



Major General Edward R. Fry, President, NGAUS

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

THE NATIONAL GUARD AND THE NATION'S FOREIGN POLICY

The serious purpose of the 104th NGAUS General Conference is to examine the role of the National Guard as a component of the *foreign policy* of the United States. At first glance, this may appear to be a somewhat high-flown notion. But there is an irresistible logic to the proposition, and we look forward with a sense of anticipation to the dialogue.

As is customary at an NGAUS General Conference, presentations will be made by an array of gifted experts representing the services, the Department of Defense, the Congress and the Executive Branch. It will, of course, be interesting to see how the speakers respond to the challenge of the subject. We thought that this would be a good opportunity to put the subject into perspective for our membership.

There are few military options of any consequence that the U.S. can exercise in the defense of freedom (and in the conventional warfare area, we should hasten to add) that do not involve some measure of reliance upon Guard and Reserve forces. The nation's military leaders have made no secret of this fact.

But how about maintaining the peace?

We are taught that the primary purpose of military force is to provide a deterrent to war. By being sufficiently strong it should be possible to convince a potential enemy that he will be bloodied in the worst possible way if his chooses to fight.

We subscribe to this viewpoint, and we believe that this is a view sustained by a majority of Americans. It is an outgrowth of the manner of diplomacy encouraged by the inimitable Teddy Roosevelt who coined the phrase: "Walk softly but carry a big stick."

But the more we have thought about this subject, the more convinced we have become that there is still another phase in the process of maintaining the peace. This is the phase in which would-be foes and allies alike must

be convinced of the nation's resolve.

It is our contention that having a strong and able Army and Air National Guard provides a U.S. president with an important blue chip. At one time it was postulated that European allies would read our steadfastness as allies in terms of our willingness to maintain a draft. Today what is far more important to Europeans and other allies is the potential rapid mobilization and deployment capability, which is inherent in the National Guard system.

As we look forward to the 104th General Conference, scheduled to take place at San Juan, Puerto Rico, September 20-22, we are reminded that it will be very close to the 20th anniversary of the return from active duty of the Army and Air National Guardsmen who served in the Berlin Crisis. It is frequently recalled that the late President John F. Kennedy characterized the mobilization as a callup "to prevent a war, not to fight one."

In 1965, a book was published that was never quite a best-seller. *The Penkovsky Papers* resulted from papers smuggled out to the west by a Russian war hero who grew to hate the Soviet regime, Colonel Oleg Penkovsky. The *Papers* were a remarkable mint for the U.S. intelligence community and publication of his efforts as a volunteer agent came about only after Penkovsky was arrested, convicted and shot in Moscow in the spring of 1963.

The British expert on Soviet affairs, Edward Crankshaw, who wrote a foreword for the *Papers*, makes an important point, which bears upon the subject of this column. Crankshaw notes that "in reading the *Papers* it is interesting to confirm how an announced increase in the U.S. military budget or a call-up of reserves has a quick, sobering effect on 'adventurist' tendencies in Moscow." (Emphasis added). This was written, of course, when the Berlin mobilization was still fresh in

Russian minds.

It suggests, for example, that having called-up Army and Air National Guard forces at the time of the Berlin Crisis in 1961, the U.S. president's hand was unquestionably strengthened when the Cuban Missile Crisis occurred in 1962. By this time, the Soviet leadership was convinced that the president could—and would, if necessary—call up Guard and Reserve forces to insure U.S. ability to back-up its foreign policy stance.

There are powerful economic, psychological and cultural factors involved in a mobilization of Guard and Reserve forces. The impact of mobilization ripples throughout a nation. It makes an impact throughout the communities of the nation. It is never a course of action to be taken lightly. Because it is never taken lightly, an enemy can only conclude that a president's willingness to go to this step reflects his serious purpose and the nation's commitment.

There is, of course, one unstated fly in the ointment. The willingness of a president to mobilize the Guard, to expand forces to wartime strength for possible employment, is only effective if the Guard is viewed by the enemy as a respected military force. Within our own resources we can recruit, organize and train. But to be the truly credible force that a president needs to help him maintain a foreign policy with teeth in it, we must be equipped and structured to fight on the modern battlefield. And that is why, no matter how far ranging the discussion of the National Guard as an aspect of the nation's foreign policy, we can never really stray too far from our top NGAUS priority of achieving the full combat readiness of the Guard—the goal of a fully-equipped force with the same weapons systems and the same command, control and communications capability that is found in the active forces.

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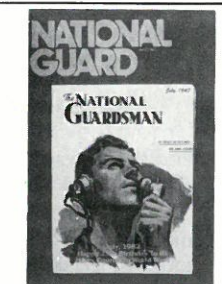
Listening is something we do more than talking or sleeping, yet is one of the least emphasized areas of military management.

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In 1917, 65 years ago, 1st Lieutenant Harry S. Truman was mobilized with his artillery battery in the Missouri National Guard: a first-person story of Truman's service and the author's, too.

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COVER: In 1947, leaders of the National Guard Association of the United States started a magazine, THE NATIONAL GUARDSMAN. This was the first cover, which Colonel Allan G. Crist (ret.), the founding editor, recalls in his article was borrowed from the National Guard Bureau's recruiting advertising.

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