



# EDITORIAL

## THE TOTAL FORCE POLICY VERSUS THE DRAFT

There is no question that the demographics surrounding military recruiting and retention are a serious problem for the next eight or 10 years. Each year, the number of young people between the ages of 18 and 25 declines until 1992, when it bottoms out. There is a slight rise then through the middle of the 1990s until the mini-baby boom of the mid-1970s comes into play, returning the United States to approximately the situation of the middle 1980s.

As we have seen in connection with enactment of the New GI Bill, the competition for the attention of young people ages of 18 to 25 between now and 1995 will be intense. There simply aren't enough young men to fill the needs of the military as well as the "needs" of higher education.

Institutions of higher education already are gearing up for a big recruiting drive in order to keep their classrooms full and their operations humming at an efficient pace. Similarly, the military has seen that its ability to attract high school graduates as first-term enlistees will depend on successfully appealing to a shrinking pool of available young people for the next decade.

Some worriers have begun to murmur that it is time to return to the draft to obtain our military manpower needs. We disagree.

The draft advocates come to their conclusion from a variety of directions. The newest one, associated with the budget problems caused by Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, concludes we can't afford the all-volunteer force (AVF) anymore. Others conclude that the all-volunteer military doesn't appeal to and doesn't enlist many members of the middle and upper classes, and thus is discriminatory. Those who benefit from freedom should defend it, they say. Still others conclude that the Gates Commission of 1970, which originally recommended repeal of conscription, was wrong in its conclusions.

□ **We can't afford the all-volun-**

**teer force.** There is no question that there is a cost associated with a voluntary military. Pay has been raised dramatically for lower-ranking enlisted personnel in the past 15 years. It used to be, for example, that a new private made less than \$100 a month. It is incorrect to say, however, that military pay raises have not been provided by Congress in sufficient size to fill our ranks. In fact, the 1981 pay raise made up for the caps that had been imposed during the Carter Administration for reasons having nothing to do with saving money.

Draft advocates then argue that if we went back to low wages for lower-ranking enlisted men, and drafted them, we would get—by and large—"unattached" men who wouldn't have families to house or support. However, those who have put the pencil to this calculation question the extent of these savings, if any. Any draft-motivated recruitment would involve a substantial increase in the training base because of the more rapid turnover.

And it is erroneous to assume that military compensation will be reduced at all above the rank of E-4 or O-2. If you are to retain NCOs for a career—or anyone beyond his initial obligation—you can't pay them next to nothing.

□ **A lower-class military.** Draft advocates like Professor Charles Moskos of Northwestern University argue that a draft would produce a more democratic military because it would draw from the lower, middle and upper classes equally. Of course, this is generally not the history of conscription in the United States. It was not true at all until we adopted a lottery system late in the Vietnam era. Prior to that, college and occupational deferments were widely utilized to avoid service. During the Civil War, those who could afford it could "buy" a substitute for service. Many did.

It is intellectually attractive to argue that the burdens of freedom should be shared by all, and that all Americans

should be prepared to defend the freedoms from which they benefit. However, rather than a draft, we would argue that a better way of obtaining the military service of the sons of the middle and upper classes is the New GI Bill. This is particularly true if other types of federal educational assistance continue to be phased out.

Such utilization of the New GI Bill is particularly an argument we in the Guard should make because service in the Guard can be combined with enrollment in college.

□ **Was the Gates Commission wrong?** Some draft advocates now are asserting it was: that we can't afford the AVF, that it contains too many minorities, that it won't produce the required military manpower in time, that it has produced a military elite more likely to get us into war, that insufficient men will volunteer and that the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines are too small to support the nation's foreign policy.

When you peel all the layers off these various arguments, what you eventually get is that last one: the Army is too small. Those making that point invariably are talking about the active Army, not the Total Army. They are implicitly attacking the validity or the success of the Total Force Policy.

Further, they usually don't know or won't concede that any future conflict will be fought with the Guard and Reserve alongside the active components from the first day. They don't know that nearly all Guard units would be in-theater between 30 and 60 days after mobilization. Some would be there within a week. All the Air Guard would be deployed within three days. Many Guardsmen will be in combat before regulars.

The real question is: Was the Total Force Policy wrong? To come out where they do, the advocates of a return to the military draft have to conclude that the Total Force Policy has failed. Of course, they don't exactly say that. But we can't agree.

*National Guard*

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## FEATURES

### "Twilight's Last Gleaming" 16

The City of Baltimore was and is the only United States city actually to be defended by its citizenry in wartime. It also was the battle that inspired Francis Scott Key to write those famed words that today are our National Anthem.

### Guardsmen Ski to International Victory 21

An All-Guard team of world champion skiers surprised Alpi military skiers and the active Army by being the first U.S. team to win the bronze at an international contest. While at home, National Guardsmen competed for honors at the Guard Biathlon Competition.

### The War Against Drugs Never Ends 24

Several years ago state governors realized the anti-drug capabilities they had within their National Guard flying units. While Guardsmen train for their federal missions, they also are visual patrollers for the governors against illegal drug crops and shipments.

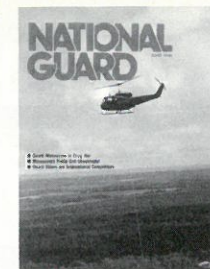
### Checkmate on the Arctic Circle DEW Line 30

With new F-4Ds and a new mission, the 148th Fighter Interceptor Group, Minnesota Air Guard, finds itself the watchdog of the nation's most northern defense mission. A special Arctic test flight strengthened the round-the-clock alert mission to the Arctic Circle.

### D.C.'s Detachment One Accepts New C-22 34

Detachment One, District of Columbia Air Guard, accepts first commercial T-7s for its air transport mission after several years of flying the T-43. After full overhauls of the four aircraft, the "new" C-22s will serve the DC National Guard and the National Guard Bureau.

*June 1986*



## COVER:

A Hawaii Army Guard helicopter slings a marijuana plant during Operation GREEN HARVEST conducted annually as part of the state's marijuana eradication program to which the Hawaii Guard supports. Photo, 117th PAD, HIARNG. Design, Johnson Design Group.

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