



Cardinal Point: An Oral History — Training Soldiers and Becoming a Strategist in Peace and War.

by General Paul F. Gorman

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GENERAL PAUL F. GORMAN

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**An Oral History — Training Soldiers and
Becoming a Strategist in Peace and War.**

Editor's Introduction to the Oral History of General Paul Francis Gorman, U.S.A. Retired

The oral history that follows is based on five interviews conducted with General (Retired) Paul F. Gorman by Lieutenant Colonel Robert P. Reddy, Mr Richard Swain, and Mr. Michael Starry. The Reddy interview was conducted as a student project at the Army War College during Academic Year 1990-91.¹ Reddy inquired about General Gorman's early years, his experience in various professional schools, and particularly, General Gorman's command of the 1st Battalion, 26th Infantry, 'Blue Spaders' in the First Infantry Division in Vietnam. Four additional interviews were conducted by Mr. Swain and Mr. Starry between October 2010 and April 2011 in the midst of the vineyards at General Gorman's home at Cardinal Point near Afton, Virginia.

Midway in the conduct of the more recent interviews, the participants made a decision to integrate all the interview material into a single chronological narrative that could provide General Gorman's contextual overview for the electronic archive. Mr. Swain was responsible for integrating the texts, passing the various drafts to General Gorman, and incorporating General Gorman's suggestions, corrections, and clarifying remarks. He also added the notes that link the discussions to particular documents in the archive. The narrative is General Gorman's and the whole has his approval as an accurate representation of his views at this time.

Every effort has been made to make the interviewers transparent unless their questions provide useful transition from one topic to another. The one notable exception is the lengthy question that begins the section on General Gorman's assignment as Deputy Chief of Staff for Training at Training and Doctrine Command. The suggestion of a general theory underlying the creation and operation of Training and Doctrine Command was synthesized from and referenced to presentations General Gorman gave at the time. The narrative that follows shows General Gorman is skeptical that any theory had a lot to do with TRADOC's creation and early life beyond providing post facto rationalization for necessary actions. This long question serves as a reference point for the pragmatic narrative that follows. General Gorman's response offers a cogent corrective to those impressed by the explanatory power of overarching theory to account for contingent actions. The editor believes, none the less, that the question makes explicit a critical contemporary insight about the synergy between combat and training development, otherwise neglected. General Gorman has been willing to tolerate this intervention with skeptical but good humor.

This Oral History serves as an introduction to the Gorman papers collected here. While the history is intended to stand alone, it is not a substitute for critical reading of the documents themselves. The account is weighted deliberately toward General Gorman's Army service from commissioning through division command. General Gorman played an especially important role in the revitalization and recreation of the US Army after the War in Vietnam, a period complicated by transition of the Armed Forces from conscript to volunteer manning. The Army of the 1970s underwent a profound strategic reorientation and organizational realignment in a period of budgetary stringency. The written artifacts from this period offer important insights for today's Army leaders preparing to transition from another set of long wars in another period of fiscal stringency, strategic reorientation, and organizational realignment.

¹ General Gorman provided two copies of the War College Interview by LTC Bob Reddy, one of 53 pages; the other of 72 pages. The longer version only is present in the Archive. Dr. Swain added explanatory notes to the longer version for use in assembling the Oral History. [06_Retired, FOLDER A: Retired 1985-1990 \(01_Retired_85_90\), PORTFOLIO D: Army War College Oral History \(39_90_AWCOralHist_Dec\) \[01_90_OralHist_MHI.pdf\]](#).

Parallel to his career leading and training Soldiers in war and peace from platoon through division level, General Gorman built an equally distinguished joint service career for which he laid the foundation as a major on the Army Staff in the early 1960s. Later, he served in the Department of Defense, then as a staff member during the Paris Peace Talks. Following division command, he was detailed to the CIA, and then served as Joint Staff J5 and Special Assistant to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He completed his uniformed service as Commander in Chief, US Southern Command, opposing the efforts of the Sandinistas and their Cuban sponsors to extend their sway over all of Central America.

The archive contains evidence of General Gorman's substantial participation in the arguments for reorganization of the Department of Defense, including post-retirement membership on the Packard Commission. The Packard Commission laid the foundation for the Goldwater-Nichols Defense Reorganization Act which established the current organization of the Department of Defense and strengthened the position of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff with respect to the separate service chiefs. The archive also shows General Gorman's sophisticated grasp of what used to be called Low Intensity Conflict during a period when the major attention of the Armed Forces was focused on the conventional defense of Western Europe and Korea. A full biography would address more equally this parallel stream of professional development and General Gorman's accomplishments as a strategist. The archive also demonstrates that General Gorman's contribution to the Army and national security affairs did not end with his retirement, with defense reorganization, or the end of the Cold War. He continues to be engaged with defense leaders, particularly with Training and Doctrine Command, well into the 21st century.

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Early Life and West Point

INTERVIEWER: Sir, if we may, I would like to start with your early childhood. What in your childhood, your family life, your hobbies, and your interests, or your secondary education, inspired you to serve in the military?

GENERAL GORMAN: There is nothing in my family roots or history that would have led anyone to believe I was going to enter the military. I believe it is true that I am the first member of my family, on either side, to have served in the military since the family progenitors immigrated to the States from Ireland in the 19th Century. Of the factors that were material, probably first and foremost was the Depression. During my childhood, my father, who was in the nursery business (that is to say, he grew and sold trees and shrubs for landscaping purposes), was wiped out. Because his firm folded, he had to take up selling insurance for a living. The family went through a period of time in which income was very uncertain. One of the uncertainties impressed on me as a boy was that it was a distinct possibility I was not going to go on to college.

I don't know when or how I got fixated on the notion that maybe the government would pay for my education. I do remember getting a book for Christmas, about the time I was nine or 10 years old. It was written by a man named Kendall Banning. It was entitled *West Point Today* [NY: Funk and Wagnalls, 1937]. That book was powerfully motivating. After reading it, I decided I was going to attend West Point. I think virtually throughout my adolescent years, I was striving toward that end. For example, around the time I was in my first or second year of high school, my eyes started fading. I underwent a course of treatment with the local eye doctor. He claimed that he had exercises that could increase visual acuity in cases of myopia. It was just a matter of getting the muscles of the eye toned up. In order to pay for my course of exercises, I hired out to him as a landscape gardener, and got some sort of help from my parents. I don't know if the exercises worked or not but the fact is that I eventually did pass the physical to West Point after two attempts. It was not easy but I eventually did it. I probably got in with a waiver. I don't remember.

To summarize, I think that a military career is what I decided to do, and I'd been pushing that way since I was about 10.

The key aspect reference secondary education was that I won a scholarship to a private prep school [St. John's Preparatory School, Danvers, MA].¹

It was a competitive scholarship. It wasn't worth a great deal. I think the total sum of money involved was \$400. It certainly led me to believe that I could take exams competitively and prevail, and it put me in a very good school. It turned out to be one of the greatest strokes of good fortune that I ever had. It was a school taught by the Xaverian Brothers, so I had male teachers.

As you would expect, the discipline was stern. The Brothers were academically demanding of their students, and they had a method of proceeding where they subjected brighter kids to extra rigorous treatment. In my freshman year in high school, I got pulled out of the stream and was required to take a course in German with a Brother who was a native speaker. I think it is worth recording that, although I subsequently learned Russian, French, and Spanish, I can still score higher on a German test than I can in any other, just because of the drilling that Brother gave me back in 1940. I am eternally grateful to the Brothers for a variety of reasons, not the least of which was that they required us to memorize long sections of Shakespeare, the Bible, and other poetry. I also read Latin through Cicero. So, I have a lot of that in my head and in my craw too.

The school was small enough so, although I was not a very big frog, the small pond enabled me to do sort of what I wanted and to get a sense of satisfaction in doing it. I think it was probably as good a preparation as you could get for the Military Academy. There was certainly nothing military about it but in terms of meeting a demanding regimen, high standards, and constant production, it was not bad at all.

One of the Brothers' techniques was to use those who did well academically for peer instruction. That

is to say, they would double them back on a course and, rather than having the Brothers work on slow guys, they had us work on them. I ran a regular help-section for spherical trigonometry, plain geometry, and advanced algebra every noontime. You were allowed 20 minutes to eat your sandwich and then you went to work and drilled the slow guys for 40 minutes. The method of instruction that the Brothers used was blackboard recitation. That is to say, they assigned a problem to the students. The students put their solution up on the blackboard and then they were required to explain it. Again, I don't think that the Brothers ever gave a thought to the relationship between that form of recitation and what was going on at the US Military Academy (USMA) but it is identical to the mode of operation of the Mathematics Department at West Point. So again, I was sort of advantaged by all of that.

You have to remember that I went to high school during World War II. The Depression colored the years of the 30s but the war colored my high school experience in the early 40s. It did so in a variety of ways, not the least of which was that the Brothers were under some pressure to turn their graduates out, so they adopted an accelerated program and I was graduated a year or so early. The idea was to enable youngsters to get a start in college on the general assumption that they would be more useful to the government with that kind of additional schooling. In addition, they might qualify for one of the officer training programs that required acceptance to college as one of the prerequisites.

I was graduated early. Again I got a competitive scholarship, this time to MIT [Massachusetts Institute of Technology]. I took the examination in chemistry and the fellowship that I got was in chemical engineering. I am not sure why chemical engineering, except that I had recently taken a course in chemistry from a very good teacher who had really turned all of us on. It was my last science course with the Brothers. My choice was one of those that seemed like a good idea at the time, if not since. I signed up for chemical engineering and that put me into MIT in the fall of 1944, after the invasion of Europe. The war was in full swing. Enrolled in ROTC [Reserve Officers' Training Corps], I was given a uniform, a rifle, and was introduced to close-order drill. It was not an experience calculated to make anybody want to repeat it. The ROTC unit at MIT was in a sad state of disrepair, like most ROTC units in those days. Nonetheless, there we were, soldiering after a fashion. I began to have a sense of participating in the war.

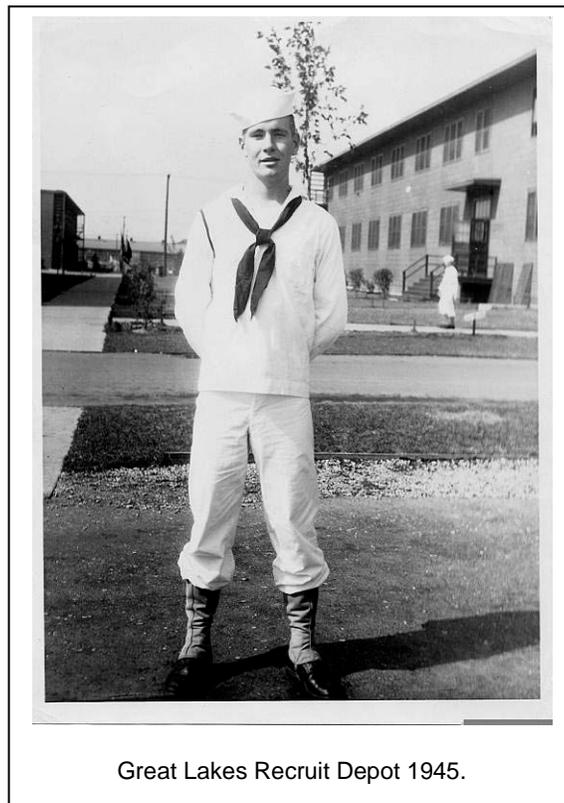
Having been in a small school with all sorts of careful handling, I was of course subjected to very severe cultural shock when I found myself in this huge, factory-like, industrial-style operation. Not the least startling aspect of all of that was the fact that I was surrounded by contemporaries who were much better prepared for MIT than I. They had never been required to memorize Shakespearean sonnets. They were never asked to take a foreign language. They didn't have to sit through hours of Thomistic philosophy or other liberal subjects. They had been focused on MIT, or engineering, throughout their high school years. They were way ahead of me in understanding that game. I simply didn't know what in the world to do. I recall, for example, we were all required to take mechanical drawing. Although I had taken an introductory course in high school, I was adrift. My peers could whip through a problem in about a tenth of the time that it took me to complete a drawing. In one particular case, we were required to draw a bridge, a timber trestle bridge. I don't think I ever finished that thing. I would turn in a sheet. The instructor would say, "That's wrong." He'd show me why I was wrong and I would go back and try to do it again. I don't think I ever got the bridge done.

I was thrown into a calculus class in which you would be given an assignment to prepare, problems to run through, etc. The instructor would come into class and talk about what he wanted to talk about. It didn't have anything to do with the assignment or the problems. The student never knew whether his solutions to homework problems were right or wrong. There was no feedback mechanism. You were just sort of left to work it out yourself. I subsequently discovered that, for most classmates, those freshman courses were a repeat of what they had done in high school. What the instructor was telling them about in class was what the real work was going to be like when they got into serious applications of calculus.

As the months wore on, it became increasingly evident to me that sitting around while the world was going through the convulsions of war, was not really swift. I was coming up now on eligibility for

enlistment. There was a Navy recruiting campaign under way to enlist youngsters who had some background in science or engineering for what was referred to as a radar technician's course, the Eddy Program. The Navy, in particular, was vastly expanding the application of radar to its ships and aircraft. There was enormous demand for repairmen and operators. One of the things that I had gotten into in high school was radio repair and construction. Those sets were relatively simple, super-heterodyne circuits - all analog of course. I had, on my own, mastered enough of it so I actually built some radios, phonographs, and that kind of stuff. I would design my own circuit, go buy the pieces from the original Radio Shack, and solder it together. One day, on kind of a lark, I went down and took the examination for the Eddy program. I got a very enthusiastic response from the United States Navy. Upon raising my right hand, they were prepared to offer me the august rank of Seaman First Class. It seemed like an offer that I couldn't refuse. I believe I was sworn on the 1st of May, 1945. So, before VE (Victory in Europe) Day (8 May 1945) and certainly before VJ (Victory in Japan) Day (2 September 1945), I enlisted in the Navy and was shipped off to Great Lakes, Illinois. In the meantime, I had applied for West Point. I took the physical, flunked it, and did not get an appointment to enter in 1945. So the Navy training seemed like a good option.

I was out at Great Lakes in boot camp when the nuclear weapons were dropped on Japan in August, and the end of the war came about. The services started to demobilize immediately, and here was the Navy with all of these radar trainees on their hands. The Navy admiral in charge of the program honored his commitment to us to the extent of saying, "Look, you will get special consideration for discharge, and you will be discharged earlier than you might have been otherwise." The special consideration was that they sent us to the Separation Center nearest our home and we became the menial labor there for a period of time, probably nine months. Then we got discharged. He was exactly right. We were discharged earlier than might have been the case if the normal Navy routine had been followed.



In the meantime, while I was in the Separation Center, I applied again for the Military Academy. I took the competitive examination and this time I connected. It might have helped that when I made my appearance, I was in uniform. For whatever reasons, Senator Leverett Saltonstall of Massachusetts saw fit

to make me his principal nominee. I got my appointment to enter USMA in July 1946. My Navy discharge came after it was fairly clear that I was going to go to West Point. I had maybe six weeks at home after discharge from the Navy before I packed up and set off to the military academy. I would describe all of that simply as a youngster scrambling with the conviction—here I was the eldest of a large family—that what he had to do was to find a way into a college without being a financial burden on his parents. I succeeded.

INTERVIEWER: Sir, what stands out in your mind about your experiences at West Point?

GENERAL GORMAN: In those days, the academy had a fixed curriculum. The only options one had were the choice of foreign language. I selected Russian. The academic system, however, provided for sectioning. That is to say, they divided the class in accordance with demonstrated academic ability. You were re-graded and re-sectioned every month or so. The upper sections were permitted to branch afield from the straight and narrow stuff of the course. I spent most of my time in the upper sections, so I found the academic experience exhilarating.² I enjoyed it.

What I remember most vividly would fall into these categories: First, I became active on *The Pointer*, the cadet magazine. Ultimately I became its editor. I did a lot of reading and writing and I learned about layout and publications. I came to know the printer, George Moore of Newburgh, New York, very well. George was one of a few very people outside the institution that I was close to back in those days. In that era, we were kept confined to West Point most of the time. When we did begin to get privileges to go off post for short periods, I had in George Moore and his wife a nearby family that I could visit. That was a very rewarding kind of contact.

The second thing that is worth reporting in this respect is that I was chosen to go on a trip to Europe in the summer of 1949, between my second and first class years.³ In other words, I was a new first class cadet. There was a group of a dozen or so cadets chosen to accompany Colonel Herman Beukema, Professor of Social Science, on a trip to Europe. Because Beukema was known very broadly throughout the Army, he was given access to the highest reaches of the command over there. General Maxwell D. Taylor was one of the commanders who entertained us. Every place we went, from Berlin on down to Greece, we were given royal treatment. In Greece we were the guests of General James A. Van Fleet, the US commander there during the civil war. He enabled us to go up to the front and talk to commanders on the ground. In Athens, we got not only a good dollop of Grecian culture but we got to meet the royal family. Altogether, the trip was just an eye-boggling set of experiences all the way around. I took my summer leave over there. I stayed in Europe and continued touring, sort of going from riches to rags. I lived on the other end of the scale for 30 days but I had a marvelous experience.

The third experience I remember most warmly, was teaching rifle marksmanship at Camp Buckner that same summer. All first class cadets were given an assignment training the younger cadets. My assignment was training third class cadets through their course in rifle marksmanship out at Camp Buckner. I think that was my first experience with military training, other than the sort of courses that we had during the year on how to give a class or how to conduct training. I really liked that work. I was good at it. As a matter of fact, I was a good shot, so I didn't have any difficulty in understanding the problem. I learned a good bit about what works and what doesn't work and how to deal with the motivational factors in training. I became the remedial instructor on the committee. When they identified a cadet they thought was going to bolo, they would remand him to me. I would coach him into a frame of mind where he thought he could get out there and shoot. More often than not, we succeeded in bringing him through.

USMA was a very crowded, intense four years, and I formed a lot of associations that I still treasure. As near as I could determine, comparing my schooling and my experiences with those of contemporaries in other schools, like Harvard, we really had a marvelous opportunity, a great education. Even compared with former Navy buddies, guys who had gone to boot camp with me and were down at Annapolis, I thought we were particularly advantaged. I had opportunities at West Point I simply never would have had anywhere else.

So, I left West Point pretty high. I can't say that I had thought much about being an officer. That was just a given. That is what you were there for. I don't think I spent a lot of time trying to think through what that really meant. I can't remember any studied effort on the part of the faculty, or the tactical officers, to prepare us for officership beyond meeting the requirements to graduate from the academy. One of the things that strike me, going back there since, is maybe there is too much emphasis on where cadets stand in terms of officership. I am not sure that students of that age are terribly receptive to thinking down-stream five, 10, 15 years. It would have been uncharacteristic for cadets of my generation. I came away from West Point very favorably disposed toward the Academy. I thought it was educationally and socially about the best I could have done.

INTERVIEWER: What were the best and worst times which you can recall while you were a cadet?

GENERAL GORMAN: The first class summer would easily be the best time. It was just a series of straight wins the whole summer. The worst time probably would have been the winter of plebe year, when you are at the nadir of hope. I had become bored. I figured I had done all that and I was ready to move on to something else but it just kept going and going. It was entirely tolerable. It wasn't very bad.

INTERVIEWER: Sir, did any of your classmates really surprise you as officers compared to your opinion of them as cadets?

GENERAL GORMAN: Of course. The surprises go in several directions. Many matured very rapidly after they left the academy. They developed a great deal of enthusiasm for their profession. They turned out to be remarkably good officers. Then there were those who were very well regarded while they were cadets, got high rank as cadets in the corps. It was accepted that they would go on to great things in the Army but they turned out to be busts as officers.

There were people in whom I put a great deal of personal trust and confidence, who subsequently turned out to be unreliable or who, for other reasons, faltered and fell by the wayside. I had a friend who was later discharged from the Army for reasons of mental health. Today, he is probably a confirmed alcoholic. I wouldn't have suspected that of him as a cadet. Back then, if someone had told me this was going to happen, I wouldn't have believed it. I think the point to be made is that one ought to be very, very careful about judging 20 or 21 year olds, particularly in a system such as West Point, where they're not given much compass, not much latitude.

The system was such that, if you kept your mouth shut and did what you were told, you'd do very well. Cadets who got in trouble, or who ran higher risks, often were seeking a broader range of activities, particularly those which permitted more expression than the system readily proffered. Frequently those guys didn't do very well as cadets but they were often exactly the kind of person who would succeed out in the Army. I think too, that a lot of us just grew up, and grew up very rapidly, after we got out and were confronted with responsibility. I worry a good bit about the propensity that I think I have observed at West Point today to try to draw certain definitive conclusions about how the individual cadet is going to perform in the service. I don't think you can do that very well up there.

INTERVIEWER: Sir, are there any other interesting issues concerning your formative years which you think we should include?

GENERAL GORMAN: No, I don't think so but note that, from high school on, I was trained in all male institutions and they tended to be authoritarian. I don't think it hurt me a damn bit. Maybe different judgments are brought to bear on that but I readily accept the proposition that sexually particular education has a place. I personally rejoiced in it and I think that the United States ought to preserve, or at least allow some schools to preserve that particulars. I, for one, regarded it a loss that VMI was required to accept women. While I understand in spades what led to the government's bringing women into West Point, I think I agree with General Sidney B. Berry, then Superintendent, that it is not good for the Academy, for the Army, to have done that.⁴ Ultimately we will get over it but I think, when those decisions were taken, something was lost that is irrecoverable.

Lieutenant Years at Fort Benning, Georgia

INTERVIEWER: Sir, I believe that after receiving your commission, you were assigned directly to a unit that supported institutional training at Fort Benning. From your perspective, what were your impressions on how the Army trained officers?

GENERAL GORMAN: Let's deal first with the unit to which I was assigned. I joined the 325th Infantry Regiment and was assigned to G Company, 2nd Battalion, 325th Airborne Infantry. The 325th had just gone through conversion from glider infantry to parachute infantry. The method used to bring about the conversion was to allow units from within the 82d to send over fillers to the 325th. Those soldiers "volunteered", and you can imagine the kind of soldier who would be sent from the 502nd, or the 504th: you "325d", as they said, you "325d" your eight balls. We ended up with a group of soldiers who were, in the parlance of the day, genuine hoods [said like "food"]. We had a group of NCOs who were similarly selected. For one reason or another, they were considered less effective but we got a pretty good cut of company commanders.

In fact, I think one of my best memories of that battalion is the quality of the company commanders. By and large these were West Pointers, Class of '46, many of whom were commanding their third company. They had been overseas and most of them had been to Europe, commanding companies over there. They had come back and were now in an airborne infantry outfit. These guys were real pros. They knew what they were doing and they knew how to coach young lieutenants. I think some of my best lessons on how to be an officer were simply observing the role models these young regulars provided us brand new, raw lieutenants. They were particularly considerate of us, accepting that we had not been to any Army branch schools, except jump school. They were tolerant of mistakes and careful to explain when we would screw up.

I can recall vividly that one of my duties was keeping the company fund. The company commander called me in one day and said, "I just got four checks returned from the bank for no money. I know that you say here in your records that you deposited funds more than ample to cover that. I want to know where that money is lieutenant." I said, "Sir, I do not know where the money is. I put the money in the bank." The company commander looked at me and then he said, "Okay, get your car." We got in the car and he said, "Now, take me to the bank." We drove over to the Main Post. Maybe this isn't true any longer at Fort Benning but then there were two banks, back-to-back. The company fund was in bank A and I had been depositing the money in bank B. The Company Commander introduced me to the managers of both banks and he told the manager of bank B that, "if this guy ever comes in here again, throw him out." That was about it. I can think of company commanders that I have had since, given that kind of experience, who would have made an object lesson of me for all of mankind. He was stern. I had ample time to regret my stupidity but he didn't make any official record of the business.

My battalion commander was a fellow by the name of Clyde M. Dillender, a regular, not a West Pointer but a superb officer and a real teacher. He too did a lot to see to it that we lieutenants got proper guidance. His executive officer was an old style officer, who would come in the morning and have a cup of coffee and then nip out of a flask. Then he would have breakfast and then nip out of a flask. Then he would have another cup of coffee and nip out of a flask. I can recall going to his summary court with soldiers, as defense counsel. You sat on a soldier-made bench outside of the major's office. He would call the miscreants before him one at a time with a loud, "Send the next guilty bastard in." The hapless soldier would go in and salute. Then the major would say, "What have you got to say for yourself?" The soldier would barely start to speak when the major would shout, "GUILTY", and the soldier would be ushered out. Then you'd hear the clink as he opened his drawer to nip his flask again.

Our unit, 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry, was sent from Fort Bragg down to Fort Benning when the 3d Division, which had been stationed at Benning, was sent off to Korea. When it departed, the Third Division took the 29th Infantry, which had been the infantry regiment supporting the school, and the 30th Infantry, which was out of Benning as well. Then, I think, they picked up another regiment, the 7th,

probably out of Fort Devens, Massachusetts, and they went off to Korea to fight as a division. Where the Infantry School had had a regiment, plus a division in back of it, the Department of the Army provided this airborne infantry battalion as replacement.

The question that you put to me was how and what did I learn about being an officer. Much of what I learned had to do with the fact that this battalion was by itself. We did not have all of the supports and constraints that might have obtained had we been at Fort Bragg, surrounded by other regiments and subject to supervision of the division and division staff. We were all by ourselves during those periods when the unit was free to do their own training. Such periods were frequent, because much of the school's work was done inside the "school house." I think as the school accelerated its output to meet the demands of the war, it cut back on field exercises in the interests of time. It probably would have had to do so, in any event, because our one battalion could not have supported field training in the style to which they had been accustomed with the 29th Infantry. We had a significant amount of time to do our own training. That was particularly rich time for me. If we wanted to fire any kind of weapons, there were ranges, ammunition, and facilities available for the asking. Nobody else was competing for them. So one could do anything he wanted to do.

My memory of that period is one of really learning weapons. Learning weapons by shooting weapons, not talking about weapons. Shooting weapons and shooting at realistically placed target arrays. We would go out and put in our own pits, put in our own target arrays, and set up our own exercises. We took the 60mm mortar and used it for overhead indirect fire. We ran exercises with live ammunition that I am confident would have turned the safety officer's hair gray if he had known what was going on. I will cheerfully confess that I have been hit a couple of times with fragments from mortars, getting too close in to them but nobody was hurt. When I say hit, I mean I got pinged with them. We were teaching ourselves a lot about what soldiers and armies are supposed to do. It had great effect on the soldiers. What impressed me was that, for the most part, this was the first time these kids—Regular Army volunteers all, airborne soldiers—had been doing that kind of thing. Although many of them had been in the Army 3 or 4 years, this was the first time any of them really had gotten out and done this kind of field work. What this did was to pull totally unexpected talents and capabilities out of many of them. I learned an enormous amount about soldiers and soldiering just because of that atmosphere.

I also learned a lot about the depravity of man. Right across the river from Columbus, Georgia, was the famous Phenix City, Alabama. This was back in the days before it was cleaned up. It was wide open then. Each night the battalion sent an officer, two NCOs, and a 2 1/2-ton truck, over to Phenix City. The name of the game was to go through the various dives to pull out soldiers who were incapable of making it home under their own steam, or who were in a state of obstructiveness that indicated they were headed for a night in the poky. Of course, that brought me in contact with a whole side of life of which I was, up until that time, largely ignorant.

I was also brought up hard against the culture of the officer corps in unexpected ways, for example, the Prop Blast. I don't know what goes on these days in airborne units but in those days Prop Blasts were pretty rough initiations. Ours went something like this. Orders appeared. I announced that I was not going to comply with the orders. I wasn't going to get involved in a drunken revelry. I was above that kind of stuff. Finally, one old first lieutenant took me by the collar and said, "Listen you fool, you show up there. If you don't, they will make life so blank miserable for you that you'll try to transfer out of this outfit. I guarantee it." So, I showed up, along with all my contemporaries.

The place of reporting was over on the Main Post of Benning, a place called The Polo Hunt Club, out on that parade field up against 1st Division Road, where they still had rings for riding horses and jumping. It was a low, rambling building. There was a Board of Officers behind a table. Each of us came in, reported formally to the Board, and were then handed a water glass full of whiskey, which we were required to consume. Then we signed in. We were then taken out to the kitchen of the Polo Hunt Club. The kitchen of the Polo Hunt Club was a small room. There was a large pot belly stove in the middle of the room. It was an autumn night and it was cold, so the stove was hot.

Among my contemporaries was an officer who did not drink. He had never consumed alcohol and he was, to put it mildly, shocked by the whole experience. I guess I could feel the water glass full of whiskey but this guy was giggling. He was in the silly mood. There was also among us a newly appointed warrant officer. In the fall of 1950, there was a big activation from among the enlisted ranks, of guys who had had previous commissions or reserve warrants. One of the men going through the Prop Blast was a warrant officer who had been my platoon sergeant when I had first joined the organization. He too was feeling his whiskey. His mood, however, was the opposite of the man who was giggling. The warrant officer was one of those people who become angry when they drink. He was really getting nasty and he started picking on the giggler.

The long and short of it is that I intervened. Words were exchanged. My story is that the warrant officer swung at me. His story is to the contrary. It does seem clear that I did knock all of his front teeth out. In the course of this, the giggler sat down on the stove, burned his behind to a fare-thee-well, and stood up screaming. In the course of doing it, he knocked the stove over and set fire to the building, whereupon the Fire Department came. The police came. It occurred to those of us who were in an advanced state of inebriation that it would be splendid to take over the hoses and have a water fight. So among the other things that the firemen had to contend with in putting out this fire, was a bunch of us turning the hoses on one another, and otherwise disporting. Naturally the party was tamped down and the warrant officer was taken off for medical care. My giggling friend was likewise. When they got everybody else back together, the Prop Blast business resumed, and we got more whiskey.

I don't remember much about the rest of it, except that at some point in time, they brought us out before the Board one by one. One of the acts that they then went through was to say that you are going overseas, so you have to get a shot. There is a scar right here [on left arm]. These guys had a huge needle. I assume it was a training aid, a hypodermic syringe with a needle on it about as big around as your little finger. I said something to the "medic" to the effect that, "You wouldn't dare stick me with that you S.O.B.," whereupon he did. I got my whole arm opened up with the damn thing. I still carry that scar where that "needle" went in. It was an indecorous evening.

I don't know how we got home. I can remember two things that happened subsequent. I was in my BOQ [Bachelor Officer Quarters], in bed. I became aware that there was loud talk out in the hall. It was the warrant officer with a bunch of his buddies. They were coming to find me to beat out my teeth. I can recall having enough presence of mind to roll out of the bed and get under it. They came in. They were all drunk and they stumbled around the room. I obviously had been vomiting because they were appalled at the condition of the floor. They left. In their wake, came a captain of the battalion. He found me under the bed, got me up in bed, and cleaned up the room a little bit. Then the son-of-the-bitch tried to kiss me. I apparently decked him too. I have only a vague memory of this nightmarish situation.

Things were pretty tense around the battalion for some time thereafter. No action was ever taken against me. I never heard of that warrant officer again. He just disappeared off the screen. The captain disappeared shortly thereafter too. Again, not a very edifying experience. What that taught me is that the Army has to be pretty careful in letting such customs grow because they will very rapidly get out of control if somebody doesn't sit on them. This was a clear case where someone was going to get hurt badly, sooner or later. I gather that in subsequent years people did.

Now we come to the Infantry School. I guess I would report three impressions. First, the School was largely show biz. What we did in the way of demonstrations was as carefully managed as a high school play. It was all designed to convey a specific series of impressions to people sitting in bleachers. We were performers and whenever I tried to say, to an instructor, "Well, you know we don't do it that way in this outfit," I immediately got stepped on by a high ranking, field grade type who wanted me to understand that I would do exactly what I was told, and see to it that all of my people did exactly what they were told, when they were supposed to do it, because that is the way the School operates.

My second impression was that there were a few officers on the faculty who were genuinely interested in troops and training. They were so few as to be exceptional. Sometimes an instructor would

come down and explain to my troops what was being taught in an effort to get the troops to understand what they were doing. This was so rare that I treasured that kind of moment. I can still recall the individuals who took that time and trouble to ensure that the troops understood what it was that was supposed to be happening, or that I understood so I could explain it to the troops. More often than not, it was a matter of me reporting with the troops and then the instructor would put the soldiers, one by one, in the places they wanted them. That was bad news from my point of view. It was not a good way to establish proper rapport with the troop unit.

The third general impression was that because we were the only troops on post, we were general purpose infantry. One of these exercises I got to put on frequently, because I liked doing it, was the armored infantry show. There I had a particularly good instructor, one of those admirable faculty members that I remember. We really had a lot of fun doing that armored infantry exercise. He let us change routes and play around with the attack.

He was this good. Once, when my platoon was arrayed in front of the class, he told the class that he was going to give us an attack order and he was going to allow me, the platoon leader, to select the route to the objective and to lift the supporting fires. We had the M39, which was an open top, full tracked personnel carrier. He said, "Now I am going to remind the platoon leader that these vehicles have a number of limitations. One of them is that it is not very good on steep sided hills. That is to say, if you get the vehicle canted up with a lot of weight on the downhill track, it will throw the track off the drive sprocket. You must pick your route." He talked about what would be a good choice and what would be a bad choice. "We are going to let these troops go where they want to. We will watch them and talk about it." And by gosh, one of my vehicles succeeded in throwing a track because I had swung up a hill to take advantage of some concealment.

I think that the instructor anticipated we would do that and he had the presence of mind to talk of that as a staged example. He said, "Okay, the vehicle did get into trouble. It lost a track but you noticed what they did: the squad immediately dismounted and continued the attack on foot. The platoon leader compensated for the squad's absence by moving his machine guns, and he had that squad follow up onto the objective." Then he came down afterwards and congratulated the troops for carrying it off well.

Now, that was a kind of freewheeling demonstration that was unusual at Benning at that time. Most of them were very rigid. They had to be done just exactly this way and just exactly in this spot, so it would look just right.

There's one other example of what I am talking about. We were issued the 57mm recoilless rifle in the rifle platoons. In the course of one demonstration, referred to by the Infantry School as "Problems in Infantry Platoon in the Attack," the instructor wanted a 57mm crew to come up abreast of the bleachers, take aim at a sandbag parapet foxhole up on the hill to the front, fire and hit it, to make the point that among the covering fires for the platoon were its own direct fire weapons. I expressed dissatisfaction with that because, I said, first of all my trooper should not fire the 57mm from a position where he was exposed on a bald hill. I said I wouldn't send the 57mm squad there but would take them with me and fire from a concealed spot on the flank. Moreover, I didn't think the 57mm was a very good weapon for suppressing that kind of a target. I would much rather go after it with artillery. The instructor said, "Shut up. Get that gunner out there and be sure that he hits." I think he gave us three rounds during the practices. My gunner hit three times running, so the instructor was very pleased.

Then we ran the demonstration for the class. It turned out on that day that General Mark Clark showed up unexpectedly. He was in the bleachers when the attack went on and darn if I didn't get a message, when I was up on the objective going through my reorganization drill, to report to the bleachers. General Clark wanted to see me. I went at a dead run all the way from the objective to the bleachers. I got there and Clark put my heels together and chewed my tail up one side and down the other for stupid use of that recoilless rifle. "Why in the world did you think that this was a good weapon against that kind of a target? He was exposed in firing up here on top of a hill. The back blast flagged the position of the crew and could get them killed. Besides, he missed. Don't you know any better than that lieutenant?" The

instructor stood there and let all of that happen without saying one bloody word. So I said, "Yes, sir, it won't happen again. We'll hit it next time. We'll do it right." That was the last time they let me run that particular show.

What did I learn? Stand up for your people. It was a series of little lessons. These are the kinds of things that lieutenants learn, I guess, in anybody's outfit but it seemed to me, at least from my very parochial view, that the opportunities to learn came faster and more poignantly just because of the strange circumstance in which we of the 2nd Battalion, 325th Infantry found ourselves. I really got a lot of professional mileage out of those months and years. One last anecdote is also instructive to understand the Army I entered as a lieutenant.

Eventually the entire 325th Regiment was moved down to Fort Benning. As the Korean War ground on and the school expanded, they brought down the entire outfit. I was out on an Infantry School rifle range with my platoon one day. The platoon was being used mainly for road guards, ammunition detail, and target pullers. There was a detail from another post unit in the target house pasting targets. My guys were pulling targets and my platoon sergeant was up supervising the pit detail when I got a telephone call on the firing line. I got a call from the platoon sergeant, saying, "You better get down here. There is trouble in the target house." I went down there and discovered my soldiers on one side of the target house and the pasting-detail on the other side. My soldiers had their jump knives out, switchblade knives, and the troops from post had those big thick paste handles. The confrontation was over the fact that, as my troops said, these guys were mere legs and they had the effrontery to wear jump boots, Corcoran's at that.⁵ Several of my soldiers had decided to cut those boots off.

I succeeded in separating the two groups without violence. I told my Platoon Sergeant to "Take these guys out, double time, to replace all of the road guards. Bring the road guards back to take their place in the target pit. I will deal with the knife wielders later." I then turned to the still armed post guys and told them to lay down their clubs. A couple of them refused to do so, so I remonstrated with them a little bit. Eventually I did get them lined up outside at a position of attention and I talked to them a bit about good order and discipline. I am prepared to admit that they may have been there for as long as 10 minutes. I didn't think much about the incident at the time. All of the guys on our side of the thing got some extra duty out of it, a good talking to from the company commander, and we relieved them of a lot of knives and other stuff they were not supposed to have on their person. Afterwards, I went on leave.

I came back to discover that I was the subject of an investigation preliminary to general court-martial, an Article 32 investigation. All of the post guys (the poster detail) were black, and the local NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) Chapter had a civilian lawyer who brought the charges. The Post Commander had appointed an investigating officer to go through the pre-court-martial business. Depositions were taken and testimony heard.

You wouldn't believe the story that these soldiers had concocted about me. I had used racial slurs. I had forced them to stand in the sun for an hour, and so forth. All of which, of course, was nonsense. I had a class full of students out on the range there and I don't think we interrupted the firing more than a half hour. The investigating officer apparently recommended there be no trial but I was to receive a counseling session. The commanding officer of the 325th, known fondly to the troops as "Mother," called me in. He held up a piece of paper and said, "You have never seen this but what this is, is your promotion to first lieutenant." He tore the paper up. He said, "Don't you ever bring disrepute upon this Regiment again. Let this be a lesson to you. Dismissed!"

Shortly thereafter, I was posted to the 508th Airborne Infantry Regiment. I assume that the 325th was doing to the 508th what had been done to it, and guess who was foremost on the hit list to go out to the 508th? The 508th was being formed in Benning as an independent airborne infantry regiment. General Joe [Joseph P.] Cleland, known as the "the Great White Father", because of his big mane of white hair, was to command the 508th. It was stationed out in Sand Hill, Fort Benning. I went over there and I again had the marvelous experience of going through advanced individual training and basic unit training with a group of new soldiers, new sergeants, and new NCOs. By this time, I really had my training act together,

so we were doing just great.

My battalion commander believed in night operations. He believed in traveling light. He had us stripped down to the point where he took away all of our mess gear except our spoon. I can vividly recall going through the mess line with my soldiers with my entrenching tool held out. The cooks loaded it up with fried eggs, bacon, and potatoes. Then you sat down with your spoon and ate off your entrenching tool. I learned a lot from all of that about airborne, night jumps, forced marches, the whole nine yards. A lot of it was pretty easy for me. The 508th believed in live fire exercises. I knew about live fire exercises. I was ready to go with it. Then I got sent back to the Infantry School as a student to go through the Basic Course.

That course was a pretty satisfying experience. I knew why the school was doing what they were doing and I was able to kibitz as a professional, or to look over the instructor's shoulder because I had a grasp of what was going on. I even got to watch critically some of the demonstrations that I used to put on, this time from the bleacher point of view. I think I got more out of that particular course than most of my contemporaries who were going through the program as their first assignment but there was a war on and I was increasingly impatient with preparing.

INTERVIEWER: Sir, do you think that the school was sensitive to integrating tactics and techniques, emerging in Korea, into the body of doctrine which they were teaching, or was there reluctance on the school's part to incorporate new ideas and new ways of thinking?

GENERAL GORMAN: When you read George C. Marshall, you will discover that he makes the point that schools change very, very slowly, and very, very reluctantly, because of the elaborate mechanisms that have to be adjusted to take in new ideas. At the time I was in the 325th, there weren't any lessons from Korea because the only people who had come back were in hospitals or body bags. It wasn't until about the time that I got to the Basic Course that we began to see people on the platform that actually had been in combat. I can recall a number of instructors saying, "Now, the school has been teaching this but you should appreciate that in Korea this obtained and there will probably be an adjustment of Army doctrine in time." I got the distinct impression, therefore, of a doctrine in transition. I recall a lot of debate at the School over whether the book is right or not. "Do it by the book" was one enjoinder, one bit of advice that many senior officers gave to students. There also was a school of thought that the problem with the units in Korea was exactly that they didn't follow the book, didn't understand the doctrine; therefore, they could not apply doctrine properly. Then there was the third view, that Korea was a totally different war than any we ever had to fight, and these were totally different enemies, so we needed a totally different way of fighting.

I suspect that all of those views were correct. There were some people who didn't know what the book was, therefore couldn't throw the book away because they never had it. There were people who were doing it by the book and succeeded, and there were people doing it by the book who failed to deal with the situation on the ground and got waxed for their pains. I think examples could be cited readily for all of those. There was a propensity for instructors who had been teaching down there for a long time to read through the reports coming out of the theater for examples to prove what they had been teaching was right. Probably a great deal of circumspection is warranted when it comes to dealing with application of combat experience in the School.

General Marshall made the point that at Benning one of his greatest problems was combat experience. The veterans would get on the platform and insist on teaching October 1918 again, and again, and again. He had to keep pointing out that circumstances of October 1918 would never be repeated, so there was no point in going back to that. I think that is probably good advice to anybody who is worried about our school system. Benning in 1951-1952 was in doctrinal transition. For example, the issue of the organization of the squad, the role in the squad for the Browning Automatic Rifle (BAR), and related matters. It took Benning almost half a dozen years, from the start of the war until the mid '50s, before they really got that squared away. Even then, many people would tend to think that they had now come upon a

new formula, a new cookbook, a recipe that was going to work in all circumstances. War is not like that as I was soon to confirm.

For two years, I had been importuning the Department of the Army to get to the war. I'd been up to Washington. I went in to see General Taylor who, by then, was the DCSOPS (Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Plans) of the Army. I said, "You know I was at your house last summer. I want to go to Korea." He gave me a pat on the shoulder and sent me back down to be a platoon leader in the 82d. "We need them too," he said. I went back to Washington repetitively, any time I could, trying to get on orders to Korea but I couldn't do it.

All the time I was in that course, I was trying to get myself assigned to Korea. I thought I'd fixed it with the guys in the Infantry Branch in Washington. Late in the course, we were having a couple drinks at one of my married colleagues' house. Each of us had gotten an envelope with our orders in it. They were showing each other their orders. The host was particularly delighted because he'd been assigned to Germany. He had a young family. He could take his wife to Germany and so on. I hadn't even opened my envelope. I was certain that I was going to be sent to the Far East. Finally, somebody said, "Well, let's see your orders." I said "Sure," then: "Oh, you're going to Mainz too." "What? Holy Hannah!" They had apparently taken the whole group of us from this course and put us on orders to whatever division that was. We were going to go as a mob. I said, "Oh, this is a mistake. It can't be." I called Infantry Branch the next day and I was told the moving finger has writ and that's the way it was. I was flabbergasted.

It seemed to me there clearly had been a mistake at the Pentagon. They just didn't have it right. So, I got on a plane and flew out to that replacement camp near San Francisco, Camp Stoneman. I reported in and the Adjutant of this replacement center said, "Gorman, we don't have anybody of that name on our list." I said, "You will. It is just a matter of getting the orders through." I then went to the nearest pay phone and called the Infantry Branch. I said, "This is Lieutenant Gorman and there is a problem out here at Camp Stoneman. They don't have my name on their overseas orders." The guy at branch says, "Well, we will get that fixed right now." I said, "Would you be good enough to call Captain so and so, at such and such number, and just tell him that orders are coming?" I went back and the captain said, "I just got this call from Washington. Yes, your orders will be in. You are on draft such and such. So get ready to go." You know, I am confident that somebody who wanted to go to Korea was so exceptional that not only were no questions asked but all concerned were sort of delighted.⁶ The main point is that I probably was among the most fortunate of my contemporaries. When I arrived at my troop unit in combat, I had had probably the best preparation that anybody could have gotten at that point of time in the war.

Korea

INTERVIEWER: Sir, you said that you were as well prepared for combat as anyone could have been when you got to Korea. Please describe your experience in Korea and the lessons you took with you when you left Korea to return to the United States.

GENERAL GORMAN: I arrived in Korea as the classic individual replacement officer. I went through the *repple depple* (replacement depot) system. It was every bit as bad as you've ever heard. It began with riding in the back of a dirty truck. There were no seats. It didn't even have canvas on it. Just a dirty truck. This was a draft of officers, mostly lieutenants and captains, and we stood up in this truck like a bunch of cattle for tens of miles down dusty roads. It rained. It was just awful.

We got to the replacement depot, which was a bunch of beat up old tents, indifferently arrayed. The ground was not well policed. There were cots but that was all, no bedding or anything. I remember vividly that night there was a Colombian officer in the tent. We were all going to the 7th Division and Colombia had a battalion in the 7th Division. This guy had a guitar. He had a lovely voice and he serenaded us with Spanish love songs well into the evening. That was the only pleasant aspect of the whole business.

The next day, I got into an open truck for the ride to the 32d Infantry Regiment. We arrived about

lunchtime, so I was invited to the mess with the Colonel. So help me Hannah, there were tables with white cloth and silverware, and guys with white jackets waiting on the senior officers. I was in the back of the tent—structure, whatever it was. I was amazed that this kind of an establishment was in a combat zone. The division was in reserve, so it has to be said that they probably took over some existing establishment. Maybe it wasn't necessarily the Colonel who had made it all happen. Thereafter, any time I was near regimental headquarters, I did observe that a formal mess was always kept up.

The 32d took over a reserve position that had been occupied previously by a unit from Turkey. The first thing I discovered, as I walked from the truck up into the troop billeting area, was that these Turks did not understand field sanitation. The place was covered with excrement and worse. It smelled. The unit had taken over the Turkish tents. They were improperly pitched. It was winter. Every tent had one of those diesel-burning stoves and the entire problems attendant to them in terms of fire hazards and smell, etc. I really can still smell the place. It was awful, a combination of human waste and diesel. It was not pleasant at all.

I joined A Company of the 32d Infantry Regiment. A Company was commanded by an elderly captain. He had been an officer who fought throughout the Italian campaign and never rose above the rank of captain. In between the wars, the end of World War II through Korea, he had been assigned to a Transportation Corps unit in Philadelphia. He was never promoted but he was an Infantry officer. By this point in the war, they were digging at the bottom of the heap and he got sent to Korea. He was easily the most senior captain I had ever run into. His bag was poker. He spent his days shuffling cards, dealing himself hands, or if he could get somebody else involved, in a game. He had no interest in training troops, or training schedules, or anything. He had been in combat with the 32d up on Heartbreak Ridge, which was the position the regiment was in before they went into reserve.

The Captain, poker player, had an XO, 1st lieutenant, whose name was Charlie. Charlie took me in hand. I'm the new guy. So Charlie assigned me to a platoon and he talked to me about how to handle the Captain. I hadn't been in A Company three days when a group of my soldiers came to me and asked if they could talk to me in private. Sure, I said.

We walked outside and got away from anybody else. "What's on your minds?" I asked. They said Charlie had been their drill instructor when they were going through basic training at Fort Dix and Charlie used to sell passes to them. They had paid Charlie a substantial amount of money for a three-day pass from time to time. He had apparently tried to work some sort of a deal here where, by paying him, they could get an early R&R (Rest and Recuperation Leave) in Japan. So they had collected some money and turned it over to him. There'd been no R&R forthcoming, so they wanted me to go and get the money back from Charlie.

I started digging into it. The Captain was totally disinterested and when I approached Charlie, and I asked if there is any truth in this, he said, "Yeah, of course but I can't get these bastards in R&R to cooperate. God knows I'm paying them enough." I told Charlie that I thought this was going to be a court-martial matter unless he got that money back *tout suite*. That put me on Charlie's list. Any time anything unpleasant came within the purview of the XO, he made sure that it went my way.

Well, one of the things that came down and went my way was the training schedule. I didn't let Charlie know it but I was delighted. I got to train the company. Charlie and the Captain went about their business. One night I was sitting there, cleaning my pistol, and Charlie came in. I'd been out shooting the pistol with my soldiers. We started talking. I said, "Tell me how the Captain handles the work up on the line." He told me this story he claimed was 100 percent true.

The company was on Heartbreak Ridge. The troops were up on the hill, 300 or 400 feet straight up. There was a bunker down at the foot of the hill and a path leading up to the top. The Captain was in the bunker, playing poker with a bunch of his cronies, when the battalion commander, Lieutenant Colonel Carl August Buechner,⁷ stuck his head in and said, "I'm going up to walk the line. Do you want to come with me, Captain?" "Colonel, I'm busy right now," he replied, "but I'll catch up with you." The game

continued.

So, the battalion commander climbed up to the top. He arrived there just about the time a soldier coming up the hill from the other side, going over the crest to relieve himself, loomed up to his front. The soldier was wearing one of those furry hats we were issued. The Colonel, who was up there to look into some rumors that there was a Chinese patrol in the vicinity, saw this guy, pulled his pistol and challenged him. In doing so, he stepped backward, went over the back of the hill, and rolled all the way down. There was a shot. The pistol went off. Charlie, who was up on top of the hill, saw this, heard the shot, heard the Colonel go over backwards and went running down the hill to tell the Captain that the Colonel had been killed.

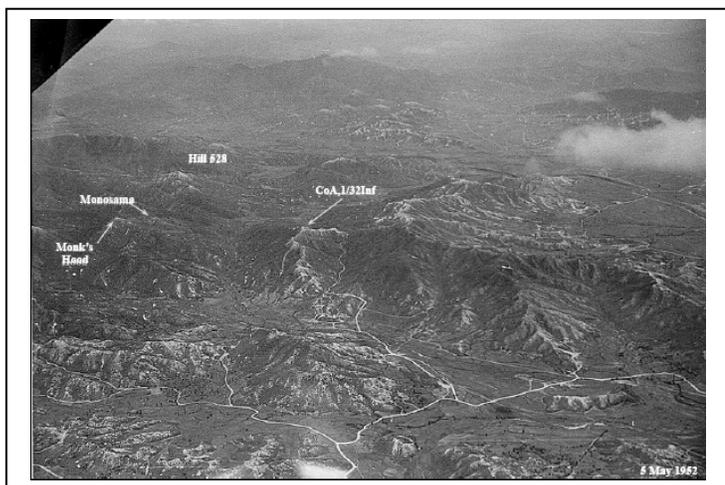
Charlie broke into the poker game. The Captain was dealing and, unbeknownst to Charlie, the battalion commander picked himself up and followed Charlie into the bunker. So Charlie said, “The Colonel is dead! The Colonel is dead!” And the Captain said, “Hot shit. Everybody move up one.” The Colonel took all this in, threw up his hands, and said, “Oh my God!” He walked out and left the scene. I said, “Charlie, what happened? What was the result of that?” Charlie said, “Nothing. In this outfit, nothing happens. It’s just the way things are.”

Shortly thereafter, Charlie left the outfit. I don’t know whether that was connected with the R&R scam or not. He just disappeared. I wouldn’t be surprised if the Colonel had something to do with that but I don’t know. In the meantime, I’m having the time of my life with training these guys.

I could have any weapons I wanted. If I wanted to have a .50-caliber machine gun, I got a .50-caliber machinegun. I could just go down and ask for one. “Sure. Here.” I could have any number of Browning Automatic Rifles (BAR) I wanted. I loved the BAR. A marvelous piece of ordnance. I was able to equip all the squads with two BARs, so we had two fire teams per squad. We even had some notion that we were going to divide the squads into scouts, base of fire, and maneuver. That was certainly not Army doctrine at the time. You had the unitary squad back then. There was one sergeant, the squad leader, and eight ‘humpties’. The base of fire was one BAR. I had doubled our firepower overnight and we trained these kids to use the firepower in live fire exercises.

I didn’t have pop-up targets. What we did was dig really deep foxholes and put soldiers in them with cardboard targets that you could call up on command—expose the targets to the shooter. Everything went fine until one soldier decided this was a great way to get out of the war, put his hand up too high on the target, and got himself shot through the hand. The Colonel was informed that I was out there shooting at soldiers in foxholes. That was the end of that exercise. The fact of the matter is that we went back up on the line with fairly decently trained, prepared soldiers, who were ready to move, shoot and communicate. They were physically fit because I had them out every day climbing hills and working the ridgeline.

One other thing I learned early was that assault fire, as taught by Fort Benning, was completely impossible in Korea. The whole notion of how you close with the enemy needed to be addressed. The only way I could see doing it was by fire and maneuver, by fire team—hence the two BARs. Somebody had to be shooting while the other one was moving and vice versa. Hopefully, you were doing it along ridgelines but, if you’re attacking upslope, the idea that you’re going to take a step and then shoot from the hip doesn’t work. In effect, I was rewriting the book, or the doctrine. As far as the soldiers were concerned, it made good sense, so that’s the way we were going to do it. I got there in



late February and we had a month in reserve, going through these training exercises.

Then we got up on the hill. By then, I was the senior lieutenant in the company. I was also a platoon leader. The Captain didn't worry much about how things went. He just looked to me to make things happen from day to day. He continued playing cards.

A Company was assigned a high point capped by huge sandbag castles. Talk about vertical construction— they were magnificent pieces of work, built with engineer assistance. They were post and beam construction, proper posting, etc. The trouble was that you could see these things for miles. The Chinese were right across the valley. I'm sure those structures must have been used as a registration point for their artillery. In fact, every day there'd be a couple rounds come in and land right near the OP. There was a maze of barbed wire to the front and there was path through the barbed wire. You had to know the turns but, because every patrol that went out laid a wire, any Chinaman who wanted to get through the maze could simply follow the telephone lines. Not much attention was paid to force protection, security, etc.

Just before I left troop duty down at Fort Benning, I had spent a couple months staging night exercises for the Rangers, so I had done a lot of work on night patrols. The ability to track the Rangers at night, so I could create the circumstances that the instructor wanted, had conditioned me well for night patrolling. I spent most of my nights down in the valley in front of the A Company position and caught naps during the day. By and large what the soldiers were doing was embellishing their sandbag castles, or preparing for one of my patrols out in front.

That series of night patrols went on through the month of April and then, around the first week in May, there was the attempt to take a prisoner that I wrote about in a letter from the hospital, shortly afterwards.⁸ I was wounded in that prisoner raid. I went to the hospital in Tokyo. I had wounds of the leg, the hand, face and head. I'd been sprayed with grenade fragments. The letter about the patrol was actually written from Sasebo. After a couple weeks of convalescence in Tokyo, they let me out. I went on leave. That's how I got down to Sasebo. I was visiting families down there, which belonged to the men of the 173rd Airborne Regimental Combat Team. The men had been deployed to Korea. Their families were at Sasebo. I went down to see old friends.

In any event, I took away from the experience of that patrol a lot of savvy about the kind of mistakes that you can make, readily, foot-patrolling at night against a capable enemy. Those lessons have served me in good stead. For example, I learned about scout dogs. I took scout dogs out on patrol. Later, I wrote an article on the dos and don'ts of using scout dogs. Most soldiers think scout dogs are the answer to being alerted to the presence of an enemy. In fact, scout dogs go to sleep. They turn off. You can't tell the difference when they're on or off. In the dark, with an unskilled handler, they're worse than not having them, because everybody puts too much reliance on them and they are problematic, like any dog. You don't know whether they're with you or against you.

One of the best lessons that I took away from my experience in Korea came during my period of convalescence in Japan. I visited the father of a West Point classmate. The father was United States Navy Admiral Turner Joy. Admiral Joy was then negotiating with the enemy in an attempt to get a ceasefire and hopefully an end to the war. The Admiral had taken over a house on the outskirts of Tokyo, which belonged to one of the big industrialists. It was a beautiful estate. Immaculate gardens. Extensive gardens. The staff was omnipresent but never seen nor heard. You looked down, and a cup of tea simply would have appeared beside you.

Admiral Joy asked me a number of questions about what was going on, up on the line. One of the questions he was particularly interested in concerned body armor. Did we have body armor? I said yes, we did. "Tell me," he asked, "how do you use it." I said "We don't." He said "What?" I said, "The stuff is too heavy and too hot and it's too noisy. You can't move around in the night with that stuff on. It's a nonstarter."

I got a long lecture about the nature of this war. We were not going to get anywhere with the enemy,

the Admiral said, so long as our casualty lists continued to mount. If he were in command, he said, he would direct that soldiers wear body armor all the time, because every man who was wounded or killed prolonged the war and gave hope to the enemy that American public opinion would pull us out. “You’ve got to understand,” he said, “that any measure that can decrease mortality in the US forces is a strategic weapon.” He said, “I don’t care how heavy it is, it’s worth their wearing if you want to bring this thing to a successful conclusion, or at least an acceptable conclusion.” That tempered my view on body armor, though I must say that, when I got back to the front, I still disdained it. In subsequent years, I’ve had a lot of opportunity to think about that.⁹ That was an important lesson from Korea that I have since taken aboard. I think it’s right on the mark with any of the wars that we’re in.

After I was patched up, I came back to the 1st Battalion. I’m now one of the senior lieutenants in the battalion and I’m one of the few combat veterans. This was the result of the flush of people through the personnel system. We were running a one-year tour in the Korean War, really a nine-month tour because of the slippage—arriving, departing and all that. Further, there was the inevitable: ‘Well, he’s been on line for six months. Let’s give him a job back at regiment.’ So your actual exposure to combat was a couple of months, taking into account reserve training, going, coming, etc. They made me the S-2.

The S-3 was a very good guy. Not a professional soldier. A businessman from Ohio. A Reservist but a fairly competent officer. He’d studied hard and he was trying to do a decent job. So I worked with him. We came up with the notion that, somehow or other, we ought to regularize, or at least capitalize, on the ingenuity that existed in some companies, and compensate for the lack thereof in other companies. We set up a regimen where, in effect, we were trying to orchestrate patrolling across the battalion front, instead of doing it the way it had been done when I was in A Company. We scheduled patrols and tried to think about what the enemy reaction to our activity would be. We tried to see if we couldn’t begin to build a story in the enemy’s mind about what we were trying to accomplish. I worked out a system that any patrol that would go forward of the line would have an overwatch element in the company OP, hot-wired to the battalion headquarters, so battalion was getting instantaneous awareness of what was going on out there in the forward line. This was something that obviously wasn’t the case beforehand. I would go out and God knows if anybody knew I was gone.

I learned a good bit about the importance of trying to get some return on our investment in patrolling, with the use of aerial Observations Posts (Ops), and other sources of information—all-source analysis. It turned out that there was a hell of a lot more information available than the battalions were aware of. You could get it for asking. People from division G-2 were entirely happy to talk to us, something which never was evident in A Company when I first started out with them.

Summer was now waning. It was September. We went back into reserve and they moved us over to the eastern side of the division zone. We’d been in the vicinity of Chorwon. Now we went over to Kumhwa, in the Iron Triangle area, and we were in division reserve. There had been two changes of command. The original battalion commander, Lieutenant Colonel Buechner left. He went on to greater things. He was succeeded by a West Pointer who was a classmate of William Childs Westmoreland. Westy’s regiment, the 173rd, showed up on our right flank when we were over in the Chorwon area. Westy came over to pay a call on his classmate who was commanding the 1st of the 32d.

Now the commander of the 1st of the 32d, his classmate, had gout. He kept his foot elevated. He couldn’t walk on it. Too painful. The guy never got out of the chair from one end of the day to the other. He was in a mess tent, his foot propped up. They served him his meals there and anybody who wanted to talk to him, or get a decision, would have to go to the mess tent. When Westy showed up, there was a water glass here and a whiskey bottle there, as usual. “Here’s to you, Westy.” I watched this travesty. The two of them joshing one another. This old guy was then a Lieutenant Colonel. I saw him again, later, in Germany. By then, he was a full Colonel but he still had the same whiskey glass. Not your dynamic infantry leader.

Westy’s classmate was succeeded by Major Seymour L. Goldberg.¹⁰ Goldberg had been an officer in the 393d Infantry Regiment of the 99th Division in Europe in World War II. He got to Europe in late

1944. The division was put on line shortly before the Battle of the Bulge and received one of the German Army's heaviest attacks. Goldberg was wounded on the second day of the battle and captured. He spent the rest of the war in POW camps. There were a lot of former POWs then pouring into the 7th Division, men who had been in prisoner of war camps and consequently had never commanded a company. About the time Goldberg arrived in the division, the division commander put out an edict that no one could command a battalion who had not commanded a company. The former POWs were by then senior majors or lieutenant colonels but to get to be a battalion commander, they had to put in time as a company commander.

Goldberg was given command of one of the companies up on line as a senior major. I was doing the patrol overwatch bit and I wandered into his area. I set up an OP and ran a patrol without coordinating with Major Goldberg, and I got my tail royally chewed. He was going to prefer charges on me for operating in his area of responsibility without proper coordination. He was not going to tolerate this kind of behavior. He was going to make an example of me with the division commander and anybody who'd listen to him all the way to the Commander in Chief Far East. When they figured out what to do with my gout-ridden, whiskey-imbibing battalion commander, who showed up to take command of the 1st of the 32d but Seymour Goldberg. He promoted me to be his S3. The old S3 left and I was the only experienced officer around, so I now became the battalion S-3. Major Goldberg got an order to conduct an attack as part of Operation SHOWDOWN, the attack on Triangle Hill, Hill 598, which was north and east of Kumhwa. It was a huge rock height, hence the name Triangle Hill.¹¹

The Chinese had honeycombed this rock hill with tunnels. They could sit in there and the US Air Force could bomb day and night and never scratch a Chinaman. They were so deep in that thing that the bombs couldn't get at them. We were told to attack, to take the hill. Actually the sequence was that the 31st Regiment got the mission first. They went up the hill on the first day, got themselves creamed, and came back down. On day two, the 1st of the 32d was put in. We got the top but we couldn't hold. So we came back down. This time, instead of sending in a fresh battalion, we were told to go back up. So we did. By this time, the command of the 32d Infantry had changed. Colonel Joseph R. Russ took over. He was a solid soldier, unlike his predecessors.¹² He knew what he was doing. He got us up on top of the hill, reinforced us, and we stayed.

I was down in one of those tunnels with the battalion commander, trying to get the artillery fire, resupply, and all that stuff orchestrated. When we were pulled out, I came out of there and I was totally black—clothes, face, hands—from the soot that had accumulated in the tunnels. I got down to the foot of the hill and I ran into the assistant division commander. He asked, "Are you an officer?" I said, "Yes sir." He says "You're the officer in charge of chimney sweeping, I gather?" Well, this fellow was none other than Brigadier General Derrill M. Daniel, who had commanded the 2nd Battalion of the 26th Infantry ('Blue Spaders') during World War II. By this time, he was a brigadier general and was going on to become a two- or three-star commander before he retired. He commanded XVIIIth Airborne Corps. I got a long lecture from Derrill M. Daniel about how officers should look on the field of battle. "How the hell would anybody know you were anything but a garbage collector? Etc." I took all that aboard.

The 32d Infantry got thoroughly beat up in that operation. A lot of casualties. We were not as badly mauled as the 31st. It was strictly a meat grinder and it was done for the purposes of influencing the Chinese at the peace talks. I didn't know it at the time, or I didn't think about it. I thought, "This is war." We got the mission and we took it on. When I got out of there, I wrote it all up. I took the battalion journals and wrote it all up and turned it in. As a result, the 1st Battalion 32d Infantry got a Presidential Unit Citation for the affair.

Goldberg continued in command until we were moved over to the Pork Chop Hill sector, again over to Chorwon, now over to the west side, and lo and behold, Goldberg was replaced by another former POW. The new commander had been a prisoner of the Germans from February 1943 through the end of the war. He had never commanded anything in the United States Army but he was a good guy. His name was George Juskalian.¹³ George died recently and I went to his funeral. He took command of the 1st of the 32d about the time my tour was



PG and Bob Smith October '53.

up, and I left him on Hill 347, fighting over Pork Chop Hill and Old Baldy. Old Baldy was the position of the Colombian battalion. The Chinese drove them off of Old Baldy and Juskalian and 1st of the 32d was given the mission of counterattacking and reseizing the position. I wasn't there but, I know from my friends who made the assault, it was sheer butchery. The battalion lost a lot of lives. This was World War I kind of stuff—attacking well entrenched positions through minefields and terrific artillery fire on both sides.

I came out of all that with several months of experience as an S-3 in combat in an infantry battalion. I was getting very damn little mentoring or supervision from above. If anything, my commanders were more of a drag than an assist on my day. I was always struck, talking to contemporaries who like me had been S-3s, who idolized their commanders. They were a team. My experience wasn't like that at all, as far as I was concerned.

I formed a lot of good friendships that persist to this day but I do not have many happy memories. One of the latter involves the photo here, titled PG with Bob Smith October '53. That was taken during the Triangle Hill operation. I'd been in an OP all during the night with an artillery FO. He was shooting for me. I would designate the targets and he would call in the fire request and make suggestions like, "that'd be a good target for eight-inchers." "Can you get some?" "Well yeah." This is all in the dark and we're just talking. Come daylight, I looked over and I said "Son of a bitch! Are you Bob Smith?" And he said, "Holy smoke. Where did you come from?" This guy lived in the same neighborhood that I lived in, in Swampscott, Massachusetts. His sister married my brother. We were that close. We spent this entire night together, neither one of us aware who the other guy was. It was an unusual kind of an encounter. I didn't have very many of those.

There is one other thing, which was my first exposure to the drug scene. Along the front, near Kumhwa, there was a railroad embankment. The allies had fortified this embankment, dug bunkers into it pretty solidly. They put a lot of wire in front of it. We were down in the flat. A high hill, Osong-san,

overlooked it. Efforts at fortification and camouflage were required. The position was untenable otherwise.

I used to walk the front at Kumhwa frequently, checking on this, that, and the other thing. I discovered that the camouflage nets there were garnished with a naturally occurring weed. I wondered about it at the time. Why would you hang the weed on the netting? It got withered and the color changed. Well, it turned out that this was the section of the line held by the 65th Infantry Regiment from Puerto Rico.¹⁴ These guys were drying marijuana on the camouflage net. Every night they sat back there, puffing away on these weeds. I didn't. It was just not in my vocabulary but when I inquired into it, that's what came out. I said to an officer from the 65th, you've got to put a stop to this. He said: "Hey guy. These are Puerto Ricans. As soon as I start talking to them about it, all of a sudden they don't speak English anymore." I said, "Oh my God. If the press ever gets a hold of this, we'll all be hung by our thumbs." He said, "They ain't going to hear it from me." I wrote that down. "Not going to hear it from me either." Nonetheless, that was the bloody case.

One other outfit that I remember from those years was the Ethiopian battalion assigned to the 7th Division. Each regiment had a foreign battalion assigned to it. The Colombians and Ethiopians were assigned to us. The Ethiopians were the emperor's bodyguard. Huge men. Tall thin runners. They were famous in the division because their commander wouldn't let them take ammunition on patrols. Bayonets. Knives. They used the rifle as a club but no shooting. They couldn't hit anything anyway. Gun fire makes noise and calls attention to where you are. "Get out there and bring me back the ears." I gather they literally did that. I never had any personal experience with them in that sense, so I can't testify to it but that was the rumor.

Korea was a period of intense learning. Every day was something different. It went on and on. I learned a lot about direct fire with 90-millimeter guns for example. We were trying to get at these cave openings. We also did some experimentation trying to suppress Chinese anti-aircraft, so we could get bombing in to close off the cave openings. None of it really paid off but, generally Korea was a fairly rich experience, professionally.

West Point Instructor

INTERVIEWER: Sir, I believe your assignment following Korea was as a history teacher at the Military Academy. When you returned as an instructor, did you find many changes from when you were a cadet?

GENERAL GORMAN: I came back from Korea in 1953. I think I got back in the States in February. The battalion was up on Hill 347, Old Baldy, Pork Chop Ridge, that region. As I left Pork Chop, we were mortared. Things were getting pretty tense. Of course that whole thing blew up after I departed. I think it was in March that we lost Old Baldy. In March and April, the battles for Pork Chop Hill took place.

I had to go back in the hospital because of the gunshot wound in my hand, which I suffered the previous spring. The hand had become clutched up. The tendons had collapsed and I couldn't open my right hand. So, they sent me back to the hospital to have an operation to cut those tendons and to restore my grasp—successfully by the way. I was told I would have to be on convalescent leave and limited duty for some period of months afterwards, so I sought out an academic assignment. I went up to West Point and I went in to see Colonel Beukema's successor, Colonel [George A.] Lincoln. Lincoln offered me a chance to go to Harvard to prepare for assignment as an instructor in his department. I cheerfully signed up for that. I was still a lieutenant and I would be one of the junior officers at West Point when I arrived. Undaunted, I went to Harvard for a year. Then I went back to West Point. I was promoted to captain in 1954.

The question was did I find many changes? Being an instructor at West Point is very different from being a cadet at West Point. Did I find many changes as far as cadets were concerned? No. The courses were not altogether different. There was no big shift in academic policy but I was in a wholly different

position.

INTERVIEWER: You mentioned earlier that while you were at West Point as a cadet, there was very little discussion of the idea of officership and what it means to be an officer. Did you find that situation to be the same when you went back as an instructor or was there now more discussion about officership and what it means?

GENERAL GORMAN: Yes. I suspect that was a function of the war, the debates over the role of nuclear weapons, the use of force, whether there was still a need for an Army—a whole raft of issues that were on everybody's mind in those days. Indeed, there was a lot of talk about the obsolescence of infantry. Would we need infantry anymore, since we had these marvelous weapons? They would do everything, some argued, and the United States wouldn't need infantry.¹⁵ There was a lot of concern about which branch the cadets should interest themselves in, and which branch would get the best and the brightest of the graduating class.

There were groups of instructors that used to meet for the purpose of discussing professional issues. I remember those as some of the most educational experiences I had as an officer. It was there in those seminars—more often than not we were sitting around in someone's quarters with beer for a late-night, college-student sort of debate—that I first heard the idea that being a commander ought to be a professional specialty, and that being a commander was not for all officers. Good commanders, the argument went, were very special and rare people, and the Army ought to find them, select their jobs, and treasure them. I had not thought about that much but readily agreed.

The folks who were making this case to me were relatively senior field grade officers, many not from the academic faculty but from the Tactical Department, the officers who were supervising discipline and military training for the Corps of Cadets. These were experienced officers, with good combat records. I hadn't really taken that idea into account until I heard it espoused and defended ably by some people who I really respected. This was the first time I began to hear complaints about centralization and about lack of integrity at the top.

Some of us carried those discussions over into the section room with the cadets. There were a number of cadets who got intrigued early on with professional issues. I suspect that may also have been the case when I was there as a cadet, although I don't remember it and it certainly didn't involve me.

Another issue came up, which I would cite for you in this context. At that time, the Air Force was standing up an Air Force Academy. A debate arose over the different approaches to manning service academy academic faculties. At Annapolis, most of the instructors were civilians, full time educational professionals. Military officer instructors were relatively rare. If there were Naval officers on the academy faculty, they tended to be on the engineering side, or in supervisory positions, whereas at West Point, the notion was that the Army wanted junior line officers in the section rooms to serve as role models for the cadets, as well as academic instructors. Sid Berry and I collaborated on a paper for Colonel Lincoln on that topic.¹⁶

Teaching at West Point was pretty much what the instructor wanted it to be. I had a lot of latitude and enjoyed the rapport with those young men. I taught a course in European history and I ran a course in Far Eastern history. I was eventually appointed the assistant professor of Far Eastern history. Just because of my natural mind set, I tended to draw my cadets into discussions of military science and tactics. As I taught the subjects, they were courses in the military history of the region. More often than not, what we talked about in the classroom involved how the phenomenon that you read about in your reading assignment manifested itself in military affairs. What was the military reaction to these events? How did soldiers go about coping? I was well supported in my history program by one of the staff over at the West Point Museum. He would pony up weapons from each era for me. We would talk about the ideas that were implicit in the weapons. They are sort of an expression of the societies that they represented, the military organizations, and the forms that they took. It was good fun and I was always grateful for the Museum for making that happen.

My department supervisors kept me away from the lower sections because they thought I spent a lot of time on things that really weren't germane to passing the course, which is probably true. Nobody was prepared to give the cadets points toward graduation for being expert in the difference between the Swiss long sword and the Scottish claymore, or being able to discuss that and the differences between them and the Roman short sword. I really enjoyed that whole experience.

I made the point that I got a great deal out of my contemporaries who were teaching at West Point. One of them was a Yale graduate, a lieutenant of artillery, veteran of Korea, who had been an infantry soldier in the 442nd Infantry Regiment Combat Team in Italy and in Europe during World War II. The 442nd was the Nisei outfit. The officer's name was Tim Osato. He and I used to get into knockdown, drag outs about tactics and strategy. I learned a lot that served me in good stead in future years just talking with Tim.

Tim and I cooked up a scheme to publish a set of books for the military profession. We got far enough along that we compiled a provisional publishing list. We found a publisher who was at least willing to talk to us about putting it out. What I learned from that experience was how vacuous the "professional literature" really is. That project got me to go back and read the so called military classics in some detail. As we got further into it, I got less and less enthusiastic about pressing ahead. Then it turned out that the publisher was more interested in lurid novels than he was in military publications. Eventually, he just told us there wasn't any money in it. So, we let it drop

Tim was my predecessor as the assistant professor of Far Eastern history. We were trying to discuss every place where there was a possibility that the US might be involved in military action. Tim was bilingual in French. In 1955, he went to a place that few Americans had ever paid any attention to: Indochina. He spent a summer with the French Army and came back prepared for a series of lectures, supported by color slide transparencies, about what he had observed. We were teaching, then, that this was the place where there was going to be trouble in the foreseeable future. Tim had brought back a very convincing description of the Vietminh as a force with which we had to reckon, an estimate that I think has subsequently been demonstrated to be more than apt. We were aware that we had hundreds of officers out there in our MAAG [Military Assistance and Advisory Group], that the first US officer killed by the Vietminh had died there in the fall of the 1945, and that there was very significant doubt that the partitioned country of Vietnam was going remain so without a war. Korea was a precedent. The seeds of violence had been sown in the US-British-Soviet accords toward the end World War II, by the strategic line drawing of that era.

Another issue that came up, again with Tim, had to do with the continued viability of the Soviet-Chinese Alliance. Tim and I agreed that tensions between the two countries were culturally and geographically generated, and sustained to the point that it was difficult to believe that the two would remain in harmony in perpetuity. At some point in time, we believed there had to be a kind of renewed standoff, if not actual hostilities between them. There, again, I think we were on the right course.

We stimulated a lot of debate and a lot of argument. There was disagreement within the faculty, and with cadets in the section room, because at the time the existence of monolithic communism and containment were accepted as common wisdom. We kept asking the question, if you did see the development of such events, what then? What should the United States be considering, and how do you think about Asia in terms of its strategic importance to the United States? I'm not arguing, incidentally, that we predicted what would happen. These were just discussion issues. I think that you would be hard pressed to find any other faculty that was looking at South East Asia, or Asia in general, in the terms that we were then, or had our kind of first hand appreciation of the issues. Most of us were veterans of Korea. Tim had experience in Korea and Vietnam. It was good professional development.

Marine Corps Junior School

INTERVIEWER: Following your instructor tour at West Point, you attended the Marine Corps equivalent of the Infantry Officer Advanced Course. How well did that school prepare you and what were the differences between the Marine Corps approach to training young officers, lieutenants and captains, and the way the Army did it at Fort Benning?

GENERAL GORMAN: The school I attended was called the Junior School and most of the people in my class were field grade officers. In the Marine Corps, you got to the Junior School after you had been a company commander and you were promoted major. Most of my classmates I remember were either majors or fairly senior captains, about to be majors. There were some exceptions but the bulk of the class was paunchy majors. Most I would characterize as beefy men who had once been athletes but who were literally going to pot. They were putting on weight faster than they could cope with it. Most of them made their own beer. Seriously, we talked a lot about what is the right recipe. Most of them smoked cigars.

The classes were almost entirely lectures and these took place in one hall, sort of a big auditorium. I vividly recall that, as the day would go on, the smoke up in the top of the room would accumulate and lower. By mid-afternoon, you couldn't see all of the vu-graphs because the smoke pall had descended to the point where it obscured the top of the screen. Everyone peered under the smoke. Lectures almost always began with a dirty joke and the raunchier, the bawdier the story, the better. One instructor would be vying with the others to tell a particularly odious kind of a joke. I can recall further that the butt of those jokes—no pun intended—was more often than not, women Marines. It was the kind of humor that today would be material for courts-martial. To those guys, it was simply humor.

The focus of the course was amphibious operations. We had drummed into us that these were fundamentally a matter of preplanning. Everything had to be planned out to the last iota, because everything had to go on the ship in the right order so as to come off the ship in the right order, and to get across the beach in the right order. Unfortunately, the Marine Corps had allowed this emphasis on thinking through logistical contingencies to filter over into their tactical thinking. Their approach to tactics was to try to plan for every possibility. It was the kind of schooling to which George C. Marshall objected so strenuously.

I remember well three incidents concerning tactical training. One was in the late fall of the year. It was cold and the leaves were off the trees. The Junior School class had been taken out to join the class of the Marine Corps Command and General Staff College (the Senior School) in a command post exercise. The exercise involved tents set up in the woods, connected by EE-8 telephones, representing the several echelons, organizations within the Marine division. Students played the role of commanders and staffs at echelons down to battalion. It was an exercise driven by a master incident list, a scripted map drill. The map we were using for the exercise was the map of the area, so there was some attempt made to teach tactical appreciation of terrain. In fact, as I remember it, we were taken out on reconnaissance several times before the exercise began. Then we all went out to run the "war".

I was flabbergasted to observe the way that they operated. Everybody was issued the old message book, the World War I message book, with flimsies and carbon paper. When you wanted to send a message, you wrote it out on your message book and you gave it to a sergeant who filed a copy, then gave it to the message center, who then had somebody, some private, read the message over the telephone to another private, who copied it at the other end. I watched this and it boggled my mind. I finally went over to a member of the faculty, a lieutenant colonel, and said, "Hey Sir, do you guys do this for real?"

He said "Oh, no, not exactly. We send telephone or radio messages. Then we write them up for the record." I said, "Holy smoke, I can't imagine fighting with that kind of procedure." For example, some of these messages were: "Company 'A' move from position X to position Y," signed Duflicks, Cmdg. I then asked, "Why wouldn't the colonel or the operations officers just get on the radio and tell the company commander to move?" He said, "We have learned in the Corps that you have to encrypt these messages, and so we have this written system so the messages can be encrypted. On the islands, the

Japanese were all over our telephone lines." I replied, "But if the company is moving from A to B, and you both have A and B plotted on your map. The Japs couldn't get any useful information—why do you need this written procedure?" He opted out: "You don't understand, get back to work." I still consider that [Quantico CPX] a good example of how not to run a war.

Another time, we were watching a demonstration company doing the same sort of thing I used to do at Fort Benning for the Infantry School. In this instance, each of three demonstration platoons was in an LVT (Landing Vehicle Tracked), full track—big gismo. There were three of these, each of which carried 40 men, so we were watching these three panjandrums wandering over the ground. They were to attack a low-lying hill on which there was reported to be a defending enemy platoon. The situation was such that the enemy had just pushed forward and this LVT mounted outfit was the lead company of the counter-attacking battalion of the regiment. These guys went through a drill where they drove these vehicles up into a draw and discharged the platoons. The platoons spread out into an attack formation and advanced to an assault position. The artillery came in. Then they did the same thing that the Army did. They all got up and assaulted the objective using marching fire. We sat through this demonstration, and the instructor said, "I'll be glad to take your questions."

I put my hand up and asked, "Did you give any consideration to not dismounting?" He looked at me like I was nuts and said, "What do you have in mind?" I said, "If the enemy had, in fact, just arrived up on this hill, they haven't had any time to dig any fortifications, so they are going to be very vulnerable to your artillery. Why wouldn't one solution be just to drench that hill with artillery and go right up over it with your armored vehicles? Keep your troops inside your armored vehicles, and continue on to the next terrain feature that you want to occupy, instead of punching him in the nose and having to take, conceivably, his artillery defensive fires and his counter-attack? We would just have a lot of blood expended for a meaningless piece of ground. The hill is so low it is hard to understand why we are fighting for this thing."

His response was, "Okay wise guy, you come down here and you tell us how you would run this." I said, "Well, the first thing I would do," I took out my message book, "is get rid of that thing. Now we are going to have to understand that we've got radio-communications with this LVT outfit. I would pick up the radio and I would give the commander the following kind of an order, you are to attack and seize Hill 432 which is the next superior terrain feature. Do so by traversing the low hill to our front, and then follow the road up Hill 432. I am going to deliver VT [variable time] fires on the low hill until you have gotten beyond it. Then I am going to move the fires with you until you are approaching your objective, Hill 432. The fires will work the objective over and then, on your command, we will cease the fires but we are going to keep you under artillery fire, so speed is in order. Don't worry about any of the enemy that you may leave behind you. We will take care of them later on."

The instructor, to his credit, said, "Yeah, that may work." He said, "But suppose you had miscalculated? Suppose for example, they had put out just one mine. You know, one mine exploding under one LVT loses one platoon." I said, "Right. I'll still back my scenario and bet losses are less. If troops attack on foot against an enemy with any presence of mind, they will pay heavily, unless they are extraordinary quick about getting back into their armored vehicles and moving onto the next objective. The LCVPs could take as much of a beating from mines, yet be useless in accomplishing the mission." We had this long exchange, and when we got through, I drew a round of applause from my colleagues, my class.

Another incident that's worth discussing came when the class was learning about defense of an amphibious lodgment against attack by airborne troops. The enemy tries it, and of course in the description, gets whumped. It was sort of inevitable, given who drew up the situation. I was getting hot under the collar listening to this, and finally, at the end of the class, I put up my hand. "Of course you are going to win against that kind of stupid airborne commander but how about a guy that does it right? What would you do about him?" Again I was invited up on the stage to teach. They had those kinds of mikes that hung on wire frame down on your chest, so I went through a big pantomime of opening the wire out

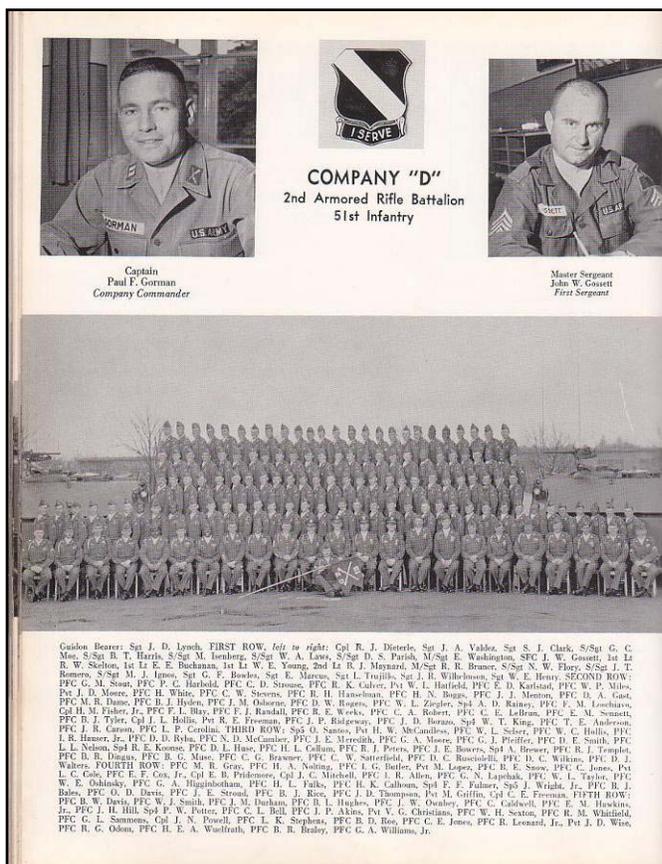
so I could get my head through the opening vice the pin head that had preceded me. Then I went on to describe what a proper airborne attack of this lodgment would have looked like and, therefore, how much more difficult the lodgment would have been to defend. My point was not that you cannot defend against airborne attack; you just have got to be prepared for considerably different kind of tactics from what were portrayed. Again I drew a favorable response from my Marine colleagues.

There were only five Army officers in that class. One of them was my West Point classmate, Volney Warner, who went on, of course, to be CINCREG [Commander-in-Chief, Readiness Command], a 4-star general and a great commander of airborne troops. By and large though, my memories of the year were mostly centered on the social aspects of the assignment—Marines are great people. The Corps is a marvelous institution. I have a great deal of admiration for them as such. I did not think much of their tactics and techniques but you would expect that. I don't think I would have thought much of the tactics and techniques then presented at Benning either.

USAREUR: 4th Armored Division and 7th Army

INTERVIEWER: Sir, you served in Europe from June 1958, to July 1961. After serving as an armored infantry company commander, battalion S3 and executive officer, you were assigned as assistant SGS at Headquarters Seventh Army.

GENERAL GORMAN: The unit I joined was called an armored rifle battalion, an ARB. Specifically, I joined the 2nd Armored Rifle Battalion, 51st Infantry, a rifle battalion of Combat Command A (CCA), 4th Armored Division. That combat command headquarters was located in Ulm am Donau, in a large kaserne just east of town.¹⁷ My battalion was stationed in the Boelcke Kaserne, named for a World War I aviator, a German ace, who shot down, allegedly, more airplanes than anybody else in the war.¹⁸



We were on the west side of town, in among the German residential area, which is part of the story because, early on, I interfaced with the locals in the neighborhood and had to get my rusty German back in shape. My M-59 mounted platoons would go out to a nearby local training area and come back, dragging all kinds of mud, which created what the locals called *Schmütziges Fahrdramm*, about which the locals could get quite indignant. So after every day in the field, I had to go out in the street to deal with the irate neighbors while soldiers with shovels and brooms cleaned up our mess.

The story of how I got to Germany has to go back to West Point. In the Department of Social Sciences, my desk was located adjacent to a desk that belonged to a well-decorated major, Sidney B. Berry. Sid Berry was promoted to lieutenant colonel and sent down to the Marine Corps Command and Staff Course in 1955, fall of '55 as I recall. It's a year-long course. In 1956, he went from there to the 4th Armored Division where he joined the G3 Training Section of that division. Sid wrote me saying that this is a

great outfit, with lots of opportunities to train to fight. Why don't you try to get here when you get your tour in Social Sciences out of the way?

First I had to attend the Junior School. Since I was in Quantico, it was easy for me to beat up on the guys in the Infantry Assignment Office.¹⁹ I got myself assigned to the 4th Armored Division. I boarded a military transport from Ft. Dix in June. We were at sea when the crisis in Lebanon broke. The ship was diverted to the Med. As we were about to enter the Med, the situation changed and we were rerouted a second time. I spent two or three weeks on that ship and it convinced me I never want to go to sea again. I showed up at Combat Command A headquarters and, to my delight, I was given command of Company D, 2nd Armored Rifle Battalion 51st Infantry. There were four rifle companies in each armored rifle battalion.²⁰

I had the usual experience of a new company commander. I was just amazed at how little these soldiers really understood about their gear, about their vehicles, and how those vehicles were supposed to be employed when they applied armor doctrine. Little of that had been communicated to them. In particular, they did not understand how to use to advantage the firepower that was at their disposal.

I also ran into the Seventh Army Training Directive, which stipulated that there would be progression in training through the year, up the echelons from squad to platoon, to company, to battalion and combat command, and then there would be the great fall maneuvers. The only trouble was that we never seemed to get past the starting phases. It was hard to get the soldiers together for training and that did not apply just to my outfit. This was true in general. What usually happened over the course of the year was recycling through the basics. I think we went through the squad ATT (Army Training Test) rubric two or three times while I was company commander. I just never got my troops trained beyond that.

I tried my damndest to fix the system, which I considered to stem from a deplorable lack of professionalism. It was extremely difficult, because I wasn't calling the shots on what was going on within the battalion or the combat command. I couldn't predict and feel confident about what work or ceremonial details were going to be assigned to my company tomorrow, let alone next week. So I couldn't plan coherent training with any certainty. In fact, I couldn't plan much in the way of training.

In due course, I was sent off with Company D up to Heilbronn am Neckar to guard a nuclear weapons storage site that was outside of that town. The unit up there, 1st Armored Rifle Battalion, 54th Infantry, was going up to Grafenwöhr [Military Training Area] and the weapon site needed to have a troop unit on hand for security. So I got to take my company away from CCA into another area altogether, on our own. We just had a great time. That was my first real opportunity to get hold of my entire unit and to start building a team. We had a local training area up there that we could get at, and the freedom to do what needed to be done. I remember it as a very great learning experience.

You have to understand that I was over in Germany alone. Ruth [Mrs. Gorman] was back in the United States. She was carrying John, my eldest boy. While I was in Ulm, she bore our first son. It was a hard separation. All that fall and into the winter, I was living in a BOQ and I had all the time I needed to do company command with little distraction.

When Ruth arrived, in February 1959, personnel shifts began in the division. Sid Berry was given command of the battalion up in Heilbronn, 1st Armored Rifle Battalion, 54th Infantry. The first thing Sid did was to ask me to come up to the 54th to become his S3. I decided to do that. Ruth no sooner had gotten things organized in our quarters in Ulm, than she got word that I'm ordered to Heilbronn. That was the first of 15 displacements by Ruth and family in the course of our career.

I went up to the 54th. The 54th wasn't any worse than the 51st. The difference in Heilbronn was exactly that the battalion commander understood that it had to be fixed. Together, we leaned into the problem of trying to get some kind of tactical finesse out of our gaggle of soldiers and vehicles. It was an interesting time. You know that moving a battalion is slow and hard.

The annual Inspector General visitation was one of the big events that we had to master. In the course of preparing for it, I discovered that there was a subterranean network of tunnels underneath our kaserne.

It had a very cleverly hidden entrance and, down in this sub-basement underneath the troop barracks, we found water-cooled machine guns, other American ordnance, equipment and uniforms, clearly dating back many years. Apparently what had been going on was that every time there was an Annual General Inspection (AGI), the unit would take all of its overage, throw it into the tunnels and leave it, rather than turn it in or try to fix it. I dearly wanted those water-cooled machine guns for the unit. I thought that they would be really neat to have if we went into battle. When we showed them to the divisional IG team, they ruled: "That is government property. It must be turned in." I think the IG took away several truckloads of that gear when they departed.

We eventually got the unit shaped up reasonably well. While we were there, we took part in several of the big Seventh Army maneuvers. General Bruce C. Clark²¹ had been the Army commander when I became a company commander. He and his successor, Lieutenant General Clyde Eddleman, put priority on convincing the Germans that we were good partners and on building civic friendships. There was a lot of emphasis on German/American relations. One aspect of this was our signboards. The M-59 personnel carrier had a splashboard on the bow that would be put forward when crossing a water obstacle. We would paint slogans on it, like *Machtvoll*,²² *Freiheit*,²³ and *Zusammen*.²⁴ Columns of those signs would go by and there would be a lot of advertisement for inter-alliance relations. Not a lot of attention was paid to move, shoot, and communicate. A lot of attention was paid to driving at proper interval and proper speed, so as not to perturb autobahn traffic too much, or otherwise cause problems for the Germans.

Sid's XO left and he moved me up to become the battalion executive officer of the battalion for a while. Another major showed up, and I went back to being the S3. In the 54th, we did a reasonably good job of building esprit. Sid authorized me to put together what I referred to as the battalion band. We had a fat sergeant who had been in a marching band somewhere in his career. We had several drummers and one bugler. That was the band. It wasn't much of a band but it was certainly more soldierly than what had gone before. We could run a parade every week at the kaserne. We turned out in battledress and staged a parade on the kaserne. The Germans liked that.

I had a grand time. I was thunderstruck one day to discover that I was supposed to report to the division headquarters, in Göppingen, and to go from there to the Seventh Army Headquarters in Stuttgart-Vaihingen. They had an assignment in mind for me. You know, I tried every way I could to get out of that. Sid pulled all the strings he could with the division but I went down to Göppingen, and I got my butt chewed because I wasn't wearing my brass right. I had deliberately put them on wrong, hoping that they would send me away. They got me squared away and steered me into Seventh Army Headquarters.

The 7th Army Secretary of the General Staff was Archelaus L. Hamblen, a graduate of West Point's Class of June, 1943.²⁵ I told him about my druthers. "I'm not very good at this headquarters stuff," I said. I told him about my experience at Göppingen, where they had to show me how to put my brass on. Hamblen didn't want to hear any of that. He knew from my record that I knew something about writing. That's all he wanted. He wanted somebody to sit there and correct the papers flowing in and out of the command group. So I became the deputy SGS under Arch.

The Seventh Army Commander was Lieutenant General Garrison Davidson.²⁶ His senior aide was Dick Wyrough, a West Point classmate, fellow veteran of the 32d Infantry in Korea, and family friend. Davidson was a former Superintendent at West Point. He'd been football coach before that, in the 1930s. He was a handsome, gentlemanly guy. He had a lovely wife. They were a very gracious couple. They really looked after the folks in the headquarters.

Dick Wyrough and I would sit around in the evening over a drink and talk about what was going on in Seventh Army. I was full of countless anecdotes on how bad things were. How, if General Davidson really wanted to do something, he could fix training.²⁷ I had lots of anecdotes to back up my thesis. Dick said, correctly, "Look, I can't go to the CG with this. I've got to have some facts." I said, "You've got the mechanism. Tell the IG to get out there and see whether I'm right or wrong." So the IG was put on the road. He came back with a report that said: "It's not only as bad as you said it was but it's worse." Then he described what was going on. He had it right, chapter and verse.

I'm not quite sure what the sequence of all this was. I recall that there were several debriefs by the IG, not just a single report, and not just a written report but several oral reports. I wasn't involved in generating any of them. Each time the IG came in to see the CG, I would go in with him. I began building charts and viewgraph transparencies for the CG's use. These would identify a problem and give factual information supported with a quotation from a commander. For instance, one said, "I'm in trouble because I can't get the soldiers to turn out for training. All my best men are either on the football team or the LeClerc Rifle Team. I can't get my NCOs because they're all off on special duty to the bowling alley or someplace else." Whatever the quote was, I'd put that on a chart.

Eventually we built kind of a running brief.²⁸ The idea we had at the time was that General Davidson had a commander's conference coming, his own Seventh Army Commanders Conference, and he might want to use our charts with the two corps commanders. It turned out that the command of USAREUR changed in the middle of this. In October 1960, Bruce Clark arrived to take over. He had been the Seventh Army commander once removed before Davidson, had gone to the States to CONARC, and then came back to USAREUR. So General Davidson said, "Why don't we just use some of that material on training that you've been building for me and my commanders and show it to the new USAREUR commander?"

I told him at the time that I didn't think that was a good idea because a lot of what we were denigrating were the kinds of programs that General Clark emphasized when he was Seventh Army Commander but the CG went ahead. To General Davidson's credit, he paid no attention whatsoever when I pointed out that it might be a trifle risky to talk to General Clark about over-supervision, athletics, over centralization, and all of those activities that had been pushed for the purposes of German/American relations that were detracting from the ability of commanders to get a handle on their soldiers for the purposes of training. General Davidson didn't hesitate. With fear and trembling, I was put on the stage at Heidelberg. He threw me in the lion's den.

General Clark, to his credit, responded very favorably: "If that is right, we must fix that." I think what happened was that General Clark then went on to his own sources. He had former commanders still in Seventh Army, who had been under him when he was in command. He had old friends, like we all do, professional colleagues. He did some checking around and apparently discovered that things were almost as bad as I painted them.

Changes began to occur. There was a new Seventh Army Training Directive in which Davidson said that we're going to set junior commanders free. General Clark authorized General Davidson to do what was necessary to fix the whole training system. He accepted the fact that he couldn't fix the system without decreasing the amount of detractors from training time, so he deemphasized the athletic and other activities that were making it impossible to conduct coherent training.

That experience, however, deepened my conviction that something was really wrong inside the Army as a whole. The same system we were grappling with, coupled with the deeply embedded syndrome of competition—rifle marksmanship, athletics, or any other kind—plus emphasis on decorating mess halls and all of the claptrap of the peacetime Army, had a negative effect if we were going to fulfill the Army's mission, the defense of NATO. We couldn't do it, unless something pretty fundamental happened.

I give General Clark and General Davidson a lot of credit, because they started the Army in Europe on the right road but the Army is a very intransigent and conservative outfit. Those practices were deeply rooted. Most of the officers and the noncommissioned officers (NCOs) had been brought up to expect this post-war Army in Europe. It didn't change overnight. It took a lot of angst, energy and expenditure of time before anything like real reform began to occur.

I left USAREUR for Leavenworth in the summer of '61, still convinced that a lot needed to be done in Europe, that it was by no means a finished job. I went from there back to the Command and General Staff College. The Commandant, Harold K. Johnson,²⁹ told us the day when we entered that this year would be the finest of our life. That predisposed me to show him that he was dead wrong and he was dead

wrong. It turned out to be the worst year of my life.

US Army Command and General Staff College

INTERVIEWER: In 1960 and 1961, you attended the Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth. What were your expectations for the course before you arrived? What was the educational psychology of the school, and did it meet the standard of being the Army's senior tactical school?

GENERAL GORMAN: What were my expectations? I guess, to be honest, they were not very high. For reasons I have tried earlier to make evident, I had not had a very encouraging experience with service schools in general. In my interviews with the Deputy Chief of Staff and Chief of Staff of the 7th Army, I got the word very clearly that they were taking me on with a great deal of trepidation because I hadn't been to Leavenworth. It was impressed on me again and again the importance of having been through C&GSC at Leavenworth. An officer couldn't really be expected to function on an Army staff, they thought, unless he was a graduate of Leavenworth. So, one expectation was that I would get that behind me.

Another was that Leavenworth was advertised as the Army's senior tactical school. Now I was going to get my nose up out of the mud. I was going to be taught how to fight on a large scale and really find out what makes armies and corps and divisions function—meaning *function in war*. I discovered that the word function, as it was taught at the Army senior tactical school, really had to do with function in the sense of the word applied to human viscera. Leavenworth spent a lot of time on the internal processes of divisions, the intricacies of task organization and subordination, of communications, of logistics and of personnel. Very rarely did we focus on fires and maneuver at division level. That was a great disappointment.

I found that the year divided itself into two distinct parts. Up until Christmas, I thought that the course was useful, instructive, and maybe even enjoyable. By and large, instruction moved along briskly. New topics were introduced and new sets of issues were raised. Never mind that the issues were related to organization more often than tactics. Never mind that the focus was on writing orders, as opposed to whipping the enemy. Never mind that we only rarely came to grips with the gut issues of why have an Army in the field in the first place. It moved along quite briskly. Then, in January, the calendar year started off with the same map problem we had been presented in September.

The Army was going through a change from the divisional organization that had battle groups, the Pentomic Division, to the Reorganization of Army Divisions (ROAD) division, which had brigades. So the Command and General Staff College had divided the curriculum into two parts. The first half of the year, all of our problems involved working with Pentomic battle groups. Then, in the second half of the year, we went right back and ran through the same instruction again, this time using the ROAD Table of Organization and Equipment (TOE). The only thing that changed was that the friendly force had transitioned from the Pentomic Division organization to the ROAD organization. In other words, we had a different TOE [Table of Organization and Equipment]. Same situation, same enemy, same ground, same map but a different organization.

From my perspective, the course went downhill from there. We literally went back over the same material and we revisited all of the administrative points. What was going on demonstrates how slowly schools change and adapt. I think that the Commandant had probably made the difficult decision that, rather than wait and try to change during the summer, he would just make it happen during the school year. My class happened to be the guinea pigs that he used to instruct his faculty in how to handle the new ROAD organization. I think he was trying to make it happen fast, so never mind issuing new maps, just change the overlay and the order. Leavenworth was a scarifying, boring experience thereafter.

Let me give you two vignettes to show you how I was reacting and why. In 1959, the 1st Armored Rifle Battalion, 54th Infantry, 4th Armored Division, was deployed to the border of Czechoslovakia in the Cheb region, astride the Hof Gap. Its mission was to protect nuclear artillery that had been deployed

forward by President Eisenhower as part of the US response to gathering tensions over Berlin. What was done was to throw forward a large caliber artillery piece, a 280mm, nuclear-capable, long-barreled cannon. The division artillery commander of the 4th Armored Division was the task force commander. There were several artillery batteries, nuclear weapon detachments, and our armored rifle battalion reinforced with a company of tanks and a troop of cavalry. Our mission was to provide security for this nuclear artillery outfit. The long and short of it was that I spent a lot of time up at the Hof Gap. I walked that ground. I did a lot of war gaming about what we would do if we had to defend, and how we would create the requisite delay, so the artillery could fire their nuclear weapons and get out of there.

At Leavenworth, we had a map exercise set on the same Hof Gap terrain. I turned in a solution on an examination in which I used my intimate knowledge of ground. I fared poorly. I wasn't flunked but I didn't do very well. My classmates pointed out to me that I had made the serious mistake of getting myself bemused with challenging whether armor could or could not attack through a particular corridor, when the situation we had been given said that corridor was an armored avenue of approach. I knew it wasn't and I knew why. I didn't carry the day in my arguments because the instructors' map study did not match my appreciation of the ground.

The second example came up in a course in unconventional warfare (UW). The setting was Poland. It was an example of a military undertaking without any kind of consideration of the political ramifications. I guess what really set me off was the given situation in which it was clear that there was an informer within the Polish partisan organization that a Special Operations Forces (SOF) team was supporting. The Polish commander executed the informer in circumstances orchestrated by the SOF team. The trigger-man in the scenario, the Polish commander, turned out to be the village priest.

I got up and delivered a diatribe against waging war using women and children. I argued that we really have to think through what we are doing here. What we are talking about, I said, is a situation in which it is clear that the enemy would react by rounding up the village and doing what the Nazis had done elsewhere: just wipe everybody out. Did we really want a village priest to be involved with UW operations in the first instance? Did we want to transform this man of the cloth into a man of violence? Did we want him to go beyond directing violence, to actually becoming a trigger-man in the execution of an informer? It just blew my mind that we would even be sitting there in Leavenworth talking about this kind of skullduggery. I got a U on that course. The instructors came down on me hard.

That particular UW problem, or exercise, or block of instruction, could have been used to counter the unhappiness with SOF that General Abrams had to deal with a few years later in Southeast Asia.³⁰ There is a frame of mind that holds that the end justifies any means, never mind who gets hurt or whom you have to use to succeed. What really turned me off, was that the whole lesson at Leavenworth was put together perceiving Poles as automatons, pawns that the US could manipulate. They weren't real people. In fact, they could be spent in a callous fashion, much as the United States later spent tribesmen in Southeast Asia. I didn't endear myself to my Special Operations Forces colleagues, and I certainly blew the examination by taking so contrary a position.

When George Marshall was at Benning, as the Assistant Commandant, he encouraged instructors to take a student with a wholly different solution and have him present it to the class. Give Quantico and the Junior School all the credit that they deserve for their willingness to put me up in front of the class and let me present my view of the matter when it was different from theirs and, indeed, for supporting me in doing so. Not the UW guys at Leavenworth. They just didn't want to hear a different story. They seemed totally unwilling to entertain a different approach.

There were instructors at Leavenworth who were excellent, highly professional. Our airborne instructor was a good case in point. He was very open to different solutions and, while aware that the school had a kind of consensus solution, agreed that there had to be other ways to go about doing it. He was, moreover, quick to point out that no airborne operation had ever been executed exactly the way it was planned. He was the exception, and there were several others on the faculty that were similarly exceptional.

Through the course of the year, there were the usual working group discussions. I tried to get my colleagues in the class, and the instructors, to focus on the fact that the real problem was training. “Okay, you say you want this as the school solution. You want this to happen. How do you make those arrows move the way guys zoom around the viewgraph transparency? You have to do something in order to get your organization’s capabilities set to implement these doctrinal niceties.” I couldn’t get any satisfactory answers. We did have courses, of course, comparing our training system with the British training system, or the French training system, and even by that time, the German training system but I didn’t get a lot from all of that.

I guess I do have a few good memories of that Leavenworth year. One of them was getting to know the Commandant, General Harold K. Johnson. Johnson took a fairly active interest in his students. He left there to become the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations (DCSOPS) for the Army. I was punished, I think, for my obstreperous remarks in class, by being kept over for an added course that summer. They qualified me as a nuclear effects officer and then sent me to DCSOPS. There I joined General Johnson’s planning staff.³¹ He knew that I had just been in the course with him at Leavenworth, so he always said hello to me.

I made other lasting friendships among my fellow students. There were a couple of other good things that happened there. My daughter Sarah was born during the year. Otherwise, I was not at all impressed with the College. You’ve heard other people say this but it’s true that there’s about three months’ worth of material jammed into a nine-month experience. Boredom was rampant. I was just young enough, and brash enough, and egotistic enough to think that there ought to be a better use of my time. I also thought that if Leavenworth is the Army’s senior tactical school, God help the Army.

Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations (G3) Department of the Army

As a major, just out of Leavenworth, I was in the International Policy Planning Division of Army Plans. I did a lot of work directly with and for the DCSOPS (General Johnson) on OSD and Joint problems. I handled the Kennedy-Khrushchev correspondence during the Cuban missile crisis. Every night, I went in and I’d be given all the translations of what had occurred during the previous day. I had to have that all laid out for the Chief of Staff and the DCSOPS in the morning by 0700. We’d go through it. What does it mean? Why is he saying that? What do you suppose the President is going to do next? I’d sit there and we’d talk about that. Now that’s military strategy. We were planning to invade Cuba. We were moving troops. We were actually posturing to convince the Russians that we were going to invade Cuba if they didn’t get those missiles out of there. I think we made a pretty decent show of it. I think they got the message.

As DCSOPS, Harold K. Johnson immediately took on several major problems that were bugging the Office of the Secretary of Defense, at that time, Robert S. McNamara, Alain Enthoven, and the *Whiz Kids*.³² One of the large problems they identified was readiness for nuclear warfare. What could the nation do? What could the Army do in the event that there was a nuclear exchange? General Johnson had the Corps of Engineers undertake a study that was called the Worldwide Integrated National Strategy, or WINS study. I was one of the DCSOPS action officers on the fringe of putting it together and writing it up. Of course this study was highly classified. WINS proposed to provide a better prospect for a survivable command system and for a force residue to begin reconstruction in the aftermath of a nuclear exchange. It was sensitive, because what we were proposing would divert money from the Air Force budget, from offensive capabilities, to put money into hardening some of the really critical facilities here in the United States. It was a reasonable proposal.

Of course the Air Force went berserk. They did not want the WINS study to go forward and they did their damndest to find out what it was we were going to say. We were sequestered in the Pentagon, sequestered not from foreign intelligence but from the Air Force. We were not allowed to talk to Air Force officers. All the Air Force guys were snooping around the halls, trying to find out what was going on with the study and, in particular, how much money we were looking for. What were we talking about

doing? The WINS study eventually was briefed to the Secretary of Defense. I'm not sure what its real effects were in the long run but I do know that, on the whole, the Air Force was very unhappy.

About this time, late 1962, President Kennedy began pressuring the Army on the subject of counterinsurgency. The war in Vietnam was heating up and the President demanded to know what the Army was doing to ready itself for counterinsurgency. General Johnson put together a study group—I headed it—to take on what he referred to as WINS-II. He wanted a Worldwide Integrated National Strategy, this time looking at what we then called counterinsurgency (now COIN). In the course of that study, I ran into a number of the Army's counterinsurgency experts, one of whom was a colonel by the name of William E. DePuy. From time to time, I would take papers in to get his approval, no more than the usual "Sign here, Colonel." I never had any substantive exchanges with him. He was down in an office that was trying to move the Army in the right direction to do counterinsurgency but he wasn't terribly interested in my study. What nations are vulnerable? In what part of the world? What languages should we have? You know, all that long range planning data.

Anyhow, WINS-II was another study. Because it was called WINS, it got a ripple reaction from the Air Force that put us through our earlier experience. To divert them, we put together a couple of phony references to a third study called WINS-III, which was billed as a major restructuring. We had people walking around with a cover sheet that said WINS-III on top of a big binder of blank paper. They'd walk into one of those JCS coordination meetings with the WINS-III dummy and put it on the table. An Air Force guy would inevitably try to pick it up and he would be stopped. Anyway, the WINS-II study pleased General Johnson. It led him from there into the PROVN Study³³ that went on for a couple years thereafter. My classmate Volney Warner was involved with that.

In 1964, I was put on orders to the Armed Forces Staff College. I went in to General Donald Bennett,³⁴ the Army Planner, and said: "I cannot understand why the Army thinks I have to go to a 6-month course down at Norfolk to learn how to be a joint staff officer. I've been carrying joint actions since I joined this staff in 1962. I think I understand the fundamental issues before the JCS [Joint Chiefs of Staff]. I have handled everything from fleet deployments and the war plans for Cuba to arms control issues. Now the Army wants to send me off to teach me how to be a junior officer on the joint staff." General Bennett replied that the Army had a quota that had to be filled, wanted to send its very best officers, etc. I said, "I just don't want to do that." The general was good enough to see to it that those orders got changed but again, I had the distinct impression when I talked to the detailers at Infantry Branch, that they were surprised. Their clients seldom turned down going to school. They said, "We have guys lined up that want to go to Norfolk." "Fine," I said, "Send them, for heaven's sakes."

I came out on the list for the National War College in 1965. Had I gone to the Armed Forces Staff College, I would have been in Norfolk when I got my orders to the National War College. I would have spent half a year vegetating down there, and then gone on for another year's repose at the National War College (NWC). Looking back on it, I would have rather suffered the 6 months sentence to Norfolk and skipped NWC.

National War College

INTERVIEWER: Of your National War College experience in 1965 to 1966, you wrote, "I cannot condone so elaborate an institution for the promotion of private contemplation nor can I say with certitude that the 38th year of my life was productively spent on behalf of the United States."³⁵ Could you explain what caused you to feel that way?

GENERAL GORMAN: I came to the National War College course after three years as a staff officer in ODCSOPS, Army, under General Harold K. Johnson most of the time. The National War College was a very gentlemanly program that revolved daily around one or possibly two guest lecturers, followed by some discussions of what had been said, or what it was that we were asked to read on the topic. The reading materials were almost exclusively magazine articles, speeches, or other public domain materials. The lecturers were rarely professionally stimulating. I'm sure that they were entertaining and possibly

informative but they were rarely the kind of speaker that was calculated to get a bunch of professional military people on the edge of their chair.

I can't remember any occasion where we actually worked with the sort of materials that one would have to work in a policy position in the Pentagon— messages from field commanders, from CINCs, from ambassadors, or with war plans, or the sort of papers that would come out of the service staffs on structural or strategy issues. There were none of the adversary proceedings that I had observed in the Pentagon in the previous three years. These were simply not addressed at the National War College. The College replicated none of the interagency tensions. In fact, there was a deliberate attempt at creating a sense of camaraderie, a deliberate suppressing of interagency or inter-service rivalries, to avoid that kind of competition that I regarded as the "*sine qua non*" for proceeding in Washington. I just couldn't understand why the National War College should get away with ignoring that Washington is a zero-sum game.

The entire course tended to get down to the individual research paper and the reading and writing associated with it. I spent a lot of time on my individual research project.³⁶ That was fun and I did, in fact, undertake a lot of useful reading and thinking. I didn't get much help. The faculty seemed willing to let me do what I wanted to do in that respect but they weren't prepared to offer assistance or suggestions. As a matter of fact, the faculty members that I interfaced with—we were each assigned to a faculty mentor—were civilians who didn't know a hell of a lot about the workings of government.

I'm sure the people who were running that show over there were academically prestigious and great Americans, every one of them but they were not there to teach strategy. I certainly didn't get any. In fact, I regarded that whole experience as a great waste of time. Here I was, in full possession of my physical powers and mental energies, twiddling my thumbs at the National War College with a war going on. It just didn't seem to me to be a useful way to spend the year 1965-1966.

The National War College, like Leavenworth, had an overly grand view of itself. The Commandant used to remind us of the fact that umpteen percent of NWC graduates had gone on to become generals, admirals, or senior officials of the government at comparable rank, implying that the school was responsible. He seemed entirely impervious to the argument that maybe they were promoted despite the school. There was a sense of majesty imparted by the site (Fort McNair), by the building (Roosevelt Hall), by the name. I have to tell you that I was not impressed. In fact, it got to be very depressing as the war wound on, and heated up, and divisions were deployed while I was sitting on my 38-year old tail enjoying myself.

Vietnam: 1st Infantry Division

What I remember most about the National War College year was that I decided that I had to get assigned to a line command in Vietnam. In early Fall 1965, I went to the Infantry assignment officers and asked, "Can you get me to Vietnam?" They were not sure. I was going to be a War College graduate and normally they wouldn't allow a graduate to influence his next assignment. They might have to send me to Europe because I was nuclear qualified. I replied with all the emphasis I could: "No! I want to go to Vietnam."

By this time, Sid Berry had gone to Vietnam where he was assigned as a division advisor with the 7th ARVN Division.³⁷ The 7th had come favorably to the attention of General Westmoreland and Major General William E. DePuy, who was Westy's G3, or whatever they called the Ops guy at MACV. Sid and the 7th ARVN had gotten into some real tough spots and the 7th was highly regarded as a reasonably good outfit. They were trying to move some of Sid's ideas more broadly into the advisory chain. Sid wrote me a number of letters, keeping me abreast what was going on. When DePuy was put up for division command, Sid sent DePuy a letter saying, if DePuy were interested, he (Berry) knew several officers who would be pleased to join DePuy's team. He mentioned Dewitt Smith,³⁸ Al Haig and me by name. DePuy did his own checking. Then Sid sent me a letter saying, "Write to DePuy. Tell him when and where you could report." So I did that.

I got a letter back saying, "I'll give you command of the next free battalion, probably one of the battalions of the 16th Infantry." I took the letter to the Infantry assignment officers. That did it. I got orders to Vietnam. To their credit, they had not wanted me to get into the replacement chain and end up willy-nilly in some headquarters somewhere. They were trying to protect me from that. They wanted me to go where I could get a reasonable shot at command. I had fixed my own shot. Sid had fixed DePuy. That's how I got to the 1st Infantry Division.

INTERVIEWER: Sir, what did you do to prepare yourself for command?

GENERAL GORMAN: Not much. After all, I'd been thinking about commanding a battalion of infantry for years. I had been in combat as a platoon leader and I had commanded a company in an armored rifle battalion in Germany. I'd observed good commanders up close and I had seen bad commanders. I knew I could do the job and I was impatient for the War College course to end so that I could get on with it. The one thing I did that was specifically oriented on Vietnam was to help form a self-study course in the language at the NWC, using some booths and audio tapes at the top rear of the building.

I arrived at Tan Son Nhut Airport in the early morning hours of 9 June. After daybreak, the G-1 from 1st Division Headquarters picked me up and we drove across the Saigon River to Di An, where Division Rear was located. He told me that as soon as I finished, I was to assume command of the 1st Battalion, 26th Infantry. The unit was then under the OPCON of Division Artillery. The battalion CP was nearby in Phu Loi.

The G-1 was very solicitous. He told me that the Division Commander had removed the previous battalion commander and that a major was temporarily in command pending my arrival. He offered to help in any way he could to obtain key personnel for me. He told me to call him personally, as soon as I knew what I needed. That put me on the alert, so I listened carefully to the talk as I was passed among the staff principals. The general attitude of my informants, when they learned that I was the new DOBOL 6—that was to be my call sign on the Division command net—was doleful sympathy, as if they had been informed that I had a fatal malady. I was given to understand that: first, relief of battalion commanders was not uncommon—the CG was particularly hard on infantry commanders; and second, among infantry units, the 1st Battalion, 26th Infantry was lowest in the CG's regard and had been assigned a "pacification" mission guarding the division rear because it was not considered capable of hunting enemy main force units

Mine was a classic introduction to a new unit. I was picked up by an ill-maintained jeep, driven by an unkempt sergeant from the 26th. He chose to drive me past the division's mortuary unit at Phu Loi and to comment lugubriously that it had been busy of late but when we reached the nearby battalion CP—an indifferently erected, cluttered squad tent—it was like coming home after a long stay away—familiar people were there: company commanders, staff officers, NCOs, soldiers. I was comfortable with most of them instantly and they were responsive.

I arrived expecting to take over a savvy outfit. The unit had been in Vietnam for nine months, was a veteran of a number of battles, and should have known the enemy and the terrain. I was sorely disappointed. What I found was a pretty run-of-the-mill leg infantry outfit, not too sharp professionally, inclined to be pro forma rather than proactive. When we drove up, I noted that the CP's 292 antenna was missing ground planes. More importantly, the staff was kind of down in the mouth, conveying to me in their briefings a consensus that the battalion had been dumped on. Throughout the unit, I found few who were upbeat about the current mission. I figured that I would have to work on that and decided to put out, periodically, a written review of what the unit had been doing so that soldiers could read about their achievements and mail it home if they wanted to. I soon appreciated, however, that the 'Blue Spaders'



Coat of Arms 26th
Infantry Regiment

were willing to learn and eager to do the job right. They had a great cadre of NCO's and lieutenants. We learned together. My time in command was one long learning experience.³⁹

INTERVIEWER: Sir, when you took over, did you get any command guidance from division or brigade?

GENERAL GORMAN: Yes. As I remember it, Colonel Sid Berry flew into Phu Loi and we talked at my CP. He was preoccupied with the battles up north and did not have much to say, aside from stating that he was working to get me returned to his operational control. He told me that the CG did not pay much attention to the usual alignment of the battalions with the brigades. There was no telling when our current mission would terminate or to which brigade we would then be attached. I had worked for Sid before and was mighty glad to see him but his news was a bit unsettling.

INTERVIEWER: What were your first impressions of General DePuy?⁴⁰

GENERAL GORMAN: I was apprehensive when we first met. He flew in unexpectedly, when I was out on patrol, walking with a rifle platoon. I had a radio call from DANGER 77 saying that he was inbound. Then the helo landed and we talked. He asked me what I was doing and I told him—he seemed to approve. Then he said that he wanted me to know that we had an important mission: maybe, he said, the most important mission of any battalion in the whole division. He said the division had to learn how to secure its rear area and that I was to work with the Revolutionary Development Task Force that he had set up, call sign HELPER, to discover the right mix of force and persuasion to eliminate the VC local forces and to persuade the people to cooperate with the government. To do so, he said, I would have to make the 26th Infantry more mobile, more lethal, and to insure that it would perform in combat.

He said that the infantry's job was to find the armed enemy. Then it was up to me and my company commanders to apply the right mix of maneuver and firepower to kill or capture them. If we ran into a big VC unit, the full resources of the division stood behind us. Our operations would have to provide the secure environment within which the Revolutionary Development cadres could operate. He knew that it was hard doing those military jobs when civilians were all around but he knew I would take care that we wouldn't do anything dumb. He told me that the 26th had to be ready for action at any time—he looked around and pointed out that the sun was out, the temperature was moderate, the flowers were blooming, the birds were singing, and everything seemed peaceful but, if any of us in the 26th believed that, he was making a big mistake. Even as we spoke, some enemy was watching us with murder in his heart. Then he left.

On that first occasion, and thereafter, I usually found myself in instant agreement with every point he made. He told me he wanted the 26th to be fast, adaptable, and hard hitting. He wanted us to maneuver swiftly and to use all available fire power. He drew a distinction between tactics and techniques. Tactics had to be left to the leader in command at the scene of any combat. The techniques of getting into contact with the enemy, of fires and movement, these could be trained—I remember him saying rehearsed—in advance of combat. They should be embedded in every soldier's mind. He told me that he'd drop in to see us from time to time but that if I needed help, especially in battle, I was to call him. I really liked his approach.

I want to emphasize that my initial impression was consistent with our relationship over the nine months I served under him in Vietnam and the nearly four years I was with him at TRADOC. He truly gave me both complete freedom and assured support. He was an ideal commander. Above all, I learned to respect his instincts for finding the enemy and anticipating his next moves. He knew the larger aspects of the war and its finest details, right down to the rifleman's level. I consider him an authentic military genius.

We got it fixed in the 26th and things began to shape up. One of the things I learned, which I made a part of everything I did subsequently, was that an organization gets better very slowly. It's hard to change. It's very hard to change, particularly if you're talking about old-time NCOs and officers who focus on matters other than how to fight. Any unit can get better. It must do it day by day, slowly, painfully, and it

can go to hell in a hand basket if it takes some casualties or there's some other major perturbation. It can go to hell in no time at all.

That *hard-up, fast-down* syndrome washed up other battalions. I watched my brethren in command grappling with the problem, then endemic in the 1st Infantry Division. The division had been in Vietnam nearly one year. In the entire unit, everybody was changing. There was a swirl of people. Trying to build a cohesive infantry outfit in the midst of all of the change of people was not easy. Every day, at the end of the day, I had to sit down with my company commanders and figure out, "What are we going to do about Problem A, B, C? What did we do right today? How can we be sure that our mistakes never happen again?" Every day in combat was a day in training.

INTERVIEWER: That suggests that the personnel system was letting you down. How bad was the problem?

GENERAL GORMAN: No, it was not the personnel system. We were doing it to ourselves. August 1966 was the eleventh month from the date most of the troops in my battalion had left Fort Riley enroute to Vietnam. The "personnel system" had been trying to cope with a big turnover in the 26th Infantry. Personnel officers had been offering rear echelon jobs to my riflemen, so as to even out the flow of replacements into the line units. That did not work well. I know from my notebook that on 29 July, 1966, when we were still in the field, the battalion had better than 100percent fill—854 assigned against an authorization of 829. On that date, I had only 478 deployed in the field— only a little more than half those assigned. That was frustrating to me because I had really been pushing to get the field strength of the rifle companies up. We were taking better care of that base at Phuoc Vinh than our mission.

I wanted the rifle companies totally free of responsibility for Phuoc Vinh's security. I developed a modification to our Modified Table of Organization and Equipment (MTOE), bringing the rifle companies down to 174 each and setting up a Base Defense Section with Headquarters Company under one commander to look after security of Phuoc Vinh. Of course, I did all that after getting approval from my brigade commander, Colonel Berry, and the division commander, General DePuy. Both approved and eventually the whole division adopted a similar scheme.

You can't fight if the soldiers are not in the field ready to fight. I had something like a hundred wheeled vehicles assigned to the 1st Battalion 26th Infantry per its TOE. Every one of those vehicles had a driver. Every sixth vehicle had a mechanic. They had to have a motor pool, all replacement parts and expendable supplies, and the maintenance manuals. The Army was at war, in a theater of war, and the system was exacting of us the exact behaviors that I had wrestled with in USAREUR, a focus on procedure and poop sheeting as opposed to readiness for an air mobile war in the jungle, where we couldn't take wheeled vehicles anyway. So I turned in 60-some-odd vehicles to Division.⁴¹ I just turned the papers over to the division G4 and told him to get them out of my unit. I took all those motor-pool soldiers, made riflemen of them, and we began getting serious about the war in the jungle.

I had to teach the battalion air mobility. I needed to learn myself. Now, I'd never served in an airmobile outfit. I didn't know a helicopter from Adam's off-ox. I knew what one was, obviously but I hadn't had any experience with using helicopters operationally but, *it isn't an arcane art*. It's not hard. The Soldiers like it. They get it right away. NCOs, once they understand how it's going to go, take to it readily. I got division aviators to come down and show us how to do our part right. They told us what they needed with regard to communications. It took all of a week's worth of training and then we were airmobile. That's the way we moved around thereafter. My intent was that the rifle companies and the reconnaissance platoon should be wholly dependent on outside vehicles, mainly helicopters.

Every now and then, I'd run into somebody from the division staff who would say, "You can't do that. You can't turn in those vehicles." "You can't assign those soldiers out of their MOS." So, the next time I saw the CG, I would explain what his staff had said. That was usually the end of the protests. Anything that we battalion commanders wanted to do, provided DePuy considered it advantageous to the prosecution of the war, he approved. I learned very early that his approbation expedited things

enormously. In fact, nobody wanted to cross him on anything he wanted to do. DePuy disdained the imaginary professionalism of the peacetime Army. Eventually DePuy staffed the division headquarters with officers who shared his attitude. I think by the time he left the division in February, he really had a crackerjack combat coordinated outfit that was a superb instrument for his substantial tactical acumen.

INTERVIEWER: General DePuy had a reputation for having a hair-trigger temper, and for relieving commanders at the drop of a hat. How did that reputation match your experience?

GENERAL GORMAN: General DePuy did not suffer fools gladly and he could be brusque. He may have relieved around a dozen commanders in Vietnam but the instances I know about were all warranted. Usually he simply moved the object of his ire out of the division without writing a report. Most of them never even had an entry in their record.

INTERVIEWER: Could you cite an example of what you mean by “warranted”?

GENERAL GORMAN: There was a case of a newly arrived infantry battalion commander who allowed his unit to dig in right in front of a rice paddy berm so that the fields of fire were less than grenade range. As a matter of fact, that position was at Tan Binh where the 26th Infantry had made a similar mistake in February of 1966. That new commander had had the time to check those defensive positions but when the CG asked about them, he could not even state what was wrong. DePuy waved him off the mound and brought in another officer whose basic infantry skills were more advanced.

There were some modest difficulties between the CG and myself. I remember vividly one day we had opened the road between Saigon and An Loc, Highway 13, north from Saigon to the Cambodian border. I had the battalion disposed along the road for security reasons. The assistant division commander was in charge of convoy traffic on the road. That was Jack Dean. He later became the DARCOM commander, a four-star.⁴² Jack was flying over the road in a helicopter. My pickets along the road had been instructed that, if they were sniped at, they were to shoot back with a large caliber round from a mortar or an artillery piece. I had artillery and mortar concentrations plotted all along the highway. I had my mortars spread out so that every guard post was within range of at least one mortar. When a sentry got shot at, he'd throw a HE round back at the shooter.

That really stopped the sniping but the pilots overhead didn't like the idea of all these rounds in their airspace. Dean was hopping mad. He came down and ordered me to stop such firing. I replied that I had cleared my fire plan with the CG. General Dean there upon made sure that I knew that he was in command of the highway and that I would take my orders from him. Within minutes, General DePuy landed and demanded to know what I was doing. I told him. He then said, “Sometimes your sense of what's right gives me a deep pain in the pit of my stomach. Why do you want to get my Assistant Division Commander pissed off at you? You sure have done that.” I replied that I was just trying to protect my soldiers and the convoy. DePuy said, “Do what you're told to do. General Dean is in command.” He then left. I complied with his instructions.

There is another revealing incident. I had AAR (After Action Review) drills every day. That's when my company commanders and I would sit down to try to figure out how to do it better the next time out. On Route 13, my sergeant major brought out a table, set it up alongside of the road, and provided us some folding chairs. DePuy flew by, saw a bunch of guys sitting around a table, and radioed me. “What is going on there? Playing cards?” I explained. The second time he saw us, he landed. He walked over and sat down. He told us to go ahead, that he just wanted to listen. Then he finally began to understand what I was doing. He rose, looked at me and said, “Keep it up but don't ever bring another table out on an operation.” The next time he noticed us, we were all sitting on the ground in a circle like a bunch of Boy Scouts. The only thing we needed was a fire in the middle and some marshmallows.

Putting that battalion together was a genuine pleasure.

INTERVIEWER: What was the mission that they disliked so much? What did you do about that?

GENERAL GORMAN: The Revolutionary Development mission. In May of 1966, the CG had decided that the GVN (Government of Vietnam) could not provide for security in the immediate vicinity of the division's rear area, both because of ARVN ineptness and the skill and efficiency of the enemy district and provincial units. So he worked out a plan with the GVN authorities for a combined pacification campaign to be called "LAM SON II," to which the GVN authorities would commit a Revolutionary Development cadre and elements of the 5th ARVN Division. The 1st Division would furnish an infantry battalion and a task force equipped to provide psywar, intelligence, and other support. Beginning in mid-May, these launched a campaign to establish an "oil-spot" of security and GVN control in the vicinity of Phu Loi and Di An. The 1st Battalion, 26th Infantry, was brought down from Phuoc Vinh and bivouacked inside the perimeter of the division's bases at Phu Loi and Di An.

This job was not glamorous and plainly the CG's attention, and that of his staff and his brigade commanders, remained concentrated on the main force war well to the north, along Highway 13. We got scant help in figuring out what we were supposed to do but I saw it as a great chance to raise the professionalism of the battalion and I sold it to my company commanders and staff principals as a challenge to their soldiering skills. I also emphasized that ours was a mission that had to be successful if the division's support bases were to function without enemy harassment and interference—in short, we were as vital to the success of the division's campaign against the main force as any of the battalions operating up north.

It was grubby work: lots of patrolling, much of it at night. Small unit fights against handfuls of VC. Mines and punji pits, claymores and mortar attacks--the grungiest sort of combat but it gave me an opportunity right at the outset of my command to spend about one half-day on patrol with each rifle platoon, observing its technique, and assessing its professional skills. Soon I had worked out my teaching objectives and began, through the company commanders, to provide remedial on-the-job training.

INTERVIEWER: Could you specify some of those teaching objectives?

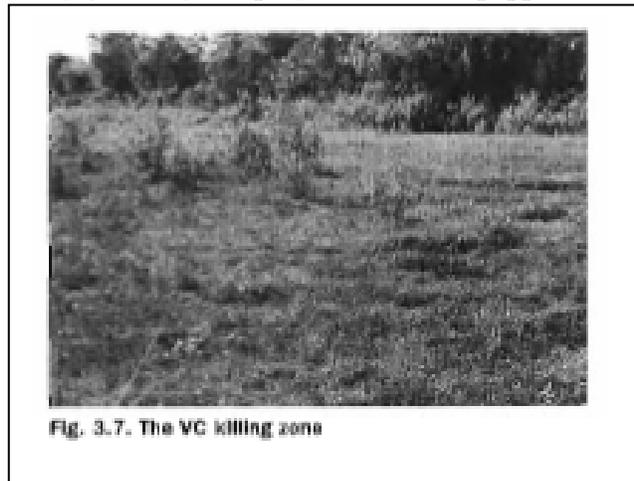
GENERAL GORMAN: The main lesson was to think through each situation and deal with it on its own terms. Time after time, officers and NCOs tried to apply some procedure or tactic they had learned elsewhere in a circumstance where a moment's thought would have shown them it would be disastrous. They wanted rules or maxims they could apply invariably. I tried to help them understand that there were few such rules or guidelines and their first concern had to be for the urgencies of the moment. Ours was a new form of war, I said. We had to invent new ways of fighting. I praised innovation and lauded initiative, especially if it worked. I preached that every leader had to think on his feet as he acted. In fact, that became our motto in the 'Blue Spaders': *Inventamus Si Progressimus*. "We Made It Up As We Went Along."

The concomitant of that motto was my maxim that "every day in combat is a day in training." I held that, at the end of every action, a leader ought to be able to recite what he had learned and to describe what he had done to insure that good performance was praised, poor performance identified, and ameliorative action prescribed. I often called for such a review.

INTERVIEWER: What about the main force war? Wasn't that pretty much textbook warfare?

GENERAL GORMAN: I think that innovation and initiative was as necessary against the main force as it was against the village guerrilla. I think the techniques we worked out, applied to both, whether it was making a night approach march in column holding onto a rope, or digging foxholes that were invisible from the front and secure from overhead fire. There were a lot of small performances that, in the aggregate, made a significant difference no matter what the enemy force.

For example: communications. In mid-June, the 26th simply was not getting full measure from its radios. Companies did not routinely carry the 292 antenna and I discovered that few soldiers in the battalion knew how to erect one properly. We eventually got every company in the field equipped with a 292, complete with carrying case and instructions. Many an officer and NCO had misappropriated an antenna section to use as a pointer—a practice I stopped by offering an Article 15 fine for anyone who used one in my sight. Field maintenance for radios was deplorable but when I began demanding that companies stay in the field for a week at a time, commanders began paying attention to preventive maintenance and spares. We learned to wrap handsets in a plastic bag secured with a rubber band, and to change swiftly from blade antenna to whip, to 292 depending on the movement posture of the unit. We learned brevity of transmission and we learned to assure 24-hour continuity of communications. We learned to carry and to signal using air panels and pyrotechnics. In short, we got serious about using what the Army had provided and that made us better in any sort of operation.

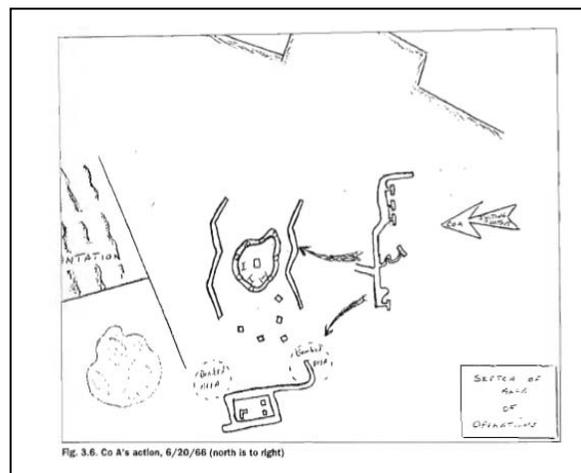


Or, as another example: weapons. I was thoroughly dissatisfied with what I found with the handling of infantry weapons and ammunition. There was a general practice of carrying machine gun belts Poncho Villa-style across the chest, and of diverting machine gun ammo cans to almost any use except to protect ammunition from dirt and wet. I collected examples of machine gun belts twisted and mired to the point that a stoppage was patently guaranteed and, when I could, I staged demonstrations of the difference in firepower that accrues to a unit that carries its machine gun ammo in box versus one who does not. I simply caused two platoons to cross a rice paddy by fire and movement. Almost invariably gunners with the cross-chest belts would jam up their gun while the boxed-ammo shot reliably. That helps, no matter what the fire-fight.

And there was the M-16, the rifle, newly arrived in the 26th and foreign to most of its officers and NCOs. On my initial checks in the field, I found no cleaning rods, patches, or lubricants. We eventually got that fixed, with assistance from the division G-4 and a lot of help from the mail bags—the troops wrote home for help.⁴³

INTERVIEWER: Sir, what kind of action did you get involved in during that “pacification” mission? Could you describe a typical operation?

GENERAL GORMAN. There was no such thing as a “typical action” in LAM SON II. Every day and every night brought new challenges. We had to keep learning how to deal with these. We really did make it up as we went along but I have some pictures here of one incident, a small dust-up involving Company A on the 20th of June.⁴⁴



It was around mid-day and I had been walking with a rifle platoon of another company when DOBOL Alpha 6—the company commander—reported that Alpha was in contact and that the company had taken casualties. My helo, an H-13, was inbound to pick me up. I got airborne and flew to where the action was. I found Company A in a long column with

considerable distances—around 500 meters—between platoons. The commander had apparently been with the lead platoon, which had been fired on from a trench line under some scrub on the north edge of an open field. Our troops returned the fire and succeeded in getting into the trench. The enemy had withdrawn southward across the field and were firing from the opposite wood line. A6 told me on the radio that the field was mined and that one of his soldiers had been wounded by a mine or booby trap. The VC were firing automatic weapons at them from what appeared to be another trench line. They had them pinned down. I asked Alpha 6 what he was going to do. He said that he was bringing up the rest of his company and he intended to attack around to the left when they came on line. I told him to get some fire on the enemy to fix them in place and that I would try to hasten the arrival of his platoons.

It was a hot, bright afternoon, and the next platoon was plainly visible some 500 meters north of there, moving slowly along a trail in two columns. They were in the open and the grass was low, so I could see that they were ambling, a very deliberate walk, not a forced march. I landed and talked to the platoon leader, an NCO. I told him that his commander urgently needed his platoon forward, and showed him on the map what I knew of the situation. I then got airborne again and the platoon resumed its march. I could see no difference in their demeanor, just more ambling.

I then called my FAC (Forward Air Controller) and told him what we were up against. Within minutes I could see his single engine monoplane flying off to my left. I asked Alpha 6 if he had called for artillery. He said he had but that his FO had not yet received clearance to fire. The FAC broke in to report that he had an aircraft on station with CBU (cluster bomb units) and napalm. I directed Alpha 6 to throw smoke and the FAC to mark the target for an east-west run along the tree line. The FAC fired a white smoke rocket exactly where the VC gun flashes had been seen. The fighter rolled in and laid the CBU right along the edge of the trees, then turned around and delivered the napalm in the same place.

The enemy fire stopped. Company A advanced across the field. This diagram shows you what they found.⁴⁵ This is a well-built local force base camp. Each was different from the others but they usually featured narrow trenches and neat, sod-covered, nearly invisible bunkers and tunnels. This one had those features. In the aggregate, there was enough overhead cover to accommodate a battalion but probably the place was used from day to day only by a guard detachment of local guerrillas.

That detachment was what Company A had encountered. Its members all got away but not without loss. Company A found pools of blood and fresh bloody bandages. The VC had emplaced mines and booby traps out in the fields of fire in front of their fighting positions. There was a sign in broken English they had erected on a tree at the edge of the open field, saying, in effect, "If someone aggressed in your country, what would you do?" My Vietnamese colleagues told me that those signs served the purpose of warning local people of the booby traps and mines, as well as unsettling Americans. Whether the sign figured or not, DOBOL Alpha 6 was clearly shaken.



Fig. 3.9. Enemy trench with shelter dug into slide

Just walking through that VC base camp taught me some powerful lessons. If we were going to outfight these peasants, we had to upgrade our field craft. The VC were masters at building trenches and bunkers. We had to match or surpass them. I had always believed that the Army's standard open front foxholes were exactly wrong, and that the sandbag castles of bunkers we built in Korea—or that I later

saw at Phuoc Vinh—were disastrous. It turned out that General DePuy believed, as I did, that our troops should dig deep, invisible holes with overhead and frontal cover, and with ports for firing across in front of flanking positions. In that kind of defense, teamwork and interdependence was as important in the defense as it was in the attack. I resolved then and there to make DOBOL a premier defender as well as an effective predator. During Lam Son II we didn't need to defend often but afterwards we had ample opportunity.

The next day, General DePuy flew in and asked me about the action. I described what happened and told him that I had decided to remove the company commander and the platoon leader. He replied simply that he would get me replacements. I asked him also to get me authority to clear fires so that we could avoid delays in using artillery. He said he would and he did, that very day. We discussed the implications of VC defenses. Again, I found him understanding, supportive and responsive.

INTERVIEWER: Did you remove many leaders like that?

GENERAL GORMAN: If you mean after a fire fight, no but I did eventually replace all the company commanders. I would say that they were each relieved to be relinquishing command.

INTERVIEWER: Sir, why do you suppose that was so?

GENERAL GORMAN: They had been in command in Vietnam for nine months or more. They had been in a base-centered, road-bound, three hot-meal outfit. They were used to riding around in jeeps and to sending platoons off to do their bidding. Now they were being required to lead on the ground, to walk all day and frequently all night, for days at a time. They had to carry their creature comforts on their back and, while generally that region was very pleasant, sometimes it could be very wet and often very hot. It was plain hard work.

I had a major tussle with them over their practice of calling for medevac helos (DUSTOFF) to extract soldiers who had succumbed to heat prostration. Finally, I just flat forbade such helo missions. I told them that if they enforced the discipline of force-feeding salt tablets, and of carrying sufficient water to support drinking on demand, they would not incur such casualties. Even if they did, I said, a medevac was dangerous. The arrival of a DUSTOFF would signal their location to VC for miles around, putting the whole company at hazard for one man. Rather, I said, their choices were either to halt in place while they revived the victim, or they could carry him but there would be no DUSTOFF except for combat casualties. They did not like that, individually or collectively but I was relieved to note that the incidence of "heat prostration" dropped off to zero within a week or two.

INTERVIEWER: Sir, I'll bet you had a lot of volunteers to command companies, didn't you?

GENERAL GORMAN: As a matter of fact, no. The division G-1 lived up his promise and sent me five captains. Only one volunteered to take a company. I gave him the job instantly. Later on he got promoted to major and became my executive officer. The other captains told me they wanted a staff job so they could observe and learn before they took command. I didn't hire any of those. Then I lucked out: two more captains came into the division, both requesting rifle companies. One was Jim Madden. The other was George Joulwan.⁴⁶ These two had been platoon leaders together in the 30th Infantry Battle Group, 3d Infantry Division in Germany when it had been commanded by Colonel William DePuy. They were knowledgeable and hot to trot, keenly competitive with one another and a pleasure to command. They were both the sort of officers that needed no prodding and required only an occasional word of guidance to lead a rifle company in a thoroughly outstanding way. I was just delighted to get them. Their spirit was contagious and the whole battalion took on new life.

INTERVIEWER: Sir, did you operate often at night?

GENERAL GORMAN: Yes. In fact, I tried to deprive the VC of the advantage of concealment offered by darkness. I think we fulfilled our mission of finding out how to perform the LAM SON II mission, which we turned over to the 2d Battalion, 2d Infantry in late July.⁴⁷ The commander of that battalion was Lieutenant Colonel Jack Conn, with whom I had served in Korea, back in 1952-1953.

INTERVIEWER: What was your mission after Lam Son II?

GENERAL GORMAN: We were attached to 1st Brigade and positioned to secure the road designated Route RED, which ran from Phuoc Vinh south toward Bien Hoa. That was not unlike LAM SON II. I had a very good NCO killed trying to defuse a VC booby trap and we had a few trucks damaged from command detonated claymore mines. I resolved that the next time we had a similar mission we would take more active countermeasures. Then we were sent back to Phouc Vinh and I got my first good look at that place. I didn't like what I found.

INTERVIEWER: Sir, what was wrong? The defenses?

GENERAL GORMAN: They were bad but the shanties that had been built by officers were more trouble than the ridiculously vulnerable bunkers and washed out trench lines. I found out that individuals or groups had paid out substantial sums—up to hundreds of dollars—to buy wood and sheet metal to fashion these and to equip them with lights and air conditioners. The expectation was that as each "owner" left, his "turtle" or successor would recompense him for the original investment. This cost would then roll over to the next arrival with no depreciation and, in more than a few cases, some plus up. That bred more than a few arguments. I became aware that this practice was causing significant trouble. I even got a formal letter from a departed officer complaining that an officer had failed to honor a debt and demanding that I take official action. I wrote back that I had taken charge of the post and that, from my perspective; all structures within view were government property. There was no debt. I had copies circulated to all officers. There was a particularly elaborate hut that had belonged to the former commander. I converted it into the 26th Infantry Room and had the unit colors displayed there, together with a map of the division area where new arrivals could be briefed. I set up my office and a cot in a hex tent.

INTERVIEWER: Well, let's see: you have been in country nearly three months now, and it sounds like it was mostly small unit training and skirmishes. Is that right?

GENERAL GORMAN: Pretty much. We fought a couple of stiff actions at the company level, and one battalion airmobile operation into a hot LZ along the Saigon River in mid-August but there were no really big battles until 25 August. That one was a really wild affair involving four US infantry battalions trying to encircle a VC provincial battalion—the Phu Loi Battalion.⁴⁸

INTERVIEWER: Was that a result of intelligence?

GENERAL GORMAN: No. The 1st Brigade literally blundered into the enemy's base camp. My battalion was along Route Red, south of Tan Binh. I had two companies deployed along the road, with elements of the 1st Engineers. My headquarters and Company C, in reserve, were south and east of Tan Binh. To the north of us, DRACULA, the 1st Battalion, 2d Infantry, was securing that portion of Route Orange between the Song Be and Tan Binh. Late on the 24th, DRACULA Charlie had sent a small patrol westward—I think there were fifteen in all—to scout the jungle beyond the rubber plantation. Bill Mullen,⁴⁹ the company commander, had obtained some camouflaged fatigues—we called them "tiger suits"—and formed his own Long Range Reconnaissance Patrol or "LRP". As far as I know, it was their first outing. They snooped westward from the road, and then hunkered down for the night. The next morning they found that they had spent the night in a VC base camp of some size and that they were surrounded by armed VC. Sometime around 0700 they radioed Mullen and told him the good news. Then the enemy discovered the patrol, attacked it, and there were the inevitable last desperate appeals for help, then silence.

Captain Mullen informed his battalion that he was going with his company to rescue his patrol. He mounted his troops on vehicles of Troop C, 1st Squadron, 4th Cavalry, and moved out. 1st Brigade ordered me to dispatch my battalion reserve to assist Mullen. Division had declared a tactical emergency, which meant that all helicopters supporting the division were diverted to 1st Brigade but 1st Brigade allocated only one H-13 to us. So I mounted Company C on whatever vehicles I could find and moved them to Tan Binh. The vehicles, finding the stream bed un-fordable, put the company on foot due south of the last reported position of the patrol. I steered the column from overhead in an H-13 helo. I landed to give Jim Madden a last minute update. As the company moved north, it was put under the operational control of DRACULA.

I hadn't paid much attention to DRACULA up to that time. They'd been operating up north against enemy main force units. They wore a black kerchief like I had in Navy boot camp. Their commander, Dick Prillaman,⁵⁰ was a very experienced soldier, having been in Vietnam for nearly two years. I don't think I knew at the time that he was on leave in Hong Kong. DRACULA was under the command of a Major Clark, Prillaman's executive officer.

Mullen crashed into the base camp and immediately got enmeshed with a very determined and numerous enemies.⁵¹ The patrol was still missing. Major Clark went forward to take command at the scene of the battle and was killed almost immediately. The brigade commander, Colonel Sidney B. Berry, went to the scene of the engagement to restore order. There he encountered Jim Madden, who had left his company just to the south in an attack position, and moved forward to reconnoiter the situation. Madden had already been wounded in the leg, and remembered that he could find no cohesive unit on the scene, other than his own. DRACULA Charlie had been fragmented and shot up pretty badly.

There was a little clearing with a wrecked Air Force helicopter and one or more burning armor vehicles. The whole area was swept by enemy fire, including some from snipers up in the trees. Madden proposed to Berry that DOBOL CHARLIE would envelop the east flank of the enemy position and seek to attack from that direction. As they were discussing coordination, Madden was struck in the chest and knocked down. Berry insisted that Madden be evacuated, and dispatched him, protesting, aboard an armored personnel carrier full of wounded. Berry then called me, told me to disregard any previous instructions and to get up there with all my battalion as soon as I could.

INTERVIEWER: What were your previous instructions? Where were you and what were those in the battalion doing?

GENERAL GORMAN: We were attacking to the west, trying to cut off the VC at Ap Bong Trang. I had been monitoring the brigade command net and concluded that there was at least an enemy battalion involved. Around 1000, 1st Brigade ordered the whole 1st Battalion, 2d Infantry, to reinforce Captain Mullen. Around the same time, division provided DEVIL 6—Colonel Berry—with two additional reinforcing battalions, 1st Battalion, 16th Infantry, and 2d Battalion, 28th Infantry. My estimate was that Sid Berry had more than enough infantry. The judgment appeared confirmed

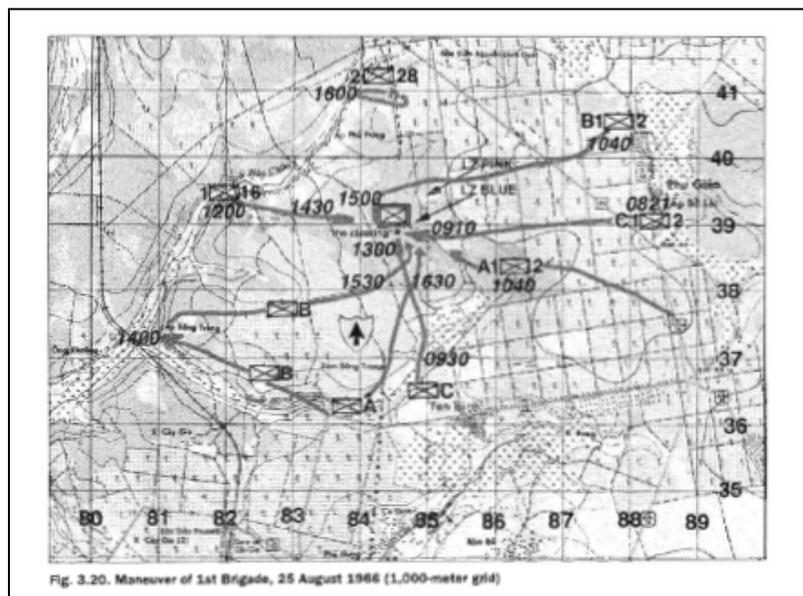


Fig. 3.20. Maneuver of 1st Brigade, 25 August 1966 (1,000-meter grid)

when, around noon, Mullen reported that the VC had broken contact.

Then Jim Madden's point element took a prisoner. He reported that the enemy wounded were being evacuated to Ap Bong Trang and that the rest of the unit would rally there. Figuring that it was Berry's intent to surround and annihilate the enemy, I decided to head off his exfiltration. So I had called DEVIL 6 —Berry— and proposed that my Company B immediately move to Ap Bong Trang to intercept what I figured would be a whipped and retreating enemy. Colonel Berry approved. I mounted Company B—George Joulwan's company—on vehicles of Troop A of the Quarter Horse, which had just come up Route Orange and had been attached to me. The 1st Squadron, 4th Cavalry was mounted on M-48 tanks and M-113 armored personnel carriers. Those APCs of Troop A, on which Company B went into battle on 25 August, had once belonged to the 'Blue Spaders' when they were at Fort Riley. We knew that because on at least eight of them, the old 26-I bumper markings were still clearly visible.

Joulwan's company mounted up and set off west from Route Orange where it turned south, into the underbrush, proceeding to Ap Bong Trang. That's a move of about eight kilometers from Route Red to Ap Bong Trang. I was again overhead in my H-13, helping the column to navigate. Company A was mounted on engineer dump trucks, and moved to a position north of Tan Binh, near Xom Bong Trang, then dismounted.

INTERVIEWER: Did you make contact with the enemy?

GENERAL GORMAN: Both places were dry holes. There was just nothing there. Not even a sign that there had ever been buildings, or a railroad, let alone VC wounded. No tracks, no trace of the enemy. Around two o'clock, when we were searching around Ap Bong Trang, I got an urgent order from Berry to "get up here as soon as possible" and I could tell from his voice that he meant it. I remounted Company B, turned it northeast on its armored vehicles, and told Company A to start marching on foot to the north, hoping that the battalion could converge on Company C. Bravo had about three kilometers of jungle to traverse on vehicle, while Alfa had to hoof it about the same distance.

INTERVIEWER: How long did it take to get there?

GENERAL GORMAN: I am not sure. I do remember that I was personally in a time bind, because the H-13 in which I was flying was running out of gas. I knew that without my being overhead to help steer the column from clearing to clearing, the going would have been much slower. This jungle, the Bong Trang, was discontinuous. It was patched here and there with places where there were no tall trees, and where the brush was low enough for an H-13 to hover down without trouble. What I was doing was directing the column from clearing to clearing.

Sometime around 1500 my helo landed me just ahead of the lead tank and left to get fuel. I got out carrying a PRC 10 (radio), and as the helo took off, I became aware that a shadow to my immediate front was in fact the aperture of a bunker, built low to the ground and very nearly invisible. Fortunately, it was unoccupied but I was mighty glad when that tank drove up. From then on, we traveled through an extensive fortified zone, from time to time running into manned positions but we pushed through hastily.

INTERVIEWER: Were you on foot?

GENERAL GORMAN: No, I had climbed on the back deck of the lead tank and we pressed on. Once there was a loud explosion. I tapped the tank commander on the helmet and told him that I'd appreciate being warned before he used his main gun. He said that he hadn't fired but that a VC rocket had just struck the gun mantle. The sound of small arms firing was now very close. I told George Joulwan to stop in place, to collect his elements, to find Company A if he could, and to position them just to his rear. I said I would take my battle staff forward and send further orders once I assessed the situation. I then advanced with one tank and an APC with my S-2, my S-3, and our radio operators.

INTERVIEWER: Were you in the APC?

GENERAL GORMAN: No. I wanted the tank to lead. I got on the rear deck again and rode it right into the east edge of the clearing where the downed helo was. My guess is that it was around 1600. Colonel Berry ran over to me, reached up to shake my hand, and wished me happy birthday. It was a good thing I leaned over because, just then, some sniper started pinging the bustle rack right where I had been standing. I got down in a hurry and the two of us ran across the clearing to a trench on the west side. My staff followed but out in clearing some snipers wounded my S-3 and my radio operator.

INTERVIEWER: Who was your S-3 then?

GENERAL GORMAN: Captain Peter Boylan. He recovered well and subsequently served in the 1st Battalion, 2d Infantry. He went on to become a Major General before he retired.⁵²

INTERVIEWER: What happened next?

GENERAL GORMAN: Colonel Berry told me to take charge of all the units around the clearing. He left to get the rest of the brigade under control. Mine was no small task because right in my immediate vicinity I found soldiers from four different units: Troop C, 1st Squadron, 4th Cavalry; Company C, 1st Battalion, 2d Infantry; Company C, 1st Battalion, 16th Infantry; and my own Company C. I could get no help from the brigade command post. So I brought Company B forward and positioned them across the clearing from me. I told them to guide Company A in on their right (east) flank. At the same time, I got everyone on my side of the clearing to dig or to take cover in the VC entrenchments and I started to prepare a sketch of who was where, using radio messages, runners, and staff officers. There was mass confusion, particularly as to the whereabouts of the various parts of 1st Battalion, 16th Infantry.

Soon I was relieved to hear Colonel Berry on the command net. He directed me to contain the enemy during the hours of darkness and to plan for an attack in the morning. We agreed that we would use napalm as the weapon most likely to drive the VC out of their fortifications or down into their underground tunnels, and then go in after him. He told me that we would have a flare ship overhead all night and that he would arrange for a rapid infusion of resupply and medical aid, once we secured the VC base camp.

INTERVIEWER: Was there any thought given to a night attack?

GENERAL GORMAN: Not by me. The friendly situation was unclear at dark and all night long Americans were milling around, as individuals or small groups, trying to find their parent unit. I was worried about firing on friendlies. Every time there would be a burst of fire, we'd try to figure out who was shooting at whom. Soon it was apparent that the enemy was moving and while I assumed that they were trying to exfiltrate, I could not be sure. In fact, some of the reports would have supported the idea that they were being reinforced, or that they were assembling for a breakout attack. We had a dough-nut problem: we were all around the enemy. I was never sure whether the ring was complete, or indeed, where exactly in the hole the enemy troops were located.

INTERVIEWER: Did they get away during the night?

GENERAL GORMAN: Most of them did but they left a rear guard detachment that was still shooting when the sun rose, around 0630. I remember it was clear under the trees, with low clouds or fog above the trees. Around 0700, Colonel Berry was overhead and we decided to go ahead with air strikes.

INTERVIEWER: Could you have used artillery?

GENERAL GORMAN: The enemy position was in under tall trees, big ones, about one hundred feet tall. There was a secondary growth of brush and small trees. Visibility at ground level was ten meters, more or less, so adjusting artillery had to be done by sound or from above. Every time we'd try to put in a round—and I tried with eight inchers—we'd get a bleat from one of the units that the round was right on top of them. The trees were too tall; hole in the dough-nut was just too small.

INTERVIEWER: Did the napalm do any good?

GENERAL. GORMAN: On the face of it, yes. The enemy was shooting up until the first strikes and then the firing died off. We put in twenty or so cans. When we assaulted into the dough-nut, we encountered no resistance. We found only dead VC; no wounded. Obviously, they had managed to get out.

INTERVIEWER: I understand that you dropped napalm on yourself.

GENERAL. GORMAN: About half of the cans had gone in without incident. Then I looked up and saw one gleaming through the trees right above me. The tree burst into flames and started raining napalm. My map and my radio were burned up. I got singed a bit. I asked that they keep laying it in, and they did. Some five or ten cans later, another can fell into our positions. Colonel Berry then decided to call off further strikes. I ordered my battalion to assault but no sooner had we begun to move than we encountered a terrific blast of fire from the north. It was the 2nd Battalion, 28th Infantry, much closer to us than I had imagined. I had to get them to cease fire so that we could resume our attack. By 0800 we had moved through the complex, and at 0800, the survivors of the patrol from Company C, 1st Battalion, 2nd Infantry, walked into the landing zone to the east of the action—about half of the 15 lived, as I remember. That's about the end of the real story.

The friendly casualties from napalm were misconstrued and blown out of proportion. One press report had 22 killed and 36 wounded by napalm, whereas the actual casualties, according to Colonel Berry, were 3 killed and 9 wounded. I know personally of 2 killed and 3 wounded. My own guess is that reporters soon began arriving in the clearing where the dead from the previous day still lay, corpses charred initially in the explosion of the APC, and then burned by the napalm. The reporters assumed napalm had caused the deaths, and in the confusion of reorganizing after the battle and evacuating the wounded, no one set them straight. I didn't think about that at the time, although I do remember stopping a video team from shooting close-ups of the dead. We injured ourselves twice, once with napalm and the second time with poor press-handling.

INTERVIEWER: What were casualties in your unit for that battle?

GENERAL. GORMAN: Relatively light: we had 6 dead and 12 wounded, compared with the 1st of the 2nd, which lost 18 dead and 98 wounded.

INTERVIEWER: Looking back, what would you have done differently

GENERAL. GORMAN: I'm not sure I could have done it much differently, given the information I had to work with, and my orders. In Sid Berry's after action report, he observed that on two occasions he had stopped the 26th from trying to flank the enemy. He directed us to continue confronting him head on. He thought that his best chance of crashing into the heart of the base camp would have been to allow DOBOL to attack with Company B and its armor after they broke through the outer defenses around 1630.⁵³

INTERVIEWER: Did you have many days like that?

GENERAL. GORMAN: No, thank God. As a matter of fact, I think the whole division learned a great deal from that experience, from top to bottom. We never again tried to hug the enemy the way 1st Brigade did that day. At the end of October —during SHENANDOAH— Sid Berry got another shot at surrounding an enemy battalion, and this time did it right. George Joulwan's B Company found the enemy, a battalion of the 272d Regiment, and the rest of the 26th converged on B while Berry moved two other battalions to blocking positions and used air and artillery with telling effect. He reported over 70 enemy dead.⁵⁴

INTERVIEWER: You mean the brigade actually trapped a Main force battalion?

GENERAL. GORMAN: Not in the sense that we ringed them in and accounted for them all. The majority escaped the encirclement but we hurt them badly while they were doing so: Air observers saw their columns carrying the dead and wounded, and we found ample evidence of hasty departure.

INTERVIEWER: You mentioned that there was a lot of turnover in your unit, troops rotating after the first year. Did that slow you down?

GENERAL. GORMAN: No. You remember that I often told my company commanders that “every day in combat is a day in training.” We made it so and every day we tried to get a little better. For example, the day before Company B went into the jungle on SHENANDOAH, at the end of October, they trained at Minh Tanh, where the Special Forces had a firing range. They set up a bunch of targets, probably tin cans like Teddy Roosevelt used in 1917. They practiced what we called “musketry,” how a rifle platoon could deliver maximum, aimed, sustained fire. That training paid off the following day when they employed musketry to overwhelm a VC battalion in a meeting engagement.

I really could feel the battalion pulling together and increasing in skill. The parts fitted together like those of a fine watch. Let me quote from some correspondence I received at the time. Colonel Berry noted that while the 26th had once been “ill-disciplined, dispirited, unaggressive, lack-luster,” by November they had become “disciplined, spirited, aggressive, proud.” He considered us “a battalion of high combat effectiveness which could always be relied upon to accomplish its mission with dash, imagination and a high degree of military professionalism.” General DePuy wrote about the same time that the battalion “undertook operations which ordinarily would require a brigade...companies operated and covered ground equivalent to a battalion...made contact with the VC in areas where other battalions did not.”

That’s pretty heady praise but I truly believe the battalion’s performance earned it. I give credit to the officers and noncommissioned officers. I had four first sergeants who had fought in both World War II and Korea. I may have waived the baton from time to time but the company leaders played the instruments, and they made the music.

INTERVIEWER: How long did you keep your command?

GENERAL. GORMAN: A little less than five months. We had had a terrific success during Operation BATTLE CREEK, or as some say, ATTLEBORO. I was really enjoying myself by then, because everything was easy. George Joulwan was a great S-3 and the rest of the staff was well teamed with him.

On Thanksgiving, in 1966, a day that is etched in my memory, DePuy landed at my command post. We were over near the Saigon River, not far from Dau Tieng. He said, “I’ve got good news for you. You’re going to be my G3.” I was startled. “What’s going to happen to Al Haig?” He answered, “Al is going to take command of this battalion.” I said, “General, you know Al is an armor officer!” “What’s that got to do with it?” he barked. I replied that an infantry battalion is not at all like an armor battalion. DePuy was in no mood for discussion. He said, “Al Haig will take command here. You work it out with him but I expect you to report to me as my G3 within three days.”

It was the worst three days of my life. I couldn’t imagine turning over to an armor officer that fine Swiss watch of an infantry battalion that I had meticulously helped along. I knew Al, had worked with him before. I didn’t think that he could bring it off. Of course he did and performed superbly well. I’m not critical of Al. I’m just saying that I couldn’t stomach the thought. Literally, I was in a funk a good week afterwards. I had formed some deep attachments with some of those company commanders, and I was worried that Al wouldn’t appreciate that some of them were a little quirky from time to time. Each had his foibles. I was concerned Al wouldn’t be able to get the most out of them. He might even take umbrage at some of their habits but I was wrong. Everything went fine. They all adjusted. The battalion moved on and I went on up to be the G3 of the 1st Infantry Division.

I arrived at the division headquarters convinced that I was not going to allow perpetuation of what

had come to be habitual there. The rubric had been that the division commander would go out to the troops, visiting units from dawn until dusk. He would land back at the CP in the late afternoon and go to the mess for supper. There he and his assistant division commanders, James Hollingsworth⁵⁵ and Jack Dean would have several drinks, then dinner. Lubricated and fed, they would then go to the division briefing tent where the G2 would provide the latest on the enemy and the G3 would lay out his proposals for the following day. I knew from experience that that procedure meant that, somewhere out in the jungle, there was a hapless battalion commander who would receive a message telling him that at dawn his unit was going to be lifted out by helicopters for insertion into someplace that he'd never seen before. He'd get a warning order around 9:00 p.m. He had to ready his troops in the dark. Helicopters would arrive at daybreak to take the battalion on to a different battle from the one they'd been fighting. I knew that was the wrong way to run a division.

When I reported to DePuy, he indicated that normally I would accompany him as he visited units but that he would leave me to get my staff organized. He'd see me at the briefing that evening at 1930. I replied that the briefing was going to take place at 1600 because we had to allow battalions daylight time for troop leading procedures. He was startled, and I saw signs of impending eruption but he calmed down, stared off in the distance and said: "OK. 1600 it is. Be sure everybody gets the word." Thereafter, that's the way the division operated. If there were a sound, tactically advantageous reason for his adopting a course of action, he would do it, even if it really was contrary to his proclivities or to long established precedents.

One of the reasons I changed the briefing time, incidentally, was because those well-oiled seniors would harass the Intel briefer or the young Ops briefers there to tell them the story of what had been happening and what was going to happen. The division briefings were a trifle nasty. That all cleared up when we were dealing with the generals when they were cold sober and just off of the battlefield, therefore a lot more amenable to getting decisions made so they could get to supper.

There wasn't much about the way we ran the division that Leavenworth would admire. No five-paragraph field orders. No written directives. Everything was oral, fragmentary orders. I tried to keep a record of how long it took to get an instruction to a battalion for implementation, and attempted to push that time down to allow maximum time for commanders in the field. I had to keep my subordinates on the staff poised to expect changes in any plan, because I learned from listening to the division command net that adaptation was central to the way that DePuy operated. He would change his mind about where and when he wanted units in accordance with his reading on the enemy and the developing situation. We had to be ready to respond. I put together a team in the G3 section that could handle that. I would go forward with the division commander. I'd listen to him as he talked to people on the ground. All the while, I was getting messages from the command post on the larger situation as it evolved. I would inform the CG. He'd make a decision. I'd pass that back and the staff would take it from there. It was all done by oral orders and that is the way, it seems to me, divisions should operate.

The time I spent under DePuy's tutelage as his G3 was one of the high points of my career, just a great experience. I learned a lot. I think we formed a very effective team. It worked. It worked well.

When DePuy left, he was succeeded by Major General John Hay. Hay really expected a much more rigorously organized staff. He was not very comfortable with the easy sort of fluid, informal approach that I had learned to use. I never put out any orders for a road movement. I never stipulated in a written order what the order of march would be. We provided that information over the air, orally, and frequently a unit didn't make the start point (SP) precisely on time.

The 1st Infantry Division was pretty ragged when it came to road movement but its airmobile operations set new standards for the Army. On one particular occasion, we ran an assault with over 70 Hueys to land Al Haig's entire battalion, simultaneously, in multiple LZs around a village. 70 Hueys delivered nearly 500 soldiers at almost the same instance. I doubt that there's been any similar operation since. We brought that off, and we did it without any written orders. We had developed teamwork with the aviators and the ground units so that it happened as it should. We didn't get the order out for that

landing until about 1500 the previous afternoon. The assault was at daybreak the following morning. We showed that it could be done. General Hay wanted a more deliberate process. He wanted to know details. Who was going to go first, second, third? He liked to get himself into the process of being sure. Eventually, he put his own team into the G3.

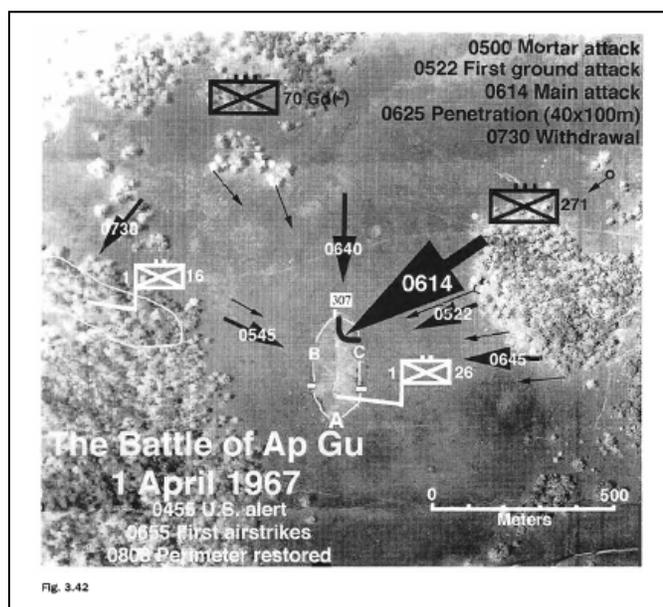
There are two instances which occurred when I was G3 that I should record. Both happened when General Hay was in command. The first was a battle, the third battle of Ap Bau Bang, on Route 13, in March 1967.⁵⁶ The 3d Squadron, Fifth Cavalry was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Sidney (Hap) Hazard, a quintessential cavalryman.⁵⁷ They had gone into a place, Bau Bang, where there had been two previous battles. I knew for certain that they were going to get a third one there. We arranged a sky full of airplanes and moved several artillery battalions within range of Bau Bang. General Hay was on leave in Hawaii. He'd gone to Hawaii to marry off a daughter, as I recall. General Bernie Rogers, the assistant division commander, was in command.⁵⁸ Just as we had anticipated, the enemy hit right after dark. We pounded the daylights out of them. It was the 273rd regiment of the 9th VC division, an outfit that wore a neckerchief, a bandana made from one of those black and white checkered tablecloths. When 3-5 Cavalry pulled out after the battle, every vehicle in its convoy had one of those neckerchiefs flying off of the antenna. Division engineers were digging mass graves with bulldozers and pushing in the bodies. It was quite a sight.

General Bruce Palmer had just arrived to take command of the Second Field Force.⁵⁹ He had landed at the helo pad along the side of Route 13 at Lai Khe. General Rogers had sent me down to the helipad to meet General Palmer and escort him up to the division command post [CP]. General Palmer got out of the helicopter just about the time the 3-5 Cavalry came roaring down the road, going full steam with those scarves flying. It was one of those dry season days in March. The red laterite dust was up and the sun was setting. The sunlight itself was sort of red. So you've got this red dust with the sun behind it and the cavalrymen barreling through. I was awestruck. General Palmer was anything but. He hollered at an MP to stop the convoy. I plucked at his sleeve to tell him that the troops were going home after trouncing a VC regiment and called his attention to the checkered neckerchiefs on their antennae. "That's a breach of camouflage discipline! We can't have that!" I tried to explain what the troops had accomplished. He didn't get it at all. He was very unhappy. He chewed out Bernie Rogers for the "usual" irregular behavior of the 1st Infantry Division.

The second incident occurred just a short time later, at the end of the March. The 1st of the 26th had been put into an LZ about six kilometers south of the Cambodian border. We knew that the enemy had troops in the vicinity, including a regiment to the east, over in the 'Fish Hook' area.⁶⁰ That regiment began to move towards the 26th.⁶¹

I was watching the intelligence building. Fortunately, we had put a number of artillery battalions into the area. All of them were mutually supporting. The enemy's plan was to hit several of the fire bases at the same time that they assaulted the 26th to disrupt the fire support. Fortunately, we had more artillery battalions out there than they had troops to run the offsetting attack plan. The 26th was also well supported with air strikes when the attack came. We had predicted a time of attack around 3:30 in the morning. I had laid on a B-52 strike, right across where the attack position of VC would be about that time.

When Al Haig learned that I had arranged



for the B-52 strike, he called General Rogers and demanded that the strike be called off, on the grounds that it was too close. Rogers called me to come see him. I pointed out that I had carefully coordinated with the Air Force. We had arranged the azimuth of the [rectangular] drop pattern so that it would be parallel [to the 26th defensive perimeter] to clear the strike for safety, 3000 meters east of them. We met all the Air Force concerns that it be a safe drop. The azimuth of flight and the bomb pattern would be astride the enemy line of advance and timed to do maximum damage to their mortars and reserves. General Rogers was reluctant to cancel the strike, so Al insisted that we move it at least ten kilometers away. We did. The enemy attack came exactly when we had predicted. If that B-52 strike had gone in as planned, the results would have been even more lethal than they turned out to be. The attacking regiment was decimated. We lost maybe 20 or 30 soldiers but the enemy took a terrific pasting, largely from artillery and air strikes. We had every strike available to the Air Force in SE Asia there that day.

There's often tension between the G3 and the commander on the ground. Obviously, his decision governs. It was his call. I would hazard a guess that had DePuy been there, the strike would have gone in as planned.

INTERVIEWER: What happened after Ap Gu and Junction City II?

GENERAL GORMAN: I left shortly after the battle of Ap Gu for attachment to MACV headquarters. I know we learned subsequently that COSVN was sufficiently impressed by the series of costly disasters that befell its troops in late 1966, and early 1967, that it directed its commanders to avoid further regimental attacks and to concentrate on small unit operations. Moreover, while we were congratulating our commanders, they were relieving and censoring theirs. COSVN had an unhappy time that winter-spring of 1967. General Rogers was right, those operations — CEDAR FALLS and JUNCTION CITY really were a turning point.

My whole experience with the Big Red One was entirely positive. What more can I say? I would hope that if I ever do get back in battle, I serve with as good a command team. It couldn't have been better.

I went down to MACV for a few weeks, at the end of my tour, so General Hay could bring in his own G3 team. Bill Knowlton,⁶² who was then one of the senior officials in CORDS [Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development], asked me if I would go around the divisions, particularly in northern I Corps, and come back and give him some news on what was working and what didn't work up there. That was occasioned by the fact that CORDS saw more progress in the III Corps area than they were seeing in the I Corps area. I was trying to run some evaluation of the programs up there until I returned to the United States where I was to be assigned to the Policy and Planning Staff in the Office of the Secretary of Defense.

DOD and Paris Peace Talks

INTERVIEWER: What were your duties at OSD and how did that contribute to your development as a strategist?

GENERAL GORMAN: I was ordered to the Office of the Secretary of Defense to a job that was called Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense for Counterinsurgency. Now the Joint Staff had a position for a two-star. No. Maybe it was three-star. It was called the Special Assistant for Counterinsurgency and Special Activities, SACSA, and Bill DePuy was in that position. So of course I got a call. When you to come into the Pentagon to report, you report to me. So I did. Well, he said, "There's something funny going on up in that office there." This is international security affairs, part of the DOD staff, in the Under Secretary's office. "There is something funny going on up there. I want you to get up there and scout it out. Find out what the hell these people are doing. I just don't like what I'm hearing from up there."

DePuy was referring in particular to a Deputy Assistant Secretary by the name of Morton Halperin. Halperin had an assistant named Leslie Gelb.⁶³ These two officials had put together a scheme. They were

going to review the history of US involvement in Vietnam to illuminate what we needed to do to bring that adventure to a successful conclusion. I'm paraphrasing the pitch they gave me. The idea was that, "We're going to have a special study. This has all been approved by the Deputy Secretary of Defense. He has approved this study and we want you to help us put this study together—back to the very beginnings. We're going to look at the intelligence products of the time and make an assessment how good they were, and we're going to carry it forward right into the current day. We've got the money and the people. We've got authorizations for spaces, etc. We're going to make this happen."

Thus was launched the Study on US-Vietnam Relations, which became known ultimately as the Pentagon Papers.⁶⁴ I went back to DePuy and told him what was going on. He said, "Okay, you go on with it. Just keep me informed of how this is all shaping up."

Now it turned out that the Secretary of Defense (McNamara) was livid when he heard about it. He did not want the study conducted. He said at the time, "first thing you know we're going to be reading about this in the New York Times." He was exactly right. That began a tumultuous year in which I worked from dawn until dusk, shepherding experts of one kind or another. We had some of the best minds on counterinsurgency in the United States and Europe come through there and do essays for us. We had experts from RAND and some of the other think tanks—Booz Allen, for example—who had teams out in Vietnam studying the war. They came in and wrote papers for us.

All these papers were then put together into a compendium and further essays were written. What do they add up to? I wrote a number of those essays and I edited a lot of stuff. I need to be clear that this paper writing, or this sort of historical task, was going on in the background against pointed attacks on specific issues relating to the conduct of the war, particularly the bombing campaign. The President was agonizing over whether to halt bombing and if so why. There was a distinct division of opinion in the Pentagon over the sagacity of bombing halts and there was a lot of attention paid to *sending messages*—communicating with the North Vietnamese by our actions. DePuy wanted me involved in those kinds of discussions, I think, largely to be sure that he understood what was going on and could keep the Chiefs on the straight and narrow. My general approach to the whole problem, early on, was that this idea that we were communicating with the North Vietnamese with these bombing halts was vacuous. This is all part of the "little dab will do you"⁶⁵ kind of view that was held by my civilian counterparts in the Office of the Secretary of Defense. They really thought that it did make a difference if we eased off on bridges in Hanoi or something.

I was willing to try a bombing halt if, when they went back, they took in the B-52s. Otherwise, we were not going to get communication with those people. There were a lot of issues over the role of ground forces. I took part in a study that looked at the prospect of intervening with American forces at the DMZ by extending a main line of resistance all the way across Laos to cut the Ho Chi Minh Trail, to curtail or attenuate infiltration into the South.⁶⁶ Of course that study convinced me that you had a nonstarter. We didn't have the forces, particularly since the President was unwilling—as he was unwilling—to mobilize the Reserve Components. We didn't have the force structure to do it.

As the events wore on, I found myself more and more involved with the move to open talks with the North Vietnamese. When the team was selected to go to Paris in early '68, I was on the roster. There was one other military officer on the delegation. He was an Air Force Colonel from J5 and the Pentagon. I guess, in summary, I was very much a part of what was going on in Washington at the time: Lyndon Johnson reassessing the prospects for the future, and then, ultimately deciding not to run.

INTERVIEWER: Sir, when you were in Paris, what did you and the Air Force Colonel -- what was your role in the negotiating team? What did you actually do?

GENERAL GORMAN: First of all, to some modest degree, the work that I'd been doing on the history was useful to the delegation because I could point out that this, that, or the other thing had happened in such and such a year. Here's the background for why they're saying what they're saying.

More importantly though, we were trying to help the Ambassador understand what was going on in Vietnam itself. For example, we were trying to deter the North Vietnamese from bombarding the cities in South Vietnam. Recall that, at that point in time, Saigon was being attacked with 122-millimeter rockets. The US delegation referred to this as indiscriminate bombardment of innocent civilians. It was incumbent upon us, me particularly, because my Air Force counterpart didn't know a hell of a lot about it, to point out that the 122-millimeter rocket is not exactly an indiscriminate weapon. It could be rather precisely directed if you chose. I knew that because, back in October of '66, we had observed, or had reports of columns carrying long green tubes from Cambodia going down toward Saigon. The North Vietnamese had been putting in this ploy for well over a year by this time.

Or, from the North Vietnamese side: "You speak of indiscriminate bombardment. Look at the B-52 strikes that are being directed against a hapless population. Peasantry in the countryside." Here my Air Force counterpart got into play. We got him to get us a precise geolocation of every B-52 strike in the previous year and compared that with the maps showing the distribution of peasantry. It made a pretty good case that, far from being aimed at population centers, the bombing campaign was mostly bashing the hell out of the jungle. Whether that was efficacious from a military point of view was beside the point. The point was we were not going after population centers. Quite the contrary. The evidence was also pretty clear that the bombardment was fairly precise. It was going where it was supposed to go.

One of the brouhahas that we were asked to help the Ambassador understand was the My Lai incident. I was incredulous. I said, "This is some sort of a propaganda farce. American forces would never do that." Wrong! I had to learn the hard way to look at the facts. We were there to help interpret the war. We got help from MACV. From time to time they would send an officer and he would bring with him the latest and best information MACV had on negotiations, etc.

One of the issues I dealt with in particular was POWs. When wives of POWs would come to Paris, I was expected to see to it, to the degree that they were controllable, that they didn't get into any hard situations. That was a pain in the neck, as you can imagine. By and large that was a sad detail and I was pleased to do anything I could to help them but there was not much efficacious that I had at my disposal.

I toyed around with the notion that if we could just get Red Cross representatives in to the Communist prisoners, we might be able to help the US POWs in the Hanoi Hilton. I worked up a scheme where we would offer the International Red Cross an opportunity to look at South Vietnamese prisoners of war, in return for the IRC getting into the Hanoi Hilton. I got a summons to Saigon. I had dinner in Creighton Abrams's hooch, his trailer out there. It was cordial enough until we got the dinner dishes cleared away. Then he said, "Now tell me about this POW business," and I started.

Abrams had a way of talking. He'd start way down low but as he got into his subject, it would get slower and louder until, red-faced, he's right up against you telling you, "You stay the hell out of this business! You have no idea what's going on in those confinement facilities." What the South Vietnamese did was take over the old French tiger cages down in the islands in the South. Abrams said: "We don't need to have anybody go see that stuff." I learned a powerful lesson there about indiscretion in your initiatives. That was the end of my foray into POW policy. Suffice to say, I was working with POW policy on several sides.

I got to know a number of people in the Department of State very well. Many of the associations continued to be useful in subsequent years. One of the prime movers in the State Department team there was Ambassador Philip Habib, who was ultimately the Assistant Secretary of State for the Middle East and one of the principals in Lebanon policy when we had the Marine barracks blown up. By then, I was

J5 and Assistant to the Chairman. The fact is that I knew Phil Habib. I could pick up the phone and ask: “What the hell is this all about? What are the issues?” I had good working relationships with many of those people thereafter.

INTERVIEWER: You returned to Vietnam to brigade command after service on the DOD Staff and two years watching the Paris peace talks. How did that affect the way you thought about what you were doing?

GENERAL GORMAN: I had the family there in Paris and we had a good time together. For the children it provided life-long memories. Paris was Paris, all very pleasant but I was a professional soldier. That Army was in bad need of help. I was determined to go back to war. The infantry assignment officers and the Army back in Washington wanted me to command the Berlin Brigade. I didn't want to do that. I wanted to go back to war. I had been sitting at the table listening to the Vietnamese for two years—I was fed up with them. One of the people on the North Vietnamese delegation was a Madame Binh, a South Vietnamese Communist representing the Vietcong. One of her aides was a young woman who wore a black and white checkered scarf to the meeting, just like the ones at Bau Bang. She knew that I knew who she was but she'd sit there and stare right at me, the hate unmistakable. I'm sure she would have cheerfully put a knife in me if the circumstances had permitted it. I was anxious to get back to soldiering.

I think General Berry was helpful in getting me assigned at the 101st, as opposed to any other outfits that I might have gone to. I might have gone to Americal Division and been part of the debacle of that outfit. This was right about the time that a couple firebases were overrun. I just wanted to go back to work. Thank God that I got to 101st.

Vietnam: 101st Airborne Division

INTERVIEWER: I'd like to go straight ahead and talk about when you were brigade commander, during your second tour in Vietnam.

GENERAL GORMAN: I commanded the 1st Brigade, 101st Airborne Division for a year, 1970-1971. You don't know many people in the profession who held brigade command for a year. It was very unusual for anybody to be left in brigade command beyond six months. There were all kinds of would-be generals trying to edge themselves into command. The war was winding down and, by order of the President of The United States, our posture was supposed to be one of defensive reaction. I thoroughly enjoyed myself as a brigade commander but it was a different Army from the one that I knew in 1966. If I had to go to war again, I'd want to go in an outfit like the 1st Infantry Division, not the 101st as it then was.

1st Brigade was assigned three well-peopled light infantry battalions. They were supposed to be airmobile but, when I arrived, those troops were going into the jungle carrying ruck sacks that weighed 90 to 100 pounds. They were anything but light infantry. The 101st had been in a position around Hue with their headquarters at Camp Eagle for almost a year. The division had cut LZs into the jungle all over the place, usually on a ridge top—trees cleared away. There would usually be an old tire out in the middle to identify it for the aviators and to show them where to put their bird down. Troops would go into the jungle with these huge rucks on their back and normally they would be fed a hot meal at noontime. They'd stop at a clearing. A hot meal would be flown into them. The soldiers would sit around and talk and usually, with the hot meal, the troops got a paper plate with plastic utensils. The detritus around the LZ, the garbage that they would leave, could be seen from the air for miles. I'm sure the enemy was amused by all this but the enemy certainly knew when and where we had people in the jungle. Constant air activity over them. Lots of goings and comings.

On the ground, these outfits would move only a few kilometers a day. They rarely got as much recon as I could have gotten out of a company of the 1st Infantry Division. Comparing the distance a 1st Infantry Division outfit would have moved with what I found was usual in the 1st Brigade, we weren't getting a third as much ground covered and we were doing it in a way that absolutely made it impossible

for us to surprise the enemy. Ours was an ostentatious intrusion. It was almost as though we wanted to signal to the enemy that we were patrolling the jungle around our fire bases to convey to them that it would be futile to attempt to sneak up on us.

The first thing I went to work on was to unload the infantry soldiers.⁶⁷ I took a division IG to an infantry battalion at our home base, Camp Eagle. The battalion was about to deploy forward to occupy a firebase. I required a full field layout: All on-person equipment unpacked and laid out for inspection. We discovered, as I suspected we would, that these kids were carrying all sorts of canned goods, condiments and toiletries, like hair tonic. They were traveling PXs. Most of them had what they referred to as their private box.

It had been customary to take the machine gun ammunition out of the can in which it was shipped and to carry the ammo belts Poncho Villa style. The cans were then passed out among the soldiers to keep letters from home and other gear, like their marijuana or their drug paraphernalia, etc. The theory was that this was their “private box,” immune from inspection. The troops were outraged when the IG and I insisted that they lay out the content of those “private boxes” too. I must have had half-dozen Congressional inquiries out of that one-day’s work. It was very clear to me that the private boxes were part of the drug problem. So I did away with them, an edict that earned me Congressional inquiries over Soldier’s rights and interference with the mail system, and on and on in that vein but we went ahead and did it. A soldier might carry an empty machine gun ammo can but it still belonged to the Army, was open to inspection, and he had to meet an overall weight limit on his whole pack.

I then went through a period of experimentation in which I allowed one battalion to carry a stripped shoulder pack, the old World War II-Korea way of going into combat. Another outfit was allowed to carry the butt pack. Nobody was allowed to carry a rucksack. The rucksack did not figure on any operations in the jungle. I further told one battalion that they were to practice a way to equip soldiers so that they could spend five days in the jungle without re-supply. That was, incidentally, one of the requirements we had in the 1st Infantry Division. A company had to be able to go out for five days without any aerial resupply and to move tactically the while. That meant, for example, that a soldier would carry his c-rations (canned combat rations) in socks hung around his neck. This required pains in choosing what he carried on his harness and his taking full advantage of the upper part of his load bearing equipment in addition to his butt pack. We would allow a guy going in for five days to carry both the shoulder and butt pack but not his rucksack. We did that for a month, talking often with battalion commanders on their experiences. Out of that experimentation, we finally came to an agreement that, depending upon their orders, they could elect to load the soldiers with one or the other, or some combination of the two allowed packing systems (shoulder or butt pack). The choice was be a function of the amount of time before re-supply.

There was a magazine article that appeared in *Playboy* magazine in 1971. The title of the article is “Goodbye to the Blind Slash Dead Kid’s Hooch.”⁶⁸ It was written by a fellow named Arthur Hadley. Hadley had been a company officer in World War II and then a long-time war correspondent. He’d been to Vietnam before. He was on his final visit to the Army in Vietnam, trying to see what had occurred to the Army there. He heard some soldiers talking about the ‘blind dead kid,’ and used that image as a figure of speech for Vietnam at that period.

The article is worth reading. Hadley makes the point that on that trip he saw the United States Army at its worst and at its best. The outfit that he described as among the best was a company of one of my battalions. It was an outfit that he accompanied into in the jungle for a patrol of five days. In that time, nobody spoke above a whisper. There was no violation of light discipline at any time. The troops were circumspect about what they left behind when they moved, so there was a very low probability that bad guys would be able to pick up their trail and set up an ambush for them. Hadley said that it was easily the most professional infantry outfit that he’d ever been close to. They were doing what they were supposed to do and they were doing it with a great deal of efficiency, from company commander on down through the ranks, arm and hand signals, hand language, etc.

We had some difficulties in that brigade but one of the things that I learned was that if you're going to work that problem of the soldier's load, you have to set up a system where the guys on the ground trust the battalion and brigade to meet their part of the re-supply plan. In other words, if your company has been in for five days, on day four the troops are pretty hungry. They need help. If on day four, one of those fogs descends on the mountains, as it did frequently, and the aviators say that they can't fly, the colonel has got to insist that they do. I have literally flown out myself in such weather with the skids down to where the pilots could see either the ground or the tops of the trees. We would just ease our way along, almost at a hover but we had to get out to where the troops were so that they could get food, water, and batteries.

On one occasion, I took my own command ship on such a mission. My crew, my pilots were particularly proficient at that kind of flying. I had to reach a company that was on day six, and had had no re-supply. They had only one radio still transmitting to us and they were really hurting. So I flew the re-supply package out to them. We flew up streambeds to work the Huey into the southern part of the A Shau Valley and found the company right where they said we would. They were in elephant grass. The pilot was reluctant to put the bird down in it for fear of blade damage. We had to throw stuff out of the aircraft from a low hover.

There was a scout dog with the company. The German shepherd saw that bird up there, leapt fully six feet off the ground, scrambled into the aircraft, and locked his forelegs around me. His dewclaws raked my back. I still have scars on my back where this dog put in deep gashes. He held onto me for dear life, literally, while we came out of a hover to start back. He was not about to let go. Of course the pilot had to deal with an unstable aircraft, having the balance shift with the dog's thrashing around. That damn dog not only hurt, he was wet and he stunk. We got to the base okay. The point is, if a commander is going to impose load strictures on his soldiers—and I am convinced that he must—he must be prepared to deliver resupply at the promised time.

INTERVIEWER: I'm curious about the response of your battalion commanders when you changed the regime that they were accustomed to.

GENERAL GORMAN: When I was in command of the 'Blue Spaders', there were 14 NCOs who had been in the battalion for more than ten years. They had all been trained by Sergeant Major Ted Dobol, who was a legendary sergeant major of the 26th. Dobol fought with the division in World War II, landed at Normandy and trained several NCOs who eventually became very important in the Army. Dobol had left the 26th before it went to Vietnam. He never served there in person but those youngsters that he raised did, and their leadership was a tribute to him. They were all damned good. They knew their job.

Company commanders in the 101st, on the other hand, if they were lucky, had one old regular First Sergeant. Everybody else in the usual company came in the Army in the same year: the draftees, the shake-and-bake NCOs that were pulled out of the training centers, given a get-rich-quick course and a sergeant's stripe. They were sent straight into the jungle; the lieutenants out of the ROTC or OCS—they all came in the Army about the same time. They were about the same age and were in the same class of ignorance. They just didn't have any old heads among them. You know how it is. If you come in as a replacement, you copy the guys that got there before you. Standards deteriorate. Regression sets in.

Our soldiers couldn't shoot. I satisfied myself that if there was anybody in a company that knew how properly to zero their rifle, he was a rare asset. We had to go back to the basics—set up 25-meter ranges and teach how to zero properly. We had to teach how to load the magazines and to carry them so that they would function properly in battle. We had to break the habit of taking machine gun ammunition out of the can and to carry the ammunition in the cans so as to have reliable automatic weapons fire when it was needed.

I sent back to the Infantry School and asked for help. The School sent me a bunch of mimeographed lesson plans for a lecture to be delivered from the podium, you know, standard USAIS lesson plans.⁶⁹ No help at all from back there. So we made it up. We put together a set of remedies on the spot. I set up a

course with multiple lanes to teach snap-shooting in the jungle. I took penprime barrels, put a pole thru them, dug a hole, and pivoted the barrel flat in the hole with a weight on the other end of the pole. The lane NCO could pull a wire and a barrel would spring up in front of the firer as he was moving down a path. He had to hit the barrel. We needed the barrel to score performance because there was a loud ping upon a hit. We made a soldier run that course again and again, until he pinged all the barrels in his lane.

I had good battalion commanders and I had good company commanders. They responded well but they didn't have the NCOs. The NCOs were gone. The Army's stock of experienced first-line supervisors had been used up. I kept book on that problem. Whenever I'd get a visitor, whether he was in uniform or not, I could lay out the facts. Here is this rifle company. This is what it's composed of. Usually there would be only one or two combat veterans among them. That was a far cry from what I had to work with in the 'Blue Spaders'. Company commanders in 1st Brigade of the 101st did not have that kind of support. It was an exceptionally good company commander who could surmount the obstacle of an NCO shortage without a lot of personal effort on building substitutes for experienced NCOs but they did it. We got by.

I had a battalion from another brigade put under my command for an air assault south of Hue. The brigade was running an operation with four battalions as opposed to three. The new outfit landed on its LZ. I landed behind it. I discovered that the soldiers would not look me in the eye. I'd come up to them and they'd stare at the ground and mumble. That just smelled of difficulty. I asked around. I discovered that the battalion commander had a combat refusal that morning. A soldier had refused to board a helicopter, so the commander had caused the soldier to be tied, hand and foot, and put aboard his command helicopter. That soldier had been dumped onto the LZ, bound hand and foot.

When I asked to see the soldier, they produced him. By this time he had been untied. He was one sorry down-in-the-mouth trooper. I pulled the battalion commander aside and asked what he thought was going on. He said the soldier in question had refused to go into action three times and he (the commander) was determined to make an example of him, lest others get the idea that they could do the same. I told him that, in my judgment, the action would have little or no deterrent value and might precipitate a mutiny. I told him that the sympathy of his troops seemed to be with the refuser, not with him. I ordered him to assemble his unit and to return to his base. We picked up the whole outfit and flew them back. I called division, reported that the brigade was continuing the operation without the fourth battalion, and recommended a look into the morale of that unit. My action led to the relief of that battalion commander. It is germane that the assistant division commander was named Sidney B. Berry. When I explained to him what I had done, he understood and reacted as I thought he would. He took care of the problem as he should have.

A second story has to do with the fact that the orange bags in which the mail arrived in the jungle in a time of war, were filled with kits for applying for the status of a conscientious objector sent by protest groups back in the United States. Within the brigade, we had a rash of soldiers presenting themselves with the documents all filled out, signed by doctors and chaplains and others, claiming the right to be declared conscientious objectors. When I asked the IG about all this, he told me that I was powerless pending a determination up the chain of command. I had to keep any claimant on my rolls until his status was adjudicated. His advice was to put them on cleanup details, or some other non-combat work.

I then called the conscientious objectors together, unit by unit, and explained to them that, for the time being at least, they would remain soldiers assigned to 1st Brigade. I said I was pleased, because they were an answer to a serious problem. As they knew well, troops need a lot of water out there in the jungle. As an objector-applicant, they were like combat medics. "You can't carry a weapon but I know that you'll want to help by carrying water." So they were each issued a ruck frame and a five-gallon water can. My instructions to the battalion commanders were that they were not to be allowed a weapon or any other form of ordnance but they were to move with their company and to carry its reserve supply of water. Word soon spread throughout the brigade about Operation Gunga Din, as it came to be called. I received reports of water carriers out there in the night begging a buddy to let them have his rifle while he was sleeping. They learned that we were involved in a serious business. The conscientious objector movement

dried up almost as fast as it materialized. I got a couple of Congressionals out of those events too. Fortunately, again, the division command group was thoroughly supportive.

The Secretary of the Army came out to visit us, to carry word about the policy of “defensive reaction.” We were not to act offensively but to let the enemy come to us. On the day that Secretary [Stanley] Resor arrived, I took him to a fire base where he was to talk to soldiers of a rifle company, then have lunch with them. The evening before that company had conducted an air assault on the west side of the A Shau Valley, about two kilometers from the Laos border. They were missioned to set up an ambush along a well-developed trail, known at the time as “the Gorman Road.” 1st Brigade patrols had discovered that the NVA were literally building a road using Montagnard labor. That road was graded and metaled. There was a crested, smoothed clay surface with embedded pebbles, ditched on both sides. They had tied treetops together over it so that it was invisible from the air. My conclusion was that the NVA planned to bring in wheeled vehicles and eventually send armor down this road to attack Hue from the south.

I had inserted the company to test whether there was any traffic on the road. We caused the lift aircraft to make several false landings before and after we dropped off the troops. They had moved into an ambush position on the road, intercepted a couple of trucks, killed all the North Vietnamese, captured machine guns, ammo and documents, and were extracted the following morning with no casualties. Those youngsters were higher than a kite. They had done it and done it beautifully well. Blackened faces, load stripped to just rifle and ammunition because they knew they were going to be out in the morning. It was a classic night patrol that worked as planned. When the Secretary sat down to talk to these soldiers about defensive reaction, they listened carefully but, I suspect, with little understanding.

The Gorman Road occasioned a visit to the brigade by General Creighton Abrams. He came up to see what his intelligence staff had been talking about. COMUSMACV was flown out to meet me on a hilltop where I had positioned some 155s. Fuse quick on their projectiles blew off the treetop camouflage, exposing the road. Abrams could see there was a stretch of the road out there in the jungle. Abe looked at it with his binoculars and then asked, “Well, what do you think it means, Colonel?”

I replied that the NVA were preparing for a rapid advance into the city of Hue. 1st Brigade had found not only the road itself but caches along the road. These indicated that there were going to be foot troops, and that they were laying in the rice, the uniforms and other materiel to support a move into the city. Abrams asked me when I thought the attack would occur and I said Tet 1972.

Abrams remarked that there were only a few people who understood that the way the North Vietnamese approached war was exactly opposite from the way we approach war. If we were going to attack, we’d be preparing combat troops. If they’re going to attack, they project their logistics forward. They send in intelligence, medics, and all of their support wherewithal, and get it all in place first. Combat troops form the last echelon. He said, based on what he’d seen, he thought I was probably right about an attack on Hue.

Actually my time estimate was wrong. The attack occurred not at Tet, in February 1972 but at Easter, which was in April that year. Further, the attack did not come up that road, because the road by then was thoroughly uncovered. Instead, the NVA advanced down the chain of firebases that the 1st Brigade, 101st Airborne Division, had built and defended west of Hue. These had been turned over to the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN) when the 101st was withdrawn. In the Easter Offensive of 1972, the firebases were lost and the NVA succeeded in getting into Hue. Fortunately, ARVN counterattacked, drove back the invaders and recaptured the firebases.

Nonetheless, that brigade of novice soldiers, lacking NCOs and handicapped by lack of public support, really did a good job, doing what they were put in there to do. Do I have any less regard for them than I do for my 1st Infantry Division comrades? No, far from it but I used no magic. It was just insisting on the same goals that I’d been working on with the ‘Blue Spaders’. The difference was that 1st Brigade of the 101st didn’t have the infrastructure that its mission required. Those soldiers were every bit as good,

every bit as willing as any soldiers I've ever served with. They just did not have the kind of support that the Army and the home front should have been able to provide.⁷⁰

There is one other thing that I should say. I was commanding during Lam Son 719 when the US and RVN invaded Laos. The 101st picked up all its combat units, except for my brigade of three battalions, and left me with the entire division area and all its bases under my command. It was during that time, with the division absent up north, that we uncovered the Gorman Road and Creighton Abrams came up to see it. We did what we were supposed to do. We were proper custodians for the entire division.

In the 1st Infantry Division, if I had an H-13, I thought I was rich. That was air mobility. When the 101st left me in charge of the whole division AOR, I set up an air cavalry troop. I had gunships and scouts, and some CH-47s. I had a sensing that I was learning how warfare of the future would be waged. I never have regretted my decision to seek a second tour in Vietnam.

Board for Dynamic Training and Assistant Commandant Infantry School

INTERVIEWER: I wonder if you'd talk about the Board for Dynamic Training?

GENERAL GORMAN: The Board for Dynamic Training (BFDT)—That was General Westmoreland's idea. He had gone to Alaska, visited an artillery outfit on a firing range, and did not like what he saw: bored soldiers going through the motions, with no imagination evident in what they were doing. They were out there putting in the time. His conclusion was that the battery officers and NCOs just did not know how to add zest to training, so he was looking for ways and means to show them how to do it right. Westy told his Assistant Vice Chief of Staff (AVCS), Lieutenant General William E. DePuy, what he had had seen and propounded a thesis that all Army training lacked dynamism. This was right at the time when there was a board for leadership in the Army, prompted by a group of officers at the Army War College who were critical of Army leadership.⁷¹

GENERAL GORMAN: Hank Emerson⁷² was selected to head a board, charged to look into the problems the War College group had described. Westy had liked the Board's conclusions and he sent them around the Army briefing what needed to be done about flawed leadership. DePuy told Westy that as Hank Emerson had a favorable impact with his leadership board, the Chief might consider a similar board to look at training.

I was already on the list to become a brigadier. I had received word that I was going to be assigned to the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City. Ruth had gone up to New York, had talked to the garrison commander up there, and had selected quarters for our family. In fact the yellow moving van was at the door in Annandale and we were loading out our household goods when the phone rang and I was summoned into the Pentagon. DePuy told me that I was going to have lunch with the Chief of Staff and forewarned me that he was going to put me in charge of a board to look at Army training. When I told DePuy that our move north was already in progress, he told me to get on the telephone and stop it. I changed the destination of the moving van from New York to Fort Benning. That's where DePuy said I would be sent. I was instructed to talk with Westy, then go down to CONARC and talk with Ralph Haines⁷³ because the board was going to be working under him.

I went to lunch with the Chief. I got his Alaska pitch. He said, "I must do something immediately. We have to get dynamic training understood and used in the Army. We can't possibly let this situation go on much longer." I suggested, "Don't use the word *dynamic*, because I don't think that communicates very well." Boy, did I get a blast from Westy on that one. "No, that's exactly what I mean! I want the Army's training to be dynamic!" Thump, thump, thump on the table. I "rogered" and excused myself. I drove our station wagon loaded with the entire family, including a cat, and with a mattress tied to the roof, down to Fort Monroe to see Ralph Haines, then onward to Fort Benning. We set up housekeeping and I started to work on BFDT.

I brought to the Board a whole set of prejudices, suppositions, and hunches that I had developed over the years. In Vietnam, replacements would come in to me from the training base that couldn't even zero

their weapon, let alone shoot it effectively. I had companies in the field, in the A Shau Valley, who had only one or two professional NCOs in their ranks. There was no savvy, no institutional memory, in those units. I asked for help with training from the Infantry School and I got a box full of lesson plans designed for classroom delivery, not terribly useful to someone who is working in the A Shau Valley and the south and west approaches to Hue. I came back from Vietnam thoroughly prepared to do whatever I could to change the way the Army was doing business. I was determined to change the schools' attitude toward support to troops in the field.

During the board operations, what we did was to try to look into every nook and cranny of the Army's preparations for future wars. We addressed not only training in Continental Army Command, US Army Europe (USAREUR), and US Army Korea but we looked into the National Guard and the Army Reserve. We were trying to figure out how the Army was approaching the several contextual venues, each with very different kinds of training problems and time urgencies. The approach was to bring in experts from these areas, give them a seat on the Board, coach them on what it was that we wanted to find out, and then send them back to conduct surveys and look around and tell us how their particular environment was operating. I laid out a scheme that emulated my approach to command of the 'Blue Spaders' or the 1st Brigade of the 101st: To talk to as many company NCOs and officers as the Board could contact in the time we had available.

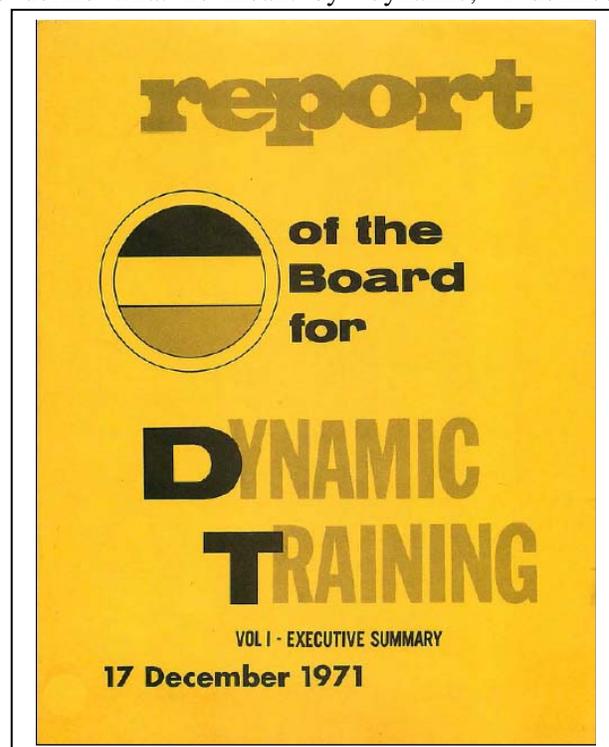
This was in the summertime. We had to have a report to the Chief by December, complete with a recommendation for planned action. I got the National Guard Bureau to give me a pool of officers on short-term active duty as Board members. I got General Haines to task the divisions in The United States to provide others. Through Bill DePuy, I got Europe and Korea to nominate members. With the help of behavioral scientists from the Army Research Institute for Behavioral and Social Sciences (ARI), we structured a preliminary set of surveys.

We briefed our Board members on how to conduct the surveys—What questions to ask, how to ask them, what to look for, what other data to collect on the state of training in their part of the Army, Active or Reserve Component. Since Westy chose not to define what he meant by "dynamic," I defined "dynamic training" as training that:

- The commander tailors to unit needs;
- Overcomes constraints [of time and place];
- Is for the trainer imaginative, innovative, and professionally stretching;
- Is for the trainee a stimulating learning experience leading to job satisfaction.

Then I sent them back to their organizations, credentialed as representatives of the Board, with instructions that they had thirty days to submit their input. Once we had the preliminary surveys, we brought the members back to help us understand better what we were being told, to compare observations, and try to figure out ameliorative action. Then we turned to the preparation of the final report.

The result was a set of yellow covered books.⁷⁴ Most of what was published was survey data. I concentrated on drafting and revising the executive summary. I was surprised, frankly, that we finished on time and that the report was well received.



Lieutenant General Paul K. Van Riper, the Marine three-star, told me he had kept a set of those volumes right in back of his desk. “But,” I said, “the report had nothing it about the Marine Corps.” He responded, “It was the Marine Corps. Your Board had it exactly right.”

While all these Board members were trying to ascertain what was wrong or right with Army training, I was evolving the executive summary from outline through a coherent whole. Meantime, Westy directed me to gather perspectives from twelve retired general officers with reputations as consummate trainers. Every week I had one of these old war horses to take up my time. Each of them contributed usefully to our work.

After I met with members, or after I reviewed analyses of statistical data, I would revise the summary to reflect new information or better insights. That simultaneous development brought us to the deadline with a fairly coherent product. I congratulated the members on their survey work and their professional observations, praised the statistical analysts and the ARI training experts, and sent them home with letters of commendation.

The Report was a strong confirmation of what I thought the answer would be at the beginning: a reprise of the Seventh Army study of 1960.⁷⁵ What was wrong with Army training was not the troops, not the NCOs, not the company commanders. All these were willing and able to conduct meaningful, gripping, motivating training. They preferred dynamism in training. However one defines dynamic training, that’s what they wanted. The problem was the chain of command. We ended up telling General Westmoreland that the problem with Army training was higher commanders who threw tasks and programs at unit commanders, which required them to furnish personnel to activities outside their unit, or to devote a unit’s time and energy to activities other than what they needed, or wanted. Leaders preferred to be out in the field conducting meaningful tactical exercises, shooting, moving, and communicating. They preferred that, as opposed to mandatory classes on race relations, substance abuse, Geneva Convention, or meeting other requirements piled upon them by higher headquarters.

The Chief took that onboard and said, “Well, let’s get this word out to the troops.” So we put together a briefing of the Executive Summary. The way the report was couched occasioned some stir but that was not intended. The publicity that we received tended to obscure the real thrust of the Board findings. Publicity aside, what we were really trying to point out was that there was no overall system within the Army that addressed the several very different circumstances of the major commands and that there was no reasonable expectation, given the way the Army was structured and manned, that that could be fixed. The Army *could* have a framework for approaching training. It needed one but it had neither concept nor structure to provide such support.

In my briefings on the findings of the board, I was fond of pointing out that the Army was thoroughly dependent upon the service school system and the training centers that were associated with it—what I called institutional training. The Army expected the schools to pace training, to determine what could be trained and how you would go about training, but the schools were all fashioned on the industrial, ‘red schoolhouse,’ mode of training, where a lot of students sat around on their tail and listened to an expert expostulate on one subject or another. Even the training in the field at Fort Knox and at Fort Benning had bleachers and latrines, training aids display boards, and all of the apparatuses of a classroom transplanted from the schoolhouse to the field. These were modes of training not implementable in CONARC divisions, or those in Army Europe, or in Korea, or in the Reserve Components.

I became convinced that what was needed was a whole new way of thinking about Army training. The notion that one managed training in the Army by dictating time was questionable. I talked with any number of educators during the Board for Dynamic Training and afterwards. They convinced me that time management was vacuous. You have to know a lot about your students before you can be assured that an hour on any given topic is going to have the same effect for a group of very different soldiers, most of them adults, needing a tailored approach. That's what we were talking about—concepts that the Army brings to bear—time management being one.

The Army training program was laid out in terms of hours. It stipulated what subjects, what hours were required, and cited sources—resources. Typically, training schedules were the critical documents. Whenever training was evaluated, the schedule was central. For example, the Army response to OSD urgings to focus on counterinsurgency cited hours on COIN-related subjects shoehorned into school curricula. The BFTD survey of the force suggested that approach was ineffective, perhaps futile. For a company commander, schedules were more often ignored than respected and, when followed, were rarely effective. Rarely had the instructor read the references. Field manuals were less than effective. Writing and publishing manuals took years and existing manuals were usually out of date, were missing, or difficult to access in a unit. In short, the whole system was flawed.

There seemed to be a presumption that, if we got into a war again, somehow or another government could push the button and the McNair⁷⁶ approach to mobilization could be ginned up. Having been through the Korean War with the United States Army, I knew the Army could not simply call up a division and send it into action without preparatory work. I watched the 3rd Division deploy from Fort Benning. I knew those guys couldn't fight their way out of a wet paper bag. There were few cohesive Army units in Korea, despite the fact that there were a lot of combat veterans from World War II in their ranks. There were a lot of brave people, and they did yeoman service trying to make the system work but the Nation did not do much to help them succeed. I saw much of the same thing again in 1966-67 and again in 1970-71 in Vietnam. I had a lot of motivation to change the way we were training. The first thing that had to go, in my view, was the whole Army Training Program with its appended Army Training Tests—presumably, the way successful training was validated.

I gave speeches in which I pointed out that training in schools, learning in schools, is inherently different from the way training ought to be conducted in units. Schools are important in the learning process, particularly for initial entry training but the model used there is dysfunctional in units, where the whole idea is to build cohesion and teamwork. It's not just the difference between conducting ground school for an aviator and then putting him in an airplane to fly the thing. It's more difficult than that. Piloting is an individual skill, a psychomotor achievement. Building teamwork within a unit is a behavioral undertaking, leaning strongly upon sound leadership, fraternization, shared concepts, and social interactions over time. If you are dealing with an Army unit, where any one soldier's efficiency is dependent in part on what his mates on his left and right are doing, or the kind of support he's getting from the rear, building that teamwork, that dependence—interdependence—is a very different matter. Combat readiness can't be taught by lecture—demonstration—application. Therefore, I differentiated between institutional training and training in units. The latter is where training counts the most.

I had long harbored the idea that we had to figure out a different way to conduct tactical training, particularly for small units. When I was on the faculty at West Point, we used to have cross-departmental discussion groups among faculty members. I had a classmate over in the Department of Mechanics, as I recall, [William] Bill DeGraf.⁷⁷ He had a graduate engineering degree from Purdue. We were talking about how you teach small unit tactics. These were issues that come up in the context of the training we would be conducting during the summer at Camp Buckner. I proposed to Bill DeGraf that there must be a way of using a radio system—put a radio on every soldier and the radio would tell you where he was. Then, there'd be some sort of way of ascertaining where he pointed his weapon. I laid all this out, how you could get azimuth and target bearings. Bill listened. "Can't be done," he said. "Can't be done. There is no way of doing that. We don't know how to do that." I was convinced that you could not teach small unit tactics the way we were doing it. When I was a cadet, everything was taught off of a block diagram. Actions in the assembly area. Movement to contact. Crossing the LD. Occupation of the attack position and conduct of the assault. These were just a series of discrete actions.

I kept asking myself, what's the enemy doing all this time? What do we do about him? The answer to that then was live fire. Pop-up targets, cardboard targets. Wait for the pop-up. Bang. Putting all that together in the mind of a soldier was not going to do much good. What the Army needed was a system that would be as close as possible to the actual conditions of combat, a system that taught fire and

movement and the use of cover and concealment, and did so in a way that rewarded doing it right and penalized you if you did it wrong.

This gets us right back to the 'point of the arrow' consideration. How do you teach collaboration to soldiers in an infantry squad? The answer is unlikely to be a series of lectures, or publishing field manuals, or distributing mimeographed lesson plans. The answer is to get the soldiers on terrain and let them move, shoot, and communicate while performing a mission. Let them experience what works and what doesn't work. Let them learn by making mistakes, by losing and winning against a thinking enemy. That thinking led us into "engagement simulation."

Back when I was at West Point as an instructor, I worked with a Navy facility down at Port Washington, Long Island. It was called the Navy Special Development Center or something like that.⁷⁸ It was a center that was involved in training Navy folks in modern technologies, like radars. What can radar make available? How do you teach the effects of radar? They had a number of specialists who had really gotten into perceptual psychology, how you do this action on the job, and so on. So I spent a lot of time at Port Washington when I was on the faculty at West Point, trying to see what we could bring up to the Military Academy from what they were doing.

When I got down to Benning, the first thing I did was to ask where the Navy's Special Devices Center, or whatever they now called it, was located. It turned out that it had been moved down to Orlando, Florida. Early that fall, I took a trip to Orlando and spent a day or two wandering around that place. One of the rooms they took me to was a laboratory where they were experimenting with lasers. Their application was providing a means for Navy shore patrols to exercise their 45s before they went on patrol. Rather than just shooting a 45-caliber round into a bucket of sand, they had lasers and targets to provide an experience with accuracy as well as the functioning of the weapon. That struck a chord. So I went up to Boston and sought out General Jim Gavin,⁷⁹ then the president of Arthur D. Little, and I talked to him about what I was interested in doing. Gavin was on the list of senior generals that Westy had given me because of Gavin's well-earned reputation for being a premier trainer of troops in World War II. Gavin livened up immediately when I started talking about shooting and teaching fire and movement with something like the effect that you get from direct fire. He put a team from Arthur D. Little to work on seeing what was out there in technology. The answer came back, "Looks like the Japanese are a light year ahead of us but we're prepared to look into that if you can assure us that in the end the Army will be prepared to pay for the time we're going to invest."

I went back to CONARC and asked if BFDT could have some money to investigate some aspects of advanced training technology. General Haines gave me assurance that he would back the effort but he wanted to know how much it would cost. I made a telephone call to Jim Gavin and I got an estimate. General Haines put up funds per that estimate. Gavin's firm soon delivered an appraisal of existing eye-safe lasers of sufficient resolution and range to emulate very accurately both a hit and a near miss for a bullet from a rifled shoulder arm, available with reasonable size, weight and power, at a tolerable cost. That started us thinking through how we could expand laser technology to other direct fire weapons by modulating the laser signal to tell the target what kind of weapon was attacking. Then in January 1972, I turned to being the Assistant Commandant of the Infantry School full time.

As expected, just staffing the BFDT's recommendations and getting the word out was a slow process. Early on, however, the Chief of Staff approved the BFDT recommendations that established The Combat Arms Training Board (CATB), a small group of highly qualified combat arms officers and NCOs, tasked to explore ways and means of assisting any commander, at whatever echelon, who was interested in having vigorous, effective training. I was named the Board's first President but within weeks I was succeeded by Colonel John Seigle of General DePuy's staff.⁸⁰

Armed with Arthur D. Little's technological data, CATB made a proposal that the Army develop a laser engagement simulation system. To its credit, the Army responded favorably. General DePuy, still the AVCS, saw to it that the muscle movements requisite to get a program underway were taken. A Request for Proposal was issued, written by Gavin's Arthur D. Little team collaborating with officers

from CATB. It called for design-to-cost for specific weapon replicators. Xerox, as I remember, won the contract and was awarded enough money to start producing prototypes. The first two years of the formal laser engagement systems program, FY '73 and FY '74, were funded by Program 8 at TRADOC, the program of which the DCST was director. By then, I had become the DCST. The program was named MILES, Latin for soldier and an acronym for "Multiple Integrated Laser Engagement System." MILES grew to be a billion dollar investment by The United States Army.⁸¹

CATB spent a couple years just briefing the Board For Dynamic Training Study, visiting all the various commands, carrying the message, and showing them what could be done and getting them to sign up for it. Every command was problematic. Take USAREUR as a case in point. Ace Collins was the deputy commander in Heidelberg. He considered himself, rightfully, one of the world's experts on training.⁸² His approach to training was very much closer to that of Bruce Clark—"an organization does well what the boss checks"—than it is to mine. Collins would go into a unit and he'd find matters that the commander wasn't paying attention to in detail. His was more like an IG inspection than an effort to improve training.

That's not the way you go at this problem. What he was looking for was less common sense training than evidence of command-enforced discipline. His was a different objective. I was looking for evidence that a unit could move, shoot, and communicate for purposes of carrying out a combat mission effectively. Ace Collins and I agreed when he said that large exercises were beneficial only two echelons below the command that directed the exercise, and almost never useful at company and battery level. I'd been through a lot of those hokey road march missions that passed in Europe as maneuvers. However fine those were for the corps participating, they were just a pain in the butt for the soldiers riding the back of an APC for hours at a time, never understanding what was going on.

USAREUR clearly was a hard case. In 1977, when I took command of the 8th Infantry Division, it was almost as though there had never been a Board for Dynamic Training. There certainly wasn't any dynamic training underway. Nonetheless, I think the Board for Dynamic Training did some modest amount of good. It certainly started a process that prepped the LZ for the STEADFAST reorganization and the establishment of Training and Doctrine Command.⁸³ It opened the door to what happened subsequently, Army-wide. It brought together a group of relatively junior officers on the CATB who carried the water and hewed the wood for Bill DePuy's reforms of the Army.

One of the facts of life was that CATB guys were rare birds. There weren't a lot of them around the Army. In order to keep them together, once TRADOC stood up, we ran a number of scams with the permanent change of station (PCS) game. I had a three-way circuit that would move CATB members around for a couple years. First, they would PCS to Ft. Eustis or to Ft. Monroe. Then they would move them from Ft. Monroe back to Ft. Eustis as another PCS.⁸⁴ We kept the group together pretty well until Bill DePuy left. Then of course things went downhill rapidly.

Riding herd on that assemblage of talent was *sine qua non* for success. It's like a good horse. You don't want a horse that always keeps his rider on the reins and actively spurring. You want a mount that wants to run and responds to minimal guidance but a lot of personnel management practices had to be overcome. I was usually in tension with the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel (DCSPER). He didn't want me to keep CATB together.



INTERVIEWER: Sir, when you arrived in the Infantry School, as the Assistant Commandant, did you find the teaching environment different from that which you experienced as a lieutenant? What, in your view, were the problems that you found when you arrived and how did you try to fix them?

GENERAL GORMAN: I arrived concerned about the lack of focus at the schools of the line on where the payoff is. I arrived there convinced that infantry soldiers existed to control ground and people. I found an Infantry Officers Advanced Course that was almost wholly taught inside a modern air-conditioned building. I found that the Infantry School—supposedly dedicated to preparing infantry officers for duty in the infantry battalions of the Army, the majority of which were mounted, had little by way of curricula content or symbology that would have suggested that graduates had to be ready for mounted warfare. To the contrary, the statue out front said it all. The guy with the rifle aloft, the "follow me" arm wave. Yet tactical instruction at the Infantry School didn't take place on the ground.

I looked at the MOSs [military occupational specialties] of the people on the faculty and I couldn't find many who carried a 1560, Armored Infantry Officer, which I did. Yet, the fact was that by then most active infantry rode to war in M-113 APCs [Armored Personnel Carriers]. I decided we had to do something dramatic. The statue out front was a symbol, so we needed other symbols. I caused the first of the APCs—the World War II halftrack – the M75, the first of the covered APCs – together with an M59, the predecessor of the M113—to be positioned out front as a kind of visual reminder that, besides the soldier afoot, there were other infantry fighting formats important in the past and likely to be significant in the Infantry's future.

When I said let's do this, I had the impression someone would drive up and park the vehicles. I was therefore unprepared for the digging, the pouring of concrete, and all of the huge public works that I precipitated out front. I got to Benning in September. We had the dedication of the display vehicles in November. I invited George Patton,⁸⁵ an old friend, to come down for the dedication from Fort Knox, where he was Assistant Commandant of the Armor School. It was to be a big media event: television cameras, bands, bleachers for people to sit in. I got up and explained why we were there and thanked everybody for coming. Then I asked my colleague and good friend from Fort Knox to talk.

George got up in front of the podium, looked around right and left, and said: "There are only two [blank] branches in this Army. The rest of them are just hangers on. There are only two branches that can close with the enemy and kill." Here the artillery officers turned red and engineers and other branches began leaving. George larded his remarks with four letter words, carried by public television for downtown Columbus and the surrounding region. Some faint hearts had kittens right there on the spot but we got through Patton. George Patton stressed exactly the right kind of point. In mounted warfare, it is the cooperation between armor and the infantry that really gains the ground, holds on to the ground, and defeats the enemy. You've got to have combined arms or you don't win at modern war.

It was only a matter of a month after I departed Benning for Fort Carson that the vehicles disappeared. I don't know who ordered them off post. The next time I came back to Benning, they were gone. The cement pads were still there but the vehicles were gone. I began then, regularly in my speeches, to refer to this as an example of the mental inability of our profession to accommodate the realities of the modern world. I'd go into a description of the Israeli experience. It is possible, I'd say, for infantry to have the same arrogance as did the Israeli armor in the '73 War. Well, after a few months of such speeches, the vehicles reappeared. I don't know whether they are there today. I suppose they are.

It was important to get these points reestablished with the force, particularly since the Infantry School always insisted that it was its ambition to come out with an infantry fighting vehicle. Once the STEADFAST reorganization broke up Continental Army Command and put TRADOC into business, the schools were combined with the Combat Developments Command and the schools assumed the function of combat development under TRADOC. It was important that the schools begin looking forward. One of General DePuy's ideas was to get each school out of its mold of focusing on what's past and turn instead to the future.

Now, to go back to your question about change from when I was a lieutenant—Sure there was change. In the years that I was there with school troops, there were more problems out on the ground where students watched soldiers at work and things went bang, and mortars and artillery were fired, and some reality, some ground truth existed. By the time I got there as Assistant Commandant, the advanced course student was chair-bound. I thought that was just deplorably bad form. I don't remember the exact figures but my memory is that something like 90 percent of the Advanced Course and 80 percent of the Basic Course were classroom exercises of one kind or another. I felt the proportions ought to be precisely the other way around, particularly in the Basic Course. I could not understand how the School expected to teach lieutenants platoon leading inside a classroom.⁸⁶

I ran into most of the problems that [George C.] Marshall had but I had a substantial amount of difficulty that he didn't have to put up with. First of all, the Chief of Staff sent me down to Benning not to be the AC but to run the Board for Dynamic Training. The AC post at the school was an additional duty. The colonels of the school faculty made it known that they didn't need much help. They were doing fine. "Just go about working your Board, general, we will take care of the school." There was a room on the top floor of the building where the department head meetings were held. It had the biggest table I ever saw. I would walk in there, in reality a colonel, not even a real general. Here were ranks of colonels all around this huge, long table—old guys, grizzled veterans, all of them deeply skeptical of anything the upstart new BG had to say. It was a tough environment to operate in. Was the School at Benning doing its job right? No, those colonels were doing a poor job. Infantry, the Army, deserved better.

Secondly, I didn't get much help as Assistant Commandant of the Infantry School. General Westmoreland came down to talk to the classes. He delivered a speech that nearly created a mutiny. He said, because of the rapid expansion during the war in Vietnam, the Army had been filled up with a lot of crud. A lot of officers didn't deserve to be officers. There were company commanders that shouldn't have been allowed to command platoons, and so on. He could have been talking about 9 out of 10 of the officers in the audience. Those officers really were angry that the Chief of Staff of the Army had come down to insult them like that. Westy had a fixed idea, incidentally, that all of the woes of the Army came from the bottom. He was totally unprepared for contrary news from his Board for Dynamic Training that the problem was head space and timing at the top.

I had that Board on my hands through December. Then, right after the first of the year, the Vice Chief of Staff of the Army sent me a message saying certain government lawyers were coming down to talk to me and he wanted me to know that the Army supported them. These government lawyers showed up and said, "We are going to prosecute Daniel Ellsberg and since you were his immediate supervisor (at DOD), you are going to be the principal witness for the government." So I fired a message back to the Vice Chief.

INTERVIEWER: Was that General Bruce Palmer Sir?

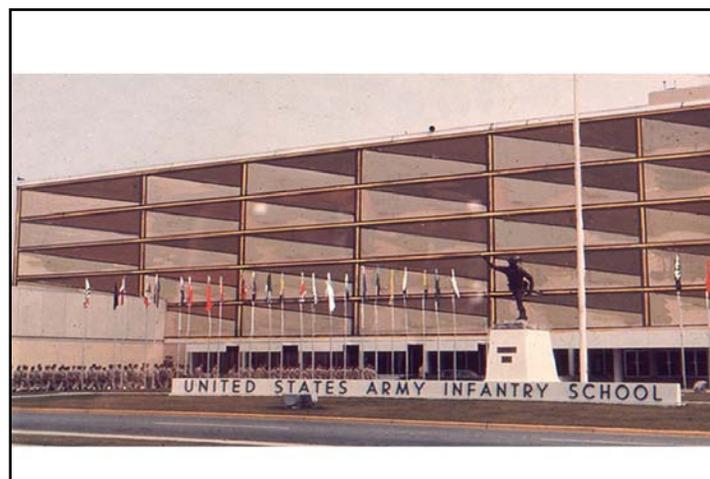
GENERAL GORMAN: Yes. My message said that it was clear to me that I could not be the Assistant Commandant of the Infantry School, and serve in any other job at the same time. I had proven, with the Board for Dynamic Training, that I simply could not take on this prosecution assignment and still remain the Assistant Commandant. My message said, "I haven't been promoted yet, so it is easy enough for me to take off the star and I'll go out and do the trial thing as a colonel but relieve me of the job here. As far as the star is concerned, I never wanted to be a general anyway." Well, my old friend Sid Berry, now a major general running MILPERCEN [Military Personnel Center], got me on the phone and said, "You fool. Do you realize that message is all over the building?" I said, "But sir, it was a back channel." He said, "That ensures that it is going to be all over the building. You have to know that General Palmer is hopping mad. You are very likely to get exactly what you ask for." I said, "Well, as far as that is concerned, that's great."

Fortunately, the AVCS (DePuy) weighed in on the issue, and convinced General Palmer that the answer was to relieve me of Benning's Assistant Commandant job, put someone else at Benning, send me out to Fort Carson and let me be assigned as the Assistant Division Commander while I did the trial job.

The Secretary of the Army approved, so they did that. I departed Benning within 10 months of my arrival, so I never really had a chance to work on Infantry School issues at that time. Eventually I did. In my subsequent assignment to TRADOC, I convinced General DePuy, then commanding TRADOC, of what had to be done. The Basic Course was reorganized in tactical units around tactical officers and put into the field for most of its instruction. A substantial part of the Advanced Course was conducted in the field. I must tell you that there was staff agonizing. Fort Benning didn't want to cooperate. They just loved the pointer-podium-poop method of teaching. That's what they were good at and they didn't want to waste the time—that's literally what they said—getting out on the ground.

That having been said, one of the findings of the Board for Dynamic Training, made quite independently of me I assure you, was that the schools were irrelevant to training in units. The models or forms of training used in the Schools could not be used except in the school, and they were scarcely dynamic. If the Chief of Staff wanted dynamic training in the units of the Army, then the schools had to teach dynamically. If you want to teach officers how to train in units, you ought to provide them role models in their schools for how to go about doing that training. Why did we go to tactical officers teaching on the ground in the Basic Course? Because that's the way officers ought to function in their units. We wanted lieutenants to see somebody functioning as they should in a unit, hands on, do-it sort of behavior. Don't give lectures on the maintenance of armored vehicles. Maintain armored vehicles. Use actual armored vehicles to teach how. Don't spend a lot of time agonizing over the principles of tactics. Get them out and confront the principles on the ground. Confront the realities of tactics. Then talk about the principles after the students screw them up. They will remember them that way. That sort of recommendation came through loud and clear from the Board, and it's directly germane to how the schools ought to operate.

Further, I still believe that, as a general principle, schools ought to be better linked with the force. That is still an unresolved problem for the Army. When I was down at Benning, I used to give lectures about the fact that the Army was going to change and change rapidly. What we were teaching officers in 1971 was going to be outmoded by 1975 and we ought to be looking for ways to update graduate Infantry officer memory banks, to show them the latest and best in Army infantry tactics and doctrine. We ought to be looking for ways to extend the power and influence of the Infantry School. Often I spoke on this theme to that long table of colonels, to those grizzled, skeptical faces turned up at me. I was getting nowhere. I used to cite the experience of the schools in England, the so-called Universities Without Walls, where the students were distributed yet the instruction met high standards and credible degrees are granted. Why, I asked, can't we be doing this at Fort Benning? Why can't we make this School a learning power house for the Infantry throughout the Army? This photo is one of the things that the colonels presented to me when I left. It is a retouched picture of the Infantry School building without walls.



Infantry School Without Walls.

Deputy Chief of Staff for Training, Training and Doctrine Command

INTERVIEWER: Sir, where did you develop your interest in systems? You're not an ORSA by background but clearly you take a systematic view of things.

GENERAL GORMAN: I don't know. I suspect that it was drilled into me by Bill DePuy. He was a linguist and a guerrilla fighter but he knew how to make things move in Washington. He learned that on the Army Staff back in the '50s and early '60s.

I guess it starts with my early dismay at the state of proficiency in the Army. In the 82d Airborne Division, you got all those troops who had been participating in ever more elaborate training exercises—there was more money being lavished on the airborne than there was on most divisions at that time—but the soldiers were abjectly ignorant of their weapons. It cried out for somebody to get in, take charge and make it right. I always had a thirst for helping soldiers understand their weapons and how to use them to maximum effectiveness. Then, over the years, I saw opportunities to do that.

I was also conditioned as a major by exposure to the resource competition in Washington and the Pentagon. I arrived there when Alain Enthoven and McNamara's "Whiz Kids" were pushing hard on the numbers game. If you wanted to be resourced, you had to have your act together in that respect. Then there was my exposure in DePuy's Big Red One and his thirst for hard data on what the division was doing. "Don't tell me that you conducted harassment and interdiction fires last night! How many rounds of what caliber were fired? At what range? At what targets?" He badgered his briefers with this sort of thing. As his G-3, I tried to train my briefers to be able to answer questions like that.

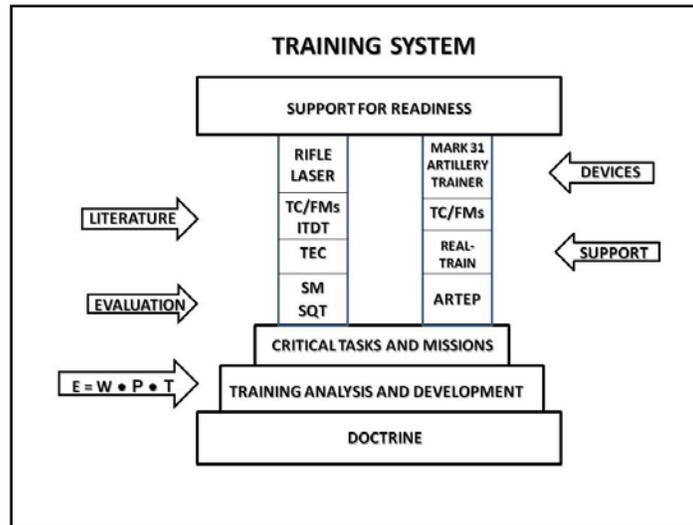
Would it have made any difference if I went off to Rochester and got a degree in ORSA? I don't think it would. It might have even cluttered an already overtaxed mind. It's less ORSA than it is attention to detail. What makes it go?

INTERVIEWER: Sir, when you became Deputy Chief of Staff for Training at Training and Doctrine Command you had, or quickly developed, a comprehensive vision of TRADOC's mission and your place in it. You articulated that view in a number of forums, particularly at the Army War College,⁸⁷ the Armed Forces Staff College,⁸⁸ and to the Senior Manager's Workshop at TRADOC.⁸⁹ For the purpose of this oral history, would you frame the vision and responsibilities of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Training within the Training and Doctrine Command during your tenure?

The papers suggest that TRADOC activities were shaped to exploit the synergy of the dual responsibilities for Combat Development: The development of the concepts which will govern how the Army will fight in the future; and Training Development: Teaching how to employ weapons, organizations, and tactics and the devising of appropriate training standards.



The diagram below, taken from some of your presentations suggests a system grounded on effective doctrine, interpreted through an algorithm of readiness ($E=W \bullet P \bullet T$) and given form by the elements of a coherent system of individual and collective training.⁹⁰



Managing the Army Training System

GENERAL GORMAN: For the macro management of Army training, the first thing you must do is try to figure out how to think about all the elements of the ways the Army conducts training as a system, then apply some logic to how you use the system for the purposes for which it was intended, to provide a combat-effective Army.

Training Subsystems: Diagrams aside, it was not evident how to do that when I first arrived at TRADOC in fall of 1973.⁹¹ Bill DePuy had been there three or four months. He was still relatively new. He had finished his first round of visits to the training centers and schools. He was now prepared to dig into the combat development process and that’s where his focus was. He was trying to pull together a bunch of folks who had belonged to the Combat Developments Command (CDC) and get them to start thinking about what could really make a difference in the next five years.⁹² All the papers that he found, The Army of 2000, or The Army of 2025, or whatever—25-year projections—he dismissed as bunk.⁹³ “We’re not going to do that anymore. What we’re going to do is what we can work on here that will really make a difference for an Army that needs a lot of help now.” When I asked what I could do to help, he said, “Well, you can be sure that anything we come up with those fellows (combat developers) will have to have a training subsystem. So why don’t you start thinking about training subsystems?”

I went back and talked to some of the lads in the Combat Arms Training Board and some of the older hands around the campus there. We decided that maybe it would be useful if we just looked at the Army historically, found some of the older weapon systems, and tried to figure out the training subsystems that were fielded with them. So I got DePuy to let me put out a memo to the staff saying, we’re doing some thinking about training. We’d like anyone who wants to help, to pull out of their memory materiel systems with which they had difficulty for lack of a proper training subsystem. Nobody knew what a training subsystem was exactly but we used the term. (Bill DePuy knew.) I got back a number of helpful suggestions. Not a lot. Maybe a half dozen or so.

Interestingly enough, one of them was provided by the general who headed combat developments (CD). He had difficulty at one time with a particular radio, one of those sets where you sat on a bicycle frame and pedaled to provide power to operate. The problem was that nobody really knew how you put the thing together, how to tweak it, and how to operate it efficiently. We found some of the original documentation for the set and we analyzed and looked at what the Army could have done versus what they did. I built a briefing on this.

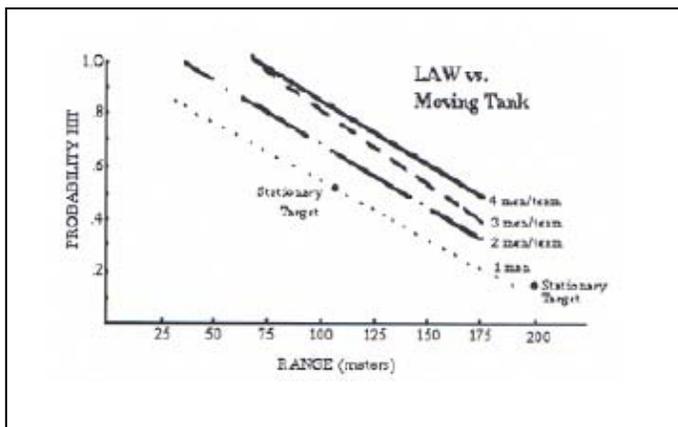
DePuy looked at the briefing. “Where did you get that information,” he asked. I said, “From Combat Developments, sir. Rich source of information.” The CD general was pleased that he got a favorable mention in the councils of Bill DePuy. DePuy said, “If you could do that for more or maybe all weapon systems that would be very helpful.” He also said, “You know that the system managers don’t pay any attention to the training implications of what they’re doing.” I said, “They do, sir. That’s their source of money. System managers get money up front for training but they never put it against the training budget. It always goes to meet shortfalls, changes of priorities, or whatever.”

Standard Scenarios: The next move that DePuy made was an attempt to develop standard scenarios to drive requirements. One of those scenarios was an air mobile—or an airborne operation. It was a forcible entry operation in which the 82d Airborne would jump in and be reinforced by the 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault). As the scenario unfolded, DePuy paid a lot of attention to how to deal with the armor threat. At the time, the 82d had the Sheridan as their mobile antitank system.⁹⁴ As soon as we got the mission, I dispatched the better part of the CATB to Fort Bragg to walk around, talk to people and see what was going on.

When the XVIII Airborne Corps came up to brief their work with the scenario, they showed that they had employed the Sheridans as the central reserve. They dispatched the Sheridans to deal with prospective breakthroughs, depending on what the enemy armor did. DePuy asked, “How in the world are these people going to defend themselves? With 3.5 rocket launchers until you get the Sheridan up there?” “Oh no,” the XVIII Corps general replied. “Every one of these soldiers carries in a mine when he jumps. So we’ve laid minefields all across the avenues of approach.” I put up my hand and I said, “Here are some data from actual surveys at Fort Bragg. We have questioned several hundred soldiers, almost 100 officers, no one of whom has ever had a US Army mine in their hand, let alone fused it, sited it, camouflaged it, or done all of the things necessary to employ them.” Further, if you looked at the graphics that they were showing, it wasn’t clear that the first principle of minefield employment had been served. There was no provision for covering fires, or exploitation of the routes around the obstacles.

DePuy then started in on the rest of their solution. He picked it all apart but he told me afterwards, “You made the point I was hoping you’d make. There was no training tail to this planning dream. It’s alright to talk about forcible entry and it’s alright to talk about improving the lot of the 82d. We clearly need the scenario to demonstrate their requirements. We don’t need to gum it up by putting in a lot of stuff that’s preposterously wrong. That always gets you in trouble with the folks in the Pentagon. They question the results of the rest of your analysis if they can point to one or two or three fundamental flaws. So,” he said, “you keep doing that.”

Anti-Armor Systems: That was an invitation to go further. I think the next thing we went after was the 3.5 inch rocket launcher and the LAW.⁹⁵ It was pretty easy to demonstrate that, if we went to war, as far as defense against tanks were concerned we’d literally be starting from zero with most units. We didn’t do anything about training with the 3.5 or LAW. It wasn’t that there wasn’t a training subsystem. In both cases, there were practice rockets and there were sub-caliber devices. There were alternatives to actually going out on a range and firing the ordnance but most units didn’t do either. They didn’t pay any attention to that because there was no attention then focused on armor and anti-armor techniques.



I found that right up the road from Fort Monroe, at Quantico, Virginia, the Marines had done some good work with volley-firing LAWs. They paid a lot of attention to an armor threat to an amphibious

landing, particularly with the earlier arriving units, because those units had to go out and protect the beaches. They had established to their own satisfaction that firing one LAW was an exercise in futility. If you fired them in pairs, you had a half again better chance of a hit. When you fired in volleys, you're much better off. So firing lots of them simultaneously was the answer. I liked that. I wasn't quite sure of their quantification issues. So we went out and did our own study and those curves are in the papers.⁹⁶

That also struck a chord with DePuy because he was driving hard on the issue of shoulder-fired, antitank systems: Dragon, TOW and LAW. He was trying to beef up interest in all of that. So I put some energy and some good folks into pursuing strains of data that we could use to establish the requirements for an effective training subsystem, and then some ways of putting a training subsystem into the field.

The way we did that was to say, if the crews could do this task, under these conditions, to this standard, that is adequate but in order to teach them to do this, you had to go through the matter of how do you teach to the test. So if it is volley firing of LAWs, how do you set it up and how do you do it? We used the sub-caliber device to make that happen. There were a lot of complaints out at Tank Automotive Research and Development Engineering Center (TARDEC) about our shooting at their tanks but how else are you going to do it? Firing at a sitting tank, or the old tank hulks sitting on our ranges, is not the answer. You have to have moving targets.

The deeper you got into that, the more clearly the various training subsystems began to fit together. We had done the foxhole study that showed most rifle shots in the defense were not head on.⁹⁷ It turns out that the preferred method of engagement with Dragon is not head on either, although that is the way almost every Dragon we'd ever fired was used. Flank shots are significantly more effective.

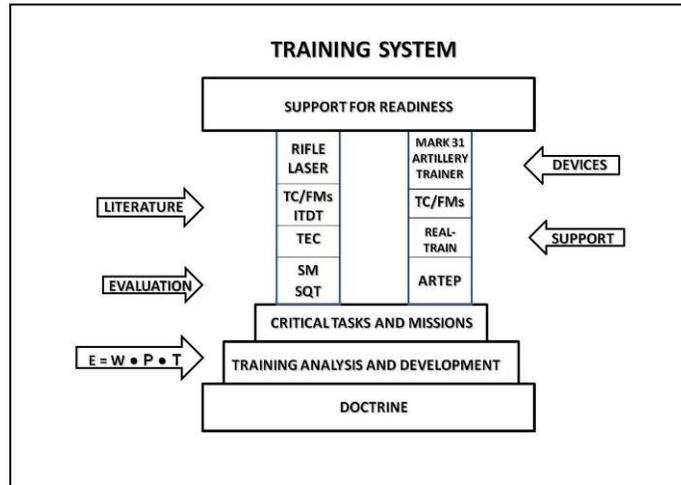
Algorithm of Readiness: At the same time, we were getting a lot of data out at the Combat Development Experimentation Command (CDEC) at Hunter Liggett, in California, on target observation. What do people see? What do they notice with binoculars? Without binoculars? One of the things that were popping out of the data was that you rarely are going to get much out of the head-on view. It's what's happening over here on the flank that gets your attention. Movement on the flank. It's movement that you're seeing and that's crucial. The targets that you acquire tend to be off to your flank.

We got data from CDEC that deals with that issue with regard to the individual rifleman. As the years went on, we began to get it for tanks and for helicopters. Everything we learned about the rifle turned out to be very applicable to the Dragon or the TOW. Effectiveness had a lot to do with where you put the systems on the battlefield and how you employed them. The idea of cooperative engagement, which we started with the LAW, became a strain running through the several subsystem analyses on which we were able to get data.

That leads, then, to a fundamental proposition that I came across early on in the TRADOC experience: $E=W \bullet P \bullet T$.

At that time, Colonel Jack Merritt was working at the White House as a White House Fellow.⁹⁸ He and Pierre Sprey⁹⁹ were working together. They produced a critique of a Gerald Ford budget that talked about modernization.¹⁰⁰ Their paper made the point that the marginal return on investment is much greater for putting money into training than putting it into materiel improvements. They gave a couple of examples. I liked that notion. So to go back to your diagram there, at the second level you've got the E (effectiveness), as a function of W (weapon capability), P (proficiency of crew) and T (tactics). Some versions of those charts I would write the W in one type font, boldface, relatively small, to make the point that you're given that. You can't do anything about that. You may be able to write a suggestion to the materiel people to put in a change order. You might get something done to help it but you won't be around when that gets fixed.

P, which deals with the people who are using the system, making it move, shoot and communicate, is a fertile field for change and you can influence that. You can make a big difference in effectiveness with a little bit of improvement in P. Of course the T factor, which is in caps, washes out what you can get with P. A dumb lieutenant can obviate all of the proficiency of very effective crews. In fact, one of these papers has a dumb lieutenant chart.¹⁰¹ It shows two tank platoons. The dumb lieutenant and the smart lieutenant are assigned a mission to defend a hill. The dumb lieutenant goes out to the foot of the hill and arrays his tanks. The smart lieutenant goes to the adjacent hills and sites the tanks on the rear slope, firing across in front of the hill that they're supposed to defend so they get interlocking observation and fields of fire. We ran a number of experiments at CDC that demonstrated that such tactics significantly reduce friendly losses and increase enemy fatalities. Backing it up with credible data for Washington was absolutely crucial.



The Importance of Data: One of the things you'll notice, when you go through these papers where we're talking about training effectiveness analyses and case examples, is the wide variety of data sources that were out there. When we started in on this issue of finding targets, we discovered that China Lake¹⁰² had collected all kinds of data on visual acuity. They knew the difference between 20/50, versus 20/40, versus 20/30, versus 20/20, and your ability to see for military purposes. We didn't have anything like that but researchers out at China Lake had done an admirable job. They had chapter and verse on the biometrics of visual systems—Naked eye, aided with spectacles, aided with binoculars, and in various light conditions. Beautiful set of data.

It became clear to me that, to satisfy the requirements of the materiel acquisition system, we badly needed to retain the Combat Development Experimentation Center out at Hunter Liggett, which was an old Combat Development Command remnant. They had a set of tests, a schedule of tests. Those were all paid for. So they kept on. We got a lot of useful information out of those guys, in a form that would stand up to the kind of rigor to which the Force Development Directorate, DSCOPS, would subject your offering, usually to demonstrate why the Army was not going to include it the budget.

The decision to close down the CDEC was a great loss to the Army. I think the last experiments they ran were joint. The Army wanted to close Hunter Liggett, period. So they did. We haven't had any systematic, well-disciplined evaluation force since. Every experiment thereafter that I know about—with few exceptions—has been 'make it up as you go along'. Now maybe what's going on down at Fort Bliss today has changed all that. I certainly hope so but we do need to have rigorous exploration of tactics, techniques and procedures. Every time we have a failure in the force, the question ought to be: What do we do to fix that?

We had an Army Research Institute for the Social and Behavioral Sciences that set up a training directorate with people who were pretty savvy guys. We were able to pick up, out of the then dissolving HumRRO (Human Resources Research Organization),¹⁰³ a number of civilian ORSA-trained experimental practitioners. We were able to get ARI to hire them, or TRADOC hired them. In other words, we had a lot of guys out in the TRADOC who were damn good at setting up tests, collecting data, and doing it in a way that would convince people in Washington we knew what we were talking about.

One of the leaders of that group was a fellow by the name of Owen Jacobs. Owen was the head of the ARI detachment at Fort Benning when I was Assistant Commandant. He was one of the first people I called into my office. I got him to dredge up some of the old HumRRO data. One of the questions I asked

Owen Jacobs to look into was what do we know about squads? What makes an effective squad? How do we know? Out of that came all of the data that you've seen running through these papers. It's about the Army's angst over the size of the squad and the weapons to put in the squad.¹⁰⁴

The evidence suggests that the Army doesn't know what the hell it's doing. As I said earlier, when I got to Korea, I found within my rifle company there was not a squad that looked like another squad in terms of weapons carried. Some soldiers had carbines. Some had M-1s. Some had BARs. Some carried a submachine gun and some even had M-1903s. I took my platoon in hand. I promptly rounded up an extra set of BARs because I wanted every squad to have two —with bipods, incidentally, because almost nobody had bipods. They were cheerfully issued because nobody was using them. I built the squads around two fire teams, or just two BARs if we only had four guys in a squad. They manned two BARs. Nobody objected; nobody cared. I just did it.

Year	Size	Leaders	Teams	Auto-Mpns	Grenadier	Ammo bearer	Scout	Wpns Pool
1933	8	1	None	1	0	1	0	0
1939	12	2	None	1	0	1	0	0
1940	12	2	None	0	0	0	0	0
1942	12	2	Three	1	0	1	2	0
1943	12	2	Three	1	2	1	2	0
1947	9	2	none	2	1	2	0	0
1953	9	2	None	2	1	2	0	0
1956	11	3	Two	2	2	0	0	0
1963	10	3	Two	2	2	0	0	0
IRUS-75	11	3	Two	2	2	0	0	2*

* DRAGON and light machine gun

Eventually Benning came around to that organization. It took years before they ingested the notion. It was the right way to move, as Owen Jacobs said and I saw in the early '70s. We knew that at the time. We had the data but it wasn't out in the field. So all this training support stuff: How you get it from the analytical side, the effectiveness analyses, and translate that into a force in the field? That was the question.

The variability of numbers in the squad over the years almost looks like every Chief of Staff has to have his own uniform change, and every Commandant at Benning has to have his own squad size. That's an important issue because the size of the squad dictates the size of the personnel carrier and whether you can put a whole squad aboard a helicopter. It has serious ramifications for operations. I just thought there ought to be data out there, and indeed there was. The data makes the point that the size of the squad is almost immaterial. It's a matter of the T factor and the presence or absence of automatic weapons. That's what really made the difference in outcomes in any of the combat examples, or the experimental examples. Owen did a good job for me there.

Owen was also working on the early simulation of the T factor. We took an artillery puff board and hung an old Huey body up above it. A battalion commander, his fire support officer and his radio people were up there in the helicopter with a hot LZ situation. They were supposed to put in the fires, which were indicated on the puff board, to teach the learners how to pick through the problem. That was fairly successful. So one of the things I did during the Board for Dynamic Training was to lay down a requirement to build a computerized version—just take the software they'd already developed— so we didn't have to have six guys operating the puffers. We built one at Fort Benning.

Later, when I was DCST, Jack Cushman, in command out at Leavenworth, came up on the net and argued that as proponent for combined arms he needed a simulator at Leavenworth. The message came in. DePuy sent it over. His usual: Yours for action. So I sent down a message to Benning. Pack it all up. Put it aboard a truck. Get all the guys that you've got on staff down there – one of whom was Owen Jacobs—they're moving to Leavenworth. I sent a message to Cushman. I said, on or about date certain, one month hence, there will roll through your gate a tractor-trailer that will have everything I've got in terms of a simulator for your Combined Arms Center. Hope you have a place to put it. Regards.

Well, Jack found a place to put it. That became the Combined Arms Tactical Trainer (CATT), which did good work throughout the latter part of the '70s with both active and reserve component staffs. CATT

unfortunately, was hardwired on a Xerox computer. The software was not accessible. It was built to replicate the Arab-Israeli War: the Suez Canal and surrounding terrain. The array of tanks and APCs on both sides were part of the software. It was the right solution at that point in time.

Owen Jacobs supervised the system utilization. He laid out the training regimen to the incoming units and he ran the AAR to get at what happened. What does it mean? Subsequently, when I was a division commander and I wanted to run some training effectiveness analyses of my battalion commanders and their staffs, I brought over a team that had Owen Jacobs on it. (See discussion of Cardinal Point II below.) The team also had Dr. Joseph A. Olmstead, who was one of the foremost social scientists working on the issue of intra-staff collaboration, communication effectiveness and information flow.

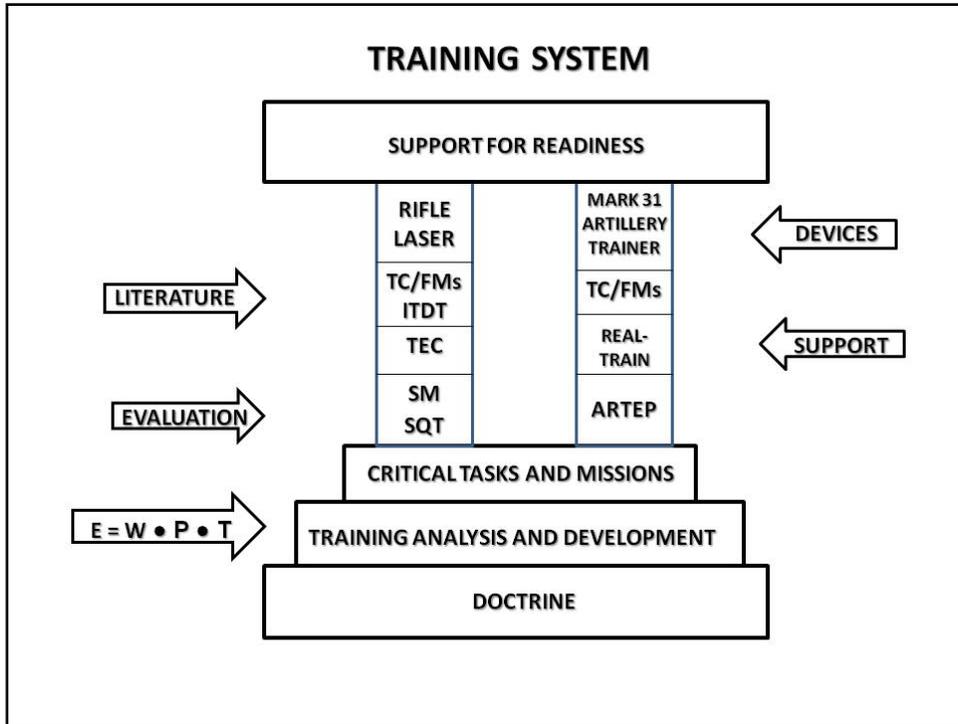
In addition to what we were doing in our training, we were also collecting data that was usable in Washington. I haven't seen any evidence of anybody doing that lately. You can go to NTC and get data after the fact but, to do it right, you have to have a capability for the investigators to insert probes—to affect the stimuli so that you can test hypothetical notions. The NTC doesn't let you do that. The Army really needs a disciplined approach to its current and oncoming weapon systems training subsystem analyses.

The best example of my experience with that involves the introduction of new weapon systems like the Dragon or the TOW. I'll talk about the TOW because I've got data on that. We gave the TOW to the infantry and we therefore gave it to a bunch of soldiers with 200-meter mentalities. We gave a 3700-meter direct fire weapon to a bunch of guys who could barely use a rifle to maximum advantage. Therefore, they usually put the anti-armor weapon in the wrong place on the battlefield. They did not integrate it with artillery the way they should have. They did not integrate it with tanks the way they should have. The data from actual collection at Fort Irwin would show that, in most cases, the weapon system rarely used a third of the range the Army paid for. We had 3700 meters with a high-probability of hit that came at great expense, and we were not getting anywhere near the return on investment that we should have. You rarely hear any discussion of that but it's a direct function of training and it has a lot to do with that T factor.

My emphasis on the German Army's experience in North Africa was a direct reflection of all that.¹⁰⁵ In World War II, we had weapons systems fully as good as the German 88. The 90-milimeter anti-aircraft gun was a reasonably good approximation in size, weight, range, projectile velocity, et cetera but nobody in our army thought of using the 90 as an infantry support weapon. It was late in World War II before we put 90s in play in ground combat, mounted on tank destroyers. We didn't take advantage of the numerous 90-milimeter truck-towed systems that were then available, which we could have done.

What's going on right now, of course, is that we're again going into an era of strained budgets, like the early days of TRADOC. We need that kind of thinking. I've heard Mike Vane¹⁰⁶ pleading with the staff for some data that demonstrates that the existing simulation equipment is cost effective. He was referring specifically to the Unit Conduct of Fire Trainer (UCOFT), the tank simulator and its Bradley counterpart. We badly need some way of restoring some disciplined workers to gather data on today's bewildering array of systems. How in the world do you build effectiveness into the force without understanding what works well and what doesn't, or what you ought to do about training soldiers to make things go right?

If you want a training system, you have got to be prepared to make it systematic. It has got to hang together in terms of logic and numbers. It's got to have some way, ultimately, of tracking training payoff back to the investment of resources. I think the 8th Division took almost all of the ideas on this chart with a few exceptions. We didn't get Training Extension Courses (TEC) and we didn't have MILES but we took almost all these other parts, put them together, and made them work in a divisional organization. In my view, that says that we were doing in TRADOC was on the right track.



Unit or Institutional Training: There's a lot of educational literature that says that training in situ or on the job is more effective than trying to do it in a classroom facility, particularly if you're trying to teach a collaborative skill. You want to get into an environment where collaboration is one of the measures of effectiveness. The analog that I keep reaching for is the counterpart of a football scrimmage, or an opposed practice for a lacrosse team. We need to keep working on our ability to make that happen.

		Where trained?	
		INSTITUTION	UNIT
Who trained?	INDIVIDUAL	Individual Tng in Insitutions	Individual Tng in Units
	COLLECTIVE	Collective Tng in Institutions	Collective Tng in Units
		INSTITUTION	UNIT
INDIVIDUAL	Service Schools Training Centers Correspondence Courses	Continuation Training, Skill Progression Tng, Extension Training Soldier's Manuals Personal Weapon Qual Physical Fitness	
COLLECTIVE	Crew Drill Instrumented Ranges Combat Tng Centers	Crew Drill Weapon Crew Qual, Engagement Simulation Battle Simulation Field Training Exercises	

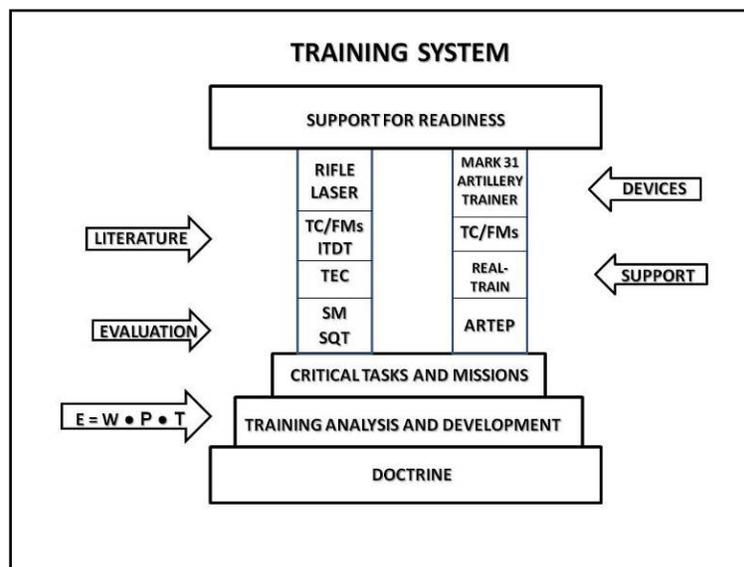
I used these diagrams with General Vuono in 1986.

Of the four domains indicated, the Army, true to its history, does the most competent job with that in the upper left (INSTITUTION-INDIVIDUAL); its poorest job with that in the upper right (UNIT-INDIVIDUAL). The very proficiency of the schools and training centers encourages unit leaders to assume that these do all that needs to be done for individual training, or that, if individual training requirements subsequently materialize later, these will be met by the soldier himself. Individual training in institutions is expensive. It is so less for the dollars required annually, than for critical manpower diverted from units, which impairs readiness. Collective training is the most expensive, embracing not only the costs of field exercises—POL, parts, maneuver damage—but also training ammunition for crew proficiency firing—e.g., artillery and tank rounds, and antitank missiles.

I think that for TRADOC, then and now, the payoff is over on the unit side. I also think that there is a major use for institutional training for collectives (lower left), if you will accept this proposition that the observer controllers (OCs) at the Combat Training Centers (CTCs) are the best faculty in TRADOC today. When they run their exercises, that's their curriculum, and the learning takes place in the After Action Review (AAR). That's the training model. It's done in the field and it's done by the unit. It's team building, collaboration building.

Training and education are inherently dependent on communications. Training and education are essentially communications by someone to a learner. When the Army says communications, most think of a radio or some other electronic business. I was often criticized, particularly when I was up at West Point, for my preoccupation with teaching aids. I still remember 'Abe' Lincoln,¹⁰⁷ the Professor of Social Sciences, telling me the best training aid is a log with the teacher on one end and the student on the other. I replied that if I have to show cadets what Germany looked like before 1870, I needed to have a training kit. That would be useful to describe what was going on there politically, or to show what happened as a result of *cuius regio eius religio*.¹⁰⁸ You can't do that with a log. He'd laugh and say, alright, go ahead.

But the Army is still handicapped by the notion that, somehow or other, training has to involve somebody with credentials, preferably a Ph.D., or a teaching certificate, or something or other. Most training in the Army, the most effective training, takes place without a credentialed teacher, with only a distant relationship with educational authority. *Teacher-student*—it's better thought of as a *learner-source*. And the learner can be a peer or a superior. Most soldiers learn a lot from their buddies, from peers. When I inserted an exercise on strong point construction into the 8th ID ARTEP (See Cardinal Point II below), they learned more on the 'sneaker net', from the guys who had been there ahead of them, than we could ever have taught them in a "class." They learned what the observer controllers were looking for, how the exercise was paced, and what constraints they had on materials and tools.



I like the word *evaluated* for measuring individual or collective training. I got into deep trouble with Forces Command on that very issue. We coined the term Army Training and Evaluation Program (ARTEP), which replaced the old Army Training Test. FORSCOM didn't want that label used to describe what was going on at the NTC because only a commander could *evaluate* his subordinates. They rejected the idea that NTC OCs were in any sense involved in *evaluating*—"we're not going to tolerate that." So I've had several commanders out there tell me, "I can't use your document because it's got that word in there. We don't evaluate out here. We mentor, or manage." "Evaluation" was my idea. "Training to test" should be "training to criterion."

The idea that the ARTEP should present the unit unexpected situations, vice the old USAREUR Army Training Test rehearsed situation, is of course consistent with Marty Dempsey's goal of adaptability.¹⁰⁹ Realism is the unexpected, and adaptability is critical for developing the future army. If you read Marty's article in one of the recent issues of Army Magazine, it stresses adaptability.¹¹⁰

The Skill Qualification Test (SQT) started as an evaluation tool for NCOs. You couldn't get promoted or be eligible for a school unless you got a certain score on the test. We ran a number of studies down at the Infantry School that demonstrated very conclusively that most NCOs at Fort Benning had scores on the SQT that were less than one standard deviation from random chance. Why administer the test if one could go in and guess at the answers and get about the same score? So we were interested in improving the evaluation means, to make the SQT relevant to the Army training system, as well as incentivizing the NCOs for self-study. This "test" ought to go beyond fitting an NCO into a standard distribution, a relative ranking mechanism, and measure him or her against publicly announced performance criteria.

Engagement Simulation in Unit Training: *INTERVIEWER: Sir, you talked about initiating the MILES program while you headed the Board for Dynamic Training. I wonder if you'd pick up that story and talk about the role of engagement simulation and how you thought about that now that you were DCST.*¹¹¹

GENERAL GORMAN: As I already explained, MILES was in development by the time I was appointed DCST. To learn how to train with engagement simulation, CATB, well supported by the ARI and what was left of HumRRO, fielded the Squad Combat Operations Exercise System (SCOPES), the use of an inexpensive optical device attached to a direct fire weapon to simulate engagement by reading a number off an opposing enemy.¹¹² To justify investment in MILES by DA and DOD, CATB needed quantitative data to show how well SCOPES taught, compared with conventional training methods.

SCOPES came out of the mind of a chap up in Washington. He was a little guy, a one-man firm. He was a DOD consultant. He was going to defeat the Soviet hordes by issuing every soldier in 7th Army a LAW, or a 3.5 rocket launcher, and flood the zone with these. He had done his arithmetic and he could demonstrate that you could do that and kill the Soviet tanks at far less loss than if you tried to do it with defensives and that kind of thing. Just get our soldiers all out in the woods and whack the Soviet tanks on the way in.

One of my CATB guys, my company commander in the 1st of the 26th, Jim Madden, got working with this guy. The consultant came up with the idea of using telescopes and numbers to simulate engagement. Jim said, yeah but let's take this in smaller bites. Suppose we took the telescopes and numbers and we used them with ten guys on either side, so you have benefit of training with an active opposing force. They worked out SCOPES. They began with the larger 7th Army problem and came down to the SCOPES notion for training dismounted infantry squads. It was cheap. Numbers cost nothing. The telescopes were the cheapest, little three-power telescopes. We readily got some brackets so we could put them on the weapons. We did some experimentation with ARI at Fort Benning. Soldiers responded well to SCOPES and early results showed a significant gain in proficiency using that technique.

The early returns looked promising, so we picked up the whole outfit and took them over to the Berlin Brigade. The Berlin Brigade didn't have much of a training area. They had a little block of woods and

they couldn't figure out how to do any useful maneuver training. So we took the SCOPES and put it to work. They loved it. They not only could use it in the woods but also they could train with it in the still unreconstructed city blocks. It was all cover and concealment in there. With CATB in the lead, the Army was building a new training construct for small unit combat. The results from the SCOPES testing were convincing enough that I was able to go DePuy and say we ought to make this Army standard and put it out in the field.

SCOPES evolved into REALTRAIN, which is the next step up, introducing armor, anti-armor, and indirect fires—platoon on platoon. I was able to put REALTRAIN into practice in the division I commanded from 1977-79. MILES didn't get into the field for troop-testing until 1980.

We made a significant discovery with REALTRAIN. Jim Madden would go out as a controller on these training experiments. He became aware that the learning didn't occur during the exercises themselves. Learning occurred when you sat down afterwards and you tried to figure out, Why did I get killed? And you began the interrogations and reflections that are the After Action Review (AAR). You began to show how the moving parts of the action fit together, and you formulated some sort of a theory for which the casualty (or lack thereof) is credible proof. Either what you tried didn't work and nothing happened, or it did work and you got the kill. Jim spent a lot of time with ARI guys, trying to figure out better techniques for conducting the AAR, learning how to train people to conduct the AARs.

SCOPES and REALTRAIN were not well received in the force because both required the use of a lot of radios and a lot of people acting as controllers. One of the things that we collected data on was the impact on the unit using SCOPES. We discovered, incidentally, that the signal guys were delighted, because it got the radios out of the supply room. You got people to use them. You found out whether you could in fact use those radios for tactical purposes.

Jim got a lot of data to the effect that the most pronounced learning gains were observed in the observer controllers, not on the soldiers actually undergoing the training. That was truer with REALTRAIN than it was with SCOPES because SCOPES is just dismounted infantry, very small unit tactics. With REALTRAIN, you're beginning to get sentience on the part of the enemy, sentience on the part of the attacker, and the coordinated use of fires and maneuver. Guile and deception and a lot of other factors get in there. Everybody learned. So although the costs were high, the returns were high on all sides and there was a lot of good data that said if you really want to profit from the REALTRAIN exercise, be an observer controller. You'll learn more.

We did a starter set of REALTRAIN exercises in USAREUR during four months of 1975-76.¹¹³ We told USAREUR we need some dedicated troops for a training experiment. We wanted them to be members of the same unit. Send us platoons, real platoons and they had to come equipped. So they had to bring their radios. We had folks on our team who were capable of taking a look at the gear to be sure that it worked. We didn't have failures that were a function of bad radios or other materiel, or if we did, we knew about it. We could take that into account.

Engagement simulation was not an instant success, despite our thinking it was. Everybody bitched about how complicated it is to conduct, and how much trouble you have to go to use it. There's a book that came out later (1986-'87), written by a Washington Post reporter, George Wilson as I recall, called *Mud Soldiers*.¹¹⁴ Wilson had gone out to Fort Riley and had observed a unit going out for some MILES training. What he observed was the antithesis of what was supposed to happen. It occurred to the lieutenant to take his platoon out for training and to get the MILES equipment out. Of course it was in disrepair. The soldiers hadn't zeroed their weapons and he had no scheme for his exercise. No tactical situation was set up. There was no provision for any observer controllers. He was going to do it all himself. They went out and they screwed off all day. The reporter gleefully took notes of another day of wasted time. He made this painful to read, and it probably was pretty true of what went on in most units. One notion that we always had beginning with SCOPES was that first time out you're going to do it badly. The first time, you're going to get yourself trained. Then you go back and you do it again, and you do it again until you learn how to do it painlessly.

The schools are actually teaching the lieutenant the wrong things about training. This lieutenant, as I remember *Mud Soldiers*, actually had a field manual there and would read from the field manual to the assembled soldiers. When we first put a computer on the soldier -- Carol Fitzgerald up at Natick Labs had a system called the SIPE—the Soldier Integrated Protective Ensemble—it had a computer. They put FM 7-10 on the computer so, presumably, the soldier could lie in his foxhole and look at page after page. Who told her to do that? Fort Benning! The schools! They missed the whole notion of how you grab the attention and incentivize kids. Engagement simulation was a different way of doing that but it was culturally antithetical.

From time to time, we hear a lot about the great pre-World War II Louisiana Maneuvers. The Louisiana Maneuvers were a farce in terms of the way they operated down at the soldier level. People with flags would wave. You stopped in place and you'd count the firepower scores. Then the guy with the higher score got to advance. The other guys had to retreat. It was a good exercise for the higher commanders: the Corps Commanders, the Division Commanders, maybe the Regimental Commanders but nothing much more.¹¹⁵

DePuy took me to the Pentagon. I think we were working on the Chief's statement before Congress or something equally important. DePuy was supposed to make an appearance before the annual convention of retired four-stars and talk about TRADOC.

DePuy told me that the Chief wanted to talk to him and he didn't have time to go down to this meeting of the retired four-stars. So he told me to go down in his place. I said, "What do I say to them?" He said, "tell them about REALTRAIN." We'd just gotten the results back from the team in Germany. Down in that auditorium, the Secretary of the Army's briefing room, there were two rows of theater seats filled with these old gray heads. In the front row was Andrew Pick O'Meara¹¹⁶ and a bunch of other guys that I had suffered under coming up through the ranks. Right in back of O'Meara was Hamilton (Ham) Howze.¹¹⁷

I got up on stage and I started through my pitch. I told them what happened in Europe with the REALTRAIN evaluation. I showed them the results. I summarized what we learned, then asked for questions. Ham Howze struggled to his feet. *Imposing guy*. He said, "Now if I understand correctly, you assessed casualties on both sides in these exercises." I said "Yes sir." "What," he said, "did you do then with casualties?" I said, "Well, they were effectively out of play until the after action review. Then they rejoined their unit." "So," he asked, "anyone who became a casualty got no training for that day. Is that correct?" I said, "Well, not quite, sir. First of all they learned some valuable lessons about how to do it." "That's what I suspected," he replied. By now he had a bony finger aimed at me. "I suspect you're teaching these soldiers how to die." He turned around and said, "Gentlemen, this is despicable!" And he sat down. There was dead silence in the room. I said, "Thank you very much, gentlemen," bowed out and left. I went out through the audio-visual room rather than go up the aisle past all those guys. I got upstairs, and DePuy said, "How'd it go?" I said, "I'm dead. We're dead. Ham Howze is on my case."

It turned out my brief had almost no impact. What I described was different from the way they had been brought up. It was different enough to the point that they just couldn't stomach it. It would be even worse when they would discover that, in the AARs, the private could criticize the lieutenant, or the sergeant could criticize the company commander, and that kind of no-holds-barred discussion frequently would come up. "Why did you do that, Sergeant?" "Well I was told to by the Company Commander. I knew he was wrong at the time but I didn't have time to argue with him." The Company Commander would say "You darn well better never argue with me!"

Army after army tried to follow us with engagement simulation. The Brits tried the AAR at their training area in Canada. They tried to do casualty assessment, and they gave up. They stuck to the live fire aspect of the thing. The Germans tried it. They couldn't make it go. They didn't like the AAR free-for-all. The Russians did us the highest form of praise by trying to copy us. They actually set up a training area southwest of Moscow where they ran their version of the NTC. They had their own laser simulation system and instrumentation but they ran a symmetrical exercise in which they put one unit in at one end

of the area and one at the other. These two units using identical tactics, techniques and procedures, maneuvered against one another. There was no AAR. Nonetheless, they thought that the exercise was very good training, and as far as I know, they continue it.

I was interested to notice recently that the Chinese have set up an NTC-like operation in Manchuria in which they put a lot of money into a Star Wars building.¹¹⁸ They have a big electronic display to portray maneuvers on both sides, and they come closer to what we're doing. They do not set up their exercises so that—in their army incidentally red is good—the red side never loses but again, it's more symmetrical as opposed to the US Opposition Force (OPFOR) notion.¹¹⁹ They don't do what we do. This goes to our American ability to grasp the simple notion that these are complicated issues. You're not going to get it right the first time. You learn by recognizing your mistakes. Try, try again.

INTERVIEWER: How did USAREUR and TRADOC wrap engagement simulation experimentation together? According to the papers, there's a team of TRADOC evaluators who go to Europe and observe training USAREUR conducts using the SCOPES and REALTRAIN devices with systems in the field, draws data from that – figures out what it all means – and ploughs the information back into improved training and doctrine development.¹²⁰ There's a tremendous synergy apparent in all that. The same sort of thing went on, as I recall, with the Dragon test.

GENERAL GORMAN: Or the TOW test. Or any of the other developmental tests. It was almost in the too-hard basket. First of all, USAREUR ran its own school system. USAREUR was a junior CONARC. They had all of the difficulties that Ralph Haines had, plus German-American relations and a whole series of NATO considerations that got in the way of the time management they were trying to use. Further, they had a conviction that guys from Fort Monroe were rear echelon know-nothings. "We're the deployed force. CONARC is just a supporting command. Why are they over here?" That attitude persisted when Bill DePuy set up TRADOC in '73—finally got the STEADFAST organization in place. Basically, the commanders in Europe were not thrilled with TRADOC. Particularly, they were worried about the language surrounding the formation of the Training and Doctrine Command that suggested that TRADOC had some purview over Army training overseas.

Now, here's where personalities begin to matter. I'm now the Deputy Chief of Staff for Training (DCST) at TRADOC. One of the things I did was to visit USAREUR to show off some of the early products of our work. We had built a laser that you stuck in the bore of the rifle so that your existing zero would work. We had built some of those pop-up targets with sensors on them. If you shot at the pop-up target with the laser, and you got a hit, it would go down. In effect, we could simulate the standard rifle range, the *Train Fire Range*.¹²¹ That, we thought, really would be interesting to USAREUR because of the lack of Train Fire Ranges at most of the stations where troops were supposed to be trained.

I can remember, we had a big auditorium in Heidelberg and we set up a few of these targets. I had people shooting blanks knock down targets. USAREUR wasn't at all interested. "We go twice a year to the major training areas and get all the shooting we want. Why do we need this thing?" It didn't take on the first couple of passes.

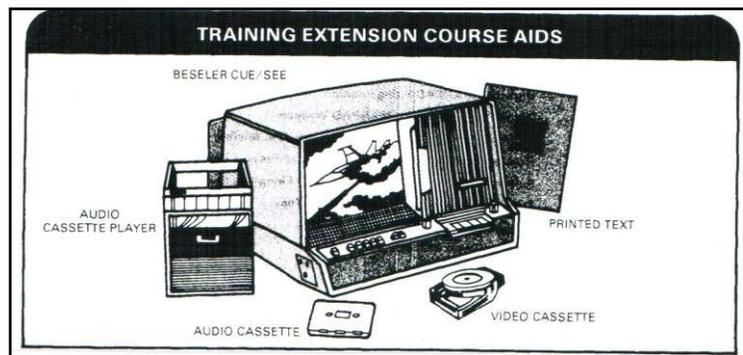
TRADOC was not instantly accepted but Bill DePuy worked the personality side of the thing and eventually we got agreement that we could run cross-command training conferences, which DePuy referred to as TRAINCONS, initially on FORSCOM (US Army Forces Command) posts. I remember one in particular, in 1975, down at Fort Hood. The III Corps Commander there was Bob Shoemaker.¹²² He was quite enthusiastic. We talked very usefully about what could be done in training that was not being done. Bob was one of the company commanders in the first battalion I served in. I always admired the way he ran his company, as well as the excellence he brought to every command he held over the years. One of the greatest moments was his endorsement of the TRAINCON. TRADOC showed some better ways to get at combat efficiency and Shoemaker showed us some of the things that III Corps had been doing that were truly innovative. We both incorporated these into our respective bag of tricks. Needless to say, each of those TRAINCONS was carefully researched by the CATB before we put them on.

We tried to do it in a way that was entirely respectful of the host command and the circumstances those commanders faced—addressing real problems that those commanders had expressed to CATB officers.

TRADOC finally got an opening in Europe. We went over there to conduct TRAINCON '76. We set up a range to replicate an attack by a Soviet armor battalion advancing on a US tank company in the defense. We tried to illustrate that on typical terrain, the enemy had to cross twelve hundred meters of open ground. The defenders had a narrow time-window in which to service all of those targets. We actually showed that a successful defense was possible. We trained a USAREUR tank company using simulation before they actually shot at the targets, and they hit nearly all of them. We then made the point that this company, 30 days ago, wouldn't have come close and, by the way, no other company in USAREUR could do that well, because none had had the kind of training that this tank company had received. Therefore, to be able to address the real problem facing a tank company commander in Europe, commanders had to invest a lot more time with gunnery training. Firing Tank Table VIII once every six months was no criterion for success. In fact, Table VIII was almost dysfunctional: a single tank on a track. The whole problem of control of fire, of watching sector, and responding to unexpected development—all of that continuous interaction among the leaders in the tank company was not practiced.

We broke the news at TRAINCON 76 that 'Father Armor', the Commandant at Fort Knox, had blessed a different approach to tank gunnery and its adoption was absolutely crucial to USAREUR. Why should we be doing this? Because 'Father Armor' had set new performance criteria. TRADOC had already shipped to USAREUR master gunners trained at Fort Knox to meet the new standards and to train up tank crews. To handle that kind of rapid fire, or accurate fire, you had to put in a lot more time, getting crews ready. The loader, in particular, was a vital part of the gunnery drill. I don't think USAREUR really ever thought of such matters.

Support for Individual Training in Units: Your diagram refers to Training Extension Courses (TEC). That was one of the programs that got dropped. In 1986, I saw a need for some kind of aid for the NCO out in a unit, confronted with a training problem he often faces.¹²³ He has a new crew member who doesn't know how to use the ordnance on hand, or he has a new soldier that he sees doing something dumb, like putting in a Claymore mine with the lethal side pointing at him, as opposed to the enemy. We need some way of making information available to that individual soldier, without taxing the NCO's ability to draw pictures, build sand tables, or "prepare a class." Instead, he should be able to say: "Hey, kid, take a look at the task for emplacing the Claymore. Get it right and I'll give you a little test this afternoon." Maybe today that can be an app on a mobile device.



An important point about TEC, though, is the way it was procured. This is very germane to what the Army is worried about today—money. TEC aimed at teaching soldiers to perform. It set up an evaluation criterion. When the soldier went through a TEC lesson, he or she was supposed to be able to pass a proficiency test, and perform according to identified task, conditions and standard. No TEC could be put into the field unless the contractor could demonstrate that what he provided to the Army would work in a statistically significant sample of soldiers. In other words, he had to provide the course to a number of soldiers who were truly representative of those to be found in a unit, and show that, after they went through the TEC lesson, they could perform the tasks as evaluated by a first line supervisor (NCO). If the contractor couldn't do that, he got no money. It was an attempt to incentivize excellence in the

development of training materials.

Does TRADOC use that approach to contracting? I don't know. In fact, it's probably illegal but we did it back then, and it worked, and if TRADOC seeks an app for the iPhone, or the iPod, or the Google counterpart, there's no reason why they could not be developed using a similar rubric. We're on the cusp of the breakthrough here. Instead of a TEC lesson and a shelf of field manuals, everybody has got an iPhone in their pocket, with the materials focused on the soldier. The soldiers have the satisfaction of self-learning and of knowing that the knowledge is in their pocket, if they need to be reminded.

The TEC courses were abandoned for three reasons. First of all, they were foisted on the force without any attempt to prepare the way—to convince commanders of their worth. Second, their use was seen as being up to the soldiers. Third, it was more new equipment arriving at a time when other novelties demanded attention. The 8th Division did not have TEC when I was there. I can tell you, factually, after I left and TEC arrived, it was not used to good advantage just because of the ignorance of commanders and NCOs who didn't see its relevance.

Institutional Training of Mid-grade Officers: *INTERVIEWER: Sir, during your period as DCST, how much change went on at Leavenworth at the Command and General Staff College?*

I guess the answer to that is not much. Leavenworth was the most resistant of the schools and the one most difficult to manage. There was a lot of talk at Leavenworth about modernization, with a lot of emphasis on introduction of the computer, which was the thing that was going to modernize the course. Officers were required to learn BASIC so they could do programming. There was a lot of talk about modernizing the curriculum to add more electives. There was hype about making Leavenworth a degree-granting institution. There was chatter about qualifications of instructors, meaning academic qualifications. In short, there was a lot of bumph that didn't have much to do with fighting the Army or fighting anybody. Leavenworth had a tendency toward civilianization. Leavenworth struck me and a number of other people as marching boldly in the wrong direction. I don't want to be critical of any personality. The issues were bigger than any personality. I am not sure, if I had been Commandant at Leavenworth, things would have been much different because it is so tough an outfit to turn around.

There were a lot of indications that we were in deep trouble out there. There was a flare-up involving student reaction to some visiting lecturers. The students took the position that the Army was wedded to a policy of condoning dishonesty in senior officers. The assertions were not unlike the kind of criticism that was manifest in the Army War College student report of 1970.¹²⁴ Something like that came up at Leavenworth, caused a sufficiently big brouhaha that the Chief of Staff got involved. To me, it represented a manifestation that somehow we were not meeting the professional expectations of officers in the C&GSC class. What was going on out there didn't make much sense to them as soldiers. What was going on was not, in their view, conducive to their professional development. In any event, it indicated that Leavenworth needed attention. The question was what were some of the things that could or should be done to remedy the situation.

I had my opportunity to take a close look at Leavenworth for the first time when General DePuy sent me out to head up the annual inspection of the post. I took out the TRADOC IG team and I went along as the senior representative of the Commander, TRADOC. Because I was the TRADOC program director for education and training, I spent most of my time inspecting C&GSC itself. Interestingly, there was a lot of emphasis on information modernization: application of the computer to learning but they meant learning in the sense of the individual learning in the sense of word processing. There was no attempt to use the computer, let us say, for wargaming, no attempt to connect it to fighting wars.

I was out there with the IG late in the spring. The class of the Command and General Staff College was within a week or so of graduation. They were involved in the very first war game of their year. Almost all students, when I called individuals in, said that “we should have been doing this all year instead of what we have been doing. This is what I joined the Army for.” The defense of the faculty, incidentally, was that the students weren't ready for war games. “We can't put students in unstructured

environments until they have mastered all the fundamentals. You have to show them the procedures before you can let them fly.” The theory of learning at Leavenworth was no more elevated than the theory of learning was at Quantico, or Fort Benning.

I did learn that one of the activities at Leavenworth that TRADOC was responsible for was the Army prison. The prison had a number of income producing activities, one of which involved selling chicken manure. I caused a number of paper sacks to be printed with the TRADOC insignia, had them filled with the product, and brought these back to Fort Monroe. What it said on the bag was something to the effect: “You know we are in this business but I bet you didn’t know we produced the real thing.” I presented one of these to Bill DePuy and others to his general staff officers. The Commander didn’t think it was the least bit funny.

Failures: I’ve been talking about successes. It’s important to list failures.

Establishing A Training Development Specialty: We were well launched when I left the TRADOC in 1977. We had an agreement from DCSPER DA that an officer specialty for training development would be established. This was a discipline fully as demanding as combat development. It required much the same educational basis: Operations research/systems analysis (ORSA) and comparable courses that were more behaviorally-oriented compared to the more physics-oriented courses you would take if you were going into CD specialties. Somewhere around the late ’70s – early ’80s – a decision was taken to abolish that officer specialty. It was said, we had too many specialties. The officer corps was being spread too thin. I heard one senior general say: “Why do we need to have specialists in training? Everybody does training. We don’t need to specialize in that.” But the point was exactly that we needed a core of guys who had the frame of mind that could look at an organization with a given TO&E and figure out what would make it work better, could make modest training improvements with real payoffs.

A Record System for Individual Proficiency: Another failure was not building into NTC a training record system that would recognize individual proficiency, once attained and demonstrated. When I left TRADOC, my notion was that the NTC should install a system that would be able to tell which tank commanders were particularly effective, or which tank commander-gunner pairs were particularly effective in a given tank battalion. That turned out to entail a lot of additional instrumentation and, consequently, cost. The Army dropped that.

Early in the ’80s, I went down to Fort Hood. Butch Saint was the III Corps Commander.¹²⁵ At my request, he assembled a group of NCOs in the club. I gave a little talk and then I said, “Now, how many in this room have been to the NTC once. Stand up.” Everybody stood. “Now those of you who have only been there once sit down. Those of you who have only been there two times, you sit down.” Well pretty soon I had just a few guys out there, three times or more. I said “OK, now you guys. How many of you have gone through a rotation without losing your tank?” Three guys in the group, I said, “Tell us about your experience. How did you do that?”

The first answered, more or less: “Well, I learned early on that if I did what I was told by the Armor School—that is to say, remain in cover until the last minute, then go up, get off a round or two, and then go back under cover—I learned early on that that’s not the way to do it. The way to do it is, first of all, to try to get over on the flank. Then come up and observe which way the turrets of the bad guys are pointed. Start shooting and keep shooting until the turrets start to shift. Then go back down and then make a big move. Come up and do the same thing again. I took out a lot of them and they never got me.”

The next guy came up and his story, while not identical, was pretty much the same. “We were taught to operate by section. Two come up together. We get off more shots per exposure. That doesn’t work very well. It’s better to get the enemy looking this way and you come up over here and get your shots off. Rapid shots from here, whereas the other guy is more or less drawing fire.” Third guy had some modest variation but they were all saying what we were taught to do isn’t necessarily the best solution. The name of the game is to kill and not be killed. You’ve got to come up with some different tactics. I turned to Butch and I said, “I think that this is right but at Knox they don’t look at these issues systematically.

Gunnery is one thing but the T factor is much more important than the P factor. I don't know how to get at that except by what we just did."

Now, wouldn't it be great if a receiving Battalion Commander, who gets some replacements among whom are three NCOs, knows that these NCOs have been to the NTC multiple times, and gets some notion of who among them was particularly adept in NTC engagements? That would tell him a lot about where to put them and how to use them. Even if they only made that information known to the Company Commander and the Master Gunner, it would make a big difference in the way skilled leaders were assigned and operated.

Time after time, I have made these points out at NTC. They all look at me and say we can't afford that. The right answer is that we can't afford not to. The greatest expense at Fort Irwin is the transportation to get units out there. The cost of instrumenting the tanks so that you have a record of the tank commanders would be minimal, compared to those costs. Nobody's looking at the macroeconomics. Nobody's done the cost-effectiveness. Nobody's subjected that to systematic analysis.

An Institutional Evaluation Subsystem: We did some early experimentation down at Benning with an evaluation group, which we turned loose on the TOW system. Al Haig, who was then SHAPE Commander, was raising hell because TOWs in Europe were not in good shape. TOW systems were poorly manned and maintenance, performance, etc. were badly off. The Benning team quickly established that problem was that the leaders had never been properly schooled. There was lack of a system to put the TOW in the field and train *the whole* anti-tank team. Benning had not done their job. The Infantry School had not delivered a training subsystem to the units. How does the school find that out? The school goes to the units with an external evaluation team that observes what is actually going on.¹²⁶

In 1976, I got Bill DePuy to agree on a new school model. The idea was that in each school there would be a combat development organization, a training development organization, and an arm of the school that would be devoted to evaluation— on the grounds that nothing is worth preserving in the school unless evaluators can demonstrate afterwards that it's getting out in the field and it is working.¹²⁷ This was my way of institutionalizing the CATB idea. I'd been using the CATB for 'rifle shot' analyses into particular problems. What I was trying to do was get each Commandant equipped with a small team of trusted observers that he could send out to observe and to report back on what worked and what didn't work in terms of what graduates of their school were doing.

Again, sometime in the late '70s or early '80s, that school model was abolished on the grounds the Army didn't have the people to support it. They eliminated the Evaluation Directorates. Feedback loops were again dependent upon what the units volunteered back to the school. I think TRADOC suffered as a result. It's too bad. We lost something when we walked away from the notion of the training system.

Failure to Capture ARI for TRADOC: There was also the general question of what TRADOC needs to have in hand in order to get ahead in terms of people, resources, etc. I mentioned earlier ARI forming a division to look at training. I made a college-try at having ARI subordinated to TRADOC. The notion was that there was all this talent sitting in a building with DARCOM and they weren't in touch with the real world. The Army's behavioral studies resource ought to be down where the behavioral modification work is being organized, and that's at TRADOC.

It turned out that ARI was the child of the DCSPER of the Army and when I started goring his ox, he retaliated. He could really hurt. Get those guys mad at you, you're in trouble. I was in trouble. DePuy called off those dogs but I was right. I look at ARI today; it's a pale shadow of its former self. The DCSPER focused it on classification as opposed to behavioral issues. As a result, we lost a lot of ground on training.

Evaluation of engagement simulation was one of ARI's more fertile innovations. You got a lot of data out of their analyses that would never have been made available, otherwise. There was a very active cell out at Fort Irwin. They got a lot of good research data out of that. I don't know how the Army has been able to struggle on through all of its many social experiments without having that kind of an ARI-like

analytical arm in TRADOC. The whole thrust of DA management and organization from the top on down has been to minimize TRADOC.

Macro Management of Training

INTERVIEWER: Sir, I'd like to talk to you about something you said in your War College speech in March 1976. You talk there about macro management of training. I wonder if you could personalize that from the standpoint of going into TRADOC.

GENERAL GORMAN: There was no blinding flash of the obvious. At that time, TRADOC was a vestige of the old CONARC. The programming and budgeting system was broken down at DA level into Programs 1, 2, 3 and so on. I was the director of Program 8 in TRADOC. Program 8 involved the funding for the training activities in TRADOC. I guess when CONARC was there, Program 8 embraced all training everywhere. What was left when I got to TRADOC was just the schools and training centers. The money for running those places went through my office, and I had to go to the budget planning meetings and represent the budgetary aspects of the activities to resource managers and the DA staff, etc. When somebody would come down from OMB concerned over Jimmy Carter's attack on military training, I was the one that put forward the TRADOC case.

Program 8 tended to be fractionated out among the schools and centers. In every one of those places, there was a senior comptroller who'd probably been there for at least ten years and who knew in exquisite detail how to work the system to get a little more money into his installation. I knew the guy at Benning. I knew he was an expert at that. I also knew he'd be a hard guy to play ball against because he stopped at nothing. One more buck into Benning was a big win for him.

So the first aspect of macro management is resourcing. Apparently when CONARC was there, the question of marginal utility had never really been raised in budget meetings. It was always a question of who has the priority, meaning who's got the favor of the lord and master, the four-star, not a question of logic or efficiency or anything else. There were also three obtruding notions. One of them was that of growth. We got X last year and so in effect I need a cost of living increase. You always had to have growth in sight. Second, everybody was always first priority. "The General came down and looked at our site, and he thinks it's great, and we've got to keep doing that." Then, finally, there was that idea that more money means better performance. The last boggled my mind. "What are you going to do with that money?" The answer was "Well, we're going to" It always would be some entirely nonfunctional improvement.

So in terms of macro management, we needed to have a different way of thinking about the problem. My answer was to ask, why don't we go out to the other end of the equation and look at our impact on readiness in the force? Why don't we go ask users what they think of our product in terms of their priorities for impact on performance of artillery or infantry units? We were doing a lot of things that, from simple business practices, were just ridiculously wrong. You had a given amount of dollars. How many soldiers do we touch with those dollars every year and how do you divide up the soldiers, the recipients of our TRADOC touch?

Well, it turned out the largest group of soldiers that were officially working with TRADOC were the correspondence course students. Some of them were in the active force; most of them were in reserve components. The courses were all mail-order—old-fashioned correspondence courses. I knew a lot about that because I had been amazed to discover at Fort Benning that out on 1st Division Road there was an old building that I'm confident was put up in the early '40s but was still there. It was held up by coats of paint. It was unfinished on the inside. Pine knots. The interior was still like it had been when the building was put up. There were a bunch of folks who worked there. Old people. They'd been there for years. They kept bins of publications, and they stuffed envelopes and mailed them. That's what they did.

I walked through the place and picked up some of these publications. "Who would want this?" "Oh it's part of some course such and such." They knew what they were doing. A correspondent would send in a request. He might not hear from them for six weeks. Then, when he hears he's enrolled, he gets the

first lesson. He sends it back. He won't hear from them again for 12 weeks on the outcome of the lesson. It would take three years to go through 16 lessons. "How many of them start?" "Half." "How many of them finish." "Less than 10percent?" "Why are we doing this? What's the point?" "Well they need to be enrolled to get the points for promotion credit for the reserve components. They can't get promoted unless they get this course on their records."

So I went to DePuy with a training effectiveness study of correspondence courses. I showed him what was going on and what we were paying. Fundamentally, resources were people. Some dollars were used for facilities, and some were spent for reproduction, mailing costs, etc. but the main cost was the people who ran the places. I said, "It doesn't take a genius here. You don't have to be an expert on Sears Roebuck management or anything else. It seems to me that instead of having 47 warehouses we ought to have one." Incidentally, if you were taking a course that touched on three or four schools, you were really in trouble because the schools had to trade material to get your envelope stuffed correctly. That added time, and that added expense. One warehouse would make a big difference in this little operation. I showed DePuy what it would cost to put up the warehouse at Fort Eustis, what it would take to man it, and what we would gain in terms of efficiency by closing down all these separate operations. I said, "We can improve the performance of this whole system by a major amount."

DePuy didn't like that. "You keep coming in here with these goddamn harebrained ideas. That's going to make every one of those Generals of mine madder than hell at me. Anyway, correspondence courses don't make a goddamn bit of difference." "Yeah they do, sir," I answered. "They do." In any event, that was one of the nights I went home and opened my desk drawer and took out my letter of resignation. Contemplated it one more time, put it in my pocket to go to the office the next day.

I came out of the front door and I started walking down the sidewalk. The door next door broke open. DePuy came running down the steps and said, "About that correspondence course thing. I thought about it last night. You're right. We'll do it but," he said, "I get half of the savings. You can have the rest. Half goes to me." That was the start of the rule that he operated on and at which Max Thurman, his resource manager, was brilliant. The rule was that, if you came up with an economy, efficiency, the CG would take the bulk of the savings and apply it to his problems. He always left some for further innovation on your part."

That's one aspect of macro management, the resource issue. There are a number of other examples where you could get ahead with centralization, or you could get ahead by stopping nonproductive procedures that had been enshrined over time. Early on I went to DePuy and pointed out to him that the Intelligence School, or the Intelligence Branch, was operating schools at three different geographic locations. They had a facility at Fort Devens, Massachusetts; they had a facility in Washington, DC; and they had a facility in Fort Huachuca, Arizona. I pointed out that the Fort Devens facility was the single most expensive school in the TRADOC. It was expensive because of snow removal, the fact that it was in World War II buildings, and that those buildings required constant repairs. Heating those buildings was expensive and blue-collar labor in Massachusetts was higher than any other state. It looked to me like this was a clear case for closing that base and consolidating at one of the other two locations. For my money, Fort Huachuca, which was in the sun zone, was where we ought to put them all. It is a hell of a lot cheaper to operate a school out there than it was in either Washington, DC or Fort Devens, Massachusetts.

DePuy looked at me and said, "You think you can bring that off?" I said. "Don't we owe it to the Army to try?" He said "Oh, we're going to get in a rat's nest of politics but we'll try it. We'll bring it up at DA and see what they say."

Well, everybody said it couldn't be done and they were right. The Massachusetts Congressional delegation, which included such strong defense supporters as Teddy Kennedy and Father Robert Drinan,¹²⁸ rallied together. The entire Massachusetts delegation united to oppose moving the intelligence school out of Fort Devens. We succeeded, I think, because the Defense Intelligence Agency weighed in, in favor of consolidating the schools and we got some support from DOD for the initiative. Eventually I think there was a deal cut that they would keep the post open. The school could leave.

My family is from Massachusetts. I acquired so bad a reputation when the family heard about it that, when I went up there for Thanksgiving, I got flak from my nephews and nieces and cousins. I was the bad General. Father Drinan, God bless him, actually went up to Massachusetts and had his picture taken at the gate of Fort Devens shaking hands with a selected private. I think it's the only time he ever touched a soldier of the United States Army. Certainly it was the only issue on which he was ever pro-defense in any sense. That's macro management.

Is it political? Yes it's political. It gets very political but it goes to the question whether in the end the Intel function, the function we're performing for the intelligence services, is done better if TRADOC does it in a unified fashion as opposed to a fractionated fashion. The answer is clearly the former. Did we need to do it? Yes we did.

Decline of the Founding Synergy in TRADOC

*INTERVIEWER: Let me get to the other end of this, then, to the paper you wrote for BDM and took down to General [Carl] Vuono that argues the coherence, or logical synergy TRADOC brought to training has broken down.*¹²⁹

GENERAL GORMAN: First of all, there was a decision made back around 1980, down at TRADOC, which cut off funding for further training development. The general notion was that TRADOC had made all these changes and that instructions had been published. The Army needed no more. Yet, it was a time when the new weapons systems were beginning to arrive in the units and there was a need for constant adaptation—changing the doctrine, changing the instructional methodology, changing the reference materials for officers and NCOs, adapting the Army to the problem that they were facing but TRADOC slowed its innovations and there was not much progress made to take advantage for training of what was happening in technology.

By 1986, you could see the problems coming. The Army could have taken advantage of it had they been developing awareness of what technology could do. As I said earlier, back in the '70s, TRADOC succeeded in having the Army establish an officer career field, an alternate specialty, for training development. In 1980, that was canceled. The training developers would have been the guys who were thinking, "Hmm, what can we do with these new communications and information processing technologies?" The whole thrust of wireless comms, which included on-person GPS and PDAs—by the mid-80s, made it clear where the Army ought to go: dispersed divisional command posts had been demonstrated.¹³⁰ The Air Force had demonstrated networked simulators, so that it seemed possible to train not only crews but platoons and companies in simulation.¹³¹ There was also evidence that it would be possible to create leader training experiences that were far richer than anything that was possible just ten years earlier. It was possible to depict terrain realistically enough to evoke in simulation proper terrain analysis, and to relate that with fire planning and maneuver planning, et cetera. Simulation was maturing. The NTC was an acknowledged success.

A point in retrospect on the creation of NTC:¹³² It was designed to be a moveable feast. The idea that mattered was not the instrumentation at Fort Irwin. What mattered was the Observer Controllers, the OCs, and After-Action Reviews (AARs). The instrumentation and the terrain should have been irrelevant in the sense that you ought to be able to stage equally valuable exercises on a variety of difficult terrains. If you can do it at Fort Irwin, you could do it on a comparable piece of terrain up at Yakima Proving Ground, or Fort Stewart, Georgia. To be sure, different terrain and different missions, et cetera.

Who	Institution	Units
Where		

Individual Training		
Collective Training		

It's this lower center box that's of interest, Institutional Collective Training or institutional training for units. What I was looking for at NTC was a way to have units go through structured training for the purposes of developing knowledge and skills that they could then bring to bear in a free-play maneuver. When I say the moveable feast, I meant exactly that we'll do this any place in the Army, including Europe and including Korea. What happened was that the Army Program of Record got focused on Fort Irwin and they went, for reasons of cost, for fixed instrumentation on a FORSCOM post. Further, they spent a hell of a lot of money out of the military construction budget to build that post. Irwin is now a model post in the United States Army. If I had had my way, I would have left those World War II barracks there and kept it as a very austere kind of environment. A real desert. They didn't do that.

My point to Carl [Vuono] was there's still time to fix that. There's a lot that could be done if the Army would but reach for it. We learned, I think, and proved that we had learned pretty well, that the way we had been proceeding with institutional training was flawed in many respects, not the least of which was we didn't take advantage of the individual differences among learners. Everybody was put into the same group and they moved lockstep through a time-driven schedule. Time in the institutional training world is money. You get funded on the basis of student contact hours. If you can save student contact hours in any way, you generate money that can be applied to other problems. The work that we did on self-pacing in training, beginning in 1975, is entirely to point. By the end of 1977, we were training by military occupational specialty (MOS) and we had done just enough, with a sufficiently broad entry requirement for soldier intelligence, to have a sufficiently broad experience. We had data that made us pretty sure we were right. We could do the initial entry training through self-pacing and produce trained soldiers from the training base in one-third the time traditionally required.

In 1979, TRADOC killed that program because of protests from Army Europe and Korea that the new soldiers who were reaching them were inadequately trained. Investigation at the time demonstrated that what they meant was the soldiers were not adequately acculturated, meaning they didn't know how to conduct police call and pick up the butts and how to roll them. They didn't understand the power of the First Sergeant. They didn't grasp how to react to the difference between a corporal and a sergeant first class, all such minutia, simply because they hadn't been in the Army long enough. TRADOC yielded and went back to lock-step training, the old way of managing instruction, and the Army underwrote the higher costs.

My point in '86 was that regression was a serious mistake because the fact of the matter is we could have used the additional time to teach the soldiers more instead of less, to give the Army its money's worth. In other words, if the forces wanted more soldiering, TRADOC could have provided that. That wasn't the problem. The problem was getting the recruits to the point where they could satisfactorily weld, or satisfactorily change out a carburetor on a tank, et cetera. Those proficiency tests were what we were focused on. With more money for more time, TRADOC could have turned out acculturated soldiers with a higher level of skill but, if you're worried about how well they salute and how well they interact with sergeants—that takes a little more time than skill training—TRADOC can give that but why that? Why not send them into the force and let them acquire such skills and knowledge in the units under their

own first-line supervisors? That argument was never resolved. I'm not going to name names but I think the TRADOC Commanders at the time spent more time listening to bitches from the field than they did about thinking about the training system and where it was going. They really did walk the cat back insofar as understanding how to teach soldiers their job.

*INTERVIEWER: When you talked to the War College, you said a couple of interesting things together. One was that training might not seem as interesting as strategy but if you didn't get the training right, strategy wasn't going to matter. The other thing you said was, at some point, the Army is going to have to work out the relationship between TRADOC and the commands in the field. Has the Army ever done that?*¹³³

GENERAL GORMAN: In fact, it regressed.

If Marty Dempsey were sitting here, he would point out that he moved into a position as Commander of TRADOC to discover that, over the years, the training load had gone up and his manning had gone down. He has very little flexibility in terms of producing soldiers trained well enough to meet Congressional constraints and to fill units in the field. Could he do his job better? Indeed but it's going to take more people, more money, et cetera. That's what led to discussing the money, more people, more money, et cetera, et cetera.

The second issue he would point out is TRADOC's position in the priority list for quality officers. TRADOC's priority had declined severely. He was running a school on how to command brigade combat teams with instructors who had never served in a brigade combat team. Some had not even served in recent combat. A lot of his instructors now are civilians; to be sure, retired officers and NCOs, many of them but they have not been in GWOT (Global War on Terror) combat, even though the Army has been at war for over a decade. Marty would say he'd sure like to do it differently but something had to give.

I have thought about TRADOC's plight very deeply over time. I've come around to the fundamental notion that the Army ought to go through another reorganization of the major commands, if only to get everybody to rethink the fundamentals of the mission. The current managerial realignment is focused on this Army Enterprise initiative. I'm not sure that can be used for such purposes, because it looks to me like what they're doing is keeping the current structure and shifting money. There is no real serious questioning whether we doing the right thing with these various enterprises? Training is an enterprise that I think could best be pursued in the tactical units of the Army and I think the ARFORGEN (Army Force Generation) model, opens new possibilities.

The Navy takes a third of their ships and puts them in repair and refurbishment but they're building crews at the same time, and the best place to train a sailor is on a ship, not in Tupelo, Mississippi, or some place in Tennessee. You want them on the ship, doing what they'd be doing at sea. The Army ought to learn from that. I think the ARFORGEN idea of putting together a unit almost from scratch, with your NCOs and other ranks, with some initial entry training behind the soldiers, then building the team and training them to the second stage in readiness, and then to the third, and then putting them out to the theaters—there's a structure there that could work very well.

What is it that TRADOC would do? What about the institutional training? Initial entry training remains a matter of priority. That goes for officers, NCOs, soldiers of all ranks. TRADOC could provide initial entry training and OC teams to go to the units that are in the bottom stage of readiness training to assist or support those commanders in bringing readiness into being. The idea would be a training support team that helps organize the unit before the cadre is fully fleshed-out. The OC team gets the unit up on the step and going, then evaluates it and says to the commander: "OK, Colonel, you've got a going operation. Now you're ready for stage two. We'll validate that."

I think you could build around that. The existing schools could continue their function of preserving the art of branches for which they are responsible, and they could be doing a lot with initial entry training. I think we need to look at the programs like the master gunner program in terms of thinking about how you use NCOs. Make them the experts that bring in specific proficiencies. Could you make that go? I

think you could but it takes a different mindset on the part of the high command.

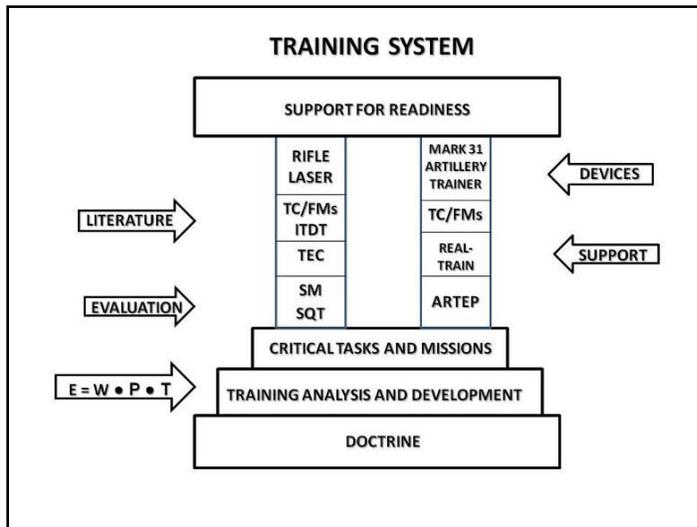
INTERVIEWER: There was a compelling logic to the creation of TRADOC, in logic of the way it was created and one of the things going through the papers is you were one of the people who took this very coherent compelling argument around the Army. You must feel like it didn't take.

GENERAL GORMAN: I certainly feel that way. One of my hopes for the CATB was that they would provide the continuity in the training system but I think I commented that I had to fight constantly to keep that group together. It was an antibody as far as the DCSPER was concerned. The accusation was this was my personal staff. Manpower survey hadn't allocated me the spaces for that, for personal staff. I shouldn't have one.

It wasn't that at all. It was an action-oriented innovation group. It was certainly not expensive. It was minimally manned but boy did we get a lot of money out of that—talk about macro management. We got a lot of return on investment with that group. That's what I mean about how do we give TRADOC what they need to do the job cost effectively? I would have said CATB was eminently cost-effective. That was not the view of the DCSPER. I got into a major clash with the DCSPER over colonels.

When I came to TRADOC, we were still reflecting the CONARC years. I had colonels working for colonels in four or five positions. When I arrived, there was a separate building for the Directorate of Education that handled just schools. It had a colonel as the director, and he had a deputy who was a colonel. They both had sergeants major, an office staff, and a sedan with a driver. I looked at this amazing array of rank and positional prerogatives, and announced that we can't operate like that. I don't like having education in one place and training in another, because we're all in the same game. I'm unable to discriminate in my mind the difference between training and education. I certainly don't know how to reflect that in an organizational chart. I know it doesn't have anything to do with whether you have a sedan and a driver. So, I turned in a lot of those spaces or traded them off for other spaces. The DCSPER really got on my case because he had to do something with those colonels, and they were performing a useful service where they were. The problem is how do we make things happen out there?

Well, again Bill DePuy was the arbiter in that fight. Again, he went on the side of austerity and functionality as opposed to prerogative and privilege. It was a tough fight and I don't know what the answer is. I really believe the answer is small lean organizations at the top doing macro management. You aren't going to get to macro management well with large complicated hierarchies. It's not going to work.



Look at the diagram. One thing I didn't talk about was accountability. One of the concomitants of these big complicated hierarchies is lost accountability. It's not only that nobody's in charge of the actual payoff, or making the actual payoff occur but nobody knows what the actual payoff really is. That led to our idea of having Fort Sill (and other schools) have an office working for the Commandant to evaluate the effectiveness of what the school does for TRADOC by going into artillery (and other relevant) units Army-wide and ascertaining whether the School was doing what it should with officer training, with NCO training, and with soldier training. Of

course, ultimately evaluators would be assessing how well are these units shooting? What's the payoff out there? How do we measure that?

I think it was fortuitous for the Army that we had that STEADFAST Reorganization that created TRADOC. Whether the reorganization can persist is another matter, as it is whether anybody but General DePuy can make it go. STEADFAST certainly was good for the Army upon implementation. I'd say it was the salvation of the Army at that point of time. The Army needed something like that, needed a forward looking, aggressive, progressive move, and it got it.

Commander, 8th Infantry Division

INTERVIEWER: Sir, after your experience dealing with USAREUR as Deputy Chief of Staff for Training, you were appointed to command the 8th Infantry Division in V Corps, commanded then by Lieutenant General Sidney Berry. How was that?

GENERAL GORMAN: When I got to USAREUR as a Division Commander—I'm coming out of the DCST and I've got all of this TRAINCON '76 behind me—I knew that I was going to be under the close watch of the USAREUR and V Corps staffs because they knew I had been critical of the way they'd been operating.

The first thing I did was announce that the 8th Division is going to act on the latest thought on tank gunnery, in which units didn't stop at Table VIII but went out to Table XII—section and platoon firing. We were going to fire all those tables, and we were going to prove we could shoot at *Grafenwöhr*. We were going to see if we could bring all of our tank companies up to the standards that TRADOC had addressed in TRAINCON '76. It was a long shot. The 8th Division had four brigades—its organic three, plus an attached brigade in Wiesbaden, forward deployed from the 4th Division. Altogether, 8ID had over 400 tanks, M60A1s, 2s, and 3s.

I arrived at a time when the bottom had dropped out of the dollar. V Corps told me that they didn't have the ammunition to support this kind of training and they didn't have any money to buy simulators for home station training. That's one more case where, if you want to change, you've got to generate money. The way I generated money was to station a battalion's-worth of tanks up at Graf and send the troops up for firing exercises in buses. That was much cheaper than paying the *Bundesbahn* to haul every tank from every battalion up to the range. You can imagine the argument I got.

“It's my tank! I named that tank! It's my tank!”

Senior tankers were seriously concerned that I was vitiating the bed-rock of armor *esprit de corps*. My response was to remind them of what had happened in the Yom Kippur War, and ask them to help me get ready to fight the Warsaw Pact not the Axis. I'd say:

Your tank may last for the first day of combat but you're going to fight three tanks in the course of the following three days. Therefore, 8ID tank training is going to spend a lot of time on teaching crews to use a standard loading plan and a standard zeroing procedure, so that when a crew takes over a strange tank, they will go through the same steps to ensure that everything is aligned and stowed and ready to go. If our crews do that every time they go out to train at home station, and they do that same thing at Graf, with the strange tank they will be issued there, they will do the same thing in war and we will be more ready to fight and win.

I downplayed the whole economic case, saying the battle payoff—our training goal—was the ability to man a strange tank, to put it in fighting condition, and to shoot to win. If my memory is correct, that policy saved literally \$4 million in one year. It was a sizable amount of money.

I was being issued M60A3s, so I had tanks with infrared night sights. None of the targets at Graf, or at Baumholder, were heat emitters. So you couldn't use your night sights. I bought some Swedish targets that were heated to accurately represent tanks at night. Over the years since, I have heard rumors that some chaps, then in USAREUR, and in the corps, concluded—erroneously—that I had taken money that the division had received to buy the Nomex coveralls and invested it in simulators and targets.

In fact, I worked with the Army's Night Vision Lab (NVL) and the Air Force to generate funding. NVL gave 8ID money and some Soviet T60s to run experiments, including night exercises with actual Soviet armor. That led to a very interesting discovery. Our soldiers at Baumholder could see these tanks by picking up the antennae long before the tank broke defilade. The radio antennae on the T60s were drawing heat from the engine exhaust. The antennae showed in an IR [infra-red] sight as a thin, bright line. Our crews would be sitting there, all ready to shoot as soon as the turret emerged from cover.

I also got money from the US Air Force, which had a laser-guided bomb with which they were in procurement trouble. Because it hadn't been tested in Europe, it wasn't clear that it could handle the dews and the damps, and the fogs and the mist, et cetera. The Air Force wanted to run a test with their pilots on real tanks and real terrain, in periods of limited visibility. We got \$200,000 from the Air Force to put troops out for night training at Baumholder, a small 8ID training area of only 27,000 acres. It served the USAF purposes and it provided good training for our tankers. The money bought a lot of simulators for use in tank training in garrison. The 8ID put a lot of money into Swedish pockets. We did that fairly quietly, without any fanfare but I assure you that we did buy our Nomex coveralls.

8ID fired tanks at Graf one month after I arrived and the results were exactly what I had expected. We couldn't shoot. We trained hard to improve, so that the next time we went up, which was in January, as I recall—the winter gunnery season—we shot platoon tables and the standards were pretty well met. We had at least 80percent of the crews qualify at platoon level. Subsequent firings, while I was the Division Commander, were all confirmations we were on exactly the right track. We were up in the 85percent-95percent qualification range every six months.

I don't want to appear to be bragging. I'm trying to show that you can make virtue of necessity. The commander needs flex money to adapt. The techniques I used to get that money were a product of the information on technology and training technique I had acquired as DCST. Who do you go to if you want to do something with night vision? NVL for sure. I also had good contacts in the Air Force, so I knew when they were in trouble with their new ordnance. I invited them over to Baumholder—which I could truthfully say had the worst weather in Europe. Make it work there, it will work almost anywhere. It did. 8ID got paid for that but the whole end product was a demonstration of a novel approach to a weapons system that the Army had not thought about ten years earlier.

Did it make a difference? I think it did. If you add onto what we did in the late '70s the kind of additional thrust the Army got when it deployed the SIMNET¹³⁴ in the mid-80s, the end result was USAREUR's winning the Canadian Cup for the first time. That was a confirmation that it is possible to make a major difference in the effectiveness of tanks if you're willing to give the proper training support and you get commanders who are genuinely interested in efficiency and effectiveness.

We ran two REALTRAIN exercises. One of them was on the maneuver rights area out to the east of Idar-Oberstein. It was a farm—Lots of open ground where the farmers had been growing hay or potatoes, or something, in the field. I asked the farmer, "What do you get for your crop?" He gave a number. "I said, OK, I'll give you that plus 10percent if you'll allow us to use the ground for maneuvers this year." I explained to him what we were going to do. What I did was to take a battalion from Mainz. I told them that their job was to run a continuing exercise, using REALTRAIN, for infantry platoons. The idea was that a platoon would come in—road march in, in the morning—get in attack order, and then have to conduct an attack, then a defense, and then a delay on successive positions. They would be critiqued after each event by the observer controllers from the designated battalion. All that battalion commander and staff did during the summer was to run this exercise.

INTERVIEWER: How long did it take the controller battalion to train themselves?

GENERAL GORMAN: About a week. It worked very well. There was a big scream from USAREUR because I was doing it on maneuver rights land, and I was tearing the hell out of it but I had discovered that Congress appropriated money for such maneuvers anyway. There was already a fund there, and nobody else was drawing it down. So my approach was just go buy the use of the land to begin

with. The farmer was happy. We were happy. I think everybody was happy except USAREUR. General George Blanchard¹³⁵ came up to see what we were doing. I fended it off and went on. That worked.

That led me to run a more ambitious exercise at Baumholder. The scenario was a meeting engagement with a tank-infantry team on each side. The assembly area for one was the objective for the other and vice versa. We ran that exercise for every tank and infantry company in the division. Four brigades' worth. It was a day-long drill. General Rogers, still Chief of Staff, came to pay us a visit. He came on the USAREUR Commander's train. The train sidings at Baumholder are down at the entrance to the post. Right opposite the train siding, there was a tank range on which I had put up a big tent with bleachers inside for conducting the AAR for the REALTRAIN drill.

I met General Rogers at the train and said, "If you don't mind, I'd like to take you around to see some of the training." He said "Oh great. I'd like to do that." So we got in the jeep and I took him right across the road up into this tent. He said, "Why are we stopping here." I said, "Well, you're about to see some training." We went in. Inside the tent there was a sergeant in front of a bleacher full of troops. I got General Rogers up in the back of the bleachers. We climbed into the back of the bleachers so that we wouldn't interfere with what was going on. What the sergeant was doing was running an AAR. He had a list of the casualties. "Who's Bravo 73?" he asked. "Stand up. Bravo 73, you were killed at coordinates [123456]." He had a map. "You were killed here. What were your orders? What were you supposed to be doing?"

"Well, I was told...I knew that that was wrong but I" Then the other guy would pop up. They had a set-to. The sergeant led them. Then he asked them: "OK, what did you learn from this?" And then they'd go down through what they had learned. Then he'd go back to the lieutenant who was killed early on. "If you were going to do it again, Lieutenant, how would you change your order?" They had that discussion. In this particular episode, one unit was defending a ridgeline. The attackers had scarfed up all the OPs the defenders had put in front of their position to detect the arrival of the opposing force. Then they ran an attack on the hill position. All the leaders on both sides were early casualties. The attackers succeeded in accomplishing their mission under command of the company commander's radio telephone operator. The sergeant conducting the AAR summarized it. He said, "Here's what happened. The chain of command devolved pretty rapidly but, because there was a clear concept of what had to be done, PFC Schmalz, over there, got on top of the hill and carried the day."

We walked outside. When Bernie Rogers gets mad, you see this flush rising in his neck. His face gets redder and redder. As we got back to the jeep, he grabbed me by the arm. He said, "You set that up"! I said "No. I wish I had but you can't set those up. This actually happened."

He said, "What are you trying to get at?" I said, "What I'm trying to do is to teach these youngsters is that this game is deadly serious. If you're going to be involved in it, you damn well better succeed as opposed to fail. Failure is pretty cataclysmic." I said, "You saw a lot of learning going on in that bleacher area there. We all learned a lot from this exercise. This goes on every day, General. Twice a day and every one of the learning sessions is different because the tactics are different but they all come out of it more savvy soldiers than they could have under any other training. In other words, their time was well spent. This is a cost-effective way of doing it."

He said, "I have on my desk back in the Pentagon a proposal that we buy a system called MILES." I said, "I'm very familiar with MILES." He said, "What's that got to do with this?" I said, "It's going to enable us to do a lot that we can't do with this clumsy optically-based system. It will make it possible to do many more of these exercises without having to have an elaborate system for observer controllers. It will be far more realistic for the participant to take up a proper sight picture, rather than looking to read numbers on enemy tanks—to pay more attention to cover and concealment." He said, "Well I had serious reservations about MILES. It seemed to me we were going to a lot of trouble for not much payoff but," he said, "among the people who were learning in that tent was me. Any training that could teach a PFC to take command of a company and capture the objective, I want in my Army." He said "We'll go ahead with the MILES program."

So that paid for a hell of a lot of time and effort we invested to have that exercise under way when he was there.

MILES would have made it a lot easier to do. I never got to work with MILES. Right after I left they had MILES [OT3] in the 8th Division. I was at the CIA at the time. I got a call from the Pentagon. Some guy in DSCOPS had gotten a message from USAREUR complaining that the 8th Division had experienced a lot of cold weather casualties because of the MILES system. I said that doesn't sound right. "Who were the casualties?" Well the casualties were riflemen. What had happened was they ran an exercise in this unit. Put out a lot of snipers. The snipers had done the sniping thing. They were in hide positions. It was cold. They wouldn't move. They weren't moving. The soldiers stayed there till they got their shots off. They came back with frostbite. MILES incentivized them. Far from bitching, USAREUR should have been praising those kids for sticking to their job. That's their wartime mission. I told the Action Officer, former 8th Division guy, "Don't send back an acerbic reply, because the USAREUR folks just don't understand. They don't know the nuances. The division commander will take care of it."

INTERVIEWER: One of the things that I'd like you to talk about is the ARTEP you developed as a simultaneous, multi-level exercise.

GENERAL GORMAN: This photo is Cardinal Point One.



Cardinal Point 1, 7-14 February 1978, Franco-German Border
9000 soldiers of 8th Infantry Division (Mech), 1400 wheeled Vehicles, 300 tanks/SP artillery, 700 APC's/command tracks

Cardinal Point II took place the following summer.¹³⁶ Cardinal Point II was a logical progression in the sense that, first of all, it took place on the same ground as Cardinal Point I but, as it was summertime, there were crops out there. We couldn't maneuver broadly the way we did in the wintertime. So in lieu of that, we devised a series of exercises, all of which were aimed at improving 8ID's ability to get ready for actual combat—moving, communicating and shooting.

The first objective was to overcome our sedentary habits. The division sat around in garrison with its wartime ammunition in remote depots. A significant part of the time that 8ID took to move to our

wartime position was consumed in drawing ammunition. We went through a series of experiments where a unit was sent down to its depots and drew its ammunition. We discovered, of course, that it took an inordinate amount of time, because the foreign workers—descendants of displaced persons, mostly—who manned those ammunition points, had stashed the ammunition for ease with inventory, not to facilitate drawing. A simple example, 155mm projos were all stacked upright on pallets on the floor. When we went down to draw the 155 projos, we didn't have a fork-lift. So the fact that they were palletized didn't bear on what we were doing. That meant that the pallets had to be broken and every single projo had to be hand-lifted and carried and put on the truck.

I talked to the ammunition guy, the Ordnance officer in charge down there, and I said, "Look, I will provide the troop labor to build stages inside of your bunkers so that you can store those projos at truck-bed level. We will figure out a way to pull the pallets right on the truck bed. I'll put four-guys on each side of the pallet. We'll put some grease on the floor, and we'll pull the pallet right on the truck. We won't de-palletize them. We'll move them directly out of the bunker." He cooperated and we worked out various ways to facilitate ammo upload.

Once the artillerymen began to understand why we were worried about that, they began to invent ways to do it better. There are a number of other examples. Suffice to say, we reduced the average time for a battalion to load from 12 hours down to two hours, and that gained time proceeded from a whole series of little changes in the way the ammunition was stored, the way the traffic was controlled into and out of the ammunition point, et cetera. That meant that I could tell V Corps I could get to the border in substantially less time than had theretofore been the case. Incidentally, V Corps had no idea how long it took to load ammunition. Nobody did. Nobody tried it but we got that down to a science.

As I remember it, 8ID training guidance for CY 1978 was published shortly after New Years and was based on ARTEP 7-12, with certain Training and Evaluation Outlines modified to fit 8ID wartime tasks, conditions and standards for the war we expected to fight in the Fulda Gap.¹³⁷ Cardinal Point II was described therein as a near-term objective. When 8ID went out for Cardinal Point II, each maneuver battalion had to go through a replica of the ammunition storage point. They drew dummy loads of some approximation of size and weight of the actual ammunition. The Support Command Commander went nuts trying to build these replica loads, machine gun boxes full of sand and that sort of stuff but, we did it.

The battalion had to go through ammo upload. Then it had to make a road march. Instead of going toward East Germany, it rolled towards France. The river crossing, in this instance, wasn't the Rhine but the Moselle. Once across the river, it had to go into a forward assembly area, and subsequently move to a defensive position. By the way, there was no way it could have rehearsed all that. This was new ground, different from any it had seen before. The enemy was coming out of France. The battalion had to figure out how to conduct reconnaissance, the other troop-leading steps, and then actually deploy out from the forward assembly area into forward positions, all carefully chosen along wood edges to avoid the plowed fields.

Then, we called timeout and we split the outfit. The vehicles were moved from the combat positions by platoon leaders and NCOs to Baumholder, and there broken into platoon packets to undergo the several training evaluations that were staged there, one event after another, day and night, moving, communicating, and shooting for 90 hours. In the meantime, the company commanders were involved in a battle simulation in which they met with their battalion commander to receive the latest intelligence. Then they fought the battle on a big game board, using a Leavenworth-devised battle simulation, through delays, defense, counterattack, and pursuits. The battalion commander and his staff were in the field, in the command post they had set up for the defense.

One of the companies in each rotation had to build a strongpoint. They were working on that mission while all the other activities were taking place. At the end of all those exercises, all the officers went to the strongpoint and walked it, listening to a critique of the company commander, exploring the difficulties he had had and how better to have met them. A lot of good ideas emerged from those collective sessions and we all learned a lot about an activity that TRADOC had addressed only in theory.

In the meantime, the NCOs marched the vehicles and troops back to garrison. Incidentally, we didn't have a single motor vehicle accident all summer. We ran 12 battalions through that drill. The object of splitting officers and NCOs was to make the point that the skills and knowledge that an officer has to have in his repertoire are a little bit different from the skills and knowledge that the NCO has got to have. Both of them, however, have got to be working the same set of problems with the same set of gear, and the same set of soldiers, or we're not going to succeed.¹³⁸

Building teamwork and cohesion was our aim. There was a lot of emphasis on the fact that no one is exempt from making mistakes. Indeed, where you're going to learn is from your mistakes, especially reflecting on how to avoid them in the future. We all learned a lot in the course of doing that. I will make no claims to how successful we were, because I'm not sure our criteria in all cases were valid, or that we had effective control measures, or OCs—Observer Controllers—up to snuff assisting along the way but everything that I heard in the after-action reviews would tell me that it was fairly effective.

In the 8th ID's Cardinal Point II FTX, our basic notion was that good commanders train two echelons down but, generally, that's for planning and anticipating support. If each Commander mentored subordinates one echelon down, the Army would be much advantaged. The Cardinal Point II architecture reflects that conviction.¹³⁹

INTERVIEWER: You brought in people from ARI and HumRRO, who gave you a level of observation you wouldn't have again until NTC got going.

GENERAL GORMAN: We did a couple of things that are important there. General Rogers had embarked, at that point in time, on the Organizational Effectiveness program. 8ID got a shipment of soldiers who have been trained in the OE school out in California. They would often show up wearing earrings and pendants around their neck. I declared that "Effectiveness in this outfit has to do with beating the hell out of the Russians. That's what this organization is focusing on. So you OE specialists are going to collect data for the ARI team who are going to analyze your data, then together, we're going to come up with some sort of measurement of how well our battalion command groups function in a stressful battle situation."

The OE guys were OCs for the ARI psychologists who structured the probes and otherwise evaluated whether we had a reasonable measure of effectiveness. I feel a lot surer about those data than I do about, for example, numbers on infantry platoons defending a town. Initially, I wasn't quite sure that we could collect data correctly for all evaluations in CPII. I feel better about the battalion command group assessment because it did have the OE people and it did have the ARI team. We spent a lot of time getting ready for that, as opposed to what we did with some of the platoon training evaluations at Baumholder. Nonetheless, everybody shot their weapon and everybody had to do so in a variety of different circumstances.

As a follow-up, I tasked the division Inspector General, the IG, to focus his subsequent annual inspections entirely on what the units had done with the data they got from Cardinal Point II—what they were doing to improve on their performance as recorded in the After Action Review (AAR) they got from Cardinal Point Two. From then on, the annual inspections were really training conferences. I had an IG, a Signal Corps officer, who really weighed in with all of the resources at his disposal to make that happen. In effect, my IG staff became a part of my OC resources. I have not only the OEs but the IG people, all trying to give me a sense of what extent the units were leaning into the readiness objectives set for them. I'm not trying to say we were better than any of the other divisions. I'll just say we worked at readiness a hell of a lot harder than most of them.

INTERVIEWER: Among the papers you printed for the 8th Division is a publication you did on terrain reinforcement.¹⁴⁰ After you left command, you wrote and presented a paper where you talked about the importance of terrain reinforcement.¹⁴¹ You offered a broad concept for how the 8th Infantry Division would have to fight, which relied on the creation of infantry strong-points, around which tanks would maneuver. You also said, in reflection on your experience, that the division couldn't execute that scheme without continuity of training over time.

GENERAL GORMAN: None of us really could be prepared for all of the tasks that we faced in the event of an actual clash with the Soviets. What we had to do, though, was to build in our officer corps an awareness of their shortcomings, so that in the event of an emergency, they were capable of making it up as they went along and doing as well as they could possibly do. On the question of terrain reinforcement in particular, that's why we did that strongpoint construction exercise down there. Just to get across to everybody how truly difficult it was.

Conclusion on Training

INTERVIEWER: Sir as you reflect on your experience—your whole walk through training, from the time you were a platoon leader—what do you think that the TRADOC Commander should take from that?

GENERAL GORMAN: Training is first and foremost a job for the leader. It's integral with leadership and so it should be taught. When I was DCST, I had a controversial session at Ft. Sill, a testy go around with the leadership gurus.¹⁴² My point to them was, if you don't get yourself involved deeply as a leader in the training of your troops, you're letting your troops down, and you're not going to succeed as well as you would if you understood that what they want is meaningful training. What they want to do is feel like they're soldiers every day, and that they're getting better as a soldier. If they don't have that feeling, you're going to have a more difficult time leading them, no matter how well your leadership approach is couched, whether it's *auftragstaktik* or any of the more societally-oriented, behaviorally-couched approaches to leadership. If it does not emphasize training, it is unlikely to work. It's as simple as that.

My second point is that, you have to understand that training is communications. Now, communication can occur in the way it has since the start of the industrial age where there's a classroom, and there is a teacher, an authority figure, and pupils are quote, *trained*, unquote, or quote, *educated*, unquote, by that authority figure. That's one way of training. That's the red school house that we've all been raised to know and respect. That mode of training was designed to train people to be comfortable with keeping working hours in a factory, checking time in and time out, and performing repetitive tasks in a specific way. That's okay. That worked well, you know, in a previous age but it's superfluous now because we can communicate in a variety of different ways. We don't need the red schoolhouse and the classroom to have effective training. The best place to train the soldier is in his unit where he is going to be expected to fight, not in a schoolhouse. The best place to train an officer is in a unit, where he has the people he's supposed to be leading and can actually practice as he learns. Even teaching relatively complicated procedures and principles is better done onsite, in a unit.

There's a lot of educational theory behind all of this, deriving from the much-neglected field of adult learning. Adults learn by making mistakes. Adults learn experientially. Adults do a lot of their decision making intuitively. Their intuition evolves with experiments. Army training is over dependent upon classroom lectures, even when labeled distance learning, because the students watch a video of an instructor at his podium. Better yet would be requiring each soldier to master disassembly of their weapon aided only by an iPhone app, followed by a proficiency test evaluated by an NCO. Today, communication can be right with the soldier in the form of an iPhone or an iPad or other PDA. The Army ought to be looking at that Kindle-like reader s for PME, and distributing training publications.

I know I am vulnerable to the charge that I have always tried to push the communications envelope, with the result that TRADOC has sometimes fostered immature technologies. In the 70s, we had TEC. TEC was a set of audio-visual lessons that were put into the field. They were intended for hands-on

training or self-instruction by soldiers, to teach them simple tasks straight out of their Soldier's Manual. The Bessler Cue/See machine was the best we could do at the time. iPod now can do much better than the Bessler Cue/See, far more cost-effectively. What remains interesting about TEC is not its hardware; it is its software and the contracting mechanisms for obtaining software. No contractor got paid for a TEC lesson until he could take a statistically significant sample of soldiers of the appropriate MOS and skill level and have those soldiers demonstrate that, once they took the lesson, they could meet a specific standard of performance. They'd demonstrate it. When they got through, they could do it.

The whole TEC experience foundered because the Government Accounting Office (GAO) went out to the field and discovered that the Cue/Sees were hidden in storerooms, and the tapes were rarely used. That's because the commander was not interested in individual proficiency of his soldiers, or the gear broke and wasn't repaired. I think that you could have a TEC program today. The hard part of that is getting the *task-condition-standard* right that defines success. The communication problem is solvable. Unlike the TEC program, it could be easily and instantaneously updated. With TEC, once you put it out in the field and something changed, it took two years to get fixed. Today, the Kindle says—wait a minute—I'll change the server in the sky. Now anybody who accesses, thereafter, is going to get the new version of the lesson with all of the changes in it. It's a lot less expensive to proliferate all of this than Bessler Cue/See.

Strategist

INTERVIEWER: Sir, following your command of the 8th Infantry Division, you left the Department of the Army and moved into the Joint world, serving successively at the CIA, as the J5, as the Assistant to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and finally as Commander in Chief, US Southern Command during the conflict in Central America. What issues engaged you during these years?

Central Intelligence Agency

GENERAL GORMAN: Let's start with the CIA business. First of all, I didn't ask for that assignment. I never imagined that anybody would even consider me for such an assignment. I knew only that Bernie Rogers, Chief of Staff of the Army, told me that he was going to bring me back to Washington. He needed me in Washington, he said. I assumed it would be some position on the Army Staff or Joint Staff. It turned out that he had promised the Director of Central Intelligence (DCI), Admiral Stansfield Turner, that he would provide an Army officer to be a national intelligence officer, a senior officer in the analytical branch of the CIA. I was the chosen general.

I didn't know the CIA was going to figure in my future until one morning I came down from breakfast and picked up a local German newspaper. I found my picture on the front page along with an article saying I was being assigned to the amerikanischer Nachrichtendienst.¹⁴³ American secret service. Shortly thereafter, I got a call from a man, a name I didn't recognize. He said, "I am the Director of the National Intelligence Council and I want to send you some documents to familiarize you with our activities." I asked, "What is the classification of these documents." He said "Top secret, of course." I said, "Do not send any such documents to me now or any time in the future." This was an open phone and I couldn't explain. "Just don't do it, I said." He asked, "Why not." I said, "I can't discuss that but you ought to be able to ascertain the reason." At the time, we were convinced that my headquarters had been penetrated by the Soviets. We knew that certain documents on our military plans had turned up in Soviet hands. We knew that for sure. The only way that could have happened was if somebody on the inside was peddling our stuff. The spy was eventually apprehended and is still in prison in Germany. He



was an American. He had married a German. We allowed the Germans to handle the espionage case. He's still tucked away. In any event, I arrived at the CIA under something of a cloud. I had manhandled the man I was going to be working for. When I explained what had happened, of course, he backed off.

That was a very marvelous assignment. We bought a house in McLean within ten minutes' drive to the office. It's like working on a college campus. Beautiful office. I had a corner office at the top of the building, a desirable window exposure on two sides of the room. I had my own secretary and, essentially, I didn't have anything to do. Nobody knew what the hell to do with a Major General, United States Army, in the CIA. So I sat down and started writing. I wrote a lengthy essay that was selected for what they call the Sherman Kent Award.¹⁴⁴ The paper was classified secret, maybe higher. I don't remember but it was definitely secret. My success with that one led me to do another. That one also won an award.¹⁴⁵

Years later, when I was the Assistant to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, two gentlemen from the CIA Inspector General showed up in my office. They said, "We have been looking into prizes that have been awarded by the CIA, monetary awards that have been made by CIA to personnel who were not assigned to CIA. In particular, we are interested in two awards that you received for certain papers, Sherman Kent Awards." I said, "Oh, I was assigned there. That's where I worked." "You were not assigned," they responded. "You were detailed to CIA. You belonged to the Department of Defense. It is against the law to take money from the intelligence account and use it as an incentive payment to an employee of the Department of Defense. Your salary came from the Department of Defense, so you're going to have to repay money that you received for the award." I said, "Oh holy smokes! You guys understand what it's like to own a house in McLean? I don't have any disposable income. I can't get that money back." "You just sign here," they said. "We'll take it out of your pay \$10 a month." That meant the rest of my living life I'll be paying back. I signed the paper. They thanked me very much. They were happy. I was happy. I did tell Ruth, "That's where that \$10 is going, baby." In any event, I guess I could report that I did do some useful work.

One of the projects I was involved in was related to an important topic the Army Science Board was pursuing at the time. I sent an estimate down to the Army Chief of Staff that the Soviets had a new kind of armor. The Army got DARPA involved. I won't go into the details of how we found out about it but it was very clear to me that senior Soviet officers thought their tanks were relatively invulnerable to American anti-armor weapons. Specifically, they had concluded that the US tank gun, and the TOW, could be defeated by their armor. We verified that view from a variety of perspectives, checking with various people, enough to conclude that they must be onto something that we did not have.

To help get the study going in the right direction, I took a busload of the analysts from the National Photographic Interpretation Center (NPIC), and from the analytical staff at McLean, up to Aberdeen Proving Ground. We let them walk through the facilities that we were using to develop our advanced weaponry. On the way back, some of these guys, particularly from NPIC, told me, "That was a real revelation. We don't see that stuff—proofing plates." (Developers shoot through steel plates to test their resistance.). The Soviets didn't have anything like that and the debris on the ground at Aberdeen was totally different from the debris on the ground in the Soviet testing facility. What we were looking at in terms of the NPIC debris was ceramic. Not steel. That put the subsequent Armor/Anti-armor Study on the right track.

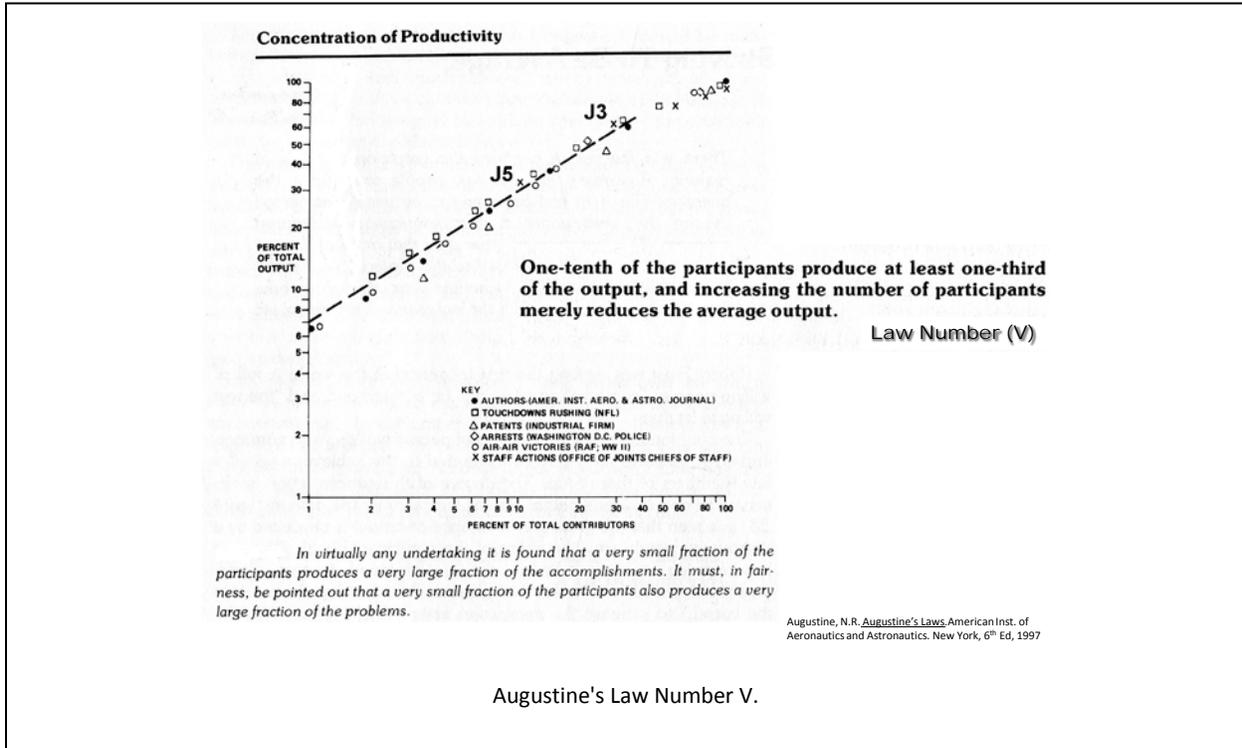
I did a lot of work with the Navy. Working with the Navy is an experience in and of itself. Naval intelligence is something else. It is very different from Army or Air Force intelligence, and there is a whole world out there called the US Navy that is a very, very unique set of men and women. That was very useful to me in subsequent positions. That was the real launch of my sense of *jointness* that the National War College never came close to.

J-5 Joint Staff

INTERVIEWER: Then you went over to J5 from the CIA.

GENERAL GORMAN: Right. I was skiing out in Colorado. I got a call from the DCI, Admiral Turner. I said, “Oh cripes. Here we go. Another crisis.” He said, “Congratulations. They’re going to give you a third star and send you down to the Pentagon.” I thanked him for calling me. I went in and poured myself a stiff drink. What did I do to deserve this? I had no idea what I was going to run into.

I got installed in the J5 and I discovered that the J5 has got its finger in almost everything the United States government does, one way or another. Norman Augustine’s “Law V” says that, in any human endeavor, most of the work is done by a very small percentage of the participants and, bringing more



people to bear on the problem slows the whole process down and decreases the productivity.¹⁴⁶ If you will look at the graph that accompanies Law V (below) you will see there an entry called actions in the Joint Chiefs of Staff. That’s data which I provided to Norm Augustine on the number of actions that were processed through the major sections of the Joint Staff.

The first entry point is for the J5. The second entry point is for the J3. Fully a third of the actions that the Joint Staff handled went through the J5. The J3 handled about 20 percent, and then the J4 and the J6, and you’re getting way out at the end of the tail. So the bulk of the actions were J5—and think about it. That’s arms control. That’s law of the sea. You name it, the J5 was somehow or other wrapped up in it.

Frequently, I was down at the meetings of the Chiefs, with my staff expert, on these various actions. It was a dawn-to-dusk paper shuffling drill, mustering all these experts. It was a full-time endeavor. I learned a lot. I was amazed frequently. I would say that was a job for which no amount of Professional Military Education would have prepared me. The issues were so disparate and so elevated, in many cases so novel, obscure almost, there’s no way you could build a curriculum. I don’t care how many additional years at Leavenworth you’re going to hold those guys hostage. It’s just not going to happen. You’re not going to be able to prepare them for that. I expect that’s true of the J5 today, though I don’t know for a fact.

For the first time, I had a bevy of generals working for me. That was a new experience. I was reporting to the Chiefs themselves, the Chairman in particular. [General David] “Davy” Jones used to call me up.¹⁴⁷ He’d get some particular action from the J5. “You gave me this big book with all kinds of tabs. You also gave me a one-page summary of this big book. I can’t use the one-page summary because I have to go back in the big book to figure out why you did it that way. Can’t you figure out a way of helping me to get a handle on this thing without having to be burdened with this big thing?” I would say, “Well, I’ll give it another try, General.” He never was satisfied that I prepared him adequately for his meetings but he selected me to be his assistant when it came time for the incumbent to move on. So I went from the J5, up to be the Assistant to the Chairman. Then of course Davy Jones was succeeded by Jack Vessey.¹⁴⁸

Assistant to the Chairman

The J5 was the inside man. He did most of the staff actions and did most of the talking for the Joint Staff in the meetings of the JCS. The numbers in the graph I gave to Norm really understate the impact of the J5 because many of those J3 actions are simply orders—messages going out, move to point B and await further instructions or something like that, that did not go before the Chiefs. They were minutiae things. The J4 and the J6 are, by and large, dealing with procedures as opposed to policies. The J5 actions might constitute half or more of the daily agenda of the meetings of the Joint Chiefs. The J5 is an inside man.

The Assistant to the Chairman is an outside man. He takes care of the interagency issues. He takes care of Office of the Secretary of Defense relations for the Chairman, and he goes to the meetings over at the State Department or the White House that the Chairman doesn’t have time to attend. It’s a different set of people but many of the issues are the same. So being the J5 is good preparation to be the Assistant to the Chairman.

The terminology is interesting. Back in 1947, when they were rejiggering Title 10 of the US Code, it was the intention of Secretary of Defense Forrestal¹⁴⁹ that there would be an Assistant Chairman. You’d have a Chairman and an Assistant Chairman. When the Senate got ahold of that idea, they put two little words in there, Assistant *to the* Chairman. It was a deliberate action to avoid there being any sort of notion that the Assistant to the Chairman could act for the Chairman. This is not a deputy. The office was merely for an assistant to facilitate the Chairman’s doing his job. They fixed the rank at three stars, as opposed to four, which was the original intent. So the Assistant to the Chairman was largely focused on taking on stuff that the Chairman didn’t have time for. It was a great preparation for my subsequent job because I got to meet a lot of the prime movers in the interagency arena.

INTERVIEWER: From reading the papers, the big issue that popped up when you were J5 was the reconfiguration of the unified command plan in response to the revolution in Iran. As the Assistant to the Chairman, you picked up, additionally, the reorganization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

GENERAL GORMAN: Right. The latter was because that was something in which Davy Jones was quite interested. He was egged on by Shy Meyer, the Chief of Staff of the Army, who thought that we needed to do something about the joint system.¹⁵⁰ I was thoroughly in sympathy with all of that. I got involved in a conference up at West Point with a bunch of high rollers in the academic world. I presented a paper up there.¹⁵¹

That’s a paper incidentally that appears in two versions. One is my original draft. There is the published version which didn’t come out for two years. The conference was in 1982. The publication was in ‘84. (I left the draft in the archive because there’s some marginalia. There are some notes that I made while I was delivering it.) I believed the idea that, somehow or other, you could create armed forces with a single service, which was Eisenhower’s view, is just not in the cards. It’s far too big a leap. The Navy needs its current institutions and procedures to preserve its seagoing culture, just as the Air Force needs its unique procedures to pursue its unique function. The Army and the Marine Corps are closer together than either of those two but even there, the Marine Corps makes a virtue of its small size and uniqueness, and properly so.

The Army, by contrast, has got to overcome all the disadvantages of its enormous size, and I don't think we're there yet in terms of reorganization. I don't think we have done all we could do.

I am persuaded, on the basis of my experience as a CINC that we need to give the combatant commanders more authority over the forces that are assigned to them for their missions. For the purposes of this record, at SOUTHCOM, I had assigned to me forces from all of the armed services. Each had their own distinctive personnel policies that dealt with such issues as length of temporary duty (TDY). I'd get an Army unit that would come in for 90 days' TDY. The max for the Air Force was something else. I couldn't make a joint arrangement with those elements because the people inputs were on different time continuums, so too with Navy and, so on.

I was the only general assigned to the United States Southern Command, the command itself. My Air Force deputy was the commander of US Air Force South. He was not assigned to the unified command. He was assigned to an Air Force command. That meant that somebody up in the United States was making decisions about how his headquarters was manned, and supported. He became sick and my classmate, the Air Force Chief of Staff, Charlie Gabriel, made a decision to leave him in place. He died in office. That was a compassionate move by Charlie but it certainly was not conducive to the operations of the Southern Command. The same thing could have been accomplished by other means.

If we are going to have genuine unified command, the purview of the combatant commander has got to be far greater than it has been to date. The general view is still that we'll have an Army Component Commander, a Navy Component Commander, a Marine Corps Component Commander, and an Air Force Component Commander. Operationally it doesn't work that way. There is airspace, and it has got to be controlled by the combatant commander. There is an electro-magnetic spectrum, and that's got to be managed by the CINC. We had near disasters in SOUTHCOM because of my inability to control the US electro-magnetic spectrum. I had, I believe, the first of the unmanned aerial systems (UAS, now UAVs—Unmanned Aerial Vehicles) in action in Central America. Those planes were crashed by Special Forces teams that were coming down into theater with radios that were not coordinated within the frequencies controlled by my J6. They were broadcasting on the navigation channel for the UAS, causing the UAS to crack-up when they were trying to do a landing. I think we've made progress but I don't think we're there yet. We have a long way to go.

Commander-in-Chief, US Southern Command

INTERVIEWER: That brings us to SOUTHCOM and your experience as Commander in Chief SOUTH. Is two years long enough for a theater commander?

GENERAL GORMAN: No. That was a reflection of the fact that we then had the age 56 cutoff. Age overtakes you eventually. At age 56, then, you were out. Period. I left just in time to make my 56th birthday. I think it makes a good deal more sense to have a flexible retirement date on the basis of whether they can in fact use you longer. I was just getting in my stride as a CINC when the end came in sight. Policies have been modified now, as I understand it, and we have a lot of guys who have gone on and done great things in their later years.

SOUTHCOM today is a very different command from what it was then. I had a staff of about 150—SOUTHCOM staff. I had an Army Component Command in Panama, and an Air Force Component Command. There was a so-called Navy Component Command but he was really a naval depot on the Pacific shore for piloting and refueling and that kind of thing. As I said, I was the only general assigned to the unified command. Now they've got a dozen or so general officers and they've got 900 people in the staff. The headquarters has a great big modern building in Miami. It is very different from the little cinder block buildings we had in Panama. I'm not sure it's any better, or any more efficient. I just know it's a lot bigger than anything I ever would have liked to have commanded.

The experience at TRADOC conditioned me well for what I ran into in Panama, as the Commander in Chief (CinC). I took the CATB concept into that headquarters. I had a small staff group of highly select officers. First I insisted that each was bilingual. Secondly I had to have one representative from each of

the services, not higher than a lieutenant colonel, thank you. I had an Army colonel who headed up the group. Max Thurman made it happen. He was at DA at that time and he made all that happen. So I set that up and I had a group of really hot shot officers. Each of the guys was extremely effective. We got a lot done. Trying to do it with the existing apparatus would have been not only painful but impossible.

One of the members of that little staff group is still in action, a Navy officer—bilingual—graduate of Princeton. Since 1983, he's been operating in SOUTHCOM, first in his military role, and then he went to work with the State Department in the counterdrug campaign. He spent many years in Colombia. I think he deserves a lot of credit for the turnaround of things in Colombia. State moved him from Colombia to Mexico City. He's now back at SOUTHCOM, still doing his thing.

I have said and written that that little command did good work for the United States in several respects.¹⁵² I think we averted a war. The best wars are those you don't have to fight. I also think we plowed ground in using the Reserve Components for active operations. We plowed new ground with using unmanned aerial systems. We did novel things with intelligence forces. The whole idea of reachback was developed and proven efficacious in SOUTHCOM. Being small is not necessarily being impotent. To the contrary, I think you can do more with smaller forces than larger forces. I was advantaged over my successors precisely because I could pick up the phone and talk directly to the Secretary of State, or to Secretary of Defense, or to the National Security Advisor. I knew those people well enough so they'd answer my phone calls. I could get answers fast.

INTERVIEWER: Did you know them before you went down there?

GENN GORMAN: Yes. It is one of the advantages of being Assistant to the Chairman before you go off to be a CINC. I don't envy brother Petraeus his chain of assignments. I think he would have been much advantaged if he had had a policy-strategy assignment different from being the Commandant at Leavenworth.

INTERVIEWER: When you went down there to SOUTHCOM, did you have some kind of terms of reference?

GENERAL GORMAN: My predecessor was my West Point classmate Wally Nutting.¹⁵³ Wally was consumed, by and large, with deteriorating relations with the Panamanian National Guard, Panamanian Defense Force; I guess they were then called. He was involved with arguments with the Ambassador over various aspects of the status of forces agreements and what the US forces could or could not do in Panama. I'd been sitting in the Office of the Assistant to the Chairman and was therefore privy to the messages that Wally was sending back. If I got any terms of reference, they came from Jack Vessey and it was simply, "Get down there and straighten that all out. We don't need that stuff, 'The Ambassador said this and I said that.' Make all that go away." I did.

This is actually the way it happened. I was called up to the Office of the Chief of Staff of the Army, Shy Meyer. Shy said, "I can offer you two jobs." (This is after I get the letter saying bye-bye, your date of retirement is 1985.) "One of them is the commander of Readiness Command and that's a four-star billet. Or I could offer you the commander of the Southern Command, which is a three-star billet. Which do you prefer?" I said, without hesitation, "SOUTHCOM." He said, "Let me repeat. You understand one is a four-star billet? The other is a three-star billet." I said, "Yes sir. I understand that but I want to go where the action is."

So that was agreed to. Then, when the matter came up before the JCS, the Chairman put forward the idea that the commander in Panama ought to be a four-star. That was agreed to by the Chiefs and approved by the Secretary of Defense. Shy Meyer was delighted. That enabled him to give Wally the Readiness Command. Wally was a four-star. That worked out to everyone's satisfaction.

INTERVIEWER: Sir, what was your vision of what you were doing? What was your big idea that you got up with every day? --

GORMAN: Deterrence. Deterrence. The Nicaraguans were very clearly preparing for a large military operation. They were bringing in tanks. They were expanding their artillery and they were building airfields in Nicaragua that were plainly designed to support high performance aircraft, jet aircraft. There were a set of revetments in an airfield north of Managua. We knew the depth of the concrete that had been poured was capable of supporting the heaviest aircraft in the United States Air Force. Huge amounts of cement. That meant that they certainly were intended for far more capable planes than the C-47s that the Nicaraguans were flying. The revetments fitted the wingspan of the latest Soviet fighters. We had every reason to believe that the Soviets were planning something like a force deployment there.¹⁵⁴

I made the case to the Chiefs. I was taken over to the White House and I made the presentation to the National Security Advisor, arguing that we needed to get a warning to the Soviets that, if they intervened in Central America, there was going to be a very serious head-to-head confrontation. It would be better for all concerned if they did not follow through with any plans for deploying forces there. I think that worked. The war everybody expected, including the US intelligence community, did not develop. Against all of the predictions, we got Jose Napoleon Duarte elected president of El Salvador in internationally supervised, democratic elections. We had a superior voter turnout for the election. It all went the way we hoped it would.

Overall, what was I doing? I was deterring action by the Cubans, Nicaraguans and Soviets. In Havana there was a group of men who spent their time thinking of ways to bring about the demise of democracy in Central America. There was no counterpart center except for the group in Quarry Heights, Panama. There certainly was not in Washington.

INTERVIEWER: Was there somebody in the State Department you could work with?

GENERAL GORMAN: The Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America was a friend and a colleague but he was dealing with Ambassadors and country teams throughout the hemisphere, and he had antique communications. Generally speaking, I knew more about what was going on down there than he did—by far.

INTERVIEWER: Was that a problem or was that synergistic? The State Department countries all plugged into a single place and you having the comprehensive view?

GENERAL GORMAN: All plugged into a central place but dealing with an arcane antique cable system. Everything had to be in writing. Everything that went out of the embassy had to be approved by the Ambassador. I was traveling around the region carrying a satellite telephone. An Air Force Sergeant would pick up the telephone and I could call the Assistant Secretary of State or anybody else I wanted to up there. Ambassadors didn't have any such flexibility. I was in meetings with Ambassadors. I'd make a statement. The Ambassador would say, "Well, now the General is right. What he proposes makes sense but of course it's going to take us some time to get that cleared." I'd say, "Wait." I'd go outside, pick up the phone, call Cap Weinberger and say, "I just told the country team down here that we're going to do this, that or the other thing. Is that Okay with you?" "Sure," he'd say. I'd go back in. I'd say, "It's all cleared now." Even the really good guys from State, like John Negroponte, were uncomfortable with that kind of rapid turnaround. They were used to a more stately deliberative process.

We were dealing with a situation that was moving very rapidly and was changing constantly, particularly on the friendly side. They're down there. They were dealing with corrupt bureaucracies. Getting rid of the corrupt practitioners was a major part of my undertaking down there. It's not easy to do but I did it in close cooperation with the Ambassadors, and I think we did it discreetly, and selectively, and effectively. It was all part of an effort to change the way the governing classes thought of themselves. They really believed that they were riding a wave of American opinion and investment that would lead the Americans to intervene to preempt action by the Soviets or Cubans. My job was to convince them that we were not going to intervene. I would tell them frequently: "Don't count on us. We're not going to be there. If they do come across the border, it's you who are going to have to defend your country."

Further, I said, “American patience is running out. If you continue to tolerate malfeasance in office, you’re going to lose what little aid program you’ve got.” That kind of turkey talking, me and the Ambassador telling the minister of defense or the president, or the senior generals, really made a difference. I spent a lot of time doing that. I spent a lot of time flying from country to country in my C-12, frequently taking Ambassadors from point A to the adjacent capital B, C and D. It was a rarity for those Ambassadors to get out of their own country and to get in to talk to a neighbor. Again your concatenation. Everything goes up to the Assistant Secretary, and then comes back down. Lateral communications didn’t exist.

INTERVIEWER: You mentioned once that you had had conferences where you’d bring in people from the different embassies who never talked to each other, even if they were next door. You’d bring them all in for a couple days.

GENERAL GORMAN: Usually I’d do that with the agency involved. A couple of conferences in Miami were hosted by the Assistant Secretary of State. There was one particularly memorable conference in Panama, where I was able to introduce members of the clandestine service to one another. They’d never met before. They were operating cheek by jowl. Again, that was all done with the DCI’s approval. In fact he was there.

So as a catalyst, an intermediary, a facilitator, the unified command did useful work. My instruction to the staff was that, “No one in this headquarters will ever say no to an Ambassador except me. You are not allowed, not authorized, not permitted to do any such thing. If you get a request from a country team, figure out how you’re going to honor it but if you think that we ought to say no, you come to me. I’ll do the no saying.” That made a big difference in how things were going.

INTERVIEWER: So you spent a lot of time creating a regional perspective, in order to do these very important things.

GENERAL GORMAN: I wasn’t successful in all respects. Argentina was just coming out of the period of military rule with a lot of abuse by the Argentine military. The State Department, frankly, did not want me screwing around with the Argentine military. I did attend the inauguration of the first president elected after the military regime stood down. My role was to educate the new minister of defense on how to set up an arrangement with his military that would provide for civil control of military forces, describing and using the US model as the example. He was amazed when I told him that Jack Vessey couldn’t move a troop without the approval of the Secretary of Defense. “How can that be?” he asked. I said, “It’s the law of the land. It’s the way you ought to do it.”

I was persona non grata in Chile for obvious reasons,¹⁵⁵ but I did make headway in Peru against military services that were dominated by the years of exposure to schooling in, and association with, the Soviets and French. We got back in. We worked our way back in with Peru.

Most of my attention went into Central America, because that was the hot spot. That’s where the Cubans and the Soviets had made their boldest intrusions. The question of narco-trafficking was important.¹⁵⁶ I took the view then, and still believe it, that this is a matter that can and should be addressed by the United States military. It is fundamentally an issue of sovereignty—the degree to which these nations actually control their airspace, their sea frontiers, their maritime boundaries, and are able to provide for the rule of law within their own confines. These people are Latinos. They’re very proud. They’re jingoistic. They’re very proud of their own country and their own prerogative. So you play to that. You talk their language, not yours. I sold that program then. It’s not being sold as well today but I don’t mean to be critical of my successors. It’s a tougher problem today than it was.¹⁵⁷

Wally Nutting had worked on problems relating to the security of Honduras. His approach was to ask for more forces to be assigned to SOUTHCOM. What he wanted to do was to bring in an attack helicopter -- I want to say battalion. It may have been a company. He wanted Cobras and he wanted them deployed to Panama so that they could then go from Panama up to Honduras and exercise with the Hondurans. He was working the problem of deterrence. The difference was exactly that I decreased the force in Panama

systematically, over time, and I didn't want more advanced armament. Sure, the Nicaraguans had brought in the Hind armed helicopter. Wally's idea was tit for tat. We'll put the Cobras in. I said, "No. We don't need that but what we do need to do is convince them that their investments in tanks and artillery are not going to pay off." I didn't think the Cobra would be much help. Part of this construct that I was promoting, for low intensity conflict, was that the use of US general purpose forces should be a resort of last instance. You should not employ them. Because when you insert our forces, automatically the intensity changes dramatically. Therefore, part of this array should have been—and it may be a deficiency on my own part—training for indigenous forces. If you can build the indigenous force up to the point where they can function effectively, you don't need to consider putting our own forces in.¹⁵⁸

Let me give you an example of that. Right across the border, in Nicaragua, there was a full Soviet division artillery-style affair. The Soviets and the Cubans had trained the Nicaraguans. I brought a battery of 105s from the 101st Airborne Division Artillery down to Honduras to teach the Hondurans how to use artillery. The Hondurans had no artillery. They had mortars. In fact, I think they had 4.2 mortars in their force. The problem was less the materiel than the fact that they didn't understand how to organize a unit to deliver fires, and they didn't understand how to plan for fires. So I brought down this battery. They were in effect a training aid for developing in the Hondurans some sort of notion about what an officer does in an artillery battery, what the gun sergeant does—what the gun crew commander does—and how soldiers relate to the sergeants and the officers. All of those points were pretty much beyond the Hondurans when we arrived. They watched all of it but they really didn't understand what we were trying to do. It took about a month of drilling them. They got to be pretty proficient when we got through.

I had brought that outfit down because I was aware that there was a Foreign Military Sales (FMS) case pending to sell to the Hondurans some 105mm howitzers. I manipulated that so we could just leave the guns there with the Hondurans. They were just as proud as punch at this. For the first time, they had artillery. They had not had anything like that before. In order to make that real, we had to go through the drill of showing them, on the ground, how to put a battery into action. We actually did a lot of firing with them, to the point where the troops from the 101st were pretty well convinced they could do it. There was a lot further education that had to take place at the general staff level and with the leaders who would be commanding in the field but that was a key part of readying them to defend themselves.

The Nicaraguans forward-deployed their T-55s several times in a movement from down near Managua up to what I would call attack positions right up along and adjacent to the Pan-American Highway. They only had to go across a very narrow strip of Honduras to get from Nicaragua into El Salvador. Morazan Province, in southern El Salvador, was under control of the rebels. So the idea would be that there'd be a general uprising in El Salvador and then the Nicaraguans would join up. That would be the end of El Salvador. Incidentally that was the intelligence estimate at the time about what was going on.

I caused the ground handling equipment for the A-10 aircraft to be deployed, at Palmerola Air Base (now called Soto Cano), north of Tegucigalpa). No ordnance. No personnel. I just had an airplane load of the ground handling equipment for the A-10 parked on the runway down there. We put them out there on the runway when we knew the Soviet satellites would be overhead. At the same time, we sent a demarche to the Soviets.

I brought down a tank battalion of M48s of the Texas National Guard. I brought them down because, like those 105s that the 101st had, they were old and the Texans were going to get new guns and new tanks. The old ones too were going to go into FMS. In order to get that battalion, I had to go to Austin, meet with the governor of Texas, and convince him that I wasn't going to invade Nicaragua, or put these guys on the front line.

The purpose of taking the M48s was to teach the Hondurans how to build antitank defenses and how to maneuver against an armor force. They'd never seen tanks before. They didn't know what tanks could do. They thought they were omnipotent. We taught them how to build roadblocks and how to use their 105mm recoilless rifles to good advantage, maneuvering against these Texans with their M48s, which

were a reasonable counterpart to the T-55s the Nicaraguans had. We actually built tank traps and obstacles and tried to show them what they could do with a tank ditch—how big it had to be to foil the M48. We got them used to working in and around, and positioning weapons to take advantage of, the M48 when it was maneuvering against them. It was using the Texans as an OPFOR (Opposing Force), if you will. It worked out. That kind of thinking ought to play in the Army. If I were DCST again, I would have training support as a key undertaking. The need for that is certainly evident in Afghanistan and Iraq today.

The breakthrough in Central America, back in the mid-80s, was getting the Hondurans to allow us, the US, to take a Salvadoran infantry battalion over to Honduras and train it up to American standards. We did that with a cadre of rangers. We had a ranger company down there that did it. We trained these guys to operate like rangers. We asked the battalion, the Salvadorans, to set up an ambush, which they did. We were using opposing forces. We were amazed to discover that, when they set up their ambush array, there was a line of shooters along the trail here but, in back of the shooters, there were two or three guys spread out along the line.

The Rangers asked, "What's all that about?"

The Salvadorans replied, "Those are the Macheteros. After we shoot, then these guys go in and cut their heads off."

"Oh God!"

We told them: "That's dumb! As a matter of fact, probably better, you leave those – anybody that's alive – get them out of there so you can get information."

Of course the Hondurans and the Salvadorans are deadly enemies. They've been at war with one another, frequently, in a fairly violent part of the world. The Macheteros are a good example of what we were up against. The soldiers were mostly rural Native Americans. They have very curious ideas about the value of human life. In contrast, the Hondurans had an Air Force. Most of their officers trained in American schools, so they were pretty advanced technically over the Salvadorans. The Salvadorans had a lot more combat experience and a lot more incentive to develop combat experience.

INTERVIEWER: You talked about not deploying forces. You deployed airfields.

GENERAL GORMAN: The force structure game in the Pentagon goes like this. The services create forces to meet the requirements of the CINC. I discovered very early on that the Air Force had umpteen wings—I don't remember the numbers exactly but it was tens of wings—of C-130s missioned to support US Southern Command. One of the early studies that I conducted in SOUTHCOM concerned how many airfields in SOUTHCOM could support a C-130. It turns out that it was less than ten, and many of the airfields that they considered capable of supporting C-130s were not in fact able to. Jack Galvin, who succeeded me, had a C-130 go through the runway in La Paz Bolivia, on the main airfield, which was one of the airstrips rated C-130-capable. There was just not enough concrete there to hold the weight of big aircraft like a C-130. The plane wasn't landing. It was trying to taxi to take off. It went through bad concrete work. The fact of the matter is that there was a dearth of C-130-capable strips down there. I turned back a large number of those wings. I said they were no longer in our war plan. My J5 went ballistic. He thought that was not doing right by the air component. They need these. I said "Hell, you couldn't land them anywhere."

So it's like the A-10 equipment on the strip. We wanted to persuade the Nicaraguans that we could reinforce the Hondurans—that we could get a lot of assistance in to them in a hurry. We could make it possible to use all these C-130s that the Air Force was buying, partially for the Reserve Components. We built C-130 strips in Honduras that made it possible for us to move forces around in-country. If we needed to move Hondurans, we had the aircraft available. They were on call in the United States within a matter of hours. I could get stuff down from Texas to Honduras faster than I could get it from Panama, from Howard Air Force Base, up to Honduras.

This whole idea of building up the forces in Panama was vacuous when you had XVIII Airborne Corps sitting up at Fort Bragg and able to get down there faster than I could get the transport to move people up from Panama. One of the exercises that we conducted with the Hondurans was in fact deployment of the XVIII Airborne Corps headquarters to central Honduras. That exercise was a rehearsal for what became the invasion of Panama. We had actually rehearsed the whole thing. It is a different way of thinking about that theater from what had been the traditional Caribbean Command perspective, focused on local security of the Canal.

One of the difficulties that I had all the time I was down there was the idea of many in Congress that we were on a slippery slope to another Vietnam—that we were going to hit the Salvador tar baby and get ourselves immersed in yet one more of those unwinnable wars. I was doing my damndest in the meantime to convince the House Armed Services Committee (HASC), particularly, that to the contrary, everything that was going on down there was being done by people who, if anybody knew the lessons of Vietnam, they did. That included me and several others of the key players. John Negroponte, the only Ambassador who was bilingual in Vietnamese, was my counterpart in Honduras. Tom Pickering was Ambassador in El Salvador. Among the three of us, there was probably more knowledge of what really happened in Southeast Asia than you would find in any other part of the US government. Those Congressmen didn't have the foggiest idea what they were talking about.

Some of the things we got away with, I doubt could be repeated today. We took the whole military academy out of San Salvador to Fort Benning and put them through a Spanish language version of OCS. That made a major difference in the operational capability of the Salvadoran Army. It gave them an exposure to American officers and NCOs, procedures and weapons—insights into how you deport yourself in your units. It was a revelation. It made a big difference. I don't think we had an untoward incident. I don't think there was ever any kind of difficulty at Benning or Columbus, Georgia. Amazing to me but they brought it off.

After having done that, we were able to show the Congressmen the difference in the operational reports. The Salvadorans were beginning to operate in small units as opposed to gaggles. It was a difficult time but it was manageable. Today we just don't seem to be able to do anything without creating big massive organizations. We kill it with love. Big staffs. Elaborate procedures. Maybe you've got to do that when you're doing things in hurry but the smaller the better.

How do you develop strategists?

*INTERVIEWER: On 12 May 1988, you testified before the Panel on Military Education, of the Committee on Armed Services of the House of Representatives, on the subject of developing strategists. You testified with General W. Y. Smith, USAF (Ret) former Deputy Commander in EUCOM. What was the purpose of these hearings and from your perspective, what was the focus of the panel?*¹⁵⁹

GENERAL GORMAN: Certain staffers of the House Armed Services Committee—including former Army officers like Colonel Arch Barrett—persuaded Congressman Ike Skelton of Missouri that the officer schools of the armed forces were not serving the Nation as they should, particularly in their failure to educate strategists. Ike inserted several speeches into the Congressional Record on the subject to herald an investigation of the shortcomings of education for military officers and, with the cooperation of the Pentagon, conducted a year or more of hearings.

I am not sure how Bill Smith and I ended up testifying together. I suppose that the staffers thought they were presenting a pair of former CINCs. Bill Smith and I had been housemates at Harvard, and fellow members of the Department of Social Sciences at USMA; we were, moreover, close friends of many years—in each other's wedding, trading visits with family, vacationing together. It just happened we agreed that one should not expect the service schools to produce strategists, and that most strategists were the product of self-development rather than formal schooling. While we in no sense concerted beforehand what we going to say, we were pretty much agreed on most matters of interest to Ike and his panel. One aspect about which I believe Congressman Skelton had been grievously misled was the notion

that George Marshall was an exemplary product of the Army's schools. I took issue with the Congressman during the hearings and subsequently wrote a paper on Marshall at the schools.¹⁶⁰

INTERVIEWER: What was the thrust of your testimony?

GENERAL GORMAN: Professional education is, and ought to be, a life-long process. If the service schools fall short of expectations, it is because of their present inability to remain relevant and useful to any officer as he matures in the profession, assumes higher ranks and heavier responsibilities. Strategists are inherently joint staff officers or unified commanders; practical experience in joint assignments, in war or in exercises, is fully as important as schooling in developing strategists but above all, strategists emerge from self-discipline and self-study. I believe firmly in the worth of institutional training for officers but I worry about placing over-reliance on the same, especially in a time of constrained service budgets when unit training and field exercises might be cut back. Like Marshall, I believe that officers need a leavening of experience with troops.

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- **Lieutenant at Fort Benning, Georgia.** Assigned to G Company, 2nd Battalion, 325th Airborne Infantry, 6; Conducts live fire training at Fort Benning, 7; 'Prop Blast' Ceremony, 7-8; Article 32 Investigation results from racial incident, 10; Transferred to 508th Parachute Infantry Regiment, 10-11; Enters Infantry Officer's Basic Course, Infantry School, 11; Tries to engineer an assignment to Korea, 12.
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- **West Point Instructor.** Requires corrective surgery for wounded hand, 19; Goes to Harvard to prepare for West Point instructor assignment, 19; Collaborates with Sid Berry on memorandum on manning service academy faculty, 20; Teaching European and Far Eastern History, 20; Course support by West Point museum, 20; Explores publishing series of military classics but is disappointed in quality and loses interest, 21; Enjoys faculty professional dialog, 20-21; Discusses electronic tracking as training device with classmate, Bill DeGraf, 60; Visits Navy Special Development Center at Port Washington, Long Island to look for training devices useful for cadet training, 61.
- **Attends Marine Corps Junior School.** 22-24. Volney Warner, a West Point classmate, is fellow student, 24. Warner later rose to four star command.
- **USAREUR: 4th Armored Division and 7th Army.** Seeks assignment to 4th Armored Division at recommendation of Lieutenant Colonel Sidney B. Berry, Social Sciences Department desk mate. Commands Company D, 2nd Armored Rifle Battalion, 51st Infantry, in Neu Ulm, 25; Views of training in 7th Army at that time, 25; Reassigned from 2nd Armored Rifle Battalion, 51st Infantry, to 1st Armored Rifle Battalion, 51st Infantry, Commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Sidney B. Berry; Finds concealed U.S. property, including water-cooled machine guns, during Annual General Inspection, 25-26; Reassigned to be Assistant SGS 7th Army, 26; Briefs General Bruce Clark on training distracters in USAREUR, 27.

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Jacobs, Owen. Researcher for Army Research Institute for the Social and Behavioral Sciences (ARI). Supports Board for Dynamic Training; 70-71; Researches squad structure, 71; Develops early tactical trainer system, Combined Arms Tactical Trainer (CATT) and accompanies system from Benning to Fort Leavenworth, 71-72; Supports 8th Infantry Division Cardinal Point II exercise, 92-95.

Johnson, General Harold K. Commandant at CGSC Fort Leavenworth, KS, 27-28; DCSOPS, 30-31.

Jones, General David (USAF), Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff, 99. Jones was proponent of reorganization of Joint Chiefs of Staff and Joint Command structure.

Joulwan, Captain [Later General and SACEUR] George. B Company Commander 1st Battalion 26th Infantry, 40, 43,44.

Joy, Admiral Turner. U.S. representative to armistice talks with Chinese and North Koreans, explains strategic importance of body armor to Lieutenant Gorman, 15-16.

Juskalian, George. World War II POW, Commander 1st Battalion, 32nd Infantry Regiment, Korea.

Knowlton, Brigadier General [Later General] William. Senior official in CORDS [Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development], 49.

Lincoln, Colonel George A. Professor and Head Department of Social Sciences (succeeding Colonel Beukema),19.

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Madden, Captain Jim. Company commander, C Company, 1st Battalion 26th Infantry, 40; Wounded in battle on 25 August 1966, 42; Member Combined Arms Training Board, develops SCOPES training for dismounted infantry squads, 75; Discovers more learning occurred after the REALTRAIN exercise by reflection than during the exercise – develops AAR techniques, 76, Observes that controllers learn more than participants, 76.

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Meyer, General Edward “Shy”. Army Chief of Staff. Proponent of reorganization of the Joint Staff and Joint Command system, 99; Nominates General Gorman for SOUTHCOM, 101.

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Moore, Mr. George. Of Newburgh, NY. Printer of cadet magazine, The Pointer, 4.

Mullen, Captain [later Brigadier General] William. Commander C Company, 1st Battalion 2nd Infantry. His patrol ran into enemy base area initiating 25 – 26 August fight with Phu Loi Battalion, 41.

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Nutting, General Wallace. Classmate and predecessor at SOUTHCOM. Focused on problems in Panama, took different tack to Honduras, 101, 103.

Olmstead, Dr. Joseph. Social scientist working on intra-staff collaboration. Supports 8th ID Cardinal Point II Exercise, 72, 92-95.

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Osato, Lieutenant Tim. Field Artillery Officer, instructor in Social Sciences Department. Collaborates with Captain Gorman attempting to publish series of military classics, 21; Travels to Vietnam, Predicts future U.S. conflict with Vietnam, 21; with Captain Gorman engages faculty with consideration of future position of China, 21.

Palmer, General Bruce. Second Field Force Commander, upbraids 1st Division for 3rd Squadron 5th Cavalry flying VC checkered neckerchiefs from their antennas after battle of Ap Bau Bang, 48; Offended by Brigadier General Gorman's message asking for relief from Assistant Commandant duties in order to meet requirements of Ellsberg Trial, 64.

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Rogers, Brigadier General [later General, Chief of Staff, Army and SACEUR] Bernard. Assistant Division Commander 1st Division, under General John Hay, 48-49; As Chief of Staff, supports MILES funding decision after visiting 8th Infantry Division REALTRAIN Exercise, 91; Organizational Effectiveness Program, 94; as Chief of Staff agrees with Admiral Stansfield Turner, then Director of Central Intelligence, to provide an Army General Officer to be a national intelligence officer in the analytical branch – Major General Paul Gorman is the nominee, 96.

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Saltonstall, Senator Leverett. Nominates Seaman Gorman to enter West Point in July 1946, 4.

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Smith, Lieutenant Bob. Artillery lieutenant married to Lieutenant Gorman's sister, who fired for Lieutenant Gorman as Artillery FO, 18.

Smith, General W. Y. Smith, USAF. Testifies before Congress with General Gorman on education of military strategists, 106-107.

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Taylor, General Maxwell D. Hosts cadets on 1949 Social Sciences Trip to Europe, 4; Declines to help Lieutenant Gorman get an assignment to Korea, 12.

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- Viet Cong forces, Phu Loi Provincial Battalion, 41-45; 273rd Regiment of 9th VC Division, 48.

Van Fleet, General James. Hosts cadets on 1949 Social Sciences Trip to Europe, 4.

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Worldwide Integrated National Strategy (WINS II), study examining potential unconventional warfare threats to U.S. interests, 31.

Wyrough, Major Richard. West Point classmate and senior Aide de Camp to Lieutenant General Davidson, 26.

Xaverian Brothers, 1.

References

- ¹ See Remarks by Lieutenant General P. F. Gorman, USA, Fathers Club, St. John's Preparatory School, Danvers, Mass, 24 October 1982. 05_Joint_1979_85, FOLDER D: Assistant to Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff: '81-'83 (04_AssistantToChairmanJCS_1981_83), [[10_82_USSR_ThreatsSJ_24Oct.pdf](#)]
- ² General Gorman graduated 135 of 546 cadets in the class of 1950. Ed.
- ³ United States Military Academy Social Sciences Trip, Class of 1950, 8 June to 2 July 1949. 01_SocialSciences_1949, [[01_49_SocialSciencesTrip.pdf](#)]
- ⁴ Sidney B. Berry, USMA 1948. Superintendent of West Point, V Corps Commander and a lieutenant general.
- ⁵ Corcorans were the preferred brand of jump boots for airborne infantry in the leather boot Army. Ed.
- ⁶ The resulting series of orders and counter orders are in 02_Army_1950_72, FOLDER A: Korea: Feb '52-Feb-'53 (a_Korea), PORTFOLIO A: 01_52_OrdersToKorea.
- ⁷ Colonel Carl August Buechner, West Point class of 1939, was a staff officer and battalion commander in the 506th Parachute Infantry Regiment in the 101st Airborne Division in World War II. He retired as a colonel in 1969.
- ⁸ Lieutenant Paul F. Gorman, Letter to D, from Sasebo Japan, dated 26 June, 1952 (Copy of the letter, parts redacted by General Gorman.), describing the 7 May 1952 patrol on which Lieutenant Gorman was wounded in action.) 02_Army_1950_72, FOLDER A: Korea: Feb '52-Feb'53 (a_Korea), Portfolio B: 02_52_32dInfantry, FOLDER C: 03_52_Sangmokil_7May, [[03_52_KoreaLetter_26June.pdf](#)]
- ⁹ General (Ret) Paul F. Gorman, The Foot Soldiers Load: Learning from the Past. 21 December 2010. [Memorandum written for Marilyn Freeman at Natick Laboratory] 06_Retired, FOLDER C: Retirement 2000-2010 (03_Retired_2000_10), [[24_10_FootSoldierLoad_21Dec.pdf](#)]. See also, General (Ret) Paul F. Gorman, The Future Soldier's Load and the Mobility of the Nation. A Soldier Domain for Full Spectrum Warfare: Information and Load Sharing within the Tactical Fractal Exoskeletal Strength Amplification for Body Armor and Ordnance UGV Support for Fractal Sustentation Aerial Overwatch for fractal for Anticipatory Awareness, 5 June 2009. 06_Retired, FOLDER C: Retirement 2000-2010 (03_Retired_2000_10), [[22_09_SoldierFuture_Jun.pdf](#)]
- ¹⁰ Goldberg attended M.I.T., earned a law degree from American University, and a masters degree from George Washington, University. He remained in the Army after Korea and retired as a colonel. He had a second career as a civilian analyst at US Army Combat Developments Command and later Training and Doctrine Command. At TRADOC he worked with Major General Gorman, then Deputy Chief of Staff for Training. (Information from General Gorman and Obituary in the Charlotte Daily Press, written by Mandy Malone and Norma Tippins. http://articles.dailypress.com/2000-12-02/news/0012020083_1_seymour-l-goldberg-bronze-star-medal-prisoner.)
- ¹¹ Walter G. Hermes, *United States Army in the Korean War: Truce Tent and Fighting Front*, Chapter XIII, "Stalemate", *Operation SHOWDOWN*, (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1966), 310-318. On line at <http://www.history.army.mil/books/korea/truce/fm.htm>.
- ¹² Russ was a 1935 graduate of West Point. He had commanded a regiment in World War II. He retired a Major General in 1971.
- ¹³ Juskalian was captured in North Africa while serving with the 1st Infantry Division. He was held to the end of the war. He won the Silver Star at Old Baldy. He also served in Vietnam. He retired as a Colonel and lived to age 90. Bonnie Hobbs, "Recollection of a War Veteran", *Center View South* (June 10 and 17, 2004) (<http://www.connectionnewspapers.com/articleprint.asp?article=237444&paper=62&cat=104> and <http://www.connectionnewspapers.com/article.asp?article=238058&paper=62&cat=104>)

¹⁴ According to the Center of Military History Lineage and Honors of the 65th Infantry, the regiment was assigned to the 3rd Infantry Division from September 1950-November 1954. The 3rd and 7th Infantry Divisions were adjacent at various times.

¹⁵ 1st Lieutenant Paul F. Gorman, INFANTRY IN DEFENSE OF THE WEST, Submitted in Government 287, Harvard University, Fall 1953. 02_Army_1950_72, FOLDER B: Harvard University: Jun '53-Jul '54 (b_Harvard) [[03_53_InfForDefenseWest_Dec.pdf](#)]

¹⁶ Major Sidney B. Berry and Captain Paul F. Gorman, MEMORANDUM TO: Colonel [George] Lincoln, SUBJECT: Draft of Chapter 10, Dartmouth Policy Study. 02_Army_1950_72, FOLDER C: Department of Social Sciences, West Point: Jul '54- June '57 (c_SocialSciencesDept) [[01_56_DartmouthPolicyStudy.pdf](#)]

¹⁷ Wiley Barracks, Neu Ulm.

¹⁸ Captain Oswald Boelcke.

¹⁹ In Washington, DC

²⁰ Photo from 4th Armored Division Year Book, 1958. Downloaded from <http://www.wiley2-5fa.com/4thyearbook01.htm> 02_Army_1950_72, FOLDER D: 7th Army: June '58-Jul'61 (d_7thArmyUSAREUR), [[01_50_CompanyD_51stInfantry.jpg](#)]

²¹ Lieutenant General Bruce C. Clark was CG Seventh Army from April 1956 to July 1958, when he was promoted to four star rank and became Commander, Continental Army Command (CONARC). Clark was succeeded at Seventh Army by Lieutenant General Clyde D. Eddleman. Eddleman became US Army Europe (USAREUR) Commander in March 1959. Clark succeeded Eddleman as USAREUR Commander in October 1960.

²² Powerful.

²³ Freedom

²⁴ Together.

²⁵ Hamblen retired as a brigadier general, in 1973.

²⁶ Aside from being one of West Point's most successful Superintendents, Davidson had a distinguished career as a combat engineer and task force commander during the first year in Korea.

²⁷ MAJ Paul F. Gorman, MEMORANDUM FOR: Maj [Richard R.] Wyrrough [ADC to CG, Seventh Army], Maj Nye, OSGS, USAREUR; SUBJECT: Command Action in Favor of More Training. [By Context, Autumn 1960] 02_Army_1950_72, FOLDER D: 7th Army: June '58-Jul'61 (d_7thArmyUSAREUR) [[02_60_SeventhArmyTng_fall.pdf](#)]

²⁸ Lt. Gen. Garrison Davidson, Commander, Seventh Army and Major Paul Gorman, Seventh Army Staff, SEVENTH ARMY BRIEFING FOR CINCUSAREUR, General Bruce Clark, December, 1960. 02_Army_1950-72, FOLDER D: 7th Army: June '58-Jul'61 (d_7thArmyUSAREUR), [[03_60_DavidsonMajGorman_CINCUSAREUR_Dec.pdf](#)]

²⁹ Harold K. Johnson was captured in the Philippines at the beginning of World War II and held prisoner until the end of the war. He became Chief of Staff of the Army in 1964. Johnson retired in 1968.

³⁰ In 1969, involving actions of the 5th Special Forces Group and particularly the group commander, COL Robert B. Rheault. Ed.

³¹ International Policy Planning Division

³² Alain Enthoven was Assistant Secretary of Defense for Systems Analysis under McNamara.

³³ Actual title: Program for the Pacification and Long-Term Development of South Vietnam. See Andrew J. Birtle, "PROVN, Westmoreland and the Historians: A Reappraisal" *The Journal of Military History*, 72 (October 2008), 1213-1247.

³⁴ Then Director of Strategic plans and Policy in DCSOPS. Bennett went to serve as Superintendent of West Point, Commander of VII Corps, Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, Commander in Chief, United Nations Command, Korea, and Commander in Chief US Army Pacific. He retired a four star general.

³⁵ Memorandum for President of the National War College, now lost.

³⁶ Paul F. Gorman, Lieutenant Colonel, US Army. REVOLUTION IN THE SOUTH – A NEW PROFESSIONALISM? (May 1966). 02_Army_1950_72, FOLDER F: National War College August '65-June '66 (f_NWC) [[01_66_RevolutionSouth_NewProfessionalism_May.pdf](#)] (**Unavailable pending receipt of permission from copyright holder**). Derived from this is Paul F Gorman, "Internal Defense and the Less Developed Countries," in Amos A. Jordan, ed., *Issues of National Security in the 1970s* (New York: Praeger, 1967), 126-150. 02_Army_1950-72, FOLDER F: National War College August '65-June '66 (f_NWC) [[02_67_IntDef_LessDevelopedCountries_AWC_Dec.pdf](#)]

³⁷ ARVN is Army of the Republic of Vietnam.

³⁸ Later, Lieutenant General Dewitt Smith, twice Commandant of the Army War College, 74-77 and 78-80.

³⁹ [General (Ret) Paul F. Gorman], *Blue Spaders: The 26th Infantry Regiment, 1917-1967*. (Wheaton, IL: Cantigny: 1st Infantry Division Foundation, 1996), 125-227. Written anonymously by General Gorman. 06_Retired, FOLDER B: Retirement 1991-1999 (02_Retired_1991_99) [[16_96_BlueSpaders1917_67.pdf](#)]

⁴⁰ Then Major General William E. DePuy, Commander 1st Infantry Division. General DePuy rose to full general and became the first commander of Training and Doctrine Command. Henry G. Gole, *General William E. DePuy: Preparing the Army for Modern War* (University Press of Kentucky, 2008). See also, William E. DePuy, *Changing an Army: An Oral History of General William E. DePuy, USA Retired*, Lieutenant Colonel Romie L. Brownlee and Lieutenant Colonel William J. Mullen, Eds (Carlisle Barracks, PA: United States Military History Institute, [nd]).

⁴¹ In the War College interview, 71 trucks and 59 trailers. Ed.

⁴² Department of the Army Development and Resources Command. General Dean commanded the 82d Airborne Division at Fort Bragg following his time in the 1st Division.

⁴³ Coincidentally, General Gorman had been part of the Department of Army study that selected the M16 Rifle to replace the M14. Untitled Paper [Discusses membership in the committee that selected the AR 15 Rifle in response to inquiry from Center of Military History (Inquiry attached).], 27 February 2004. 06_Retired, FOLDER C: Retirement 2000-2010 (03_Retired_2000_10), [[08_04_AR15_Decision_Feb.pdf](#)]

⁴⁴ [Gorman], *Blue Spaders*, 142-146. Pictures in text are taken from that account. 06_Retired, FOLDER B: Retirement 1991-1999 (02_Retired_1991_99), [[16_96_BlueSpaders1917_67.pdf](#)]

⁴⁵ Ibid, 144.

⁴⁶ Both Madden and Joulwan became S-3 of the "Blue Spaders." Joulwan would rise to the position of SACEUR, a four star general, before he retired. Jim Madden contributed a number of major advances in Army Training as a member of the Combat Arms Training Board and as a civilian consultant. See General Paul F. Gorman, Eulogy: Celebrating Jim L. Madden. A Remembrance by General Paul F. Gorman, USA (Ret), Christ Church,, Alexandria, VA, 11 October 2007. 06_Retired, FOLDER C: Retirement 2000-2010 (03_Retired_2000_2010) [[15_07_CelebratingJimLMadden_Oct.pdf](#)]

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- ⁴⁷ [Gorman], *Blue Spaders*, 140-141. 06_Retired, FOLDER B: Retirement 1991-1999 (02_Retired_1991_99) [[16_96_BlueSpaders1917_67.pdf](#)]
- ⁴⁸ Ibid, 159-175. 06_Retired, FOLDER B: Retirement 1991-1999 (02_Retired_1991_99) [[16_96_BlueSpaders1917_67.pdf](#)]
- ⁴⁹ Later, Brigadier General William J. Mullen
- ⁵⁰ Later Major General Richard L. Prillaman.
- ⁵¹ Mullin and General DePuy discussed their respective views of the 25th August battle in General DePuy's Oral History, *Changing An Army*, 157-159.
- ⁵² Major General Boylan commanded the 82d Airborne Division prior to retirement.
- ⁵³ General Gorman was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross for his part in the battle. 02_Army_1950_72, FOLDER G: Vietnam: 1st Infantry Division: June '66-July '67 (g_Vietnam1stID) [[01_66_DSC_20Oct.pdf](#)]
- ⁵⁴ [Gorman], *Blue Spaders*, 181-185. 06_Retired, FOLDER B: Retirement 1991-1999 (02_Retired_1991_99) [[16_96_BlueSpaders1917_67.pdf](#)]
- ⁵⁵ Later Lieutenant General James F. Hollingsworth. Graduate of Texas A&M University and one of the most decorated officers of his generation.
- ⁵⁶ 19-20 March 1967. General Bernard William Rogers, *Vietnam Studies: Cedar Falls to Junction City: A Turning Point*, Chapter 13, "The Battles of Ap Bau Bang II, Suoi Tre, and Ap Gu." (Washington, DC: Department of the Army, 1989), 131-135.
- ⁵⁷ 3d Squadron, 5th Cavalry, a unit from the 9th Infantry Division, was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Sidney S. Haszard. A Troop, which repulsed the opening attack, was commanded by Captain Raoul H Alcalá.
- ⁵⁸ Later General Rogers would serve successively as Army Chief of Staff and Supreme Allied Command in Europe, SACEUR.
- ⁵⁹ A field force was a US corps equivalent headquarters in Vietnam – so named possibly, to avoid confusion with the ARVN corps structure. Field Forces tended to be fixed geographically. General Palmer became Deputy Commander in Vietnam, later Vice Chief of Staff of the Army and Commander-in-Chief Readiness Command.
- ⁶⁰ So named because of the conformation of the border in that area.
- ⁶¹ [Gorman], *Blue Spaders*, 213-227. Photo map from page 225. 06_Retired, FOLDER B: Retirement 1991-1999 (02_Retired_1991_99) [[16_96_BlueSpaders1917_67.pdf](#)]. Also in Rogers, *Cedar Falls to Junction City*, 141-148.
- ⁶² General William A. Knowlton was later Superintendent of the Military Academy and retired a four star general.
- ⁶³ Halperin and Gelb are both part of the appointive foreign policy elite. Halperin has written on international relations and human rights. When out of office, Gelb has been a writer for the New York Times and was, from 1993-2005, the President of the Council on Foreign Relations.
- ⁶⁴ The Pentagon Papers can be accessed on line at <http://www.archives.gov/research/pentagon-papers>.
- ⁶⁵ Contemporary marketing jingle for Brylcreem hair tonic.
- ⁶⁶ See discussion of this strategy in Harry G. Summers, Jr., *On Strategy: A Critical Analysis of the Vietnam War* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1982), 119, 122-123, 169.

⁶⁷ A continuing interest. See, Gorman, The Foot Soldiers Load: Learning from the Past. 21 December 2010. 06_Retired, FOLDER C: Retirement 2000-2010 (03_Retired_2000_10), [[24_10 FootSoldierLoad_21Dec.pdf](#)] See also, Gorman, The Future Soldier's Load and the Mobility of the Nation.

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⁶⁸ Arthur Hadley, "Goodbye To The Blind Slash Dead Kids' Hooch," *Playboy*, Vol. 18, No. 8 (August 1971), 112-114, 119-204, 206-212.

⁶⁹ USAIS – US Army Infantry School.

⁷⁰ See reflections on soldiers of late period of the War in Vietnam in Major General Paul F. Gorman, Vietnam and After: The US Army, 1976; A Lecture at the University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, Canada, 9 February 1977. 03_DCST_1973_77, [[32_77 VietnamAfter_Feb.pdf](#)] and General Paul F. Gorman, "Readiness Restored, The US Army 1963-1975," in Malcolm Muir and M. F. Wilkinson, *The Most Dangerous Years; The Cold War 1953-1975* (Lexington, Virginia: Virginia Military Institute, 2005), 256 ff.

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⁷¹ US Army War College, Study on Military Professionalism, 30 June 1970. Available on line from the Defense Technical Information Center, DTIC.

⁷² Later Lieutenant General Henry "Hank" Emerson, known as the "Gunfighter". Emerson commanded the XVIII Airborne Corps prior to retiring.

⁷³ General Ralph Haines, the Commanding General, Continental Army Command.

⁷⁴ Department of the Army. Report of the Board for Dynamic Training, Fort Benning, Georgia, 17 December 1971. 02_Army_1950_72, FOLDER H: Fort Benning, GA; [Assistant Commandant Infantry School and President, Board for Dynamic Training]: September '71-June'72 (h_Fort Benning_BoardForDynamicTraining), [[02_71 Reports_BoardForDynamicTraining.pdf](#)]

⁷⁵ Lt.Gen. Garrison Davidson, Commander, Seventh Army and Major Paul Gorman, Seventh Army Staff, SEVENTH ARMY BRIEFING FOR CINCUSAREUR General Bruce Clark December 1960. 02_Army_1950_72, FOLDER D: 7th Army: June '58-Jul'61 (d_7thArmyUSAREUR), [[03_60 DavidsonMajGorman_CINCUSAREUR_Dec.pdf](#)]

⁷⁶ General Lesley J. McNair. McNair was commander Army Ground Forces in World War II and thus was responsible for training the forces deployed from the United States to World War II operating theaters.

⁷⁷ William B. DeGraff graduated number one in the West Point class of 1950.

⁷⁸ The Navy Special Devices Center, later Naval Training Devices Center, Naval Equipment Training Center and Naval Training Systems Center, was located at Port Washington, Long Island from 1946-1968.

⁷⁹ Lieutenant General (Retired) James Gavin. Gavin served as assistant division commander and then commanded the 82d Airborne Division in northern Europe during World War II, succeeding Matthew Ridgway. After Gavin retired from the Army, he advised candidate John F. Kennedy and was appointed Ambassador to France after Kennedy was elected President. Coincidentally, General Westmoreland was Gavin's Chief of Staff when Gavin commanded the 82d after it returned to the United States at the end of the war.

⁸⁰ Later Major General John W. Siegle.

⁸¹ See Major General Paul F. Gorman, "ENGAGEMENT SIMULATION, PRESENTATION FOR A SYMPOSIUM SPONSORED BY THE TRAINING SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY INDUSTRIAL

ASSOCIATION, FIRST INTERNATIONAL LEARNING TECHNOLOGY CONGRESS AND EXPOSITION, Washington, DC, 22-24 July 1976. [03_DCST_1973_77, \[18_76_EngagementSimulation_May.pdf\]](#)

⁸² Lieutenant General Arthur S. Collins, author of *Common Sense Training* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1978).

⁸³ The STEADFAST Study recommended reorganization of the Army's major field commands, dividing Continental Army Command and Combat Development Command into a Training and Doctrine Command, a Forces Command, and Department of the Army Material and Readiness Command, all commanded by four star generals.

⁸⁴ Fort Monroe and Fort Eustis are proximate one to the other.

⁸⁵ Major General George S. Patton, IV, son of the World War II general. Patton commanded the 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment in Vietnam.

⁸⁶ Major General Paul F. Gorman, THE INFANTRY OFFICER ADVANCED COURSE: A CASE FOR REFORM, 30 November 1973. [03_DCST_1973_77, \[02_73_InfAdvCrse_Nov.pdf\]](#) and Major General Paul F. Gorman, PRESENTATION, INSTRUCTIONAL MANAGERS' SEMINAR, Fort Benning, GA, 25 Sep 1975. [03_DCST_1973_77, \[12_75_InstrMgrSem_Sep.pdf\]](#)

⁸⁷ Major General Paul F. Gorman, PRESENTATION BY MG GORMAN, ARMY WAR COLLEGE CLASS '76, Carlisle Barracks, PA, 5 March 1976. [03_DCST_1973_77, \[14_76_TngDvlmtAWC_5Mar.pdf\]](#). Major General Paul F. Gorman, TRENDS IN THE ARMY'S TRAINING SYSTEM. Army War College, 21 January 1977. [03_DCST_1973_77, \[31_77_TngTrendsAWC_21Jan.pdf\]](#)

⁸⁸ MG Paul F. Gorman, PRESENTATION, ARMED FORCES STAFF COLLEGE, NORFOLK, VA 23 August 1976. [03_DCST_1973_77, \[20_76_ArmedForcesStaffCollege_23Aug.pdf\]](#) See also, MG Paul F. Gorman, PRESENTATION BY MG GORMAN, TO CENTO SEMINAR, FORT MONROE, VA, 16 September 1976. [03_DCST_1973_77, \[21_76_CENTOSeminar_16Sep.pdf\]](#)

⁸⁹ MG Paul F. Gorman. PRESENTATION BY MG GORMAN TO SENIOR MANAGER'S WORKSHOP. "THE ARMY TRAINING SYSTEM, 1977. [03_DCST_1973_77, \[33_77_SrMgrWkshp_ArmyTngSys.pdf\]](#)

⁹⁰ Subsequent to retiring from active duty, General Gorman wrote two documents summarizing the Training Revolution of the Seventies: General Paul F. Gorman, THE MILITARY VALUE OF TRAINING, IDA Paper P-2515 (Alexandria, VA: Institute for Defense Analyses, December 1990) [06_Retired, 01_Retired_1985_90, FOLDER A: Retired 1985-1990 \(01_Retired_1985_90\) \[38_90_MilValueTng_Dec.pdf\]](#) (**Unavailable pending receipt of permission from copyright holder**) and General Paul F. Gorman, USA Retired, THE SECRET OF FUTURE VICTORIES, IDA Paper P-2653 (Alexandria, VA: Institute for Defense Analyses, 1992) (CSI Reprint). [06_Retired, FOLDER B: Retirement 1991-1999 \(02_Retired-1991_99\) \[06_92_SecretFutureVictories_Feb.pdf\]](#). The first focuses on employment of Tactical Engagement Simulation from the development of MILES through creation of the Army National Training Center, followed by an account of General Gorman's training initiatives as commander of the 8th Infantry Division. The second compares the World War II mobilization experience with the TRADOC philosophy. The third section, particularly, is concerned with General William E. DePuy's focus on training for close combat.

⁹¹ MG Paul F. Gorman, TRADOC TRAINING, November 1973. [03_DCST_1973_77, \[01_73_TradocTng_Nov.pdf\]](#)

⁹² Combat Development Command was abolished as part of the STEADFAST reorganization with its responsibilities assumed by TRADOC and DARCOM.

⁹³ It is worth observing that the long-range acquisition program, the "Big Five," had been settled on prior to creation of TRADOC.

⁹⁴ M551 Sheridan Airborne Anti-armor Reconnaissance Vehicle (AARV). The Sheridan was a fully tracked, lightly armored 'tank-like' vehicle.

⁹⁵ MG Paul F. Gorman, INFANTRY IN MID-INTENSITY BATTLE, DCSTS 22 Jan 74. [03_DCST_1973_77, \[06_74_InfMidIntensity_22Jan.pdf\]](#). MG Paul F. Gorman, ORSA & TRAINING, 10 Dec 74 [03_DCST_1973_77, \[08_74_SystemsApproachTng_Dec.pdf\]](#). The latter introduces the “Systems Model of W●P●T=E”. (General Gorman elsewhere identifies Infantry in Mid-Intensity Battle and another paper, MG Paul F. Gorman, How to Win Outnumbered, from 8 January 1974, [03_DCST_1973_77, \[05_74_TanksWinOutNumbered_8Jan.pdf\]](#) as seminal to his work at TRADOC. (See Gorman, “Readiness Restored; The US Army 1963-1975”, Note 8, page 13. [06_Retired, FOLDER C: Retirement 2000-2010 \(03_Retired_2000_10\), \[10_04_ReadinessRestored_Oct.pdf\]](#))

⁹⁶ In Gorman, INFANTRY IN MID-INTENSITY BATTLE. [03_DCST_1973_77, \[06_74_InfMidIntensity_22Jan.pdf\]](#)

⁹⁷ See discussion in Gorman, The Secret of Future Victories III-24-27. [06_Retired, FOLDER B: Retirement 1991-1999 \(02_Retired_1991_99\), \[06_92_SecretFutureVictories_Feb.pdf\]](#)

⁹⁸ Merritt, who enlisted as a private during the Korean war and was commissioned through Officer Candidate School, retired as a four star general. He was later Commandant of the Field Artillery School, Army War College and Command and General Staff College/Combined Arms Center, Fort Leavenworth, KS.

⁹⁹ Pierre Sprey, an aircraft designer (F16; A10), was one of MacNamara’s ‘Wiz kids. According to the Washington Post, Sprey left the Pentagon and became a record producer. Thomas E. Ricks, “Whatever Happened to Pierre Sprey?” Washington Post, (May 16, 2006) <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/05/15/AR2006051501518.html>

¹⁰⁰ Col. J.E. Merritt and P. M. Sprey, “Money for Men or Materiel,” unpublished. Referenced in Gorman, How to Win Outnumbered. 8 Jan 74. [03_DCST_1973_77, \[05_74_TanksWinOutNumbered_8Jan.pdf\]](#) See comments on influence of writings of Colonel (later General) Jack Merritt and Pierre M. Sprey in Gorman, The Military Value of Training, and Gorman, “Readiness Restored: The US Army 1963-1975. [06_Retired, FOLDER C: Retirement 2000-2010 \(03_Retired_2000_10\), \[10_04_ReadinessRestored_Oct.pdf\]](#). Merritt and Sprey published an essay titled “Negative Marginal Returns in Weapons Acquisition,” in *American Defense Policy*, Third Edition, Richard G. Head and Ervin J. Rokke, eds. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1965, 68 and 73), 486-495.

¹⁰¹ In Gorman, ORSA & TRAINING. [03_DCST_1973_77, \[08_74_SystemsApproachTng_Dec.pdf\]](#)

¹⁰² Naval Air Weapons Station, China Lake (CA).

¹⁰³ HumRRO was founded in 1951 as an Army funded research institution. In 1968 it became an independent non-profit research organization.

¹⁰⁴ See Gorman, INFANTRY IN MID-INTENSITY BATTLE, 22 Jan 74, p. 7. [03DCST_1973_77, \[06_74_InfMidIntensity_22Jan.pdf\]](#) See also [MG Paul F. Gorman], “The 8 Squad: Organization and Training,” INFANTRY FOR BATTLE IN EUROPE, (8th Infantry Division, United States Army, 15 February 1978), 25-32. [04_DivCmd_1977_79, \[02_78_InfBattleEurope_Feb.pdf\]](#)

¹⁰⁵ [Gorman], INFANTRY IN MID-INTENSITY BATTLE [03DCST_1973_77, \[06_74_InfMidIntensity_22Jan.pdf\]](#) and [Gorman], INFANTRY FOR BATTLE IN EUROPE [04_DivCmd_1977_79, \[02_78_InfBattleEurope_Feb.pdf\]](#)

¹⁰⁶ Lieutenant General Michael Vane, Director Army Capabilities Integration Center, US Army Training and Doctrine Command.

¹⁰⁷ Colonel George Lincoln, Professor and Head of the Department of Social Sciences, US Military Academy.

¹⁰⁸ *Cuius regio eius religio*. “Whose realm, his religion.” The formula adopted at the end of the Thirty Years War to avoid religious wars, the principle of the principality taking the religion of the prince.

¹⁰⁹ See MG Paul F. Gorman, MEMORANDUM FOR RECORD, SUBJECT: Concepts for the Army Training Tests, 7 January 1974. 03_DCST_1973_77, [[04_74_ArmyTngTests_7Jan.pdf](#)]

¹¹⁰ General Martin E. Dempsey, “Mission Command,” *Army Magazine* (January, 2011), 43-44 and “A Campaign of Learning to Achieve Institutional Adaptation,” *Army Magazine* (November 2010), 34-35. US Army, Training and Doctrine Command, TRADOC Pam 525-3-0, The Army Capstone Concept; Operational Adaptability: Operating Under Conditions of Uncertainty and Complexity in an Era of Persistent Conflict 2016-2028 (21 December 2009).

¹¹¹ See Gorman “ENGAGEMENT SIMULATION”. 03_DCST_1973_77, [[18_76_EngagementSimulation_May.pdf](#)]

¹¹² SCOPES, short for Squad Combat Operations Exercise, was an engagement simulation system based on attaching a telescope on a direct fire weapon to simulate firing by reading a lettered or numerical panel on the target for credit for a kill. It was succeeded in USAREUR by REALTRAIN a system that expanded SCOPES from squad to platoon training, employing mixed infantry-armor teams in free play encounters followed by after action reviews. Ibid, 8-9.

¹¹³ Gorman, PRESENTATION BY MG GORMAN ARMY WAR COLLEGE CLASS '76. 03_DCST_1973_77, [[14_76_TngDvlmtAWC_5Mar.pdf](#)]. MG Paul F. Gorman, PRESENTATION BY MG GORMAN, ARMOR OFFICER ADVANCED COURSE, FORT KNOX, KENTUCKY, 23 APRIL 1976. 03_DCST_1973_77, [[17_76_ArmorOAC_23Apr.pdf](#)]. Gorman, CENTO SEMINAR, 16 SEPTEMBER 1976. 03_DCST_1973_77, [[21_76_CENTOSeminar_16Sep.pdf](#)]

¹¹⁴ George C. Wilson, *Mud Soldiers: Life Inside the New American Army* (Collier Books, 1991).

¹¹⁵ Gorman, The Secret of Future Victories. 06_Retired, FOLDER B: Retirement 1991-1999 (02_Retired_1991_99), [[06_92_SecretFutureVictories_Feb.pdf](#)]. The study compares the programs of Marshall and McNair to that of TRADOC and address the large World War II maneuvers.

¹¹⁶ General Andrew Pick Omera, West Point Class of 1930, was Gorman’s division commander in 1957 and later commanded both US Southern Command and US Army Europe prior to his retirement.

¹¹⁷ General Hamilton Howze, West Point Class of 1930. Commissioned in the Cavalry, commanded armored forces in World War II, later commanded XVIII Airborne Corps and United Nations Command in Korea. Best known as the father of the concept of air mobility in the Army as head of the Howze Board (Tactical Mobility Requirements Board).

¹¹⁸ The Star Wars building is the unofficial name of the building at the Army’s National Training Center in California that holds the electronic instrumentation and interface facilities. So named for the suggestion of the technologies envisioned in the series of movies by the same name.

¹¹⁹ The OPFOR or opposing force, are two battalions of heavy forces, one armor, one mechanized infantry, configured and trained to fight like the expected enemy – during the Cold War like a Soviet armored force.

¹²⁰ See Gorman, CENTO SEMINAR, 16 SEPTEMBER 1976, 03_DCST_1973_77, [[21_76_CENTOSeminar_16Sep.pdf](#)], MG Paul F. Gorman, TRENDS IN THE ARMY’S TRAINING SYSTEM, 03_DCST_1973_77, [[31_77_TngTrendsAWC_21Jan.pdf](#)]

¹²¹ The Army marksmanship training course based on distributing targets at various ranges that pop-up on command and fall down when struck by fire.

¹²² Then Lieutenant General Robert M. Shoemaker, Commander III Corps and Fort Hood. Shoemaker later was promoted to General and commanded Forces Command.

¹²³ General Paul F. Gorman, (Ret), COMMUNICATIONS FOR COHERENCE AND COHESION IN ARMY TRAINING. Short Title: C3AT. (Afton, VA (For BDM), 3 Oct 1986). 06_Retired, FOLDER A: Retired 1985-1990 (01_Retired_1985_90), [[11_86_BDM_C3AT_3Oct.pdf](#)]

¹²⁴ US Army War College, Study on Military Professionalism (Carlisle Barracks, PA: 30 June 1970).

¹²⁵ Lieutenant General Crosbie E. Saint, later USAREUR Commander and four star general.

¹²⁶ See comments on Haig intervention in Lt.General P. F. Gorman, USA “Training for High Technology,” in *Using Technology for Education and Training; Proceedings of the Fifth National Conference on Communications technology in Education and Training* (March 21-23, 1983), 81-89. 05_Joint_1979_85, FOLDER D: Assistant to Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff: '81-'83 (04_AssistanttoChairmanJCS_1981_83), [[14_83_TngForHiTech_Mar.pdf](#)]

¹²⁷ Major General Paul F. Gorman, BG M. R. Thurman, and BG C. J. Wright, TRAINING SUPPORT FOR RESERVE COMPONENTS (TRANSCRIPT OF TV TAPE-7B-777-0430-B), 13 April 1976, 26-27. 03_DCST_1973_77, [[16_76_TngRsvComp_13Apr.pdf](#)]

¹²⁸ Congressman Robert Drinan, SJ, Member of Congress from Boston from 1971-'81.

¹²⁹ The paper is Gorman, COMMUNICATIONS FOR COHERENCE AND COHESION IN ARMY TRAINING. 06_Retired, FOLDER A: Retired 1985-1990 (01_Retired_1985_90), [[11_86_BDM_C3AT_3Oct.pdf](#)]. Correspondence with General Vuono is General (Retired) Paul Gorman, Letter to General Carl Vuono, Commander Training and Doctrine Command, 11 November 1986. 06_Retired, FOLDER A: Retired 1985-1990 (01_Retired_1985_90), [[14_86_ThoughtsTraining_11Nov.pdf](#)] Vuono was then TRADOC Commander. Later, he was Army Chief of Staff.

¹³⁰ Lieutenant General Paul F. Gorman, A COMMAND POST IS NOT A PLACE, 15 Sep 1980. 05_Joint_1979_85. FOLDER C: J5, Joint Staff: '80-'81 (03_J5_1980_81), [[07_80_CPNPlace_15Sep.pdf](#)]

¹³¹ MG Paul F. Gorman, Draft Document, TRAINING TECHNOLOGY FOR MODERNIZATION, 9 June 80. 05_Joint_1975_85, FOLDER C: J5, Joint Staff: '80-'81 (03_J5_1980_81), [[04_80_TngTechModern_Jun.pdf](#)]. On influence of Navy and Air Force examples see [MG Paul F. Gorman] DCST, TOWARD A COMBINED ARMS TRAINING CENTER, Nov 1976. 03_DCST_1973_77, [[26_76_NTC_CombinedArmsTng_Nov.pdf](#)] Gorman, The Military Value of Training. 06_Retired. FOLDER A: Retired 1985-1990 (01_Retired_1985_90) [[38_90_MilValueTng_Dec.pdf](#)] (**Unavailable pending receipt of permission from copyright holder**)

¹³² The overview document is Gorman, The Military Value of Training. 06_Retired. FOLDER A: Retired 1985-1990 (01_Retired_85_90) [[38_90_MilValueTng_Dec.pdf](#)] (**Unavailable pending receipt of permission from copyright holder**). For view at the outset, see [MG Paul F. Gorman], DCST Paper, TOWARD A COMBINED ARMS TRAINING CENTER, Nov. 1976. 03_DCST_1973_77, [[26_76_NTC_CombinedArmsTng_Nov.pdf](#)]

¹³³ Gorman, TRENDS IN THE ARMY'S TRAINING SYSTEM. 03_DCST_1973_77, [[31_77_TngTrendsAWC_21Jan.pdf](#)]

¹³⁴ SIMNET was an Army wide area network supporting local opposed war game simulation training.

¹³⁵ USAREUR Commander, '75-'79.

¹³⁶ Major General Paul F. Gorman, CARDINAL POINT II: Excerpt from Report of Division Commander, 1978. 04_DivCmd_1977_79, PORTFOLIO B: Cardinal Point II (04_78_CardinalPoint_II), [[02_78_CP11_8ID.pdf](#)] For a reflection on the exercise see [Gorman], TRAINING TECHNOLOGY FOR MODERNIZATION, 9 June 80. 05_Joint_1979_85, FOLDER C: J5, Joint Staff: '80-'81 (03_J5_1980-81), [[04_80_TngTechModern_Jun.pdf](#)]

¹³⁷ Headquarters 8th Infantry Division, MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT DIVISION COMMANDERS, BRIGADE COMMANDERS, DIVISION GENERAL AND SPECIAL STAFF, SUBJECT: '78 Divisional

Evaluations per ARTEP 71-2 – CARDINAL POINT II, 9 January 1978. 04_DivCmd_1977_79, PORTFOLIO B: Cardinal Point II (04_78_CardinalPoint_II) [[01_78_Plan_CardinalPointII_Jan.pdf](#)]

¹³⁸ See MG Paul F. Gorman, REMARKS TO NCO'S OF THE 4-4TH BRIGADE, 30 MARCH 1979. 04_DivCmd_1977_79, [[05_79_NCO_4Bde_Mar30.pdf](#)] and Lieutenant General Paul F. Gorman, THE NONCOMMISSIONED OFFICER; BEDROCK OF MOBILIZATION, 13 MARCH 1981. 05_Joint_1979_85, FOLDER D: Assistant to Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff: '81-'83 (04_AssistantToChairmanJCS_1981_83), [[01_81_NCO_BedrockMobilization_Mar.pdf](#)]

¹³⁹ Major General Paul F. Gorman, Cardinal Point II: Excerpts from Report of Division Commander, 1978. 04_DivCmd_1977_79, PORTFOLIO B : Cardinal Point II (04_78_CardinalPoint_II), [[02_78_CPII_8ID.pdf](#)]

¹⁴⁰ 8th Infantry Division, Terrain Reinforcement, March 1979. 04_Div_Cmd_1977_1979, [[07_79_TerrainReinforcement_Mar.pdf](#)]. Published after General Gorman's departure for the CIA.

¹⁴¹ Lieutenant General P. F. Gorman, Combined Arms Training. Remarks prepared for Engineer Conference Hosted by MG Ellis, Commandant, US Army Corps of Engineer School. Crystal City, 4 December 1982. 05_Joint_1979_85, FOLDER D: Assistant to Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff: '81-83 (04_AssistantToChairmanJCS_1981_83), [[11_82_EngrConf_CombArmsTng_4Dec.pdf](#)]

¹⁴² Major General Paul F. Gorman, THE EXERCISE OF COMMAND IS TRAINING MANAGEMENT. Speech at Officer's Leadership Symposium, Field Artillery School. Fort Sill, Oklahoma, 30 November 1976. 03_DCST_1973_77, [[27_76_CmdTngMgt_30Nov.pdf](#)]

¹⁴³ Notice in German paper of General Gorman's appointment to the CIA, 15 March, 1979. 04_DivCmd_1977_79, [[08_79_CIANotice_15Mar.jpg](#)]

¹⁴⁴ The Sherman Kent Award in Recognition of an Outstanding Contribution to the Literature of Intelligence. Signed by Stansfield Turner. 05_Joint_1979_85, FOLDER A: CIA: '79-'80 (01_CIA_1979_80), [[04_80_CIA.pdf](#)]

¹⁴⁵ The Sherman Kent Award in Recognition of an Outstanding Contribution to the Literature of Intelligence. Signed by Bill Casey. 05_Joint_1979_85, FOLDER C: J5, Joint Staff: '80-'81 (03_J5_1980_81), PORTFOLIO A: 01_80_aBillCasey, [[01_81_CIA.pdf](#)] (The paper was written while General Gorman was at the CIA. The award came after Casey assumed the position of DCI and General Gorman had moved to J5.)

¹⁴⁶ Norman R. Augustine, *Augustine's Laws, 6th Edition* (Reston, VA: American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics, Inc., 1997), 30-35. Norman Augustine was President and CEO of Martin Marietta and Lockheed Martin. He held a number of positions in government and public service. He was Assistant Secretary of the Army from 1973-75 and Undersecretary from 1975-77.

¹⁴⁷ General David Jones, USAF, was Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff from 1978-1982.

¹⁴⁸ General John Vessey, US Army, was Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff from 1982 to 1985. Vessey enlisted in the Army in World War II, was a first sergeant at Anzio and received a battlefield commission.

¹⁴⁹ James V. Forrestal, first Secretary of Defense, 1947-49.

¹⁵⁰ General Edward C. Meyer, Chief of Staff, United States Army, "The JCS – How Much Reform Is Needed?", *Armed Forces Journal International* (April, 1982), 82-90.

¹⁵¹ Lieutenant General Paul F. Gorman, Paper: Toward a Stronger Secretary of Defense. Prepared for USMA Seniors Conference, XX, 4 June 1982, published in 1984. 05_Joint_1979_85, FOLDER D: Assistant to Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff: '81-'83(04_AssistantToChairmanJCS_1981_83), PORTFOLIO:

07_82_TowardsDefense_Reform, [02_82_TowardStrongerSecDef_Pub84.pdf] (*Unavailable pending receipt of permission from copyright holder*). See General Paul F. Gorman, STATEMENT BY GENERAL PAUL F. GORMAN, COMMANDER IN CHIEF, US SOUTHERN COMMAND, BEFORE THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE, 3 November 1983. 05_Joint_1979_85, FOLDER E: Commander-in-Chief US SOUTHERN COMMAND: '83-'85 (05_CinCSOUTH_1983_85), [03_83_SASC_JointSys_3Nov.pdf]

¹⁵² General Paul F. Gorman, THE CARIBBEAN BASIN AND THE US NATIONAL INTEREST, Council of the Americas, Washington, DC, May 8, 1984. 05_Joint_1979_85, FOLDER E: Commander-in-Chief US SOUTHERN COMMAND: '83-'85 (05_CinCSOUTH_1983_85), [04_84_CaribbeanBasin_May.pdf]. General Paul F. Gorman, USA (Ret), Presentation, COMMAND, CONTROL, COMMUNICATIONS AND INTELLIGENCE: USCINCSO's PERSPECTIVE, 1983-1985. NDU June 25, 1986. 06_Retired, FOLDER A: Retired 1985-1990 (01_Retired_1985_90), [07_86_C3I_SOUTHCOM_Jun.pdf] General Paul F. Gorman, USA (Ret), "Operational Art in a Low Intensity Theater," Chapter in *ON OPERATIONAL ART*, Clayton R. Newell and Michael D. Krause, eds. (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1994), 153-170. 06_Retired, FOLDER B: Retirement 1991-1999 (02_Retired_1991_99), [13_94_Operational Art_LATAM.pdf]

¹⁵³ General Wallace H. Nutting.

¹⁵⁴ Bill Keller and Joel Brinkley, "US MILITARY IS TERMED PREPARED FOR ANY MOVE AGAINST NICARAGUA," *The New York Times* (June 4, 1985). Downloaded from the New York Times Archive On Line. Accessed at <http://www.nytimes.com/1985/06/04/world/us-military-is-termed-prepared-for-any-move-against-nicaragua.html?scp=1&sq=&st=nyt> on 19 July 2011.

¹⁵⁵ Chile was governed by the Pinochet regime.

¹⁵⁶ General (Ret) Paul F. Gorman, Statement of General Paul F. Gorman, USA (Ret) [to Senator John Kerry, for the subcommittee on International Narcotics Trafficking, 8 February, 1988]. 06_Retired, FOLDER A: Retired 1985-1990 (01_Retired_85_90), [26_88_SenatorKerry_Drugs_8Feb.pdf]

¹⁵⁷ See 06_Retired, Folder A: Retired 1985-1990 (01_Retired_1985_90), PORTFOLIO A: President's Commission on Organized Crime 1985-1986 (01_85_CommissionOrgCrime).

¹⁵⁸ General Paul F. Gorman, "Military Instruments of Containment," Chapter of unidentified War College Text, dated by General Gorman as 7-8 November 1985. 06_Retired, FOLDER A: Retired 1985-1990 (01_Retired_1985_90), [01_85_MilRoleContainment_Nov.pdf]

¹⁵⁹ [Testimony before] House of Representatives, Committee on Armed Services, Military Education Panel, Washington, DC, Thursday May 12, 1988, pages 811-844. 06_Retired, FOLDER A: Retired 1985-1990 (01_Retired_1985_90), [27_88_ProfMilEdu_12May.pdf]

¹⁶⁰ Gorman, THE SECRET OF FUTURE VICTORIES. 06_Retired, FOLDER B: Retired 1991-1999 (02_Retired_1991_99), [06_92_SecretFutureVictories_Feb.pdf]