
Diplomacy in a New Age: How the National Guard Builds International Partnerships through Local Communities

By
**Tim Hoyle, Major, Air National Guard
Headquarters Denver Air National Guard
State Partnership Program Director**

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Giving Power to Gain Security — Détente

Under the Nixon Administration, the President looked for a way to extract the United States (U.S.) from Vietnam. Containment of communism was not working. Henry Kissinger proposed a new security arrangement. He was the chief architect of détente. Kissinger championed détente as a new system that promoted stability and equilibrium. To do this, “major powers had to renounce the use of nuclear weapons.” [Jones 2001]. During the 1970s and 1980s, there was an unprecedented movement towards nuclear disarmament and control under the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) I and II treaties. During this transition period, states began to work in a cooperative fashion to defuse tensions between the East and the West. Significant draw-downs of strategic nuclear weapons made the world a much safer place from atomic holocaust. Détente was an early signal that the world was prepared to march into a new era. Cooperation through equilibrium of power changed how modern nation states interacted. Absolute security was not the goal, as seen earlier in the 20th century. Under détente, the U.S. and the USSR recognized that no single nation could have absolute security.

This new security arrangement required that nation states yield some of their sovereignty. Nations would now allow their potential enemies access to their most closely guarded secrets. Transparency was essential to ensure compliance with the SALT treaties. This is a dramatic departure from traditional security systems. During the age of détente, nuclear-armed states agreed to destroy weapons, decommission missile sites, and allow for weapons inspections. Since the end of the Cold War, the nature of bi-polar strategic threats has evaporated. With the re-balancing of power, the Soviet Union began to dismantle. The U.S. became even more concerned about the proliferation of nuclear weapons. In addition, the U.S. did not have political or diplomatic relations with these newly emerging countries.

Preventative Defense and Global Engagement

During the Clinton Administration, the *National Security Strategy* highlighted the policy of engagement. Known as “Shape, Respond, and Prepare,” the *National Security Strategy* emphasized the need to achieve global and regional integration through Theater Engagement Plans (TEPs). TEPs would “shape” the battle-space by building alliances and partnerships through the use of all instruments of U.S. power, diplomatic, military, and economic. Then Secretary of Defense, William J. Perry outlined his view of Preventive Defense, “actions we can take to prevent the conditions of conflict and create the conditions of peace.” [Perry 1996] Perry voiced his opinion that democracy was the key to ensuring U.S. security interests. Democratic states were important in advancing stability and reducing violence. Perry called for U.S. foreign policy to be engaged throughout the globe to promote democracy, with particular emphasis aimed toward Eastern Europe. Perry likened Preventive Defense to the aims of the Marshall Plan. He observed that the Marshall Plan provided

stability to Europe immediately after World War II. This helped nation-states rebuild their capability to support the regional defense system as east-west tensions grew. As the world was changing, the role of the military has transformed dramatically. Perry looked for alternative means to protect U.S. national interests. To do all of this, he advocated alternative and non-coercive methods to shape international behavior. To make his point about paving the way towards peace, he highlighted the impact of the Partnership for Peace (PfP) program under the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). He held this program up as an important diplomatic tool that was integrating former Soviet Bloc nations into the new security architecture, promoting democratic regimes, and spreading free-market reforms.

NATO established the PfP program in 1994. Individual states were partnered with central European nations. Partnerships were founded with former Soviet Bloc nations such as Poland and Hungary, who expressed interest in joining NATO. This program brought together military units from the United States and its former adversaries and provided a venue where former Warsaw Pact nations could engage with western countries. The PfP program was successful at building a bridge to the east through non-confrontational engagements and stimulated more broad-based initiatives. The role of the National Guard became important when Latvia was looking to model their reserve forces on the Guard. The Guard's contribution was particularly helpful because it was viewed as less threatening than using active duty forces in eastern Europe. Early partners in the newly formed State Partnership Program (SPP) were Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia. Success in this program gave momentum for the SPP to grow. In addition to former Soviet States requesting assistance, DoD was expanding the strategic role that the military was playing. In Bosnia, U.S. forces were playing an important peace-keeping role. Throughout this period, the U.S. military was increasingly being used to implement peacetime operations under the National Security Strategy.

Multilateralism

The influence of the 1990s can be felt today, as current national policy continues a strategy of global engagement. The *National Defense Strategy, 2005*, calls for "strengthen[ing] alliances and partnerships. The Security Cooperation Program is one of the principal vehicles for strengthening alliances and partnerships." [*National Defense Strategy, March, 2005*]. Security cooperation and the Theater Security Cooperation program outline regional plans that promote military and humanitarian assistance objectives in each Combatant Command (COCOM). Traditional Commander's Activities (TCA) is one program that supports and promotes theater objectives of each COCOM. The TCA works closely with the SPP to coordinate events that support each country and regional security objective. The State Partnership Program was a child of the PfP project, and today is found in nearly every state. The SPP is one tool that can provide diplomats another avenue to build connections between the U.S. and their partners. The SPP engages with partner nations both militarily and through civilian agencies.

Many political pundits and elected officials expressed concerns that the U.S. military was neither trained nor equipped to accomplish nation-building. Some argued that soldiers are ill-prepared to solve civilian issues. "Nation-building by military force is not a coherent, defensible policy. It is based on no theory; it has no proven technique or methodology. And there are no experts who know how to do it." [Payne 2005] However, the U.S. military has been involved in stabilization operations almost every year since the end of the Cold War. The U.S. is engaged throughout the world in supporting allies and promoting democracy to emerging nations. The reality is that the vast majority of available resources in any particular region are found within the COCOM. Military budgets are measured in the billions. The military is the major player in supporting nations in an area of responsibility (AOR) and the primary source for funding. However, American intervention and stabilization efforts following major combat have had mixed results. In the last century, the U.S. has toppled eighteen regimes, yet less than a third have become democracies. [Jennings 2003] Exporting democracy may

not be easy or feasible in all cases. One only has to examine recent statements by General Petraeus to see that the U.S. is struggling to find a political solution in Iraq. Military success does not guarantee political results. General Petraeus believes that military force is one part of a total effort for political reform in Iraq. “Military action is necessary but not sufficient....” [DoD Briefing, 26 April 2007].

State Partnership Program: Building Stability Through the State Partnership Program

The State Partnership Program is an international partnership between individual states and foreign nations. It works closely with the DoD and host nation embassies to sponsor events that support U.S. national security objectives. The goals of the program are to promote military, governmental, cultural, and economic exchanges with partner countries. The SPP, administered by the National Guard, is an alternative diplomatic tool that establishes close ties between partner nations and individual states. Through the SPP, states create lasting and enduring friendships with their partner nations in real and substantial ways. The National Guard’s close relationships with the state’s militia, local government, and community-based organizations make it the ideal organization to lead the SPP. Throughout the world, there are over fifty partnerships between states and nations in Europe, Asia, South America, and Africa. The SPP is an effective tool that engages nations and promotes democratic ideals throughout the globe.

The SPP provides for and supports our allies by enhancing military capabilities and economic freedom, promoting good governance, and fostering economic performance. It connects partner nations with National Guard units around the nation. These partnerships help to coordinate the participation in large scale regional exercises, such as New Horizons in the Caribbean and South America. Partner states exercise their military operations in support of a humanitarian disaster. Rapid recovery after a major storm instills trust and confidence in the local citizenry and promotes stability. Through this program, National Guard units coordinate with state and local governments and provide technical expertise, guidance, and even mentoring to their partners. In Delaware, the Governor and her senior staff visited Trinidad and Tobago to discuss good governance and best practices in education, disaster management, and prison systems. State Partnerships also promote economic development and international partnerships. In Rhode Island, the SPP established a student exchange program.

Unique Diplomatic Tool

The National Guard is an important part of providing security through international engagement. The Guard’s SPP is a unique diplomatic tool that leverages both military and civilian agencies to support and enhance national security objectives in a region. The SPP is unique from other DoD programs because of the nature of the reserve component. The National Guard provides additional focus and energy to its state partners. The Guard promotes readiness and inter-operability with partner states through cooperation and coordination. As a separate service component, the National Guard has the flexibility to support national security objectives. The National Guard promotes national and regional security objectives in support of the COCOM through its close partnership with the major command, the U.S. embassy, and foreign military officials. The Guard is ideally positioned to promote long lasting military-to-military relationships that bring a multitude of skills which transcend traditional military capabilities. The Guard is uniquely suited to build democratic values with partner countries. The Guard’s close association with state government provides access to civilian and business leaders. Consequently, the Guard promotes two important ingredients to successful foreign relations: military readiness and civilian support.

Promoting Security Through Readiness

National Guard soldiers and airmen provide continuity and longevity to enduring relations. Unlike their active component counterparts, the Guard’s typical tour is closer to twenty years, not twenty

months. Stability of personnel promotes trust and predictability between the partners. In addition, long term relationships encourage long term planning and training opportunities. This adds stability and predictability to international relations.

The National Guard is efficient, costing only 6 cents for every dollar spent on defense budget. Consequently, the Guard is an efficient and inexpensive program to administer the SPP. The Guard brings modest but additional resources to partner nations that provide real tangible military exchanges as well as economic benefits.

The National Guard is singularly focused on one partnership and one mission. The SPP is a mechanism to catalyze broad and expanding support of mutual goals for the U.S. and host nations. Each partnership is tailored to meet the host nation's needs. This individualized attention promotes confidence and trust between partners.

Through continuity, efficiency, and energy, the Guard provides tremendous capabilities to enhance and strengthen military capabilities with a partner or ally.

Promoting Security through Democracy and Nation-Building

The National Guard provides high-level access to state institutions. The Guard is headed by the Adjutant General, usually a cabinet level official in each state. In addition, the Guard is part of the community and has close contacts with public and private agencies and institutions. Through working with the local/state government, the citizen soldier promotes democratic values and institutions through engagements with other nations.

Guardsmen and women are both military professionals and civilians. Their civilian experience, knowledge, and abilities greatly enhance their value and contribution towards enhancing international ties. They bring varied backgrounds when participating in an SPP foreign exchange. In Delaware, the SPP hosted an event with their partner country, Trinidad and Tobago, on disaster management. The Director of Joint Plans for the Delaware National Guard is a senior official in county government. His civilian relationships were critical in coordinating a visit to the New Castle County Joint Operations Center. In addition, in his civilian capacity, he oversaw storm-water management, a critical issue for Trinidad and Tobago.

The SPP can provide flexible and responsive engagements. The National Guard provides funding in addition to the COCOM. Through the Minute Man Fellow (MMF) funding, the Guard can host civilian-to-civilian events.

The Guard promotes the values of democracy through its close relationship with the state and community. Through access to civilian leaders, core of citizen-soldiers, and unique funding programs, the Guard promotes and enhances military subordination of civilian authority.

To understand the SPP is to grasp what it is not. It is not a foreign aid program or military assistance initiative, such as International Military Education and Training (IMET). The SPP does not replace what the COCOM is working on, rather it augments current engagements. In addition, the SPP works closely with the U.S. embassy in the host nation to promote civilian and economic objectives. It supports national security objectives in the partner nation by building long-term and enduring relationships with partner states. Essentially, the SPP is a microcosm of all the instruments of national powers at the local level. SPP provides events that focus on national security issues at the grass roots level. The National Guard is uniquely positioned to promote the values of American freedoms and democracy by engaging in events that touch the very social fabric of U.S. society. In addition, the SPP works closely with their state governments to support other important objectives, such as promoting health, education, or local law enforcement.

The SPP supports national security objectives by doing three things very well:

- It works closely with major COCOMs to ensure proper coordination of plans and programs to enhance readiness and security.
- It works with the embassy, the host nation, and state governments to support civilian, economic, and cultural goals and exchanges to expand and enrich the partnership.
- Finally, the SPP brings a holistic approach to the partnership, taking full advantage of synergies that are created, adding value to the partnership.

Supporting the Combatant Commander's Vision

Each subject matter expert exchange (SMEE) is approved and vetted by the host nation and the partner unit. Once the concept is written, it is sent to the country's U.S. embassy, as well as to the COCOM. Finally, the event is approved by the National Guard Bureau. All stake-holders weigh-in to ensure that mutual goals and objectives are being met. The host nation and the SPP coordinator work closely together to ensure that their events are relevant and important to a critical national goal. The SPP coordinator ensures that events are closely aligned with the regional and country plans. U.S. embassy personnel provide guidance and support to ensure that both the COCOM and the Ambassador's goals are met. The approval process for an event is important because it shows how the SPP advances national objectives by prioritizing events and ensuring they are supporting the vision of the theater. In the Southern Command (SOUTHCOM) AOR, the COCOM's theater objectives include: fighting terrorism, counter-drug operations, humanitarian aid and assistance, as well as promoting readiness and inter-operability. These objectives are critical components and essential when requesting justification and approval for a SMEE. In addition, the country plan is consulted to provide further direction and refinement on a mission tasking.

Supporting Civilian Authority and Key Stakeholders' Goals and Objectives

In addition to supporting the COCOM, the SPP works with all sectors of society to promote and enhance the relationship that transcends traditional military exchanges. The Guard's access to civilian leadership gives it leverage with civilian agencies to promote program goals. The active duty component is less able to support non-military objectives. However, the Guard, with its outside resources and experience, can readily support schools, public health clinics, or local police. The SPP is funded by the National Guard Bureau (NGB) through the MMF fund to promote civilian-to-civilian exchanges. In fiscal year 2006, there were fifteen MMF and Latin American Cooperation funded events. In Delaware, MMF funds supported a senior civic leader exchange, several cultural events, and a disaster management and preparation exercise. These exchanges led to additional partnership opportunities that had little or no cost. During the State of the Union Address, Trinidadian officials working in Washington, D.C. toured the district's disaster management agency and learned about large event protection and security. The only cost associated with this event was time. However, key planning personnel from Trinidad and Tobago were able to observe how Washington, D.C. works with many local and federal agencies to coordinate appropriate security. The SPP event showcased how interagency coordination enhances effectiveness and promotes security; the National Capital Region (NCR), National Park Police, and the National Guard all work in concert to ensure a blanket of security. During a cultural exchange funded by the Pentagon, the Trinidad and Tobago Steel Orchestra was performing throughout the beltway at several music events. While in Washington, D.C., the SPP transported the band to Delaware. The expense to bus the orchestra was only a fraction of the real cost, but Delaware was able to take full advantage of Trinidad's visit to Washington, D.C. In addition, the Chief Warrant Officer of the Band visited the Warrant Officer School house. This two day event enhanced Trinidad's awareness of professional military education but cost less than a

hundred dollars. Most events cost about \$10,000, and that is a very small price to pay to enhance and promote international relations. The bilateral relationship adds a great deal of leverage to the existing relationship and adds real value for little cost. The SPP provides a tremendous “bang for the buck.” However, the SPP could lose its effectiveness if it is not properly funded or if bureaucratic roadblocks stifle engagement. Furthermore, some state programs lose support by leadership as priorities shift over time. In addition, when there are tensions between the U.S. and partner countries, the SPP activities slow down precipitously. When this occurs, programs wither on the vine. Ultimately, the SPP is another tool to support foreign policy objectives. When used as designed, it is highly efficient and effective.

Connecting the Dots – Bringing It All Together

The SPP leverages a small presence into a blossoming partnership to enhance national capabilities in the region. Through the SPP, SMEEs are coordinated with host nations to promote engagements in many focus areas, including:

- Emergency Response and Consequence Management
- Senior Leadership Exchanges
- Professional Development
- Counter-Drug Operations
- Counter-Terrorism
- Humanitarian Operations
- Logistics
- Communications
- Military Law
- Multilateral Exercises
- Engineering Exercises
- Small Unit Exchanges
- Community Relations
- Medicine
- Media and Public Affairs
- Policy and Economic Development
- Peace-Keeping Operations

The SPP adds value and resources to engagements occurring in every Command of the DoD. The program has seen significant growth in the past few years. Between 1998 and 2004, 198 Traditional Commander’s Activities events were funded for approximately 1.7 million dollars. In 2006 alone, there were 132 events funded at over 1.5 million dollars. There has been a dramatic increase in activities led by the SPP. This is particularly true for smaller states, such as Trinidad and Tobago. In fiscal year 2006, nearly half of all TCA engagements were funded by the NGB through the MMF program.

Source: Southern Command (SOUTHCOM) (Colonel Jorge Matos)

An important part of any program is its ability to measure its effectiveness. The SPP has shown significant success at increasing resources and working towards expanding partnerships throughout the globe. However, it will need to develop quantifiable measures of success to ensure it is an enduring program. The SPP can point to many antidotal measures of accomplishments. In Guatemala, the Arkansas National Guard conducted a damage assessment in the aftermath of Hurricane Stan in October of 2005. The Guatemalan military benefited from techniques learned by Arkansas emergency response personnel in the years prior to the storm. Wisconsin's SPP facilitated the transfer of a surplus emergency response vehicle. The U.S. also benefits from SPP partnerships. During Hurricane Katrina, Mississippi's partner country, Bolivia, sent troops to assist in the recovery efforts.

Future of the State Partnership Program

The SPP has been an important part of U.S. foreign policy, supporting national goals and objectives in every region. On the horizon, state-to-nation bi-lateral relations will expand to include events with regional focus. Partner states in the Caribbean are working together to find common areas of interest to leverage resources and increase the participation and efficiency of each SMEE. Delaware, Washington, D.C., Rhode Island, South Dakota, and the Virgin Islands are working with their Caribbean partners to collaborate on regional conferences and leverage state resources, such as higher education to promote a regional student exchange program. This is only the beginning of new and exciting opportunities for the SPP and their foreign partners. In addition to regional efforts, the SPP will be supporting efforts by SOUTHCOM to promote new engagement strategies that leverage interagency relationships and promote political and economic growth through partnerships with non-governmental organizations. SOUTHCOM has outlined their plan in "Partnership for the America Command Strategy 2016." SOUTHCOM will use non-profits and other organizations to help support stabilization goals and objectives in their AOR. "SOUTHCOM will actively support interagency, non-governmental entities and public private institutions to enhance regional stability." SOUTHCOM has created two new Directorates to support their nation-building efforts, to include J9-Interagency Cooperation and J10-Public Private Partnerships. There is a trend towards using the military to support traditionally civil agency responsibilities. In particular, the SPP supports both classic military support as well as working with the government and private sector to support country goals and regional objectives.

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