter viewed in the same vein as equal opportunity and chaplain programs rather than a tool for commanders to manage change and improve leadership.

Another data set that concerned the OETC staff was the finding that OESOs were worried about their future promotability. The supervisors of OESOs made the same comments, and other staff officers viewed OE as a fringe program they did "not consider . . . to be in the main stream." OESO Mike Perrault's experience was common:

> Following the phone call from the branch assignment officer, I immediately informed my boss, a lieutenant colonel, that I would be attending the Organizational Effectiveness Staff Officer course at Fort Ord. His somewhat less than enthusiastic response was, "Mike, you're a good officer, don't let that touchy-feely stuff screw you up."[30]

In taking action on the findings, OETC concluded that the center had to (1) provide additional training in how to present and sell OE, and (2) solicit success stories from the OESOs in the field, especially testimonials from their commanders. In terms of the latter, OETC had FORSCOM and Tony Nadal to thank because they had pioneered the marketing and testimonial solicitations during the previous eighteen months (early 1976 through summer 1977). As Nadal had done with FORSCOM's periodic bulletin, OETC utilized its new professional journal, the *OE Communique,* to advertise OESO case studies and commander testimonial letters. The first issue appeared in October 1977, and within a year, the *OE Communique* became an exceptional scholarly journal on par with any similar academic journal in the social and behavioral sciences. In fact, subscription rates significantly increased as other armed services, academic institutions, and OD organizations in industry requested copies.[31]

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30. Michael R. Perrault, "Organizational Effectiveness for the Greensuiter," *OE Communique* 1-77 (October 1977), http://armyoe.com/uploads/Oct77_OE_Communique_vol1-77.pdf, 40.

31. Prior to this issue, OETC had printed a small black and white, self-produced "OE Bulletin" (essentially a newsletter) in early 1976. See my web site: www.armyoe.com.

The survey data, along with limited feedback, to date also produced unflattering evidence that some OESOs had set poor first impressions in their units and consequently had sparked negative attitudes toward OE. Some OESOs had adopted traits of the recent counter-culture generation in regard to dress and grooming standards. More troublesome were the attitudes and language that many OESOs displayed in presenting their engagements. Many of their customers, predominantly Traditionalists and Healers, were turned off by the behavioral science terminology and their perception that OESOs projected intellectually superior attitudes. Indeed, from this time forward, the issue of "de-jargonizing" the program would persist. From the beginning, the Progressives had a public relations problem that would not go away. Such behaviors painted a picture of non-conformity with Army culture. As Mike Perrault recalled,

> It was evident that I had previously missed the value of OE because of the jargon used by those in the program. It reminded me of those "touchy-feely hippie types" I had read about in *Time* and *Newsweek* articles during the late 60's and early 70's. The central thought that I kept recurring during the initial phases of the [OESO] course was that this was a healthy concept which may not gain acceptance by the majority of the Army because it is not being communicated properly to the soldier in the field.[32]

Even one of the movement's staunchest Progressives, Brigadier General John Johns, was appalled at this behavior that he had personally witnessed in his recent assignment as an assistant division commander. In fact, his entire remarks to the 2-77 graduation class constituted a collective reprimand:

> [I was] constantly confronting OESOs at Ft. Riley to be aware of how they presented themselves—of how they were coming across to the commanders. . . . If you let either verbal or nonverbal cues [dress, language, and lack of customs and courtesies] creep into your behavior, that you look down on this commander in a condescending attitude—as

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32. Ibid.

an old brown shoe Neanderthal—to the degree that it comes out, you are going to lose rapport. . . . Do you know what you do when you use first names in referring to seniors? You confirm their worst fears that you represent an effort to break down the cast[e] system, social distance and discipline in the Army. The average line commander and NCO is terribly afraid that the Army is going very permissive, that we have no respect for the Chain of Command and rank, and that it is becoming a big social club.33

OETC took Johns' comments to heart. The school began to solicit input from the OESOs by asking: What is it that will give the OESO credibility? How can the OESO establish credibility and when will it happen? What would be the criteria or indicators that OE is institutionalized in the Army? OETC also appealed to the OESOs in the field to write about their successes and to solicit testimonials from their commanders. In subsequent months, OETC utilized the *OE Communique* to publish responses.

As time would tell, the OESOs in the field racked up some impressive successes, such as Nadal's work at FORSCOM, Powell's work at USAREUR (and soon DARCOM), Ray's efforts at Fort Bragg, and many others. Furthermore, great commanders, such as Tackaberry in the 82nd Airborne Division and Blanchard in Germany, publicly endorsed the program through their OESOs and enthusiastic support. Yet, the program remained in a precarious position, with its future very much in doubt. The Progressives were slowly growing fearful that *quantifiable* results were needed in order to convince the skeptics. This, they saw, was the real challenge the OE program confronted.

TRADOC Plows Along

In July 1977, General Bill DePuy departed TRADOC to retire from the Army. As some historians have noted, DePuy left the Army with a slightly bitter taste in his mouth. His efforts to radically redirect and modernize Army operational doctrine were deemed

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33. Ibid., 3.

unsuccessful as many in the Army viewed his operational concepts as too defensive.

The Army's rejection of the 1976 edition of *FM 100-5* proved temporary. Donn Starry,

his protege and successor, built upon DePuy's work by examining and incorporating

some of the valid criticisms that ultimately produced what some consider the most

effective operational doctrine ever produced—the 1982 edition of *FM 100-5, AirLand*

Battle. As Starry assumed command of TRADOC in the summer of 1977, he focused

his priorities and efforts on building upon DePuy's work. In comparison, Army OE was

just a minor fringe program neatly chaperoned by ADMINCEN.

In late summer 1977, Starry was on the hook to brief Rogers on the state of OE

in TRADOC, as the CSA had directed following the final OESG report in April.

Fortunately for Starry, he had the services of Colonel Mike Malone. By this point in his

career, Malone had compiled a stellar reputation throughout the officer corps as an

insightful, reflective thinker. His various writings, often carrying a tone of Will Rogers-

type humor, were widely read, especially at the Command and General Staff College

and the Army War College. Although Malone had never attended the OESO course or

had any close dealings with OETC, he served as the special assistant to the TRADOC

chief of staff for organizational effectiveness.

For many in the officer corps, Malone was an insightful writer on the subject of

leadership. His extensive combat record and his outspoken views on the importance of

caring for soldiers had won him many fans, especially among the Healers. What made

Malone's voice so powerful was his strong belief that leadership was all about ethics,

and his extraordinary ability to convey strong messages about ethical behaviors through

his writings. While ethics certainly lie at the core of humanistic, transformational

leadership theory and behavior, OD/OE encompassed so much more. At the end of the day, ethical behaviors reflect *individual* character. They do not in and of themselves define the dynamic relationship between the leader and the led. Rather, ethics help provide the necessary moral framework in which effective transactional or transformational leadership takes place.[34]

The reality was that throughout 1977, TRADOC had not accomplished much in pushing OE toward institutionalization. Although TRADOC had received several superb OESOs, those officers worked as internal consultants within TRADOC's subordinate organizations as they were trained to do. They were not there to represent Army OE as overall program representatives except by performing their duties in an exceptional manner. The only person positioned to champion the program, by having Starry's ear, was Mike Malone. However, Malone was considered an outsider to Army OE, especially by the faculty and staff of OETC, and by some at DA. Still, Malone spoke for the program and held Starry's confidence.[35]

In late summer of 1977, Starry and Malone briefed Rogers on the status of OE in TRADOC but the briefing did not go well. As Malone explained TRADOC's plans to propagate OE throughout the Army school system, Rogers became clearly aggravated with Malone's presentation. Brigadier General Johns was present and recalled that

> when he [Malone] finished, Rogers said "Mike, I didn't understand the
> beginning of your presentation, and the end, or anything in between. John,
> did you? Donn? Can you two tell me what the hell he is trying to say?" And

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34. My view is that ethics are a vital prerequisite for transformational leadership. However, consistent ethical behaviors are also expected of officers regardless of which type of leadership style they choose. The same holds true for managers or for anyone who exercises power and authority over others.

35. Johns Interview. Johns stated that "Mike Malone did not like OE." Similar views came out in the interviews with Lynn Herrick (OETC) and Kay Powers (DA).

Starry [attempted to]. Rogers said, "You haven't done any better." And he turned to me and said, "John, tell me what they're trying to say to me."[36]

Johns, ever the diplomat, explained their overall plan but secretly agreed with Rogers. "It was too abstract."[37]

Rogers, however, had no patience for abstracts. Fully cognizant that the OESG report had identified TRADOC as moving too slowly on OE, the CSA directed that priority of assignments for OESOs would go to TRADOC service schools. Rogers directed Starry to establish a quality assurance team, comprised of OESOs, to conduct quality assurance reviews of OE instruction at all of the Army's schools. He specified that these reviews were to be conducted prior to the implementation of OE POI. Rogers reminded Starry of "his strong personal interest and support and emphasized that the instructional challenge was not merely to teach this new methodology, but to teach it effectively." Furthermore, OESOs would be assigned to the schools to teach OE because "the OE instructional modules require detailed understanding of OE methodology and can only be taught effectively by an OESO with experience in OE operations."[38]

As TRADOC belatedly came into compliance with Rogers's directives, significant differences still existed between how the Healers and the Progressives each viewed the implementation of the OE program. The Progressives believed through 1977 and early 1978, that they had successfully adapted state-of-the-art organizational development

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36. Johns Interview.

37. Ibid.

38. *OE Communique* 2 (April 1978), 7, www.armyoe.com. The quality assurance review of the TRADOC schools was completed by March 1978. Major L. B. Hayward, the OESO for TRADOC's deputy chief of staff for Training, led the review team. In the months ahead, Starry complied with some of the administrative tasks. On October 26, TRADOC held a three-day OESO conference at Hampton, Virginia, to address and assess OE instruction and training. A month later, on November 25, Starry approved the TRADOC OE Plan and published it as TRADOC Circular 600-1, effective that date.

techniques to a version especially appropriate for the Army. At this stage in the

evolution of the program, humanistic, transformational tenets still strongly underscored

OE. Kurt Lewin's beliefs, supported by other transformational-related theorists such as

Chris Argyris, undergirded the curriculum and staff work of OETC. This was especially

apparent in the pedagogical use of experiential learning and the popularity of the

L&MDC. In contrast, the Healers, extremely dominant at TRADOC and the Army War

College, believed that they had indeed consulted behavioral science research and that

they were already incorporating that research into modified POI as evident by the

ADMINCEN Leadership Monograph series, which really was an extension of the AWC's

July 1971 work (*Leadership for the 1970s: USAWC Study of Leadership for the

Professional Soldier*). TRADOC appeared content to let ADMINCEN continue in that

direction even though they had little interaction with OETC or the DA staff—the two

pillars of the Army OE program.

When Starry took command of TRADOC in July 1977, he followed in the

footsteps of his predecessor and mentor, determined to carry through on DePuy's

doctrinal and training/training management reforms. There is little doubt that these were

large challenges that required extensive efforts on the part of many people. In

retrospect, by his words and deeds, Starry became the primary spokesman for the

Healers as he advanced all that DePuy had started. He pursued his own agenda to do

so even when he attracted the ire of his boss, Bernie Rogers. By July 1978, Rogers had

become very frustrated with the lack of progress in TRADOC in regard to the

institutionalization of the program. On July 26, he wrote a blistering letter to Starry that outlined his frustrations.[39]

First, he objected to the heavy focus on technology. While all of the Army was in favor of force modernization, especially since so many modernization programs had been delayed (first by Vietnam and later by fiscal constraints), Rogers believed that TRADOC's current trajectory had largely ignored the human dimension. He wrote that "for several years the lack of a systematic, integrated approach to the management of our human resources has concerned me. We have witnessed, in my opinion, the ascendance of technocratic management practices to the detriment of the human component of the Army." What Rogers meant was that TRADOC had done far too little to educate and build up the human resources development (HRD) arm of the Army.

> Our approach to HRD has been piecemeal, often in reaction to crises such a racial conflict and drug and alcohol abuse. As a result, HRD activities are perceived either as "social welfare" programs or as ad hoc arrangements dealing with "people problems." This negative view of HRD hinders command commitment. We have taken several steps to change the ad hoc approaches to these activities [i.e., OE] but we have only begun.[40]

Rogers concerns were certainly valid as career personnel officers, those officers "branched" as members of the Adjutant General Corps, were not yet fielded throughout the Army's maneuver units as S1s/G1s. As everyone was aware, the military intelligence branch and the quartermaster branch were years ahead in placing their officers in units as S2s/G2s and as S4s/G4s. More importantly, the Progressives at DA had long argued and planned for OE to be an integral part of the S1/G1s' portfolio. Indeed, these were more than plans; they were already a reality as the human resource

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39. Rogers to Starry, letter, Chief of Staff letterhead [no subject], July 26, 1978, Rogers Papers.
40. Ibid.

divisions within the Army's major commands were heavily engaged in implementing OE.

Nadals position as head of HRD for FORSCOM three years earlier and Powell's work in

HRD in USAREUR during the same time period were pointed examples.[41] The "owner"

of this problem was TRADOC's ADMINCEN. Heavily engaged in modernizing and

automating fundamental personnel administration, they were moving far too slowly in

the areas that Rogers considered the most important.

In his letter to Starry, Rogers cited Abrams's 1973 emphasis on the importance of

HRD and his directive that all personnel management functions and training be

integrated into normal staff channels. Rogers reminded Starry that when he (Rogers)

was Abrams's DCSPERS, they had expanded the definition of personnel management

beyond traditional duties and responsibilities and established a new role for the S1/G1

that "would be more than "adjutant" or "administrator"; he would be the commander's

resource for analyzing the people component of the organization, to provide the human

estimate of the situation." He added that

> obviously, the broadened responsibilities of the personnel management
> staff officer require knowledge and skills that are not acquired solely by
> normal experience. They require a working knowledge of organizational
> behavior and the application of human resource management, in addition
> to administration.[42]

The remainder of Rogers's letter was directed at his perceived deficiencies and

criticisms of ADMINCEN. In short, Rogers strongly objected to the elimination of several

courses that focused on human relations and "interpersonal leadership skills for junior

officers in favor of the technical aspects of maintenance, training and tactics." He told

Starry that "soldiers perceive a lack of concern by their leaders—the absence of a 'care'

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41. General Johns's appointment as HRD Director at DA in summer 1977 was another strong example.

42. Rogers to Starry, letter, July 26, 1978. Rogers Papers.

factor," and that ADMINCEN had done little to promote doctrine in this area. Rogers

concluded his correspondence by directing Starry to conduct

> a top-to-bottom look at personnel management in the context of the
> concept as currently defined and the concept of the personnel
> management staff officer as the commander's source of expertise. This is
> especially important when we consider the changing composition of the
> Army and the many changes we have made in the system over the past
> several years. We need to see if they are all compatible with the human
> system. . . . [N]eglect of personnel management cannot be permitted to
> continue.43

Less than two weeks later, on August 8, Starry replied to Rogers that he agreed

with the CSA's "view of our inadequate management of human resources and the need

to expand the role of personnel management" and added, "I accept your challenge to do

something about it." He told his boss that he believed the root of the problem was a lack

of a "doctrinal base." Starry stated that correct doctrinal bases for technical, operational,

and logistical areas enabled progress and successes in those realms. He was adamant

that ADMINCEN was the appropriate place to develop this doctrine:

> Admin Center, as the doctrinal proponent for human resources/personnel
> management, has been directed to do a "top to bottom" analysis of
> personnel management in its broadest context. We should not constrain
> them with a preconceived definition of personnel management and human
> resources development, so I'd like some flexibility there until we've
> completed our analysis.44

Starry, consumed with improving DePuy's operational doctrine and fully supporting his

mentor's guiding philosophy that TRADOC's focus must be on how the Army fights,

added that the "more difficult job will require a comprehensive application of the concept

[Army OE] across the entire Army training system—institutional and unit." Also, he

noted, "it will require complete integration with the operational and logistical aspects of

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43. Ibid.
44. Starry to Rogers, letter, TRADOC letterhead [no subject], August 8, 1978, Rogers Papers.

how we fight." As time would tell, this latter point was what really drove the division between the two generals' world views and personnel philosophies. Starry added that this "complete integration," went "hand-in-glove with efforts required to redesign officer training to support RETO recommendations." In retrospect, this point was the most significant signpost of TRADOC's future directions and Starry's intentions.[45]

In the meantime, on August 31, 1977, Rogers commissioned a study group—the Officer Education and Training Review Group (OTERG)—to review the entire Army education and training system to determine if it was capable of producing the soldiers needed in a restructured Army that was moving quickly into a highly technical modernized force. Consisting of forty-four members under the chairmanship of Brigadier General Benjamin Harrison, Cushman's former "right-hand man" and "indispensable partner" at Fort Leavenworth, OTERG interviewed more than 100 general officers and received nearly 14,000 comprehensive surveys. RETO, "Review of Education and Training for Officers," was perhaps the most extensive study of its kind that the Army has ever conducted. The final report, released on June 30, 1978, consisted of five volumes totalling almost 2500 pages in length.[46]

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45. Ibid., Starry's true feelings about OE were conveyed in a memo to his subordinate generals Lieutenant General John R. Thurman and Major General William F. Hixon Jr. on June 8, 1978. In discussing how TRADOC should frame the complexities of force integration for peacetime training and combat power in war, Starry stated that existing "relevant words, shopworn and misused so badly … probably won't serve. It is truly organizational effectiveness; a relevant phrase, so widely interpreted and misunderstood in the current OE program that it is probably not useful. . . . At commander and soldier level alike, leadership is an appropriate word, not individual charismatic leadership, but leadership climate that can be developed in well-trained, well-led units. So fixed is our Army on the individual in the leadership equation that the word is probably less than useful." Sorley, *Press On!*, 795.

46. Study Group for the Review of Education and Training for Officers, DACS – OTRG, *Review of Education and Training for Officers (RETO), Volume 1: An Overview* (Washington, DC: US Department of the Army, June 30, 1978). DTIC accession number: AD-A070772. Paradoxically, Harrison's formal educational (psychology), his intellectual prowess, and his thirty months with Cushman would lead one to believe that RETO would heavily study the Army's use of formal education for its officer development programs. Yet, his influence and such emphasis are virtually absent in the final report.

The Rogers-Starry correspondences took place only weeks after the release of the report. Starry must have been pleased with the report's findings as he corresponded with Rogers in mid- to late August 1978. Overall, the team concluded that the Army needed to adjust its training curriculum/POI to meet the needs of the numerous occupational specialties of both the officer and enlisted corps, especially in light of force modernization, reorganization, and the integration of advanced technologies. In the executive summary, Harrison noted that the study team "maintained a steady focus on Army requirements."[47]

In retrospect, the RETO study heavily reinforced the philosophical views of the Healers. It had everything to do with training and very little in regard to education. The study placed huge emphasis on management and diminished the criticality of "human skills." The recommendations perfectly aligned with the DePuy-Starry vision that education and learning (really training) and leadership (really management) must be carefully tailored to the rank and position of the individual soldier, from private through general.[48]

Within this context, Starry told Rogers that "this mission fits very well with the other mission that you gave me to articulate an integrated leadership and management doctrine for the Army. We are in a position to insure that these two efforts are closely

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47. Ibid.

48. RETO, Vol. 1 and Study Group for the Review of Education and Training for Officers, DACS – OTRG *Review of Education and Training for Officers (RETO), Volume 3: The Database* (Washington, DC: US Department of the Army, June 30, 1978). DTIC accession number: AD-A070773. See especially 111-4 through 111-25. Figure 111-6 listed 8 items that allow one to distinguish between learning and training-all 8 can be found in both. Figure 111-8 listed the "requirements for continuing learning." They were: (1) tell officer what he should know, and (2) determine best method for his learning. Also, the RETO report fortified traditional cultural views of the Army. The report posited that "the mature officer must rationalize contradictions" between "liberal thesis" and "military antithesis." Interestingly, the list of liberal thesis contained many traits of transformational leadership theory while the "military antithesis" mirrored much of the existing institutional culture. Finally, general officer feedback in regard to their continued learning saw a greater need by a margin of 10 to 1-for management than for interpersonal relations, organizational effectiveness, and military history. See Table 1 on page F-3-11-B-24.

coordinated." In time, Starry did exactly that. The following month, Harrison was promoted to major general and moved to Indiana to take command of Fort Benjamin Harrison and ADMINCEN. There, Harrison would begin developing the most radical revision of Army leadership doctrine ever undertaken—the 1983 edition of *FM 22-100, Be, Know, Do.*[49]

Rogers wasted little time in responding back to Starry. On August 25, the CSA wrote:

> Your specific suggestions for getting on with the task are acceptable to me, except your suggestion to alter the definitions for personnel management and human resources development. I do not oppose your fine-tuning these, but I am satisfied with them as they reflect the role I want personnel managers to play. These definitions deliberately expand the responsibility of the personnel manager from "counting beans" to encompass all aspects of leadership and management of people, to include motivation, morale, and commitment. I look forward to reviewing your plan to make this expanded role for personnel managers a reality.[50]

Starry's response to Rogers may have done little to improve the Chief's lack of confidence in TRADOC. On the same day that he replied to Rogers, on August 8, Starry wrote a second letter to his boss explaining why TRADOC was late in publishing *FM 22-600-20, Duties, Responsibilities and Authority of Noncommissioned Officers.* Rogers had long been interested in expanding Army OE throughout the NCO corps and earlier had instructed OETC to develop an OESNCO course that would parallel the OESO course. However, because the draft manual "was deficient in its explanation of organizational development/organizational effectiveness," Rogers halted production and directed a revision. In his letter, Starry explained how TRADOC consulted with Rogers's staff, DA/DCSPERS, and OETC "to reshape the manual." However, in reviewing the

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49. *FM 22-100* (1981). See Appendix B for my analysis of this revision.
50. Rogers to Starry, letter Chief of Staff letterhead [no subject], August 25, 1978, Rogers Papers.

final revision, he found the reading level to be too high and ordered that the authors

lower it to an eleventh grade reading level. Starry then asked Rogers to consider this

newer draft because he had just "learned that you [Rogers] want to review the manual

prior to its final publication."[51]

ADMINCEN Sticks to Its Agenda

During late summer of 1978, as the correspondence between Rogers and Starry

played out, ADMINCEN continued to publish its *Leadership Monograph Series* with the

intent that the monographs were to form the basis of the POI in the Army's various

training schools. In August 1978, ADMINCEN issued the most important monograph of

the entire series entitled *Human Relations in the Military Environment*. This monograph

was an intended expansion of one of the nine subjects presented in monograph #8—

human relations—and the topics discussed in monograph #9. In his introduction,

General Harrison, only days into his new assignment as commander over ADMINCEN,

stated that the publication "explores human relations in terms of interpersonal

interaction and organizational development," and that it was intended for service school

instructors. "It departs from the usual format and presents the subject first in terms of

practical application, followed by the theoretical and historical basis for human relations

development." The author was Major Raymond C. Hartjen, Jr., a member of the Army

War College.

Hartjen certainly produced the most scholarly monograph of the entire

Leadership Monograph Series. This 128-page document constituted a rich overview of

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51. Starry to Rogers, letter TRADOC letterhead [ref: FM 22-600-20], August 8, 1978, Rogers Papers. From this point on, no other correspondence pertaining to these issues appear in the Rogers papers. Also, as Rogers entered the last few months as CSA, no other evidence exists that would indicate any continued displeasure on his part with ADMINCEN.

available writings that fell under the subject of human relations. Hartjen skillfully

provided a synopsis of behavioral science research from the 1950s forward. There was

much here that the Progressives could find appealing. Hartjen gave fair treatment to

theorists such as Chris Argyris, Douglas McGregor, and Abraham Maslow, and he

spoke at length to human relations as "inter- and intra-personal phenomena" that

described "relations between one person and another, and the relationship of an

individual with himself." Additionally, knowing that his writing would become the basis of

POI in the Army's training centers, Hartjen attempted to provide practicality to his views

by presenting notional, scenario-driven cases of poor soldier-leader confrontations.

While Hartjen was certainly correct that the effectiveness of leadership is relationship

driven, all seven test cases, ranging from the fictional characters of Specialist Jones to

Lieutenant Colonel Gross, were examples of overt *misbehaviors* such as alcoholism,

racial discrimination, abuse of power, spousal abuse, and suicide. Each case concluded

with a type of "lesson learned" summary.[52]

While Hartjen included descriptions that fairly described the several leadership

theories and schools of thought at that time (see my Preface), he clearly rejected any of

the theories that contributed to transformational leadership. Indeed, he strongly favored

current theories of management and argued that managers most certainly care for their

subordinates and must pay attention to their personal needs. He heavily advocated for

the task approach in management theory that argued for the "fusing" of previous

management theories that would achieve "common objectives" by aligning

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52. Raymond C. JR. Hartjen, *Leadership for the 1970s: Human Relations in the Military Environment,* Monograph 12, Leadership Monograph Series, Fort Benjamin Harrison, IN: US Army Administration Center (August 1978), DTIC accession number: AD-A090482.

organizational demands and personal needs. Hartjen argued that organizations exist to manage technical, economic, and human resources to accomplish a task, and that such an approach "reflects a renewed interest in total systems and is, perhaps, connected with emphasis on totality and with high-level manufacture of complex units [because] laborers are relatively sophisticated."[53]

Hartjen provided the best intellectual foundation for the Healers to date. His well-articulated views promoted managerial/transactional leadership behaviors. They reinforced the idea of the "informal contract" and promoted the concept that leadership (never defined) differs significantly by rank and position. This concept seamlessly aligned with TRADOC and Starry's view that leadership was different at each rank level and position. Hartjen not only believed that "different skills are required at different levels, in actuality, different skills are used with differing frequency at various levels."[54]

Monograph #12 struck a strong blow against the Army OE program by directly challenging the impression that the Progressives were the subject matter experts on behavioral science. More importantly, Hartjen argued, using the past tense, that the Progressives' movement had failed, and that the Army had already begun to move toward the task approach during the previous two years (since 1976).

> Following the Viet Nam War, the Army attempted the human relations
> approach with poor results. Discipline declined, over-supervision ran
> rampant, soldiers were in conflict with the organization, and the capability
> of the Army to accomplish its goals was greatly diminished. Instead of
> reverting to classical management principles, the Army moved in a
> direction which is very similar to the task approach management

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53. Ibid., 50 and 113. Hartjen heavily leveraged the work of J Kelly; J. French and B. Raven; and F. Fiedler. Hartjen favored "leader-match" theories and was attracted to Fiedler's descriptions of "task oriented" leaders. "The relationship-motivated leader is described by Fiedler as being relatively inefficient compared with the task motivated leader because psychologically closer relations make it more difficult for the leader to criticize subordinates."

54. Ibid.

model. . . . The human relations approach toward military management has proven to be 'inadequate in its most recent application [i.e., Army OE].[55]

Never specifically citing but obviously speaking about Army OE, Hartjen declared the movement dead. "The failing of the human relations phase [1973–1976] was that it never really penetrated the organization." Given that OETC did not hold its first OESO course until late 1975 and that organizational development programs take a decade or more to implement, Hartjen's declaration seemed a bit rash. His basic argument was that

> top level management subscribed to the theory; but first-line supervisors, trained in a classical management model, continued to conduct day-to-day business using those methods of personnel control which had been used for years. The dichotomy between recruiting slogans and the actual work environment may have led to soldier dissatisfaction, unrest, and disciplinary problems. Desertion rates were the same as they were during the Viet Nam War, even though the threat of war had been eliminated. It became quite clear to all echelons of the Army's leadership that the human relations management model was not going to solve its recruiting or readiness problems. It abandoned the human relations school and moved on to the task approach.

The greatest damage inflicted by Hartjen's monograph was that his arguments gave credence to the views of the Traditionalists and the Healers that the Army had gone "soft" in recruiting volunteers, and that all of these "people programs" not only weakened Army customs and traditions but directly slowed or impeded the Army's efforts to achieve combat readiness, especially in the face of Soviet dominance.

Given the ongoing correspondences between Rogers and Starry during the same month as the publication of Hartjen's monograph, complete with Harrison's endorsement, it is small wonder that the Progressives were becoming frustrated with confronting the various sources of resistance. To date, the conventional wisdom was

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55. Ibid., 116.

hat slow successes with OE taking place in various pockets throughout the Army would eventually win more and more advocates, as skeptics heard the testimonials of respected senior officers such as Tackaberry and Blanchard. In retrospect, it is apparent that resistance to change was not due to a lack of proven success but was institutional in the slow roll-out of "leadership doctrine" within TRADOC.[56]

With the publications of monographs 8, 9, and 12, ADMINCEN was clearly marching in step with Starry's activities at TRADOC. Throughout September, October, and early November, Starry complied with Rogers's directive to conduct a "top-to-bottom look at personnel management." On November 20, 1978, Starry presented his "status report of the concept and plan of attack for getting on with the top-to-bottom analysis of our personnel management system." In contrast to the previous correspondences, this letter replaced the previous tone of "subordinate compliance" with a tone of determination to align his views of human relations with the ultimate goal of achieving combat readiness. Clearly Starry viewed effective organizations as those staffed with soldiers who were highly skilled in their tradecraft, took collective pride in those skills, and thus achieved high morale:

> The goal is the development of a system that will place and sustain trained soldiers in cohesive units that are capable of effectively employing our modern weapons systems on the battlefield of the 1980's. . . . [W]e are going to consider man-machine interface as it relates to individual weapons systems and the complications associated with employing these systems in units, on the lethal, continuous operations battlefield.[57]

Starry also provided a list of specific activities geared toward "institutionalizing training developments and training concepts" to accomplish these goals. Of particular

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56. Despite Harrison's introductory remarks that the monograph addressed organizational development, Hartjen only used the term once and then only by its generic meaning.

57. Starry to Rogers, letter, TRADOC letterhead [ref: "top to bottom analysis], November 20, 1978, Rogers Papers.

importance were the development of training instruction for lieutenants and captains at their career courses, and a "package" for commanders "to assist them in analyzing the human component of organizations."[58]

Starry's status report clearly illuminated the tremendous gulf between his and Rogers's philosophical views on human relations. Whereas Rogers believed that Army OE could improve the effectiveness of organizations by educating NCOs and officers on the psychological, humanistic elements of the dynamic interaction in the superior-subordinate relationship, Starry, like DePuy before him, thought that high-quality training under tough, realistic conditions was the key to organizational effectiveness. Like most Healers, Starry believed that skill development and a well-defined occupational career path supported by good pay and benefits would meet both the individual and collective needs of soldiers. In sum, Starry wanted to institutionalize training developments and training concepts, whereas Rogers wanted to institutionalize human relations education and new leadership behaviors. Unfortunately for the future of the Army OE program, neither side recognized that the two views were not mutually exclusive.[59]

The Army War College and OE

That Rogers and Starry were speaking past each other was apparent by mid-1978 as other initiatives unfolded. Six months earlier, toward the end of 1977, Rogers had already lost patience with TRADOC placing adequate emphasis on OE in the Army

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58. Ibid. He also wanted to establish an ARI field office at Fort Benjamin Harrison to initiate a long range development capability. However, they were newcomers to OD and were still largely focused on human engineering and modern training methodologies.

59. Clearly Starry failed to meet Rogers's August directive to develop a plan in "the context of the concept as currently defined [by Rogers] and the concept of the personnel management staff officer as the commander's source of expertise." I found no additional correspondence on this matter in Rogers's papers. Speculatively, Rogers faced very tough battles in the last eight months of his tenure. At the time of Starry's report, the military and the Carter Administration were locked in several heated fights over military budgets, an ill-equipped expanded force, poor recruitment numbers, talk of soldiers forming a union, and vocal calls for reinstating the draft.

school system, especially at the Army War College. Like all Army chiefs of staff, Rogers

stayed abreast of the events and activities taking place at the Army War College,

periodically making visits to the college to either speak to graduating classes or as part

of their extensive lecture series. Aware that he could exercise more direct influence over

the AWC than he could over CGSC at Fort Leavenworth, Rogers leaned heavily on the

AWC Commandant, Major General Robert G. Yerks, to emphasize OE.[60]

Yerks more than carried through on Rogers's request. For academic year 1978,

the college offered an elective course in Army OE. More importantly, Yerks organized a

large and robust weeklong seminar on OE that included twenty-seven guest speakers.

These participants were some of the leading academics of organizational development

from some of the top universities in the United States, industry executives who had

implemented state-of-the-art OD programs in large corporations, and several general

officers who had direct involvement in Army OE as either users or OE program officials.

The latter group included LTG Tom Tackaberry, LTG R. M. Shoemaker, LTG Volney

Warner, LTG J. R. McGiffert, Jr., (Rogers's Director of the Army staff), and BG John

Johns (Rogers's Director of the Human Resources Directorate in DA DCSPERS).

Running from February 6 through 10, 1978, the program was part of the year-long

curriculum in the Department of Command and Management.

In recognizing the criticality of establishing the correct tone for the weeklong

lectures and panel discussions, Yerks asked Johns to be the introductory key note

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60. Rogers had strong confidence in Yerks. Yerks only served as commandant of the AWC for academic year 1978, at which time Rogers brought him back to Washington with a promotion to lieutenant general to serve as the DA DCSPERS. With a combat record in both the Korean and Vietnam wars, Yerks had earned the Distinguished Flying Cross and the Silver and Bronze stars. Yerks was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2000 for his post-retirement work in the nation of Liberia. See http://campnelson.org/PDF/2011_MemorialDay.pdf. Last accessed May 11, 2014.

presenter. Of interest, however, was the wording he used in his formal invitation to Johns: "You may be aware that we are approaching HRD/OE from a slightly different perspective. Rather than hitting it head on, we are using as a focus *certain behaviors and procedures uniquely required at high levels of command and management* in the Army."[61] Well aware of Johns's passion for Army OE, this was an important "heads-up." AWC, by that time, doctrinally was the "headquarters" of the Healers and had been since the release of the late 1971 *Leadership for the 1970s: USAWC Study of Leadership for the Professional Soldier,* which provided the source and basis for the recent ADMINCEN *Leadership Monograph Series*.

What the Command and Management faculty wanted out of this week and the other topics covered in the curriculum were discussions and examples of practical application of the new behavioral science topics, with OE as only one component. Indeed, the other command and management courses were almost entirely focused on management. There was little that dealt with leadership. These courses showed that AWC was most interested in the evolving research into complex systems and how executives or senior managers ran such organizations effectively.[62]

While OE was only an elective course that covered the basic elements of the OESO course, the faculty viewed OE as a supplement to the primary management course. As the course description indicated, "the course is designed to supplement the

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61. Emphasis is mine. Robert G. Yerks, Office of the Commandant, US Army War College, to General John Johns, letter, (November 9, 1997), archive, Military History Institute, US Army War College. Yerks and Johns were clearly in Rogers's camp when it came to achieving institutionalization. Johns would soon retire (in five months) and Yerks would move up to DA to become DCSPERS. Even though Johns was the most junior general officer present, Yerks felt it was important for Johns to set the course. He added, "I anticipate that your leadoff remarks on the current status of OE and HRD in the Army will be the keystone that holds the week together and will move us a long way toward the Chief of Staff's goal of establishing a favorable command climate for OE."

62. See student text: "Directive, Command and Management, Academic Year 1978, US Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, PA. www.armyoe.com.

Command and Management course and is useful to officers in all [career fields] and

particularly relevant to the management specialties." By this, they meant the other

electives such as organizational theory and general management, philosophy of

management, managerial decision-making, and management information systems.

Even more to the point was Colonel Gustav J. Gillert's introduction in the text of the

primary command and management course text:

> Considerable discussion and at times serious controversy has evolved
> around the interpretation and interrelationship of the terms leadership,
> command, and management. Some view command and management
> activities as conflicting functions and perhaps incompatible. We do not.
> We take the position that command is the authority a person in the military
> service lawfully exercises over subordinates by virtue of his rank and
> assignment; and that management is the process of planning, organizing,
> coordinating, directing, and controlling resources such as people, material,
> time, and money to accomplish the organizational mission. It follows then
> that commanders must manage—but managers do not exercise
> command. Both use *the process of leadership* to control the most
> important of all resources—people. While there are many definitions for
> the complex effort of controlling this resource, *we view leadership as the
> process of influencing people in such a manner as to accomplish an
> assigned mission*.[63]

Clearly, at this point, AWC had moved beyond OE in comparison to how Rogers

and the Progressives viewed human relations. Still, although 1978 was a precarious

year for the process of institutionalization, there was plenty of momentum pushing the

program forward. While the close ties between AWC, ADMINCEN, and TRADOC did

not bode well for the future of OE from a doctrinal development standpoint, OETC was

still in the driver's seat as increased enrollments at OETC pushed more and more

OESOs into the field units. In the eyes of most Progressives, increasing OE successes

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63. Ibid., ii. Emphasis is mine. OETC was all about dissecting and examining the "process of leadership," AWC, however, never examined or explained this process. The college assumed that its attendees already understood "the process." Leadership was simply the "influence of subordinates," and "taking care of your soldiers," the same statement dating back to the first leadership doctrinal publication in 1946.

in the Army's combat units would facilitate institutionalization and determine the Army's ultimate assimilation of OE into its culture.

OETC Shifts Gears

Throughout 1978, OETC faced a year of tremendous activity, change, and transition as Rogers's full agenda for institutionalization placed extraordinary demands on the faculty and staff. The CSA had essentially given OETC a "blank check," trusting that they would "get OE right." The Progressives in positions of power and influence—Rogers, Johns, Nadal, Schaum, and others—had worked tirelessly to pave the way for this moment. It was clear to all that Rogers would not remain in the CSA position forever and that 1978 and 1979 would be pivotal years for the Army OE program.

At Fort Ord, OETC came under increasing pressure, both self-imposed and external, to show a return on investment (ROI) for OE thus far. Initially, the OETC commander pleaded with OESOs to submit testimonials from their commanders and to write case study articles for OETC's publication, the *OE Communique.* In January 1978, OETC reported the results from Phase II of its three-year evaluation effort (how best to educate and prepare OESOs for their assignment), which had concluded the previous October. Among the many findings were several indications that institutionalization and cultural assimilation had a long way to go. For example, the data indicated that OE was "still seen in the field as a people program [with negative connotations], and that other staff officers viewed OE as a "fringe program" and did "not consider it mainstream at this time." The OETC staff believed these views were a result of where OESOs "sat." "The location of OE within the chain of command varies widely. The most common

location is the G1 [channel]; however when placed in the G1 [channel], the effort tends

to be seen as proving a minimal threat and being a people program."[64]

The Phase II report also noted that commanders who had utilized their OESOs

were quite pleased with improvements in organizational communications and team work

but were the least supportive of how OE increased mission accomplishment. In addition,

the evaluation discovered that senior commanders were often frustrated in evaluating

the impact of the OE within their organizations because of "a lack of systematic

feedback on OE operations in subordinate units. Feedback is often blocked by the

privileged information policy." This data, also emphasized in the Phase I report,

reflected a dilemma that the OESOs faced throughout the entire length of the program.

For OE to work, all participants had to fully believe that surveys taken for assessments

were strictly confidential. It was simply a matter of trust. Some OESOs found

themselves in incredibly difficult situations in regard to this issue, as Dick Powell did in

1978.

> I get a phone call. "Powell, this is General Patton. Are you the OE guy?" I
> said "yes, sir." He said, "I got a couple of guys who cause a lot of trouble. I
> want you on a chopper with me at 0700 tomorrow morning. We're going
> down to Fort Monroe to knock heads."[65]

Powell convinced Patton to meet with him first to put together a meeting design, and

Patton agreed to go through the OE process. They flew to Fort Monroe where they were

greeted at the airfield by TRADOC commander Donn Starry. Powell managed to

facilitate an initial meeting with all parties where they decided to later hold an action

planning conference at Patton's headquarters. Soon thereafter, Powell facilitated the

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64. *OE Communique* 1-78 (January 1978), www.armyoe.com.
65. Powell Interview.

planning conference that included more than twenty participants. By midday, he thought

it was going well and approached Patton for his opinion.

> "General, how do you think it's going?" "It's going OK but I've got to fire
> this sonofabitch. I don't like him. I don't trust him." He then looked me in
> the eye. . . . I said, "wait a minute, General. That's not going to make [OE]
> look good because everybody is going to associate firing with the OE
> process. Is there another way [of handling this]?" I had to put it right out
> there. "Let me think about it," he said. Two weeks later he fired him.

In fact, this incident came as no surprise to Powell. A year earlier in USAREUR,

the long awaited report on the use of survey feedback in combat units (the pilot project

that Nadal began and Powell implemented; see Chapter III) had revealed similar

concerns. The senior commanders over the fifteen battalions that took part in the pilot

expressed frustration in not gaining access to the assessment data. The report

cautioned that "maintaining confidentiality could become a serious problem in the

operational use of survey feedback." However, in response, the report made clear that

commanders must maintain "a constructive, problem-solving attitude" and that such an

attitude "was essential to the technique's success."[66]

As 1978 progressed, the OETC Evaluation Directorate faced increasing pressure

to show ROI and how OE contributes to combat readiness. Recognizing the need to

expand its evaluation efforts to show value, especially objective evaluation, OETC

contracted with McBer and Company to conduct a series of external evaluations that

would complement the internal evaluation program. The Army Research Institute (ARI)

contractually sponsored the McBer studies, with McBer's Lyle M. Spencer authoring the

final reports.[67]

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66. Holmes et al., *Survey Feedback*.
67. A full discussion on ARI 's role in the history of Army OE is beyond the scope of this dissertation.
However, it is important to note that the reader recognize that ARI never had sufficient expertise in OD,

Spencer released the first report entitled "Taxonomies of Organizational Change: Literature Review and Analysis" in September 1978. In consulting recent literature on assessment taxonomies and methods, McBer hoped to identify important variables that accounted for effective OD engagements. They discovered four: change agent characteristics, competencies, and roles; client characteristics and problems; intervention methods and processes; and outcome objectives and results. They found, however, that intervention methods were too vague "to permit a reviewer to determine exactly what change agents actually do to produce outcome results." In essence, they concluded that OETC should, through detailed study, determine the competencies of its OESOs and understand the design elements of successful interventions. In retrospect, this 242-page study did little to inform OETC as to how the school could produce more effective OESOs. Its value, instead, was its real-time survey of the evolving state of OD in academia. Buried in its depths were important emerging developments in OD with topics such as socio-technical systems, complex systems, and executive management. The Progressives would soon face these rising concepts head-on.

The first Progressive who fully realized that OD had significantly evolved throughout the decade was Lieutenant Colonel (soon to be Colonel) Tony Nadal. From the summer of 1977 until the summer of 1978, Nadal attended the Army War College as a student after his assignment at FORSCOM. Throughout his year at AWC, he acted once again as the "front man" for Rogers. Although his influence was somewhat limited

despite their label as the Army's behavioral science research organization. That is why there were so many outsourced studies conducted during the 1970s and through the length of the OE program. ARI came to OD/OE late in the game because their forte had always been primarily human engineering. By 1978, ARI placed one of its employees on the staff of OETC to act as liaison. His name was Dr. Otto Khan. Some OE staff recall that he always felt somewhat exiled by ARI. Jerry Eppler, closest to Khan on the staff, recalled that Khan "felt like the Lone Ranger. Sent out to the frontier with no support." Eppler Interview.

due to his student status, he played a significant role in helping to organize the

weeklong OE seminar. Nadal knew many of the civilian guest speakers from his work at

FORSCOM and on the OESG Study Group. More importantly, Nadal produced a much

more useful study than Spencer's in June 1978 as a result of his AWC research project.

As part of the AWC curriculum, all students produce a research project by the

end of their study year, either as an individual or group project. Nadal teamed with

military intelligence officer Colonel Donald W. Blascak and fellow infantry officer

Lieutenant Colonel Joseph H. Schwar to write a 137-page report entitled "An Analysis of

Corporate Organizational Development Experience and Its Implications for the Future of

the Army's Organizational Effectiveness Program." Nadal and his colleagues wanted to

study American corporations known to use OD in order to understand how they had

evolved OD technology since 1971, and to compare these experiences with those of the

Army. For understanding the state of research, the team visited Case Western Reserve

University and the renowned Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan.

For understanding practitioners, they went to American Telephone and Telegraph,

Exxon, Connecticut General Insurance, Consolidated Edison, General Motors, Dow

Chemical, Saga Corporation, Proctor and Gamble, Shell, and Texas Instruments.

Importantly, they also visited ARI and OETC. In sum, the study group concluded that

> the recent Army effort, to the extent that it has developed, compares
> favorably with the corporate early experience and has the capacity built
> into its process to manage the change of the process itself. The Army is
> not yet doing two pertinent levels of OD which the corporations [we] visited
> are doing. The Strategic OD, accomplished to systematically address the
> organizational future in a participatory way, and the Socio-Technical areas
> of OD which are executed to enhance jobs, redesign work, and increase
> organizational productivity at the worker level are not done in the Army at
> this time. Recommendations follow that the Army should expand its
> process; change the role of the OESO and the content of the OETC;

educate manager/commanders at all levels and develop a survey feedback system in order to accomplish Strategic and Socio-Technical functions to vertically integrate the OE process in the Army.[68]

OETC paid particular attention to Nadal's AWC study. Nadal's work seemed to confirm what some OETC researchers had been observing since late 1977. In January 1978, OETC alerted the OE community at large that the center was looking closely at the "systems view of the total organization." Influenced by the work of academicians Fremont E. Kast and James E. Rosenzweig, the OETC staff illustrated the center's evolving view by placing a diagram on the cover of *OE Communique* that depicted the interconnectivity of soldiers, structures, mission, and technology. Together, they comprised the organizational environment. The authors were careful to emphasize that the commander was at the center and in control of this total environment.

At this point in early 1978, OETC was clearly at a crossroads. All of their extensive efforts to date, including the recent objectives of the phase III evaluation, were grounded in the humanistic foundation that promoted transformational leadership behaviors. However, the Army was changing, and changing very rapidly. Although all of the service chiefs were fighting budget battles with the Carter administration, especially Rogers, almost 400 largely technologically advanced systems were staged to enter the Army inventory soon. The Army faced a level of force modernization not seen since the Second World War, hence the attractiveness of total systems theory. OESOs were the designated change agents of the Army. Should they not be facilitating such changes?[69]

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68. Donald W. Blascak, Ramon A. Nadal, and Joseph H. Schwar, "An Analysis of Corporate Organizational Development Experience and Its Implications for the Future of the Army's Organizational Effectiveness Program," research project, US Army War College, February 1978), DTIC accession number: AD-A060968.

69. Specifically Fremont Ellsworth Kast and James Erwin Rosenzweig, *Organization and Management: A Systems Approach,* Mcgraw-Hill Series in Management (New York: McGraw-Hill), 1974.

In April 1978, OETC published an update on its work with OE and total systems. Still very sensitive to the perception that OE was a threat to commanders, the center staff formally announced that they had modified their conceptual diagram of OE and total systems to emphasize the chain of command as a critical subsystem. They posited that "this subsystem serves as the interface between the commander and all other subsystems and helps the commander or leader of an organization to balance the other subsystems as changes occur." Without much elaboration, they argued that "the addition of this subsystem will also assist us in our efforts to explain the interrelationships between organizational effectiveness, organizational leadership, and situational leadership." Did this announcement signal a radical change in OETC's behavioral science orientation? Where was the individual—the leader and the follower—in the subsystems?

Throughout the spring and summer of 1978, OETC forged ahead with adapting OE to a total systems approach. With the Nadal AWC and McBer studies firmly in hand and confirming that OETC was heading in the right direction, several external factors influenced the azimuth they were taking. These external forces of influence all originated with one large issue—combat readiness.

At the national level, as budget battles were being fought, a nation-wide debate arose about the possibility of bringing back the draft. Driving this debate were the very public comments from both Congress and the armed services that the United States was ill-equipped and unprepared to confront the Soviet Union with conventional weapons should the Soviets invade Europe. Although Congress was becoming more amenable to modest increases in the defense budget in 1978, they had recently ended

the Vietnam-era GI Bill and significantly reduced recruiting dollars. Fearing that these incentives would result in fewer enlistments, many observers of these developments began to question the viability of the AVF. To some, the threat of Soviet aggression and poor recruiting prospects meant that the only solution would be to reinstate conscription. Was the AVF in danger of failing? Were the American military services really in such dire straits?

The answer to those questions arrived in December 1978 with the release of a DOD report entitled "America's Volunteers: A Report on the All-Volunteer Armed Forces." The Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower, Reserve Affairs and Logistics had initiated the study in 1977. In total, the report painted a positive picture of the AVF and argued that although some serious concerns existed, these problems were not insurmountable. For example, while the active forces had remained within 1.5 percent of congressionally authorized levels, the Army was experiencing declining aptitude test scores of its recruits, and nearly one-third of first term enlistees were being discharged before the end of their enlistment period. Of greater concern for Rogers was the state of the reserve forces. The end-strength of the reserve components was well below congressional mandates, and more than half of all enlistees were failing to complete the first half of their six-year obligations. Rogers faced this problem when he was the FORSCOM commander, spending an enormous amount of time with the reserves, and was disheartened about the lack of progress since that time. In fact, by early 1979, though supportive of the AVF, Rogers advocated drafting people into the reserves. Above all, the report contained a warning that caught everyone's attention: "By all estimates, this current level [of reserves] is well below what

would be needed to meet a major conventional attack in Central Europe. By far the greatest shortfall is in the combat arms."[70]

This context was especially important to the evolution of the Army OE program because the entire Army by this time had grown concern about combat readiness. Within an OE context, Rogers addressed this concern early on by directing the DCSPERS to integrate OE throughout the Army Reserves and National Guard with the hope that changing the leadership culture in these components would improve retention. At Fort Ord, OETC's reaction to the question about combat readiness was to show OE's direct value not only in helping to prepare units for combat but to employ OE *in* combat. Thus arose the term combat OE. From early 1978 until the end of the program in 1985, OESOs would struggle with articulating their efforts in this area. Some argued that OE had its greatest payoffs pre-and post-combat, while others said OE had an important role in combat as facilitators of improving communications, especially in tactical operations centers. In general, however, very few commanders viewed OE in combat as a force multiplier.

A New Azimuth Is Set

By late 1978, it was clear that OETC had changed course. Whereas the concern over combat readiness, ever the objective of any commander, had always been centered on the subject of human relations, it now appeared to be centered on force modernization and systems integration. While many of the staff and faculty at the center hoped to retain OE's humanistic core, even that desire began to dissipate by late summer. From August 14 through 18, representatives from OETC, FORSCOM, and

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70. US Department of Defense, "America's Volunteers: A Report on the All-Volunteer Armed Forces," (Washington, DC: Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower, Reserve Affairs and Logistics, December 31, 1978), DTIC accession number: AD-A101903, 5.

TRADOC met at Fort Ord to discuss the future of the L&MDC. This important course,

always adept at defining and illustrating the distinct differences between leadership and

management, was now threatened with a significant revision. The participants

appreciated its history but really met to determine "where we would like it to go." The

end result was a revision that "militarized" the jargon and the exercises and that

changed the emphasis on several subject areas. These affected areas included

guidance to students on where and when not to use "awareness skills in military

situations," an expanded use of systems theory, matching L&MDC skills with the goals

of the Army, replacing the consensus exercise with a "militarized unit on teamwork," and

a "simplification of the behavioral science readings."[71] In short, these changes served to

dilute the humanistic elements of the course that served to inform students about the

process of social integration to create a genuine leadership climate.

While all of these changes were meant to show relevance and value to the Army

at large, OETC still struggled with objective evaluation and quantifiable ROI. Even

though the center proceeded with its own internal evaluation through the end of 1978

and into 1979, the desire for external evaluations increased. In December 1978, Lyle

Spencer of McBer and Company released another report on a study to determine the

effectiveness of OETC. Overall, the findings indicated that "OETC has accomplished its

missions: It has graduated a highly motivated group of OESOs who have been

successful in implementing organizational development operations in the U.S. Army."

Spencer found six major issues concerning the future development of OETC. The most

important was the need for OETC to create "additional training in methods which can

increase the probability that OE operations produce measurable mission

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71. *OE Communique,* 4-78 (October 1978), www.armyoe.com.

accomplishment outcomes for client units." The report emphasized that OETC needed better methods for evaluating OE operations, and that OESOs should complete the four-step process in order to achieve success with client commanders. This latter point had become a particular problem for OESOs because often the length of the operation would exceed the command tenures of the clients. Consequently, OESOs were getting through the contracting and assessment phases but faced difficulty in having the time to do action planning and solution implementation.[72]

A second important recommendation reflecting industry trends was that OETC should educate its students on socio-technical methods. "More time in the OETC curriculum should be devoted to task-oriented socio-technical intervention methods and evaluation techniques." Mirroring the trend in industry, Spencer stated that "OETC students need additional training in management and organizational consultation methods which deal with more than just "people problems." He cited examples such as analysis of workflows, operations research, systems analysis, planning methods, management information and control systems, cost benefit analysis, and changes in organizational structure.[73]

The OETC staff quickly acted on the McBer recommendations. Immediately after receiving Spencer's report, OETC hosted an Open Systems Workshop/Seminar designed for OESOs working in large and complex organizations. Turning to industry for advice, the center invited Dr. G. K. Jayaram of the Arthur D. Little corporation to speak about conceptual frameworks of open systems "which the participants then utilized in

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72. Lyle M. Spencer, Jr., "An Assessment of the US Army Organizational Effectiveness Training Center (OETC)," research memorandum 78-28 (Alexandria, VA: US Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences, December 1978), DTIC accession number: AD-A090002.

73. Ibid., see Executive Summary.

small groups to develop models for addressing some of their complex back-home

issues." John Hallen, who had long ago facilitated the initial MILPERCEN engagement,

also spoke. His topic was macro systems, with special emphasis given to issues "facing

the Army today and in the foreseeable future."[74]

Between January and March 1979, the staff at OETC explored the feasibility of

incorporating socio-technical systems theory, diagnosis, and change technologies into

the OESO/OESNCO course. In announcing this effort to the OE community, OETC

summarized and described the socio technical approach as an attempt "to optimize the

relationship between the "people" system and the technology used by the system to

produce output." In developing the new course material, the school reviewed current

literature in academia, civilian industry, and the United States Air Force. They

completed the instructional material in time to change the POI for class 2-79 that began

on March 8, 1979. In short, the staff viewed open systems as a means of "viewing

organizations which exist in an environment of rapid technological, social, and resource

changes." This definition certainly described the rapid changes taking place within the

Army at that time, especially in regard to force modernization and systems integration.

By early 1979, apprehension grew throughout the OE community and especially

at OETC about the fate of the Army OE program after Rogers's imminent departure.

This apprehension exacerbated an already anxious climate in which the center was

hard pressed to show how OE directly contributed to combat readiness. In retrospect,

the center's quick embrace of open systems, socio-technical systems theory, and macro

systems was not only a result of catching up with industry's lead in the evolutionary use

of organizational development (as Nadal had illuminated with his June 1978 AWC

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74. *OE Communique* 1-79 (January 1979), 11, www.armyoe.com.

study), but was also a survival mechanism to prove its relevancy to a healed and largely reformed institution. In sum, the winter of 1978–1979 proved to be an "adapt or die" moment.

Metamorphosis

With all of these changes occurring within a short span of time, OETC rapidly reacted and adapted in several important ways. First, they saw a need to practice OE at higher levels of command. Heretofore, they had focused their efforts primarily at the battalion and company levels. For the values-laden nature of OD/OE during the early to mid-1970s, this was an appropriate focus because those were the levels where "people problems" were most apparent. Those also were the levels where the new AVF soldier asked "why" and where company-grade and lower-ranking field-grade officers had the most direct contact with their followers. However, the value of those engagements failed to reach the colonels and generals who were steeped in the managerial sciences, who sought access to the inaccessible assessment data (due to the OESO privilege policy), and who expected immediate ROI on quantifiable results such as reduced desertion and AWOL rates and improved reenlistments.

Secondly, accurate or not, the Healers had come to view OESOs as planners and change agents. However, the Healers and the Progressives held different interpretations of the role of a change agent. The latter saw OESOs, equipped with extensive education in OD, as highly skilled facilitators of change management. In contrast, the former viewed OESOs as process improvement staff officers. By embracing socio-technical systems, OETC essentially synthesized the two views. Unfortunately, in doing so, they relegated "human relations" to the status of a

subordinate subsystem within a larger, complex system. Thus, it was no longer the focal point but rather just another "systems" entity. Further, as the Army began fielding more than 400 new, largely technological systems, the "socio" dimension was buried under the "techno" dimension.

A new commander arrived at OETC in December 1978 to drive home this pragmatic adaptation. On December 12, Colonel Joseph C. Lutz became OETC's new commandant. Unlike the previous commanders, Lutz was well-known and well respected throughout the Army officer corps.[75] Originally an armor officer, Lutz became a member of the special forces community early on, serving two tours of duty in Vietnam. Other assignments included commands, in the 82nd Airborne Division and the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment. Just prior to arriving at Fort Ord, Lutz earned a masters degree in human relations from Webster College. His selection sent a strong signal that OE was an important program for the Army but one that would take a different form. For example, Lutz was clear that OE's most important mission was to enhance combat readiness. In his change-of-command remarks that day, Lutz told his soldiers and civilians that "we are in a process of gaining recognition for OE [by] giving it discipline. . . . [W]e must also, simultaneously, move beyond the interpersonal aspect of OE and begin to deal more systematically with systemic organizational concerns." Lutz reminded everyone that they were all soldiers and that they must paint OE "green" by

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75. Of the nine commandants of the center and school, Lutz was the only commander who was not there in a "terminal Assignment." That is, as the last assignment before retirement. Previous commanders were not exceptional, with one having been relieved of command. Mel Spehn, "Reflections on the Organizational Effectiveness Center and School," OE Communique (Fall1985). www.armyoe.com.

staying away from the esoterics, avoiding the vernacular and, above all, "staying in the mainstream of the Army."[76]

The following month, in his opening comments to the quarterly *OE Communique,* Lutz wrote that the most important task of all OE dealings was "the task of assuring commanders and leaders throughout the Army that the sole purpose of OE is to contribute to our Army's effort in maintaining a high degree of combat effectiveness." With his opening remarks to this issue of the *OE Communique,* Lutz notified the entire OE community as well as the Army at large that the center would "carefully and rigorously scrutinize the techniques and methods that we employ in the name of OE [to] insure that those which contribute to the goal of combat effectiveness are continually refined and that *those which do not contribute are eliminated."*[77]

It is important to note that not everyone readily accepted OETC's quick adaptation. Innovation and experimentation had always been the hallmark of the Progressives at Fort Ord, and thus Dr. Jerry Eppler and several others continued to find ways to keep attention focused on the human element. In fact, Eppler and several other OESOs became members of what became known as Task Force Delta.

Started by Mike Malone at TRADOC in 1978, Task Force Delta was a unique distributed "think tank" of sorts. Malone was attracted to living systems theory as espoused by psychologist James Grier Miller of Harvard University. Miller developed living systems to formalize the concept of life. He was especially interested in how a number of subsystems interacted with each other and the environment, space, time,

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76. *OE Communique* 1-79 (January 1979), 1, www.armyoe.com.
77. Ibid., 6.

matter, energy, and information.[78] Malone was also attracted to the role of information in complex systems. Like many other senior Army officers, Malone believed that the Soviets had achieved technological equality with the United States during the 1970s. He thought that information and communications, explored in unprecedented ways by some of the best minds available, could help the Army achieve a qualitative advantage over Soviet forces. He sold Starry, who was trying to integrate all of the Abrams-DePuy reforms with new training and operational doctrine, on the concept.[79] In 1978 Malone enlisted more than sixty "futurists" from various professions to think of new concepts in unconventional and innovative ways. By 1979, Delta Force participants numbered more than 130. That year, Malone published his concept paper that encapsulated this "thinking renaissance," as he called it. Over time, Delta Force members, including several influential OE personnel, published a number of concept papers.[80]

For example, DA OESO Lieutenant Colonel Frank Burns wrote a Delta Force concept paper entitled "High Performance Programming: An Operating Model for a new Age of Leadership." In essence, Burns attached himself to some elements in living systems. He argued that "to become effective leaders, we have to improve the quality of thinking about the nature and practice of leadership. We need to get outside our current frame of reference."[81] Similarly, OETC's Director of Training, Lieutenant Colonel William R. Fisher, embraced recent research into neuro-linguistic programming (NLP). NLP was

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78. James Grier Miller, *Living Systems* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978).

79. Starry to Lieutenant General John R. Thurman and Major General William F. Hixon Jr., "Highly Effective Forces," memorandum (Fort Leavenworth, KA: June 8, 1978), cited in Sorley, *Press On!*, 795. Starry suggested the term Task Force Delta, although in all likelihood, he got that from Malone.

80. Mike Malone, "Task Force Delta-Concept Paper," Powell Papers; also available at my web site: www.armyoe.com.

81. *OE Communique*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1981, 25-27. www.armyoe.com. Bums presented a seminar on the HPP model during the period 19-20 March 1981 to the OECS faculty and staff. Note that Burns strongly embraced and became a certified master practitioner of Neuro-Linguistic Programming.

an attempt to codify and apply knowledge from linguistics (language), kinesics (body language) and cybernetics (the study of communications systems). In his view, NLP helped people improve communication skills to advance "the art of establishing rapport and influencing behavioral change."[82]

The most extreme example of OETC's exploration of humanistic ideas was its close association with Lieutenant Colonel Jim Channon, a Task Force Delta member, and his concept of the First Earth Battalion. In 1978, the Army allowed Channon the time and freedom to explore "alternative human potential." In many ways, Channon shared some of Malone's views about living systems. However, whereas Malone stayed within conventional cultural boundaries to explore information and communication flows, Channon strayed outside these boundaries, finding merit in many of the spiritual and philosophical beliefs that came out of the counter-culture movement of the 1960s. Channon was attracted to the human potential movement (HPV) that had deep roots in "humanistic psychology," which was grounded in the work of Abraham Maslow and Carl Rogers. In 1979, Channon published the *First Earth Battalion Manual,* with Malone writing the foreword. Malone proffered that Channon's "battalion" was a place where Task Force Delta could dream. Writing more in the form of a comic book than any manual, Channon and Malone shared the belief that "soldiers can be the principal moral ethical base on which things political can harmonize in the name of the Earth."[83]

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82. William R. Fisher, "Neuro-Linguistic Programming," *OE Communique* 2-80 (Spring 1980): 169–178, http://armyoe.com/OE_Communique_Journal.html.

83. Jim Channon, *The First Earth Battalion Manual*, [no publication information] 1979, Powell Papers. Also available at my web site www.armyoe.com. Hollywood fictionalized Channon's activities with the 2009 film *Men Who Stare at Goats,* staring George Clooney, Kevin Spacey, and Jeff Bridges. Bridges played the role of Channon.

As unorthodox as it may seem today, Malone's influence on Starry and TRADOC cannot be understated. His heavy embrace of "systems," combined with his extensive work on ethics (which largely defined TRADOC's view of leadership), coincided with the maturation of so many training and doctrinal reforms underway since Abrams's time. Simultaneously, with OD in the private sector and academia evolving into socio-technical and complex systems, the Army kept in step with the whole new way of looking at the management sciences. Although Malone was never fully accepted by the OE community, he helped to bridge the gap between the new direction at OETC and the DePuy-Starry roadmap for TRADOC.

Despite the efforts of some of the early-committed Progressives to retain the program's initial focus on the individual and the core of leadership behaviors, by early 1979, as Rogers neared the completion of his term as CSA, a noticeable change swept over the Army OE program beyond Fort Ord and throughout the institution. FORSCOM proclaimed its refocus by stating that it had "shifted somewhat from its initial humanistic direction to more of a systems approach." The OE personnel at FORSCOM headquarters indicated that this shift would directly impact the kinds of people selected for the OE program and the type of formal education they would receive.

At TRADOC, some students strongly rejected OE instruction. Rogers, leaning on Starry to incorporate his views of OE throughout TRADOC, had taken a strong personal interest in the quality of TRADOC's Pre-Command Course for newly designated commanders. Starry had revamped the old Command Refresher Course Program into a high-priority course that would more effectively prepare new commanders for their assignments. Rogers interceded in the development of the course

to ensure that participants received instruction in OE. To underscore his strong

humanistic views of the course material, Rogers lifted the restrictions on "sensitivity

training" and authorized the laboratory method and the use of experiential instruction.

However, the students heavily resisted experiential learning. As the after-action report

noted,

> [t]he students were not receptive to discussing subjects such as stress or time and meeting management. A typical comment was "just tell me what you want me to know–to discuss it is a waste of time." The students resisted any subject they perceived as related to Organizational Effectiveness. There was a great deal of "unknowns" and "mysticism" about OE which was projected into subjects we taught. This situation was exacerbated by two or three individuals in each workshop who attacked the content of what the OE instructor was trying to teach.[84]

Throughout late 1978 and through the end of his tenure as CSA in June 1979,

Rogers continued to do whatever he could to push OE into institutionalization despite

the increase in resistance. In the latter half of 1978, he ensured that OE programs

would fall under inspector general guidelines (IG). Officially becoming part of the IG

program was an important step in the cultural assimilation of OE because it would

ensure that OE objectives were periodically evaluated by external inspectors and that

OE operations were conforming to well-defined standards of performance. Rogers also

frequented the meetings of the Washington-area OESOs—Capital Area Network for

Organizational Effectiveness (CANOE)—who had organized themselves to share best

practices. By early 1979, membership had grown to more than eighty. They met

quarterly for almost an entire day, with DA staff members often in attendance. It was

here that Rogers and other DA personnel could hear firsthand about OE operations on

the front lines.

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84. Lieutenant Colonel Robert W. Brown, "OE in the Pre-Command Course," memorandum dated November 27, 1978, *OE Communique* 1 (1979), 30. www.armyoe.com.

Indeed, down in the trenches, many soldiers had become aware of Rogers's "give a damn about them" focus. His papers contain examples of soldiers and NCOs writing personal letters of appreciation—some dating back to the Korean War when he served as their battalion commander. One special example stands out in a letter written to Rogers by Private First Class Prescott Melvin of Fort Jackson, South Carolina on 29 December 1977. Melvin had heard that Rogers practiced transcendental meditation and stated in his letter that he was "gratified that such an important person as yourself was learning, through direct experience about the laws of nature at an accelerated rate for the benefit of not only myself, but also of his many soldiers." Melvin went on to suggest that all officers learn transcendental meditation so that "enlightened leaders will be able to overcome in a most creative way the many threats to peace that we face as the world's most important defender of liberty and justice."[85]

While letters such as Melvin's may have been anecdotal, the reality was that where OE had been used and given time to mature, it was succeeding at becoming part of day-to-day business. With the focus on human relations, organizations were becoming more effective. Testimonials from dozens of general officers appeared in the *OE Communique* to support that assertion. Yet, the Healers continued to ask about ROI, especially in terms of combat readiness. Unfortunately, little quantitative data ever accompanied those testimonials.

By the time of Rogers's departure in the summer of 1979, Hartjen's previous, premature pronouncement of the OE movement's death had become a reality. More

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85. Note that Rogers used the phrase "give a damn about them" as his trademark phrase in dozens of his prepared remarks. Handwritten letter from Melvin to CSA dated December 29, 1977. Rogers Papers. Rogers's staff wrote back to Melvin telling him that while the CSA appreciated his suggestions, Rogers himself did not practice TM.

poignantly, in the April 1977 OESG report by Nadal, Schaum, and Ray, they had warned that "additional monitorship of the OE Training Center is required to ensure that its focus does not shift from the current emphasis on organizational and interpersonal processes to a more generalized and mechanical resource manager point of view." Evidently, the words of Nadal, Ray, and Schaum had gone unheeded.

Not only had the Healers succeeded in disseminating their views of behavioral science methods more acceptable by existing Army culture, largely by way of AWC and ADMINCEN, they also offered methods (largely managerial and transactional) that appealed to commanders faced with extensive problems in force modernization and systems integration. External forces also contributed to management being in vogue again. This was the dawn of the Information Age. Complicating the concerns of combat readiness were the extensive efforts at automation and data processing that seemed to permeate every process of any organization. Largely healed of drug and alcohol abuse, racial tensions, and disciplinary problems in the ranks, commanders with aggressive training schedules to meet had little patience for "touchy-feely" or "people" programs like OE.

OE Goes On Autopilot: The Meyer and Wickham Years

On June 21, 1979, Rogers turned over the reins of the Army to General Edward C. "Shy" Meyer. Rogers left at the peak of the budget battles and the widespread concern over the possibility of Soviet superiority. Such concerns would soon have Meyer claiming that the United States had a "hollow force."[86] However, Rogers did not retire from the CSA position as most of his predecessors had done. Instead, he moved

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86. The term is still remembered today and is often cited—out of context—to rally against calls for decreases in military budgets or reductions in force. See Bailey, *America's Army*, Chapter 6.

on to serve as the Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) through most of the

Reagan Administration—from July 1, 1979 to June 26, 1987—longer than any other

commander before or since. While he was in that position, Rogers never again

commented on the Army OE program until 1985, when CSA General John Wickham

terminated the program. In a sharply worded message to Wickham objecting to the

termination, Rogers told Wickham that the decision was "paramount to eating our seed

corn."[87] That Rogers clung to such strong emotional ties to Army OE is apparent in his

personal papers. Among the many boxes in the Rogers collection, one small box

contains a two-inch high stack of papers that Rogers always kept on his desk. That

small stack included two documents: a copy of the 1970 Ulmer-Malone study (the *Study

on Military Professionalism*), and a document entitled "Organizational Development

(OD) for US Army Commands: Some Commonly Asked Questions and Tentative

Answers."[88]

When Meyer assumed the position of CSA, he had the clear intention of

completing the force modernization efforts that originated with Abrams. Meyer

emphasized quality over quantity and stressed the need for a long-term investment in

procuring the necessary logistics and materiel for the Army's corps and divisions. He

would also be remembered for "fixing" the Army's recruiting program.[89]

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87. See entire message correspondence as Appendix E. Note that Wickham chose to copy the Secretary of the Army on his reply to Rogers—thus ending any further discussion. Message provided by Lynn Herrick and John Johns.

88. "Organizational Development (OD) for US Army Commands: Some Commonly Asked Questions and Tentative Answers," produced by the National Training Laboratories Institute for Applied Behavioral Science, [no date], Rogers Papers.

89. Ibid. He leveraged General Max Thurman to address recruiting, and it was Thurman who developed the slogan "Be All That You Can Be," For his emphasis on technology and force modernization see "A Conversation with General E. C. Meyer: The Army of the Future," published transcript of panel held on January 27, 1981 at the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research Washington, D.C.

Meyer had served as Rogers's DCSOPS and was well aware that the Army OE

program was shifting into full swing as OETC increased the number of OESO courses

from four to five per year. Although he was perceived by some OESOs as being

supportive of the program, Meyer soon demonstrated his true views of OE through his

words and deeds. For example, just weeks into the job, Meyer delivered a speech in

Indianapolis where he commented that

> the Army is finally maturing when It comes to soldiering with a completely
> volunteer force. Initially, when faced with that task, we took a searching
> look at ourselves. Based on our perceptions of what was necessary if we
> were to subsist in a volunteer environment, we made a number of
> changes. Some, such as improved pay and greater trust in the maturity of
> our people, were excellent and long overdue. Others were, in retrospect,
> not desirable. They not only appealed to the wrong instinct, but they
> tended to detract from a necessary focus on the business of soldiering.
> The correct focus must permit us to create and maintain unit cohesion, a
> quality invariably essential to successful military units.[90]

Meyer viewed Army OE as a fad program. In later years he revealed this belief in an

article on leadership published in Military Review. In that article, the former CSA stated

that "[s]ocietally accustomed as we are to discarding the old for the cleverness of the

new, we weary of redundancy and look for the new buzz word [like] Organizational

Effectiveness. . . ."[91]

Also during his first year, Meyer issued a moratorium on surveys in response to

complaints about their overuse, which hindered OETC's evaluation efforts. He also

moved the OE program out of the DCSPERS/HRD channels and into the empowered

Office of the Director of Management at DA. The new director, Major General Thomas

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90. Speech, "Address to the Indiana Chapter of the AUSA" in "E. C. Meyer, General, United States Army, Chief of Staff, June 1979–June 1983," undocumented publication of his personal papers, DTIC accession number AD-A149006.

91. Edward C. Meyer, "Leadership: A Return to Basics," *Military Review* 77, no. 1 (January–February 1997): 58–61.

O. Greer sent a strong message of OE oversight by speaking at the graduation

ceremony for OESO class 2-80 on July 25, 1980:

> The objective of the change is to facilitate the shift of emphasis from a
> primarily human relations perspective to a broader systems approach,
> focusing on a wide range of management skills used to address major
> issues in support of Army goals. Work at HQDA level as shifted from team
> building and other interpersonal activities to an emphasis on problem
> solving and management improvement of the total organization.92

Also during his first year, Meyer approved the long delayed OE 3-10 Year Plan, which

clearly rejected the humanistic OD in favor of the systems approach. The plan purported

to offer "good managerial tools for managing the transition of OE into a macro-system

approach over the next seven years." The plan required OESOs to provide case study

documentation of their engagements. To ensure standardization for this requirement,

DA contracted with SDC, under the sponsorship of ARI, to produce a formal manual for

this purpose. SOC completed this product, entitled "Organizational Effectiveness Case

Development Manual," in October 1980. More ominously, the plan called for the transfer

of basic OE skills to unit personnel managers.

      During the last years of the program, while the OESOs in the field were busy with

systems integration and force modernization, OETC fell under a constant barrage of

external evaluations that attempted to understand the ROI of the Army OE program. In

1981 alone, several significant external studies explored the effectiveness of the OE

program. In May, McBer produced a study entitled "Competencies of Organizational

Effectiveness Consultants in the US Army." The researchers attempted to identify

specific competencies "that distinguish the superior performer from the rest of the

OESO population." In the process of identifying successful OESO skills, the study also

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92. *OE Communique*, Issue No. 3-80 (Spring/Fall 1980), 12-13, www.armyoe.com.

revealed an extensive survey of OE engagements that were not as successful as they could have been. In October, Arthur Young and Company conducted a study entitled "Assessing the Impact of the Army's Organizational Effectiveness (OE) Program: Model, Methodology, and Illustrative Cases." This study assessed the current impact of the Army OE program. In their conclusion, the researchers reported that measuring change in units remained difficult and that the shift to socio-technical engagements did not result in easier evaluations. Three years later, in November 1984, Arthur Young and Company updated their earlier study with a new one entitled "Analysis of the Impact of the US Army Program of Organizational Effectiveness." Like the other studies, this report concluded that "true macro-level operations were very difficult to implement successfully," and that the degree of involvement and support of the senior commander marked the difference between success or failure. More ominously, the findings stated that "it was not possible . . . to obtain reliable data on costs and benefits of OE operations."[93]

Under Meyer and Wickham, management became acceptable again. Not unlike McNamara's systems analysis of the 1960s, the Army's stewards of the 1980s expected all of the Army's activities *and behaviors* to be quantifiable. This became quite evident in 1983 with the long-awaited revision of Army leadership doctrine. The new *FM 22-100* was a radical departure from the 1973 FM (see my analysis in Appendix B. The authors

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93. Bernard J. Cullen, George O. Klemp, Jr., and Lawrence A. Rossini, *Competencies of Organizational Effectiveness Consultants in the U.S. Army,* Research Note 83-13, McBer and Company, (Alexandria, VA: US Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences, May 1981), DTIC accession number: AD-A125753. U.S. James, *Assessing the Impact of the Army's Organizational Effectiveness (OE) Program: Model, Methodology, and Illustrative Cases,* conference paper (Alexandria, VA: US Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences, October 1981), DTIC accession number: AD- P001421. U.S. James, M. D. McCorcle, A. J. Brothers, and Laurel W. Oliver, *Analysis of the Impact of the U.S. Army Program of Organizational Effectiveness,* Arthur Young and Company, research note 84-130 (Alexandria, VA: US Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences, November 1984), DTIC accession number: AD-A148640.

posited a new leadership doctrinal framework entitled "Be, Know, Do." This reflected Meyer's view that leadership was a formula where character plus knowledge plus application equals leadership. In short order, however, the "be" was greatly subordinated to the "know" and the "do," as it still is today. In keeping with Starry's view that every task, including leadership, was quantifiable, *FM 22-100* offered eleven generalized "leadership principles," such as "know your soldiers and look out for their welfare," and "keep your soldiers informed." As these principles were throwbacks to the 1940s and 1950s manuals, the new FM also took a large step backward with its undisguised re-embracing of Trait Theory. In addition, the authors devoted much of the narrative to managerial skills and the situational approach to leadership.

In retrospect, Meyer and Wickham's views on leadership and professionalism were closely in step with those of DePuy, and Starry. While both men stressed the need for quality soldiers and viewed TRADOC's training and training management methods as the appropriate mechanism for producing solders needed to operate the new, advanced technological systems, their definitions of leadership remained traditional. In any case, the retro views of both chiefs were largely irrelevant. By the time Meyer settled into the CSA position, OE had completed its quick adaptation to process improvement. In reality, there was no longer any distinction between leadership and management—at DA, at TRADOC, and at OETC.

The real tragedy of the OE program's long, slow demise was the extinguishment of the professional commitment that hundreds of OESOs had given to making the entire Army as effective as it could be. This is especially true of the second wave of OESOs— those who had graduated in the 1980s and strongly mastered the evolving discipline of

OD. Colonel William "Bill" Golden, who took over command of OETC from Lutz on June 8, 1979 (and arguably the most effective of the nine commandants), deserved much credit for guiding the center through the rapid metamorphosis. Golden, who coauthored the West Point Study with Nadal years earlier, fully understood modern leadership theories and OD. At the beginning of his tenure, he put himself through the entire OESO course (unlike all of his predecessors) and was well-aware of the strong, humanistic currents running through the program. Pragmatically, he recognized the "adapt or die" moment and heavily invested his command in the latest thinking on OD in academia and in industry. He promoted an extensive professional development program for his staff and faculty that exposed them to some of the best theorists and practitioners of current OD technologies. Consequently, OETC personnel acquired the skill levels required to educate OESOs in the latest consulting methods related to socio-technology, complex systems, and open systems (i.e. strategic planning). That the program continued for another five years was largely due to Golden's efforts.

Still, the systems approach, while it may have helped facilitate the most technically and operationally proficient Army in American history, hijacked a movement that was poised to educate the entire Army on the critical differences between leadership and management. In many ways, it was a Camelot moment. Leadership was not about the king sitting at the head of a long, rectangular table commanding his knights, but rather about a group of professional soldiers, forming an effective organization, sitting at a round table where it was safe to speak truth to power; where it was safe to speak your mind, to ask "why" questions, and to participate in the decision-making process. It was also a Camelot moment because the Progressives' embrace of

humanistic OD in the 1970s brought the institution closer to understanding the nature

and essence of leadership than it ever had before or since.

Chapter V

Conclusion: Lost Victories

"Increasingly," [sociologist] Karl Mannheim wrote shortly before his death, "it is recognized that real planning consists in coordination of institutions, education, valuations and psychology. Only one who can see the important ramifications of each single step can act with responsibility required by the complexity of the modern age." It is the leaders who preeminently must see in this way. But to see alone is insufficient; they must act too, and of all the tasks proposed by Mannheim . . . the changing of institutions is the most difficult. For institutions are encapsulated within social structures that are themselves responses to earlier needs, values, and goals. In seeking to change social structures in order to realize new values and purposes, leaders go far beyond the politicians who merely cater to surface attitudes. To elevate the goals of humankind, to achieve high moral purpose, to realize major intended change, leaders must thrust themselves into the most intractable processes and structures of history and ultimately master them.

James MacGregor Burns

In assessing the rise and fall of the Army Organizational Effectiveness Program, one primary question remains: did the program succeed in transforming the leadership culture of the US Army? The short answer is "no." However, the 2000 plus direct participants in the program, in the course of engaging tens of thousands of soldiers, may have affected positive changes that have endured over time.

The entire movement started off on the right track. The defeat in Vietnam and the end of conscription compelled almost everyone in the Army to anticipate many changes. Given the state of the Army on the heels of My Lai and the revelations brought forth in the Ulmer-Malone *Study on Military Professionalism,* most senior officers understood very clearly that such changes would be radical and far reaching. In being honest with themselves (as 108 general officers were in the 1976 Kinnard study), senior officers had observed, through their own experiences especially in Vietnam, that the leadership climate throughout the entire institution was unhealthy. The loss of the war, combined

with the ramifications and effects of the social movements on the domestic front, created a window of opportunity for a number of reforms. More importantly, this "window" generated an institution-wide climate, albeit temporarily, in which new ideas were welcomed, especially (and uncharacteristically) from the junior ranks. Central to this climate were foreboding questions: How can we create an all-volunteer army of young people who protested the war and generally hold the institution in low regard? How can we make the Army appealing?

Different perspectives emerged as the Army officer corps addressed these questions. In short, the Traditionalists wanted to return to the old Army, the Healers wanted to radically revamp the Army as an organization and to modernize it by infusing hundreds of new technological advancements, and the Progressives wanted to relate to young people in new and largely unproven ways that were perceived to be antithetical to Army customs and traditions. For the latter group, their initial grass roots movement took advantage of this window of opportunity to experiment with new ideas.

As the Healers experimented with new ideas that would remove "irritants" in a soldier's life in the Army, the Progressives reached out into the world of behavioral science to understand recent research on human relations. They did so because they believed that for the AVF to succeed, the Army's NCOs and officers had to relate in a different way with the post–social movement youth of America. In understanding the new advances in social and organizational psychology, the Progressives strongly embraced the emerging practice of "organizational development" (OD), and quickly adapted it for the Army under the term "organizational effectiveness." At that time, OD was predominantly anchored in "humanistic psychology." In essence, the early

Progressives believed that leaders had a moral obligation to meet the highest-level

needs of soldiers, as articulated by Maslow's hierarchy of needs pyramid. In anticipating

what Burns would soon term "transformational leadership," the early Progressives at

Fort Ord developed a "leadership" course that clearly distinguished the differences

between leadership and management. With an emphasis on the former, the course

created an "experiential learning" environment in which the course facilitators utilized

the laboratory method or sensitivity training to allow the participants to become more

self-aware.

Because they believed that leadership was "all about feelings," and that it constituted a

dynamic relationship between the leader and the led, self-awareness was key to

developing effective leaders. In this way, the Progressives worked to change the

leadership culture of the Army.

As the Fort Ord grass roots movement expanded, the experimenters gained the

sponsorship of several lower-ranking general officers who possessed extensive power

and authority (albeit within the confines of their installations) to test out new concepts.

Most interesting, these one- and two-star generals were not expert behavioral scientists,

nor did they possess recent formal education in those disciplines. Rather, these officers

had come to believe that leadership was more about interpersonal relationships than

rank or position. Unlike their seniors, the three- and four-star generals, whose

weltanschauung was shaped by the Great Crusade of the Second World War, these

senior Progressives viewed their world through the lens of their experiences in the

Korean War (as company and battalion commanders) and in Vietnam (as brigade or

assistant division commanders). That these experiences brought them closer to the

younger generation than the three- and four-star stewards of the institution is an important speculation worth pondering.

After the Army ended conscription and inaugurated the AVF, the institution initiated a number of reforms, unprecedented in terms of scope and size, that would eventually alter its doctrine, training, organizational, and technological make-up. In the process of formulating and implementing these reforms, the Army became healthier and, as such, saw less and less need to focus on "people problems." Although OE was well on the way toward full institutionalization, by the dawn of the 1980s, the new stewards of the institution saw decreasing value in the Army OE program and subsequently terminated the program in 1985. What accounts for this "fall?" How can we best assess the failure of the Progressives to change Army culture? Fortunately, there are two general frameworks we can use. The first is to look at the warnings posed by OD experts in the early 1970s that alerted OD practitioners to the possible pitfalls of OD implementation. These warnings were the result of extensive studies conducted on OD engagements, largely in the private sector, to date. The assessment method is the framework offered in the 2002 Science Applications International Center (SAIC) study entitled "Changing Military Culture" for the Pentagon's Office of Net Assessment. The Pentagon contracted with SAIC to study and deliver a report on why the secretary of defense's two-year attempt "to transform the American military . . . has met with considerable resistance."[1] The final report concluded that a number of "cultural sources" were responsible for resistance to change and the failure to transform. Strikingly similar

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1. Jeffrey McKitrick, Christine Grafton, and Robert Angevine, "Changing Military Culture," Report Prepared for the Office of Net Assessment, Office of the Secretary of Defense. Document no. SAIC 02-6984 (McLean, VA: Strategic Assessment Center, Science Applications International Corporation (SAIC), November 25, 2002),

to the conclusions drawn from Vietnam, risk aversion and careerism were factors that contributed to this resistance. The authors found that individual activists "or maverick officers may be deemed insubordinate and penalized," and that working in any "non-traditional areas important to future warfare [could] slow their career advancement." The study proffered that three strategies can address the problem of cultural resistance to change: (1) bypassing insurmountable obstacles by employing experimental initiatives, (2) changing processes within the existing culture, or (3) directly confronting the culture.[2]

Difficulties with OD Implementations: The View From 1972

In the early 1970s, several academics published a number of articles that offered the OD community research results on the difficulties that some organizations had experienced in implementing OD programs. For example, many of the early warnings came from some of the biggest theorists of that time.

Warren Bennis observed that OD, by its nature, tended to ignore or avoid the problem of power in the politics of change. His observation precisely described the fundamental friction between the Healers and the Progressives. In essence, their philosophical differences were played out in a power struggle, with the Healers gaining the upper hand over time largely through the activities of TRADOC and Meyer's ascendancy into the CSA position.[3]

Several authors spoke to potential problems associated with organizational and suborganizational cultures. Marguiles and Raia noted that OD engagements had been successful in strong hierarchical systems where organizations had a common purpose

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2. Ibid.
3. Warren G. Bennis, "Unresolved Problems· Facing Organizational Development," in Marguiles and Raia, *Organizational Development,* 482.

defined by goals and subgoals; centralized power and a hierarchy of coordinating authority; and a common system of values and norms. However, they found that OD was far less successful in large-scale "open systems." In retrospect, the Army OE program experienced the same results. In the 1970s, when OESOs operated at brigade level and below, they reported numerous successes. At those levels, OESOs engaged with commanders holding the ranks of captain and lieutenant colonel (i.e. companies and battalions with 200 to 700 soldiers), who tightly controlled homogenous units with very specific missions. Above brigade level, at the division and corps levels (with 10,000 to 30,000 soldiers), the OESOs who were engaged with socio-technical and open systems activities faced two- and three-star generals who exercised much less control over their heterogeneous suborganizations and subcultures. The OESOs of the 1980s who operated at those levels ultimately found themselves involved in limited engagements such as process improvement or planning. Also, it is at those levels were the problem of power in the politics of change was most apparent.[4]

There is little doubt that the above mentioned factors posed a real dilemma for the OESOs, especially those assigned to combat units. They were there as internal consultants; that is, they were bona fide members of the profession. With anywhere from eight to fourteen years of service under their belts, they were committed to full careers in the Army. Yet they were sent out into the field Army to advocate for a process of change management that many, if not most, of their "clients" viewed with skepticism.[5]

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4. Marguiles and Raia, *Organizational Development*, 477–478.
5. Dick Powell remarked that straddling both worlds was incredibly difficult for some OESOs. "You've got the bigger context, and this guy really isn't much out of it [his primary career field] at all. What kinds of risks are they willing to take? A lot of people [probably] said, "Well, I'll do this for my 3 years. I'll do the best I can to get a good OER. But I don't want to insult anybody. It's going to be too much to pay." Powell Interview.

This situation spoke to the issue of credibility. Often, the new OESO had to first prove himself as a competent infantry or armor officer, at least in the eyes of the client commander. Achieving credibility was paramount, for without it the OESO could not establish rapport with the commander and therefore his support. All OESOs recognized, as numerous studies revealed, that without the commander's involvement, OE engagements were likely doomed to fail. In the early days of the OE program, the 1970s, the OESOs were predominantly men from the combat arms who were more senior in rank (majors and lieutenant colonels) and who had served multiple tours of duty in Vietnam. For them, the credibility issue was of little concern. However, after 1980, most OESOs were captains, and the school began to receive NCOs, women, and soldiers from the Army Reserves and the National Guard. Many in the OE community ultimately believed that the quality of OETC attendees decreased over time and consequently contributed to the decision to terminate the program.[6]

The OESOs had other dilemmas to deal with as well. Chris Argyris wrote about the difficulties that consultants face when they try "to help an organization learn to solve its own interpersonal difficulties." In the process, the consultant "may have to ask the client to consider values that are fundamentally different from those upon which the organization, its controls, and his leadership pattern are based." For the OESOs of the 1970s, they had to ask because they believed, based on their formal education and the OETC curriculum, that feelings and emotions were critical to the resolution of organizational problems and that they enhanced a climate of openness and trust as well as improved communications, and encouraged experimentation and risk taking. Argyris

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6. Mel Spehn, "A Chronicle of the Organizational Effectiveness Center and School, *OE Communique,* Vol. 9, No. (1985), 95–99.www.armyoe.com.

noted that formal organizations tended to "penalize openness, leveling, and experimentation on the interpersonal and emotional levels," although organizations rewarded those activities on a rational level. Argyris believed that the focus on rationality created organizational cultures "in which feelings are considered to be 'bad,' and 'immature.'"[7] This description certainly fit the Army's overt macho and overly masculine culture (both then and now). In retrospect, this dilemma accounts for the resistant attitudes certainly expressed by the Traditionalists and most of the Healers, especially when OESOs utilized sensitivity training in their engagements.

The subject of the laboratory method or sensitivity training (i.e., T-Groups) was much debated in the early 1970s because of its extensive use in recent years. Warren Bennis, for example, believed that its overuse led people to believe that T-Groups and OD were synonymous, when in fact the laboratory method was only one technique in the OD toolkit. Robert J. House wrote that "the T-Group experience is a very soul-searching process; it requires the individual to become introspective, to look at his own values and his own emotions, to ask himself whether and why he likes them, and whether he wishes to live the way he has." House, while strongly believing that T-Groups certainly had a role in OD, admitted that it may not work for everyone. He acknowledged the critics' concerns that "mandatory" T-Group training may be unethical. Similarly, Sheldon A. Davis found that participants who were strangers to one another (i.e., from different organizations) generally experienced extreme euphoria but often experienced tremendous letdowns when they returned to their ongoing cultures. In Davis's view, most organizations do not value feelings and confrontation, and those that

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7. Chris Argyris, "Explorations in Consulting-Client Relationships," in Marguiles and Raia, *Organizational Development,* 501–502.

typically employ "highly traditional methods of management" (like the US Army), carry unrealistic perceptions about people that tend to reflect Douglas McGregor's Theory X assumptions.[8] Many OESOs, especially those from the first few OETC classes, reported that they inevitably confronted a handful of participants who strongly resisted or objected to sensitivity training. Rogers himself discovered this with the attendees of the Pre-Command Course who strongly objected to its use in their curricula.

Perhaps the most relevant analysis that may inform the demise of the OE program is found in Michael G. Blansfield's article "Depth Analysis of Organizational Life." Blansfield hypothesized that OD becomes attractive when an organization is confronted with an enormous challenge. Once the organization utilizes OD to address the challenge, then three conditions must exist for OD to succeed:

1. The change must start at the top of the hierarchy; that is, it must initiate at the locus of power and be diffused downward in the traditional way in which authority and responsibility usually flow.

2. The change must be pervasive; that is, it cannot be isolated in certain components of the organization, but must be general throughout the total organization.

3. The change must generally be consonant with the ethical values of the organization. Otherwise [there is] a good deal of energy lost in the struggle to make the change compatible with the prior organizational values or to revise key values so that growth is permitted.[9]

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8. Sheldon A. Davis, "An Organic Problem-Solving Method of Organizational Change," in Marguiles and Raia, *Organizational Development,* 545–546.

9. Michael G. Blansfield, "Depth Analysis of Organizational Life," in Marguiles and Raia, *Organizational Development,* 603.

In tracing the evolution of the Army OE program, we can see that none of Blansfield's conditions were fully met. The OE initiatives did not start at the top of the institution but rather began as a grassroots movement. They gained traction early on, however, within the confines of the Fort Ord and Fort Carson installations. There, generals Davidson, Moore, and Rogers provided that push-down support, utilizing the traditional chain-of-command structure. It would take several years before a champion at the nexus of power could do that for the entire Army. Even then, though, Rogers made the use of Army OE optional.

OE never achieved pervasiveness throughout the institution, even though Rogers utilized Army bureaucracy to institutionalize the program. Throughout the entire length of the program, OE was always "isolated in certain components of the organization." This first occurred due to the nature of its grassroots origin. As OE grew and became part of the Army's overall experimentation efforts (i.e., VOLAR), it never fully took root in much of the Army's domain. Even in fertile areas, such as USAREUR and Fort Bragg, it did so only because the commanding generals in those organizations (Blanchard and Tackaberry) were true believers, and because their successors carried those programs forward.

Blansfield's last condition is an important consideration in the historical evaluation of the Army OE program. The entire progressive movement started because the Army exited Vietnam with ethical problems. The Peers Report on My Lai and the Ulmer-Malone *Study on Military Professionalism* revealed that the ethical problems may be chronic. This fear constituted an enormous human relations challenge that was further exacerbated by the rapid transition to an all-volunteer Force. Consequently, the Army

was open—to an unprecedented degree—to an intense self-examination of its values and its concept of professionalism. That openness created a window of opportunity for some officers to inject or attempt to adapt their recent education in the behavioral sciences to Army culture. Once they decided to utilize OD to do so, the Progressives embarked on a voyage to transform the leadership culture of the Army, whether or not everyone fully realized it at the time.

Blansfield warned that much energy could be "lost in the struggle to make the change compatible with the prior organizational values." With the benefit of hindsight, we know that the Progressives strongly embrace the basic tenets of Burns's Transformational Leadership Theory. They viewed human relations as a moral imperative and, as such, leadership was a dynamic behavioral relationship between the leader and the led. However, once the VOLAR experiments were underway, the Traditionalists and the Healers *perceived* the new concepts as a threat to exiting organizational values that they believed were appropriate. In their eyes, the Progressives were attempting to change those values by making Army culture under the new AVF more *permissible.* Ultimately, the Healers won out largely by doing what Blansfield posited—"by revising key values so that growth is permitted."[10]

Difficulties with Cultural Transformation: The View from 2002

The 2002 SAIC study entitled "Changing Military Culture" sought to understand why the secretary of defense's attempt to transform the American military met with "considerable resistance. The 285-page report concluded that three possible strategies

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10. To the Healers' credit, they were fully open to the exploration of ethics. This is what Mike Malone focused on at TRADOC with great success. Starry fully agreed. In 1980, Starry created My view, however, is that TRADOC diluted and further confused the definition of leadership by distilling it down to ethics.

exist for addressing cultural resistance to change: (1) bypassing insurmountable obstacles, (2) changing processes within the existing culture, and (3) directly confronting the culture. Again, with the benefit of hindsight, we can see that the Progressives utilized all three strategies at various stages of the program.

The authors of the 2002 SAIC study recognized that change agents attempt to preserve some aspects of the existing culture as they work around the sources of resistance to change. They do so by creating experimental units in which "clarity of purpose, flexibility, and autonomy make them more agile and innovative." Early on, the Progressives enjoyed a great deal of success with this strategy. Although initially it was not a deliberate strategy due to its grassroots birth at Fort Ord, it quickly became deliberate under the VOLAR program. While the decentralization of the VOLAR experiments did not eliminate resistance, as evident by the events at Fort Benning where the new concepts were largely ignored, the experiments elsewhere proved promising. This was especially true at Fort Ord, Fort Carson, and in USAREUR.

Blansfield's caveats in his third condition are also important factors to consider. He notes that those same characteristics that allow change agents to work around sources of resistance also, paradoxically, may isolate them too far from the existing organizational culture to the point where the activities are not taken seriously. Certainly, the Traditionalists never took the new concepts seriously. Many of the Healers did so but only when Rogers became CSA. However, at that point (fall of 1976) they were positioned via TRADOC, ADMINCEN, and the AWC to ensure that doctrinal development reflected the Healers' views on management and leadership. In short, the long, steady process of doctrinal development outlasted the short time frame in which

Rogers could push hard for institutionalization. Equally important was Rogers's decision to make the use of OE optional. In doing so, many probably took the program less seriously.

SAIC's second strategy, changing processes within the existing culture, is the one the SAIC authors viewed as most likely to be effective because it "concentrates on altering certain processes within the existing culture rather than attacking the culture directly." They noted that "small changes in key areas can have important long-term consequences." Rogers's agenda for institutionalization was certainly an attempt to employ this strategy. Once he was CSA, he heavily leveraged the bureaucratic system to advance the program. He emplaced many "small changes," such as changing the staffing structures throughout the Army to formalize the positions of the OESO, creating an Army regulation for OE, and making OE a part of the IG inspection system. Prior to October 1976, however, the mainstream Army viewed OE as an anomaly to the existing culture not only because it was an unusual, novel experiment but largely because most people did not understand the new concepts. The Progressives deserve all of the blame for this. Granted that OD was (and is) difficult to define, they failed to adequately market the program along the way and to therefore gain consensus in the process. This was a lesson that Starry had already learned. DePuy had made the same mistake with the 1976 edition of *FM 100-5, Operations.* Starry, in revising and modifying the new operational doctrine, took care to listen to a wide array of feedback and to build consensus. The result was the successful release of the 1982 edition of *FM 100-5, AirLand Battle.*

SAIC viewed their third strategy, directly confronting the culture, as unlikely to be productive. As they noted in their report to the secretary of defense, "individual service members, especially the officer corps, are deeply and personally vested in their [existing] service's organizational culture. Attacking important aspects of that culture directly generates resistance that can slow and even halt transformation." Even from the earliest days of the VOLAR experiments, the Army at large viewed the new concepts as a direct assault on not only the Army's culture but its traditional customs and courtesies as well. From the very beginning, as talk of ending conscription became a reality, the majority of the Army's officers and NCOs believed that the Army would become too permissible under the new AVF. This belief, more than any other, undergirded the long-enduring resistance to change.

Rogers's strongly articulated agenda, in which he made the institutionalization of OE mandatory but is use optional, was perceived by many as an affront to the existing culture. These perceptions of an assault were more implicit than explicit; that is, the entire officer corps—especial colonels, brigadier and major generals—were always keenly sensitive to the power and authority of the CSA. The CSA directed general officer assignments and had great influence over who advanced into the general officer ranks. The culture has always been "What the chief wants, the chief gets." There is a great possibility that many senior officers utilized OE because they knew it was the chief's "pet project." If so, this undoubtedly fueled a widespread state of passive resistance. As OETC director Dr. Mel Spehn stated, "the boss's pet programs often get external compliance and internal resistance."[11]

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11. Spehn, "A Chronicle of the Organizational Effectiveness Center and School, *OE Communique,* Vol. 9, No. (1985), 95–99.www.armyoe.com.

It is fair to say that many officers viewed the Army OE program as too liberal, especially in the 1970s, as evident by their fear of a new culture of permissiveness emerging in the AVF. Was OD or Army OE too incompatible with the Army's fundamental institutional culture? No, because the Army is a professional institution grounded in a well-established set of moral values. Transformational leadership is grounded in moral values. Leadership, unlike management, is all about feelings, feelings expressed via the dynamic interrelationship between the leader and the led. Those who enjoyed success with OE understood that the program made poor units good, and good units great. More importantly, OE made those in positions of power more caring, more concerned with the aspirations of their followers. As Jim Looram stated, OE allowed some to see "a new way of being."

Self-Assessments

When the program ended in 1985, many OESOs reflected on the termination in order to understand its sudden demise. Dr. Mel Spehn, a director at OETC from the beginning of the program, took the time to write about his "reflections."[12] Spehn believed that the heavy emphasis of sensitivity training in the early years may have sent the wrong message to the first several hundred OESOs. He observed that the early OESOs believed that they should do similar training events in their assigned units. "More than a few of the early graduates left with a missionary zeal to 'humanize' the Army." His primary concern was that they were not adequately trained to utilize the laboratory method. This, combined with the frequent use of personal-growth jargon and a zeal to

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12. Ibid. The problem of jargon and calls for "dejargonizing" plagued the program from start to finish .

"therapize" the Army, resulted in negative reactions from their commanders, clients, or potential clients.[13]

Spehn was also vocal about the constant turmoil OETC experienced as senior officers flexed their political and power muscles over the center's jurisdiction and mission. In addition to the TRADOC–FORSCOM wrestling match during the time DePuy and Rogers commanded those organizations, DePuy's and ADMINCEN's numerous attempts to move OETC to Indiana "often diverted the energies of OETC from its primary mission." In addition, Spehn wrote that

> even the missions kept changing. The early mission was on OD with an emphasis on human resource development (HRD) activities. By 1980, the mission was to "develop, train, and evaluate the systemic military application of OE and related advanced management and behavioral science skills in the Army." These may seem similar missions with merely different terms used. However, with the change of eight commandants in ten years at OETC and the direct involvement of dozens of very senior leaders in the program during these same years, the interpretation of these words varied widely. And almost always these well-intentioned interpreters introduced personal bias with the argument that his approach was meeting "the Army's real needs."[14]

Spehn concurred with the findings of many studies that the program required an evaluation system that could prove return on investment. What troubled Spehn more than a lack of an evaluation system was his belief that OE was proving its value, both quantitatively and qualitatively. The problem was that OETC and the OESOs did a poor job of marketing those results. In fact, a cost benefit analysis conducted in 1980 determined that the estimated activity level of 3,743 OE operations produced the return of $85 million. Yet, this and other cost benefit analyses never proved useful. Instead,

> defense of OE continued to be mustered through the 'old boy' network that called upon senior officers to go to bat for the program simply because

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13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.

they liked it. Neither detractors nor defenders put their judgments into objective, debatable criteria. Likewise, OE was a matter of taste—one either swallowed it or spit it out.15

In retrospect, ROI for program managers differed significantly from ROI for commanders. Many commanders were a hard sell for a number of reasons. First, they had a very limited timeframe in which to command their units, but the Army's existing management culture expected a quantifiable list of achievements as officers departed their commands. Senior commanders expected their subordinate commanders to show improvements with hard, statistical data such as operational maintenance rates, reenlistment rates, physical fitness scores, etc. Consequently, commanders had little interest to invest themselves in OD activities that would exceed their command tenures. Unfortunately, that was how OD worked. Second, because the use of OE was optional, many read this to mean "nice to have" or a program of lower priority, especially in the face of extensive training and maintenance schedules. Third, because combat readiness was their top priority, commanders were never really clear about how OE contributed to preparation for war. Spehn admitted that "time ran out" before OETC could ever prove or show the relevance of OE to war. Finally, many if not most of the senior commanders simply objected to the fact that OE promoted participative decision-making. OESOs continually heard the mutterings that the Army is not a democracy. This distaste directly contributed to the fear that OE was a threat to the authority of "the commander." In retrospect, it is unclear if any degree of marketing could have eliminated such beliefs. [16]

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15. Spehn, "A Chronicle of the Organizational Effectiveness Center and School, *OE Communique,* Vol. 9, No. (1985), 95–99.www.armyoe.com.
16. Ibid.

Like Spehn, other OESOs took a critical view of the inner workings of the program and the behaviors of some in the OE community. Dick Deaner, an OESO who pursued a career in OD after leaving the Army, wrote in 1991 that "the OE program died of self-inflicted wounds."[17] These wounds were a result of six factors: (1) the refusal to accept criticism and to change ourselves, (2) the failure to explain the purpose of OE, (3) poor management over the program, (4) poor marketing, (5) personal impropriety, and (6) self-destructive behavior. Deaner especially focused on the last two factors. He cited the relief of two commandants "for personal misconduct" and a number of regulation infractions that included "using Army resources for personal benefit, substance abuse, extramarital sexual activity, and disrespect for military law and customs." He believed that because the program embraced the Human Potential Movement, many converted "to this new gospel and may have overreacted to its elements of personal freedom and experimentation." Deaner, as well as many others, credit this behavior with creating the view that OE was a "beads and sandals" program (a phrase often cited throughout the length of the program). Overall, Deaner believed that all of these factors caused OE to "err primarily by disrespecting its larger system culture, and antagonizing key soldiers who valued that culture. This error outweighed much conceptual brilliance."[18]

Other OESOs shared Deaner's views. Mike Perrault believed that "too many OESOs got out of the mainstream Army and into strange behaviors. While these were a

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17. Deaner, " Organizational Effectiveness Program, 18. Deaner reiterated the same arguments in his 1994 article to the same journal. Deaner, "A Model of Organizational Development Ethics," 435–446.

18. C.M . Dick Deaner, "US Army Organizational Effectiveness Program: Lessons Learned," *Organizational Development Journal* 23, no. 3 (Fall 2005), 101–102.

minority of the OESOs, they created a larger than life [poor] image."[19] Gary Richardson

likewise believed that the poor behavior of some commandants and the "predilection of

some in the OE community to adopt a counterculture mode of dress and talk"

contributed to the decision to close down the program. "It was not a huge number of us

but enough that the 'rap' on OE as 'different' didn't help us [win] clients. It would be the

equivalent of me walking into a Silicon Valley high tech software firm wearing an East

Coast, buttoned-down, three-piece suit."[20] Al Wingus saw commanders reject OE

because of its "New Age feel":

> We believed the decisive difference or combat multiplier was optimizing
> our human capability. Initially we looked to behavioral science, leadership
> theory and the human potential movement and it was both a blessing and
> a curse. The blessing was recognizing the transformational nature of
> designing and leading military units using a more empowering model. The
> curse was that much of this was seen as too "touchy-feely" by the
> mainstream Army.[21]

> Ms. Kay Powers, an OESO at DA recalled:

> I think there are two things we did that hurt us in the long run in terms of
> the level of acceptance we got. One, we talked about the whole "we were
> different." Not only were we different, we were a little stupid about it. We
> liked to exploit/enjoy that difference. We took pride in marching to the tune
> of the flute, if you will.

> Eppler recalled that the "beads and sandals" label was more than a hippie-

referenced characterization. He remembered an important meeting at Fort Ord that

several general officers attended from TRADOC or DA. The OETC commandant

> came into the meeting with Birkenstocks on. That's the Big Sur shoes. And
> he has some beads on. And these guys just looked at him, and they just
> about puked. He was almost oblivious; he was being himself. He was

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19. Perrault correspondence.
20. Richardson correspondence.
21. Wingus correspondence.

being part of the culture here, part of the community. Well, he didn't last long.22

A "Fall" or a Change?

Did the termination of the Army OE program constitute a "fall," or did the program achieve successes that positively changed the Army? In answering that question we must look at where the Army was then and where it is today. While that comparison—largely a matter of context—is well beyond the scope of this dissertation, it is fair to say that many positive changes occurred because of the program's efforts between 1975 and 1985. It is also fair to surmise, however, that OE failed to transform the leadership culture of the Army primarily because the program did not create a paradigm shift in how the Army views the relationship between the leader and the led. If anything, the Army fell back on the dominant use of management to govern and measure all of its activities. Whereas "management" was a dirty word in the 1970s, it became the term of choice in the following decade. With the information age exploding during the 1980s and the Army's heavy use of information technology to improve workflows and bureaucratic processes, the heavy reliance on statistics in the 1980s more closely resembled McNamara's "systems analysis" system of the 1960s than of any other time. Since then, the Army has muddied the waters between the worlds of leadership and management. If anything, the Army's short definition of leadership for the last thirty years has been "ethical management."

While the Army OE program may have failed to transform the leadership culture of the institution, it did succeed in changing the Army by incorporating a number of new methodologies and processes that endured over time. In terms of methodologies, the

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22. Eppler interview.

Army OE program introduced a number of innovative ideas, processes, tools, etc. that have since become institutionalized. There are many examples, such as surveys. The OE program made the use of surveys a routine practice and, more importantly, introduced *attitudinal* surveys as a way of accurately gauging the state of morale in an organization. Indeed, the term "climate" arose from these efforts. Today, the term has morphed into the term "command climate." Command climate surveys are now routine assessments in all Army organizations.

The Army OE program also taught the Army how to revamp its counseling methodology. Prior to OE, counseling was purely a negative term. Sergeants constantly threatened their soldiers with "counseling statements" as a form of punishment. Largely through the four-step process and feedback sessions, the OESOs turned that attitude around and, in the process, introduced the power of mentoring and coaching.

OE taught the Army to embrace rather than tolerate or avoid change. Their methodological approach to change management has endured over time. The term "change agent" is now widely used and well understood. OE work with "open systems," for example, led to the methodology of strategic planning. In short, open systems addressed how an organization effectively deals with its environment, especially with external pressures and demands.[23]

Finally, OE and OETC significantly elevated the stature of the Army in the eyes of industry and academia, especially at a time when most of society held the Army in relatively low regard. Academia and many Fortune 500 companies were well aware that the Army was implementing state of the art OD. Over time, many of these people

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23. See especially Thomas E. Fahey, "Open Systems: An Overview," *OE Communique* 2-79 (April 1979): 85–89, http://armyoe.com/OE_Communique_Journal.html.

passed through the school either as guest speakers or as observers of the program. In fact, by 1977, the center had established one of the best OD libraries in the country. Under the direction of Ms. Lynn Herrick—the "matriarch" of the Army OE community— the extensive collection of resources served both the center and the OESOs in the field.[24] At the same time, OETC began publishing a scholarly journal, the *OE Communique* which, with a circulation of 3500, found its way to subscribers in industry and universities.

Leadership and Management Revisited: What Could "Right" Look Like?

The 1970s were indeed a Camelot moment because the Army's emergence from the dark days of Vietnam into the realities of an AVF compelled the Army to look inward at human relations. The Progressives saw this window of opportunity as a way to shine a bright light on the nature of behavioral interaction between the leader and the led. In their minds the "holy grail" was the achievement of highly effective organizations. Unfortunately, the Army never again came as close to understanding the nature of leadership as it did during that decade.

As discussed in the Preface, people today have a difficult task in defining the term "leadership." An even more difficult task is to describe the differences between leadership and management. Many have tried, such as Mike Malone who, at the time, was extremely interested in living systems and extensively reflected on the differences. In a 1981 interview, Malone expressed his view that

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24. In the early years of the program, Lynn was the safety net for deployed OESOs who had no other source of support. As she recalled: ."they'd call back, and I'd get the impression that sometimes it was just to hear a friendly voice. And sometimes it was, "How do I deal with this?" or "Here's what the situation is." "Have you determined anything new that you didn't teach us in the first class since then?" Lynn attended the course and became a qualified OESO.

[i]f you get into the Living Systems Theory, leadership pertains to the information-processing system, while management refers to the materiel processing system. I've got a feeling that despite all of the ways we define leadership and all the ways we define management—the two seem to fit into those two critical processes the best. Management sort of runs modern energy subsystems. Leadership pertains to people and management to things—put the two together to get a job done. . . . People with experience in the leadership field . . . could be the translators [of theories]—that would be their main job. The developers and instructors could take the concept from these leadership guys and, in three or four more years, change the matrix to competency and learn more about that. At the end of about five years, we will begin knowing enough about systems and processes to deal with information. We can then make a clear separation between leadership and management, and in about ten years beyond that, I can see leaving all this stuff for a general systems comprehensive theory, such as Dr. Miller's Living Systems Theory.[25]

Others, such as Brigadier General Mick Zais (a student in the first OESO course), were clear on the distinctions from the beginning. Dr. Zais, today the Superintendant of Education for the State of South Carolina, believes that "leadership is all about feelings. . . . Of course, transformational leadership is totally about feelings. That's what leadership is. It's human motivation. And human motivation is based on what's in the human heart."[26] Jim Looram felt the same way as Zais:

We were raised as combat arms officers to care for the troops. No doubt about that. Take care of the troops, and they will take care of you. Well, when I teach leadership, particularly one-on-one leadership, the first step of the dance for any care value person is I've got to care about your career, I've got to care about how you get along with other people, I have to care about you, and I can't fake it. If I have 20 people working for me, I might not like all of you, but I've got to care about every one of you. And you are going to know that. That is leadership. That's the first place to start. I might get tough with you, but eventually you know that we got a relationship—a relationship!. Management is a role, leadership is developing this one-on-one relationship with you. I don't ever see that having existed in the Army. Their version of it is [simply] "taking care of the

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25. Jim Bryant and Ron Sims, "An Interview with COL Dandridge M. Malone," *OE Communique* 5, no. 3 (1981): 38–40. http://armyoe.com/OE_Communique_Journal.html.
26. Zais interview.

troops;" I am not relating to you personally. And there is this sense of removal.[27]

TRADOC, under Starry, attempted to quantify the differences between leadership and management by insisting that leadership is competency- or skill-based and differs for each level of rank or position. This is evident in the 1983 release of the Army's leadership doctrine that articulated leadership within the framework "Be, Know, Do." However, I take a different view. I believe that the work of James MacGregor Burns has given us insight into the true nature and essence of leadership. For me, Burns's publication of *Leadership* allows us to insightfully study leadership, just as Karl von Clausewitz's publication of *On War* permits the profession of arms to study war. In short, Burns's Transformational Leadership should be the basis of behavior for all people who hold power and authority over others. There is no such thing as a position of leadership. There are only positions of management that come with authority and power. Whether a person demonstrates leadership while holding such a position is an entirely different matter. Leadership is not something you *do* but rather something you *live.*

While the challenge to redress current poor leadership behaviors may appear daunting, one solution would be to bring back the Army OE program. Such a program could take advantage of a plethora of research that has transpired in the behavioral sciences since the 1970s. To succeed, the new program would need significant influence over the Army's leader development programs and "ownership" over Army leadership doctrine. In retrospect, Rogers's greatest oversight was his failure to take ownership over *FM 22-100, Leadership.* With DePuy's success in making doctrine

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27. Looram interview

paramount in the institution, an OE "flavored" *FM 22-100* may have made institutionalization a bit easier.[28]

The architecture of a modern program of organizational effectiveness, leadership and leader development would look something like this:

The Education

1. All leadership and leader development education would include a thorough survey of the primary leadership theories that have evolved over time. The education of leadership theory would become more advanced and intellectual as officers advance in rank, to include the general officer ranks. The curricula at the Army Command and General Staff College and the Army War College would include required courses in leadership and change or social or organizational psychology.

2. At the core of the program is transformational leadership because it undergirds and permeates everything. Transformational leadership requires moral and ethical values (which the Army already possesses). Officer education is well-steeped in the work of James MacGregor Burns and his successors in the field of transformational leadership.

3. Situational leadership is key to the program because it acts as a filter by which the commander initially assesses the problem or change at hand.

4. Transactional leadership is an important part of the program mainly because that Army has already utilized it to a large degree under the AVF. Much of what the Army has already accomplished in this regard remains valid today.

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28. Because it would have explained OE in a form and in terms that the officer corps would find easier to comprehend. Still, in all likelihood, the Army at large would probably have rejected it as it did with DePuy's 1976 operational doctrine.

5. Advances in the management sciences are also important so that officers can understand proven "best practices," and so that intellectually the students can compare and contrast managerial activities with leadership behaviors.
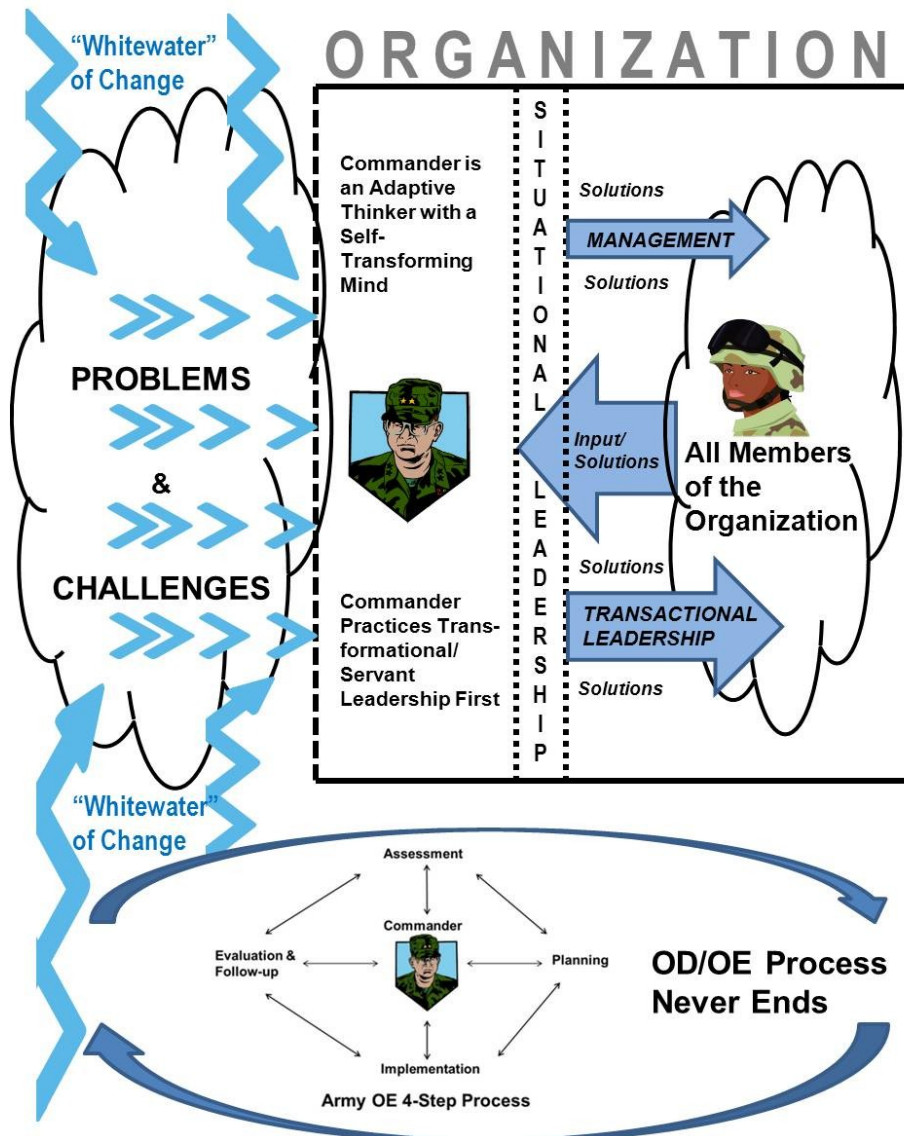
Figure 5.1. By placing transformational leadership theory into practice, undergirded with the OE process, an organization becomes more effective not only because all members feel valued but because important communication and ideas flow equally in all directions. This only happens based on the commander's understanding of different leadership theories, an understanding of organizational psychology, and the demonstration of appropriate behaviors as defined by Heifetz, Kegan, and Lahey.

The Process

As the diagram illustrates, change is a dynamic condition that occurs rapidly all around us at all times. How we handle change makes or breaks an effective organization. In our new Army OE program, commanders are already educated to behave as transformational leaders; therefore, they have a solid system of communication in place. They are accustomed to receiving "unvarnished" information, especially from the bottom up. As commanders face problems and challenges, they utilize situational leadership as a filter to discern whether the.problem is technical or adaptive. If it is technical, that is, they can easily identify the problem and easily anticipate the solution, then they employ managerial or transactional methods to reach a solution. If the problem or challenge is adaptive, they draw upon their knowledge of transformational leadership to address the challenge. As part of their continuing education, officers are already well-versed in Ronald Heifetz's work on adaptive leadership.

The Evaluation and Advancement of Leaders

As mentioned, leader development is a career and life-long endeavor. As officers advance through the ranks, they receive leadership education built around or upon the work of four people. These are: James MacGregor Burns *(Leadership);* Ronal Heifetz *(Leadership without Easy Answers);* and Robert Kegan and Lisa Laskow Lahey, *(Immunity to Change).*[29] The latter two authors are important because they

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29. See my discussion of their work in the Preface.

operationalize the work of the former two. The ultimate goal of our leader development program is to produce adaptive leaders with self-transforming minds.[30]

As officers advance through the Army school system, those attracted to the behavioral sciences are carefully "groomed" to occupy key positions in the new Army OE program. Priority of assignment for the "new OESO" is within the Army education system. The best and the brightest eventually become instructors at CGSC and the AWC. Also, the officer promotion and assignment system would not penalize officers for specializing in OE. This is not inconceivable, given the trends in recent years toward officer specializations.

To determine the best and the brightest, the Army's evaluation system must be overhauled. Our new Officer Evaluation Report (OER), while it resembles the current report in appearance, contains two major modifications. The first is an evaluation on the moral and ethical behaviors of the rated officer. Unlike today, where the rater checks a block beside the trait that best describes the officer, the new OER would require examples of demonstrable ethical behaviors. Such examples could come from the second change: the use of 360-degree evaluations. Unlike the experiments underway today where the 360 is used to provide an officer with an awareness (i.e., information only), the new system would grant the 360 evaluation as much if not more weight than it currently gives the senior rater narrative.

To establish a new Army OE program as superficially outlined above, the Army would need an empowered champion at the top who could drive these changes downward over an extended period of time. To truly change the leadership culture of the

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30. James MacGregor Burns, *Leadership*; Ronald A. Heifetz, *Leadership without Easy Answers* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994); Heifetz, Grashow, and Linsky, *Adaptive Leadership;* and Kegan and Lahey, *Immunity to Change*.

Army, this person must sit above the CSA and initiate activities that would endure beyond his or her tenure. Real transformation takes time and may require the retirement of the institution's oldest generation. As we saw with the Traditionalists, the Healers, and the new soldiers of the AVF, generational differences are real. They are largely defined by social and cultural values and views. While older generations may not approve of the behaviors of younger generations, they must, however, engage in productive dialog to avoid becoming irrelevant—despite their authorities–if, for nothing else, then for preserving the health and vibrancy of the institution.

The Primary Legacy of the Army OE Program

The greatest enduring achievements of the Army OE program were the changes in how the Army views human relations and the impact of the program on the lives of many people. The narrative thus far has addressed the former. The debate between the Healers and the Progressives resulted in an extensive exploration of the behavioral sciences by both groups. This debate spurred the Healers to look beyond the management sciences to see, in their view, what might be adaptable to advancements in training and doctrine. While they chose older, leader-centric theories and some elements of transactional leadership, the examinations nevertheless forced them to think about human relations to a greater extent than ever before. Unlike the Army OE program, this thinking did not die out in the 1980s. Many officers from that time forward would continue to reflect on advancements in the behavioral sciences and debate or write about those reflections at CGSC and the AWC.[31]

By far, the best legacy of the Army OE program was its impact on the lives of many people, not only those who participated in OE operations (and found officers

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31. There are many examples cited in the bibliography.

willing to listen), but more importantly on the OETC faculty and staff, and the 1702

OESO the program produced. For the latter, the school and their OE experiences were

so rewarding that they pursued second careers as consultants after leaving the Army.

Jim Looram was one: "[OE was] the most important thing I did ever. It was that

powerful. Powerful enough so that I had a career in it for 30 years and made a ton of

money with it just by doing the same thing after I took my uniform off. The stuff was that

huge."[32] Likewise, Gary Richardson stated that

> The first thing I do every day when I awake is to give thanks for the OE
> program. The OE schooling and experience (as well as the contacts made
> there) have enabled an economic life that I doubt would have been
> remotely possible without that training. Although my bosses at the time I
> applied (I was an artillery battalion executive officer in Germany) were
> appalled that I would take myself out of competition for [command] for the
> OE track, it proved to be well worth whatever (really unknown) sacrifice I
> made to the combat arms track. My personal opinion is that the OE
> schooling would have made me a much better battalion commander but
> the army didn't see things that way. But, absolutely zero regrets on my
> part.[33]

> Librarian Lynn Herrick, who worked at the school for ten years, reflected that

> [OETC offered] work I enjoyed in a place I really loved, and I don't know
> anybody who can say that they had much better. It was a place that
> valued its library, and by association it valued me. I did what a lot of
> people did who worked there. I worked at home and I didn't turn off my
> mind. On Monday morning I came in with four more ideas about what I
> could do to help support the program.[34]

For others, the experience was extremely rewarding and fundamentally life

changing. Carol Johnson, one of the few women to become OESOs and who served on

the staff at OETC said, "I drank the Kool-Aid. I thought we were doing something

important. . . .We had been given a new "language." It was a very big deal to us. I think

32. Looram Interview.
33. Richardson correspondence.
34. Herrick Interview.

were open to new experiences. Everything I learned there was beneficial—both professionally and personally."[35]   As Jerry Eppler recalled, "It changed my life. We were being authentic in what we were doing. We were being genuine. As a result, strangers learned to trust us pretty quickly and to lower their defenses and to look at themselves and make some pretty serious changes." For Kay Powers, OE gave her a professional career. She began as a secretary in the OE office at DA and eventually became a qualified OESO. In reflecting on those days, she was humbled by her experiences.

> The ultimate outcome of that, for me, was in terms of how I began to see myself over time. I was sitting in a 2-star general's office one day, discussing some problems he was having in his organization. And it was like all of a sudden, my whole system went into kind of default mode, and my brain is going, what the hell do you think you are doing? What makes you think you know enough to . . . yes, all this is going on in my mind. I got back to the office, and I told a couple of guys about what had happened. And I said, the only way I could think of it was, I'm a long way from home for a country girl. . . . It was rather heady stuff. I mean, we could walk into 2- and 3-star generals' offices where nobody else could get in to see them. That was powerful.[36]

Herrick's experience was similar.

> The ten years I had at the OE school [helped] formulate who I am. Just how I look at life, and how I live it. I do not want to think what I'd be like without that experience. I really don't. And I predict you'll hear that over and over again. And I'm sorry more people didn't have the opportunity I did to be connected with the program.[37]

None of this, of course, would have been possible without Bernie Rogers. From both his papers and his actions it is clear that he was a true believer in the primacy of human relations. While many observers of that time may remember him as President Carter's CSA and his stewardship over the "hollow force" of the late 1970s, others who knew him recognized and appreciated his intellectualism. In fact, Rogers may be the

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35. Johnson correspondence.
36. Powers Interview.
37. Herrick Interview.

most intellectual CSA the Army has ever known, which, in itself, is remarkable given the anti-intellectual climate that has consistently permeated the senior ranks of the officer corps. In any case, his guardianship over the Army OE program changed the lives of many soldiers in many positive ways. Throughout it all, Rogers valued soldiers as individuals and wanted their voices heard. As Johns remembered,

> [with] General Rogers there was no substitute for understanding human behavior—leadership behavior—unless you study it systematically. There is no question [that he wanted the officer corps to become more humanistic in how it dealt with people]. No question. His primary use of OE was something akin to the councils [that he started at Fort Carson]. He wanted upward communication. And he wanted commanders to understand that. . . . I remember . . . a 2-star infantryman, that to me was a Neanderthal. But he was a major general, and he was in a meeting—I was there with General Rogers—in which he said, "Well, maybe I'm old-fashioned, but if I want to know what the troops are thinking, I'll just go out and talk to them." General Rogers said, "The next person that tells me he has that kind of connection, I'm going to fire him." He could be blunt like that. But . . . it's the Marie Antoinette view, that you're out of touch with them, but you think you know. Just go out and talk to the troops, as if they were going to tell you. You need systematic feedback. And that was Rogers's point. He kept emphasizing to me, right up to the point I retired, "the one thing I want commanders to learn, is to receive constructive criticism from how they're perceived by their subordinates."

General Bernard W. Rogers died October 27, 2008, at Inova Fairfax Hospital in Falls Church, Virginia. He was 87 years old.

Epilogue

Sometime in 2001, as I neared the eighth or ninth month in command of a battalion, my command sergeant major approached me one day and asked to have a heart to heart talk.

"Sure sergeant major, anytime."

"Well, sir, the soldiers want to know who is in command of our battalion."

I acted a bit surprised, although I knew where this conversation was going. "What do you mean, sergeant major? What soldiers?

"Well sir, they see Major P [the S3] making decisions. They see Sergeant Major H [the administrative sergeant major] making decisions. As well as Major C [the Executive Officer]. They want to know who has the hands on the steering wheel?"

I knew damn well who "they" were. I moved a bit closer to him, looked him closely in the eye, and said, "Sergeant Major, I hope EVERY soldier in this battalion has their hands on the steering wheel."

He walked away, shaking his head, and retired from the Army two months later. I walked away with a huge grin on my face.

It was working.

Glossary

A Co.: "Alpha" Company, one of the companies in Hotel" Battalion, the battalion

involved in Phase Three of Fort Ord's pilot program

ADMINCEN: Administration and Personnel Center

AMC: Army Materiel Command

ARI: Army Research Institute

ASA: Army Security Agency

AUSA: Association of the United States Army

AVCSA: Assistant Vice Chief of Staff

AVF: All-Volunteer Force

B Co.: "Bravo" Company, one of the companies in Hotel" Battalion, the battalion involved in

Phase Three of Fort Ord's pilot program

BSWG: Behavioral Science Working Group

CAC: Combined Arms Center

CANOE: Capital Area Network for Organizational Effectiveness

CCG: Cambridge Communications Group

CCL: Center for Creative Leadership

CDC: Combat Developments Command

CINC: commander in chief

CINCUSAREUR: Commander in Chief US Army Europe

Company-grade officer: junior officer with a rank of 2nd lieutenant, 1st lieutenant, or captain

CONARC: Continental Army Command

CONUS: continental United States

CRD: Chief of Research and Development

CSA: Chief of Staff of the Army

DA: Department of the Army

DCSPERS: Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel

DCSOPS: Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations

DDP : Discipline and Drug Policies Division

DOD: Department of Defense

ETO: European Theater of Operations

Field-grade officer: middle-grade officer with a rank of major, lieutenant colonel, or colonel

FORSCOM: Forces Command, the Army's highest-level command for all operational

   forces

General officer: officer with the rank of general—brigadier general (1 star), major general

   (2 stars), lieutenant general (3 stars), general (4 stars)

Healer: a member of the post-Vietnam Army who wanted to reform the Army through

   force modernization and reorganization

H Bn.: "Hotel" Battalion, the battalion involved in Phase Three of Fort Ord's pilot

   program

HHC: Headquarters and Headquarters Company

HRD: Human Resources Development

HumRRO: Human Resources Research Organization, a nonprofit corporation that

   served as a significant behavioral science research asset for the Army

IWS: Installation Wide Survey

L&MDC: Leadership and Management Development Course

LBDQ: Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire, a survey conducted by the AWC for the *Study on Leadership* as a follow-up to the AWC *Study on Military Professionalism*

LZ: landing zone

MACV: US Military Assistance Command in Vietnam

MDP: Motivational Development Program

MILPERCEN: Military Personnel Center of the Army

MVA: Modern Volunteer Army

MVAP: Modern Volunteer Army Program

NATO: North American Treaty Organization:

NCO: non-commissioned officer; enlisted soldier in a leadership position

NCOPP: Noncommissioned Officer Professionalism Program

OCSA: Office of the Chief of Staff of the Army

OD: organizational development

ODCSPERS: Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel

ODD : Organizational Development Directorate

ODCSOPS: Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations

OE: organizational effectiveness

OEEC: Organizational Effectiveness Executive Course

OEI: Organizational Effectiveness Institute

OESO: Organizational Effectiveness Staff Officer

OETC: Army Organizational Effectiveness Training Center

Operation Steadfast: program name for the creation of TRADOC and FORSCOM

OPO: Military Office of Personnel Operations

OSAT: Office of the Special Assistant for Training

POI: Program of Instruction, name for curricula at Army schools

PMO: Provost Marshal's Office

Progressive: a member of the post-Vietnam Army who believed that the behavioral

sciences were key in modernizing the Army

PROVIDE: Project Volunteer in Defense of the Nation, an internal Army study on the

creation of an all-volunteer army

PSYOPS: psychological operations branch

ROTC: Reserve Officers' Training Corps

S1/G1: personnel administration

S2/G2: intelligence

S3/G3: operations

S4/G4: logistics

SAIC: Science Applications International Center

SAMVA: Special Assistant for the Modern Volunteer Army

SDC: System Development Corporation, contractor who conducted an OD pilot project with

ODO

TMEC: Training Management Evaluation Committee, established at Fort Ord in 1969

Traditionalist: a member of the post-Vietnam Army who generally accepted time-honored

conventions and practices

TRADOC: Training Command, the Army's highest level command for training

USAIS: US Army Infantry School

USAREUR: United States Army, Europe

VCSA: Army Vice Chief of Staff

VOLAR: Volunteer Army

Appendix

Appendix A

US Army Doctrinal Definitions of Leadership[1]

1948: "Leadership is the art of influencing human behavior through ability to directly influence people and direct them toward a specific goal."

DA Pam 22-1, Leadership, 28 Dec 1948, p. 44, signed by Gen Omar N. Bradley, Chief of Staff

1951: "Military Leadership. Military leadership is the art of influencing and directing men to an assigned goal in such a way as to obtain their obedience, confidence, respect, and loyal cooperation."

FM 22-10, Leadership, March 6, 1951, p. 3, signed Gen J. Lawton Collins, Chief of Staff

1953: "Military leadership, simply stated, is the proper exercise of command by a good commander."

FM 22-100, Command and Leadership for the Small Unit Leader, February 26, 1953, p. 3, signed by Gen J. Lawton Collins, Chief of Staff

1958: "Military Leadership. The art of influencing and directing men in such a way as to obtain their willing obedience, confidence, respect, and loyal cooperation in order to accomplish the mission."

FM 22-100, Military Leadership, December 2, 1958, p. 7, signed by Gen Maxwell D. Taylor, Chief of Staff

1961: "Military Leadership. The art of influencing and directing men in such a way as to obtain their willing obedience, confidence, respect, and loyal cooperation in order to accomplish the mission."

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1. Source: predominantly from http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/army/cmd-hdbk-appa.pdf. Last accessed July 13, 2013. See also each FM and referenced Army Regulations (ARs) in Bibliography.

FM 22-100, Military Leadership, June 6, 1961, p. 3, signed by Gen G. H. Decker, Chief of Staff

1965: "Military Leadership. The art of influencing and directing men in such a way as to obtain their willing obedience, confidence, respect, and loyal cooperation to accomplish the mission."

FM 22-100, Military Leadership, November 1, 1965, p. 3, signed by Gen Harold K. Johnson, Chief of Staff

1973: "Military leadership is the process of influencing men in such a manner as to accomplish the mission."

FM 22-100, Military Leadership, June 29, 1973, p. 1-3, signed by Gen Creighton W. Abrams, Chief of Staff

1983: "Military leadership - the process by which a soldier influences others to accomplish the mission."

FM 22-100, Military Leadership, October 31, 1983, p. 304, signed by Gen John A. Wickham, Jr., Chief of Staff

1986: "Leadership. The process by which an individual determines direction and influences others to accomplish the mission of the organization."

AR 600-100, Army Leadership, May 27, 1986, p. 7, signed by Gen John A. Wickham, Jr., Chief of Staff

1987: "Leadership. The process by which an individual determines direction and influences others to accomplish the mission of the organization."

AR 600-100, Army Leadership, May 22, 1987, p. 7, signed by Gen John A. Wickham, Jr., Chief of Staff

1990: "Leadership is the process of influencing others to accomplish the mission by providing purpose, direction, and motivation."

FM 22-100, Military Leadership, July 31, 1990, p. 1, signed by Gen Carl E. Vuono, Chief of Staff

1992: "Leadership. The process of influencing others to perform a task through providing purpose, direction, and motivation."

AR 5-1, Army Management Philosophy, June 12, 1992, p. 3, signed by Gen Gordon R. Sullivan, Chief of Staff

1993: "Leadership. The process of influencing others to accomplish the mission by providing purpose, direction, and motivation."

AR 600-100, Army Leadership, September 17, 1993, p. 8, signed by Gen Gordon R. Sullivan, Chief of Staff

1999: "Leadership is influencing people—by providing purpose, direction, and motivation—while operating to accomplish the mission and improving the organization."

FM 22-100, Army Leadership, Be, Know, Do, August 31, 1999, p. 1-22, signed by Gen Eric Shinseki, Chief of Staff

2006: "Leadership is the process of influencing people by providing purpose, direction, and motivation while operating to accomplish the mission and improving the organization."

FM 6-22 (formerly 22-100), *Military Leadership, Competent, Confident, and Agile,* October 12, 2006, p. 1-2, signed by Gen Peter J. Schoomaker, Chief of Staff

Appendix B

A Critical Analysis and Assessment of US Army Leadership Doctrine, 1946–2006

Table A.1. The Evolution of US Army Leadership Doctrine: Summary of Analysis

Year	Title of FM	Leadership Theories Emphasized	Leadership Theories Cherry-Picked	Leader Styles Espoused/ Practiced	FM Focus
1946	*FM 22-5 Leadership, Courtesy, & Drill*	Trait Theory		Supervision/ Management	"Who to be"
1951	*FM 22-10 Leadership*	Trait Theory		Supervision/ Management	"Who to be"
1953	*FM 22-100 Command and Leadership for Small Unit Commanders*	Contingency Reinforcement; Situational Approach; Trait Theory		Supervision/ Management	"Who to be"
1958	*FM 22-100 Military Leadership*	Contingency Reinforcement; Situational Approach; Trait Theory		Supervision/ Management	"Who to be"
1961	*FM 22-100 Military Leadership*	Contingency Reinforcement; Situational Approach; Trait Theory	Leader-Power Bases	Supervision/ Management	"Who to be"
1965	*FM 22-100 Military Leadership*	Contingency Reinforcement; Situational Approach; Trait Theory		Management	"Who to be"

1973	*FM 22-100 Military Leadership*	Contingency Reinforcement; Situational Approach; Trait Theory	Path-Goal Theory	Normative	"Who to be"
1983	*FM 22-100 Military Leadership*	Contingency Reinforcement; Situational Approach; Trait Theory		Transactional	"How should I?" and "be", KNOW, DO
1990	*FM 22-100 Military Leadership*	Contingency Reinforcement; Situational Approach; Trait Theory	Charismatic Leadership	Transactional	"How should I?" and "be", KNOW, DO
1999	*FM 22-100 Army Leadership: Be, Know, Do*	Contingency Reinforcement; Situational Approach; Trait Theory	LMX Theories	Transactional	"How should I?" and "be", KNOW, DO
2006	*FM 6-22 Army Leadership: Competent, Confident, and Agile*	Contingency Reinforcement; Situational Approach; Trait Theory	Transformational Leadership	Transactional	"How should I?" and "be", KNOW, DO

Note: This snapshot reveals a "cherry picking" approach to doctrinal development over time. Although the Army moved away from the Great Man theory, doctrine advanced only as far as transactional leadership.

The First Generation of Doctrinal Manuals 1946 to 1973

The 1946 to 1961 Publications

      The first doctrinal manual— *FM 22-5, Leadership, Courtesy, and Drill*—correctly defined the essence of leadership using the term "influence." However, it is obvious from the title as well as size and length (4 by 6 inches and 18 pages) that it lacked depth and focus. Although its definition of leadership was brief, the February 1946

manual offered 23 "qualities of leadership" that would appear again in future versions entitled as values (courage and loyalty) or leader attributes.[2]

In 1948, the Army issued two "interim" publications that elaborated on the basic concepts of the first FM. The first was issued on July 19, 1948, as Training Circular Number 6, entitled *Leadership*. Though its origins remain unclear (some believe that it was a product of senior officers gathered "in a smoke-filled room at Fort Leavenworth"), the primary content of this circular listed 11 "Principles of Leadership." Supposedly based on their own experiences, the authors believed these principles to be fundamental and universal in their application at any level of command.[3] The second publication, entitled DA Pamphlet 22-1 *Leadership,* was issued on December 28, and expanded the definition of military leadership to emphasize influencing people and human behavior toward specific goals. The substance of both documents would provide the baseline for the first doctrinal leadership manual solely dedicated to leadership.[4]

While the Army was at war in Korea, the Department of the Army released *FM 22-10, Leadership.* It was published in March 1951 and officially superseded the two 1948 documents. The contents of this small, 35-page manual retained the 1948 circular's 11 principles and officially made them doctrine. Although the utility of these principles has been questioned and debated over time, the principles themselves are still considered sound practices by Army leaders today. The authors also listed 19

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2. US War Department, *FM 22-5, Leadership, Courtesy and Drill* (Washington, DC: US Department of the Army, 1946), 8–9, http://www.armyoe.com/Page_5.html.

3. R. A. Fitton, *Development of Strategic-Level Leaders,* Executive Research Project S23, (Washington, DC: National Defense University, 1993), 7.

4. Ibid., 7. Also, Jeffrey Horey, Jon J. Fallesen, Ray Morath, Brian Cronin, Robert Cassella, Will Franks, Jr., and Jason Smith, *Competency Based Future Leadership Requirements,* Technical Report 1148 (Alexandria, VA: US Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences, July, 2004), DTIC accession number: AD-A426059, 5.

individual traits that effective leaders should possess. Especially noteworthy is Section

8, "Role of Ethics." Here, ethics is defined as "the science of moral duty." Slightly

different from all future focuses, ethics at this time is not viewed as the nucleus of

leadership but rather as a close ally.[5]

Changing titles again from "Principles" to "Leadership Traits," the March 1953

doctrinal manual used the nomenclature FM 22-100 that would henceforth remain in

place until 2006. Entitled *FM 22-100*, *Command and Leadership for Small Unit

Commanders*, the manual acknowledged that the traits were not all inclusive but

"served as a guide for self-assessment and self-improvement."[6] Planting the seeds of

consistency, two of the manual's traits would later become values (courage and

integrity).[7]

Five years later, in 1958, the next revision of *FM 22-100* was released under the

name *Military Leadership*, a title it would keep until 1999. Sticking to the "leadership

traits" approach, the manual added two more traits to its content for a total of 14.[8] One

of the two—loyalty—would remain and later become an Army value. Other than that,

this manual offered little by way of improvement or the further progression of leadership

doctrine.

The 85-page 1961 release began FM 22-100's trek down the Social and

Behavioral Sciences road with the inclusion of a chapter entitled "Human Behavior"

5. US Department of the Army, *FM 22-10*, *Leadership* (Washington, DC: Headquarters, US Department of the Army, March 1951), http://armyoe.com/uploads/FM_22-10___Leadership__.pdf, 8–9 .
6. Fitton, *Development of Strategic-Level Leaders*, 6. Also Horey, *Future Leadership Requirements*, 8.
7. US Department of the Army, *FM 22-100*, *Command and Leadership for Small Unit Commanders* (Washington, DC: Headquarters, US Department of the Army, February 1953), http://www.armyoe.com/uploads/FM_22-100___Command_and_Leadership_for_the_Small_Unit_Leader__.pdf.
8. US Department of the Army, *FM 22-100*, *Army Leadership* (Washington, DC: HQ, Department of the Army, March, 1958).

(Chapter 3). This narrative stressed the roots of behavior as derived from psychologist Abraham Maslow's well-known 1943 model on the "hierarchy of needs." But undergirding the entire manual are the two pillars of Leadership Traits (Chapter 4) and Leadership Principles (Chapter 5). Compared to the manual released a decade earlier, this version listed 11 traits, dropping 6 off the original list and adding one (knowledge).[9]

In characterizing the nature of leadership doctrine from the end of the Second World War to the new John F. Kennedy Administration's focus on unconventional and counterinsurgency warfare, it is fair to say that the contents of the six publications released during this time frame remained consistent in the primary definitions of leadership. All six manuals lacked bibliographies, and the publications contained no discussions related to other leadership source material. While the manuals became more detailed and grew more thorough and voluminous, Trait Theory clearly dominated the scope and structure of all 6 publications. In many ways, the Trait Theory-based chapters were offshoots of the Great Man Theory which had dominated leadership thought throughout the many preceding decades.[10]

In keeping with the prevailing preference for Trait Theory, the focus in every manual was on "who" leaders should be (in contrast to "what" they should be or "how" they should lead). This "who to be" approach offered little in way of structure. Missing in the first 6 manuals was a framework in which to house the content. Interestingly, no historic heroes were presented as specific examples, which would suggest that the

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9. US Department of the Army, *FM 22-100, Military Leadership* (Washington, DC: HQ, Department of the Army, June 1961), http://armyoe.com/uploads/FM_22-100_1961.pdf, 17–18. It dropped alertness, force, humility, humor, intelligence, and sympathy.

10. For a good, ground level view of officership and how officers led soldiers since the 1780's, see Edward M. Coffman, *The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784–1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

authors were probably influenced by Ralph M. Stogdill's extensive work throughout the 1950s at The Ohio State University. Stogdill had previously studied naval leaders and was familiar with military leadership, posited that effective leadership may vary from leader to leader based on different situations.[11]

Much more apparent in the 1961 FM, though, is the work on Leader-Power Bases conducted by John French and Bertram Raven in the late 1950s. French and Raven looked specifically at power itself and suggested five forms of power that help to define leadership. These were: coercive power, reward power, legitimate power, referent power and expert power. While the manual included various dimensions of both Position Power and Personal Power (the two pillars of Leader-Power Bases), the manual suggests that the Army preferred the former. Most likely, French and Raven validated the prevailing views of the senior leaders who, at that time, typically led from strong authoritative positions of power.[12]

The 1965 Publication

Coming at a time when the Army was heavily influenced by civilian management theories and practices, especially the field of Systems Analyses, the November 1965 release of the 59-page *FM 22-100* emphasized the criticality of "supervision" as a primary focus of effective leadership.[13] Influenced by the worldwide increase in communist-inspired insurgencies and the entire Army's embrace of counterinsurgency warfare, the manual touched upon interpersonal skills that leaders must possess due to

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11. I believe this is an anomaly. Offering fewer examples of famous leaders did not diminish the emphasis on Trait Theory. The focus of these authors was on varying situations, not people to emulate.

12. Northouse, 7–9.

13. Ushered in by President John Kennedy, systems analysis was viewed at the time as the most effective means of managing large organizations and for solving complex problems. See Halberstam, 264.

the likelihood of interaction and contact with indigenous civilian populations. However, despite this emphasis and the mention of the term counterinsurgency for the first time, the manual was essentially a recycled version of its predecessor. It is difficult to explain the shallowness of this revision, given the state of strong managerial practices so pervasive in the Army at that time. Missing was any indication of the work done by Robert Blake and Jane Mouton. Pioneers in the field of organizational training and development, their model—The Management Grid—was used extensively by many organizations at that time to understand goals and purposes through "concern for production" and "concern for people."[14] One conjecture is that similar to its overt preference for Position Power, the Army likewise may have viewed itself as already practicing within the optimum performance quadrant of Blake and Mouton's grid ("Team Management"). In sum, this FM changed very little in format and content over the 1961 version, and the "who to be" approach continued to offer a weak structure.[15]

The 1973 Revision

In the interlude between the 1965 and the 1973 releases of *FM 22-100,* the United States entered, escalated, de-escalated, and lost the war in South Vietnam. The 1973 release of FM 22-100 discarded the old manila-colored covers and presented a cover with artist-drawn sketches of various troops embedded in the large silhouette of a helmeted soldier. This lengthy manual was more than double the contents of its predecessor and included many cartoon-like sketches to illustrate chapters and key sections of the FM. Behind this cover's liberal makeover was a robust, detailed

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14. Northouse, 72–74. This model was used extensively and was later renamed the Leadership Grid.
15. *FM 22-100* (1965).

doctrinal re-write that hinted at the unprecedented transformation of the Army just then underway. Special sections on drug abuse and race relations made this point clear.

In an obvious response to the 1960s over-emphases on management, the manual clearly separated and subordinated management to effective leadership, thus demoting management to only an "important element of Command." A return to an emphasis on leadership over management corrected the most glaring reason for the defeat in Vietnam.[16]

Issued in June, which coincidentally marked the end of conscription and the beginning of the All-Volunteer Army (one that would require a radical change in leadership styles and methodologies), the manual contained, for the first time, an impressive bibliography. At first glance, many of the authors listed in the bibliography would suggest that the authors consulted numerous leadership theorists and theories of that time. However, like in all the other FMs, no citations or footnotes ever appear to attribute sources.

Overall, the 1973 release strongly embraced Situational Leadership theories by which to prescribe new leadership styles and practices. However, in terms of prescription and application, this FM failed to adequately make the leap from theory to practice. Remaining predominantly conceptual despite its volume, the overwhelming emphasis throughout several key chapters was on the Situational Approach. Here, one theory clearly stood out--Fred Fiedler's work on Contingency Models. This FM redressed the overemphasis on leader traits in the previous editions (which never proved to have universal application) in favor of looking to the *context* in which

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16. Gabriel and Savage, *Crisis in Command*. See Preface: they were the first to offer a thorough critique of the war's poor leadership due to rampant careerism and management mentality. Historians since have largely validated their claims.

leadership occurs. Obviously influenced by the numerous failures in leader behaviors during the war in Vietnam (the My Lai massacre being the most infamous), the doctrinal authors appear to have consulted Fiedler's work that suggested the need for different types of leadership for different types of situations. In essence, Fiedler believed that within a given context, situational control (what he called "favorableness") was determined by the alignment of commitment, structure, and power.[17]

It is also conceivable that the authors may have adopted the Situational Theory work of Victor H. Vroom and Philip W. Yetton. Their Normative Decision Theory, though similar to Fiedler's, prescribed conditions in which different leadership styles could be appropriate. In short, this theory suggests that leaders should utilize *autocratic* styles when tasks are familiar, *consultative* approaches when tasks are unclear, and *participative* strategies when the commitment of followers is questionable. The 1973 FM dedicated a special section (Situational Studies) to paint different situations that illustrated these differing leadership theories and styles.

Hints of Path-Goal Theory also ran through the FM, although there is no clear connection to the work of Robert House. While situational theories provided an overall framework in this FM, House's view that leaders should assist followers in overcoming shortfalls in their abilities, support the tone of this doctrinal revision. However, a clear embracing of House's work would have required the Army to adopt components of Path-Goal Theory (specifically, the participative elements of House's theory) that were most likely too liberal for the Army at that time, even with the elimination of a conscript Army and the adoption of an all volunteer force. Conspicuously missing, as well, were

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17. Northouse, 113–116.

any hints or suggestions that the authors considered Transformational Leadership and Servant Leadership; most likely for the same reasons.

In summary, the content of each release continued to bolster the fundamental nucleus of leadership that placed values, ethics, and beliefs above all else. Those attributes of character remained consistent throughout all revisions but, to be fair, may have lacked clarity to junior leaders who were forced to sort through new or shifting titles and traits as subsequent manuals were released. In terms of structure, the seven doctrinal manuals essentially took the same form. Each resembled a type of "who to be" handbook. Although the contents became more detailed over time and then sprinkled with recent leadership theories in the 1973 release, these descriptive "who to be" handbooks failed to show developing leaders how to practice leadership in the real world.

Interestingly, the "who to be" approaches in the first seven editions excluded some important "who's," namely minorities and women. Certainly, the styles and narratives of all of these revisions spoke loudly to white men. Even the primary definitions of leadership, which specified the term "men" in all but two revisions, made this clear. These omissions are hard to explain or excuse since desegregation of the Army occurred in July 1948 and the fact that women had occupied an integral role in the institution since the Women's Army Corps' (WAC) creation in May 1942. In regard to the latter, women had been serving in the Army since 1901, when the Army established the Nurse Corps as part of the regular Army.[18] Rich historical references sprinkled throughout the various revisions overtly excluded the rich contributions made

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18. Bettie J. Morden, *The Women's Army Corps, 1945–1978* (Washington, DC: United States Army, Center of Military History, 2000), http://www.history.army.mil/html/books/030/30-14-1/index.html Chapter One.

by minorities and women in World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War. The inference in these doctrinal manuals was that army leadership primarily applied and would continue to apply to the historical core of the Army Officer Corps, namely white men.

Ten years would pass before the Army again would upgrade its leadership doctrine. In that decade, the Army underwent a transformation on a scale never before seen in American military history. In coming to grips with the trauma endured by American society from political turmoil at home to the defeat in Vietnam, the Army "re-invented" itself by revolutionizing the ways in which it would recruit and train soldiers. Above all, an Army that would consist of only volunteers, especially drawn from a pool of citizens who were shaped by the aforementioned events, would require a new approach to leadership doctrine and practice.

The Second Generation of Doctrinal Manuals 1982 to 2006

The 1983 Publication: First Round of "BE, KNOW, DO"

In the decade of transformation leading up to the 1983 edition of _FM 22-100,_ the Army had successfully healed itself. Drug abuse and racial strife were largely problems of the past. Through the incentives of higher wages and subsidies in educational opportunities, the All-Volunteer Army had succeeded in filling all manning requirements. The Army had returned to the Cold War environment with a new operational doctrine (Air-Land Battle) and sought advanced technologies to provide a military edge over its potential enemies. Unfortunately, the soldiers manning advanced technology systems would be led by officers who would come to confuse technical management with leadership. While that thesis is beyond the scope of this work, the 1983 revision shows

that leadership doctrine took a nostalgic step backwards to re-embrace management practices as effective leadership and "great men" as effective leaders.

Where content lacked progression and modernization, *structure* took a significant leap forward. The 1983 doctrine adopted a solid structural framework that would properly house the contents of leadership doctrine for years to come. This new structure would transform the previous FMs from "who to be" leadership handbooks to "how to lead" references. Beginning with the 1983 addition, the Army stated that all aspects of leadership fall within three dimensions. Labeled as "BE, KNOW, DO." This framework identified BE as values and attributes, KNOW as skills, and DO as leadership actions. Unfortunately, BE would immediately take a back seat to KNOW and DO, both of which facilitated the technological management elements of the Army's new and widely accepted operational doctrine (the 20 August 1982 release of *FM 100-5, Operations*).

By 1983, the Army succeeded in restoring a professional force that was well-trained, well-manned, and combat ready. The new BE, KNOW, DO structural framework of the 1983 revision of *FM 22-100* housed much doctrinal content that looked vaguely familiar. The authors jettisoned the leadership traits that had fluctuated in number among the previous editions in favor of 8 "values" and 4 "factors." The factors were essentially 4 generalized conditions labeled "the led," "the leader," "the situation" and "communications." This manual abandoned the nebulous "-*ships*" of the 1973 release (i.e. Leader*ship* and Leader*ship* Development) and replaced them with more descriptive chapters on unit and leader development.[19]

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19. *FM 22-100* (1983).

With an undisguised re-embrace of Trait Theory, the manual began with a detailed account of Civil War Colonel Joshua Chamberlain's gallant and heroic fight at the Battle of Gettysburg. The FM then utilized Chamberlain, as well as other non-fictional and fictional personalities, to illustrate key doctrinal points. Interspersed with appropriate action sketches, the manual was pleasant to read and the content was well organized. In contrast to previous doctrinal releases, this FM flowed logically, and each chapter built upon and complimented the previous section.[20]

Overall, Trait Theory, managerial skills and the Situational Approach were the overarching themes of the 1983 doctrinal release. Abandoned were the more "socially problematic" considerations of leadership, such as race relations and drug abuse. The tone here was more overtly masculine and authoritative. For example, while the FM was illustrated with more than 30 sketches showing the faces of soldiers, only 2 each of minorities and women were included and all pronouns were masculine.

In addition to bringing the situational theories forward, only the work of one new leadership theorist was apparent in this FM. Reaching back more than a decade to adopt the work of T. O. Jacobs, the authors bought in heavily to Jacob's Social Exchange Theory.[21] In trying to be a "how to lead" reference manual, this FM focused in every chapter on the interactions between leaders and followers. Jacobs' research had been funded by the Navy and looked extensively into influence processes that occur within formal organizations. In seeking situational variables in the Trait Approach, Jacobs found value in some aspects of Transactional Leadership Theory to help

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20. Ibid.
21. Jacobs is the only leadership theorist listed in the bibliography. T. O. Jacobs, *Leadership and Exchange in Formal Organizations* (Alexandria, VA: Human Resources Research Organization, 1970).

understand motivations in the leader-follower relationship. This FM was the first to
include many elements of Transactional Leadership Theory.[22]

Also missing from the 1983 FM was a wealth of leadership research that had
evolved since 1973. Absent were House's advanced work on Path-Goal Theory and his
interesting "8 Classes of Leadership Behaviors."[23] Missing as well was the work of
Jeffrey Pfeffer, who defined leadership in terms of influence within organizations.[24] The
work of both theorists would have certainly been welcomed, given the close alignment
of both substance and relevance to the Army's existing doctrinal views. Not
surprisingly, the two "biggies" of the 1970's, Robert K. Greenleaf and James MacGregor
Burns, were ignored. Greenleaf's Servant Leadership and Burn's Transformational
Leadership must have been viewed as threatening, given the degree of empowerment
that each theory proposed for followers (and the necessity for leaders to lighten up on
control and to be more comfortable in their vulnerabilities).[25]

Finally, in terms of promoting character, this FM introduced the Ethical Decision
Making Process (Chapter 4). In fact, the BE, KNOW, DO structure relied heavily on
character throughout the content of most chapters. Certainly, the depth of discussion
on values, ethics, and beliefs throughout the entire manual made this FM vastly superior
to anything adopted up to that time. Still, although it saw itself as a practical "how to"
reference, nothing concrete was offered in terms of demonstration, practice, and
evaluation.

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22. For a broader view of his work with others on social judgment skills see Northouse, Chapter 3.
23. Ibid., Chapter 7.
24. See Jeffrey Pfeffer, *Power in Organizations* (New York, NY: HarperCollins, 1981).
25. Burns, *Transforming Leadership*, Chapters 10 and 12. Also see Robert K. Greenleaf, *Servant Leadership, A Journey Into the Nature of Legitimate Power and Greatness* (New York: Paulist Press 1977), Chapter 1.

<u>*1990 – The Second Round of "BE, KNOW, DO"*</u>

In the seven years that transpired before *FM 22-100* was again revised, the United States fought two minor wars, Grenada in 1983 and Panama in 1989. More importantly, the United States and its western NATO allies had also "won" the 44-year-old Cold War. The aftereffects of the latter would soon have serious impacts on the contents of the new manual.

Under the Administration of Ronald Reagan, the 1980s was a booming period for the US Armed Forces. Taking advantage of huge advances in technology, the Army had expanded and modernized its conventional forces and had gained enormous confidence it refining the 1982 Operational Doctrine--Air-Land Battle *(FM 100-5)*. In terms of modernizing leadership doctrine, this infatuation with technology further pushed BE well below KNOW and DO.

The authors clearly delineated the BE, KNOW, DO structure with separate, distinct chapters focused on the elements of each doctrinal pillar. More importantly, this leadership manual had a very clear and more direct connection to the realm of combat. In diminishing the emphasis on the Situational Approach, which was central to the previous FM, the authors shifted weight back to Trait Theory and, in addition to "Great Men," the authors used famous battles to illustrate leadership examples as well. The bibliography, which listed almost 50 sources, led readers to believe that the authors were very familiar with the most prominent leadership theories being explored at that time. Included were Bernard Bass, Warren Bennis, Burt Nanus, and James MacGregor

Burns.[26] Upon closer examination, it is clear why these prominent theorists were

attractive to the doctrinal authors. Bass, Bennis, and Nanus, especially, were looking at

that time at the validity of specific traits in improving effective leadership. Their research

was specifically focused on Visionary and Charismatic Leadership.[27] While neither

theory stood out overtly in the FM, the narrative proposed simplistically that effective

military leaders were both charismatic and visionary.

The 1990 release also carried forth a more concise structural framework of BE,

KNOW, DO. One-third the length of its predecessor, this FM targeted leader

development and assessment as advocated by Stephen D. Clement and Donna B.

Ayres.[28] Their research, more than 15 years old, attracted the attention of the authors

because it focused on leadership competencies. [29] The COS, General Carl Vuono, as

the approving authority, believed that this FM would allow leaders to apply "leadership

theory at all organizational levels to meet operational requirements."[30]

Clement and Ayres proposed 9 leadership competencies, which the Army

adopted and formalized as official doctrine. However, this centerpiece, which appeared

in this FM as *Appendix A: "Leadership Competencies*," was disappointingly shallow in

that it simply repackaged leadership principles that we saw in earlier FMs. Though

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26. Bernard M. Bass, *Leadership and Performance Beyond Expectations* (New York: Free Press, 1985). Warren G. Bennis and Burt Nanus, *Leaders: The Strategies for Taking Charge* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985). Also, Burns, *Leadership*.

27. Northouse, 16.

28. Their work had been conducted for the Army years before and published as part of the Army's Leadership Monograph Series. This FM draws on two documents: S. D. Clement and D. B. Ayres, *Leadership for the 1970s: A Matrix of Organizational Leadership Dimensions,* Leadership Monograph Series No. 8 (Fort Benjamin Harrison, IN: U.S. Army Administration Center, 1976), DTIC accession number AD-A090479; and S. D. Clement and D. B. Ayres, Leadership for the 1970s: *Organizational Leadership Tasks for Army Leadership Training,* Leadership Monograph Series No. 9 (Fort Benjamin Harrison, IN: U.S. Army Administration Center, 1977), DTIC accession number: AD-A090480.

29. Horey, *Development of Strategic-Level Leaders*.

30. US Department of the Army, *FM 22-100, Military Leadership* (Washington, DC: HQ, Department of the Army, July 31, 1990), http://armyoe.com/uploads/Military_Leadership_1990.pdf , I. See Vuono's comments in the Preface.

each was succinct and well-written, they remained descriptive, contrary to Vuono's remarks in the preface to the FM.

Overall, the structure of the 1990 BE, KNOW, DO was much stronger and the entire work was well edited. Yet, beyond an initial embrace of core competencies, which would improve in later releases, this FM was very similar in content to the 1983 version. The same rich leadership theories, which had been refined and greatly explored by the corporate world at that time, remained absent: Transformational and Servant Leadership.

1999 – The Third Round of "BE, KNOW, DO"

In the nine years leading up to the 1999 revision of *FM 22-100,* the Army was forced to reform itself again on par with the 1970s transformation. Unlike the defeat in Vietnam, which served as a catalyst for change in 1973, this transformation followed on the heels of the overwhelming victory of US forces in the First Gulf War (Operation Desert Storm) in 1991. In this case, US Armed Forces followed suit to previous victories by downsizing the armed services. What exacerbated this large reduction in force, however, was the noticeable, *voluntary* exodus of junior officers from the Army.

By 1996, the Army had reduced its active-duty size from a pre-Gulf War 770,000 to 495,000 personnel. The officer corps was reduced by 25 percent from 91,000 to 69,000 officers.[31] Many "survivors" of this reduction in force opted to leave as well due to their belief that careerism was out of control. Citing extreme micromanagement from their bosses to "zero defect" command climates, captains especially were attuned to an

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31. David McCormick, *The Downsized Warrior: America's Army in Transition* (New York: New York University Press, 1998).

institutionalized "resume building" career path that was clearly counter to Army values.[32]

Looked at in this context, almost the entire officer corps was in violation of all that the

BE had stood for in the previous two FMs (1983 and 1990). The current COS,

seemingly acknowledged this, saying ". . . [t]he state of ethical conduct is abysmal. . . "[33]

While the transformation of the late 1990s has been well documented, a

thorough examination of its impact on leadership and the shrinking force structure is

well beyond the scope of this essay. In short, the senior leaders struggled with

transformation in the downsized post Cold War Army while trying to visualize potential

threats of the fast approaching 21st century. With so many captains leaving the Army,

the stewards finally took a hard look at individual motivations in order to halt this

hemorrhage of talent.

The result was a revision of *FM 22-100* that would make all previous versions

look simple and shallow. While the vestiges of the Trait Theory and the Situational

Approach remained quite apparent, this FM built on the previous introduction of core

competencies to a sophisticated extent. This FM listed 39 components that detailed out

the competencies that "leaders of character" must BE, KNOW and DO. Articulating what

it had never quite described before, the BE category of this FM laid out 7 values, 3

attribute categories, and 13 attributes. [34] The depth of these core competencies

allowed the authors to abandon the rudimentary descriptive lists of methods and

activities that were promoted in previous FMs and never really effective in practice.

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32. Ibid, Chapter 4. By 1999, the reduction of the officer corps would reach 30%.

33. CSA comments as cited in David A. Jones, "Instilling Army Core Values at the Unit Level: Will FM 22-100 Get Us There?" (master's thesis, Command and General Staff College, 1999), 6.

34. Horey, *Development of Strategic-Level Leaders*, 9.

The Army clearly intended this FM to be its capstone manual on leadership and to encapsulate the multitude of complexities in modern warfare that had resulted in a more globalized, post-Cold War world. In doing so, this manual was voluminous as it included leadership for senior commanders operating at the operational and strategic levels of war.[35] Junior leaders, looking for practical methodologies at the tactical level, however, probably found less utility in this manual than should have been the case.[36]

The quality of this FM, with consistent sound structure and rich content, clearly reflected the research and thought of knowledgeable authors. Keeping in mind that this doctrinal release appeared to be the "fix plan" for the dysfunctional state of officer leadership that had been the impetus for the recent junior officer exodus, it was not surprising that traces of more progressive leadership theories appeared. However, they were interwoven throughout the familiar conservative theories and styles that had always characterized *FM 22-100.* The Army's strong preference for Trait Theory and the Situational Approach still provided the backbone. Great men and battlefield victories were still highlighted. Returning as well was the emphasis on self-development and core competencies that had made their debut six years earlier. However, core competencies were much matured in this release, with the inclusion of Key Performance Indicators (KPIs), then gaining popularity in the corporate sector of the United States.

The extensive bibliography contained the names and works of many contemporary leadership theorists. Tracing their work through the manual's content, though, requires thorough examination. On close inspection, it appears that the authors

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35. The study of warfare divides conflict into three dimensions or levels: tactical, operational and strategic.
36. Horey, *Development of Strategic-Level Leaders*, 11.

considered more progressive theories but inevitably "cherry picked" several that would

compliment the traditional Trait Theory and Situational Approach. In looking for

leadership theories that would support the caring, but authoritative, officer who places

followers at the forefront of his or her leadership style, the authors dug deep into the

1976 work of George B. Graen's Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) Theory. Clear

connections in chapter 3, 4, and 5 showed the authors' interest in the dyadic

relationships between leaders and followers as explored by Graen and others in the

1970s and 1980s.[37] Also present in the chapters on Direct Leadership were Ronald

Heifeitz's advocation of leaders helping followers with personal growth and change.

Conspicuously absent, though, was any of Heifeitz's emphasis on the real

empowerment and commitment of followers.[38]

At first glance, this FM appeared to finally embrace Transformational Leadership.

Indeed, the bibliography suggested a heavy emphasis in that direction, and for the first

time, Transactional and Transformational Leadership theories received attention *by

name*. In Chapter 3, Human Behavior, the authors presented both theories as "styles,"

describing Transformational Leadership as a style "which focuses on inspiration

and change," and the Transactional Leadership style as one of "rewards and

punishments."[39] Unfortunately, the narrative was brief and never offered any substance

beyond descriptions. In regard to this shallow treatment, the reader was warned to

avoid Transformational Leadership "when the mission allows little deviation from

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37. See Northouse, Chapter 8.
38. Heifetz, *Leadership without Easy Answers.*
39. US Department of the Army, *FM 22-100, Army Leadership: Be, Know, Do* (Washington, DC: Headquarters, US Department of the Army, 1999), http://armyoe.com/Page_5.html, 3-16 – 3-17.

accepted procedures."[40] The impression here is that the authors felt more comfortable with the Transactional Leadership traits.

Very little trace of Transformational Leadership Theory was found elsewhere, even in the chapters on Direct Leadership. This is unfortunate because that was the section that pertained to leaders operating below battalion level of organization and had been the preponderance of all preceding manuals since 1946. "Cherry-picking" was at work again as some elements were extracted to support the Great Man and Trait theories. In fact, Gary A. Yukl's criticism that too much emphasis is placed on leaders motivating followers is very apparent in this FM where Transformational Leadership was narrowly viewed as one way to achieve "heroic leadership."[41]

However, the authors clearly drew on Transformational Leadership Theory for the sections dealing with operational and strategic levels of leadership. In these sections, the primacy of *vision* underscoring strategic leadership was made apparent. The authors used Jerry Hunt's work on Charismatic Leadership to underscore the criticality of vision leading to trust.[42] Boas Shamir's work on expert and referent power were seen in Chapter 7 (Strategic Leadership), which made the point that senior leaders will both lead and become members of diverse teams, civilian and military.[43]

By far the most impressive standout from this FM was the thorough treatment ethics and character received. In clear terms, the authors described the proper relationships of ethics, values and character. This clarity, missing in the previous

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40. Ibid.

41. Ibid, see especially Chapter 6: *Organizational Leadership*, Also Northouse, 193.

42. Ibid, see Part Two. Also, James G. Hunt and Robert L. Phillips, *1996 Army Symposium: Leadership Challenges of the 21st Century Army,* ARI Research Note 96-63, (Washington DC: US Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences, May, 1996), DTIC accession number: AD-A312092, A-3.

43. Ibid, A-4. *FM 22-100* (1999), Chapter 7, 7-13 – 7-26. See also, Northouse, 190.

manuals, essentially stated nothing new but rather placed the terms within the context

of leadership styles that readers could truly understand. Here, the reader had no doubt

that character was the centerpiece.[44] Further, two noteworthy annexes were included in

this FM. Annex E: "Character Development" and Annex D: "A Leader Plan of Action

and the Ethical Climate Assessment." The latter marked the first time that doctrine had

ever offered an actual tool to perform an act of leadership.

By far, the least impressive treatment in this FM was the omission of any

discussion or examples of women and leadership. Following on the heels of the most

widespread, highly publicized sexual harassment cases in the Army's history, this FM

largely ignored the topic and continued with a heavily masculine tone.[45]

In sum, the 1999 release of *FM 22-100* was an impressive, giant step forward in

terms of structure and content, especially with the latter's greater utility and the adoption

of more progressive leadership theories. Unfortunately, neither elevated the BE far

enough. The situation was far too broad and encompassing for younger practitioners

and addressed too much descriptive narrative directed more toward senior leaders.

The content flirted with Transformational Leadership but overall fell back into the

comfort zone of Trait Theory, the Situational Approach and Transactional Leadership

Theory.

In looking back on the last decade of the 20th Century, the Army had once again

squandered an opportunity to reform the officer corps. Just as it had failed to do so

following the loss of the Vietnam War, the Army was faced with an adaptive problem

which it did not recognize. In both cases, *people* and *leadership* were at the heart of

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44. *FM 22-100 (1999)*, 2-19 – 2-24.

45. To be fair, the authors may have believed that the topic was addressed well enough by using a female soldier in the scenario for the ECAS. Ibid, D-2.

each crisis. [46] Yet, the stewards never once considered that the primary practitioners, the center of mass of Army leadership—*the officer corps*—might have been the root of the problem. The culture of conformity continued to exclude proven leadership methodologies that could have yielded a more effective Army. One that would have been better prepared for the dark times ahead, only two years later, when terrorists would kill more than 3000 people in September 2001. That event ushered in a higher complexity of warfare that Army leaders were ill-prepared to meet.

2006 – The Fourth Round of "BE, KNOW, DO" or a Third Generation?

No sooner had the ink dried on the 1999 release of *FM 22-100* than the new Army COS, General Erik Shinseki, convened "an Army panel to review, assess and provide recommendations for the development and training of 21st century leaders."[47] Known as the Army Training and Leader Development (ATLD) Panel, members released the survey-based report (the Officer Study portion) to the Army on May 25th, 2001. The ATLD Panel began its work by utilizing the official Army Vision of R*eadiness*, *Transformation*, and *People,* as a framework for analyses. From the beginning, the ATLD Panel assumed a primary focus on *Transformation* but soon discovered that the real scope of its efforts was fundamentally about *People*. For the officer corps especially, this meant getting at the essential elements of training and developing leaders.[48]

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46. In Heifetz terms, they failed to address the issues (that centered around people and leadership) as an adaptive problem. Instead, they approached the problem as a technical one that could be resolved by a doctrinal upgrade.

47. Horey, *Development of Strategic-Level Leaders*, 1. Although Shinseki's signature was on the 1999 FM, he had only been CSA for 9 weeks. The 1999 FM was clearly General Reimer's project.

48. The Army Training and Leader Development Panel, Officer Study Report to the Army, OS-1.

The work of the ATLD was first rate. The right people came together to form effective partnerships with Army researchers, private industry, academia, and policymakers. The end-state was the formulation of a process by which doctrine could be improved based on the comprehensive inclusion and adaptation of numerous best practices.[49] In examining past and current leadership theories, research personnel specifically consulted theorists who had examined competencies in both individuals and organizations. In terms of looking at the "BE," the competency of "Exemplifying Sound Values and Behaviors" was derived from the work of four key theories. These were: Trait Approach (Stodgill, 1948 and 1974), Leadership Attribution Theory (Lord, 1985), Transformational Leadership (Avolio & Bass, 1991 and 2002), and Charismatic Leadership (House, 1976).[50] The result was a research effort that drilled down extensively on core competencies. The authors essentially dissected multiple dimensions of BE, KNOW and DO and came up with an extensive compilation of competencies for each of the 3 leadership pillars.[51]

The 2006 FM, the current doctrine, is undoubtedly the most thorough and content rich of all leadership manuals ever produced. The authors reshaped the numerous chapters of the previous manual into four logical parts: Part One: "The Basis of Leadership"; Part Two: "The Army Leader: Person of Character, Presence and Intellect"; Part Three: "Competency-Based Leadership for Direct Through Strategic Levels"; and Part Four: "Leading at Organizational and Strategic Levels." This organization sets up an internal framework for content that is well written and

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49. Horey, *Development of Strategic-Level Leaders*, v. See remarks of Barbara A. Black, Acting Technical Director.
50. Ibid, 54.
51. US Department of the Army, *FM 6-22, Army Leadership: Competent, Confident and Agile* (Washington, DC: HQ, US Department of the Army, October 2006).

compartmentalized. While part one serves as a primer of sorts to place doctrine within the larger context of civil-military relations and the Constitution, the concept of competencies is introduced early on as the core of leadership excellence. It is clear, though, that despite the change in the name of the title, BE, KNOW, DO is still very much alive as the structural framework for the entire manual's content.

Part Two finally elevates BE (character) to its highest level to date. Values, ethics, and beliefs are all here and well-described. Quality narrative describes the link of ethics to character development better than any previous FM. Surprisingly, the authors eliminated the Ethical Climate Assessment Survey (ECAS) and replaced it with an appendix focused on personnel counseling.   This was an unfortunate omission. The scenario that the 1999 authors used to explain the ECAS centered around the fictional Second Lieutenant Christina Ortega, who correctly identified and properly addressed a growing ethical dilemma in her platoon. This storyline was rich in both overt and subtle leadership examples. It painted a minority woman working hard within a stressful, dynamic male dominated environment to influence her soldiers to do the right things, both by doctrine (the ECAS) and by her demonstrated behaviors. Because opportunities for robust examples are few within the structure of doctrinal writing, the 2006 authors eliminated an important means of illuminating numerous leadership, race and gender examples.

Unfortunately, an improved emphasis on character, good organization, and quality authorship do not make this FM more progressive or modern. Indeed, in some important ways, this FM takes a step backward. In addition to dropping the ECS, the authors also dropped the definitions and distinctions of Transformational and

Transactional leadership, terms that were included straight from theoretical work in academia. Very light flirtations with transformational elements appear in Chapter 8, within very short and broadly descriptive paragraphs entitled "Fairness and Inclusiveness," "Open and Candid Communications," and "Learning Environment." Other than these cursory moments, this FM remains firmly entrenched in the same conservative construct that has always been rooted in Trait Theory and the Situational Approach.[52]

Given the thorough exploration of progressive leadership theories that the ATLD panel undertook from 2001 to 2004, especially in defining core competencies against prominent theoretical works, the final product is disappointing. Compared to the previous FM, there was no further development of Transformational Leadership despite the ATLD's thorough and deliberate look at the work of Avolio and Bass. The same shallowness occurred with House's Charismatic Leadership. Both were "cherry-picked" to compliment the foundation of Trait Theory and the Situational Approach. In continuing the strong preference for Trait Theory, the authors included more than 25 vignettes of courageous leaders throughout the manual. With the skillful interweaving of these historical examples in the FM, the authors succeed in tying Army values to tradition in order to enrich Army culture.

In sum, the "core competency" approach is the closest that the Army has come thus far to truly inculcate core values into actionable traits. However, this current FM still falls short because the Army has not yet overcome the primary obstacle to effective

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52. Compared to previous FM bibliographies, this FM cited predominantly military sources. Exceptions were David A. Heenan and Warren Bennis, *Co-leaders: The Power of Great Partnerships*, (New York: Wiley, 1999), and Peter M. Senge, *The Fifth Discipline: The Art and Practice of the Learning Organization*, (New York: Doubleday/Currency, 1990). For strategic leaders see Warren G. Bennis, *On Becoming a Leader*, (Cambridge, MA: Perseus Publishing, 2003) and Burns, *Leadership*.

doctrine: translating theory into practice and then requiring a demonstration of such

behavioral skills. Once in practice, values and character behaviors could be observed,

assessed, and evaluated as the components of KNOW and DO have always been. As

the architects of the competency framework noted as far back as 2000, ". . . evidence of

a competency is demonstrated by actions that can be observed and assessed to allow

one to distinguish the levels of performance in that competency."[53] This could easily be

accomplished if officers were required to demonstrate the doctrinal leadership behaviors

in their annual efficiency reports (personal evaluations). Forcing rating officers to record

observed demonstrable behaviors with written narratives as the KNOW and DO

sections require, would finally make the BE pillar the strongest of the three, not the

weakest. Until this occurs, however, the BE will always be more espoused than

practiced.

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53. Horey, *Development of Strategic-Level Leaders*, 3.

Appendix C

Structures of Army Ranks and Organizations

for Non-Military Readers

Organizational Levels

It is critical that the reader is familiar with Army organizational structure in order to understand the work of the Army OESOs, and their levels of assignment. The following is a basic, generalized description, although many exceptions exist. Historically, the Army has organized itself as a pyramidal system of "threes" (although variations often exist at all levels).

The first significant level of command is the company. Companies are comprised of three or four platoons. The company commander (a captain) supervises and evaluates his/her platoon leaders (lieutenants). Company sizes vary from 100 to 250 personnel.

Moving up the organizational pyramid, battalions are the next level. Battalions generally have three companies, although some specialized battalions may have four or five companies. Lieutenant colonels command battalions. Battalions are the first organizational level that have officially organized, dedicated staffs. Battalion sizes vary from approximately 500 to 800 personnel, although historically, the average size is about 650.

The next level of command is the brigade (note that regiments and groups are also organizations at this level). Brigades typically have three or more battalions and are commanded by colonels. Brigade personnel strengths vary from 2200 to 3000.

Within the general officer grades, we have two higher primary levels of command. The first is the division. Major generals (two stars) command divisions. Divisions are comprised of three brigades or more, and several large, specialized organizations. Division personnel strengths range from 12,000 to 18,000. Above a division is the corps. Corps usually consist of two to four divisions and are commanded by a lieutenant general (three star). Like divisions, corps are also augmented with several specialized organizations.

Staffs

Beginning with battalions, every level of command has both a primary staff and a special staff. Special staffs can be extensive, especially at higher organizational levels. For this study it is important for the reader to understand the primary staff.

The primary staff consists of four sections. These are: personnel (S1/G1), intelligence (S2/G2), operations (S3/G3), and logistics (S4/G4). Consistently throughout history, the operations section (the "3") has been the most powerful, influential staff in an army organization. At battalion and brigade levels they are known as "S" staffs and at higher levels, as "G" staffs. Staffs are supervised by executive officers (XOs). With the exception of the commander, the S3/G3 and the XO are the two most senior officers in the organization. At the battalion level, they are almost always majors while the other primary staff officers are frequently company grade officers.

Historically, the army staff sections were headed by non-specialists. For example, in an infantry battalion, they were all infantry officers. New captains, hoping to compete for a company command within the battalion, filled the S1, S2, and S4 positions. It is fair to say that historically, commanders have placed their most capable

captains into the S4 position while the S1 and S2 have held relatively minor positions of influence.

The Army has worked hard to correct this latter trend in modern times. In 1971, the Army established the United States Army Intelligence Center (USAICS) at Fort Huachuca, Arizona, in order to provide extensive training to dedicated intelligence officers. These officers began filling S2 positions throughout the Army soon thereafter. Note that while specialized branches for logistics and personnel existed, they did not follow the intelligence model, meaning that logistics and personnel officers were primarily utilized in specialized organizations during the 1970s. In the 1980s, branch qualified officers began filling S1 and S4 positions.[54]

Enlisted Members (EM), Non-Commissioned Officers (NCOs), and Commissioned Officers:

Enlisted ranks:

The enlisted corps has 9 ranks. The first four are enlisted personnel on their first term of service, grades E-1 through E-4 (private through specialist-4). Some E-4s in leadership positions are corporals (two stripes) and are considered the most junior of the NCO corps.

E-5 through E-9 grades comprise the NCO corps (sergeant, staff sergeant, sergeant first class, master sergeant, and sergeant major). The latter two can hold key leadership positions. The "top" sergeant of a company who has direct authority over all Ems in that company is called a First Sergeant. Sergeant Major (E-9) positions can be

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54. I served as a battalion S2 from 1984 to 1986 in the 2nd Battalion, 508th Infantry of the 82nd Airborne Division. As a military intelligence-branched officer, I was the only primary staff officer who was not infantry-branched (i.e. the personnel and logistics officers were infantry). Note that on the eve of the AVF, the Army came to a realization that the personnel branch had been the most neglected over time. Discussed in Chapter II.

either administrative or command. If the latter, they are called command Sergeants Major. One exists at each level of command from battalion to DA level. They serve as a close advisor to the commander and wield enormous influence within an organization. They are always addressed as "sergeant major."

Officer Ranks:

There are four categories of officer ranks: warrant officers, company grade officers, field grade officers, and general officers.

There are five grades of warrant officers: WO1, CWO2-CWO5. Levels 2-5 are addressed as "Chief." In general, they hold extensive, specialized knowledge and experience in specified occupations. They do not command troops although they may supervise sections of an organization.

Company grade officers are officer position grades O1 through O3. These are: second lieutenant, first lieutenant, and captain. While all three levels often fill staff positions, they serve predominantly in command positions as platoon leaders (lieutenants) and company commanders (captains). Officers remain at the company grade for approximately the first ten years of service.

Field grade officers are comprised of grades O4 through O6. These are: majors, lieutenant colonels, and colonels. While all three levels predominantly fill staff positions, the O5s and O6s hold critical command positions as battalion commanders (lieutenant colonels) and brigade commanders (colonels). Officers remain within the field grade group for the remainder of their careers. Historically, only one percent of the entire officer corps becomes general officers. Therefore completing twenty years of service and retiring as a lieutenant colonel is considered a successful career.

There are four levels of general officer ranks, O7 through O10. These are: brigadier general (one star), major general (two stars), lieutenant general (three stars), and general (four stars). There are various command positions for all general officer ranks although major general and lieutenant generals hold the two most critical—divisions (major general) and corps (lieutenant generals).

Army Rank Structure and Positions of Authority

Rank	Function	Group
General	CSA/Major Commands	General Officers
Lieutenant General	Corps commanders/staff	General Officers
Major General	Division commanders/staff	General Officers
Brigadier General	Assistant division commanders/staff	Field Grade Officers
Colonel	Brigade commanders/staff	Field Grade Officers
Lieutenant Colonel	Battalion commanders/staff	Field Grade Officers
Major	Staff (rarely commanders)	
Captain	Company commanders/staff	Company Grade Officers
First Lieutenant	Platoon leaders/staff	Company Grade Officers
Second Lieutenant	Platoon leaders/staff	Company Grade Officers
Sergeant Major (E9)	Battalion and Above	Senior NCOs
First Sergeant (E8)	Company – Most Senior NCO	Senior NCOs
Master Sergeant (E8)	Staff – Any Level	Senior NCOs
Sergeant First Class (E7)	Platoon Sergeant	Senior NCOs
Staff Sergeant (E6)	Squad Leader	Junior NCOs
Sergeant (E5)	Squad Leader	Junior NCOs
Corporal (E4)	Section/Fire Team Leader	Junior NCOs
Specialist (E4)		EMs
Private First Class (E3)		EMs
Private (E2)		EMs

Figure A.1. Describes the primary job functions per each level of rank.
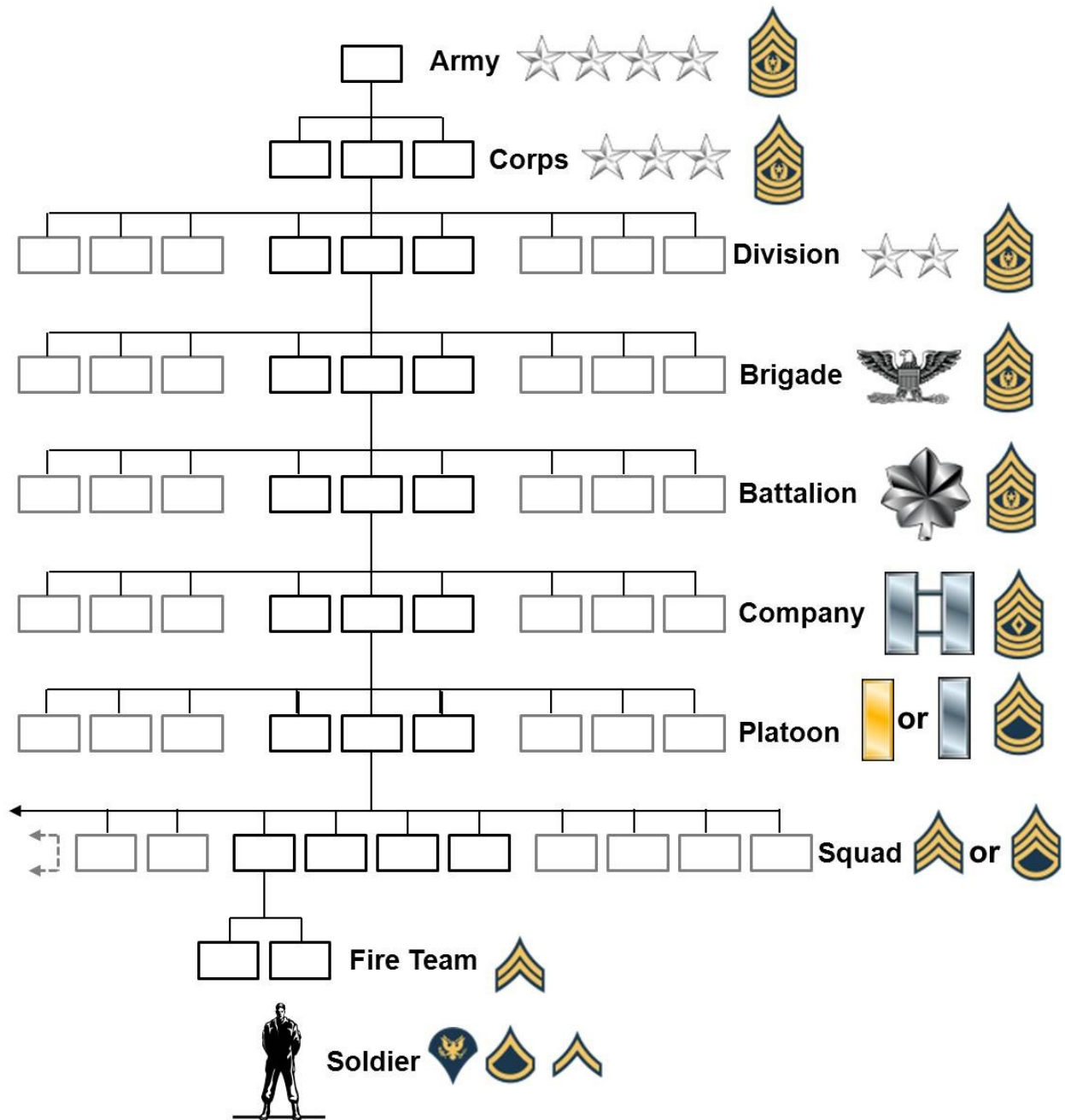
Basic Army Organizational Structure

Figure A.2. Describes the triangular-pyramidal organizational structure of the entire Army.

Appendix D:

A Sample of the OE Process

Organizational Effectiveness (OE) Process

The following sequence is normally followed in conducting the OE process:

STEP 1: Commander requests assistance of the OESO.

STEP 2: Initial meeting of OESO and commander.

a. OESO explains OE Process and his capabilities and limitations.

b. Commander discusses unit needs and his expectations.

c. Agreement on how OESO can support the unit.

STEP 3: Meeting of OESO with commander and his chain of command and/or staff.

a. Familiarization on OE Process.

b. Explain and clarify requirements and expectations.

c. Agreement on initial OE activities.

STEP 4: Select and design an appropriate organizational assessment techniques with the commander and the chain of command.

STEP 5: Conduct organizational assessment using one or more of the following techniques:

a. Standardized survey.

b. Individual interviews.

c. Group interviewing sessions.

d. Historical information.

e. Direct observation.

STEP 6: Analyze information collected in assessment.

STEP 7:   Present assessment results to commander and determine extent to which results will be presented to others in the organization.

STEP 8:   Presentation of assessment results to chain of command.

STEP 9:   Command Action Planning - based on organizational assessment; develop objectives and strategy for adapting and implementing OE activities.

STEP 10: Design OE activities in support of the Command Action Plan. Such as:

a. Organization-wide OE activities, e.g.

- Survey feedback

- Management Improvement conferences

- Management by Objectives

b. Chain of Command and Team Development Activities (on-the-job), e.g.

- Facilitating staff meetings, planning, and goal setting

- Facilitating team building sessions

c. Skill Development Workshops, e.g.

- Performance counseling

- Group problem solving

- Communication skills

- Time management

STEP 11: Obtain and coordinate resources and additional expertise to support OE activities.

STEP 12: Implement OE activities.

STEP 13: Evaluate impact of each OE activity and attainment of command Action Plan objectives.

STEP 14: Revise Command Action Plan, as required, and conduct follow-on OE activities, as appropriate.[55]

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55. "USAREUR HR Development Seminars, 16–20 March, 1976," Powell Papers.

Appendix E:

Message from General Rogers to General Wickham Reference Termination of the

Army OE Program

Pentagon, Telecommunications Center, Unclassified FOUO message dated 311645Z

May 85

May 1985

NATO Supreme Allied Headquarters

Shape, Belgium

"Having been the CSA, I am fully aware of the difficulties the chief faces as he

tries to develop recommendations to you to reduce programs/budgets to fit under

directed monetary and manpower ceilings. I'm also aware that different chiefs do

different programs/activities from different perspectives. Having this background— and

having had my turn at bat—has kept me from commenting over the past six years about

anything the Army was doing. However, OE and the benefits which have and will

continue to accrue from it are simply too important to permit my remaining silent.

When the Army set a ceiling of 781,000 and committed itself to the formation of

additional units/new types of units, and with many active CSS [combat service support]

units already far below C-1 manning levels, it was inevitable that spaces would have to

be found in other areas. But I submit that to tear down the OE structure to find these

spaces would be wrong.

The Army has invested about 14 years of effort in OE since the then Vice Chief

of Staff of the Army, Bruce Palmer, concluded that it was time the Army made use of

some of the tools of behavioral science (especially "organizational development" which we call OE) which industry have been using so effectively for years. As one of those originally charged with applying OD/OE, I quickly became convinced of its value. In the late 70s some of us thought—and still do—that of all the things the Army might do to improve itself in the future, nothing could have the impact that OE would—if it were done right. OE provides a proven, systematic means to drive towards customer satisfaction and organizational improvement without compromise of values, discipline, standards, commitment or the authority-obedience hierarchy. OE can be a valuable tool for leaders it is done right, if it is not feared (as some "leaders" do). If it is left to function as designed and if its objectives remain undiluted and not expanded beyond the intended scope of OE by trying to achieve too many objectives with it (as I believe has been the case with OE in the Army over the past several years). To do it right requires the OE Center and school with trained OE specialists placed at the appropriate places in our Army structure.

Whenever OE is discussed, one will always hear the remark that "it's nothing but good old leadership." That's true for small percentage of our leaders—such as some of the senior military leaders of the Army hierarchy—for whom the use of the features of OE just comes naturally (or second-nature after three decades of service). But what about the other 90 to 95% of our leaders at the battalion/brigade/division/corps level who are not so naturally gifted; more important, what about their troops? Why shouldn't they have the advantage of being in an outfit in which OE is practiced properly?

OE makes sense. It is partly a response to the needs of both individuals and their units for improvement strategies that will bring individual aspirations and

organizational objectives together. It is one of the best answers to the interdependent

problems of improving an organization and enhancing individual worth. It assumes that

most officers and soldiers (of whatever grade) have drives toward personal growth and

development if provided an environment which is both supportive and challenging. That

is, most soldiers want to become more of what they are capable of becoming; they want

to be all they can be. The second assumption is that most soldiers desire to make and

are capable of making a greater contribution to the goals of their outfit than most

organizational environments will permit. There is great constructive energy waiting to

be tapped if the commanders recognize these assumptions, even if all they were to do

was merely ask for and act on suggestions from their troops.

The leader who practices is OE, brings certain attributes to his unit: a set of

values; a set of assumptions about soldiers, organizations, and interpersonal relations;

a set of goals for his outfit, its soldiers and himself; and a set of tested structured

activities that are the means to implementing his values, assumptions and goals. The

benefits of OE can be both stability as well as managed change if it is done right. I

repeat: to do it right means keeping the center/school, training the OE specialists to

assist commanders, and providing manpower spaces for the OE system. It also means

not overloading the OE system with objectives OE is not designed to achieve. Let OE

be all that it can be, but let it be solely OE.

In my opinion eliminating OE would be tantamount eating our seed corn.

The proposed alternatives suggested in the referenced message would not permit the

Army "to do it right," something of greatest importance for OE. (Rather than see the

Army destroy the OE system as it should function, I would prefer to see it inactivate a

requisite sized active unit to find the spaces that eliminating we would provide, as tough as such an inactivation would be to handle, both militarily and politically, on both sides of the Atlantic).

One final thought: wouldn't it be ironic if the Army of Excellence , it's" Year of Leadership" were to destroy the OE system, an activity with perhaps the greatest potential for the enhancement of leaders' skills and for raising the level of excellence in our service."

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A Note on Sources

I have heavily relied on government sources throughout the length of this project. My primary sources come from several important archival collections, namely, the papers of General Bernard Rogers that are housed in the archives of the National Defense University in Washington, DC, and the collection covering the USAWC curriculum at the US Army War College at Carlisle Barracks in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

The bibliography also includes a large number of master theses and dissertations from students attending the Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and the Army War College at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. These are important resources for two reasons: first, these two schools—attended by the highest-rated officers in the upper ranks of the officer corps—predominantly shape and influence Army culture. Second, collectively, their works represent the attitudes and viewpoints of the Army officer corps in the years following the war as changes and reforms occurred. Not surprising, these students most often wrote about doctrine, training, and force modernization and reorganization. While many of these writings examined technical aspects of those broad subject areas, some students chose "leadership" topics for their masters theses or research papers. It is telling that most of these students confused "leadership" with the management of training or force modernization. Although rare, some students produced insightful writings that sometimes challenged conventional wisdoms about human relations, management, professionalism, and leadership. Interestingly, those students who did were usually people with formal education in the social sciences. Also note that the students who

attended their second year at Leavenworth as a part of the SAMS program were required to complete a research paper. Although they often refer to those papers as "monographs," I have used the term "research paper." Students at the Army War College were required to complete a research project—sometimes individually and sometimes as a team. Their work is termed "research project" in the bibliography.

Although the Preface and Chapter 1 heavily rely on secondary sources to explain the context of the period, the oral histories cited in the bibliography provide the strongest foundation for this work. The experiences of this tight-knit group of former OE participants allow us to understand the feelings, emotions, and personal humanistic viewpoints of the people who were committed to this program. While they sought to transform the "people" culture of the Army, they, in turn, were transformed themselves. This is evident by the vast amount of documents that they retained in their homes for decades and by their choice of second careers after retiring from the Army—working within the OD field. Much of this research is based on these official documents that most likely do not exist in archives and libraries. The bibliography cites these collections by the last names of the owners. This project would not have been possible without their assistance.

Readers will see that the US Government has now digitized a large number of documents. I obtained many sources from the Defense Technical Information Center (DTIC). Where possible, I have included the DTIC accession numbers for readers wishing easy retrieval. Please see http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/.

Finally, the Organizational Effectiveness School produced a professional journal entitled *OE Communique* from October 1977 to January 1985. The contributors of these

articles were almost all practicing OESOs writing about various subjects, some

pertaining to their experiences in the field, and others writing about more intellectual

aspects of Army OE. The reader will be impressed with the quality and caliber of these

articles—they are as good as any found in academic peer-reviewed journals. To the

best of my knowledge, they are not found in any library databases. I am grateful to Ms.

Lynn Herrick—the consummate librarian of the Army OE school—for retaining all

issues. I have digitized the entire collection, which now is accessible on my website at

www.armyoe.com.

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