

# Citizen-Soldiers in a Time of Transition

*The Future of the U.S. Army National Guard*

PRINCIPAL AUTHOR  
**Stephanie Sanok Kostro**

CONTRIBUTING AUTHORS  
Meredith Boyle  
Alex Friedfeld  
Ana O'Harrow  
Garrett Riba  
Rob Wise





# Citizen-Soldiers in a Time of Transition

*The Future of the U.S. Army  
National Guard*

PRINCIPAL AUTHOR

Stephanie Sanok Kostro

CONTRIBUTING AUTHORS

Meredith Boyle

Alex Friedfeld

Ana O'Harrow

Garrett Riba

Rob Wise

*A Report of the CSIS Homeland Security and  
Counterterrorism Program*

**May 2014**

CSIS | CENTER FOR STRATEGIC &  
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

ROWMAN & LITTLEFIELD

Lanham • Boulder • New York • Toronto • Plymouth, UK

## About CSIS

For over 50 years, the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) has worked to develop solutions to the world's greatest policy challenges. Today, CSIS scholars are providing strategic insights and bipartisan policy solutions to help decisionmakers chart a course toward a better world.

CSIS is a nonprofit organization headquartered in Washington, D.C. The Center's 220 full-time staff and large network of affiliated scholars conduct research and analysis and develop policy initiatives that look into the future and anticipate change.

Founded at the height of the Cold War by David M. Abshire and Admiral Arleigh Burke, CSIS was dedicated to finding ways to sustain American prominence and prosperity as a force for good in the world. Since 1962, CSIS has become one of the world's preeminent international institutions focused on defense and security; regional stability; and transnational challenges ranging from energy and climate to global health and economic integration.

Former U.S. senator Sam Nunn has chaired the CSIS Board of Trustees since 1999. Former deputy secretary of defense John J. Hamre became the Center's president and chief executive officer in 2000.

CSIS does not take specific policy positions; accordingly, all views expressed herein should be understood to be solely those of the author(s).

© 2014 by the Center for Strategic and International Studies. All rights reserved.

ISBN: 978-1-4422-2839-9 (pb); 978-1-4422-2840-5 (eBook)

Center for Strategic & International Studies  
1616 Rhode Island Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
202-887-0200 | [www.csis.org](http://www.csis.org)

Rowman & Littlefield  
4501 Forbes Boulevard  
Lanham, MD 20706  
301-459-3366 | [www.rowman.com](http://www.rowman.com)

# Contents

Acknowledgments	v
Executive Summary	vi
1. Introduction	1
Methodology	1
Outline of Report	2
2. Major Ongoing Debates	3
A Strategic or Operational Force?	8
Active Component/Reserve Component Mix	13
Readiness and Training	19
Cost Considerations	22
3. National Guard's Role in Domestic Missions	25
Funding Flows	28
Domestic/Overseas Mission Balance	30
Dual Status Commanders	31
Role in Defense Support of Civil Authorities	32
4. National Guard's Role in Building Partner Capacity	35
Demand	38
Mission Focus	39
Coordination	40
5. National Guard's Role in Overseas Presence	42
Cost and Readiness	44
Assigning Missions	46

6. National Guard's Role in Cybersecurity	48
Authorities and Coordination	51
Capabilities	52
Possible Structures and Cost	53
7. Conclusions and Recommendations	56
About the Authors	60

# Acknowledgments

This study and the resulting report would not have been possible without invaluable contributions from several individuals and groups. Special thanks go to the numerous subject matter experts who willingly provided enormous insight, through either not-for-attribution interviews or roundtable discussions, in order to inform the study team and improve the report's background, findings, and recommendations.

Several members of the CSIS staff deserve credit for their valuable research, writing, and administrative contributions, which proved fundamental to the study. Thanks to Mr. T. J. Cipoletti, Mr. Robert Ford Everett, Ms. Ally Pregulman, Ms. Alexis Shklar, and Ms. Abigail Temoshchuk for their flexibility and support.

The study team owes a special debt of gratitude to two insightful experts in this area. Mr. Kim Wincup, a senior adviser at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, proved to be an excellent sounding board for the study team, and he provided both helpful guidance and a thorough final review of this report. Mr. Rick "Ozzie" Nelson, a CSIS senior associate, was instrumental in launching this study; without his assistance, this study would have been significantly less than it was.

Finally, the authors would like to thank the U.S. National Guard Bureau, and the U.S. Army National Guard in particular, for their generous support of this study.

Although this report benefited greatly from these individuals' expertise, the content is the sole responsibility of the authors and should not be construed to represent the individual opinion of any expert or group external to the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Any errors contained herein are the responsibility of the authors alone.

# Executive Summary

As major combat operations in Afghanistan and Iraq—operations that defined the last decade—are coming to an end, a wide variety of new and evolving challenges, both abroad and at home, are confronting the nation’s military. While shifting focus and resources toward the Asia-Pacific and African theaters and responding to a growing number of evolving threats (e.g., cyber attacks, natural disasters), the armed forces must also continue to prepare for the possibility that they will be called on to rapidly provide significant combat capabilities in the event of a crisis anywhere in the world.

Moreover, the budget environment is increasingly unpredictable. Overall defense spending is declining, as reflected in the president’s recently released fiscal year 2015 budget request. These dynamics have created a great deal of uncertainty within the Department of Defense, as roles and missions that services have filled for the last 12 years shift and as cuts to personnel, equipment, and other resources loom.

Part of the Reserve Component that has made significant contributions to operations in Afghanistan, Iraq, and elsewhere over the last decade, the U.S. Army National Guard faces a unique set of circumstances when thinking about its potential roles in domestic and overseas missions. As the Army National Guard considers its future, it has asked the Center for Strategic and International Studies’ Homeland Security and Counterterrorism Program to provide an independent analysis of the strategic-level issues facing the Guard as well as its evolving roles and missions.

Thus, this study focused on several strategic issues and resulted in this report, which examines several of the heated debates over the National Guard’s appropriate roles and missions, as well as the integration of Army National Guard forces in Active Component forces. The report highlights different perspectives on the long-standing and evolving relationship between the Active and Reserve Components (AC and RC, respectively). It also explores the Army National Guard’s roles in distinct mission areas, from domestic missions and homeland defense to overseas presence and building partnership capacity (BPC) to the growing area of cybersecurity. Finally, this report provides policymakers and practitioners with unbiased insights and recommendations to assist in outlining potential future responsibilities for the Army National Guard.

The following table lists the study team’s main findings and recommendations.

---

*FINDING*

---

---

*RECOMMENDATION*

---

1. Tensions between active-duty and National Guard officials—perhaps heightened at times by advocacy efforts of outside groups—have increased.

2. Dialogue has focused primarily on budget considerations and their impact on force structure and size, not on defining the future Army’s purpose, missions, priorities, and requirements.

3. There is no agreement regarding the appropriate level of integration between the active-duty Army and the Army National Guard (ARNG).

4. There is significant disagreement regarding how to compare readiness levels and training days for the AC and the National Guard.

5. There is no common model when considering the costs of the active-duty Army and the ARNG.

6. Tensions regarding the use of Title 32 remain a potential issue between states and different parts of the federal government.

7. Flexibility exists regarding balance between Guard foreign and domestic missions.

8. Congress has proved amenable to adding National Guard authorities, and the nascent Dual Status Commander authority has improved integration of state and federal operations.

9. The ARNG has the capacity to increase partnerships for domestic missions and to serve as a supplemental force for other departments and agencies.

Create a National Commission on the Structure of the Army and an internal Army Total Force Task Force to explore, inter alia,

- the Army’s purpose, missions, priorities, and requirements;
- ways in which the AC and RC can optimally integrate (e.g., at the individual or unit level, by making changes in professional military education, or by tying promotions to “joint” tours within the other component);
- agreed-upon deployment and accessibility timeframes and ways to compare training days; and
- ways in which the AC and RC can interact without creating or exacerbating tensions.

Develop an agreed-upon common costing model outside of Army channels (e.g., through the Congressional Budget Office [CBO]), including details that account for the full range of costs for both individuals and units in dwell, in preparation for deployment, and on deployment.

CBO should undertake this task in coordination with the Defense Department and outside groups, which have explored this issue in the recent past, such as the Reserve Forces Policy Board and RAND.

Review the reimbursement processes and funding amounts relating to the use of the National Guard in homeland security and support to civil authorities missions.

The Guard could lead a group involving its interagency and state-level partners to develop and maintain critical interagency partnerships in advance of crises, to review reimbursement processes and funding levels to ensure that each entity supports Guard missions as appropriate, and to consider new guidelines that better define each entity’s role in a domestic mission and how long each should be involved.

*(continued)*

---

*FINDING*

---

---

*RECOMMENDATION*

---

10. The National Guard's State Partnership Program (SPP) is likely to remain a valuable tool for building partner capacity overseas.

Continue the State Partnership Program, with the Guard closely coordinating with the Geographic Combatant Commands and with interagency partners to ensure that SPP activities are prioritized.

11. The National Guard is taking steps to incorporate new partners in the Asia-Pacific region and Africa into SPP, but there may be challenges in expanding SPP significantly.

Because most bilateral relationships through the SPP are in Europe, the Guard should carefully consider how, in an era of limited resources, it can shift to the Asia-Pacific region and Africa.

12. The Guard brings unique capabilities to BPC that could not be easily replicated by other services.

13. SPP can complement BPC efforts of other federal agencies, but as such efforts are expanded into the Asia-Pacific region and Africa, there will be an increased need for close coordination.

14. Long-term, relatively stable assignments might be a solution for using Guard forces overseas in peacetime, allowing them to gain valuable operational experience.

Recognize the Guard's value, both in long-term, stable overseas deployments that help Guard forces train and thus maintain important skills and in certain specialized scenarios. Department of Defense (DoD) elements should integrate such capabilities, specifically mentioning Guard units, into operational plans and exercises.

15. Guard forces may offer specialized capabilities that could be useful in overseas scenarios, such as weapons of mass destruction detection and management on the Korean peninsula.

16. The significant interagency dynamic in cyber authorities and activities highlights the importance of developing/implementing coordination mechanisms and avoiding unnecessary duplication.

Integrate Guard cyber capabilities into DoD and interagency plans and structures.

17. The National Guard is building cyber capabilities, but examples are anecdotal and not tracked in a formal way.

Given the interagency dynamic and the pace at which U.S. Army Cyber Command is moving forward with plans for military Cyber Protection Teams and other units, it is critical that the National Guard engage as substantively as possible and coordinate closely with its partners. However, future engagement that demonstrates the Guard's value in cybersecurity will depend in large part on the ability of the Guard to provide better, more thorough evidence of its forces' capabilities. Anecdotal evidence is not sufficient to incorporate into plans or structures. Instead, ARNG members should track demand signals (i.e., what does the Army need as it grows into a greater cyber role?) and supply (i.e., what certifications, etc., does each Guard member have?) closely and provide quantitative evidence to U.S. Army Cyber Command regarding what the Guard has to offer.

18. In light of the urgency of the cyber threat, organizations—such as the U.S. Army Cyber Command—are quickly laying the foundation for and staffing a cyber structure now. Guard and Reserve forces input has been relatively limited, given compressed timelines.

# 1 | Introduction

Currently, U.S. armed forces are facing a rapidly shifting environment. Even as the major combat operations in Afghanistan and Iraq that defined the last decade are coming to an end, a wide variety of new and evolving challenges, both abroad and at home, are confronting the nation's military. These challenges range from shifting focus and resources toward the Asia-Pacific and African theaters to responding to a growing number of cyber attacks and natural disasters. At the same time, the armed forces must continue to prepare for the possibility that they will be called on to rapidly provide significant combat capabilities in the event of a crisis anywhere in the world.

At the same time as challenges emerge, significant budget pressures are mounting. As overall defense spending declines due to the U.S. withdrawal from Iraq and decreasing troop levels in Afghanistan, automatic spending cuts mandated by the Budget Control Act and other fiscal measures are taking an additional toll on the resources available to the military.

These dynamics have created a great deal of uncertainty within the Department of Defense, as roles and missions that services have filled for the last 12 years shift and as cuts to personnel, equipment, and other resources loom. In this environment, services are seeking to determine and clearly articulate their value to the nation. This has the potential to generate competition, as well as potential cooperation, among the service branches.

In addition, as part of the Reserve Component and given its roles in domestic and overseas operations, the U.S. Army National Guard also faces a unique set of dynamics. As the Army National Guard considers its future, it has asked the CSIS Homeland Security and Counterterrorism Program to provide an independent analysis of the strategic-level issues facing the Guard as well as its evolving roles and missions. This report provides policy-makers and practitioners with unbiased insights and recommendations to assist in outlining potential future responsibilities for the Army National Guard.

## Methodology

To provide these insights, CSIS used open-source research and interviews, supplemented with several not-for-attribution roundtable discussions on the following topics of importance to the National Guard:

- principles and levers;
- cybersecurity;
- building partner capacity;
- overseas missions; and
- domestic and homeland defense missions.

These roundtables included National Guard, reserve and active-duty service members, executive branch officials, congressional staffers, subject matter experts, industry representatives, and academics to foster productive conversation about these key issues. To gain further input, CSIS used one-on-one, not-for-attribution interviews with senior-level officials and members of the Department of Defense, Department of Homeland Security, Department of State, and other interested stakeholder entities. That said, only a small number of Active Component individuals agreed to participate in these interviews and discussions.

CSIS acknowledges this unfortunate gap in research because the roundtable events and interviews were critical to informing the analysis underpinning this report. Reflecting thoughts and findings from these roundtables and interviews, the study findings and recommendations are intended to help guide officials to make informed decisions regarding force sizing and structure, as well as roles and missions.

## Outline of Report

The first chapter of this report addresses overarching debates about the Army National Guard, including its role as a strategic or an operational force, Active Component/Reserve Component (AC/RC) mix and integration, and training and readiness. Many of these debates inform or amplify findings and recommendations in the following three chapters. The shorter chapters (Chapters 3 through 6) that follow discuss the future of current or potential missions, such as domestic missions and homeland defense, building partnership capacity, overseas missions, and cybersecurity. Finally, Chapter 7 contains conclusions and recommendations regarding the future of the Army National Guard.

## 2 | Major Ongoing Debates

With regards to our Army's end-strength and structure, we strongly encourage you to avoid courses of action that lead to unnecessarily large reductions that inhibit the Nation's ability to respond to world events and domestic emergencies. We look forward to working with you to ensure a strong Total Army in the future.

—Letter from 58 U.S. Senators to Secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel, December 20, 2013

Established in 1636 when ordinary citizens formed militias to defend against a range of hostile attacks, the National Guard is among the country's oldest and most enduring institutions.<sup>1</sup> With citizen-soldiers serving as the United States' first line of defense since the nation's birth and fighting in every major U.S. conflict, the Guard plays a fundamental role in both national defense and homeland security operations. The Guard serves the nation through a range of missions, taking on a crucial role in responses to domestic emergencies, participating in combat, stability, and peace operations around the world, and working with foreign militaries to develop enduring partnerships. Guard members provide proven capabilities and support the active-duty military through the provision of both combat and support forces.

For example, between September 11, 2001, and February 11, 2014, the National Guard—to include both the Army National Guard (ARNG) and the Air National Guard (ANG)—had undertaken more than 525,897 mobilization actions to locations such as Iraq, Afghanistan, Kosovo, Egypt, Cuba, and Djibouti.<sup>2</sup> On February 11, 2014, 8,281 Guard members were deployed outside of the continental United States, and almost that same number at mobilization/demobilization stations.<sup>3</sup> This level of active participation in ongoing U.S. military efforts over the last decade has allowed the National Guard to break new ground, demonstrate its commitment to national security in overseas environments, and redefine itself in more modern ways.

Since September 11, 2001, the National Guard has emerged as both an essential player in domestic homeland security (often under Title 32, United States Code for federalized

---

1. National Guard Association of the United States, "The Evolving Role of the Citizen-Soldier," [www.ngaus.org/issues-advocacy/evolving-role-citizen-soldier](http://www.ngaus.org/issues-advocacy/evolving-role-citizen-soldier).

2. Army National Guard, "ARNG by the Numbers," [www.arng.army.mil/Pages/ByTheNumbers.aspx](http://www.arng.army.mil/Pages/ByTheNumbers.aspx).

3. Ibid.

## Guardmembers board C-17 in Afghanistan after a nine-month deployment.



Sgt. E. Major, photographer, “New Hampshire National Guard,” *flickr.com*, August 29, 2013, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/thenationalguard/9621663077/sizes/l/>.

missions or under state active-duty status)<sup>4</sup> and a key component of the total force<sup>5</sup> in overseas missions (under Title 10, United States Code). In 2011, Congress recognized this increased importance of the National Guard to national defense, homeland security, and military readiness by amending Title 10 to create a four-star billet within the National Guard<sup>6</sup> and then later added that four-star chief of the National Guard Bureau to the Joint Chiefs of Staff<sup>7</sup>—the first addition to the Joint Chiefs since the vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff joined in 1986.

---

4. This report addresses domestic missions, which can range from disaster response and weapons of mass destruction civil support to border security and other missions, and the various authorities available to provide for these missions in a later chapter.

5. For the purposes of this report, a “total force” policy allows the United States to maintain a full-time force that is smaller than needed to fulfill assigned missions but can be augmented with reserve units when necessary.

6. Title 10, U.S. Code, section 10502 (Chief of the National Guard Bureau: Appointment; Adviser on National Guard Matters; Grade; Succession), paragraph (e)(1).

7. *Ibid.*

Despite this recognition, key factors—the aforementioned resource constraints and evolving security challenges—pose a series of questions about the future of the Army National Guard<sup>8</sup> and its role in national defense and homeland security operations.<sup>9</sup> Like the rest of the military, the Army National Guard is entering a period of transition. Budget cuts, in particular, may undermine the maintenance of a healthy, robust total force (i.e., active-duty, Guard, and reserves) that has the necessary capabilities and capacities to meet future security challenges. As the Active Component and Reserve Component (to include the Guard and reserves) try to protect the gains they each have made since 2001, tensions—which existed previously—are running especially high.

## Finding #1: Tensions between active-duty and National Guard officials—perhaps heightened at times by advocacy efforts of outside groups—have increased.

As the entire U.S. defense establishment faces a fiscal crisis and future austerity, returns from more than 12 years of active combat operations in Afghanistan and elsewhere, and confronts increasingly varied and complex security challenges, all of the military services are tightening their belts and looking for effective, efficient ways to maintain force structure necessary to meet current and foreseeable threats to U.S. national security.

Recent media articles have reflected increased tensions between the active-duty Army and National Guard, in particular, and have highlighted the role Congress can play. Noting that the Army and the National Guard may soon be “at war” with each other over potential cuts, one article noted that

unless the regular Army and the National Guard can resolve their differences behind closed doors before the president’s budget request is publicly submitted sometime in February—and prospects are dim—there will be open, brutal conflict on Capitol Hill on a scale not seen since the 1990s.<sup>10</sup>

---

8. The Army National Guard recognizes that per the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2014, its authorized end strength is 354,200, which was several thousand lower than the previous year. Its actual force as of February 2014 was 355,458 as it reduces down to the newly authorized figure. See Army National Guard, “ARNG by the Numbers.”

9. The Air National Guard seems to be more advanced in discussions regarding its role in the U.S. Air Force’s total force. The legislatively mandated National Commission on the Structure of the Air Force examined this issue in depth. There is no ongoing, equivalent initiative on the Army side, though on January 27, 2014, Representative Joe Wilson (R-SC) and several other members of Congress cosponsored H.R. 3930, National Commission on the Structure of the Army Act of 2014, to establish a similar commission. In addition, in January 2013, the Air Force created a “Total Force Task Force,” including a two-star officer from each of the active-duty, reserve, and National Guard communities, to conduct an internal review of Active Component/ Reserve Component issues and make recommendations about priorities and responsibilities for each component, integration, and standards. This task force provided its recommendations to the Air Force Chief of Staff in autumn 2013.

10. S. Freedberg Jr., “Army, Guard on Brink of War: NGAUS Fires First Salvo,” *Breaking Defense*, January 15, 2014, <http://breakingdefense.com/2014/01/army-guard-on-brink-of-war-nga-us-fires-first-salvo/>.

This tense relationship, which can result in heated disagreements both inside the Pentagon and in the public domain, may in fact hinder the Army's effectiveness as a whole and, consequently, the U.S. national defense in general. Each side has contributed to the distrust that underlies this tension. It appears that the Active Component officials seek to protect active interests in internal budget debates and to exclude the Guard and reserves from final decisionmaking discussions. At the same time, the Guard appears more than willing to re-litigate any disputed issues on Capitol Hill, drawing on effective advocates within Congress and the broader community.

With the steady or increasing risk of disasters—whether natural or man-made—and the less-than-rosy employment situation throughout the United States, members of Congress have a vested interest in keeping Guard assets in their home states. They join their respective governors in taking great pride in Guard members' domestic and overseas military contributions and take exception to public statements that even hint at impugning Guard capabilities. Strong congressional caucuses in both the Senate and the House of Representatives reflect this fact. For example, in January 2014, House National Guard and Reserve Components Caucus cochairs Representatives Duncan D. Hunter (R-CA) and Tim Walz (D-MN) sent General Raymond Odierno (chief of staff of the Army) and General Frank Grass (chief of the National Guard Bureau) a letter in response to the generals' statements at the National Press Club regarding Guard and Reserve capabilities. The letter said,

As the Army completes its force structure review, it is extremely important to note that final troops [*sic*] levels will be decided by Congress, and any proposal by the Army should be reviewed thoroughly to ensure that it does not in any way disparage or diminish the capabilities of one component over the other. We're not advocating for the Reserve component to take over the Active; however, there are certain truths in capabilities provided and costs saved with the Reserve components. . . . It is irresponsible to suggest that the Army National Guard and Reserve forces are not interchangeable and less capable to accomplish our national security objectives abroad.<sup>11</sup>

In addition, the National Guard Association of the United States (NGAUS), the congressionally mandated Reserve Forces Policy Board (RFPB), and, to varying degrees, the 54 adjutants general (TAGs)<sup>12</sup> support a range of Guard positions to Congress, the public, and other stakeholders. Although the active Army also has an association (the Association of the United States Army), it does not bring the same kind of political influence to bear as NGAUS, the RFPB, and the TAGs, who have existing, often strong relationships with

---

11. D. Hunter and T. Walz, "Members of Congress, letter to General Raymond Odierno, Chief of Staff of the Army and General Frank Grass, Chief of the National Guard Bureau," January 16, 2014.

12. Each state and territory in the United States has a senior military officer—almost always a general officer—who commands that state or territory's National Guard, naval militia, and state defense forces. Under state active-duty status, the TAG is subordinate to and funded by the governor. Under Title 32, U.S. Code, federalized status, he or she is subordinate to the governor and funded by the Department of Defense. Under Title 10, U.S. Code, federalized status, he or she is subordinate to and funded by the Department of Defense.

## Guard Apaches fly over Iraq in support of Operation Red Dawn.



Staff Sgt. T. Dorgan, photographer, “South Carolina Army National Guard flies over Iraq,” *flickr.com*, October 8, 2011.

senators, representatives, governors, the National Governors Association, the public, and other stakeholders.

Although Army leadership sometimes bemoans the “political” nature of the National Guard and the Guard’s close relationships with states, some experts argue that such advocacy and support is “a good thing for the country and the All-Volunteer Force, in particular. It’s a valuable thing in a democracy”<sup>13</sup> to have such community involvement. They also note that the Guard and Reserve have a reach into communities that helps keep U.S. citizens tied, in some way, to the military in ways that the Active Component cannot replicate.

This challenging environment—from fiscal crises and financial constraints to the uncertain future security environment to political influence and congressional involvement—will undoubtedly shape the Army National Guard and its roles going forward and raise several

---

13. Study participant, one-on-one, not-for-attribution interview, February 2014.

key questions. Should the Army National Guard be a strategic or operational force, and what roles are most appropriate for the Guard? What is the optimal AC/RC mix to achieve national defense and homeland security missions? Given cost estimates and mission considerations, what is the appropriate size and shape of the Army National Guard?

Of course, certain ARNG-related aspects of this situation are nothing new. From the American Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Mexican-American War to the two World Wars, the Korean War, and the first Gulf War, “the nation called forth and trained its reserves, sent them into battle under federal command, and then, after the war ended, grappled with the size, structure, and funding of the reserve forces.”<sup>14</sup> Even in 2008, a pivotal report from the congressionally mandated Commission on the National Guard and Reserves noted, “Major changes in the roles and missions of the reserve components must be examined, discussed, and accepted by the public and Congress, if they are to succeed. Our analysis shows that there is much to debate, and the debate is overdue.”<sup>15</sup>

To take this debate forward, this chapter builds on previous discussions by exploring the status and substance of key drivers for shaping and sizing the Army National Guard and examines the questions mentioned earlier. The first section discusses whether the Guard should be a strategic or an operational force and what the best ARNG roles are going forward. The second section addresses the AC/RC mix. The final section looks at potential trade-offs regarding costs, readiness levels, and availability (i.e., time to deploy) and their impact on the future of the Army National Guard.

## A Strategic or Operational Force?

Prior to the 1991 Gulf War, the Army National Guard was postured primarily as a strategic reserve to handle domestic emergencies while also available to be called up and deployed in the event of a major war. The transition to a more operational force occurred in the two decades since that time. After the Gulf War, ARNG units were ordered to active-duty status on a more frequent basis for exercises, international exchanges, operations in Afghanistan and Iraq, and operational missions in Bosnia, Kosovo, and elsewhere. The changes since 2001 have been remarkable:

- National Guard and reserve contributions to defense efforts rose to almost five times their pre-September 11 level,<sup>16</sup> due in some part to the increased pace of such ARNG missions.
- The Army National Guard has more than doubled the number of its State Partnership Program partner countries from 30 to 65 since 2001.<sup>17</sup>

---

14. Commission on the National Guard and Reserves, “Transforming the National Guard and Reserves into a 21st-Century Operational Force: Final Report to Congress and the Secretary of Defense,” Washington, DC, January 31, 2008, 6, [http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/pdf-files/CNGR\\_final-report.pdf](http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/pdf-files/CNGR_final-report.pdf).

15. *Ibid.*, 6.

16. *Ibid.*

17. National Guard Bureau, “Posture Statement 2001: Missioning the Guard,” <http://www.arng.army.mil>

- ARNG support of overseas operations has increased nearly fourteen-fold since 2001, from 1,800 troops in fiscal year 2001 to 24,803 in fiscal year 2012.<sup>18</sup>
- The Army National Guard has increased in authorized end strength from 350,000 to 354,200 between 2001 and 2014.<sup>19</sup>

## Finding #2: Dialogue has focused primarily on budget considerations and their impact on force structure and size, not on defining the future Army’s purpose, missions, priorities, and requirements.

With slightly increased ARNG manpower levels and increased use along the spectrum of operations, a debate has raged in Washington in recent years: Should the United States maintain the Guard as an operational reserve capable of domestic emergencies, noncombat missions, and combat operations, or should the nation reduce the force back down to previous, “strategic reserve” levels? As one study participant phrased it, “We have spent a lot of time admiring the problem. Getting people to agree on an outcome or solution has proven much more difficult.”<sup>20</sup>

As experts “admired” the problem of what to do with the Army National Guard, there appears to have been few meaningful discussions with Congress and the broader public about the strategic rationale for the Army’s—and its components’—existence and interaction. In an era increasingly focused on the concept of Air-Sea Battle, the role of the U.S. Marine Corps as a readily deployable “tip of the spear,” and the lack of strategic lift for all military services, there has been remarkably little attention on the roles and missions of the Army, which should lead to requirements and then to budgets. Instead, the Budget Control Act and sequestration have occupied the time and attention of officials.

That said, over time, two distinct schools of thought regarding the use of the Army National Guard have emerged—one that would like to preserve the current operational capability of the Guard as demonstrated by the figures above and another that would like the Guard to return to its more traditional role as a strategic reserve. Both schools must examine how the Army National Guard’s future missions will “fit” within the broader Army construct and then consider force quality (including training), accessibility (including readiness), and cost considerations to determine the future role of the Army National Guard.

---

[/News/publications/Posture%20Statement/2001/missioning%20the%20force.htm](#); National Guard Bureau, “2014 National Guard Bureau Posture Statement: Sustaining an Operational Force,” [www.nationalguard.mil/features/ngps/2014\\_ngps.pdf](http://www.nationalguard.mil/features/ngps/2014_ngps.pdf).

18. National Guard Bureau, “Posture Statement 2001”; National Guard Bureau, “2014 National Guard Bureau Posture Statement.”

19. U.S. Congress, National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2001 (P.L. 106-398).

20. Study participant, one-on-one, not-for-attribution interview, December 2013.

## OPERATIONAL SCHOOL OF THOUGHT

According to one school of thought, the Army National Guard has drawn on years of combat operations in Afghanistan and Iraq and transformed into a modern, capable force that continues to work closely with the Active Component during overseas operations. For example, in 2013, chief of the National Guard Bureau General Frank Grass testified before Congress that the Guard is “at a historic peak of excellence . . . [and] today is better trained, better equipped, and better led than at any time in the 376-year history.”<sup>21</sup> As these overseas combat deployments come to an end, the Army National Guard is seeking to preserve its capabilities and readiness levels by remaining an operational, rather than strategic, reserve.

Considering the Army’s work on its fiscal year 2015 budget proposal and its evaluation of options to cut ARNG end strength and force structure to meet fiscal requirements, one study participant said:

Think for a second what’s happened over the last 10 years. In 2013, we still had a Cold War paradigm as to how to mobilize forces. Fast forward to 2005. . . . Half of the BCTs [Brigade Combat Teams] sitting in Iraq were National Guard, demonstrating capabilities we had clearly learned over the course of those three years. In 2007, we started a cyclical readiness process. Today, we’ve cut mobilization time in half. The historical aspect is great, but we need to give credit to policy changes. Today must be the starting point. 2003 might as well have been 1636 [year of the Guard’s establishment] based on where we are now.<sup>22</sup>

A remarkable number of members of Congress agreed with this perspective. A December 2013 letter from 152 representatives to Secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel urged him “to preserve the force structure and end strength of the Army National Guard and to leverage the operational reserve to increase cost-savings in the Total Army.”<sup>23</sup> One week later, 58 senators sent a similar letter to Secretary Hagel, stating that “this generation of men and women in the Army National Guard and Reserve has proven effective, committed, and capable—indistinguishable on the battlefield from their Active Component counterparts.”<sup>24</sup>

Other influential voices also reflect support for maintaining an operational Guard. In 2008, the Commission on the National Guard and the Reserves report stated:

Beginning in the early 1990s, the National Guard and Reserve have evolved into an essential element of the military’s operational forces. . . . The issues that must be

---

21. J. Greenhill, “Guard Bureau Chief: National Guard Faces Challenges, Should Stay Operational,” U.S. Army, March 28, 2013, [www.army.mil/article/99660/](http://www.army.mil/article/99660/).

22. Study participant, CSIS roundtable, “Future of the Army National Guard: Principles and Levers,” August 2013.

23. Representative N. Rahall et al., members of the U.S. House of Representatives, in a letter to Secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel, December 13, 2013.

24. Senators P. Leahy, L. Graham, J. Manchin, K. Ayotte, et al., members of the U.S. Senate, in a letter to Secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel, December 20, 2013.

addressed are whether the reserve components should continue to play the significant role they have assumed in operations, foreign and domestic; whether they should also retain a strategic role; and what changes are necessary to ensure both that they succeed in their missions and that our national security is protected. . . . Our analysis leads us to conclude that for the foreseeable future, there is no reasonable alternative to the nation's continuing increased reliance on its reserve components for missions at home and abroad, as part of an operational force.<sup>25</sup>

Also in 2008, then-Secretary Robert M. Gates signed a Department of Defense (DoD) directive on "Managing the Reserve Components as an Operational Force." This directive noted:

It is DoD policy that . . . [t]he RCs provide operational capabilities and strategic depth to meet U.S. defense requirements across the full spectrum of conflict. . . . The Active Components (ACs) and RCs are integrated as a total force based on the attributes of the particular component and individual competencies.<sup>26</sup>

Clearly, officials and experts have laid out the arguments for retaining the Guard's operational force capabilities. However, as budgets—including for training and equipment—decline across the federal government and as opportunities for overseas deployments decrease with the end of the Afghanistan and Iraq operations, continuing to be an operational force promises to become more challenging for the Army National Guard.

## STRATEGIC SCHOOL OF THOUGHT

Other experts have questioned the importance of maintaining the Guard as an operational reserve,<sup>27</sup> contending that the Army National Guard's use in this capacity was merely a function of the combat operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. As Iraq operations ended several years ago and as Afghanistan operations are on a glide path to end as soon as December 2014, these same experts argue that the Guard can and should return to being a strategic reserve. For example, the Stimson Center's Defense Advisory Committee recommended in September 2013 that the Guard "return . . . to their more traditional roles in domestic emergencies and as the nation's strategic reserve for foreign wars."<sup>28</sup> The report further stated, "To acknowledge the increased importance of this role while capitalizing on the cost-effectiveness of the Reserve components, we would reduce the funding levels for the Guard and Reserves somewhat, but not in proportion to the reduction in the active force."<sup>29</sup>

---

25. Commission on the National Guard and Reserves, "Transforming the National Guard and Reserves into a 21st-Century Operational Force," 7–8.

26. U.S. Department of Defense, "DoDD 1200.17: Managing the Reserve Components as an Operation Force," October 29, 2008, 1–2, <http://www.dtic.mil/whs/directives/corres/pdf/120017p.pdf>.

27. J. Nagl and T. Sharp, "Operational for What? The Future of the Guard and Reserves," *Joint Forces Quarterly* 59 (4th quarter 2010), [www.ndu.edu/press/operational-for-what.html](http://www.ndu.edu/press/operational-for-what.html).

28. Defense Advisory Committee, *Strategic Agility: Strong National Defense for Today's Global and Fiscal Realities* (Washington, DC: Stimson Center, September 2013), 27, [http://www.stimson.org/images/uploads/Strategic\\_Agility\\_Report.pdf](http://www.stimson.org/images/uploads/Strategic_Agility_Report.pdf).

29. *Ibid.*

Preservation of the Guard's state-level role in domestic emergency response is a key element for those who argue for returning the Guard to a strategic-level reserve. Experts from both schools of thought note a key principle of the National Guard: it is a state military. They agree, in large part, on the important role the Guard can play in domestic missions. They also agree that there is a constitutional basis for the Guard's structure. This structure includes state-level emergency response, and because of state-level fiscal constraints, governors often like dual-use capabilities (i.e., suitable for both state and federal missions to include Title 10 activities).

While acknowledging the critical role that Guard forces play in domestic contingencies, a senior official within the National Guard mentioned real concerns about focusing too much on the home front, saying, "If the Guard isn't careful, they will paint themselves as suitable for homeland defense/homeland security missions only and lose the important role as a combat reserve."<sup>30</sup> As a strategic-level combat reserve, the Guard would need to retain manpower, assets, training, and readiness levels to allow it to support the total Army while also retaining sufficient capabilities for its domestic missions. This leads the argument back to the Stimson Center's recommendation to cut the existing Army National Guard to meet these particular mission requirements and no more.

Returning the Guard to a strategic reserve with more traditional responsibilities has a practical impact. For instance, Guard units have historically filled overseas missions in Kosovo, the Sinai, and elsewhere for the past decade. However, in recent years, the Active Component has assumed responsibility for many of these noncombat overseas missions.<sup>31</sup> The military, of course, is not normally a Guard member's full-time job, and "many military skills are perishable. . . . [E]ven heroes need a refresher course."<sup>32</sup> One unintended repercussion of shifting such missions to the Active Component may be the degraded training and readiness of the National Guard force,<sup>33</sup> resulting in longer-term consequences for the Guard. Another unintended consequence may be the unavailability of AC forces for short-notice deployments.<sup>34</sup>

As operations in Afghanistan and elsewhere come to an end, it is now time to stop admiring the problem, forget past tensions and entrenched positions, and enter into a real dialogue about how each party considers the Guard's roles and missions going forward. What are the likely National Guard domestic missions that are essential? What Title 10 missions would benefit from an operational reserve? What would be the required equipment, training, and deployments to keep Army National Guard members ready to serve as an operational reserve?

---

30. Study participant, one-on-one, not-for-attribution interview, December 2013.

31. M. Tan, "Army Defense Active-for-Reserve Deployment Swap," *Army Times*, April 29, 2013, <http://www.armytimes.com/article/20130429/NEWS/304290004/Army-defends-active-reserve-deployment-swap>.

32. Freedberg, "Army, Guard on Brink of War."

33. Study participant, CSIS roundtable, "Future of the Army National Guard: Principles and Levers," August 2013.

34. Study participant, one-on-one, not-for-attribution interview, February 2014.

# Active Component/Reserve Component Mix

When determining the correct National Guard-active component mix, top consideration needs to be given to national security requirements and to sizing a total force that is able to rapidly respond to and endure against threats and incidents here and abroad.<sup>35</sup>

—General Frank J. Grass, Chief of the National Guard Bureau

After determining whether the nation should have a strategic or operational reserve, one can then turn to the question of the most effective AC/RC mix. Some experts lament that because the first debate has seen no resolution, it is difficult to calculate end strength and equipment requirements. After all, without clear roles and missions, how can the total Army or civilian elements within the Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD) discuss distribution of capabilities? As recently stated by OSD’s Cost Assessment and Program Evaluation (CAPE) office in a report to Congress, “determining the right size and mix of our AC/RC assets turns foremost on the ability to provide ready forces when needed that can accomplish the mission.”<sup>36</sup> Clearly, the first step is to determine what comprises “the mission.”

The lack of a real AC/RC mix discussion in recent years may be due to the fact that the strategic/operational debate is still ongoing. In fact, the OSD-led Strategic Choices and Management Review and Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) processes—with the latter leading up to the 2014 QDR report to Congress, considered by some experts to be a relatively simple document that emerges from a considerably more robust policy discussion within the Department of Defense—was to have included AC/RC discussions. Instead, the QDR process led to a separate “tiger team” of Defense Department experts that reportedly will help to resolve the AC/RC mix question. Yet reports also point to the fact that this team may not have diverse representation, both in terms of membership and in sources of data, thus potentially rendering its findings a bit skewed.<sup>37</sup>

The Department is not the only key player that appears flummoxed by how to proceed with this discussion. Recent public debate and congressional interest almost universally ignore the roles and missions question and focused on potential cuts to the Army’s force structure, especially integration, AC/RC mix drivers, and end strength issues.

## INTEGRATION

Integration of the active and reserve component was a priority from the mid-1990s through 2001 as budgets fell and missions diversified following the Cold War. However, experts from the Strategic Studies Institute expressed concerns in 2001 that doctrinal, financial,

---

35. National Guard Bureau, “2014 National Guard Bureau Posture Statement.”

36. Office of the Secretary of Defense, *Unit Cost and Readiness for the Active and Reserve Components of the Armed Forces: Report to Congress* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Defense, December 20, 2013), 3, <http://www.ngaus.org/sites/default/files/CAPE%20FINAL%20ACRCMixReport.pdf>.

37. Study participant, one-on-one, not-for-attribution interview, December 2013.

## 150th Armored Reconnaissance Squadron conducts training in a Bradley Fighting Vehicle.



LTC D. Lester, photographer, “Advanced Mobility Training,” *flickr.com*, March 4, 2013, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/thenationalguard/8528005701/sizes/l/>.

and organizational instability within the Army had the potential to compromise integration efforts.<sup>38</sup> This same concern exists today.<sup>39</sup> The Army currently faces the largest organizational change since World War II, as the U.S. defense strategy reorients toward the Asia-Pacific region and as budget constraints force difficult discussions and force structure decisions. Army leadership has said that these drastic cuts will put more emphasis on National Guard forces going forward, emphasizing a newfound need for AC/RC cooperation and integration.<sup>40</sup>

Accordingly, in September 2012, Secretary of the Army John McHugh signed an updated Army Total Force Policy, a road map intended to increase Active Component and Reserve Component integration.<sup>41</sup> Hailed as a milestone in the Army’s history, the policy states that

---

38. D. Owens Jr., *AC/RC Integration, Today’s Success and Transformation’s Challenge* (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, October 2001), <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/00245.pdf>.

39. Study participant, CSIS roundtable, “Future of the Army National Guard: Principles and Levers,” August 2013.

40. A. Feickert, “Army Drawdown and Restructuring: Background and Issues for Congress,” Congressional Research Service, February 28, 2014, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/R42493.pdf>.

41. “Army Total Force Policy,” *U.S. Army Stand To!*, October 23, 2012, <http://www.army.mil/standto/archive/issue.php?issue=2012-10-23>.

“DoD policies require the military departments to organize, man, train and equip their active and reserve components as an integrated operational force to provide predictable, recurring and sustainable capabilities.”<sup>42</sup> The Total Force Policy tasks the Army with integrating AC and RC forces and capabilities at the tactical level (division and below), as well as ensuring that predeployment readiness standards are consistent for AC and RC units.<sup>43</sup>

## Finding #3: There is no agreement regarding the appropriate level of integration between the active-duty Army and the Army National Guard (ARNG).

Despite the Total Force Policy, debate still exists over the correct AC/RC mix in the total force and how best to achieve optimal integration. Some experts argue that shedding force structure into the National Guard and reserves ignores historical readiness failures among those forces, cautioning that the reserves should not be considered true substitutes for active forces.<sup>44</sup> Still others argue that the Guard and reserves have proven their readiness capabilities in the past decade through deployments in support of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq.<sup>45</sup> Because the Active Component bore the brunt of end strength reductions for fiscal year 2013, officials have insinuated that future cuts will be proportionally applied to the AC and RC.<sup>46</sup> However, other experts argue that proportional cuts are illogical given the cost-effective nature of the Guard.<sup>47</sup>

Multiple barriers to AC/RC integration complicate the debate over the right active and reserve component mix. First, despite a Total Force Policy, a “total force culture” does not yet exist between the active and reserve components.<sup>48</sup> During the first CSIS roundtable on “Principles and Levers” in support of this study, current and former military members revealed that while Guard members often have a reasonable understanding of their active-duty counterparts’ perspectives, AC members may not often empathize with the average Guard member,<sup>49</sup> for whom military service is only one aspect of his or her

---

42. Ibid.

43. Secretary of the Army, “Army Directive 2012-08: Army Total Force Policy,” September 4, 2012, [http://www.apd.army.mil/pdffiles/ad2012\\_08.pdf](http://www.apd.army.mil/pdffiles/ad2012_08.pdf).

44. J. Nagl and T. Sharp, *An Indispensable Force: Investing in America’s National Guard and Reserves* (Washington, DC: Center for a New American Security, September 2010), [http://www.cnas.org/files/documents/publications/CNAS\\_AnIndispensableForce\\_NaglSharp.pdf](http://www.cnas.org/files/documents/publications/CNAS_AnIndispensableForce_NaglSharp.pdf).

45. S. Bucci, “National Guard Facing Cuts That Would Hurt Domestic Readiness,” *The Foundry*, May 23, 2012, <http://blog.heritage.org/2012/05/23/national-guard-facing-cuts-that-would-hurt-domestic-readiness/>.

46. “Department of Defense Briefing by Gen. Odierno from the Pentagon Briefing Room,” U.S. Department of Defense, June 25, 2013, <http://www.defense.gov/transcripts/transcript.aspx?transcriptid=5263>.

47. Defense Advisory Committee, *Strategic Agility*; and Adm. Gary Roughead and Kori Schake, “National Defense in a Time of Change,” Hamilton Project at the Brookings Institution, February 2013, 13, [http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2013/02/us%20national%20defense%20changes/thp\\_rougheaddiscpaper.pdf](http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2013/02/us%20national%20defense%20changes/thp_rougheaddiscpaper.pdf).

48. Study participant, CSIS roundtable, “Future of the Army National Guard: Principles and Levers,” August 2013.

49. Ibid.

career. Moreover, as budget cuts create competition for resources and missions, the components have no real incentive to integrate and break down cultural barriers;<sup>50</sup> rather, they may become more protectionist of their own components' force structure and capabilities. Finally, because there is no clear vision of how America's ground forces should be postured to best face emerging threats, the Active Component and the Guard do not yet have a reference point to guide integration efforts.<sup>51</sup> Unlike the Air Force, which can more easily integrate Air National Guard squadrons into training, operations, and other activities, it is less clear how the Army might follow suit. While experts agree that individual or unit integration may not change Army culture, some level of integration will be necessary to implement the Total Force Policy and ensure cooperation moving forward.<sup>52</sup>

There is general consensus that integration should occur off the battlefield, but proposals for integration programs vary from that point forward. Currently, "continuum of service" efforts aim to allow RC or AC members to transition back and forth between components. However, there is the perception that the true goal of "continuum of service" efforts is to transition talented AC service members into the Reserve Component (rather than lose them through separation) as opposed to vice versa.<sup>53</sup> Although "continuum of service" may help to correct cultural biases, some doubt whether it will truly fix the many barriers to integration.<sup>54</sup> Instead, a program whereby active and reserve components interact more frequently throughout their careers might be more effective. Such a program could be flexible and implemented at the staff level or through outside requirements for high-ranking military officials seeking further promotion.<sup>55</sup>

Further, there is some debate regarding the level at which an integration program should be implemented. Some experts argue that integration all the way down to the hometown armory would help highlight the Guard's community base, while others suggest that integration at the BCT level would be easier because it already occurs to some extent in the Army Force Generation cycle.<sup>56</sup>

## **DRIVERS OF THE AC/RC MIX**

Integration debates often lead to discussions of the "right" mix of active and reserve forces. According to CAPE's congressionally mandated report, it is possible to identify AC/RC mix drivers, such as "sourcing for continuous operations (forward and homeland), surge, and post-surge demands; predictability and frequency; responsiveness of the force based on complexity of the task, urgency of the task, unit integration, mission, or role; and retention

---

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.

53. R. McIlvaine, "Army Planning 'Continuum of Service' between Components," U.S. Army, November 15, 2011, <http://www.army.mil/article/69397/>.

54. Study participant, CSIS roundtable, "Future of the Army National Guard: Principles and Levers," August 2013.

55. Commission on the National Guard and Reserves, "Transforming the National Guard and Reserves into a 21st-Century Operational Force," 19–22.

56. Study participant, CSIS roundtable, "Future of the Army National Guard: Principles and Levers," August 2013.

**Table 1: Factors in AC/RC Mix and Related CAPE Determinations**

<i>Factors in AC/RC Mix</i>	<i>CAPE Determination</i>
Sourcing for continuous operations, surge, and post-surge demands	If forward presence requires capital-intensive and other large units, the AC might be a more appropriate source (better responsiveness). AC units may be better suited for early surge requirements, and RC may be better suited for later surge and post-surge missions.
Predictability and frequency	AC units are more appropriate for unpredictable, frequent deployments. RC units tend to be better for predictable, infrequent deployments.
Responsiveness	AC responsiveness is higher if perishable, collective, or specifically military skills are required. AC and RC unit responsiveness is comparable if individual skills are important.
Retention and sustainment	AC and RC can be used in ways that lead to retention issues.
Cost	When not in use, annual RC costs are considerably less than AC costs. When the RC is used, AC and RC cost about the same.

Source: Office of the Secretary of Defense, *Unit Cost and Readiness for the Active and Reserve Components of the Armed Forces: Report to Congress* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Defense, December 20, 2013), 6-8.

considerations.”<sup>57</sup> These drivers are in addition to costs of unit manning, training, and equipping. CAPE provided its general guidelines for use of the AC/RC in Table 1.

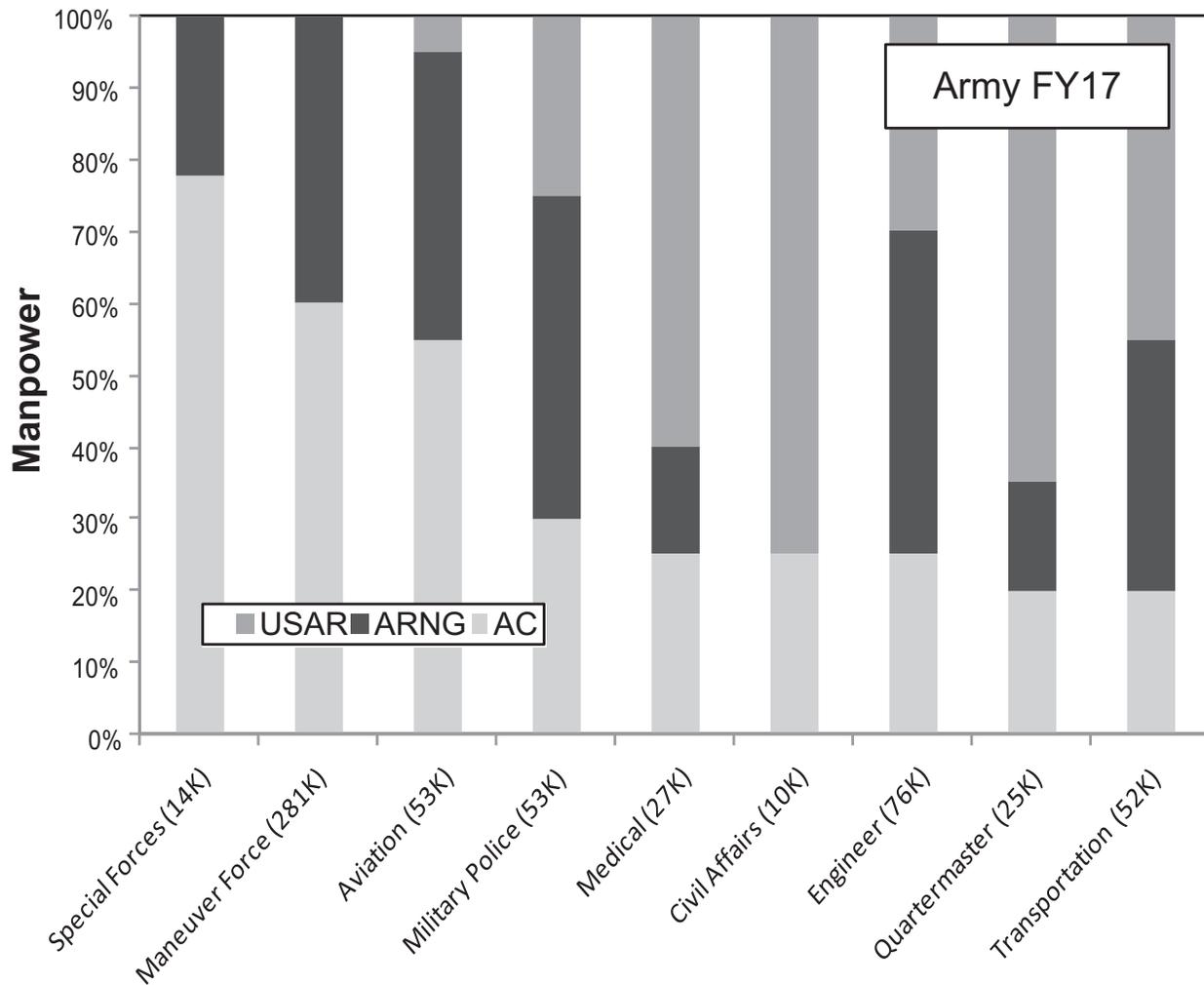
With these determinations as a backdrop, it is no wonder that CAPE interpreted the planned fiscal year 2017 AC/RC mix as supportive to its guidelines, as reflected in Figure 1.

According to CAPE, this mix rests primarily on anticipated unpredictable or frequent deployments for Special Forces, large unit collective training for Maneuver Forces, and capital-intensive and frequent deployments for Aviation. That leaves ARNG billets in combat support and combat service support areas. In other words, this report focuses on using the ARNG as combat support and combat service support. This portion of the report clearly implies a preference for more traditional ARNG roles in a strategic reserve, despite not discussing that important topic in the context of this report.

All that said, an important step in considering the AC/RC mix is to review the whole total Army landscape that is changing radically, given the budget constraints and the

<sup>57</sup>. Office of the Secretary of Defense, *Unit Cost and Readiness for the Active and Reserve Components of the Armed Forces*, 3.

**Figure 1: Army AC/RC Mix**



Source: Office of the Secretary of Defense, *Unit Cost and Readiness for the Active and Reserve Components of the Armed Forces*, 11.

foreseeable security environment. This review can shed light on why active-duty Army and National Guard officials and supporters are reacting as viscerally as they are.<sup>58</sup>

## END STRENGTH

It is true that the ARNG has grown in the last decade. So too has the active-duty Army, which topped off during the height of the Afghanistan and Iraq wars. At that time, the AC had more personnel (570,000) than the RC; the total Army was then 52 percent AC and 48 percent RC,<sup>59</sup> a reversal of the historic split. The Army’s deputy chief of staff for resourc-

58. One study participant noted that although the Army Reserve will experience cuts, too, those cuts are relatively small compared with the more vocal AC and Guard.

59. In traditional circumstances, the ratio is usually closer to 46 percent AC and 54 percent RC.

**Table 2: End Strength Numbers—Authorized, Acceptable, Possible, and Worst Case**

	<i>Current Authorized End Strength (E/S)</i>	<i>Acceptable E/S</i>	<i>Quadrennial Defense Review E/S</i>	<i>E/S with Sequestration</i>
Active Army	520,000	450,000	440,000–450,000	420,000
ARNG	354,200	345,000	335,000	315,000
Army Reserve	205,000	N/A	195,000	185,000
TOTAL	1,079,200	N/A	970,000–980,000	920,000

Sources: National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2014; 2014 Quadrennial Defense Review; study participants in one-on-one, not-for-attribution interviews; media reports.

ing, Lieutenant General James Barclay, noted in fall 2013, “We kind of got out of balance during the war.”<sup>60</sup>

By December 2013, the Army had cut AC end strength to approximately 490,000, but budget constraints promise to drive that number down further. Table 2 shows current end strength personnel numbers, numbers that each component’s leadership has indicated as acceptable, numbers that the president might include in his fiscal year 2015 budget request, and worst case scenario numbers that have appeared in Department of Defense discussions.

Regarding National Guard, the possible and worst case numbers would create the smallest Army National Guard since well before 2001. As mentioned earlier, outside, non-Army groups—such as NGAUS, members of Congress, and certain TAGs—have advocated for an Army National Guard that is much closer to the current and acceptable figures, using letters and background papers to DoD and Army leadership, briefings on Capitol Hill, and Guard-focused discussions throughout Washington, DC and beyond.

## Readiness and Training

Despite high-level support in the Defense Department, on the Hill, and in state capitals, diminishing resources, combined with new challenges that may require rapid deployments, have led to questions regarding the Guard’s readiness and ability to respond quickly in a crisis. As budget cuts and force reductions continue, a variety of questions have arisen regarding the optimal means by which to achieve this end. If maintaining end strength in terms of military personnel to staff a combat reserve, the Army National Guard may face cuts in critical areas, such as training, exercises, and even equipment, which could adversely affect long-term readiness and quality of the force. Conversely, safeguarding readiness could cause cuts to be taken in personnel accounts.

60. J. Barclay, deputy chief of staff, Department of the Army, speaking at the 2013 Association of United States Army conference, October 21, 2013, [http://www.army.mil/professional/ilw/army\\_after\\_2020.html](http://www.army.mil/professional/ilw/army_after_2020.html).

## Finding #4: There is significant disagreement regarding how to compare readiness levels and training days for the AC and the National Guard.

Army leadership has stated that drastic cuts in the active-duty military will put more responsibility in the National Guard and reserves.<sup>61</sup> However, many are concerned that heavy reliance on the Guard might compromise the nation's ability to respond quickly in an unplanned contingency operation.<sup>62</sup> Questions remain as to the Guard's training and readiness capabilities and the level at which these capabilities should be maintained given the diverse range of missions Guard forces might support.

For example, the December 2013 CAPE report to Congress avoids in-depth discussion of readiness, instead using terminology that emphasizes “readiness and responsiveness,” with key enablers being amount of time and funding allocated to a unit's training.<sup>63</sup> The report, as seen in Table 1, determines that if a mission requires perishable, collective, or specifically military skills, the AC is more responsive—though the report does not explain why—to that requirement, whereas if a mission requires individual skills that can be “maintained in dwell at equivalent high readiness levels in both AC and RC units,”<sup>64</sup> either component could respond.

Other experts note, however, that the time required to deploy AC and RC units is roughly the same, regardless of mission. Army chief of staff General Odierno has stated that a higher level of readiness will require an entirely new readiness model for the National Guard.<sup>65</sup> Currently, plans to realign the Army Force Generation model—which informs the Army's deployment cycle—mainly affect the AC. However, should the Guard be reverted back to a strategic reserve, plans for training and readiness would naturally change.<sup>66</sup> The current plans for the Army Force Generation model shorten the time needed to move through reset, training, and available phases from 36 to 24 months for the active Army. Some of the Reserve component will complete the training and reset phases without proceeding to the available phase needed for deployment. The proposed change would put the remaining parts of the Reserve Component in a 60-month cycle closely resembling the Active Component.<sup>67</sup>

One important element of readiness and responsiveness—and one that CAPE did not address in its report—is the availability of strategic lift. Both airlift and sealift are critical

---

61. Feickert, “Army Drawdown and Restructuring.”

62. Study participants, CSIS roundtable, “Future of the Army National Guard: Principles and Levers,” August 2013.

63. Office of the Secretary of Defense, *Unit Cost and Readiness for the Active and Reserve Components of the Armed Forces*, 7.

64. Ibid.

65. L. Baldor, “Army Chief Sees Greater Role for Guard and Reserves,” PilotOnline, January 27, 2012, <http://hamptonroads.com/2012/01/army-chief-sees-greater-role-guard-and-reserves>.

66. National Guard Bureau, “Implementing the Army Force Generation Model in the Army National Guard: A Formula for Operational Capacity,” August 1, 2011, <http://www.arng.army.mil/News/publications/Publications/ARFORGENwhitePaper1aug2011v3g2g.pdf>.

67. Feickert, “Army Drawdown and Restructuring.”

components to deploying U.S. forces overseas, and many experts and officials (including Special Operations Forces) argue that there is a notable shortfall in lift assets. This shortfall affects both Active Component and Reserve Component forces<sup>68</sup> and can cause slower deployment times.

Concerns exist regarding the time needed to fully train Guard units prior to deployment. It is generally acknowledged that Guard forces, the vast majority of whom have other civilian jobs, cannot devote as much time to training as their active counterparts.<sup>69</sup> However, some experts contend that the reserves also face greater personnel instability, especially as units approach mobilization and deployment. When members leave the unit, the Guard must in-source new personnel, sometimes requiring the entire unit to repeat training exercises and decreasing the unit's overall readiness.<sup>70</sup> This, of course, can also be true for AC units. Obstacles to timely training naturally lead to a hindered ability for Guard and reserve forces to deploy quickly. Specifically, when mobilizing ground combat units, reserve forces have historically needed "substantial additional training" after being mobilized.<sup>71</sup>

On training, there appears to be no agreed-upon comparison of numbers of training days, something that should be easily quantifiable using a common approach to both the AC and the RC. Though longtime National Guard and Reserve recruitment campaigns emphasized training for two days per month and two weeks in the year (adding up to 39 training days), that figure is the bare minimum. As posited by Representatives Hunter and Walz in their January 2014 letter to Generals Grass and Odierno, "there are significant other training activities that take place that put the number of training days upwards of 90 to 100 days in some cases."<sup>72</sup> They also noted that the active-duty Army does not train year-round but some time significantly less.

Certainly, training time will vary based on future missions assigned to the National Guard. For instance, some predict that training will become far more specialized, whereby units destined for homeland defense and civil support activities will not be trained for other things, such as combat missions.<sup>73</sup> A positive example of Guard readiness occurred during Desert Shield in Iraq, which demonstrated the utility of Guard combat support and combat service support. Some experts believe this could be a model for future use of Guard services and readiness.<sup>74</sup> Additionally, training and deployment will be influenced by the amount of resources allocated to readiness. In turn, it is

---

68. Study participant, one-on-one, not-for-attribution interview, February 2014.

69. Study participant, CSIS roundtable, "Future of the Army National Guard: Principles and Levers," August 2013.

70. T. Lippiatt and J. M. Polich, *Reserve Component Unit Stability: Effects on Deployability and Training* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2010), <http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/MG954>.

71. B. Rostker, *Right Sizing the Force: Lessons for the Current Drawdown of American Military Personnel* (Washington, DC: Center for a New American Security, June 2013), 11, [http://www.cnas.org/files/documents/publications/CNAS\\_RightSizingTheForce\\_Rostker.pdf](http://www.cnas.org/files/documents/publications/CNAS_RightSizingTheForce_Rostker.pdf).

72. D. Hunter and T. Walz, members of Congress, letter to General Raymond Odierno, chief of staff of the Army, and General Frank Grass, chief of the National Guard Bureau, January 16, 2014.

73. Feickert, "Army Drawdown and Restructuring."

74. Rostker, *Right Sizing the Force*.

possible that the Guard's cost-effectiveness will decline as it faces greater readiness costs in the future.<sup>75</sup>

## Cost Considerations

Of course, no discussion of major ongoing debates is complete without exploring cost elements. First laying out strategic-level thinking regarding the Guard as a strategic or operational force, key factors that drive the AC/RC mix, and readiness and training concerns is important because all of these elements should, in an ideal world, feed into budget discussions rather than allowing budget constraints to determine those elements.

### Finding #5: There is no common model when considering the costs of the active-duty Army and the ARNG.

What is most interesting about the budget debate around the Total Army is that no one can seem to agree on how to count costs. Study results appear incompatible, whether from the AC, the National Guard Bureau, the Reserve Forces Policy Board, OSD CAPE, or other sources. While the Air Force has an Individual Cost of an Airman model, there is no directly analogous, accepted model within the Army community.

For example, the December 2013 CAPE report to Congress summarizes key differences between its report and that of the RFPB, saying

the Reserve Forces Policy Board (RFPB) recommends expanding the scope of the comparison to account for all DoD costs as well as defense costs external to DoD such as those paid by the U.S. Department of the Treasury and the Department of Veterans Affairs (VA). Also, the RFPB report attempts to generate a per capita “fully burdened” cost for the individual. This [CAPE] report examines a broad array of personnel compensation costs, but excludes DoD costs that are not directly related to compensation (such as equipment development and procurement costs) and costs borne outside of DoD. This report also considers AC and RC unit level cost, with a focus on the cost to reach Service readiness objectives for a unit, and when necessary, the cost to conduct additional unit training in preparation for deployment.<sup>76</sup>

Even without adding in external costs from the Treasury or VA, the CAPE report reflects the facts that from a military personnel perspective, RC individuals in drill status

---

<sup>75</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>76</sup>. Office of the Secretary of Defense, *Unit Cost and Readiness for the Active and Reserve Components of the Armed Forces*, 16.

**Table 3: Elements of Individual Compensation**

<i>Individual Compensation</i> <i>US Air Force O-5</i>	<i>Base Pay</i>	<i>Retire Pay</i>	<i>Medicare-Eligible</i> <i>Retiree Health Care</i>	<i>Other</i> <i>Allowances</i>	<i>Service</i> <i>Composite</i> <i>Rate</i>
AC (Average of 17.5 years of service)	95,000	30,000	4,000	54,000	183,000
RC on active duty all year (Average of 21 years of service)	100,000	24,000	2,000	49,000	175,000
RC in drill status (Average of 21 years of service) Assumes 39 days = 24 days drill (48 pay periods) + 15 days AT	17,000	4,000	2,000	5,000	29,000

Source: Office of the Secretary of Defense, *Unit Cost and Readiness for the Active and Reserve Components of the Armed Forces*, 5.

are much less expensive than their AC counterparts and that RC individuals on full-year active duty are also less expensive than their AC counterparts. In this respect, the CAPE and RFPB reports agree. For example, the quantitative analysis underpinning the RFPB study revealed that

the cost of an RC service member, when not activated, is less than one-third than that of their AC counterpart. According to RFPB analysis of the Fiscal Year 2013 budget request, the RC per capita cost ranges from 22% to 32% of their AC counterparts' per capita costs, depending on which cost elements are included.<sup>77</sup>

That said, the CAPE report readily admits that because operations and maintenance and investment costs are usually within the Service's primary (i.e., overall) budget rather than in the Guard's, the report does not reflect allocation of those resources by component. Moreover, many studies vary on how they consider comparative retirement pay, health care, movement (e.g., Permanent Change of Station) and basic allowance for housing, DoD schools, commissaries, and other costs.

In addition to individual costs, the CAPE report also briefly discussed unit costs, defined as "personnel and training funds needed to support Service readiness objectives."<sup>78</sup> Generally, RC units, to include the National Guard, receive fewer training funds in peacetime and may require additional resources to prepare for deployment. As laid out in the CAPE report and

77. Reserve Forces Policy Board, "Eliminating Major Gaps in DoD Data on the Fully-Burdened and Life-Cycle Cost of Military Personnel: Cost Elements Should Be Mandated by Policy," final report to the secretary of defense, January 7, 2013, 5, [http://ra.defense.gov/rfpb/\\_documents/RFPB\\_Cost\\_Methodology\\_Final\\_Report\\_7Jan13.pdf](http://ra.defense.gov/rfpb/_documents/RFPB_Cost_Methodology_Final_Report_7Jan13.pdf).

78. Office of the Secretary of Defense, *Unit Cost and Readiness for the Active and Reserve Components of the Armed Forces*, 23.

**Table 4: Unit Cost Comparison for AC and ARNG IBCTs**

---

Active Component Unit	
Annual cost to maintain AC IBCT (in dwell)	\$277 million
Cost to prepare AC IBCT for deployment	\$8 million
Total cost	\$285 million
Army National Guard Unit	
Annual cost to maintain ARNG IBCT (in dwell)	\$66 million
Cost to prepare ARNG IBCT for deployment	\$97 million
Total cost	\$163 million

---

Source: Office of the Secretary of Defense, *Unit Cost and Readiness for the Active and Reserve Components of the Armed Forces*, 25; D. Hunter and T. Walz, members of Congress, letter to General Raymond Odierno, Chief of Staff of the Army, and General Frank Grass, Chief of the National Guard Bureau, January 16, 2014.

cited by Representatives Hunter and Walz in their January 2014 letter, maintaining and readying an AC Infantry Brigade Combat Team (IBCT) costs almost twice as much as an ARNG IBCT.

Despite these figures, the CAPE report posits that under the current Army Force Generation (ARFORGEN) process, an AC unit must be ready to deploy twice as frequently as the RC unit. As such, it is necessary to maintain more, and more ready, AC units.

Regardless of how one interprets the figures and determines the future AC/RC mix, it is clear that until there is an accepted common cost model to compare individuals and units, including military personnel, operations and maintenance, readiness and training, and procurement costs, it will be possible for anyone—from active-duty officials to National Guard officials to Congress and other outside, non-Army entities—to find the numbers that align with their talking points. This makes the development of roles and missions, priorities, and requirements even more necessary to drive an informed budget discussion that one hopes will rest on a common understanding of costs across the board.

Toward that end, the next several chapters explore various mission areas in which the Army National Guard could play a role. In turn, these vignettes can help to inform the future structure of the Army National Guard.

# 3 | National Guard's Role in Domestic Missions

It's powerful just to see a National Guard vehicle driving by. It gives people the sense that they're not by themselves and that help is coming.<sup>1</sup>

—Honorable W. Craig Fugate,  
FEMA Administrator

Separate sets of authorities, at both the federal and state levels, govern the National Guard's dual missions. First, Guard forces, under the order of the president and control of the nation's military, serve alongside active-component colleagues under authorities in Title 10, United States Code. In this capacity, the Guard fills various needs of the active component, including, but not limited to, assisting military exercises with allied forces, providing support during large-scale national emergencies, and otherwise contributing to a military response to homeland incursions.<sup>2</sup> Second, the Guard may fulfill missions while federally activated under Title 32 of United States Code. While on Title 32 Full-Time National Guard Duty, Guard members are federally funded but under the command and control of the state governor through his or her TAG, and only the president of the United States or the secretary of defense—with approval and consent of the state governor—is authorized to activate the Guard under Title 32. Finally, the state governor can activate Guard members to state active duty, based on state laws and policy and with state funding. Unless activated under Title 10 authority, Guard troops are under the command and control of their respective state governors under Title 32 or state active duty to provide state-level and community support as assigned. Thus, Guard assignments span a range of diverse domestic missions, from disaster response (e.g., in cooperation with the Federal Emergency Management Agency [FEMA]) and weapons of mass destruction (WMD) consequence management to border security and counter-narcotics programs (e.g., as a member of joint task forces).<sup>3</sup>

---

1. National Guard Bureau, "2013 National Guard Bureau Posture Statement: Security America Can Afford," [http://www.nationalguard.mil/features/ngps/2013\\_ngps.pdf](http://www.nationalguard.mil/features/ngps/2013_ngps.pdf).

2. Title 10, U.S. Code, Section 10102, "Purpose of Reserve Components," <http://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/10/10102>.

3. National Guard Bureau, "2014 National Guard Bureau Posture Statement: Sustaining an Operational Force," [www.nationalguard.mil/features/ngps/2014\\_ngps.pdf](http://www.nationalguard.mil/features/ngps/2014_ngps.pdf).

**Guardmembers preparing to provide emergency support to civil authorities in advance of Winter Storm Pax.**



Sgt. M. Uribe, photographer, “Georgia National Guard,” *flickr.com*, February 12, 2014, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/thenationalguard/12482605285/sizes/l/>.

In his 2014 posture statement to Congress, Chief of the National Guard Bureau General Frank J. Grass stated, “In light of the National Guard’s dual nature, we must collectively evaluate and determine new homeland requirements as well as fulfill our role as the primary reserve force to the Air Force and the Army.”<sup>4</sup> Therefore, the Guard must strike the proper balance between both domestic and foreign missions, especially in the current climate of growing budgetary constraints.

The National Guard has historically played a strong role in domestic missions, whether fighting wildfires, providing relief during natural disasters, supplementing border security, or working national security special events like the Presidential Inauguration. Currently, civil authorities or the National Guard handle 96 percent of emergencies in the United States.<sup>5</sup> In 2008, the Commission on the National Guard and Reserves stated, “While civil

---

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

### **Questioning the Use of Title 32 Authority**

Some experts have concerns that the National Guard and its supporters may be gaming the system and that, in the words of one study participant, “from a national security perspective, we are going in the wrong direction.” These experts believe that the nation is federalizing too many state-level missions, not allowing the Guard to be a true state military under the command, control, and funding of the state, and focusing too much on operational reserve capabilities.

They argue that the use of Title 32 authority has departed substantially from the statute’s original intent. Instead of requesting Title 32 federalization of a mission in an effort to support Guard training, state—and sometimes federal—officials use Title 32 to send federal funds to the state without the training element. For example, one senior federal official argued that overuse or misuse of Title 32 is disincentivizing the cost-effectiveness of the Guard; in his opinion, some cases are more suitable for Stafford Act and other authorities instead of Title 32, but state and other officials immediately default to using Title 32 without fully exploring other approaches.

support is a responsibility of the total force, it is a mission that the National Guard and Reserves are particularly well-suited to performing.”<sup>6</sup>

The Guard currently engages in homeland defense and security missions including but not limited to the following: natural disaster response; counterterrorism activities; chemical, biological, radiological, nuclear, and explosives (CBRNE) response; and critical infrastructure protection. Additionally, the National Guard may have an evolving role in missions that are increasing in importance and attention, such as cybersecurity, border security, space operations, and the use of unmanned aerial systems.

According to Title 32, homeland defense activities are “undertaken for the military protection of the territory or domestic population of the United States, or of the infrastructure or assets of the United States determined by the secretary of defense as being critical to national security, from a threat or aggression against the United States.”<sup>7</sup> The National Guard’s partnership with U.S. Northern Command (USNORTHCOM) is “one of the strongest and most vital partnerships the National Guard has,” according to former chief of the National Guard Bureau General Craig McKinley. Similarly, General Charles H. Jacoby, Jr., current commander of USNORTHCOM and North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD), said, “NORAD and USNORTHCOM have no more important DoD teammates than the National Guard.”<sup>8</sup>

6. Commission on the National Guard and Reserves, “Transforming the National Guard and Reserves into a 21st-Century Operational Force: Final Report to Congress and the Secretary of Defense,” Washington, DC, January 31, 2008, 19, [http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/pdf-files/CNGR\\_final-report.pdf](http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/pdf-files/CNGR_final-report.pdf).

7. Title 32, U.S. Code, section 901, “Definitions,” <http://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/32/901>.

8. J. Greenhill, “USNORTHCOM, National Guard Leaders: Partnerships Key to Domestic Response,” U.S.

The Guard's role in natural disaster response has been among the most visible of its domestic missions. It has also substantially improved over the years. In 2005, the National Guard played a leading role in response and recovery efforts to both Hurricane Katrina and Hurricane Rita.<sup>9</sup> Recent natural disaster operations further demonstrate the Guard's capabilities. In 2012 alone, the National Guard responded to more than 100 natural disaster missions, and approximately 12,000 Guard members served during Hurricane Sandy relief missions alone.<sup>10</sup> In the aftermath of Hurricane Sandy, New York Governor Andrew Cuomo said, "The National Guard was probably our prime asset in response everywhere."<sup>11</sup>

The Army National Guard has also conducted large-scale security operations along the southwest border since 2006 with the initiation of Operation Jump Start. In 2010, President Obama continued this mission through Operation Phalanx by ordering 1,200 National Guard members to deploy along the border, although today that number has been reduced to 130.<sup>12</sup> The Guard currently supports the Department of Homeland Security and its agencies (e.g., Customs and Border Protection, Immigration and Customs Enforcement) by conducting counter-narcotic missions and targeting illicit networks trafficking goods and people along the border.<sup>13</sup>

Although the Army National Guard has developed a significant repertoire of domestic and homeland security missions, budgetary constraints have brought to light questions about whether the Guard should have a role in these missions. Some areas of examination include the use of Title 32 statuses, the balance of foreign and domestic missions, members in dual status roles, and partnerships with other departments and agencies.

## Funding Flows

### Finding #6: Tensions regarding the use of Title 32 remain a potential issue between states and different parts of the federal government.

"Full-time National Guard duty" under Title 32, United States Code, was originally intended to provide Guard members with pay from the federal government for training, instruction,

---

Northern Command, February 24, 2012, <http://www.northcom.mil/Newsroom/tabid/3104/Article/3071/usnorthcom-national-guard-leaders-partnerships-key-to-domestic-response.aspx>.

9. National Guard Bureau, "National Guard 2007 Posture Statement: Protecting America at Home and Abroad," <http://www.arng.army.mil/News/publications/Posture%20Statement/2007/index.htm>.

10. F. Grass, "The Fiscal Year 2014 Guard and Reserve Budget," testimony before the Appropriations Committee Subcommittee on Defense of the U.S. Senate, April 27, 2013.

11. National Guard Bureau, "2014 National Guard Bureau Posture Statement."

12. National Guard Bureau, "2012 National Guard Bureau Posture Statement: A Great Value for America," [http://www.arng.army.mil/News/publications/ApostureStatements/2012\\_ngps.pdf](http://www.arng.army.mil/News/publications/ApostureStatements/2012_ngps.pdf).

13. Ibid.

**43rd Civil Support Team conducts radiological training exercise with NORAD and USNORTHCOM.**



Sgt. E. Knight, photographer, "Ardent Sentry 2013," *flickr.com*, May 21, 2013, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/thenationalguard/8768332052/sizes/l/>.

drills, field exercises, school attendance, and small arms competitions.<sup>14</sup> However, Title 32 authority has expanded to include disaster response, border protection, and counterdrug operations. This expansion has caused tensions among the different departments and levels of government. Some experts believe that Title 32 authority has morphed too far beyond its initial mandate and led to reliance on the DoD budget for missions statutorily delegated to other departments and agencies.<sup>15</sup> According to some experts, using Guard forces in law enforcement activities under Title 32 has also led to the federal government, in the case of border protection, charging state officials with the federal task of securing the sovereignty of the United States.<sup>16</sup> Because the governors and TAGs control the Guard under Title 32 authority, the use of the Guard for federal missions under that authority can lead to tension over the priorities of missions.

14. Title 32, U.S. Code, section 101, "Definitions," <http://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/32/101>.

15. Study participant, CSIS roundtable, "The Role of the National Guard in Domestic Missions," February 2014.

16. *Ibid.*

Also, some argue that in response to emergencies within a state, the use of Title 32 has disincentivized the use of the local emergency response system and the state active-duty status of the Guard.<sup>17</sup> If DoD is willing to fund a federal response to a disaster, then governors and mayors have less reason to use state and local funds, respectively, to contribute resources to the effort. However, DoD retains a limited amount of money in its Disaster Reimbursement Account, so other programs are affected when the fund runs dry.<sup>18</sup> FEMA will ultimately reimburse either DoD or state and local governments for at least 75 percent of the cost for the disaster response.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, as noted in the RFPB memo on funding flows for homeland operations, disaster funding represents a cash flow problem for states, which prefer to receive 100 percent DoD support up front, rather than 75 percent support from FEMA after the fact.<sup>20</sup>

It is also noteworthy that FEMA does not currently reimburse pay for Guard personnel acting under Title 32 USC 502(f), which causes further strain on DoD's limited funds for disaster response.<sup>21</sup>

## Domestic/Overseas Mission Balance

With budget constraints and force reductions, some experts have noted the need for the Guard to develop a proper balance between its domestic/homeland security missions and those missions in support of its role as a strategic or operational reserve for the active force. As previously stated, the Guard performs a wide variety of domestic missions, including emergency and natural disaster response, logistical support for national events, border protection, counterdrug operations, CBRNE and WMD response, and critical infrastructure protection.<sup>22</sup> Some experts worry that the Guard will paint itself as only a provider of homeland defense/homeland security missions and lose its important role as a combat reserve.<sup>23</sup> Others believe that efforts to increase training requirements and overseas rotations of Guard members in an attempt to maintain the capabilities of an operation reserve place stress on the states to fulfill domestic commitments.<sup>24</sup>

---

17. Study participant, one-on-one, not-for-attribution interview, December 2013; Study participant, CSIS roundtable, "The Role of the National Guard in Domestic Missions," February 2014.

18. Reserve Forces Policy Board, "Report of Reserve Forces Policy Board on New Policies and Clearer Funding Flows for Reserve Component Operations in the Homeland," April 9, 2012, [http://ra.defense.gov/rfpb/\\_documents/RFPB%20Memo%20to%20SECDEF-Policy%20and%20Funding%20RC%20Homeland-9%20Apr%202012.pdf](http://ra.defense.gov/rfpb/_documents/RFPB%20Memo%20to%20SECDEF-Policy%20and%20Funding%20RC%20Homeland-9%20Apr%202012.pdf).

19. The Stafford Act, Title 42, U.S. Code, Section 5170b, "Essential Assistance," [http://www.fema.gov/media-library-data/1383153669955-21f970b19e8eaa67087b7da9f4af706e/stafford\\_act\\_booklet\\_042213\\_508e.pdf](http://www.fema.gov/media-library-data/1383153669955-21f970b19e8eaa67087b7da9f4af706e/stafford_act_booklet_042213_508e.pdf).

20. Reserve Forces Policy Board, "Report of Reserve Forces Policy Board on New Policies and Clearer Funding Flows for Reserve Component Operations in the Homeland."

21. Ibid.

22. National Guard Bureau, "2014 National Guard Bureau Posture Statement."

23. Study participant, one-on-one, not-for-attribution interview, December 2013.

24. Study participant, CSIS roundtable, "The Role of the National Guard in Domestic Missions," February 2014.

## Finding #7: Flexibility exists regarding balance between Guard foreign and domestic missions.

The Emergency Management Assistance Compact provides states with access to Guard support from other states, thus reducing stress on individual states in a response operation.<sup>25</sup> In 2012, 10,000 ARNG personnel from 15 states responded to Hurricane Sandy while another 40,000 from surrounding states waited in preparation for response.<sup>26</sup> Additionally, in response to Hurricane Katrina in 2005, more than 50,000 Guard personnel from every state and territory provided support while 80,000 other Guard members were deployed overseas.<sup>27</sup> These numbers reveal that even when the Guard must respond to a large-scale disaster at home and provide support to overseas operations, it has sufficient end strength (currently over 350,000 personnel) and interstate support to meet the requirements and capabilities for both domestic and foreign commitments.

When considering the question of allocating training time between domestic and foreign missions, some experts argue that the “essential 10”—or the 10 core capabilities needed to fulfill homeland security missions—are included in the training for war fighting missions.<sup>28</sup> The 2010 QDR reflects this idea by illustrating how DoD prepares for civil support missions with lessons learned from its preestablished consequence management capabilities.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, DoD has begun considering domestic incidents in developing force planning and integrated security constructs.<sup>30</sup> These DoD efforts to include requirements for domestic missions in preparing the total force reveal that capabilities for domestic missions are included in normal force training.

## Dual Status Commanders

The large emergency response to 9/11 shed light on the need to establish a better mechanism for organizing unity of effort among the command and control elements of state and federal response forces. In the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2004, Congress amended Title 32 to allow for a National Guard officer to simultaneously serve in both Title 10 and Title 32 duty statuses—or “dual status”—as authorized by the president and governor of the relevant state, thus permitting the officer to command both state and federal forces within that state.<sup>31</sup> Subsequently, Guard officers served successfully as dual status commanders (DSCs) for national events, such as a G8 Summit and a joint operation along the northeast U.S. border. However, the governors and USNORTHCOM did not develop an agreed-upon

---

25. Emergency Management Assistance Compact, Public Law No. 104–321, 110 Stat. 3877 (1996), <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/PLAW-104publ321/pdf/PLAW-104publ321.pdf>.

26. Study participant, CSIS roundtable, “The Role of the National Guard in Domestic Missions,” February 2014.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. U.S. Department of Defense, *Quadrennial Defense Review Report: February 2010* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Defense, February 2010), <http://www.defense.gov/qdr/qdr%20as%20of%2029jan10%201600.pdf>.

30. Study participant, CSIS roundtable, “The Role of the National Guard in Domestic Missions,” February 2014.

31. National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2004, Public Law No. 108–136, 117 Stat. 1461 (2003), <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/PLAW-108publ136/pdf/PLAW-108publ136.pdf>.

system to coordinate the use of DSCs for no-notice events. This lack of coordination played out in the disjointed response efforts for hurricanes Katrina, Rita, and Wilma in 2005.<sup>32</sup>

## Finding #8: Congress has proved amenable to adding National Guard authorities, and the nascent Dual Status Commander authority has improved the integration of state and federal operations.

In 2010, President Obama issued Executive Order 13528 to establish the Council of Governors (CoG), as directed by Congress in the National Defense Authorization Act of 2008, to synchronize and integrate state and federal military activities involving the National Guard, civil support and homeland defense.<sup>33</sup> The CoG works with different stakeholders, including USNORTHCOM, FEMA, TAGs, and the National Guard Bureau, to develop a system for the command and control structure of no-notice events led by DSCs.<sup>34</sup> Superstorm Sandy in 2012 provided the first major test of this system; and it proved successful, with multiple DSCs coordinating all military efforts in their respective states, with Title 10 officers from USNORTHCOM serving as their deputies.<sup>35</sup>

Some experts still express concern over the clarity of the chain of command, especially in multistate emergencies with multiple DSCs.<sup>36</sup> Because the system is relatively new and untested, there are still issues left to resolve. For example, the command and control structure is quite complex, so tactical-level officers and soldiers may find the system complicated and difficult to understand. Additionally, although Guard officers can operate under dual statuses, Guard members still shift back and forth between Title 32 and Title 10 during emergency responses, which can create excessive paperwork.<sup>37</sup>

## Role in Defense Support of Civil Authorities

The ARNG also plays a significant role in DoD domestic support missions, known as Defense Support of Civil Authorities (DCSA) missions. The National Guard contributes over 1,000 personnel for counterdrug operations, over 10,000 for CBRNE response, and

---

32. J. Burkett, "Command and Control: Command and Control of Military Forces in the Homeland," *Joint Forces Quarterly* 54 (fourth quarter 2008), <http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jfq/jfq-51.pdf>.

33. Executive Order 13528, "Establishment of the Council of Governors," January 11, 2010, [http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/2010executive\\_order.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/2010executive_order.pdf).

34. L. Schumacher, "Dual Status Command for No-Notice Events: Integrating the Military Response to Domestic Disasters," *Homeland Security Affairs* 7 (February 2011), <http://www.hsaj.org/?fullarticle=7.1.4>.

35. D. Miles, "Sandy Response Reaffirms Value of Dual-Status Commanders," American Forces Press Service, January 11, 2013, <http://www.defense.gov/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=118975>.

36. Study participant, CSIS roundtable, "The Role of the National Guard in Domestic Missions," February 2014.

37. *Ibid.*

**121st Medical Company flies UH-72A Lakota Light Utility Helicopters in front of the Washington Monument.**



approximately 100 for border security.<sup>38</sup> The Guard also maintains 57 Weapons of Mass Destruction Civil Support Teams (WMD-CSTs) across each state and U.S. territory.<sup>39</sup> To support these capabilities, the ARNG received roughly \$40 billion in new equipment between fiscal years 2005 and 2011 and an additional \$3 billion from the National Guard Reserve Equipment Appropriation (NGREA) between fiscal years 2009 and 2012.<sup>40</sup> However, the NGREA significantly decreased over that time frame, leading to fears that the Guard will not be able to meet future equipment demands, especially in regards to aviation capabilities.<sup>41</sup>

## Finding #9: The ARNG has the capacity to increase partnerships for domestic missions and serve as a supplemental force for other departments and agencies.

Guard capabilities have provided the opportunity for partnerships with other departments and agencies. The WMD-CSTs have significant capability but are underutilized in domestic missions. The U.S. Coast Guard has used the WMD-CSTs but only in local cases to assist with low-level detection capabilities.<sup>42</sup> The capabilities of the WMD-CSTs along with ARNG's Homeland Response Forces and CBRNE Enhanced Response Force Packages can provide vital assistance to states as well as other agencies in response to CBRNE threats.

The Guard can also supplement the end strength of other agencies when they have a gap between their demands and capabilities. With Operation Jump Start in 2006, then-President George W. Bush responded to the request of a few governors and the urging of some members of Congress by deploying approximately 6,000 Guard personnel to the southwest U.S. border. There the Guard members served under Title 32 authority to assist the Border Patrol while its parent organization, Customs and Border Protection, hired and trained officers to fill the increase in demand.<sup>43</sup> However, a large number of Guard personnel remained after the two-year time limit of the operation, and President Obama extended the mission, under Operation Phalanx, through 2011.<sup>44</sup> The extension of the Guard's border patrol mission highlights the issue of utilizing the Guard to fulfill another department's responsibility. The Guard is an accessible and capable stopgap force, yet there are dangers to viewing it as an "easy" alternative to finding a long-term solution.

---

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

43. R.C. Mason, "Securing America's Borders: The Role of the Military," Congressional Research Service, February 25, 2013, 1, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/homsec/R41286.pdf>.

44. Ibid., 2.

# 4 | National Guard's Role in Building Partner Capacity

The 2012 Defense Strategic Guidance emphasizes that Building Partner Capacity would be used to mitigate risks during personnel drawdowns and advance the strategic rebalance toward Asia. Thus, Building Partner Capacity is becoming a key component in how the United States will structure and employ military resources going forward.<sup>1</sup>

—Lieutenant General Terry Wolff, Director,  
Strategic Plans and Policy, Joint Chiefs of Staff,  
February 14, 2013

In January 2012, DoD released a new defense strategic guidance document, entitled *Sustaining U.S. Global Leadership: Priorities for 21st Century Defense*. In this document, senior defense officials emphasized the need for a modern defense structure, able to adapt to the challenges of a changing age. In light of potential international instability and threats to U.S. national security interests, experts generally agreed that the United States should develop and maintain an all-volunteer joint force that is agile, flexible, and technologically advanced, with the capabilities necessary to counter future threats. In fact, the strategic guidance stated, “we are determined to maintain a ready and capable force, even as we reduce our overall capacity. We will resist the temptation to sacrifice readiness in order to retain force structure.”<sup>2</sup>

According to DoD officials, an integral part of a ready and capable U.S. military is the ability for building partner capacity (BPC). They argue that United States can achieve its military and diplomatic goals—including the spread of stability, prosperity, and democracy—only when partnerships are strong. The Defense Strategic Guidance notes that “when-ever possible, we will develop innovative, low-cost, and small-footprint approaches to achieve our security objectives, relying on exercises, rotational presence, and advisory

---

1. T. Wolff, “Statement by Lieutenant General Terry Wolff, Director for Strategic Plans & Policy, J5 Joint Chiefs of Staff, before the Committee on Armed Services, United States House of Representatives, First Session, 113th Congress, on Building Partner Capacity for 21st Century Challenges,” Washington, DC, February 14, 2013.

2. U.S. Department of Defense, *Sustaining U.S. Global Leadership: Priorities for 21st Century Defense* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Defense, January 2012), [http://www.defense.gov/news/defense\\_strategic\\_guidance.pdf](http://www.defense.gov/news/defense_strategic_guidance.pdf).

capabilities.”<sup>3</sup> Such approaches can help the United States to gain and maintain access to key countries and regions, oftentimes through developing and maintaining long-term military-to-military and other security relationships.

The focus on BPC efforts, such as combined exercises, advisory activities, and even equipment provision, is not new and has gained traction over the last decade. In fact, some senior officials and experts consider the BPC mission a force-shaping mechanism as they think through the future total force.

The goals outlined in the Defense Strategic Guidance appear to align with the structure and aims of the National Guard’s primary BPC effort, the State Partnership Program (SPP). The program provides consistent engagement and builds long-term relationships with partner nations by pairing the National Guard of a U.S. state with a foreign nation seeking to build its capacity. Small groups of National Guard members visit the partner nation routinely over the course of years, building consistent, rather than short-term, relationships. SPP, in concert with other BPC efforts, helps improve both military and nonmilitary capabilities, strengthening infrastructure and defense capacity even while possibly reducing a partner nation’s need for direct military support. Missions emphasize mentoring and training of the armed forces and allow discussions of policy, strategy, technology, and other key issues. These activities help to improve interoperability and may involve co-use of facilities and locations, which advances the Defense Strategic Guidance goals of innovative, low-cost, and small-footprint approaches to achieving U.S. objectives.

Some experts consider the program efficient in terms of both cost and personnel, a crucial quality in a time of fiscal challenges.<sup>4</sup> SPP provides over 600 partner engagements per year, yet costs only between \$9 million and \$13 million annually, far less than many other kinds of BPC activities,<sup>5</sup> such as the Global Train and Equip Program (\$350 million annually). General Martin Dempsey, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has described the SPP as “really a modest investment for a pretty substantial return” and noted that “I think the State Partnership Program will compete very favorably” in future BPC efforts.<sup>6</sup>

The fact that most Guard members serve while maintaining civilian employment may also allow Guard forces to bring a wealth of civilian knowledge and expertise to SPP activities. Consequently, they build relationships based both on common goals and experiences and on military force (a balance between “hard” and “soft” power), allowing for capacity building and partnership strengthening.

---

3. Ibid.

4. L. Kapp and N. Serafino, “The National Guard State Partnership Program: Background, Issues, and Options for Congress,” Congressional Research Service, August 15, 2011, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R41957.pdf>.

5. J. Greenhill, “National Guard Program Enhances U.S. Global Partnerships,” American Forces Press Service, November 7, 2013, <http://www.defense.gov/News/NewsArticle.aspx?ID=121074>.

6. C. Roulo, “Dempsey: Forming Partnerships Vital for Future Force,” American Forces Press Service, July 18, 2012, <http://www.army.mil/article/83792/>.

**Chief of Slovak Armed Forces fires howitzer with Indiana National Guard as part of a State Partnership Program.**



Sgt. 1st Class M. Scotten, photographer, “State Partnership Program,” *flickr.com*, July 17, 2010, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/thenationalguard/9240990174/sizes/l/>.

Rather than focus exclusively on strategically important partnerships, this program aims to stabilize and strengthen a wide range of partner states. SPP is designed to create and strengthen a relationship before shifting toward a focus on civilian activities and engagement. It aims to establish program responsibility, independence, and autonomy in the host country, such that the country can independently utilize the skills and capabilities learned through this program. Because of the low-cost, high-impact missions, some experts view SPP as relatively cost-efficient.

As a tool to support geographic combatant commanders’ BPC objectives in their respective areas of responsibility, SPP has met with certain successes in the past. However, the global environment and the dynamics of BPC may be changing. New and emerging threats, including the continued rise of nonstate actors, a shifting geographic center of gravity, and the continued (and perhaps increasing) likelihood that threats may cross into two or more commanders’ areas of responsibility, may create new challenges for BPC,<sup>7</sup> including SPP activities.

---

7. M. Sheehan, “Statement for the Record by the Honorable Michael A. Sheehan, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operation/Low-Intensity Conflict on Building Partner Capacity for 21st Century Challenges before the Committee on Armed Services, United States House of Representatives,” Washington, DC, February 14, 2013.

## Finding #10: The National Guard's State Partnership Program (SPP) is likely to remain a valuable tool for building partner capacity overseas.

SPP, by many counts, appears to have served a valuable purpose, especially in post–Cold War Europe. With an annual budget of \$9–\$13 million, the program has established and maintained 65 partnerships around the world. Eastern Europe, with a particularly high concentration of partner states, has experienced a multitude of benefits from the program, including construction and renovation of infrastructure and public works systems, donations of medical supplies and medicines, and establishment of new markets between the partner states.<sup>8</sup> However, as BPC missions shift—and perhaps expand—in coming years in response to the changing international environment, it may be necessary to reexamine the dynamics and value of SPP and other BPC tools across the Department of Defense.

### Demand

In a rapidly changing global environment, demand for BPC missions may be shifting, with several possible implications for the National Guard. Some experts have suggested that given the U.S. withdrawal from Iraq and with U.S. troops leaving Afghanistan perhaps as soon as December 2014, overall BPC demand could decline in the coming years.<sup>9</sup> However, other experts have noted that while the need to train partner forces and build capacity in Iraq and Afghanistan may have declined significantly and will almost certainly decline further, the demand for BPC capabilities elsewhere, particularly in the U.S. Pacific Command (USPACOM) and U.S. Africa Command (USAFRICOM) areas of responsibility, may grow.<sup>10</sup>

## Finding #11: The National Guard is taking steps to incorporate new partners in the Asia-Pacific region and Africa into SPP, but there may be challenges in expanding SPP significantly.

The shifting focus of BPC missions raises questions as to how well geographically positioned the National Guard's State Partnership Program is to meet this demand. Traditionally, SPP has focused largely on European and Latin American partner nations, with 22 partnerships with nations in U.S. European Command (USEUCOM) and another 22 in U.S.

---

8. G. Ross, "The National Guard State Partnership Program," U.S. Army War College Strategy Research Project, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, May 3, 2004.

9. Study participant, CSIS roundtable, "Building Partner Capacity and Overseas Missions: Potential Roles for the National Guard," January 2014.

10. Ibid.

Southern Command (USSOUTHCOM).<sup>11</sup> However, in those theaters where demand for BPC efforts is likely to be greatest in the immediate future, such as USPACOM and USAFRICOM, the National Guard has a limited presence; only seven SPPs have been established in USPA-COM and just eight in USAFRICOM.<sup>12</sup>

While the National Guard is moving to build new partnerships in these areas—three in USAFRICOM and one in USPACOM in the near future—some experts question whether the Guard has the capacity to add a significant number of new partners. At present, the Guard is already conducting SPP activities with 65 partner nations, yet there are only 54 National Guard organizations in existence. Thus, some state National Guards are partnered with multiple nations; Maryland, for instance, has partnered with both Estonia and Bosnia, and Ohio works with Hungary and Serbia.<sup>13</sup> If new partnerships are needed in Africa and in the Asia-Pacific region, it is unclear whether the State Partnership Program can and should be expanded or whether there simply will not be enough resources to maintain established relationships while simultaneously building new ones.

## Mission Focus

Another critique leveled at the State Partnership Program is that SPP missions lack focus and quantifiable metrics or at times have been viewed by state governors as opportunities to “adopt a country” for publicity purposes rather than a chance to meet national-level objectives.<sup>14</sup> In May 2012, the Government Accountability Office concluded that “the program lacks a comprehensive oversight framework that includes clear program goals, objectives, and metrics to measure progress against these goals, which limits the Department of Defense’s (DOD) and Congress’ ability to assess whether the program is an effective and efficient use of resource.”<sup>15</sup> This criticism may stem, in part, from the fact that SPP missions focus on building a range of partner capabilities, rather than focusing solely on those defense capabilities identified as essential by the United States. For instance, a recent SPP deployment by the South Carolina National Guard sought to improve the disaster and emergency management skills of their Colombian partners, while SPP missions in Mongolia worked to build the nation’s ability to provide dental, eye, and veterinary care to rural populations.<sup>16</sup>

---

11. National Guard Bureau, “2014 National Guard Bureau Posture Statement: Sustaining an Operational Force,” [www.nationalguard.mil/features/ngps/2014\\_ngps.pdf](http://www.nationalguard.mil/features/ngps/2014_ngps.pdf).

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. Government Accountability Office (GAO), “State Partnership Program: Improved Oversight, Guidance, and Training Needed for National Guard’s Efforts with Foreign Partners,” May 15, 2012, <http://www.gao.gov/products/GAO-12-548>; and Study participant, CSIS roundtable, “Building Partner Capacity and Overseas Missions: Potential Roles for the National Guard,” January 2014.

15. GAO, “State Partnership Program.”

16. T. Dorgan, “South Carolina National Guard Works with Colombia on Emergency Management,” National Guard, September 23, 2013, <http://www.nationalguard.mil/news/archives/2013/09/092313-Colombia.aspx>; National Guard Bureau, “2013 National Guard Bureau Posture Statement: Security America Can Afford,” [http://www.nationalguard.mil/features/ngps/2013\\_ngps.pdf](http://www.nationalguard.mil/features/ngps/2013_ngps.pdf).

## Finding #12: The Guard brings unique capabilities to BPC that could not be easily replicated by other services.

SPP proponents argue that this variety of engagements is a benefit, rather than a hindrance to its effectiveness. Advocates state that the SPP purpose is not only to build military capabilities within a nation to meet specific U.S. defense objectives but to establish and solidify long-term working relationships between these countries and the United States.<sup>17</sup> By working with multiple sectors of a partner nation's population over an extended period of time and by focusing on those capabilities that benefit both the host nation and the United States, SPP serves to deepen ties and build consistent engagement. This type of broad, consistent engagement has at times furthered U.S. interests by transforming SPP partner nations from security “importers” to security “exporters”; for instance, SPP nations have deployed troops to Afghanistan 14 times and provided 35,000 personnel to UN peacekeeping missions.<sup>18</sup> Further, metrics for a program with such broad goals are inherently difficult if not impossible to implement in light of the multitude of activities, large number of partners, and the broad and somewhat difficult-to-measure goal of building relationships and influence, according to SPP supporters.

## Coordination

Given the Defense Strategic Guidance emphasis on BPC missions as well as the growing number of entities and authorities involved in BPC, there is also a degree of concern regarding coordination of BPC efforts, including the National Guard's State Partnership Program. This includes coordination between the Department of State (which has the interagency lead for all foreign assistance programs) and the Department of Defense, among combatant commanders and the military services, and coordination with and between various BPC activities themselves.

## Finding #13: SPP can complement BPC plans of other federal agencies, but as such efforts are expanded into the Asia-Pacific region and Africa, there will be an increased need for close coordination.

Regarding the SPP, coordination between DoD and the State Department appears to be relatively frequent and effective. All SPP projects are vetted through the State Department

---

17. Study participant, one-on-one, not-for-attribution interview, December 2013.

18. National Guard Bureau, “2014 National Guard Bureau Posture Statement.”

and the embassies, and the State Department has assigned two political advisors to work directly with the National Guard on SPP initiatives.<sup>19</sup> The State Department appears generally supportive of the SPP and has indicated that there are increasing requests from embassies for SPP initiatives in their host countries.<sup>20</sup>

The larger challenges regarding coordination of SPP efforts may lie with the Combatant Command (COCOMs) and the services. Study participants repeatedly noted that the willingness of COCOMs to actively utilize SPP in order to meet larger regional objectives is largely dependent on the individual COCOM's familiarity with and understanding of SPP.<sup>21</sup> Some COCOMs reportedly see SPP as a useful tool in their inventory and so incorporate it into their planning, while others who are not as familiar with the program do not coordinate as closely. This coordination challenge can be exacerbated when working alongside military services that have not regularly interacted with the National Guard and SPP in the past. For instance, there have reportedly been occasional tensions in USPACOM when U.S. Navy personnel, unfamiliar with the State Partnership Program, discover that there are SPP missions being conducted in the region.<sup>22</sup>

---

19. Study participant, one-on-one, not-for-attribution interview, December 2013.

20. Study participant, CSIS roundtable, "Building Partner Capacity and Overseas Missions: Potential Roles for the National Guard," January 2014.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

# 5 | National Guard's Role in Overseas Presence

There have been no finer set of Soldiers than the National Guard who have deployed here [the Sinai]. They have shown flexibility, adaptability and judgment that are frankly without peer.<sup>1</sup>

—Ambassador David Satterfield, Director  
General of the Multinational Force and  
Observers

Over the past two decades, the National Guard has developed from what some have described as an ill-equipped and undertrained strategic reserve into a force capable of deploying to support contingency and combat operations abroad. This transition was spurred in large part by extended U.S. engagement in Afghanistan and Iraq.<sup>2</sup> Over the past decade, over 750,000 National Guard members have mobilized as part of regular deployments around the world, in addition to tours in support of contingency operations in Afghanistan and Iraq.<sup>3</sup>

Today, the Army National Guard has 19,096 mobilized soldiers, providing over 60 percent of the soldiers requested by the Army to support military exercises worldwide. Since 9/11, Guard members have received recognition for being a better trained, more capable force than prior to 2001, likely resulting from experience in active combat, as well as security, peacekeeping, counter-narcotic, and counterterrorism missions abroad.<sup>4</sup>

They have successfully handled a wide variety of continuing overseas missions in places like the Sinai, the Balkans, and the Horn of Africa. In the Sinai, the National Guard has been the primary contributor to the Multinational Force and Observers, which is responsible for maintaining the peace between Egypt and Israel established by the 1979 Camp David Peace Accords. Since 2002, the Guard has worked to build confidence and trust between the two

---

1. National Guard Bureau, "2014 National Guard Bureau Posture Statement: Sustaining an Operational Force," [www.nationalguard.mil/features/ngps/2014\\_ngps.pdf](http://www.nationalguard.mil/features/ngps/2014_ngps.pdf).

2. S. Freedberg Jr., "‘The Dialogue’s Never Been Better’ with Army, Air Force, Says National Guard Chief," *Breaking Defense*, November 19, 2013, <http://breakingdefense.com/2013/11/national-guard-chief-on-the-army-air-force-the-dialogues-never-been-better/>.

3. National Guard Bureau, "2014 National Guard Bureau Posture Statement."

4. *Ibid.*

## Army National Guard members of the Multinational Force and Observers on the Sinai Peninsula.



Staff Sgt. J. Greenhill, photographer, “CNGB MFO-Sinai trip 2009,” *flickr.com*, October 31, 2009, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/thenationalguard/6263704063/sizes/l/>.

conflicting nations in order to ensure peace and stability, doing so even as Egypt underwent a political transition in 2011.<sup>5</sup> Elsewhere, the National Guard assumed command in 2007 of the task force charged with ensuring security in the Balkans while assisting the transition to civil authority. During this time, among other projects, the National Guard has helped to train local police and improve medicinal care in the region. The Guard has also played a significant role in supporting the Combined Joint Task Force–Horn of Africa’s efforts to counter violent extremists and improve regional stability, cycling approximately 700 National Guard soldiers through this post every seven to nine months.<sup>6</sup>

Despite the Guard’s contribution to an array of overseas missions, the end of major combat in Afghanistan and Iraq—paired with fiscal austerity—will catalyze personnel and mission changes for all military services, including the Army National Guard.<sup>7</sup> As resources

5. J. Greenhill, “Ambassador: National Guard Uniquely Suited to Peacekeeping Operations,” National Guard, October 23, 2011, <http://www.nationalguard.mil/features/mfo/default.aspx>.

6. B. Heusdens, “Rhode Island Takes over Security Mission at Gitmo,” National Guard, November 20, 2009, <http://www.nationalguard.mil/news/archives/2009/12/120109-Gitmo-print.aspx>.

7. “Defense Budget Priorities and Choices: Fiscal Year 2014,” U.S. Department of Defense, April 2013, <http://www.defense.gov/pubs/DefenseBudgetPrioritiesChoicesFiscalYear2014.pdf>.

dwindle, competition for overseas missions is growing. This dynamic came to light in 2013 when the Army ended overseas deployments for the National Guard in the Sinai, the Balkans, and the Horn of Africa. The change was announced publicly in the *Army Times*, which featured a memo that stated, “Beginning [FY 2014], the Army will substitute Active Component units for Reserve Component formations where cost savings are possible. . . . Looking ahead to FY2014, the Army is working closely with the Army National Guard and Army Reserve to identify additional opportunities to substitute [active duty] formations for [reserve-component] units.”<sup>8</sup> The change was defended as a budget measure—affording an immediate \$93 million in savings—but not indicative of a larger change in policy.<sup>9</sup> Nonetheless, the shifting of these assignments has raised a variety of questions regarding the future role of the National Guard overseas, as well as the types of missions for which it should be responsible.

## Cost and Readiness

As mentioned earlier in this report, there is no common model to compare the cost of active-duty and National Guard forces. Cost-effectiveness is a central tenet of the Army’s argument that the AC should assume responsibility for overseas missions, but cost-effectiveness is also a core ARNG principle. While the Guard often cites cost saving for activated soldiers, the AC contests this cost information. What is undisputed is that reserve component soldiers do have lower medical, retirement, and base support costs (e.g., commissary, housing, child care, recreational resources), which should factor in to cost assessments.<sup>10</sup>

In fact, the AC often argues that it is cheaper than its RC counterparts. While deployed under Title 10 authority, as would be the case in every overseas mission, costs are roughly equal. However, the AC claims that additional costs must be considered for overseas missions, not least of which are training costs. While the AC posits that it has trained forces ready to deploy overseas at any time, the training and activation of ARNG forces requires additional time and expenditure.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, training for the National Guard is often done with AC supervision, on AC training grounds, and with AC equipment, all of which comes out of the AC budget. Furthermore, the active Army pays overhead costs for the RC for things like basic training and research and development, further complicating the cost debate.<sup>12</sup>

---

8. M. Tan, “Army Defends Active-for-Reserve Deployment Swap,” *Army Times*, April 29, 2013, <http://www.armytimes.com/article/20130429/NEWS/304290004/>.

9. U.S. Army, “Army Announces the Off-Ramp of Reserve Component Units for Fiscal Year 2013,” March 20, 2013, <http://www.army.mil/article/99155/>.

10. Study participant, CSIS roundtable, “Future of the Army National Guard: Principles and Levers,” August 2013.

11. Study participant, CSIS roundtable, “Building Partner Capacity and Overseas Missions: Potential Roles for the National Guard,” January 2014.

12. S. Freedberg Jr., “Active vs. Guard: An Avoidable Pentagon War,” *Breaking Defense*, June 28, 2013, <http://breakingdefense.com/2013/06/active-vs-guard-an-avoidable-pentagon-war/>.

### **Exercises That Demonstrate Guard Contributions Overseas**

The Balikatan series emphasizes regional peace and security and focused most recently on humanitarian missions and disaster response, involving 8,000 American and Filipino soldiers.

Cooperation Afloat and Readiness and Training is an annual, nine-country bilateral naval exercise with the U.S. Pacific Naval Fleet focused on maritime security skills and interoperability of participating forces.

Amphibious Landing Exercise has evolved from a simple landing exercise to a larger mission emphasizing joint training and civic-military exercises between the Filipino army and U.S. Marines.

Sources: C. McCullough, "US, Philippines Partner for Exercise Balikatan 2013," U.S. Army, May 3, 2013; Commander Naval Surface Force, U.S. Pacific Fleet website, <http://www.public.navy.mil/surfor/Pages/CARAT2013.aspx#.UssE4fRDtyw>; "Phiblex 2013, Philippines, US Amphibious Landing Exercise 2013 Ends," Armed Forces of the Philippines Forum, October 26, 2012.

Regarding readiness, the National Guard argues that it must retain its operational capacity to support the AC in response to unexpected surges in demand.<sup>13</sup> However, budget cuts will undoubtedly affect training and readiness. According to director of the Army National Guard Lieutenant General Ingram, "resources remain the principal reason why the Army National Guard is now an operational force, and will determine whether it stays that way."<sup>14</sup> Certainly the operational or strategic determination must be made before considering future missions, force structure, and resources. If the Guard remains operational, it will have to prioritize different units in its readiness; if it returns to a strategic reserve, it can take risk regarding readiness. Even as a strategic reserve, some argue that the Guard will still be able to maintain existing capabilities.<sup>15</sup>

The National Guard also believes that field experience gained through overseas missions has been a crucial factor in bringing the reserve component up to the capability level of its active counterparts. In fact, as General Grass noted, after a decade of overseas experience, the Army Guard is currently operating at the same standards as the active Army, a development that has significantly decreased the Guard's deployment time and increased its response flexibility.<sup>16</sup> The evolution of the Guard from its pre-9/11 state to the capable fighting force it is today has been praised by the Department of Defense, which in its 2010

13. National Guard Bureau, "2014 National Guard Bureau Posture Statement."

14. W. Ingram, "Statement by Lieutenant General William E. Ingram Jr.," testimony before the Appropriations Committee's Subcommittee on Defense of the U.S. Senate, April 17, 2013, 12, <http://www.appropriations.senate.gov/ht-defense.cfm?method=hearings.view&id=76cd3773-f99e-4c42-ac2b-fef40d81e223>.

15. Study participant, one-on-one, not-for-attribution interview, December 2013.

16. Freedberg, "The Dialogue's Never Been Better' with Army, Air Force, Says National Guard Chief."

Quadrennial Defense Review recommended that the Guard be kept as an operational force in order to avoid putting the Guard “back on the shelf.”<sup>17</sup>

## Finding #14: Long-term, relatively stable assignments might be a solution for using Guard forces overseas in peacetime, allowing them to gain valuable operational experience.

The National Guard Bureau argues that continued overseas operations would enable the Guard to remain engaged and provide its soldiers with the critical real-world mission experience needed to maintain its current capacity and readiness. Moreover, the CAPE report referenced earlier noted that RC units can contribute to nonsurge missions.<sup>18</sup> NGAUS warned that ending National Guard presence overseas could lead to a corresponding cut in the Guard’s budget and an atrophy of its readiness.<sup>19</sup> If a new threat abroad requires the involvement of the National Guard, there is concern that the Guard will lack the training and equipment needed to respond quickly and effectively. Additionally, some believe overseas missions provide an important retention incentive, encouraging Guard members to maintain skill sets and train harder in preparation for an overseas mission on the horizon.<sup>20</sup>

## Assigning Missions

The National Guard’s typical overseas missions involve only a few hundred soldiers—a small number compared with other U.S. overseas operations, which can require tens of thousands of troops. Some experts have argued, however, that the Guard could add value to larger active-duty missions overseas.

The Army is currently responsible for missions in places such as South Korea, Europe, Japan, and the Philippines, where mobilizations are predictable and major combat operations are not currently under way. For example, U.S. forces in the Philippines work with Filipino counterparts on a range of activities, like humanitarian missions, civic-military activities, and regional peace and security. Though additional support is being considered in the aftermath of Typhoon Haiyan, current U.S. military presence in the Philippines is

---

17. U.S. Department of Defense, *Quadrennial Defense Review Report: February 2010* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Defense, February 2010), <http://www.defense.gov/qdr/qdr%20as%20of%2029jan10%201600.pdf>.

18. Office of the Secretary of Defense, *Unit Cost and Readiness for the Active and Reserve Components of the Armed Forces: Report to Congress* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Defense, December 20, 2013), 3, <http://www.ngaus.org/sites/default/files/CAPE%20FINAL%20ACRCMixReport.pdf>.

19. National Guard Association of the United States (NGAUS), “Text of NGAUS Response to Army Memorandum on Cancellation of Future Guard Deployments,” April 23, 2013, <http://www.ngaus.org/sites/default/files/ngausmemotocongressapr23.pdf>.

20. Study participant, CSIS roundtable, “Building Partner Capacity and Overseas Missions: Potential Roles for the National Guard,” January 2014.

governed by the 1999 Visiting Forces Agreement, which rotates 500–700 troops through the Philippines. In addition, the two militaries conduct three annual combined exercises: the Balikatan series, Cooperation Afloat and Readiness and Training, and the Amphibious Landing Exercise. Some argue that the civilian background of National Guard members makes them particularly well suited to missions like that in the Philippines, where the military is not engaged in active fighting but is instead interacting with local populations.<sup>21</sup>

## Finding #15: Guard forces may offer specialized capabilities that could be useful in overseas scenarios, such as weapons of mass destruction detection and management on the Korean peninsula.

In addition to smaller deployments, there may be an argument for Guard contribution to larger U.S. military operations, such as U.S. Forces Korea (USFK). Because such deployments are troop intensive, it would not only be contentious but also infeasible for the National Guard to take over entire missions. However, because missions like USFK are steady, long-standing deployments that are not extremely specialized, some have said they could be compatible for both the schedule and skill set of a Guard member. Allowing Guard participation would also help address an important readiness question for the active Army, helping the active Army achieve agility, a characteristic emphasized in the Defense Strategic Guidance.<sup>22</sup>

In addition, the Army National Guard has developed specialized skills in niche areas, such as WMD detection and management through continental U.S.-based civil support teams. These skills—developed and maintained in large part for domestic contingencies—may very well prove useful on the Korean peninsula, given North Korea’s current capabilities and possible future ambitions regarding its chemical, biological, and nuclear programs.<sup>23</sup>

---

21. E. Chapman, interview with Travis Sharp, PBS, February 25, 2011, <http://www.pbs.org/wnet/need-to-know/the-daily-need/the-national-guards-evolving-mission/7623/>.

22. U.S. Department of Defense, *Sustaining U.S. Global Leadership*.

23. Study participant, one-on-one, not-for-attribution interview, December 2013.

# 6 | National Guard's Role in Cybersecurity

We can take those same individuals that know the people that work at the power plants or the grid and we can ramp them up and put them on a federal order if we need to.<sup>1</sup>

—General Frank J. Grass, chief of the National Guard Bureau

In 2009, President Obama declared cyber threats one of the most serious economic and national security challenges facing the nation.<sup>2</sup> Many experts and officials consider cyberspace the “nervous system” of America’s critical infrastructure, given its ubiquity across each type of infrastructure and its importance to their functionality. Between 2009 and 2011, cyber attacks on American infrastructure increased seventeen-fold.<sup>3</sup> In June 2013 congressional testimony, National Security Agency director and commander of U.S. Cyber Command General Keith Alexander said, “On a scale of one to ten, with ten being strongly defended, our critical infrastructure’s preparedness to withstand a destructive cyber attack is about a three.”<sup>4</sup>

This relative lack of preparedness translates into a reduced ability to prevent, detect, or recover quickly from an attack. Some experts have noted that the U.S. cyber force is understaffed; for example, DoD lacks approximately 3,700 cyber experts to fulfill its cybersecurity requirement, even following an aggressive hiring campaign by General Alexander.<sup>5</sup> Cybersecurity has clearly been a growth area for DoD and other agencies in

---

1. F. Grass, transcript, Center for Media & Security, November 19, 2013, <http://www.airforcemag.com/DWG/Documents/2013/November%202013/111913Grass.pdf>.

2. B. Obama, “Remarks by the President on Securing Our Nation’s Infrastructure,” White House, May 29, 2009, [http://www.whitehouse.gov/the\\_press\\_office/Remarks-by-the-President-on-Securing-Our-Nations-Cyber-Infrastructure](http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-by-the-President-on-Securing-Our-Nations-Cyber-Infrastructure).

3. D. Sanger and E. Schmitt, “Rise Is Seen in Cyberattacks Targeting U.S. Infrastructure,” *New York Times*, July 26, 2012, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/27/us/cyberattacks-are-up-national-security-chief-says.html>.

4. K.B. Alexander, “Cybersecurity: Preparing for and Responding to the Enduring Threat,” testimony before the Appropriations Committee of the U.S. Senate, June 12, 2013, [http://www.defense.gov/home/features/2013/0713\\_cyberdomain/docs/Alexander,\\_General\\_Keith\\_Testimony\\_6.12.13\\_Cybersecurity\\_Hearing.pdf](http://www.defense.gov/home/features/2013/0713_cyberdomain/docs/Alexander,_General_Keith_Testimony_6.12.13_Cybersecurity_Hearing.pdf).

5. Z. Fryer-Biggs, “DoD Still 3,700 Cyber Experts Short of Full Staff,” *Defense News*, April 25, 2013, <http://www.defensenews.com/article/20130425/DEFREG02/304290004/DoD-Still-3-700-Cyber-Experts-Short-Full-Staff>.

recent years, and it may continue to be so in the foreseeable future—a fact that the Department of the Army, the National Guard Bureau, and other interested entities have recognized.

Furthermore, to address the cyber threat adequately, several agencies within the U.S. government must help to protect the full range of infrastructure, from federal to private. This requires a greater emphasis on information sharing and public–private partnerships, a fact recognized by the executive branch, the legislative branch, and the U.S. military.<sup>6</sup> Both the White House and U.S. Cyber Command have noted that because the private sector owns most of the nation’s critical infrastructure, public–private partnerships between “defenders and operators” are crucial in building a robust national cyber defense.<sup>7</sup>

The current U.S. approach to cybersecurity relies on the entire enterprise, with each federal agency bearing different responsibilities. The Cyber Executive Order (E.O. 13636) and other policy documents, including the 2013 Presidential Policy Directive on Critical Infrastructure Security and Resilience (PPD 21), the 2010 National Cyber Incident Response Plan draft, and the 2010 Memorandum of Agreement between the Department of Homeland Security and the Department of Defense,<sup>8</sup> set out explicit roles for each key interagency player.

First, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) is responsible for defending America’s critical infrastructure, in part through the National Cybersecurity and Communications Integration Center (NCCIC).<sup>9</sup> Taking a whole-of-nation approach, the NCCIC coordinates various agencies participating in the cyber realm, as well as local, state, tribal, and territorial governments, the private sector, and international partners<sup>10</sup> It is noteworthy that information sharing among these stakeholders is voluntary, which is particularly important to private-sector entities that may be wary of sharing their cyber countermeasures with other organizations. Second, U.S. Cyber Command is responsible for coordinating DoD cyber efforts<sup>11</sup> and integrating cyber operations within the Defense Department to protect the Department’s information networks and prepare to conduct military cyberspace operations, if necessary.<sup>12</sup> Finally, the role of the states is set forth in the National Cyber

---

6. Executive Office of the President, “Cyberspace Policy Review: Assuring a Trusted and Resilient Information and Communications Infrastructure,” White House, May 2009, [http://www.whitehouse.gov/assets/documents/Cyberspace\\_Policy\\_Review\\_final.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/assets/documents/Cyberspace_Policy_Review_final.pdf).

7. U.S. Department of Homeland Security, “Critical Infrastructure Sector Partnerships,” <http://www.dhs.gov/critical-infrastructure-sector-partnerships>; Alexander, “Cybersecurity: Preparing for and Responding to the Enduring Threat.”

8. U.S. Department of Homeland Security and U.S. Department of Defense, “Memorandum of Agreement between the Department of Homeland Security and the Department of Defense Regarding Cybersecurity,” October 2010, <http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB424/docs/Cyber-037.pdf>; U.S. Department of Homeland Security, “National Cyberspace Incident Response Plan: Interim Version,” September 2010, [http://www.federalnewsradio.com/pdfs/NCIRP\\_Interim\\_Version\\_September\\_2010.pdf](http://www.federalnewsradio.com/pdfs/NCIRP_Interim_Version_September_2010.pdf).

9. U.S. Department of Homeland Security, “Secretary Napolitano Opens New National Cybersecurity and Communications Integration,” press release, October 30, 2009, <https://www.dhs.gov/news/2009/10/30/new-national-cybersecurity-center-opened>.

10. U.S. Department of Homeland Security, “About the National Cybersecurity and Communications Integration Center,” <http://www.dhs.gov/about-national-cybersecurity-communications-integration-center>.

11. U.S. Strategic Command, “U.S. Cyber Command Fact Sheet,” [http://www.stratcom.mil/factsheets/Cyber\\_Command/](http://www.stratcom.mil/factsheets/Cyber_Command/).

12. U.S. Army Cyber Command, “U.S. Army Cyber Command,” <http://www.arcyber.army.mil/org-uscc.html>.

**Guardmembers from Virginia National Guard's Data Processing Unit conduct a cyber-defense exercise.**



C. Puryear, photographer, "DPU Soldiers conduct cyber defense exercise," *flickr.com*, September 16, 2012, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/vanguardpao/7996665219/sizes/l/>.

Incidence Response Plan published by DHS. The states, like all stakeholders, should establish situational awareness and contribute to the common operating picture by reporting relevant information to the Multi-State Information Sharing and Analysis Center and Homeland Security Offices and Fusion Centers.<sup>13</sup>

Though each stakeholder has developed—or is still developing—its own efforts in the cyber realm, a whole-of-nation, coordinated approach to cybersecurity is lacking, which creates gaps in readiness and response to a cyber incident.<sup>14</sup> For example, while DHS has principal responsibility and authority for domestic cybersecurity, most of the federal resources and capabilities belong to DoD and U.S. Cyber Command.<sup>15</sup> In addition, questions remain regarding the best way to incorporate the private sector and critical infrastructure community. Secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel has expressed concern over this division in

13. U.S. Department of Homeland Security, "National Cyberspace Incident Response Plan," September 2010, [http://www.federalnewsradio.com/pdfs/NCIRP\\_Interim\\_Version\\_September\\_2010.pdf](http://www.federalnewsradio.com/pdfs/NCIRP_Interim_Version_September_2010.pdf).

14. Study participant, CSIS roundtable, "The Role of the National Guard in Cyber Security," December 2013.

15. K. Parrish, "Hagel Addresses Cyber Jurisdiction in Hill Testimony," American Forces Press Service, June 12, 2013, <http://www.defense.gov/News/newsarticle.aspx?ID=120269>.

cyber jurisdiction, saying that while interagency cooperation is working, the question of private-sector authority has yet to be addressed.<sup>16</sup>

Some experts suggest that the National Guard might add value to existing cybersecurity efforts by helping to close such gaps. The National Guard Bureau Posture Statement for 2014 states that, as a cost-effective force with both developed technical understanding and local knowledge of vulnerable critical infrastructure, the Guard is “positioned for cyber.”<sup>17</sup> The 2011 Department of Defense Strategy for Operating in Cyberspace also cites the value of the Guard, suggesting that developing Guard and Reserve cyber capabilities could “build greater capacity, expertise and flexibility across DoD, federal, state and private sector activities.”<sup>18</sup>

Despite general support for an expanded role for the National Guard in cybersecurity inside the Guard and among certain outside entities (e.g., NGAUS), significant debate exists on a few points. Broadly, some experts have expressed concerns that absent a concrete, well-developed military cyber mission that includes the RC, discussing a potential role for the Guard is difficult.<sup>19</sup> Debate also exists regarding the specifics of a potential National Guard role, including duplication with existing cyber efforts, capabilities in the Guard, structure, and cost.

## Authorities and Coordination

The National Guard’s cyber activity is authorized by a web of policies and clauses in United States Code, including Titles 6, 10, 18, 32, 44, and 50.<sup>20</sup> Some experts argue that the Guard’s ability to operate under Title 10, Title 32, or state active-duty status adds value to the national cyber fight.<sup>21</sup> Specifically, because protection of critical infrastructure is largely a domestic mission occurring on American soil, the Guard can leverage its available authorities and existing relationships with local infrastructure owners and operators to meet certain cyber challenges. However, concerns exist about under which specific authority Guard cyber units would operate.<sup>22</sup> Because cyberspace knows no state or international boundaries, drawing lines between state and federal missions—and their corresponding resources and governing authorities—becomes much more complex.

---

16. K. Parrish, “Hagel Addresses Cyber Jurisdiction in Hill Testimony,” American Forces Press Service, June 12, 2013, <http://www.defense.gov/News/newsarticle.aspx?ID=120269>.

17. National Guard Bureau, “2014 National Guard Bureau Posture Statement: Sustaining an Operational Force,” [www.nationalguard.mil/features/ngps/2014\\_ngps.pdf](http://www.nationalguard.mil/features/ngps/2014_ngps.pdf).

18. U.S. Department of Defense, “Department of Defense Strategy for Operating in Cyberspace,” July 2011, <http://www.defense.gov/news/d20110714cyber.pdf>.

19. Study participant, CSIS roundtable, “The Role of the National Guard in Cyber Security,” December 2013.

20. National Guard Bureau, J6/CIO Division, “NDAA 180 Day Report on Role of NG Cyber Defense,” information paper, National Guard Bureau, June 5, 2013, 3–4.

21. Army National Guard, “National Guard Fact Sheet: Army National Guard (FY 2005),” May 2006, [http://www.arng.army.mil/SiteCollectionDocuments/Publications/News%20Media%20Factsheets/ARNG\\_Factsheet\\_May\\_06%20ARNG%20fact%20Sheet.pdf](http://www.arng.army.mil/SiteCollectionDocuments/Publications/News%20Media%20Factsheets/ARNG_Factsheet_May_06%20ARNG%20fact%20Sheet.pdf); Study participant, CSIS roundtable, “The Role of the National Guard in Cyber Security,” December 2013.

22. Study participant, one-on-one, not-for-attribution interview, December 2013.

## Finding #16: The significant interagency dynamic in cyber authorities and activities highlights the importance of developing/implementing coordination mechanisms and avoiding unnecessary duplication.

While the Guard's additional resources and expertise may prove useful in cybersecurity, there are questions about overlap with existing national cyber activities already conducted by various agencies. For example, some experts posit that an appropriate Guard role would involve leveraging relationships with the private sector, but in June 2013, then-Acting Deputy Secretary of Homeland Security Rand Beers testified that DHS already works with communities and business owners to strengthen their facilities.<sup>23</sup> Thus, as roles for the Guard are determined across the enterprise, it will be important to coordinate activities and safeguard against duplication.

## Capabilities

### Finding #17: The National Guard is building cyber capabilities, but examples are anecdotal and not tracked in a formal way.

The Guard has established 54 small Cyber Network Defense teams nationwide to defend the Guard's own mission command network; the teams specialize in information technology engineering and cyberspace defense.<sup>24</sup> According to a recent National Guard Bureau information paper, these teams receive training on the "hard skill set" of cyber operations, including network operations, computer forensics, network warfare, and defense against intrusions; they also have experience in support operations, such as installing infrastructure and communications setup. In addition to the Network Defense Teams, the Guard supports U.S. Army Cyber Command and U.S. Cyber Command through teams mobilized by the Virginia Data Processing Unit. These teams also receive training on full-spectrum cyber capabilities. Finally, various Guard units have specific cyber capabilities, such as defensive operations or information assurance capabilities.<sup>25</sup>

---

23. R. Beers, "Cybersecurity: Preparing for and Responding to the Enduring Threat," testimony before the Appropriations Committee of the U.S. Senate, June 12, 2013, <http://www.dhs.gov/news/2013/06/12/written-testimony-acting-deputy-secretary-rand-beers-senate-committee-appropriations>.

24. J. Gould, "Cyber Guardsmen Could Defend Domestic Networks," *Army Times*, June 26, 2013, <http://www.armytimes.com/article/20130626/NEWS02/306260004/Cyber-guardsmen-could-defend-domestic-networks>.

25. National Guard Bureau, J6/CIO Division, "NDAA 180 Day Report on Role of NG Cyber Defense," 1–3.

In January 2013, the Missouri National Guard was the first to stand up and fully staff a team dedicated to cybersecurity.<sup>26</sup> Many other states are currently engaging in cyber operations (e.g., Louisiana, Washington, Delaware), but these units are not yet fully staffed.<sup>27</sup> The National Guard also participates in cyber military training exercises, like Cyber Guard and Cyber Flag, both sponsored by U.S. Cyber Command.<sup>28</sup> Despite demonstrations of Guard capabilities in such exercises, some experts have concerns that Guard cyber skill sets are neither consistent among states nor synced with national cyber training standards, posing important questions about training.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, there is concern that the Guard will not be able to keep cyber capabilities current over time when serving as part-time citizen soldiers.<sup>30</sup> Some experts go further, arguing that the National Guard can never be fully integrated into 24/7 missions like cyber, given Guard members' part-time status and given the need for continuous training regarding the evolving threat.<sup>31</sup>

In addition to capabilities built specifically for the national cyber fight, the Guard posits in its 2013 Posture Statement that “a wealth of information technology talent within [the] ranks” can be drawn from Guard members in their civilian jobs.<sup>32</sup> However, the specifics of this talent are unknown, and Guard members working at information technology companies have varied skill sets that may not be directly applicable to a state or federal cyber mission defending national security interests.<sup>33</sup> However, a part-time structure like the Guard does provide the flexibility that could entice highly skilled cyber employees across the economy, who feel a patriotic pull to serve but are not willing to join the military full-time, to share their high-demand skills.

## Possible Structures and Cost

Structuring a National Guard role depends first on how one views the mission and the threat. Study participants were divided on the nature of the cyber mission; some argued that cybersecurity knows no boundaries and is thus inherently different than other missions, while others argued that cyber should be treated like any other mission, using

---

26. B. Phelan, “Jefferson Barracks Builds First Statewide Cyber Attack Defense Network,” *Mehlville-Oakville Patch*, January 14, 2013, <http://mehlville-oakville.patch.com/groups/politics-and-elections/p/jefferson-barracks-builds-first-statewide-cyber-attac52e08b5fdd>.

27. National Governors Association, letter to senators supporting the Cyber Warrior Act, April 11, 2013, <http://www.nga.org/cms/home/federal-relations/nga-letters/homeland-security-public-safety/col2-content/main-content-list/april-11-2013-letter-cyber-war.html>.

28. M. McCarter, “Senators Seek National Guard Cybersecurity Civil Support Teams,” *HSToday*, March 27, 2013, <http://www.hstoday.us/industry-news/general/single-article/senators-seek-national-guard-cybersecurity-civil-support-teams/8461dd77befa9b1506273a976c5c2b15.html>.

29. Study participant, CSIS roundtable, “The Role of the National Guard in Cyber Security,” December 2013.

30. *Ibid.*

31. Study participant, one-on-one, not-for-attribution interview, December 2013.

32. National Guard Bureau, “2013 National Guard Bureau Posture Statement: Security America Can Afford,” [http://www.nationalguard.mil/features/ngps/2013\\_ngps.pdf](http://www.nationalguard.mil/features/ngps/2013_ngps.pdf).

33. Study participant, one-on-one, not-for-attribution interview, December 2013; National Guard Bureau, “2013 National Guard Bureau Posture Statement.”

existing frameworks and mechanisms.<sup>34</sup> There are also many questions about the threat: Is the threat always national, or should the states have their own forces to combat their own threats? When considering such questions, three primary structures emerge, and stakeholders are moving quickly to design, develop, and implement them.

## Finding #18: In light of the urgency of the cyber threat, organizations—such as U.S. Army Cyber Command—are quickly laying the foundation for and staffing a cyber structure now. Guard and Reserve forces input has been relatively limited, given compressed timelines.

The first proposed military structure to combat cyber attacks is the Cyber Warrior Act of 2013, introduced last year in identical form by bipartisan sponsors in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. The bill proposes creation of cyber teams in all 50 states and calls for training of Guard forces and their use as first responders when cyber attacks hit. The teams would rely on Guard members, who already work on cyber issues in the private sector.<sup>35</sup> Critics of this bill argue that it is too expensive and that Guard units might divert resources from U.S. Cyber Command efforts.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, the bill does not specify the size and composition (part- or full-time) mix of the teams, raising questions about the feasibility of a part-time cyber force given the pace with which both the threat and defense measures are evolving.

Second, though still developing its approach, U.S. Cyber Command has more recently begun considering roles for the Reserve Component.<sup>37</sup> In April 2013, U.S. Cyber Command released a draft framework to guide RC integration into cyber defensive operations. The strategy aims to establish standard criteria for cyber skill sets, implement an adapted training pipeline reflective of the part-time training schedule, develop and use memoranda of agreement or understanding to allow RC personnel to be leveraged under various authorities, and ensure mission alignment across the Total Force. Under this model, Guard members would be optimized to act as “integrees” who bring “specialized knowledge and insight from private industries to enhance the awareness and capabilities of Cyber Mission Forces.”<sup>38</sup> More specifically, U.S. Cyber Command envisions the RC supporting Combatant Command Joint Cyber Center and the U.S. Cyber Command Cyber Mission Force, including the Cyber Protection Team (CPT) concept.<sup>39</sup>

---

34. Study participant, CSIS roundtable, “The Role of the National Guard in Cyber Security,” December 2013.

35. McCarter, “Senators Seek National Guard Cybersecurity Civil Support Teams.”

36. Ron Jensen, “Cyber Sense,” *National Guard Magazine*, June 2013, 21, <http://nationalguardmagazine.com/publication/?i=162672&p=22>.

37. Study participant, one-on-one, not-for-attribution interview, December 2013.

38. Study participant, CSIS roundtable, “The Role of the National Guard in Cyber Security,” December 2013.

39. Ibid.

Army Cyber, a component of U.S. Cyber Command, is developing the CPT concept.<sup>40</sup> CPTs are platoon-sized forces designed to defend the nation during a cyber attack, support combatant commands, and defend all DoD networks.<sup>41</sup> Army Cyber plans to build out 41 teams total.<sup>42</sup> The ARNG is working through the CPT concept, with the first team training in Little Rock, Arkansas.<sup>43</sup> Some have suggested, however, that if the first team is successful, the National Guard could build between 10 and 20 CPTs aligned to FEMA regions.

Some governors are advocating a third approach to structuring forces. Under Title 32, Guard members may respond to, analyze, and resolve cyber incidents. Under state active-duty status, the Guard can perform any mission sanctioned by state law.<sup>44</sup> Because the National Guard tends to be a governor's "9-1-1" resource in other emergencies affecting his or her state, it is natural that governors seek to employ the Guard to tackle cybersecurity threats to state-owned assets; the National Governors Association has even launched its own Resource Center on State Cybersecurity to address such issues alongside state and federal officials. Moreover, many states have already started developing cyber incident response policies that include use of Guard forces.<sup>45</sup> One specific idea is the adaptation of National Guard Critical Infrastructure Assessment Teams to the cyber mission. Working in conjunction with DHS representatives and the state chief information officer, the National Guard could contribute to cyber preparedness measures in this capacity.<sup>46</sup> Such prevention efforts have been endorsed by U.S. Cyber Command as a suitable structure for the National Guard.<sup>47</sup>

Regardless of the cyber missions tasked to the National Guard, taking on a new or expanded mission naturally requires some restructuring and carries significant cost implications. Given that a core principle of the National Guard is its cost-effectiveness, it will be important to analyze how a new structure accommodating a cyber mission might affect this principle.

---

40. J. Gould, "Army Seeks Soldiers, Civilians for New Cyber Protection Teams," *Army Times*, October 19, 2013, <http://www.armytimes.com/article/20131019/NEWS/310190001/Army-seeks-soldiers-civilians-new-cyber-protection-teams>.

41. Study participant, CSIS roundtable, "The Role of the National Guard in Cyber Security," December 2013.

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid.*

44. *Ibid.*

45. M. Maynard, "The National Guard Takes on Hackers," *Stars and Stripes*, January 28, 2014, [http://www.stripes.com/news/us/the-national-guard-takes-on-hackers-1.264457?utm\\_source=dlvr.it&utm\\_medium=twitter](http://www.stripes.com/news/us/the-national-guard-takes-on-hackers-1.264457?utm_source=dlvr.it&utm_medium=twitter).

46. Study participant, CSIS roundtable, "The Role of the National Guard in Cyber Security," December 2013.

47. *Ibid.*

# 7 | Conclusions and Recommendations

As noted throughout each chapter, this study arrived at 18 findings, ranging from high-level observations that highlighted increased tensions between the AC and the RC to more day-to-day practical issues, such as the need for improved coordination between the Guard and its partner organizations. Many of these findings are not new to the debate on the Army National Guard's future. Over time, many experts and officials have hotly contested the use of the Guard as a strategic or operational force, as well as topics such as individual and unit costs, AC/RC mix, politicization of service issues, aspects of state and federal missions, and the Guard's role in emerging mission areas. On cost issues alone, the Governmental Accountability Office, the Commission on the National Guard and Reserve, RAND, and the Office of the Secretary of Defense have all released a range of differing findings about RC compensation, unit costs, and costing methodologies.

This report provides details, drawn from an in-depth literature review, several off-the-record roundtable events, and multiple interviews, that support these 18 findings. Based on information gathered and findings developed, this study resulted in six recommendations.

The first recommendation addresses this study's first four findings: that tensions between active-duty and National Guard officials—perhaps heightened at times by advocacy efforts of outside groups—have increased; that dialogue has focused primarily on budget considerations and their impact on force structure and size and not on defining the future Army's purpose, missions, priorities, and requirements; that there is no agreement on the appropriate level of integration; and that there is significant disagreement regarding how to compare readiness levels and training days.

Chapter 2 of this report noted that when the Air Force recently experienced similar issues, two steps were taken. Congress mandated a National Commission on the Structure of the Air Force. The Air Force itself created an internal Total Force Task Force. Both of these groups addressed controversial issues between the Air Force AC and RC and submitted reports to Congress and the chief of staff of the Air Force, respectively, for consideration.

Although additional bureaucracy and oversight are not always the correct solution to hotly contested topics, the high level of tension within the total Army and the virulent

disagreements over certain issues calls out for a solution that is outside existing channels and has an agreed-upon process and structure to allow for relative independence from active-duty Army, Army National Guard, and outside advocacy groups.

Thus, this study's first recommendation is to create analogous Army-focused groups. A commission, which already has congressional support through H.R. 3930, the National Commission on the Structure of the Army Act of 2014, could involve a broad cross-section of subject matter experts and former officials familiar with the issue set and willing to present recommendations to Congress. The Army Total Force Task Force could be a smaller group, cochaired by three two-star general officers (one each from the Active Component, the Reserves, and the National Guard), to offer recommendations to Army leadership. Both of these groups could focus, *inter alia*, on defining the Army's purpose, missions, priorities, and requirements in the current and foreseeable security environment; suggesting ways in which the AC and RC can optimally integrate (e.g., at the individual or unit level, by making changes in professional military education, by tying promotions to "joint" tours within the other component); determining agreed-upon deployment and accessibility time frames and ways to compare training days; and recommending ways in which the AC and RC can interact without creating or exacerbating tensions.

When it comes to cost, however, the second study recommendation notes the importance of developing a common costing model outside of Army channels. The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) should go beyond the December 2013 congressionally mandated report, *Unit Cost and Readiness for the Active and Reserve Components of the Armed Forces: Report to Congress*, as developed by the Secretary of Defense's office on Cost Assessment and Program Evaluation regarding AC/RC costing. As an outside organization that may be less subject to internal Defense Department influences, CBO should develop a more detailed cost model that accounts for the full range of costs for both individuals and units in dwell, in preparation for deployment, and on deployment. CBO should undertake this task in coordination with Defense Department and outside groups, which have explored this issue in the recent past, such as the RFPB and RAND. The result should be an agreed-upon cost model so that different organizations can no longer cherry-pick and manipulate cost data to support their own arguments.

Chapters 3 through 6 of this report examined the Guard's potential roles in various mission areas. The recommendations that emerged from these examinations will affect particular issues in each area.

For example, the third recommendation is to review the reimbursement processes and funding amounts relating to the use of the National Guard in homeland security and support to civil authorities missions. In particular, study participants frequently highlighted governors' use of Guard forces as their "go-to" force and underscored differing stakeholder perspectives on FEMA reimbursement levels. In a time of tightening budgets, it is only natural that the Army National Guard explore the reimbursement processes and funding levels to support its important domestic responsibilities.

The Guard could lead a group involving its interagency and state-level partners to develop and maintain critical interagency partnerships in advance of crises, to review reimbursement processes and funding levels to ensure that each entity supports Guard missions as appropriate, and to consider new guidelines that better define each entity's role in a domestic mission and how long each should be involved. Given that Congress has proven amenable to refining authorities to meet Guard needs, the Guard-led group could develop suggestions for such refinements.

Fourth, the Guard should continue its successful State Partnership Program in close coordination with the Geographic Combatant Commands and with interagency partners to ensure that SPP activities are prioritized. As mentioned in Chapter 4, DoD's Defense Strategic Guidance discussed the importance of building partnership capability efforts. That document also discussed the U.S. rebalance or refocus on the Asia-Pacific region. There also has been movement within DoD to focus BPC efforts on the African continent. Because most bilateral relationships through the SPP are in Europe and Latin America, the Guard should carefully consider how, in an era of limited resources, it can reflect this regional rebalance, leveraging existing relationships but also shifting to the Asia-Pacific region and Africa. Coordination with interagency partners, such as the Department of State, is also essential to ensure that the country team is fully aware of all available BPC tools.

Fifth, as budget cuts loom, DoD is reevaluating many missions. The AC has demonstrated a willingness to replace Guard forces in the Sinai, the Balkans, and the Horn of Africa. However, as the December 2013 CAPE report to Congress noted, the Guard is fully capable of and cost-effective in participating in such long-term, stable deployments. In addition, such deployments can be good opportunities for experience and training for Guard forces. Moreover, the Guard can bring specialized skills (e.g., WMD detection, consequence management) to certain scenarios, such as in potential future activities in regions known to house weapons of mass destruction.

Thus, the total Army should recognize the Guard's value in these respects, both in long-term, stable deployments that help Guard forces train and thus maintain important skills and in certain, specialized scenarios. DoD elements should integrate such capabilities, specifically mentioning Guard units, into operational plans and exercises.

Finally, a sixth recommendation is to integrate Guard cyber capabilities into DoD and interagency plans and structures. Some experts advocate for a stronger National Guard role in cybersecurity, leveraging the community-based nature of the Guard as well as the information technology expertise Guard members have developed in their civilian jobs. Given the significant interagency dynamic (led by DHS) and given the pace at which U.S. Army Cyber Command is moving forward with plans for military Cyber Protection Teams and other units, it is critical that the National Guard engage as substantively as possible and coordinate closely with its partners.

Future engagement that demonstrates the Guard's value in cybersecurity will depend in large part on the ability of the Guard to provide better, more thorough evidence of its

forces' capabilities. For example, proponents of a stronger Guard role in cybersecurity often provide anecdotal evidence that Guard members, who may have civilian jobs in cyber roles, can provide their skills to the U.S. government enterprise-wide cyber efforts. However, anecdotal evidence is not sufficient to incorporate into plans or structures. Instead, ARNG members should track demand signals (i.e., what does the Army need as it grows into a greater cyber role?) and supply (i.e., what certifications, etc., does each Guard member have?) closely and provide quantitative evidence to U.S. Army Cyber Command regarding what the Guard has to offer.

In the end, the purpose of this study was to provide independent analysis on a number of strategic topics, drawing on historical information and not-for-attribution roundtable events and interviews. While many experts and officials proved willing to share their perspectives, an equal number noted that the challenges facing the Army National Guard (e.g., tensions with the Active Component, political dynamics, disagreements over cost, readiness, training, and accessibility issues) have long been “admired.” As the nation faces fiscal difficulties and government agencies face increasing budget constraints, several experts posited that now is the time to stop talking about the challenges and start making progress toward a more efficient, effective Army and, within that, a more efficient, effective Army National Guard. These six recommendations aim at helping the Guard achieve that goal.

# About the Authors

**Stephanie Sanok Kostro** is acting director of the CSIS Homeland Security and Counterterrorism Program and a senior fellow with the CSIS International Security Program, where she focuses on a range of “seam” issues affecting defense, foreign affairs, and development. Prior to joining CSIS, Mrs. Kostro served with the State Department at the U.S. embassy in Baghdad, where she developed policy options for the U.S. government’s efforts to support a sovereign, stable, and self-reliant Iraq. As a senior professional staff member on the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Armed Services from 2005 to 2008, she addressed a range of defense policy topics, ranging from military strategy and troop levels in Iraq and Afghanistan to the Pentagon’s role in building partner capacity and civil aspects of overseas operations. From 1998 to 2005, she was a foreign affairs specialist at the Department of Defense. She received a master of public policy degree from Harvard University and a BS in communications from Cornell University.

**Meredith Boyle** is the program coordinator and research assistant for the National Security Program on Industry and Resources at CSIS and a former intern with the Homeland Security and Counterterrorism Program. She has coauthored several short pieces on a variety of topics, including vulnerability of soft targets in the United States, opportunities for French and U.S. counterterrorism cooperation in Africa, and the future of the Department of Homeland Security. She received a BA in international relations and French from Connecticut College, where she focused on radicalization and counterterrorism.

**Alex Friedfeld** is a former intern with the CSIS Homeland Security and Counterterrorism Program and a master’s student at Georgetown University’s Center for Security Studies, where he is concentrating in terrorism and substate violence. He received a BA in political science from Swarthmore College, where he studied issues of international security.

**Ana O’Harrow** is a former intern with the CSIS Homeland Security and Counterterrorism Program. She is currently pursuing her BA from the College of William and Mary.

**Garrett Riba** is an intern with the CSIS Homeland Security and Counterterrorism Program and an MA candidate in security policy studies at the George Washington University, concentrating in homeland security policy and hybrid threats. He has coauthored publications on a variety of topics, including the resurgence of al Qaeda in Iraq and the potential terror threat at the 2014 Winter Olympics. He received BAs in criminal justice and Spanish from the University of Georgia, where he focused on the sociology of crime and Latin America.

**Rob Wise** is the research assistant and program coordinator for the Homeland Security and Counterterrorism Program and program coordinator for the Military Strategy Forum at CSIS. He has coauthored publications on a wide variety of topics, including the future of al Qaeda, the evolving dynamics of Special Operations, and the direction of the nation's homeland security enterprise. He received a BA in political science from the University of Pennsylvania, where he focused on the study of conflict and international security.





**CSIS** | CENTER FOR STRATEGIC &  
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

1616 Rhode Island Avenue NW | Washington, DC 20036  
t. 202.887.0200 | f. 202.775.3199 | [www.csis.org](http://www.csis.org)

---

ROWMAN & LITTLEFIELD

Lanham • Boulder • New York • Toronto • Plymouth, UK

4501 Forbes Boulevard, Lanham, MD 20706

t. 800.462.6420 | f. 301.429.5749 | [www.rowman.com](http://www.rowman.com)

Cover photo: DoD photo by Staff Sgt. Oscar M. Sanchez-Alvarez, U.S. Air Force.

