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NEW MISSIONS AND STRATEGIES FOR DEVELOPING MILITARY LEADERSHIP OF THE FUTURE

BY

Commander Gary M. McKinley
United States Navy

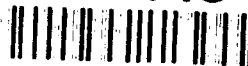
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19. Abstract

Each day, newspapers, radio and television describe serious concerns regarding youth development and growing societal pressures on young people in every aspect of their lives. Public frustration continues to mount with the prospect that conditions are worsening for a majority of our youth. Hopes for young people entering adulthood with the skills and ability necessary to stand against international competition in the marketplace or on the battlefield appear bleak unless action is taken immediately. But what action is needed?

Although the impact of declining quality in youth development has been discussed in some detail by the media, the consequences of these trends on the nation's security via the All-Volunteer military force have escaped serious discussion. Possibly because an all-volunteer force is relatively new to current generations of Americans, the fact that the military competes with industry for a shrinking percentage of top-quality people has been lost amid domestic concerns for improvement in the nation's human capital.

With a view toward future effectiveness of a smaller, highly technical and sophisticated military, the quality of the All-Volunteer force will be the ultimate determiner for success in conflict at sea, in the air and on the battlefield of tomorrow. This paper focuses on current conditions that influence the quality of America's youth, correlates these issues with their effect on a modern military and proposes new strategy and missions for the Department of Defense that could improve the quality of volunteer candidates and at the same time enhance the utility of the military in the service of the country.

USAWC MILITARY STUDIES PROGRAM PAPER

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NEW MISSIONS AND STRATEGY FOR DEVELOPING
MILITARY LEADERSHIP OF THE FUTURE

AN INDIVIDUAL STUDY PROJECT

by

Commander Gary M. McKinley
United States Navy

Dr. Herbert F. Barber
Project Advisor

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ABSTRACT

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Each day, newspapers, radio and television describe serious concerns regarding youth development and growing societal pressures on young people in every aspect of their lives. Public frustration continues to mount with the prospect that conditions are worsening for a majority of our youth. Hopes for young people entering adulthood with the skills and ability necessary to stand against international competition in the marketplace or on the battlefield appear bleak unless action is taken immediately. But what action is needed?

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PART I - INTRODUCTION: The Threat to the Future Military

"The quality of our human capital is central to the nation's competitiveness in the international market place, its military preparedness, and its leadership of the free world."¹

Dr. Harrison Shull

*Final Report: CNO Task Force
on Personal Excellence and
National Security*

Because of dramatic social, political and technological changes in the nation over the last 20 years, steadily declining quality in young people seriously affects the capability of the military now, more than ever. In a smaller, more technologically advanced military, high quality talent will be critically needed by all services. Both officer and enlisted entrants to military service will be required to assume duties of remarkable complexity in an environment of continuously advancing technology. Problem solving and cognitive skill are more important than ever and will continue to be critical in the future.

Unfortunately, the forecast for sufficient numbers of quality young people to meet military requirements is poor. Domestic trends for the year 2015 predict that despite a smaller military force the increase of applicants for military service may not have the requisite quality to meet the needs of modern armed services.²

Although the impact of declining quality in youth development has been highlighted in some detail by the media, the consequences of these trends for the nation's security via the All-Volunteer military force have escaped serious discussion. Possibly because an all-volunteer force is relatively new to current generations of Americans, the fact that the military competes with industry for a shrinking percentage of top-quality people has been lost amid domestic concerns for improvement overall in the nation's human capital.

Recent findings suggest that the decline in the number of young people with quality attributes for military service (the "prime market") are outpacing the national decline in the number of young people in general. This means that recruiting will likely be more difficult, and expensive, for the military.³

Concern for the quality of military volunteers is not new and has been encountered before by the U.S. Army. Attempts during the post-Civil War period to attract better educated and more capable men by the All-Volunteer recruiting force of the "Old Army" failed due to lack of resources and Congressional reluctance to compete with industry for the "best and the brightest."⁴ By the 1930's, manpower management policies emphasized quantity over quality and remained relatively unchanged until the 1980's with the re-adoption of the All-Volunteer Force. By this time, during the Reagan years, the technological edge of weaponry, and the skill to operate it, became key components of the nation's security strategy and remain so today.⁵ The importance of quality in America's youth is therefore critical in meeting defense needs.

If current recruiting policies for the military become inadequate, the nation may be confronted with the option to discard the All-Volunteer concept for some form of national service. Since no political party or candidate is advocating this strategy, it is safe to assume that such a proposal would not be considered favorably by Congress or the public at this time.⁶ On the other hand, the option to simply "take what we can get" creates a far greater problem in the long term for the military. The prospect of creating a "military caste" has already received significant attention during Desert Shield/Desert Storm. This concern was predicted by General A. J. Goodpaster when he said,

"Americans would not tolerate a military force that did not emanate from and reflect the breadth of American society and the ideals that animated it."⁷

These complicated dynamics suggest a new strategy is necessary to improve and sustain high quality in American youth for service in the nation's military.

The Way Ahead.

The imperatives for swift, positive action to assure the quality of American youth for military service have far reaching significance for the security of the nation. This paper will provide a brief summary of the critical issues affecting the nation's youth followed by discussions on military needs, historical precedence and current

missions. It will conclude with proposals for a Department of Defense strategy to develop human capital "fit to fight" in a modern military force while, at the same time, enhancing the utility of the military in the domestic service of the country.

PART II - Current and Future Demographic Issues

"If an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre education performance that exists today, we might well have viewed it as an act of war. As it stands, we have allowed this to happen to ourselves. We have even squandered the gains in student achievement made in the wake of the SPUTNIK challenge. Moreover, we have dismantled essential support systems which helped make those gains possible. We have, in effect, been committing an act of unthinking, unilateral educational disarmament."

*President's National Commission
on Excellence in Education
A Nation at Risk*

In a world of growing sophistication and complexity, the quality of education and development in America is fundamentally important for the nation's continuance as a world leader. On this point, society as a whole is responsible for producing people with intellectual, physical, and moral attributes suitably developed for this challenge. Considering the enormous task involved, clarity of vision and sound reasoning will be needed to make positive

improvements for the future.

The State of Education in America.

America's international prestige, once founded upon a well-educated, literate population, is now the subject of public question and concern. Almost everyone agrees that the current situation must change for the better - and soon. In 1989, a survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center indicated that 70 percent of those surveyed felt that America was spending too little on improving the nation's education system.⁹ From this statistic, the majority of Americans would agree that investment in education is the primary vehicle for developing human capital. Transmitting knowledge with speed and efficiency governs the rate at which human capital can be developed.¹⁰

Schools are currently so overburdened with correcting "social ills" that the basic mission for the education system (teaching) is impossible to achieve. Restoring conditions conducive to learning has become increasingly difficult. Under mounting pressure to accept new responsibilities for youth development, the school systems are burdened with programs in drug awareness, value judgement, discipline, health and many other areas that detract from the purpose of the education system.¹¹

Evidence of deficiencies in the present system are not hard to find. In explaining the current saturation of Vo-Tech institutions in Pennsylvania, Richard Burley, Director of Vo-Tech Education in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania said,

"Existing vo-tech schools are jammed to capacity, even while area high schools are at the low ebb of the 'baby bust' cycle...It really deals with the technical aspects of business and industry, which are just not being met now."¹²

Comparing the literacy rate in the United States with that of the nearest international competition is revealing. In 1851, the United States had a literacy rate of 90 percent compared to that of 66 percent for Great Britain, then our most serious world competitor. In 1988, Japan boasted a literacy rate of 95 percent while the United States could muster only 80 percent with minimum literacy skill.¹³

The National Education Association's "National Assessment of Educational Programs" reported in 1991 that only 15 percent of fourth graders, 18 percent of eighth graders, and 16 percent of twelfth graders could meet minimum standards of competency in standardized testing.¹⁴ As technology increases and society's needs become more complex, the skills of young people must keep pace. This requires immediate steps to increase the effectiveness of the education system to meet higher standards of academic achievement.

Because of shortfalls by the education system in meeting the needs of the civilian business sector, a high school diploma has not retained the value that it once had for getting a job. As a result, the military may be the only major consumer of the education system that emphasizes a high school education as a pre-requisite for membership.¹⁵ Unfortunately, in 1989, 24 percent of the U.S. Navy's high school graduates tested below the ninth grade reading level.¹⁶

The Pressure of Poverty.

Compounding systemic problems in the educational process are pressures outside the classroom that adversely affect all aspects of development. Poverty, deprivation and a widening intellectual gap frustrate simple solutions for improving human capital. One out of four members of the Class of 2000, are currently living in poverty. Most of these homes are headed by single parents who possess limited education and skill themselves and have little hope for improving their condition during the life of the child.¹⁷

In a growing minority population that reflects these conditions more densely, pressures on basic institutions, including the military, will increase. The gloomy forecast suggests a continued industrial based economy with a "prosperous minority and an impoverished majority". The lower classes will grow (particularly in numbers of Hispanics), increasingly urbanized and in a never ending spiral of declining standard of living.¹⁸

Physical Fitness.

The physical well-being and health of young people that grow up under adverse conditions are critical factors affecting the nation's human capital. Depending on a youth population that is "fit to fight", the military will find it difficult to obtain people who are qualified to undergo the physical training for combat. In 1964, about 16 percent of American youth were expected to be unqualified for military service.¹⁹ Based on a 1986 analysis of national data

collected between 1970 and 1980, these estimates were revised to 18.3 percent for male candidates and 41.4 percent for females.²⁰ In 1984, 30 percent of entrants to the U.S. Naval Academy failed initial fitness tests. Nineteen percent of applicants failed fitness tests for Navy Officer Candidate School in 1985.²⁰

Moral Fitness.

Deprived of basic skills in education and suffering from the stress of poor living conditions, a growing number of young people are also lacking traditional values that are important for military as well as civilian endeavor. In examining the effect of societal pressures on the moral virtues needed by the military, trends show that juveniles account for about one-third of all serious crime such as murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, arson and auto theft. Nearly 2 million children under the age of 18 are arrested annually and the percentages of teenage arrests for serious crimes is increasing each year.²¹

For many of these young people, the concept of a future that holds promise is obscured by the poverty, deprivation and unhealthy conditions in which they live. Values are measured in terms of the immediate future. They are "ready to live - or die - for today".²²

Personal values are marginally affected by education. Beginning with early development in grade school, morals and principles are formed that could last a lifetime. Aware of declining standards in values and ethics, many school systems have attempted to take on this teaching as a new role. Regardless of initial success, it would be

at least five years before any improvements could be expected.

PART III - Military Needs and Perspectives for the Future

*"...the increasing complexity of new systems being deployed by the services poses a special challenge to personnel accession programs by requiring a supply of high quality recruits to use and maintain the increasingly sophisticated equipment."*²⁴

General Colin Powell

National Military Strategy Directive

(FY 94 - FY 99)

As demographics change and powerful social trends unfold, the needs and requirements of the military are also changing. Meeting demands for high quality people to serve in modern armed forces may be a significant recruiting challenge for the future.

Recruiting for Quality.

As stated by General Powell in 1991, there is a serious need for high quality people in a modern military force. Operation Desert Storm demonstrated the devastating speed and lethality of weapon systems currently in the U. S. arsenal. These weapons and future systems of even more killing power will require clear thinking, cognitive men and women in the military. The imperatives for "quality" were more eloquently expressed by General Sir John Hackett in The Profession of Arms (1983) when he said,

"The greater the danger, and the more urgently it threatens, the higher the quality of person required in the profession, and the greater the need for confidence between the soldier and the society he serves."²⁵

In the recruiting business, "quality" has specific meaning. The military's "prime market" is composed of "high quality" young people between 17 and 21 years of age. They have high school diplomas, score in the upper half on the Armed Forces Qualification Test (AFQT) and are physically and morally qualified for military service.²⁶ This market is eight times more difficult and expensive to win than the lowest mental group category and five times more expensive than recruiting non-high school graduates who are "quality" recruits in all other aspects.²⁷ This is an important factor in meeting the demands of a modern, more capable armed force for the future.

High Technology Requirements.

Trends in requirements for increasingly higher quality can be observed in data for the last several years. Since 1989, the U.S. Navy's quality requirements have increased four percent. This supports forecasts that a declining military budget, driven toward a smaller force structure, will be increasingly dependent on high technology weaponry.²⁸

The Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower and Personnel) calculated service requirements for skilled and semi-skilled personnel. The following compares current percentages

of high quality personnel with requirements for the end of the century²⁹:

	<u>31 Dec 1990</u>	<u>Future Requirements</u>
NAVY	56.6%	81%
USAF	72.3%	76%
ARMY	52.2%	59%
USMC	61.1%	55%

These high quality requirements define 90 percent of the costs for recruiting.³⁰ Even without a significant reduction in the military budget, the costs of winning the best young people will likely increase dramatically.

Smarter Systems Versus Smarter People.

If high quality recruits are more difficult to find, or too expensive to reach, combat systems might be designed to compensate for deficiencies in the personnel that may operate these weapons. A study of tank crew performance based on AFQT scores was completed indicating possibly significant results. Using one crew with better AFQT scores than the other, operational performance in the M-60 tank was measurably improved for the crew with the higher AFQT scores. In a "smarter" M-1A1 tank, the difference between the performance of the two crews was negligible. However, if the M-1A1 tank was less than fully operational, the capabilities of the crew with the lower AFQT's declined dramatically.³¹

From this study, it would appear possible that increased expenditures in weapon system design will effectively offset the inadequacies of lower quality personnel. Unfortunately, this advantage can only be achieved with a commitment to steadily rising design costs as the ability to win recruits from the prime market erodes. Regardless of "smarter" weapons systems and advances in modular assembly, the military will need to rely on people who are "skilled, cognitive-capable problem solvers" in addition to having personal virtues that permit entrusting them with weapons of enormous lethality.³²

Impacts on Training and Readiness.

Far more importantly, lower quality recruits significantly affect overall readiness. Studies by the U.S. Air Force have correlated AFQT scores with the amount of time needed for an individual to attain job proficiency. In today's military, recruits scoring below 37 (about the tenth grade level) require approximately 36 months to become job qualified. This fact is important when compared to those recruits scoring 69 or above on the AFQT who require an average of only 12 months to qualify in their job specialty.³³

These statistics by the Air Force suggest that high school graduates are often not prepared for post-secondary education and training. This is a distressing phenomenon also recognized by colleges. Educators state that many first year students require significant remedial work prior to proceeding to any college level

curriculum which lengthens the time necessary to acquire a degree.³⁴

Remedial Education.

In lieu of competing with business and industry for the prime market, the choice of remediation is one option available to the military. These types of programs are necessary to compensate for educational deficiencies in recruits prior to proceeding into specialized skill training. So far, such programs have proven expensive and insufficient in handling the number of recruits that are unprepared for job training.

The U.S. Navy initiated the Job Oriented Basic Skills (JOBS) Program in 1977. The purpose of this program is to "upgrade literacy and job-related skills". JOBS was designed to train individuals who do not meet minimum requirements for completing initial skill training.³⁵ In addition to this initiative, the Navy developed the Fundamental Applied Skills Training (FAST) Program to provide basic reading and study skills. The purpose of FAST is to enable recruits not capable of performing at or above the tenth grade level to gain sufficient skill to progress to more advanced skill training.³⁶ Recent data from the Navy indicates that the output of these programs is about half the Navy's requirement. If recruit quality continues to decline, this problem will worsen especially in the face of shrinking budgets.³⁷

The U.S. Navy Fiscal Year 1994 recruiting budget is programmed to contract 47 percent of its recruits in the "high quality" level - less than that for 1990 (see previous statistics). If this funding

is sustained, the Navy will need \$1.3 billion in additional funds to train and develop deficient personnel in high technology skills necessary for the future.³⁸ In light of these trends, the impact on a modern military is significant: there is a widening gap between the quality of U.S. weapon systems and the qualifications of recruits able to use this sophisticated hardware.³⁹

Effects on Demographics in the Military.

Demographic trends in the youth population are important factors affecting the armed forces particularly in tailoring recruiting policies that focus on quality. Before opting to increase lower quality accessions, the military and the public must consider the consequences of such a choice. Former Secretary of the Navy, John Lehman observed,

"We have seen a kind of professional military cadre evolve, very fine, very professional, but more and more detached from the society at large...This is not a good development. It is a significant shift in the way we have historically maintained our common defense in eras past."⁴⁰

Conditions previously discussed suggest that lower quality recruits are more densely populated by a growing number of disadvantaged minorities. Public concerns surfaced during Operation Desert Storm regarding the disproportionate number of minorities in the military. Because minorities, in general, score lower on the

Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB), the over-representation of minorities in low skill specialties has resulted in a subtle segregation within the services.⁴¹ If trends such as this continue, declining morale, racial unrest and growing polarization from the mainstream of the American public are likely to result.

PART IV - Historical Perspectives for Consideration of Expanded Roles

*"If those bearing arms act in ways not consonant with the interests of the constituted authority, if they usurp its powers or dominate it, or in important ways put their own interests first, we have militarism. The proposition that militarism is suicidal has been described by Toynbee as 'almost a truism'."*⁴²

General Sir John Hackett

The Profession of Arms

This paper argues for increased military involvement in the domestic arena. This involvement in domestic affairs is often stated as inconsistent with the primary mission of armed forces - combat. Contrary to many beliefs, much of American history is well documented with important domestic contributions by the military in domestic roles while sustaining the capability for responding to armed conflict. As Hackett suggests, the military professional's instincts to prepare for war are often in conflict with priorities determined by the authority that he serves.

The "Old Army".

Since Thomas Jefferson, the Army has represented a national resource of multi-dimensional capabilities. In the late 1700's, the military was assigned responsibilities in a broad spectrum of domestic areas. Prominent leaders such as "Mad Anthony" Wayne believed that "troops must assume the appearance of and feel themselves soldiers."⁴³ Still, the public's need for a safe frontier, as well as the necessary infrastructure for the general well-being, were the responsibilities of the Army. In a wide ranging assortment of functions, the Army became responsible for community building projects, road construction, public safety, law and order and education.

Although maintaining the combat readiness of troops in addition to providing for the public welfare was a constant concern for leaders such as Wayne, Zachary Taylor, Winfield Scott and others, they performed these duties with characteristic thoroughness and efficiency. Recognizing the need for greater expertise in areas of domestic support, the Army established the Corps of Engineers and the Chaplain's Corps.

Commenting on the role of the military in a democracy, Major Decius Wadsworth wrote to a northwestern newspaper in 1802:

"By proposing improvements in fortification adapted to the nature and circumstances of our country, and in various other ways we keep alive the attention of the Secretary of War and Administration, convince them that we are not spending our time

in idleness and so stimulate them to allow us what will be necessary to serve the public with full advantage and effect..."⁴⁴

Peacetime incorporation of military talent was formalized in 1824 with the General Survey Act which permitted the use of officers in large-scale internal developments, primarily engineering projects.⁴⁵ Frontier posts were organized to provide funds for education. Chaplains were provided in 1838 with the dual responsibility for attending to the spiritual needs of the garrison and the educational program in the community. Officers and enlisted personnel were paid a supplement to their salaries for teaching when alternatives were not available.⁴⁶

Subsequent to the Civil War, the "Old Army" returned to constabulary duties and peacetime responsibilities. Reconstruction, assimilation of the Indians, and providing for the general well being and safety of the expanding nation became the burdens of the Army. Concerned with rapidly increasing domestic demands on the military, Army Inspector General George Croghan warned of over-commitment to non-soldierly endeavor in the 1840's by reporting that soldiers were becoming "the pack horses of the public, upon whose backs everything of an offensive carriage is to be plied."⁴⁷

These comments withstanding, throughout the remainder of the 19th Century, the U.S. Army continued an active public role. This supports the opinion of some that the "isolation" of the Army, often cited during this period, was probably inaccurate. Military leadership represented a highly progressive component of society that

was deeply involved in public service, education and government.⁴⁸

Post-World War I

In 1933, the Administration assigned the War Department lead responsibilities for the supervision of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). In response, the War Department mobilized for the CCC more rapidly than for the selection and deployment of men at the beginning of World War I. Under overall supervision of the U.S. Army, all services participated in the success of the CCC. Achieving wide-spread public support and confidence, a weakened peacetime military revitalized the nation's workforce. Over 2 million men were drafted into the CCC, trained and deployed. Approximately 1 million alumni of the CCC were enrolled in the military for World War II "85% ready to fight", and the CCC turned over to the military the largest fleet of motorized equipment in the world.⁴⁹

Increased productivity and development of job skills were the primary education objectives of the CCC. Interestingly, the military's desires to increase the amount of time devoted to basic academics conflicted with pressure from the Administration to sustain high levels of work productivity. Sensitive to this priority, the Army did provide educational opportunities on a "not to interfere" basis with work goals. In six years, the War Department achieved phenomenal success including the construction of 49,000 buildings, 106,000 miles of truck trails and minor roads, 43,000 bridges, and 74,000 miles of telephone lines while enhancing the basic education of the participants.⁵⁰

The military recognized the CCC as a valuable training opportunity for developing leadership skill. Employing Army, Navy, and Marine officers in supervisory positions, the military developed leaders who could motivate a highly diverse force by instilling respect for authority rather than through fear of punishment.⁵¹

Some segments of the civilian administration were vocal in claiming over-involvement by the military in civil and domestic affairs. Despite strenuous argument by detractors, active military participation in these areas required well trained and competent personnel that the military was well situated to provide. Successful conduct of Military Government and Civil Affairs responsibilities by the Navy in the Pacific and the Army in Europe during World War II was made possible by deploying service personnel that were well trained and experienced in public management as well as the operational aspects of war.⁵²

In analyzing the Military Government and Civil Affairs efforts of World War II, Carl J. Friedrich stated:

"...the components of a free working society must be managed to perfection by all levels of military government. Failure of any portion due to inefficiency or mismanagement renders the end goal unattainable. The key is *training, education and practice* by the military in advance." (italics added).⁵³

Recent Military Involvement in Domestic Support.

Since World War II, the priorities of the Cold War have

diminished, but not eliminated, the domestic role of the military. Specifically, military support to civil authorities has been formalized and strengthened in mission requirements under the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). Responsibilities under FEMA for Commander in Chief, U.S. Forces Command (CINCFOR) have traditionally been secondary to preparation for war with the Soviet Union. With the threat now undefined and broader in possibilities, Forces Command (FORSCOM) resources are available to assume greater involvement in matters of civil defense.⁵⁴

Non-emergency participation by the military in domestic areas has been demonstrated by the U.S. Navy through its Partnerships in Excellence Program. Established in 1990, Partnerships in Excellence emphasizes the "whole person" development approach. Partnerships are designed to address the education, physical fitness, and citizenship needs of all youngsters, pre-school through 12th grade. In cooperation with schools, state and local agencies and businesses, this program is intended to help communities reach existing goals and objectives. Above and beyond youth development aims, Partnerships in Excellence has achieved success in a number of areas of public interest.⁵⁵

One Florida principal highlighted an important facet of the Partnerships in Excellence program:

"Unlike sports heroes or television stars, they (military volunteers) are tangible examples - touchable, real-life models - for our students of the possibilities for success that are available to them. They are visual evidence that success is

available to all; that there is a better way; that regardless of the environment, an individual can become a productive and valuable member of society."⁵⁶

By contributing resources, talent, organization and leadership in addressing domestic priorities, the military has continued to be a positive element in a democratic society. Historical precedence and examples of modern initiatives demonstrate the utility of the nation's armed services in a variety of important missions at home as well as abroad.

PART V - The Mission Requirement for the Military

"The military contract stands out here as almost unique. It demands the total and almost unconditional subordination of the interests of the individual if the interests of the group should require it. This can lead to the surrender of life itself. It not infrequently does. Thus in an important respect, the military would appear to be one of the more advanced forms of social institutions."⁵⁷

General Sir John Hackett

The Profession of Arms

Peacetime roles for a standing military have long been a preoccupation for the professional force as well as civilian authority. During intervals of peace, military professionals have wrestled with the conflicts between preparing for war and service to

public priorities. As mentioned previously, these concerns have been shared by military leaders throughout history. In the final analysis, America's armed forces have performed well in all missions defined for them by Congress and the Constitution.

Congressional Tasking for Military Involvement.

In a democracy, the military professional must demonstrate altruistic qualities as in no other form of government. To this end, the nation's priorities are at the heart of the issue. Military concerns regarding adequate defense are considered in relation to subjects of greatest public importance. In this context, the role of the military is subject to Congressional definition.

As early as 1989, Congress initiated proposals for greater domestic involvement by the Department of Defense. Recent events suggest greater movement in this direction for the future.

In 1989, Senator Phil Graham proposed Amendment Number 863 to HR 3072, "DOD Appropriations Bill", which said:

"This amendment would require the Secretary of Defense to design a comprehensive strategy to involve civilian and military employees of the Department in partnership programs with elementary and secondary schools throughout the Nation."⁵⁸

Although the amendment fell short of acceptance, the undercurrents of reform were evident, especially in view of efforts by other members of the Senate to bring forward a bill on national service. In 1990,

the initiative became law in a different form. Public Law 101-610, "National and Community Service Act of 1990" was passed which required the following:

"The head of each Federal agency and department shall design and implement a comprehensive strategy to involve employees of such agencies and departments in partnership programs with elementary schools and secondary schools."⁵⁹

Congressional language is clear that the military should, indeed, be actively involved in the development of youth resources. An expanded mission under Military Support to Civil Authorities (MSCA) could provide an appropriate vehicle for participation by the Department of Defense in developing human capital.⁶⁰ If Congress mandates a domestic role for the military in the latter phases of a severe draw-down, the Department of Defense would probably not then have the manpower resources or talent available for this mission without sacrificing critical combat capability. The current political climate would enhance the possibility for success by the armed forces in gaining the offensive on the domestic front while maintaining combat readiness.

Amply documented by history and existing Congressional law, active participation by the military in domestic areas is a valid mission for the Department of Defense. While fulfilling its Constitutional responsibilities, the military also achieves long term aims for a ready, capable force by investing in the development of the nation's human capital.

PART VI - Responding to the Challenge: A Proposed Domestic Strategy
for the Military

"...with the continuing decrease in the birth rate, coupled with society's problems of substance abuse, deficiencies in the academic skills of high school graduates and the alarming high school dropout rates, the Navy must be in the forefront of trying to turn around some of the problems facing our young men and women."⁶¹

Admiral C. A. H. Trost

Chief of Naval Operations(1989)

Achieving the domestic objectives that are important to both the military and the civilian public requires maximum efficiency between "ways" and "means". Maintaining a credible, responsive combat capability is important while also achieving seemingly divergent domestic goals. A strategy is needed that accomplishes multiple objectives with an "economy of force" especially in an era of declining resources. Domestic Program Initiatives (DPI) serve this purpose well. The following is a proposed strategy to achieve these multiple objectives.

Goals, Objectives and Organization.

Qualities and virtues needed by all services are not only of moral significance but take on a functional importance as well.⁶² The unique requirements of the military profession make development

of the nation's human capital a "joint" issue. For this reason, the leadership in executing the strategy for development of human capital should reside at the Department of Defense level.

As the Commander most concerned with Continental United States (CONUS) training and readiness, CINCFOR should be assigned the task for resourcing, staffing and executing DOD policy in domestic areas. In this capacity, CINCFOR could conduct overall strategy in domestic programs under an expanded MSCA role. Supporting Commanders (CINCs) should provide assistance as necessary when situations require. The "task force" approach adopted by DOD and JCS in the War on Drugs is suggested as a precedence for this initiative.

Under this organizational concept, Domestic Program Initiatives should achieve the following primary goal:

Attain and maintain the requisite quality in the nation's youth population to ensure the All-Volunteer military continues as a modern, effective fighting force through the 21st Century.

To accomplish this "end", the military should focus on these key objectives:

- * Increase the quality base of the "prime market" for military service.
- * Develop human capital as one of the nation's critical natural resources.
- * Preserve the military's composition representing the full spectrum of a democratic society.

* Enhance military prestige and career attraction by applying military talent and skill in attacking domestic threats to national security.

Secondary objectives that can be achieved concurrently with those above are:

* Re-enforce and expand military virtues that are functionally indispensable to the military profession.

* Expand military competencies in civil affairs and military government.

* Enhance the nation's international competitiveness as a modern military force and as a successful participant in the world economy.

* Enhance world stability and national security

A critical argument for centralized coordination of the overall DPI effort, is to ensure proper focus of resources and energy on regional and local areas that will have the greatest impact in achieving primary objectives. After initial success, future phases of DPI could be broadened to make quality improvements in human capital in wider areas and eventually nationwide.

Methods for Implementing DPI.

Ways to accomplish DPI objectives can be organized into three categories: 1) Youth Development Programs, 2) Military Personnel

Deployment Cooperatives, and 3) Direct Military Support. These three categories should not only be "objective oriented" but should also foster development of skills in the military to sustain DPI programs for the long term. Personal and professional development for military individuals in these programs can be an incentive for attracting qualified people to DPI. In this way, military capabilities can be improved by a better educated, modern force exposed to new processes, technology and intellectual opportunities.

The multiple benefits of DPI are important. By providing the primary resource base for development of human capital, DPI also returns on this investment with near term gains by military personnel in training and education. Enhanced public prestige and self image for DPI personnel and the military in general could also be expected.

Youth Development Programs.

Youth Development Programs which can be initiated or expanded on a national basis under military oversight are:

- Personal Excellence Partnerships
- JROTC programs expanded in number and scope
- Youth Camp sponsorships emphasizing "whole person" development
- Physical fitness clinics and personal health seminars
- Seminars in government, history and ethics

Through these critical elements of DPI, the Department of Defense can

play an active role in assuring long term quality in the youth population.

As mentioned previously, the military has become the prominent consumer of the nation's education system. The importance of a high school diploma as a pre-requisite for membership in the military is a unique relationship in today's society. Since the armed forces reflect the state-of-the-art technology originating from the business community, the military could serve as the basic "yardstick" of accomplishment for graduates of the American education system. A supportive relationship via DPI can enhance schools' abilities to update and revise curriculum to meet the latest needs for society as a whole.⁶³

Military Personnel Deployment Cooperatives.

By expanding participation of military personnel in support of DPI objectives, highly qualified personnel can be deployed to local schools, industry and government agencies that can benefit from military assistance. Participation in 1 year "sabbaticals" by military personnel can contribute to the community while they attain valuable experience in areas of equal importance to the military.

Such areas might be:

- Public Safety
- Administration
- Public Utility management
- Education

- Transportation management
- Agriculture
- Medicine
- Arts and Memorials
- Environmental Management
- ADP management
- Payroll and financial management
- Chemical/Toxic Waste management
- Fire safety and prevention
- POL management
- Maintenance management
- Construction

Sub-specialization in these areas by armed forces personnel can build a pool for deployment in direct support roles or for supporting military objectives in future war (Military Government) and peacetime engagement (Low Intensity Conflict (LIC) and Civil Affairs). Enhanced capabilities by the military throughout the full range of the operational continuum will become increasingly important based on the projected role of America as a stabilizing influence on the international scene.

Direct Support.

Through Direct Support, the military can target use of defense resources in response to urgent needs of local communities. Whether as a "good will" gesture, establishing or restoring infrastructure,

or improving basic quality of life areas, Direct Support efforts can be focused on long term impact for developing human capital. The following represents one perspective on direct military support:

"Military support to civil authorities...is one of the essential vehicles, by which the inherent talents of Defense personnel and agencies for dynamic contingency planning must be committed to an enduring partnership for preparedness."⁶⁴

As the role of the peacetime military is debated by the public, visible participation by the armed services in domestic areas of concern serves a dual purpose. Not only does direct support constitute an investment in developing human capital, it also demonstrates the utility and importance of a capable and reliable military force structure.

Resourcing Domestic Program Initiatives.

Concerns that resources are insufficient to absorb the additional responsibility for domestic initiatives are certainly valid in an era of diminished means. Innovation and astute management can best achieve the economies needed for a large scale approach such as DPI. Resource management, both manpower and funding, should be centralized in DOD and allocated to FORSCOM for execution of DPI strategy. Assuming that new funding from Congress is minimal, the success of DPI will be dependent on redistributing scarce assets in a carefully balanced way.

Volunteerism, although less than ideal in executing a consistent strategy, has proven effective in the Navy's Partnerships in Excellence program. The sustainment of this effort depends on leadership, management and dedicated manpower to coordinate program objectives on a regional basis and nationwide. Not every volunteer is "qualified" and not everyone qualified is a volunteer. To execute the components most critical to DPI in youth development, additional resources that can be obtained from Congress should be initially committed to this area.

As long term success is realized from early investments in human capital, resources currently committed to remedial training should be transitioned to youth development in greater proportions. Using projections for remedial training, this could ultimately represent a savings of almost 2 billion dollars.⁶⁵ The investment of training funds at the "front end" recognizes that training is a continuum beginning at the earliest educational experience. Professional education depends on the mastery of basic study skills and fundamentals prior to induction into the military.

Burden sharing by local schools, governments and businesses has been demonstrated as another option for resourcing DPI. History has shown that schools and universities have often supplemented the salaries of military officers assigned to them for duty.⁶⁶ This concept has been proven as one alternative for financing expenses associated with the Navy's Partnerships in Excellence. In the Seattle area, the local community has demonstrated formal support through legal incorporation. This method establishes specific requirements of all "partners" in terms of manpower and funding to

continue the partnership program in that area.⁶⁷

This aspect of shared responsibility can be employed to provide for non-pay related military sabbatical expenses and direct community support costs. Centralized policy implementation will be critical for the success of such innovative funding options.

Finally, expanded state support for Reserve and National Guard participation in DPI could offset some expenses. Contributions by state and local government can foster a closer relationship between military personnel with their communities and encourage a sense of "ownership" in the success of DPI efforts.

PART VII - Conclusions: The Need for Change

"Service in defense of America should no longer be defined in such restrictive terms as standing at the butt end of a flaming M-16 or an M-60 machine gun. The men trained to man those weapons can also defend America at the handle end of a shovel, or from the seat of a bulldozer, or from behind a stethoscope."⁶⁸

Edward L. King

The Death of the Army: A Pre-Mortem

Domestic Program Initiatives are not a panacea for urban blight, poverty, dissolution of the family or other social ills. As mentioned earlier, many of these issues are related to the quality of American youth, but the solutions for these problems are well beyond the capability of the armed services alone to achieve. Strategy for

reaching military goals should remain distinct from measures intended to address broader economic or political objectives.

The military depends on society as a whole to provide the critical resources that are needed for defense and to perform this mission effectively. Again referring to General Sir John Hackett:

"What a society gets in its armed services is exactly what it asks for, no more and no less. What it asks for tends to be a reflection of what it is. When a country looks at its fighting forces it is looking in a mirror; the mirror is a true one and the face that it sees will be its own."⁶⁹

In a democracy, this concept encourages serious military attention to domestic issues, particularly those which significantly affect the readiness of technologically advanced armed forces. America's base of human capital for military needs is no less important than the nation's industrial base for military hardware.

Need for Resolve.

From demographic trends, a smaller youth population will be predominated by disadvantaged and under-skilled young people. For the All-Volunteer force, the price to compete with industry for quality individuals will probably exceed available resources in a shrinking military budget. If America's military is to retain its characteristic as "a mirror of society", the population of top quality American youth must be increased to satisfy high technology

needs in a smaller, modern military. This threat currently represents the greatest challenge to the institutional integrity of the military and the security of the nation as a whole.

The erosion of America's human capital is destroying the fabric of the American way of life and jeopardizes the continued security of the United States as a free and powerful nation. Action should focus on the resource critical to a modern military - people.

Investment in developing human capital is the most cost effective and politically feasible option available. The multiple benefits, both for the military and society as a whole, will assure long term security for defense and the prominent standing of the nation as a world power.

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¹Harrison Shull, "Final Report: CNO Task Force on Personal Excellence and National Security" (Washington D.C.: November 1985), v.

²Andrea M. Savada, "American Education in 2015", Domestic Trends to the Year 2015: Forecasts for the United States, David L. Osborne, editor (Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1991), 124.

³Naomi Verdugo and Kenneth R. Berhant, "Estimating the Army's Prime Recruiting Market", Technical Report 832 (Washington D.C.: United States Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences, Alexandria, Va., October 1987), vii.

⁴Jerry M. Cooper, "The Army's Search for a Mission, 1865-1890", Against All Enemies: Interpretations of American Military History from Colonial Times to the Present (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1986), 183.

⁵Irving L. Horowitz, "Human Resources and Military Manpower Requirements", Armed Forces and Society, 2 (Winter 1986), 174.

⁶Eric D. Solstein, "American Society in 2015", Domestic Trends to the Year 2015, 153; Shull, 33; Horowitz, 183. *A universal draft may be considered as a less costly option to provide for defense and domestic needs; however, no political party or candidate has seriously proposed this course of action. For this reason, most observers are not optimistic that such a proposal would be favorably received by the public.*

⁷A. J. Goodpaster, "West Point, the Army and Society", Soldiers and Civilians: The U.S. Army and the American People, Garry D. Ryan and Timothy Nenner, editors (Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1987), 4.

⁸Shull, 1.

⁹U.S. Army Recruiting Command, "Scanning the Environment of the Year 2000", briefing for General Dennis J. Reimer, Vice Chief of Staff, U.S. Army (Washington D.C.: August 1991), 8.

¹⁰William B. Johnston, editor, Workforce 2000 (Hudson Institute Inc., 1987), Executive Summary, xxvii.

¹¹Rita Kramer, In Defense of the Family: Raising Children in America Today (Basic Books Inc., 1983), 141, 153; Solstein, 152. *Both Kramer and Solstein agree on the increasing role that schools are being required to play in areas unrelated to basic education. Involvement in social programs detract from the important task of educating young people in functional skills.*

¹²Wythe Kever, "Lancaster Area Looks at Educational Needs", Harrisburg Patriot-News, 6 October 1991.

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¹³ Bruce Nussbaum, "Needed: Human Capital", Business Week (19 September 1988), 101.

¹⁴ Scripps-Howard News Service (table), "Nation's Report Card", Harrisburg Patriot-News (1 October 1991), A1.

¹⁵ Savada, 111.

¹⁶ Jeannie Campbell, "Helping Others to Help Themselves", All Hands (Washington D.C.: Department of the Navy, June 1989), 15.

¹⁷ Elizabeth Ehrlich and Susan B. Garland, "For American Business, A New World of Workers", Business Week (19 September 1988), 114.

¹⁸ Ly Burnham, "Demographics of the United States in 2015", Domestic Trends to the Year 2000, 41; Solstein, 138. *Trends are based on results from analysis of the 1990 census data.*

¹⁹ John W. Overby II and Phillip E. Winter, "The Medical Fitness of American Youth for Military Service" (Arlington Va.: Defense Manpower Data Center, 1986), 3.

²⁰ Shull, 19; Overby and Winter, X-1, X-2.

²¹ Gary Turbak, "Children of the Nightmare", American Legion (February 1992), 27.

²² Ibid., 60.

²³ Theodore W. Schultz, Investing in People: The Economics of Population Quality (University of California Press: 1981), 55; Kramer, 143-145, 155, 159; Turbak, 27; Joan Connell, "Basic 'decencies' Make Comeback in U.S. Schools", Harrisburg Patriot-News (6 October 1991), D1; Solstein, 145, 155, 157. *Schultz, Kramer and Turbak point out the conflicting requirements between teaching responsibilities and value development. Schools are understaffed and underequipped to successfully achieve both social goals and educational requirements. As a result, professional educators will be unable to inculcate values in the normal course of their duties. Connell quotes Gilbert Sewell, Director of The American Textbook Council, who estimates at least 5 years before value teaching in the classroom could be felt. Solstein goes further to suggest that values important to the military are being influenced by changing adult demographics that will have significant effects on public institutions such as the military. Kramer challenges the soundness of these influences on the proper development of young people.*

²⁴ Bureau of Naval Personnel (Pers-23), "Long Range Personnel Plan for Commitment to a High-Tech Navy", briefing (Washington D.C.: July 1991), 10.

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²⁵General Sir John Hackett, The Profession of Arms (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., 1983), 167.

²⁶Verdugo and Berhant, i.

²⁷Bureau of Naval Personnel (Pers-23), "Recruiting Workload Model", briefing (Washington D.C.: July 1991), 7.

²⁸Bureau of Naval Personnel (Pers-23), "Long Range Personnel Plan for Commitment to a High-Tech Navy", briefing (Washington D.C.: July 1991), 3; Glenn Curtis, "The Economy of the United States in 2015", Domestic Trends to the Year 2015, 46. *Trends reveal increasing technology requirements as service downsizing is implemented. This drives military needs for increased recruit quality.*

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³⁰Ibid., 27.

³¹Barry L. Scribes (et al), "Are Smart Tankers Better?", Armed Forces and Society 17 (Winter 1981), 201.

³²Savada, 109; Boris Bohun-Chudyniv, "Technology in 2015", Domestic Trends to the Year 2015, 171; David L. Osborne, "Conclusions", Domestic Trends to the Year 2015, 247.

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³⁴Anthony Flint, "3-year College Degrees Proposed", Boston Globe, carried in the Harrisburg Patriot-News, 30 October 1991, C4.

³⁵Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, "Job-Oriented Basic Skills (JOBS) Programs", OPNAVINST 1514.1A (Washington D.C.: Department of the Navy, 5 July 1988), 1.

³⁶Imelda Idar, "FAST: Fundamental Applied Skills Training", interview by author, 12 November 1991, Washington D.C.

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³⁸Bureau of Naval Personnel (Pers-23), "Long Range Personnel Plan for Commitment to a High Tech Navy", 39.

³⁹Horowitz, 182.

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⁴⁰ John Lehman, "U.S. Defense Policy of Options: The 1990's and Beyond", The Annals: "New Directions in U.S. Defense Policy" 517 (September 1991), 201.

⁴¹ Steven E. Galing, "Over-Representation in the U.S. Army of Minorities and Women in Career Management Fields" (Fort Sheridan, IL: U.S. Army Recruiting Command, 1988), Abstract.

⁴² Hackett, 141.

⁴³ Edward M. Coffman, The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784-1898 (Oxford University Press: 1986), 20.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 39, 76, 167.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 49.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 167.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ John M. Gates, "The Alleged Isolation of U.S. Army Officers in the Late 19th Century", Parameters, 10, (September 1980), 35.

⁴⁹ Michael W. Sherraden, "Military Participation in a Youth Employment Program", Armed Forces and Society, 17 (Winter 1981), 227, 230, 241.

⁵⁰ Civilian Conservation Corps, Annual Report FY June 30, 1939 (Washington D.C.: USGPO, 1939), 25-26; Sherraden, 235.

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⁵² Carl J. Friedrich (ed.), American Experiences in Military Government in World War II (New York: Rinehart and Co., 1948), vi, 5-6, 24-27, 295-305.

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⁵⁴ Maxwell Alston, "Military Support to Civil Authorities: New Dimensions for the 1990's", ROA National Security Report (October 1991), 29, 38-39.

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⁵⁹Public Law 101-610, "National and Community Service Act of 1990" (Washington D.C.: 16 November 1990).

⁶⁰Alston, 40.

⁶¹Campbell, 13.

⁶²Hackett, 141.

⁶³Savada, 115.

⁶⁴Alston, 42.

⁶⁵Dick Cheney, Annual Report to the President and the Congress (Washington D.C.: USGPO, January 1991), Table 8, 40. *Navy requirements and projected quality shortfalls cost \$32,000 per person for training. Using projected manpower needs for FY 93 recruiting, and holding quality accession rates constant, the DOD costs for training that result from quality deficiencies were estimated. These figures may significantly underestimate the requirements for job training of lower quality personnel depending on downsizing policies selected by the respective services.*

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⁶⁷Commander Mike Stevenson, U.S. Navy, interview by author, 12 November, Washington D.C. *As of this interview, Commander Stevenson reported that efforts were nearing completion for establishing a fully incorporated Partnership in the Seattle, Washington area. This initiative was prompted to ensure that the success achieved thus far in the Seattle partnership were sustained regardless of transfer of key Navy personnel involved in this program.*

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