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THE GUARD:

ADDING VALUE TO AMERICA

by

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A RESEARCH REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY

IN

FULFILLMENT OF THE CURRICULUM

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ABSTRACT

TITLE: THE GUARD: ADDING VALUE TO AMERICA.

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The National Guard is being used in new, non-traditional roles that have a positive impact on America. Some of these roles directly affect the local communities, others use conventional military capability, primarily outside the U.S. The new missions that require conventional military capability are non-traditional because the missions are on-going missions normally covered by Active Duty personnel such as Peacekeeping in the Sinai or Southern Watch over Iraq. This paper examines the new missions and roles and explains how the Guard adds value to America by performing these new, non-traditional roles and missions.

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

LTC Tom Considine (M.B.A., University of South Dakota) is a 25 year member of the Iowa Air National Guard. He is a graduate of Armed Forces Staff College, and is currently a student at the Air War College, class of 1994. Prior to that, he was the Operations Group Commander of the 185 FG, an ANG F-16 unit. He is a Command Pilot with over 3000 hours of flying time, most of it in the F-100, A-7 and F-16. He will return to the 185FG upon the completion of Air War College.

## I. INTRODUCTION

The demand for a smaller military created by the post-cold war demobilization presents many challenges to the President, the Congress, the Department of Defense and the American public. The challenge is to balance force structure, roles and missions and the budget against military requirements, both today's and tomorrow's. The National Guard is an integral part of this challenge and is today, performing new, non-traditional roles and missions that will have an impact on the outcome of the roles and missions, force structure, and budget debate.

The new, non-traditional roles and missions fall into two categories: community oriented programs and non-war time use of conventional military capabilities. Community oriented programs include youth training, health care and law enforcement. Youth programs train and educate underprivileged "at risk" youngsters. Health and law enforcement programs use combat capabilities to provide health care for medically underserved communities, and counter-narcotics or riot control support to local law enforcement. The peacetime roles and missions requiring application of conventional military capabilities are: humanitarian efforts, narcotics traffic monitoring, peacekeeping and peace enforcement. The Guard is on the leading edge of the use of military presence, capability, training and equipment in these non-traditional roles. This paper will define and give some examples of the new

roles, and explain how the Guard adds value to America by performing these roles and missions.

## II. COMMUNITY PROGRAMS

The non-traditional, new role getting the most attention outside of the Department of Defense is the youth training programs. The New York Times, NBC Nightly News and the United States Air Force's Airman magazine each recently reported on some of these programs. Congress provided the dollars to start these programs when it appropriated funds for five National Guard youth programs in the FY93 Defense Authorization and Appropriations Act. The act, along with the funds, authorizes the National Guard Bureau to enter into "agreements with the Nation's Governors for the purpose of conducting programs targeted at youth in general and youth at risk in particular."<sup>1</sup> Three of the five programs started in FY93: ChalleNGe, Starbase and the Los Angeles Unified School District Outreach Program. The remaining two programs, Urban Youth Corps and Youth Conservation Corps, will begin in FY94.

The ChalleNGe program, featured on the NBC Nightly News in November, 1993, is a program designed to prevent youth at risk from developing into troubled adults who might end up in prison. The name ChalleNGe was given to the program by the National Guard Bureau's Public Affairs office. The "NG" refers to National Guard. The program is aimed at high school dropouts 16



to 18 years old, and offers them discipline and education. Challenge is a five month resident program conducted at the state National Guard training sites. The youth are taught citizenship, hygiene and health, community involvement and physical training along with courses that will help them pass their General Equivalency Diploma (G.E.D.), a high school equivalent degree. The youth must be a "citizen or legal resident of the United States, be drug free, not on parole or probation, not indicted or charged and free of felony convictions or capital offenses and physically and mentally capable of completing the program."<sup>2</sup> The program is voluntary, and the youth can leave if they wish, but only after talking with counselors in the program.

The Challenge program, also called the Civilian Youth Opportunities Program, began in ten states in FY 93 with \$44 million in funding. In FY 94, sixteen states signed up for the program, and Congress increased the funding to \$56 million. According to the National Guard Public Affairs office, this funding is specifically for the youth Challenge program and not part of the Defense budget.<sup>3</sup> The first Challenge class, which started in Connecticut in August, 1993, graduated in January, 1994. Of the 1357 people that enrolled in the program in the ten states, 774 completed the program and 547 or 71% of those completing the five months earned their G.E.D.<sup>4</sup> The number of individuals getting their G.E.D. out of the program's first classes is much higher than expected and is a promising indication

that the program will be successful. Whether or not the program will succeed is still to be determined, but a recent article in the New York Times declares the Connecticut program is a success. In Connecticut, 35 teens passed the G.E.D. test at the completion of the program, and another 28 scored high enough to get a second chance to pass the test after a weeks tutoring. In addition to the education received, of the youth that completed the five months in Connecticut, "44 took part in a blood drive; 28 were registered to vote; 13 completed a CPR course."<sup>5</sup>

Successes like that experienced in Connecticut will help the program garner additional support in Congress where notable supporters already include Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia, the influential Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee.<sup>6</sup> Dr. Doug Peterson, the director of the Louisiana ChalleNGe program measures the success in financial terms. The Louisiana program has a \$5 million budget with a per student cost of \$12,500.<sup>7</sup> The per student cost was criticized in a New York Times editorial page letter for being too high compared to per student cost in a regular high school program.<sup>8</sup> The per student cost in the ChalleNGe program is higher than at a regular high school, but according to Dr. Peterson, the U.S. pays \$28,000 to \$32,000 per inmate per year in a minimum security prison. He also said 83% of the prisoners nation wide are high school drop-outs<sup>9</sup>. Statistically, then, high school dropouts have a greater probability of going to prison. Although a high school diploma will not keep someone out of prison, it

certainly offers an individual more opportunity to find a decent job. That decent job and the associated responsibilities are both the means and the incentive to keep a citizen law abiding. The Challenge program also offers a \$2200 stipend if the youth "pass their G.E.D. plus successfully enroll in further education or training programs."<sup>10</sup> If Challenge can help some of the nation's dropouts earn their high school diploma and develop some self-esteem through a little regimented living, something like military basic training, then the program will more than pay for itself.

A few states are experimenting with a similar program called Boot Camps that has received press attention lately. Boot Camps are not affiliated with the federal government or the Guard, but are modeled after military basic training. A comparison of the two programs - Challenge and Boot Camps - gives the better chance of success to Challenge. A Criminology Professor from the University of Northern Iowa who studied a Boot Camp in Texas, predicts that the program will fail.<sup>11</sup> One of his reasons is that the instructors are improperly trained. The Challenge program on the other hand has qualified instructors, in Connecticut all of the classroom instructors are state certified teachers.<sup>12</sup> The Challenge program offers youth the opportunity to achieve something, a G.E.D., boot camps don't offer that educational opportunity. Challenge lasts about twice as long, five months versus ninety days for boot camps, and is more restrictive in the youth qualified to enter. Challenge, for these reasons, will succeed

where boot camps fail, but because Challenge it is not the answer to all of this nation's crime problems.

A second Guard sponsored youth program, that was featured in the February issue of the USAF's Airman magazine, is called Starbase. This program is designed to expose inner city youth and their teachers to "real world applications of math and science through experimental learning, simulations and experiments in aviation and space related fields."<sup>13</sup> The students range from kindergarten through the 12th grade or from roughly six to 18 years old. Starbase received \$2 million in FY 93 and that has already doubled to \$4 million in FY 94. At the California Air National Guard's 162nd Combat Communications Group Starbase, fifth and sixth graders from a grade school in Sacramento "learn about such high tech subjects as rockets, satellites, satellite communications, the space shuttle, Newton's laws of physics and flight control surfaces."<sup>14</sup> The Starbase program generates awareness and interest in some possible careers the students could attain if they stay in school and study math and science; it provides the students with some possible goals and develops the enthusiasm needed to foster pursuit of those goals.

The third program is the Los Angeles Unified School District Outreach Program. It is a joint California National Guard and Los Angeles Unified School district plan to provide materials and equipment to enhance the school district's math and science program. The goals of this program are

to form partnerships with state and local government, educators and industry to help students "develop strong self-esteem, positive attitudes and goal setting skills necessary for academic success."<sup>15</sup> Funding for this program, which was \$10 million in FY 93, reimburses the state of California for personnel costs.

Two other programs, Youth Conservation Corps and the Urban Youth Corps are versions of the ChalleNGe program. The Youth Conservation Corps is a six week resident program conducted at National Guard training sites. The Urban Youth Corps is a six week non-resident version of the Youth Conservation Corps conducted at inner city armories. These programs target high school dropouts who are not yet in trouble, and offers them instruction in hygiene, life skills, physical training and an introduction to the G.E.D. program. The goal is to get the youth interested in returning to school to achieve their high school equivalent diploma. These two programs are funded at \$4 million in FY 94, out of NGB O&M funds. National Guard participation in this program includes funding the use of the armories and field training sites. The state is required to provide matching funds to pay for the personnel costs. Both of these programs are scheduled to begin in FY94.

Another new, non-traditional role is a program called Operation GuardCare. This program, authorized by President Clinton and funded by Congress at \$1.5 million in FY 93, uses Army and Air National Guard medical

personnel and their equipment to help "civilian health authorities in meeting the needs of medically underserved communities."<sup>16</sup> The program's goals are to provide "cost-effective, needed and valuable medical services to medically underserved citizens, at the same time, enhancing medical readiness of the Army and Air National Guard through realistic live patient care."<sup>17</sup> The focus of Guardcare is to give physicals, dental checkups and immunizations, and in FY 93, 4860 patients received this care from 313 Guard personnel. To receive funding for Guardcare, states write a contract with the National Guard Bureau (NGB) that addresses the relationship between Guardcare and Public Health services, private medical practices, follow up patient care and pertinent laws. In FY 93 five states participated in the program, and in November, 1993, thirty-four states sent representatives to a NGB conference held to explain the details required in the contract. FY 94 funding is \$2.5 million and the funding could go higher in following years if the states and federal government are pleased with the results.

If programs like ChalleNGe, Starbase and GuardCare are successful, then we help the needy in our communities to achieve a better life, whether through better health care or a chance to develop the skills and self-esteem necessary to move into the mainstream of society. Help given by these programs to improve the study of math and science or to pull a dropout back from a marginal to a productive member of society are

extremely important. Lack of education equals lack of opportunity and the impact is felt throughout society from an increase in crime or higher welfare costs to reduced taxes from workers unable to find jobs because they did not have the education to qualify. The military is a high technology user and can show ways, non-destructive ways, that science and math are important. According to Lt Col Tom Edwards director of the California National Guard's Starbase program:

"Starbase shows kids options they might not otherwise consider and helps improve their self-confidence and esteem. Eventually they may look back on this program and elect to enter the military, working in any one of a number of high tech careers. The important thing here is to emphasize getting a good education so these kids have a variety of career choices down the road. If the guard can help make that happen, and some kids enter the military as a result, that's great. Either way, we all benefit."<sup>18</sup>

America, once a leader in education, has fallen behind most other industrial nations in the areas of math and science. The Starbase and the Los Angeles Unified School District Outreach programs are excellent methods to give students the incentive to study math and science. In addresses to the Air War College Class of 94, two speakers from industry, a manager from Federal Express's Southeastern U.S. regional office and the Vice President from Lockheed's Fort Worth F-16 plant, both told of the difficulty finding qualified applicants to hire. Hopefully, these Guard programs will give the students a goal and give them impetus to improve their math and science abilities. Improving the education of American students is something that

will aid both the students and American industry. Helping students see uses for their education will help American industry and America.

The youth programs draw on the high level of motivation and training found in military personnel. In the Challenge program in Louisiana, the instructors wear the military uniform. They are a positive role model for their students as well as society. Programs like these are critical because the threat to our society today is as much if not more from within our shores as from outside. Everything the Guard does in the local community that improves the quality of life makes America stronger, and fosters a more positive image for the military throughout U.S. communities. That could provide the rationale for this mission to continue growing in an era of shrinking budgets.

In addition to youth and health programs, the National Guard has a positive impact in the community in the area of law enforcement. Law enforcement is not a new nor a non-traditional role for the Guard, the Guard is routinely called out by the governors of the states to help maintain the peace and order after natural or man-made disasters. What is new, is the use of the Guard in an on-going law enforcement role, instead of short term assistance to local law enforcement. The best example of this is the use of the National Guard to assist law enforcement in Puerto Rico. Governor Pedro J. Rossello, who promised to be tough on crime during his election campaign called out the National Guard in May, 1993 to patrol beaches, parking lots



and malls. The most controversial use of the Guard in Puerto Rico has been its use to combat drug dealers operating out of public housing projects. "Since early June, (1993) Guard units have joined police officers in more than a dozen highly publicized raids on public housing projects that the authorities said had been taken over by heavily armed drug dealers."<sup>19</sup> The results have been positive and well received by the residents of the housing projects. In February, 1994, eight months after the initial call up by the governor, Puerto Rico still had 294 Guard troops on state Active Duty orders helping the police.

In the United States, use of the regular military to assist in civil law enforcement is prohibited by the Posse Comitatus law. The Guard, which is a state organization, can legally be called out by the Governor to assist in law enforcement. It is important to understand the unique status the Guard has in law enforcement. After the Civil War, Congress passed the Posse Comitatus Act because of abuses committed in the Southern states. This Act "is a constraint placed by Congress on the use of military personnel to assist with civilian law enforcement."<sup>20</sup> The Act was amended later to include the Air Force into the language and meaning of the law. Posse Comitatus prohibits Active Duty and Reserve forces from being used in a law enforcement role within the U.S., including Puerto Rico. The National Guard, however, because it is a state militia, as set forth in Article 1 Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution can be put on state active duty orders by the

governor, and used within that state in a law enforcement role. There have been court cases contending violation of the Posse Comitatus law, a few of them after the use of Guard troops at Wounded Knee, S.D. in the 1970s. From the decisions rendered on these cases, the Governor of Puerto Rico is within his legal authority to use the Guard to help the police. In the Wounded Knee cases, use of the South Dakota National Guard was not in question, the courts just looked at the use of military equipment by the FBI and Federal marshals.<sup>21</sup> To date, Posse Comitatus has not been an issue in using the Guard in Puerto Rico.

These programs add value to America because they offer their communities opportunity. Some programs offer youth who have dropped out of school an opportunity to earn a high school equivalent diploma while learning discipline and some life skills courses like health and hygiene. Others offer youth in school understandable goals, goals they may not see, or recognize their capability to achieve, because of their economic disadvantage. The programs offer the communities some respite from crime and violence. Also, using citizen-soldiers, Guardsmen, in these roles, prevents violations of the Posse Comitatus law, and Congress is not tempted to set that law aside and use Active Duty troops for internal law enforcement. Many Americans have a very real fear of the military operating in a police role inside the U.S. borders.

### III. ROLES REQUIRING COMBAT CAPABILITY

The roles and programs discussed so far add value to America by improving life in the community. Additional non-traditional roles and missions add value by capitalizing on effective use of the Guard's combat capability in peace and war versus just in war. The role is traditional, but the use is non-traditional because the Guard participates actively in on-going missions right along with their active duty counterparts. The first role performed by the National Guard that uses combat capability is the narcotics traffic monitoring and counterdrug support missions which include ground and aerial surveillance and reconnaissance, aerial interdiction support and more. Air National Guard Tactical Control Flights deploy, with their radar equipment, to monitor aircraft flying from South America to the U.S. and ANG aircraft intercept and monitor aircraft suspected of carrying drugs. Army National Guard helicopter crews search for cultivated marijuana or other drug operations and also transport civilian law enforcement personnel to remote sites. At present, the Guard has 3723 personnel participating in 1325 operations. Congress appropriated \$237 million in FY 93 and \$177 million in FY 94 specifically for National Guard counterdrug support to law enforcement.<sup>22</sup>

The second role that uses the Guard's combat capability is the humanitarian role. Some of the recent missions are traditional uses of the

Guard, but some missions are new and non-traditional. One example of a traditional use of the Guard occurred when the water treatment plant in Des Moines, Iowa flooded this past summer. Army National Guard water purification units, using their war-time equipment, deployed to Iowa and provided purified water for residents. In December, 1993 Air National Guard units performed humanitarian missions using equipment, skills and tactics developed for war in two new, non-traditional missions, Operations Provide Promise and Restore Hope. Provide Promise is the effort, using C-130s, to get supplies to the people in Bosnia. General McPeak, in a speech to the Air War College class of 94, told of riding out of Sarajevo in an ANG C-130 that was in Sarajevo delivering supplies to that besieged city. Restore Hope is the humanitarian effort in Somalia. Guard medical personnel, airlift and air refueling crews all assisted with that effort. Guard personnel perform various humanitarian missions in Southern Command's Area of Responsibility (AOR), which includes Central and South America, including medical aid, infrastructure building and nation building. In 1993, 12,700 Guardsmen and women deployed to Central and South America to help build farm-to-market roads, renovate schools and provide medical and dental care. ANG C-130s hauled equipment and people throughout the AOR, as they have since the mid-seventies. The number of Guard personnel slated to train in the region in FY94 increases to 14,000. An article in the On Guard stated "the presence of the Guard is expected to remain steady or even grow as active military troop

levels in Southern Command dwindle."<sup>23</sup>

The third new, non-traditional role is peacekeeping. United Nations Secretary General Boutros-Ghali defines Peacekeeping as "a technique that expands the possibility for both the prevention of conflict and the making of peace."<sup>24</sup> The Army National Guard is about to take over a peacekeeping role in the Sinai Desert as part of the Multinational Force of Observers. Selected Army Guard units will deploy on a rotational basis. Which units go and when they go will be announced shortly. Supporting the Active Component with a Guard rotation is nothing new, the Air Guard has maintained a force in Panama for fifteen years rotating units in and out every fifteen days.

The final new, non-traditional role is linked with the humanitarian missions, but is closer to peace enforcement than any other role. Peace enforcement is the employment of armed forces used to keep two parties apart.<sup>25</sup> Deny Flight, Provide Comfort and Southern Watch are operations the Guard took part in recently that qualify as peace enforcement. In all of these operations, Air National Guard fighter units fly armed aircraft into the regions with specific tasks and Rules of Engagement (ROE). Deny Flight is the Bosnian operation where USAF F-16 pilots shot down four Serbian aircraft. The Guard provided aircraft and crews to relieve USAF crews in December, 1993. During that same month, Air Guard F-16s flew missions in support of Operation Provide Comfort which protects Kurds in Northern Iraq by preventing Iraqi Air Force overflight of the area. Air Guard F-4G Wild

Weasels fly an on-going mission over Southern Iraq, called Southern Watch, designed to prevent the Iraqi Air Force from bombing people in Southern Iraq that oppose Hussein. All of these missions require combat ready aircraft and crews, and use of the Guard shows that Active Duty leadership in the U.S. feel they can rely on the Guard to free the Active Component at times.

The value added to American conventional military capability by using the Guard in the counter narcotics, humanitarian, peacekeeping and peace enforcement roles manifests itself in four ways. First, the experience gained in performing these missions increases the overall capability of the individual Guard units. Second, through more effective use of its Guard units, America can reduce some defense costs. Third, this use of the Guard offers a rationale for increasing the percentage of Guard and Reserve force levels as a part of the total force. Fourth, the people, one leg of Clausewitz' paradoxical trinity, have more interest in the missions.

These roles increase military capability in Guard units because the members actually pack up and deploy the equipment, perform part of their war-time mission, and, since these missions are real, individuals have a sense of purpose and an incentive to really know and understand their assigned war-time tasks. The humanitarian missions' requirements are quite often very close to the war time job. During the water purification units' deployment to Iowa, an Arkansas Guardsman in Des Moines said, "his soldiers were doing exactly what they would do in wartime; so there is no shortage of

MOS training here."<sup>26</sup> In Mogadishu, 16 of the 21 people assigned to the Mobile Aeromedical Staging Flight that stabilized and evacuated the wounded after the battle in October, 1993 were from the Air National Guard. Flying C-130s in and out of Sarajevo in support of Provide Promise requires as much combat capability and readiness as many of the Desert Shield/Storm resupply missions. Peace enforcement offers excellent war-time task training. The Air National Guard unit from Boise, Idaho is flying their F-4Gs in support of Southern Watch. So far, they have fired two anti-radiation missiles at SAM sites that were harassing aircraft. Air National Guard A-10s supported Deny Flight over Bosnia in December, 1993 while ANG F-16s flew over Northern Iraq carrying live ordnance in support of Provide Comfort. The Tactical Control Flights are also getting real time training during their counter-narcotics operations. Although not directing intercepts, they are using the equipment and procedures to search for and find aircraft in much the same way they would in war-time. The familiarity gained with the equipment enhances war-time capability. The inhospitable temporary, remote location of these control flights approximates war-time living conditions. Building roads in the jungles of Panama is definitely an excellent form of training for Civil Engineers who need to build roads and rapidly repair runways in war-time. The Army National Guard's peacekeeping role in the Sinai will give units experience in two roles that are receiving increased interest in the U.S., peacekeeping and operating under the UN.

By using the Guard for these roles, the U.S. gets not only an increase in the capability of its Guard units, but also more effective use of those units and at a lower cost versus using only Active Duty personnel. The lower cost point is important to caveat, though. A Guard unit costs the same when in place performing one of these missions, and when the transportation costs for deployment, redeployment and rotation are added in, may even cost a little more. The savings are realized because a Guard unit, once back home costs less than an active unit that is rotated back to its home garrison. Pentagon planners contend they need three units to continuously perform one of these missions: one unit performing the mission, one unit in garrison combat ready, and the third training to regain combat ready status after rotating back from the mission. If the Guard performs one of these missions part of the time, then the active component needs some increment less than the 3:1 ratio, and lowers the overall cost. This leads right into the force structure/force mix debate.

The debate over the proper mix between the Active Component and Reserve Component, which includes the Guard, is very important in these times of reductions in forces and budgets. Congress' and the Pentagon's conclusions on the proper force structure/force mix differ, and Congress "recommended" that the Pentagon commission an independent study. The RAND Corporation studied the problem, and concluded in part, that an active/reserve mix cannot be set until the U.S. defines "its future military posture and our



place in the world."<sup>27</sup> The Guard helps Congress answer the force mix question by volunteering for these roles and missions. That means, Congress realizes the U.S. can choose between using only Active Duty personnel or a mix of Active Duty and Guard personnel for different roles or missions. The Guard is a force that is normally civilian, but one that can be called on to assist in humanitarian, peacekeeping or other efforts. All of the roles and missions described in this paper are or were performed by volunteers. That is, no one was ordered to active duty via a call up showing that the Guard will perform these missions when asked. Another aspect to the force mix debate is that America, until the start of the Cold War, had not had a large standing army - relying instead on its citizen-soldiers. By adequately performing these roles and missions, the Guard allows America to go back toward those roots of not having a large standing army. The man on the street's desire for a peace dividend after the Cold war is not unlike the framers of the Constitution who were against a large standing army.

There are however, potential problems. The Army National Guard is heavy into the combat role as opposed to combat support or combat service support. The Army's primary mission is to fight and win wars and ARNG leadership probably prefers the combat role. However, many of the states need other than combat troops for some of the various roles described. For instance, Military Police, a combat support element, would be much better trained to handle problems like riots or an operation like the one being

conducted in Puerto Rico.

In the Air National Guard, the former chief of the ANG, M/G Phil Killey explained this very same point, units' roles versus needed roles, very well when he told the fighter pilots at my ANG unit that the future is in the airlift and refueling mission not in flying fighters. Both of these missions have humanitarian capability and are essential to a one major regional conflict (MRC) contingency. ANG fighters seldom fit a humanitarian role and most likely won't be needed in a one major regional conflict scenario. The Bottom Up Review calls for ten fighter wings in a one MRC, well within the USAF's thirteen fighter wing equivalents planned for in the future years' force structure. The Army Guard leadership, the U.S. Army and Congress need to address this same fact.

The fourth value the Guard gives to America by performing these roles and missions is a link between the government and the people. Clausewitz in On War describes a "paradoxical trinity" which has three aspects that need to be in balance. Of the three aspects, one "concerns the people, the second the commander and his army; the third the government."<sup>28</sup> Clausewitz also states, "A theory that ignores any one of them or seeks to fix an arbitrary relationship between them would conflict with reality to such an extent that for this reason alone it would be totally useless."<sup>29</sup> When the government uses the Guard in the described roles, the people are involved in the process to fight or provide humanitarian aid or peacekeep from the outset

and show their support or lack of support for the policy. Support of the populace is crucial. The decision on Desert Shield/Storm passed in Congress by a narrow margin reflecting popular support at the time. Polls showed no erosion in support for Desert Shield after the President called up members of the Guard and Reserve in the Fall of 1990.<sup>30</sup> Lewis Sorley, in his biography of Gen. Creighton Abrams, argues that one of the mistakes made in Viet Nam was in not calling up the Guard and Reserve, and thereby not getting the support of the people, or definite lack of support right away.<sup>31</sup> Use of the Guard keeps the balance between the people, the government and the military and is maybe the most important value the Guard adds to America.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

In a recent interview, LTG John B Conaway, the retiring Chief of the National Guard Bureau, said the Guard has "customers to serve." For the external missions, the customers are the United States Army and the United States Air Force. Internally, "our customer is the governors and the communities within the states."<sup>32</sup> If the Guard satisfies these customers, then the Guard adds "value to America."<sup>33</sup> The Guard adds value to America through youth programs that offer educational goals and the means to achieve some of those goals with programs like Challenge, Starbase and the others;

through health care programs, such as Guardcare, that offer medical services to needy communities, and training for Guard personnel in their war-time role; through law enforcement assistance that aids the community and provides training for Guard personnel; through humanitarian missions that frequently require the Guard's combat capability; and through peacekeeping and peace enforcing missions that do require combat capability. Two of the new programs, youth programs and the health care program, were specifically addressed in the Bottom Up Review.<sup>34</sup> The Guard has the ability to help this country at this time and in a way that is beneficial to the communities and individual citizens as well as to national security. Therefore, whatever the roles the Guard is tasked for in the future, it is in the best interest of this nation to have the Guard active in promoting peace both in and out of the country, and by performing these roles, the Guard will add value to America.

<sup>1</sup> Donahue, Dan. Briefing to ANG Senior Commanders Conference. Washington, D.C. November 1993

<sup>2</sup> IBID

<sup>3</sup> Hoffman, John (NGB/PA). Telephone Interview 25 February 1994.

<sup>4</sup> IBID

<sup>5</sup> Winerip, Michael. "A military style camp for tough teen-agers measures success by the numbers." The New York Times 22 December 1993:B7

<sup>6</sup> Winerip, Michael. "Military regimen for teen-age dropouts." The New York Times 11 August 1993:A1

<sup>7</sup> Peterson, Dr. Douglas. Telephone Interview 2 December 1993.

<sup>8</sup> Winfield, Walter Jr. "Don't Rob Schools To Pay For Boot Camps." NY Times 18 August 1993: A18.

<sup>9</sup> Peterson, Dr Douglas, Telephone Interview 2 December 1993.

<sup>10</sup> Winerip, Michael. "A military style camp for tough teen-agers measures success by the numbers." The New York Times 22 December 1993:B7

<sup>11</sup> Professor says boot camps not a solution to crime." Sioux City Journal 20 December 1993:A2.

<sup>12</sup> Winerip, Michael. "Military regimen for teen-age dropouts." The New York Times 11 August 1993:A1

<sup>13</sup> Donahue, Dan. Briefing to ANG Senior Commanders Conference, Washington, D.C. November, 1993.

<sup>14</sup> Graham, Vickie M CMSgt. "Beyond the Program." Airman February 1994:34

<sup>15</sup> Donahue, Dan.

<sup>16</sup> IBID.

<sup>17</sup> IBID.

<sup>18</sup> Graham, Vickie M CMSgt.

- <sup>19</sup> Rother, Larry. "National Guard Joins Puerto Rico Police on Beat as Crime Rises." NY Times 28 July 1993:A7.
- <sup>20</sup> Nance, Ronald D.R. "The Posse Comitatus Act: A study of restrictions on military enforcement of civil law." Diss. Sacramento, 1984:2
- <sup>21</sup> Nance, Ronald D.R:p68
- <sup>22</sup> Williams, Scott SSgt. "NGB/CD Information Paper." 25 March 1994.
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- <sup>24</sup> Boutros Boutros-Gahli. "An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping" New York: United Nations 1992:11, 28-31.
- <sup>25</sup> Snow, Donald M. "Peacekeeping, Peacemaking and Peace-Enforcement: The U.S. Role in the New International Order." Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College. 1992:15-18.
- <sup>26</sup> Bowman, PFC Angela, et. al. "The Flood of '93." National Guard September 1993: 14-20.
- <sup>27</sup> National Defense Research Institute. "Assessing the structure and Mix of Future Active and Reserve Forces: Final Report to the secretary of Defense." RAND Corp. Santa Monica, Ca. 1992:291.
- <sup>28</sup> Von Clausewitz, Carl. On War. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J. 1976:89.
- <sup>29</sup> IBID.
- <sup>30</sup> "Buildup to War: American Opinion on Events in the Persian Gulf, January, 1991." Gallup Poll Monthly. No 304:2-35 January, 1991:11.
- <sup>31</sup> Sorley, Lewis. Thunderbolt. Simon and Schuster, New York 1992:361.
- <sup>32</sup> "LtGen John B. Conaway Chief of the National Guard Bureau retires with lessons learned and future thoughts": interview. National Guard 47 no.10 October 1993:48
- <sup>33</sup> IBID

<sup>34</sup> United States Department of Defense. Bottom Up Review Washington: GPO, 1993: 83.