THE NATIONAL GUARD: MEETING AMERICA'S INTERNATIONAL CHALLENGE

A WHITE PAPER

BY

COLONEL A. VANCE RENFROE

The National Guard State Partnership Program. The President of the United States has set the vision for national security on three major areas where the National Guard has a competitive advantage within the Department of Defense: democratic institution building, support for open market economies and projection of our humanitarian values abroad. The National Guard has been successful for nearly two decades with "nation support" cooperation in Central America. The long term relationships between the United States and her partner nations are enhanced by high Guard retention rates and personnel stability. Personal ties developed by the Guard family are sustained far beyond an active duty reassignment cycle. Guard involvement with CINC-sponsored outreach has provided substantial benefit to international programs in Central and Eastern Europe.

The attached papers give an overview of Guard activities now enjoying success, but having a potential for expansion.

1. Contingency Support Battalions.

These operations are manpower intensive. To deploy a battalion forward for an extended period usually requires three battalions be dedicated to the task to maintain combat readiness. One battalion would be in training and one in retraining while a third battalion would be deployed to the mission area.

The following MFO options for using the Guard will help the active force execute contingency operations within their force structure while exercising the National Guard and maintaining their combat edge.

2. Give the National Guard responsibility for MFO Sinai management and execution.

The MFO Sinai mission is now shared among elements of the Active, Guard and Reserve. The Army National Guard can supply staff management and operational forces for the Sinai mission. This mission could be managed and executed with the Guard in the lead as executive for the Army Chief of Staff.

3. Give the National Guard responsibility for MFO Macedonia.

If the United States operations in Macedonia expand, leadership of "MFO Macedonia" could be given to the National Guard.

4. **RETROEUR**.

The National Guard can take leadership responsibility for "moving the iron mountain." The repair and redistribution of materiel during the restructure of deployed forces in Europe is now worked largely by the Reserve Component, but the complete mission can be smoothly managed and executed under National Guard leadership. Transferring responsibility for leading this mission to the Army National Guard could relieve the workload on the

active force. It will relieve staff overhead, let Army focus on contingency operations.

5. Training Area Management.

The National Guard could take a major role in European training area management. This may not be a highly leveraged trade out because it may require a "resident management team" rather than a rotational presence. The mission should be review to determine where Reserve Component management would provide benefit.

6. <u>Unified Command Outreach Program Management</u>.

The National Guard could help CINCs develop, manage and participate in the execution of most of the Traditional CINC Programs abroad. This would not restrict activity to "Guard and Reserve only." It could shift most management functions and resource control to the Guard. It could facilitate congressional approval for these national security missions, draw adequate manpower, end strength, grade relief, law and funding for activity, build a cohesive and well-balanced interagency plan for the effort in every AOR, and build public consensus to sustain our engagement abroad. The Guard will bring a "grass roots" citizen constituency to a poorly understood and urgently needed engagement program.

The competitive advantage for the Guard comes to bear in democratic institution building, open market economy support, and projecting US humanitarian ideals. The network of the Guard in the cultural, educational, industrial and political communities is global. It is not being properly exploited under active component management.

The program would not change in terms of CINC control, Ambassador control, and the like. The change would not de facto limit active and reserve activity. Active forces would, however, be able to devote time to other areas to reduce perstempo. Now, active forces are used more aggressively than are Guard and Reserve soldiers.

7. Partnership for Peace.

The National Guard offers an outstanding tool for the President's Partnership for Peace program but is not being asked routinely to participate in exercises.

This year, GUARDEX 95 will host many events with direct PfP funding provided to the Guard comptroller by OSD. This cuts out much staff layering, puts the functional staff in control of execution resources without needless steps, retains all the benefits of CINC oversight while reducing workload to his staff, saves money by exploiting the Guard window to industry and State government, etc.

Each PfP signatory should be involved heavily with their National Guard State Partner during the May-August annual training cycle and at other times during the year doing exercises, combined training, seminars and the like. Newly Independent States and other "friendly nation" units could smoothly participate in the vast majority of unit AT. Funding for Partnership for Peace activity should be provided directly to the Guard in future years. Since Guard AT is scheduled long in advance, the GUARDEX system should be easily programmed.

8. <u>USING THE GUARD TO INCREASE</u> <u>SUBSTANCE IN OUTREACH PROGRAMS</u>.

Short duration involvement is not proving as effective as longer term events. Activities that have more substance than briefings and familiarization tours are needed now. While "first steps" will continue for many years as new units and broader involvement enters the outreach program, these crucial steps must evolve toward events that build long term relations. The US relationship with most countries must now graduate to more substantive activity. Below are two good ideas that have been effective elsewhere and should be expanded.

Minuteman Fellows: A program designed as a New Marshall Plan for Europe.

The present outreach of the United States falls short of the dream of George Marshall. The Minuteman Fellows program will help complete that dream for the countries who have been for 26-70 years locked behind totalitarian walls. The concept is working now but has not been adequately funded or emphasized.

What is needed is to bring several hundred (thousand?) foreign nationals per year to the United States to live with families for 30-90 days. We should involve these military and civilian "up and comers" in the heartbeat of American society. They would go to church, school, clubs and work with their hosts. Government at the community, county, and State level would be studied. Industries and their associations would give Minuteman Fellows short courses in how they are organized and operated. Foundations would host activities for them. Global businesses could provide meaningful support and give excellent access to open market concepts. Fellows would drill, train and fully participate with the Guard. A program to give each an appropriate overview of America's Military would be developed. The purpose and functions of the National Guard would be featured. Military support to civil authority and civilian control of the military would be prime issues. The National Guard as an emergency and disaster response tool of the State Governor could be experienced during any three month stay since the Guard averages 330 mobilizations per year.

The Fellows would be superb resources for communities and schools. Universities would have access to them and would work with them on issues relevant to their native land and problems. The press would cover these Fellows and publicize the program.

You get the idea. The Minuteman Fellow program is very flexible. USAID and most other departments of the

federal and state government have funding that can be used in interagency cooperation to make this program world class. The networking would be a high value aspect of the program. This program must be funded and emphasized. It is an idea Jesse Helms will appreciate.

THE NATIONAL GUARD INTERNATIONAL TRAINING ACTIVITIES PROGRAM (ITAP)

The National Guard's International Training Activities Program was created to provide joint training experience for Army and Air Guard units. The concept is deploy a joint task force overseas for annual training. The mission of this joint task force would be to meet a requirement defined by the host CINC or other authority.

ITAP deployments usually combine engineering and medical units with others as appropriate for the mission. These soldiers and airmen build or renovate a school or clinic and provide medical training and service during the deployment for military and civilians in the vicinity. Successful deployments have worked in Africa, Belarus and Ukraine. A deployment to Albania is planned for later in 1995.

The Guard has committed to USEUCOM to execute two ITAP deployments per year "out of hide" and to deploy twice more if fully funded from outside sources. Each deployment is of at least three weeks duration. ITAP is a relatively untapped capability. This deployment concept can be customized by the National Guard to combine any group of capabilities to meet a CINC's requirement. The funding and workdays must be provided, but ITAP can significantly relieve PERSTEMPO where multiple contingencies or requirements overextend the active force. ASD/RA has \$25 million in FY95 and beyond to partioally fund expanded ITAP.

Creative combinations of Security Assistance, outside agency, UN and private funding or other "in kind" support should be pursued to meet the cost of shifting from a predominantly humanitarian give-away foreign aid profile to more substantive nation assistance in Africa, the Russian Federation, South East Asia, South America and other regions. The Guard ITAP concept can execute these missions.

9. SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY INTEGRATION.

The Government of South Africa is trying to demobilize gracefully and integrate the military both racially and into society. They have been in contact with the National Guard Bureau to get help with the concept of civil-military relations represented in the State-federal cooperation in Guard affairs.

South Africa has nine regions, each with a premier. One concept might be to place demobilized and "jungle fighter" militias under each Premier I the same way that Governors in the United States control the National Guard. New Jersey, Arkansas and Texas have volunteered to work with South Africa toward some options for improving the democratic nature of the SA military and giving the people of SA both participation and a feeling of responsibility for their national security. The SA Guard would be busy with emergency response and disaster assistance. It would serve as a template for other African nations.

10. **JAPAN**.

Japan has been struck by several disasters in recent years. They have not been ready to respond. Thousands have died. This has become intolerable to the Japanese people. Japan has had a steadily improving military, but has not designed the military to attack the enemies faced most often by a nation: flood, famine, typhoon, earthquake, fire, other disasters and civil unrest.

The Guard has constitutional responsibility for this mission and performs it well. Japan should be encouraged to review the Guard profile as an option for rebuilding its military into a mobilizable, less threatening, more responsive force, better prepared to support civil authority in disaster. The Guard is the "tool of choice" for this mission. Japan is now working with the California Guard. More could be done by the Guard if resources are available. Japan may be asked to subsidize a program of National

Guard mentoring and instruction. This relationship could be enhance with unit exchanges and emergency response exercises.

11. **MEXICO**.

The National Guard should be tasked to carry the United States engagement with Mexico to a new and more substantive level. Now, we have NAFTA and dollars, words and bailouts. What is needed is person-to-person engagement on a broad scale in Mexico. The Guard should be tasked to carry out this engagement policy.

The National Guard Bureau has been contacted by the United States Defense Attaché for Mexico on behalf of the US Ambassador. The Mexican Army has asked for help from the National Guard to improve relations with civil authorities and develop effective disaster response mechanisms and procedures. This is the window of opportunity for action. The Chief of the National Guard Bureau should visit Mexico in 1995 to formalize a partnership between the National Guard and the Mexican military.

The National Guard has a long history of warm relations with Mexico through the Border Commanders Conference. These warm relations are being used to move forward with Mexico's requested assistance. A National Guard State Partnership has been initiated using The State Of New Mexico as lead, and the States of Texas, Arizona and California as associates. Also, 5th Army will be a

strong player in the association. As with other partnerships, senior leader visits and familiarization tours will perched substance.

The Chief of the National Guard Bureau has been asked to speak to the Sister Cities International Regional Conference for US-Mexico in Texas in October 1995. This will be an opportunity to accelerate warm relations and speed cooperation between our militaries.

The core concept is to build relationships at the community level, between armories and villages. These local relationships have proven to be the genius of success in SOUTHCOM and elsewhere because the people of partner communities become friends for life. This approach could breed cooperation and support quicker and "deeper" than government "give away" programs.

Also, the network offers broader financial support potential through citizen-soldier business, industry and political bonds than a purely government program. Humanitarian needs could be met and the proper education and development process encouraged. The biggest payoff may be in "de-demonizing" Mexico's military in the eyes of Mexicans. The Guard can help Mexico build an emergency response capability to reach out to her own citizens as the Guard does in the United States. There are many positive aspects of this partnership that have been successfully proven in Central America over the past 20 years.

STRATEGY FOR ENGAGING THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION: THE NATIONAL GUARD AND EMERCOM

The attached briefing suggests the National Guard as a tool of choice for engaging the Russian Federation. Russia has an organization known by the acronym EMERCOM. It combines most of the aspects of the United States' Federal Emergency Management Agency and the National Guard with some leanings toward our Environmental Protection Agency, to provide emergency response, disaster prevention and disaster remediation capabilities to Russia.

The leaders of EMERCOM have been brief and broadly exposed to the National Guard and the National Guard State Partnership Program. The Minister of EMERCOM (holds cabinet rank with the Minister of Defense and other ministers) has requested the Guard establish partnerships with the nine EMERCOM regions of the Russian Federation.

The attached briefing lays out one approach to accomplishing this partnership linkage. It has been seen by FEMA and within the Department of Defense. Many in the academic community of Washington have seen and supported this concept.

The partnership linkages you will see have been researched by the National Guard Bureau and by the Harvard Russian Studies Center. They reflect technical, practical, and political rational.

The Department of Defense is not welcomed in Russia. The National Guard has been warmly invited to enter and

bond with the Russian people in an area where the Guard has the experience, the constitutional mission and the competitive advantage over the active force. The Guard can be the vanguard to warmer cooperation between the militaries of these former enemies. We need to act immediately on this potential to reinforce the forces of democratic evolution within Russia.

Kentucky and Mississippi, selected to lead a cooperative effort into the first two regions, already have strong business, academic and agricultural ties in their partner regions. Other unions will also share this advantage.

As with other partnerships, the secret will be to mobilize the Governor, his/her cabinet, the business and academic communities in the State to support the effort. The objective is to generate among each State's citizens a moral commitment to the success of the democratic experiment in their Partner region.

Please refer to the attached slides. They are relatively self explanatory.

12. <u>CUBA.</u>

The challenge of Cuba must be faced by this generation of Americans. Cuba is not a substantive problem for the United States Government. Cuba is an immense problem for the people of Florida. The problems of Cuba flow to Florida; most stop there. Florida should be allowed by the USG to work with Cuba to resolve problems and rebuild traditional ties, this time around with more sensitivity to the needs of all parties in the relationship.

The United States should allow a National Guard State Partnership between the State of Florida and Cuba. The objectives of this partnership would be simple: work together to help the people of Cuba help themselves and thereby relieve the pressure on both sides of the 90 mile gap between neighbors.

The approach could be to offer Fidel Castro a chance to redeem himself, to become the savior to future generations of Cubans. The track he is now pursuing guarantees he will be remembered for destroying his country and his people. To move toward normalization would relieve the pressure now being exported from Cuba to other nations in or bordering the Caribbean.

Linking the State of Florida, with her large Cuban and Spanish speaking population, to Cuba could mean a return economic prosperity for both societies. It would be a boon for Florida -- especially South Florida -- and for other southern State businesses. It would allow eventual repatriation of tens of thousands of Cuban immigrants, most with new wealth and knowledge to help speed Cuba's recovery from her deep economic depression.

Florida's Governor and The Adjutant General of Florida are in favor of this reunion. The partnership could begin with cooperative humanitarian support missions aimed at relieving the serious living conditions in Cuba's heartland.