

**CONTRIBUTIONS OF WOMEN
TO U.S. COMBAT
OPERATIONS**

BY

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USAWC STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

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by

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ABSTRACT

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This research paper depicts numerous historical accounts of women's contributions to U.S. combat operations from the Revolutionary War to present day conflicts. The U.S. military continues to fight a transnational, dispersed enemy that employs irregular tactics and asymmetric warfare. Increasing numbers of female service members are engaging in direct combat despite a 1994 Department of Defense (DoD) Policy prohibiting assignments of females to units likely to engage in combat. It is recommended that Department of Defense rescind the Combat Exclusion Policy because all service members are exposed to combat conditions on the modern asymmetric battlefield and because of the historical contributions of women to combat operations.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF WOMEN TO U.S. COMBAT OPERATIONS

Women significantly contribute to the U.S. military in combat and have done so for over 300 years in various capacities such as logisticians, nurses and spies. Before the Women's Army Corps (WAC) was established in 1943, women served in the U.S. Army without the same benefits or official status as their male counterparts. Nurses and volunteers who supported the war efforts throughout U.S. history did so out of dedication to duty and devotion to the country. The sacrifice of women in war is immeasurable regardless of limited opportunities, recognition and support women receive. Service women were not always authorized legal protection or medical care and if women were captured by the enemy prior to World War II, no international agreement protected them.¹ Women of all races have a record of serving in combat with distinction and oftentimes without the benefits of disability compensation or pensions.

Military service women continue to face some discriminatory practices such as limited promotion and career development opportunities because of the DOD combat exclusion policy. It is only in the past 50 years that women have been able to legally serve in the military, much less train, and lead male subordinates. The right for women to serve in combat is one of the few remaining barriers between female and male service members. The following historical accounts provide an overview of women's contributions to combat and help substantiate the need for DOD to rescind the combat exclusion policy.

Revolutionary & Civil War

Women have supported the military in many different capacities and during the Revolutionary and Civil War they were not authorized the same legal protection or medical care as their male counterparts. Furthermore, if women were captured by the enemy, no international agreement protected them.² Some women disguised themselves and risked their lives to serve in combat conditions for the opportunity to support their male companions, adventure, and service to country. For example, “Kit” Cavanaugh disguised herself as a man so she could join the U.S Army in 1693 to find her husband who had been drafted into the British Army. Ms. Cavanaugh first saw combat action in Holland against the French and then joined her husband's cavalry regiment, the Scots Greys, where she participated in the battles of 1702 and 1703.³ When Ms. Cavanaugh passed on in 1739 and she was buried with full military honors.

Margaret Cochran Corbin accompanied her husband to fight in the American Revolutionary War in 1772. When her husband was killed in battle, Ms. Corbin immediately took his gun and fought in his place. Ms. Corbin was also badly wounded in battle and traveled to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania where the Continental Congress granted her a lifetime half-pay pension.⁴

Mary McCauly (better known as Molly Pitcher) earned the name by bringing pitchers of cool water to the exhausted and thirsty men during the Battle of Monmouth in 1778. When her husband collapsed while manning his cannon, Molly stepped forward and assisted the gunner without hesitation. General Washington issued Molly a warrant as a noncommissioned officer because of her service in combat. A flagstaff, cannon and sculpture stand at her gravesite in Carlisle, Pennsylvania to commemorate her courageous wartime deeds.⁵ Dr. Mary E. Walker a Civil War physician was awarded

the Congressional Medal of Honor in 1865 for her services as a surgeon providing care to the sick and wounded. She is the only woman of the Civil War, or any other war, to have been awarded the Medal of Honor.⁶

Lucy Brewer and Cathay Williams also disguised themselves as men in order to serve with the military in combat. Lucy Brewer pretended to be a man during the War of 1812, and saw action as a Marine for three years aboard the USS Constitution. The Marine Corps later recognized Lucy Brewer, a.k.a. George Baker, as the first woman Marine.⁷

Cathay Williams was the first African American woman to serve in the U.S. Army as a Buffalo Soldier. She disguised herself as a male so she could join the 38th U.S. Infantry Regiment. As an Infantry Soldier, Ms. Williams completed several marches in full gear including a 47-mile trek that was completed in one day.⁸ Cathay Williams, a.k.a William Cathey served in the military from 15 November 1866 to October 1868, when she was discharged for health reasons. It was not until June 1891 when Ms. Williams applied for a pension, that her gender was discovered and her request for pension was denied because women were not legally allowed to serve in the military at that time.⁹

Women voluntarily served on the front lines to care for wounded service personnel and to distribute supplies for hundred of years for the military without benefits or official status. Women sometimes carried messages to military headquarters and informed key personal of vital intelligence that they garnered while attending to the wounded. The outcome of many wars may have been different if it had not been for the significant role of women volunteers in combat. Gradually restrictions and limitations

concerning women roles on the battlefield were legally expanded. The establishment of the U.S. Woman's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) and Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Service (WAVEs) in May 1942 marks a critical turning point in women's roles in the U.S. military.

World War I & II

The first time women legally served in the U.S. military was during World War II (WWII) as nurses, clerks and translators.¹⁰ Prior to the war General George C. Marshall, the U.S. Army Chief of Staff, directed a study about the expanding role of women in the military because he anticipated severe manpower shortages in the event the United States was drawn into WWII. The study envisioned women serving as librarians, canteen clerks, cooks, chauffeurs, and messengers and was modeled like the Civilian Conservation Corps.¹¹ This study did not envision women serving on full military status like their male counterparts because women were not considered to be of equal status. No action was taken on this study until America was officially drawn into World War II and large numbers of women were needed to help fill unit vacancies in the military.

Congresswoman Edith Nourse Rogers introduced a bill to Congress to establish a Women Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC). This bill stipulated that service women would have the same military rights and obligations as men, but women could only perform non-combat duties. Congresswoman Rogers' bill created controversy and debate because she advocated equality in both male and female pay and benefits. As a result of Congresswoman Rogers' legislative efforts, the bill was amended and passed in 1942 authorizing 150,000 women in the WAAC. WAACs served in separate units and

were provided pay, housing, food, clothing, transportation, and medical care.¹² Initially, the WAACs were paid less than half their male counterparts however; this practice was corrected in November 1942, when women were authorized to draw the same pay and allowances as males. The WAAC and its successor Women's Army Corps (WAC) contributed to the increase of esprit de corps for women serving in the military because women were being recognized for their service.

Oveta Culp Hobby was the first Director of the WAC and earned the rank of Colonel for her distinguished service. Hobby and Congresswoman Rogers continued to play key roles in modifying the initial legislation to redress inequities such as the lack of veteran's hospitalization if WAACs became sick or wounded and gratuity to beneficiaries in the event of their death. This bill acknowledged the importance and equality of women's service with their male counterparts however; there were still some discriminatory practices. For example, the WAC Director could not be promoted above the grade of colonel and other WAC officers could not be promoted above the rank of lieutenant colonel.

WACs served throughout the major Army Commands, including overseas in the European and Pacific theaters. Approximately 140,000 women served in the WAC which was 17 percent of the total force. The Corps never reached their ceiling of 150,000 because of continued male opposition to women serving in the military and labor shortages in civilian industry. Several women were acknowledged for their military service contributions during World War II. In 1945, WAC Director Hobby received the Distinguished Service Medal, and 657 WACs received numerous awards for exceptionally meritorious performance of duty.¹³ During World War II, WACs served in

North Africa, the Mediterranean, Europe, and Southwest Pacific as aviators, mechanics, nurses and administration. Military units often requested more WACs to fill unit vacancies. At first, males did not want females in their units, but women's administrative and technical skills were critical to the service's ability to accomplish the wartime mission.¹⁴

General Dwight D. Eisenhower relied heavily on the WACs because of the huge demands on the military in several theaters. On 13 November 1943, Eisenhower requested five WACs to serve on his personal staff as executive secretaries. Two of the WACs spoke French fluently which was an important skill in the war. The ship carrying five female officers (Third Officers Martha Rogers, Mattie Pinette, Ruth Briggs, Alene Drezmal, and Louise Anderson) was torpedoed and began to sink. A British destroyer saved two of the women from the wreckage and the other three escaped on a lifeboat. These five women successfully served on General Eisenhower's staff throughout the North African, Mediterranean, and European campaigns.¹⁵

Post World War II and the Vietnam Conflict

In 1945, General Eisenhower praised the WACs outstanding duty performance in the following speech: "During the time I have had WACs under my command, they have met every test and task assigned to them...their contributions in efficiency, skill, spirit and determination are immeasurable."¹⁶ WACs were an important military asset that could be relied upon to serve in many different capacities. Following World War II, General Eisenhower directed planning for the permanent establishment of the WAC Soldiers in the Regular Army, with concurrent Reserve Corps status. As expected, his proposal met with Congressional opposition because Congress did not want the men

and women to serve in the military together.¹⁷ The opposition was eventually overcome and the Women Armed Services Integration Act 1948 was passed given women the opportunity to serve as permanent, regular members of the armed forces.¹⁸

Opportunities for WAC officers were limited in comparison to male officers because promotions for women above the rank of Major were rare. WACs were prohibited from serving in combat, commanding men, serving as chaplains or aviators, or being assigned below theater army level.¹⁹ Women were confined to roles that only conformed to accepted cultural pattern of the times where very few women worked outside of the home.

Expanding roles for women in the military during the Vietnam War created new career opportunities outside of traditional administrative and nursing roles to new roles such as mechanics, draftsmen, and radio operators. However, this role expansion did not increase WAC strength which was estimated around 12,000. In 1970, the U.S. Army selected Elizabeth P. Hoisington, the WAC Director, and Anna Mae Hays, an Army nurse, for promotion of brigadier general. Hoisington and Hays were the first women in the U.S. military to achieve flag rank. Their promotion illustrated the increasing roles of women serving at the highest ranks and career fields in the military.

Post Vietnam War

The introduction of the Volunteer Army (VOLAR) led to the expansion and eventual dissolution of the WAC in the 1970s. A plethora of women volunteered for the opportunity to serve in the military because of the career opportunities and the fact that women's pay was equal to their male counterparts. Fewer men volunteered during this time frame because men were still required to register for the selective service and felt

they had served their country honorably in previous conflicts.²⁰ The VOLAR increased the WAC from 12,000 women in 1973 to 53,000 women in 1978. The significant expansion of women serving in the military was also attributed to the opening the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) program in 1972 and the admittance of women to the service academies in 1976. These initiatives increased professional opportunities for the advancement to career-minded military women.

Numerous changes occurred in the women's military service because of VOLAR such as an expansion of opportunities for women to serve in a variety of military occupational specialties (MOS) with the exception of those involved in direct combat. Women started to receive dependency entitlements and mandatory discharges for pregnancies were eliminated.²¹ These initiatives allowed greater numbers of women to serve for longer periods of time which advanced women roles in the military.

In 1978, the "WACs existence as a separate corps was abolished and women were fully assimilated into all but combat branches of the Army."²² Women were placed in key career fields and duty positions that contributed to their career advancement and the success of the military. The Women's Army Corps was successful because its mission, which was to aid the United States in time of war, was part of a larger national effort that required selfless service. The expanding role of women in the war effort initiated vast economic and social changes that continue to indelibly alter the role of women in American society.

In 1985, Sherian Grace Cadoria became the first black woman to hold the rank of Brigadier General (BG). During her junior year of college, she was recruited into the WAC. She then joined the ranks as a lieutenant and served in Vietnam from January

1967 to October 1969. Although she was told by her recruiter that she did not have the physical strength to be in the military Sherian proved the recruiter wrong by being the first women to serve in many different capacities. BG Cadoria was one of the first women to serve as a military police officer, the first woman to command an all-male battalion, and the first woman to lead a criminal investigation brigade. She was also the first woman admitted to the U.S. Army Command & General Staff College and the U.S. Army War College. She became the first black female director of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in 1985. The following is an excerpt from her biography:

Regarding her status as a black female in what was a predominantly white male community, Cadoria states "I've gotten more pressure from being female than from being black in the military. I was always a role model. I had responsibility not just for black women but for black men as well. A woman today has to do more than her male counterpart. I came in knowing I was going to have to give 200 percent effort to get 100 percent credit. Most of the time, you don't even get the 100 percent credit."²³

In 1995, Brigadier General Marcelite Harris was promoted to the rank of Major General in the U.S. Air Force, the first African-American woman to reach this rank. In 1997, Sergeant Danyell Wilson became the first African-American woman to be given the duty of guarding the tomb of the unknowns in Arlington National Cemetery. Military women of all ranks and race continue to take on complex challenges and make sacrifices so that future generations will have even more service opportunities.

Gulf Wars

Women are serving in many military specialties at every rank including General Officer and Command Sergeants Major. Their abilities as leaders and specialists have been put to the test during numerous combat operations and peace operations in Grenada (Operation Urgent Fury), Panama (Just Cause), the Persian Gulf (Operations

Desert Shield/Storm), Somalia, Haiti and Rwanda. Despite the DOD Combat Exclusion Policy, 1983, 170 women deployed to Grenada for Operation Urgent Fury and 770 women deployed in Operation Just Cause in Panama. Three female Army helicopter pilots came under heavy enemy fire in Just Cause. Army Cpt. Linda Bray, Commander of the 980th Military Police (MP) Company, directed her unit in a firefight against Panamanian Defense Forces.²⁴ These are just a few examples of how women are increasingly serving in combat roles.

The largest single contingent of women in the history deployed during the Persian Gulf War. The American public responded favorably to women serving in the military during combat as evidenced by the increasing numbers of women deploying and serving in various capacities. During this conflict, women performed vital missions as aircraft pilots carrying troops and supplies, flew reconnaissance missions, provided logistical support; served on hospital ships and in mobile medical units and field hospitals.²⁵ American military women did just about everything their male counterparts on land, at sea, and in the air, even when the lines of combat were blurred.²⁶ During the Gulf War there were no fixed positions or clear lines in the sand denoting where women were or were not allowed, just like the enemy weapons did not distinguish between women or men in combat.²⁷ Unfortunately, five women were killed in action and two were held prisoners of war during the first Gulf War which caused the American public to question the DOD Combat Exclusion Policy.

During the American intervention in Panama in 1989, women flew Blackhawk helicopters under fire and female military police led missions in many different kinds of combat conditions. In 1991, Congress repealed the combat exclusion law, leaving

policies pertaining to women's service in the military to the Secretary of Defense. In 1993, Secretary of Defense Les Aspin sought to eliminate many of the remaining restrictions on military women. Aspin ordered all the services to open combat aviation to women, directed the Navy to draft legislation to repeal the combat ship exclusion, and directed the Army and Marines to open almost all career specialties to women. As a result of the changing policies and increasing opportunities for women to serve in various capacities, more than 1,000 women took part in military operations in Somalia in 1994. Four years later, more than 1,200 women were deployed to Haiti for peace-keeping duties and the first Marine Corps women aviators received their wings to fly combat missions. From 1995 to 2002, more than 5,000 women served in many different capacities to support peace-keeping operations in Bosnia.²⁸ Women continue to serve in many different capacities in Kuwait, Operation Iraqi Freedom and Operation Enduring Freedom such as medical technicians, pilots, MPs, engineers, logistics and maintenance specialists.

Operation Iraqi Freedom and Operation Enduring Freedom

Opportunities for women in the military continue to expand in the 21st century and women now make up more than 15 percent of the DOD force as compared to 12 percent in 1980s and 90s.²⁹ Females are proudly serving in increasingly dangerous career fields as they perform their duties adjacent and sometimes within enemy lines.³⁰ Although women have prevailed in their attempts to embed themselves indiscriminately into the military structure, they still fall short of serving in direct combat with their male counterparts. In spite of the inequality and the policies that keep women out of combat, military service women are frequently engaged in combat because of the fact that the

battlefront is no longer linear and extends throughout the area of operations. Female service members are supporting America and dying in Iraq and Afghanistan alongside their male counterparts.

The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan are not being fought on traditional battlefields, and insurgents do not discriminate between American women and men. Over 101 American military women have died in Iraq and Afghanistan since the war started in March 2003. Of the 101 killed 64 women lost their lives fighting in hostile territory while serving the nation.³¹ All service personnel regardless of gender must contribute to the battle in order to win freedom for foreign nations and their people by defending the world from insurgencies. The following is just a few examples of how women are serving in combat in Iraq and Afghanistan.

On 16 October in Karbala, Iraq, three women's actions and courage saved many of their fellow Soldiers' lives. PFC Teresa Broadwell Grace was out on patrol, serving as the gunner in 2nd squad/2nd platoon when the call came out for assistance. Upon arrival, they entered the kill zone and PFC Grace immediately started laying down short controlled bursts from her M-249 machine gun. It was through her actions that the Iraqis were forced to run for cover. She used tracer rounds to gauge for accuracy and allow other gunners to see where they were firing. The platoon leader credits Grace's actions with saving his life. She assisted her lieutenant in securing the wounded Soldiers and then returned to her weapon to provide security. Meanwhile, a combat medic, Sergeant Misty Frazier, was out on the street running from one fallen comrade to another, all the while dodging a hail of bullets. All she could say was "I was lucky". Finally SPC Corrie Jones' patrol moved in to back up PFC Grace's squad. Immediately Jones began firing at the Iraqis and they withdrew from the fight. I share this story to say no one knows how he or she will act once they experience combat, will the training override the fear? Jones's statement following the gunfight was "Now, I know how strong I am". Her commander estimated that they killed more than twenty Iraqis during the encounter.³²

Captain (CPT) Kellie McCoy was the first woman assigned to the 82nd Airborne to receive the Bronze Star with "V" device while serving in Iraq. This award is

presented to individuals for bravery, acts of merit or meritorious service; the “V” represents valor, so it identifies an act of combat heroism. CPT McCoy’s convoy hit a daisy-chained Improvised Explosive Device (IED) and was ambushed on a highway near Fallujah. The first IED went off about 15 feet in front of the second vehicle (CPT McCoy’s vehicle) and the second IED disabled the first vehicle. Immediately, the convoy came under small arms and Rocket-Propelled Grenade (RPG) fire disabling the third and fourth vehicles. CPT McCoy drove her vehicle through the smoke and commotion, to pick up all her unit personnel, including three wounded Soldiers. After she had accountability for everyone, she quickly headed for a safe zone. Her heroic actions spared the lives of all 10 of her unit members.³³ CPT McCoy lives by a fundamental military value of not leaving any American personnel behind on the battlefield.

SGT Hester is another example of a female soldier who took heroic actions in combat while assigned to the National Guard’s 617th MP Company. As a team leader, she meticulously prepared load plans and cross-trained her unit personnel on both equipment and battle drills. In June 2005, SGT Hester was awarded the Silver Star, the nation’s third-highest medal for valor, for her role in leading a firefight with insurgents. She was the first woman to receive the award since World War II. When Hester’s convoy came under attack, she led her team through the kill zone and into flanking positions. At the conclusion of a 45-minute firefight, 27 insurgents were dead, six wounded, and one captured. When asked how she felt about being the first woman to receive the award since WWII, she noted, “It really doesn't have anything to do with being a female.” Then she added, “It's about the duties I performed that day as a

Soldier.”³⁴ SPC Ashley Pullen received the Bronze Star for her actions during the same ambush in which SGT Hester led the counterattack. During the attack, SPC Pullen provided suppressive fire and later exposed herself to hostile fire in order to render medical attention to her wounded comrades. Her contributions to repelling an attack in direct combat saved several lives that day. SSG Timothy Nein, a member of SGT Hester’s team affirmed, “It’s due to their dedication and their ability to stay there and back me up that we were able to do what we did that day.”³⁵

Combat Exclusion Policy

As DOD transforms into a force capable of meeting the challenges of the 21st century, it must reevaluate the restrictions of the Combat Exclusion Policy. The Combat Exclusion Policy was implemented in 1994 to prohibit women from serving in direct combat roles. Excluding women from combat roles in the military is predominantly due to national social attitudes and traditions. A segment of the American population thought that women should be protected from harm and should not kill; however, this trend seems to be changing as a result of current operations.³⁶ A 1998 U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO) Report concluded that “the idea of women in direct combat roles continues to lack Congressional and public support.”³⁷ However, a more recent CNN/USA Today / Gallup poll indicates that 72 percent of American public supports women serving in Iraq, while 44 percent support them serving in Iraq as “ground troops who are doing most of the fighting.”³⁸ Societal expectations of women’s role in combat are changing as a result of increasing numbers of women in the military and the work force.

The 1994 Department of Defense (DoD) female assignment policy specified “direct combat” as an inappropriate activity for women.³⁹ The following is an excerpt from the DOD Combat Exclusion Policy:

Rule: service members are eligible to be assigned to all positions for which they are qualified, except that women shall be excluded from assignment to units below the brigade level whose primary mission is to engage in direct combat on the ground, as defined below.

Definition: Direct ground combat is engaging an enemy on the ground with individual or crew served weapons, while being exposed to hostile fire and to a high probability of direct physical contact with hostile forces personnel. Direct ground combat takes place well forward on the battlefield while locating and closing with the enemy to defeat them by fire, maneuver or shock effect.⁴⁰

DoD policy restricts the assignment of women from places where units and positions are doctrinally required to collocate and remain with direct combat units that are closed to women.⁴¹ The collocation rule is specifically designed to keep women out of harm’s way, away from the area where direct combat is likely to occur. This rule is difficult to implement in combat where there are dynamic battlefields such as we have in Iraq and Afghanistan. DOD’s current force includes approximately 15 percent women which is an unprecedented number of women deployed to combat zones. Unlike combat of the last century, the modern battle is asymmetric and noncontiguous in which there are no front and rear areas. Women are being exposed to combat and in some cases direct combat on a routine basis.

Today, women in all military services are involved in military conflicts as fighters, bombers, helicopter and transport pilots; as physicians, medics, and nurses; and as crew members ashore and afloat. Servicewomen are frequently engaged in firefights with enemy insurgents while guarding convoys, traveling in hostile territory, or performing military police duties and other vital support functions.⁴² In spite of the

ongoing arguments and debates, women are performing combat roles on a daily basis and the DOD Policy on Women in Combat needs to be adjusted to reflect this reality.

DoD is undergoing all kinds of changes as it executes the Global War on Terror (GWOT) such as the development of new weapons systems and force structure. One significant issue is the increase in the roles, responsibilities, and contributions of women, to include their increasing participation in combat. The front lines of a battlefield are no longer defined, so military women are finding themselves in the heat of battle and exposed to the rigors of combat. What has changed substantially is the asymmetric way of warfare, the nonlinear battlefield, the dispersed transnational enemy, the new modular Army, and society's growing acceptance of women in combat.⁴³

Conclusion

Women have overcome scores of obstacles in the military to prove they are just as capable as their male counterparts. Most of the career fields that are closed to women are because of the inherent danger of the duties with regard to the propensity to serve in direct combat. Historically, it seems that the American public was not ready to have women go to combat however; recent reports indicate that the public is more accepting of the role of women in combat. Military policies continue to restrict women's roles in combat and these policies need to be reevaluated because women are serving in combat but are not compensated for their service and performance.

Today, service women are stationed around the globe and have served in nearly every U.S. military deployment. Military women are serving on ships, flying combat-related missions and positioned near the front line with ground units. In spite of their sacrifice and outstanding duty performance, women continue to be denied the right to

serve in some combat related positions which, hinders their opportunities for promotion. Women have proven themselves and have earned the right to fight and die for their country. Women have volunteered for over 300 years to serve the country even when the nation failed to recognize or compensate them for their dedicated service. There are numerous examples of ordinary women performing extraordinarily things in combat. Throughout the last 60 years, women have been gradually integrated throughout the U.S. Armed Forces and they have acquired the expertise to serve in almost all military specialties during combat.

The military is adapting to operate effectively in the changing global environment to include the steady increase in female contributions to the services mission. Women's contributions to the military throughout history have been critical to achieving national interests. Past and present deployments reveal that women are leading by example and providing effective support to a number of combat units in Iraq and Afghanistan. There are number of women who are volunteering for direct combat missions especially as the military experiences critical shortages in some career specialties.

As the military continues to fight a transnational, dispersed enemy that employs irregular tactics in asymmetric warfare, more female service members are engaging in direct combat despite the 1994 DoD policy that prohibits women serving in combat. It is recommended by many sources that DoD immediately repeal the Combat Exclusionary Policy to align with the conditions of the modern asymmetric battlefield. The roles for women in the 21st century military are constantly evolving because of the changing nature of combat and war. It is America's moral obligation and duty to recognize and honor women past and present, and future, who put their lives on the line or gave the

ultimate sacrifice of their life for their country in combat. This paper provides historical data on service women's contributions in combat that helps to substantiate the recommendation for DoD strategic leaders to rescind the combat exclusion policy.

Endnotes

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