VULNERABILITY IN THE NATION’S HOMELAND SECURITY

A thesis presented to the Faculty of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

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General Studies

by

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ABSTRACT

VULNERABILITY IN THE NATION’S HOMELAND SECURITY, by Anthony V. Mohatt, 78 pages.

The operational tempo of the Army has increased over 300 percent since the Gulf War, yet the size of the Army has decreased by one-third. Many of the capabilities of the active Army have been shifted to the reserve components. This has led to an increased utilization of the Army's reserve components in order to meet the needs of the Army. Today, soldiers from the active Army, the US Army Reserve, and the Army National Guard have been fully integrated into a full spectrum of operations to accomplish the Army's missions. However, this increase in workload for a part-time force structure comes at a cost. This thesis attempts to define the impact of the increased utilization of the reserves on local police department because many reservists are also police officers in their civilian careers. Has their recent, lengthy, and more frequent deployments created vulnerability in this nation’s homeland security? The most significant result of this project was the validation of the fact that the increased activation of reserves over the last decade has indeed had an impact on local law enforcement agencies and has caused them to use overtime to fill the gaps left by officers mobilized with their reserve units. This was validated by interviews with law enforcement agency administrators and existing surveys and poles completed in the last two years by the PERF, IACP, and National League of Cities. Unfortunately, the degrees to which these challenges have affected the nation's homeland security were not discovered. These discoveries are critical to the national security of the United States. There will be no third chance to correct flaws within homeland security. The American people demand that 11 September be the last event of its kind on American soil.
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE THESIS APPROVAL PAGE</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACRONYMS</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIGURES</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definitions of Key Terms</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assumptions</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 4. ANALYSIS</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of the Reserve Component</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cold War</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bush (Senior) and Clinton Era</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global War on Terrorism Period</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Players in Homeland Security and Homeland Defense Strategies</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Police Department Challenges Due to Reserve Deployments</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recommendations</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLOSSARY</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX A AGENCIES INTERVIEWED AND THEIR RESPONSES</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX B. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERENCE LIST</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INITIAL DISTRIBUTION LIST</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CERTIFICATION FOR MMAS DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARNG</td>
<td>Army National Guard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BICE</td>
<td>Bureau of Immigration and Custom Enforcement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONUS</td>
<td>Continental United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIA</td>
<td>Central Intelligence Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNN</td>
<td>Cable New Network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNBC</td>
<td>Cable National Broadcasting Channel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DHLD</td>
<td>Department of Homeland Defense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOD</td>
<td>Department of Defense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eSB</td>
<td>Enhanced Separate Brigades</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FBI</td>
<td>Federal Bureau of Investigation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEMA</td>
<td>Federal Emergency Management Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAO</td>
<td>General Accounting Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Graduate Degree Programs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWOT</td>
<td>Global War on Terrorism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLS</td>
<td>Homeland Security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLD</td>
<td>Homeland Defense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IA</td>
<td>Iowa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IACP</td>
<td>International Association of Chiefs of Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JTTF</td>
<td>Joint Terrorism Task Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KS</td>
<td>Kansas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LA</td>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEO</td>
<td>Law Enforcement Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSS</td>
<td>National Security Strategy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NMS National Military Strategy
NSHS National Strategy for Homeland Strategy Security
NG National Guard
NGB National Guard Bureau
NLC National League of Cities
NORTHCOM Northern Command
OIF Operation Iraqi Freedom
OPTEMPO Operations Tempo
PERF Police Executive Research Forum
QDR Quadrennial Defense Review
PTO Patrol and Tactical Operations Committee
ROA Reserve Officer Association
SACOP Division of State Associations of Chiefs of Police
USAR United States Army Reserve
US United States
USAWC United States Army War College
### FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Figure 1.</td>
<td>The Geostrategic Environment, 1950-1989</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 2.</td>
<td>America’s Total Army</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 3.</td>
<td>The Geostrategic Environment, 1989-1999</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 4.</td>
<td>Relationship Between and Among National Strategies Related to Terrorism</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 5.</td>
<td>How Prepared Do You Think Your Agency Is?</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 6.</td>
<td>How Prepared Do You Think Your Agency Is?</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 7.</td>
<td>Change in Level of Preparedness Since 11 September</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 8.</td>
<td>Most Beneficial Emergency Preparedness Steps</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 9.</td>
<td>Agency Response to 11 September</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 10.</td>
<td>Top Items Agencies Need to Prevent and Respond to a Disaster or Terrorist Attack</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 11.</td>
<td>Disaster Preparedness Collaboration Since 11 September</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

The militia is certainly an object of primary importance, when viewed in reference to the national security, to the satisfaction of community, or to the preservation of order. (1791 speech)

Former President George Washington

The Problem

Throughout the history of the United States, presidents have assigned significant war-fighting functions to the Reserve Armed Forces. Reservists have been mobilized and deployed in every major conflict this country has fought. American citizen soldiers have always preformed their wartime duties in a professional manner. Today, reservists are at their historical best and are comparable or superior to active duty forces of most other nations (Gross 1997). This high level of readiness, however, comes at a price. Reservists today are now expected to mobilize and deploy more than ever before. This has second and third order effects on American communities, employers, and families that may hurt the United States more than Americans know.

Reductions in the active military's size and funding, following the end of the Cold War, created a new world for members of active duty and reserve units around the world. The military no longer needed the large stockpile of troops and equipment to fight the Soviet Union. As the national security strategy changed, so too did the national military strategy. America stood alone as the only superpower with many new enemies. This caused a chain reaction of events that the United States military is still experiencing today. The theory of “One Army or The Army” was formulated with the intent of eliminating the Cold War thinking of reservists and active duty as separate and not equal
entities. The Army integrated the Army National Guard and the Army Reserves into one team by giving them both an expanded role in the National military strategy. The reduction in the active duty forces equated to a new force structure for the Reserves that placed a larger mission on to the Army National Guard and the Army Reserve. The drawdown between 1991 and 1995 included the active-duty army shrinking from sixteen divisions to ten and from one million soldiers to fewer than one-half million (Herron 2003). This placed unprecedented importance onto the Army National Guard and the Army Reserve. They now comprised 55 percent of the total Army in their formations. Over one-half of the United States Army's combat arms units were placed into the Army National Guard. 72 percent of the Army's units that provide transportation, supply services, general construction, clothing, food, and ammunition (combat service support units) to United States war fighters are now Reservists. Additionally 98 percent of the psychological operations and civil affairs units are in the Army Reserves. The ramifications for the United States were great. The reduction of the active force occurred at the same time the United States military was experiencing a 300 percent increase in deployments thus creating another reason to integrate the Reserve Armed forces (Herron 2003).

The United States role as the “world’s peacekeeper” and the belief in One Army left to the nations military leaders a large problem with an obvious solution: deploy reservists. During the Cold War, the Reserve armed forces were the strategic reserve that would support sustained operation in either of Americas' two anticipated major theaters of war (North Korea or USSR). In the post-Cold War environment under The Army, concept Reserve leaders searched for relevance and agreed to assist the active military
with the growing number of deployments conducting missions other than war. These deployments have not ended. United States’ requirements to support the Global War on Terrorism and Iraqi Freedom have only added to the deployments that the United States military has conducted for the last decade. Counterdrug operations, humanitarian operations, peacekeeping operations, and support for civil authorities had placed citizen soldiers in difficult situations throughout the 1990s, and that situation appears to be only getting harder (Herron 2003).

Terrorism and fear have come to America. Although public attention has heightened since 11 September, terrorism is not a recent phenomenon in the United States or overseas. The world and the United States have experienced terrorism for decades, ranging from domestic terrorist attacks most recently and graphically viewed in the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City to international terrorist attacks, such as the bombing of the USS Cole. Today these types of events are commonplace in Iraq and the Middle East and are shown on CNN, CNBC, and the local news every night. The sophistication, coordination, and travesty of the 11 September attacks have changed the view of the threat to Americans. Never before have common Americans on the streets of Des Moines, Iowa, and Topeka, Kansas, felt so unsafe; 11 September 2001 has been the current generation's Pearl Harbor. Politicians, military leaders, and the American people have now placed a higher degree of importance on protecting the homeland than ever before. This threat to the United States is real and will continue (Brake 2001).

President Bush declared a “war on terrorism” against nonconventional threat faced by the United States at home and abroad. In response, the Department of Defense
mobilized their strategic reserve, their Reserve Armed Forces, and used them in a variety of new roles for the Global War on Terrorism. This use of reservists has only increased their expanded role since the end of the Cold War. As crises around the globe continue to rise, reservists will continue to deploy at alarming rates. With the recent unrest in Liberia, the everyday violence between Israel and Palestine, the continued presence of the United States in Bosnia, Kosovo, and the Sinai, not to mention the growing nuclear threat of North Korea and the more immediate concerns in Iraq and Afghanistan; the American reservist will continue to be needed. They will be asked to deal with an unprecedented real world threat at the same time that they deal with tumultuous upheaval in their life as they answer the call of duty; it is a tremendous commitment to ask of a volunteer. The “weekend warrior” is no longer. The Vietnam era mentality of joining the Guard to avoid the fight is gone. In some cases, a reservist especially those in civil affairs, military police, and medical units will deploy more often than an active duty member in another type of unit (adjutant general or quartermaster) based on the specific need for their a skill set in theater

Their civilian skills and training are what make reservists a bargain to the military when it comes to training dollars, experience, and maturity. These are the same reason that civilian employers feel a strain in their organizations when their employees are ordered to deploy. Traditionally civilian employers have provided overwhelming support for the deployments of their employees, but since Desert Storm that support seems to be waning because of the increase in the frequency and duration of their employee's deployments (Robinson 2002). Many employers are experiencing the same difficulties as
the military: smaller budgets, smaller work forces, and the same to larger expectations for the service they are expected to provide.

The collapses of the Soviet military machine and the horrible attacks on America on 11 September 2001 are two of the most significant military events in American history. These events have changed the way American armed forces conduct business. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the American armed forces have been utilized more than ever before, yet at the same time the United States has the smallest standing Army since World War I. This reduction in size has deployments of reservist paralleling that of their active duty brothers and sisters. It is a herculean commitment from these volunteers to leave their families and careers for extended periods of time to protect the freedom that America has cherished for so long. The increased focus on reservists comes with significant costs. Unfortunately, communities, families, and employers will bear the cost of the fight for continued freedom. Every time something happens around the world, people hear about their local reserves being deployed through the evening news broadcast. In many cases, they are not covered again until the unit’s triumphant return. In the time that unit has been deployed, however, the community has experienced the loss of police officers, firemen, doctors, nurses, teachers, and business owners from their neighborhood. The use of reserves clearly has an impact that reaches far beyond their use as a piece of the national military strategy.

In examining the nature of the dependency that has been placed on the Reserve Armed Forces, this thesis's primary question is: Has the current, frequent, and lengthy deployments of reservists who are police officers in their civilian career created a vulnerability in the nation's homeland security? The current NMS asks that reservists be
absent from home more and more. This leaves many United States local police departments’ left searching for solutions to a variety of problems. How do they replace a shortage in manpower, key department administrators; and subject matter experts; and valuable experience while maintaining a position for the deployed officer? When these problems are coupled with an enlarging homeland security mission and shrinking budget, local governments may have been asked for too much, and more importantly, the Bush administration may have created a weak link in the nation’s security. The purpose of this project is to identify and assess the overall effects on local police departments so as to highlight any potential problems that should be addressed before another national crisis.

In order to answer the primary research question, it is necessary to explain three specific categories. First, in order to identify potential problems, the means of using the reserves in the past and present will be studied to observe what has caused the increase in length and frequency of deployments for reservists. Next, it is necessary to determine whom the primary organizations involved in homeland security and homeland defense for the United States are and to describe the role of local police departments and the National Guard in the execution of the homeland security strategy. This could identify the potential impact of large-scale deployments of reservists on local police departments, which is category three. The examination of all of these questions and their logical tertiary questions will enable a satisfactory analysis of the current Homeland Security organizational structure and will consequently expose the homeland security vulnerabilities to the American homeland because of the current deployment phase of reserve units. If vulnerabilities are identified, an attempt will be made to discuss alternatives and to provide areas for further research.
Definitions of Key Terms

The definition of key terms for the use in this project will be found in the Glossary. A baseline definition must be established to provide a basic understanding of the context in which they will be used.

Scope and Limitations

The best means of gathering data on the impact of deploying the reserves would be to conduct an independent, quantifiable survey of reserve personnel and their employers before, during, and after the employees’ deployment. However, the resources required for that means of data collection are not feasible or within the scope of this project. Therefore, research will be constrained to literature review, interviews, experimental observations of the author, and statistical data made available from prior surveys conducted by private and governmental organizations.

This amount of quantifiable data used by this project with regard to the specific vulnerabilities created by the deployment of reservists is limited. These statistics may not be available to the public due to their sensitive or in some cases classified nature.

The means of using the reserves in the past and present will be limited to three significant breakdowns: the Cold War Period, the Bush (Senior) and Clinton era, and the current period of the Global War on Terrorism (GWOT). This historical review of the Reserves will be limited to the appropriate periods and the primary research question, which will prevent this project from becoming a cumbersome, compressed history paper. Many tertiary questions could be examined, but they are beyond the scope of this project.

This thesis will review the role of local police departments and reserve component in support of the president's goal as outlined in the 2002 Homeland security strategy
The study will focus on the primary functions of the local police departments, reserve component in this mission, and role in homeland defense and the Global war on Terrorism. Additionally the research will address how well local police departments and their reserve component are performing these roles and it will examine if the current length and frequency of reserve deployments has created a vulnerability in the nation’s homeland security. This thesis will focus on research from 1990 to the present and will not present classified material. This thesis will use the Army National Guard as its primary element of evaluation whenever possible, but it has already been determined that in many cases police departments will only reveal their employee as a member of the Armed forces Reserves. Existing research has not defined local police departments by size of departments but by jurisdiction. The existing research has included sheriff departments and municipal police departments into the same group due to the similar nature of their tasks. The typical jurisdictional breakdown is local, state, and federal law enforcement. Compatibility to existing surveys, research, and simplicity has led this author to use the same definition for this project.

Assumptions

Three assumptions will be made for this study. The first is that United States will still require the reserve component to support both homeland security and homeland defense even after transformation is complete. Second, the “Global War On Terrorism” (GWOT) will be a long campaign and will require a large force to support it for the conceivable future. Third, police departments and state government will not be able to increase significantly their force structure due to economic constraints, which places them in a challenging position to support their federal law enforcement counterpart in
protecting America. If any of these are not valid, they could significantly change some of the fundamental findings in this thesis.

Summary

Referring to the terror of 11 September 2001 the song by Alan Jackson asks, “Where were you when the world stopped turning?” Reservists were performing missions in Bosnia, Kosovo, Sinai, Philippines, South America, Central America, Korea, and US. On 13 September 2003, President Bush declared a GWOT on just about every nonconventional threat faced by the United States at home and abroad. On this day, the reservists comprehended the total force concept. As the operational tempo increased, reservists were counted on to fulfill a wide variety of missions. In addition to their capstone mission (federal missions) and support for civilian authorities (state missions) that have always been the cornerstone of the citizen soldier, they have also been asked to add missions to support homeland security and the global war on terrorism. Many reservists asked what mission would they stop doing; the answer they received from their civilian leaders was “none of them.” The Guard has been asked to train and support these types of missions since their creation in the colonial era.

So, does the Reserve component need to transform to meet these missions? Once again, civilian leaders have told it that it will transform. Secretary White and General Shinseki told the Army National Guard to complete its restructuring initiative by 2012. This initiative will change the force structure and tables of organizational equipment for many Reserve units, but most likely not the requirement to support the same role in the NMS.
Reservists now face unprecedented mobilizations and deployments, which place more pressures on their families and employers than ever before. To this extent, some soldiers are deployed on back-to-back mobilizations. Deployed soldiers are coping with financial hardships due to significant salary loss caused by this activization. The family strain caused by activations is made evident by the increasing divorce rates among deployed soldiers. Lengthy call-ups cause severe hardships on local police departments. Because a significant portion of their workforce is on active duty, many local police departments are forced to take extreme measures to continue services. This situation raises a series of questions. Reservists have always spent a large amount of time explaining the laws to employers and thanking them for supporting the Reserves, but this is enough not considering what deployments do to organizations, businesses, and departments. A significant number of soldiers who serve in the reserves also work as police officers in their civilian careers. If this is the case, what challenges are presented to local police departments when law enforcement officers deploy? Service is in their blood and hearts, but is it in the nation's best interest to have them serving as both reservists and police officers? Do the frequent and lengthy call-ups of reservists that work for law enforcement agencies affect the ability of their agencies to fulfill their responsibilities to homeland security? Does it create a vulnerability that the current threat will take advantage of? If so, what should the US do? Should the Reserve component prohibit law enforcement officers from joining because they are too vital to national security in their civilian careers, much like the Federal Bureau of Investigation policy? Will civilianization or an increase in the active duty force structure of the military solve this dilemma? This thesis will examine these questions as possible recommendations on how
to rectify the current challenges facing police administrators; military commanders; and local, state, and federal elected officials.
CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

Today, reserve forces are included in all war plans, and no major military operation can be successful without them. We could not maintain our military without the Guard and Reserve. It would be cut in half. We couldn't do it in Bosnia, we couldn't do it in the Gulf, and we couldn't do it anywhere. (1997, Congressional Hearing)

William S. Cohen, Former Secretary of Defense

In order to answer the question posed in the identified problem it is necessary to review the material available on this subject. There is a considerable amount of literature that examines national strategies describing the utilization of reserves in a full spectrum of operations. There is less information on the effects of this strategy on police departments and on the vulnerability of the nation's homeland security because of the current deployment trends of reservists. These sources can be divided into four distinct categories: doctrinal or regulatory publications and guidance, assessments and reports, institutional research, and commentary and opinion.

Regulatory Documents and Doctrinal Publications

The United States government, specifically the Department of Defense, describes the roles and functions of the reserve components in many different documents. When taken together these documents describe the critical role of the reserve in the current National Security Strategy (NSS) and the Department of Defenses total force policy.

The president's current NSS in response to the events of 11 September calls for the preemptive use of force outside of the United States to combat terrorism. This is a dramatic change in strategy that has had unprecedented effects on the United State’s military (Bush 2002).
To achieve the president’s intent Donald Rumsfeld, Secretary of Defense, published *The 2001 Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR)*. The document describes a dramatic shift in United States military strategy. In the *QDR*, the threat based two simultaneous major theaters of war construct that had guided military leaders for the past two decades was replaced with the overarching task of developing a “portfolio of capabilities.” These capabilities need to encompass a wide range of tasks from homeland security to major wars. The only specific guidance for reserves provided by the QDR is that they will have eight maneuver divisions and fifteen enhanced separate brigades (eSBs) (Rumsfeld 2001).

Although the *QDR* replaces the *National Military Strategy (NMS)*, it is important to mention the 1997 *NMS* because it is the last document that specifically details the role of the reserves. The 1997 *NMS* subtitled *Shape, Response, and Prepare Now-A Military Strategy for a New Era* embraced the Army’s role as the world’s peacekeepers along with the need to have “The Army” all on the first team.

**Reserve Components** The reserve components, in addition to being essential participants in the full range of military operations, are an important link between the Armed forces and the public. Mobilization of the Reserve Components has always been an important indicator of the commitment of national will. Guardsmen and reservists are not only integrated into war plans, but also provide critical skills in carrying out contingency operations, as well as augmentation and supporting active units during peacetime. National Guard and other Reserve Component elements also provide the National Command Authority with strategic hedge against uncertainty and with an organized basis to expand our Armed forces if necessary. Additionally, they also provide a rotational base to ease the tempo of units and individual deployments for the Active Component. (Shalikashvili 1997, 78)

The position for the reserve component on “the bench” has ended. The “total force” efforts of General Abrams in the 1970s would be practiced. The 1997 *NMS* was the last such document to explain clearly the role of the reserves. It is assumed that when
requirements are given in documents, such as *The 2002 National Security Strategy*, the *2001 Quarterly Defense Review*, *Joint Vision 2020*, or *The Army Vision Statement* that the reserves are included and that there is no longer a need to describe their role independently. “One team. One Fight” (DeVine 2002).

Lastly, since the attacks on the World Trade Center, the president has published annually a report on *Securing the Homeland and Strengthening the Nation* (*NSHS*). In these reports he describes the nation's critical mission areas, functions, and the most important, the funding of the plan’s executors. The plan also directs the roles of state and local governments, along with the Department of Defense, by describing their requirements in an all-encompassing plan. In addition to the federal regulation each state, county, and city have statutes and ordinances for law enforcement agencies and National Guard Units operating in their jurisdiction. This further defines the role for the primary organizations involved in homeland security (Bush 2003). *The National Strategy for Combating Terrorism, National Military Strategic Plan for the War on Terrorism*, and *The National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction* support the president, the *NSS*, and the *NSHS* and provide the reserves with a guideline for their role in these areas.

**Assessments and Reports**

Many public and private organizations have examined the role of reserves in the national *NMS*, but few have looked at the consequences that the current reserve deployment patterns have on police departments or the potential vulnerabilities to the nation’s homeland security. These bodies of works include numerous studies conducted by the RAND Corporation, a private institute focused on improving military, governmental, and social policy decision making through research and analysis. The
Arroyo Center, an affiliate of the RAND Corporation, is an Army funded research institute that has conducted similar projects. Their works are important in that both research centers have recommended policies to enhance personnel and training readiness in the reserves. Much like the Arroyo Center, Rand's National Defense Research Institute conducts federally funded research. In 1995, at the request of the Secretary of Defense, they conducted a study on the ability of the National Guard to conduct their NMS mandated federal and state missions. They concluded that in spite of the post-cold war downsizing of the National Guard by over 11 percent they still had the ability to fulfill both missions. They revealed that since the Korean War the National Guard has had only two small external commitments: Vietnam and Desert Storm. They further elaborated that since the National Guard's primary mission is to maintain a defense force protecting against insurrection or invasion, they were not convinced that the current NMS provided sufficient mission requirements to utilize the entire force structure of the National Guard. The project concluded that the current force structure of the National Guard was adequate for both missions even if both missions peaked simultaneously (Brown 1995).

In performing their constitutionally mandated oversight of military policy and its budget, the United States Congress frequently must research the roles and readiness of reserve units and the policies governing the nation’s homeland security practices. In 1997 the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) released a report that examined the requirements of possible solutions to the Army's force structure. It provided recommendations for the Army's plan for the reorganization of the reserve component (CBO 1997).

A United States General Accounting Office (GAO) study found that in spite of the increase in operations since 1992, the average department-wide operational tempo of
reserves increased only slightly between 1992 and 2001 from forty-three to forty-six days a year. The study pointed out that many individuals and low-density units have been on active duty considerably more while serving in Bosnia and Kosovo. The study also points out that the GWOT has also added to the operational tempo and was not included in the GAO study. GAO provided recommendations for ways to improve force structure along with relations with employers (GAO 2002).

Another GAO study reviewed issues from the Posse Comitatus Act to assist civil authorities, but the most important issue that was studied was the drastic increase in personnel tempo from 11 September 2001 to December 2002. The report highlighted the possibilities of retention problems along with readiness problems from all service if the rates were to continue (GAO 2003).

A more recent study completed in July 2003 found similar findings in reference to the high personnel tempo rates (GAO 2003, Homeland Defense: DOD Needs). Lastly, the latest study completed in August 2003 revealed the inefficiencies in the current mobilization process for reserves and the second and third order effect of these policies; it concluded with recommendations on how to improve the process (GAO 2003, Military Personnel: DOD Actions).

As with the defense industry, there are many privately funded and government funded research centers that examine police and public safety issues. The following is a sample of the most pertinent research. A poll conducted in 2003 by the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) indicated that a preponderance of the 2,100 police departments they contacted had lost police officers to deployments in response to the GWOT (Fiore 2003).
In a report to the Senate Judiciary Committee who delivered the results of a survey conducted immediately following the events of 11 September in which they contacted 160 police chiefs. The chiefs identified the needs of local police departments in order to support the homeland security of the United States. The greatest needs they identified were improvements in intelligence gathering and the sharing and disseminating of this information between federal, state, and local jurisdictions (Police Executive Research Forum 2003). In a similar poll conducted in 2003 by the National League of Cities, they found that 46 percent of the 461 cities that responded had lost police officers because of deployments in response to the GWOT (Davis 2003). The Reserve Officer Association conducts annual surveys of Fortune 500 companies to determine the benefits corporations provide their reserve employees. The survey does not specifically ask the corporations about the impact of reserve deployments on their productivity, but it does reflect the general support that most corporations give their reserve employees.

Army Institutional Research

Since the end of the Cold War and even more since 11 September, students at the Army War College (USAWC) and other military institutions have conducted numerous examinations of the role of the reserves, their shortfalls, their strengths, and their deserved place in the future of the United States military. Generally, these works describe the how the Army has used the reserves in the past and how they feel they should be used in the future.

A United States Army War College (USAWC) Strategy Research Project concludes that the active duty force is too small for the current operational tempo; thus, reserves will continue to be deployed. Current initiatives for employers will not support
their long-term commitment to the deployments of their employees as the rate of these deployments increase (Sarcione 2000). Additionally, a pair of monographs from candidates of the School of Advance Military Studies, *Reviewing the Role of the Army National Guard in the Twenty-first Century* by Major David Chase and *The Army National Guard: Force Multiplier or Irrelevant Force?* by Major Mark O'Hanlon, explore the future of the National Guard and in some degree the Army Reserves. Both monographs were completed prior to the GWOT and address the increased deployments of reserves in the post-Cold War era. Similar to these monographs were a handful of USAWC Strategy Research projects:

1. *The National Guard: Increased OPTEMPO Brings Paradigm Change to Strategic Resource* by Col. Jim Anderson


All five of these projects, written in the aftermath of the events of 11 September, Operation Enduring Freedom, Noble Eagle, and Iraqi Freedom, have concentrated on the National Guard's evolving role in national homeland security and the increasing frequency and duration of an ever-growing deployed reserve component. Additionally, each author has given recommendations, and Gallagher and Smith conducted a survey of reserve soldiers that question the training and readiness of units to conduct homeland security.
Finally, master’s theses have been written that also concentrate on the National Guard's evolving role in homeland security. A theses by Major Spencer Robinson, “The Role of the Army National Guard in the 21st Century: Peacekeeping vs. Homeland Security,” and another by Major Sean Herron, “Mortgaging National Security: Will the Increased Use of the Reserve Components Impact the Ability to Mobilize for War in the Near Future,” both conclude that reserve force are a vital component of the current national security plan and will continue to be used more and more in the future.

Other Commentary and Opinions

The military has always been an entity of interest and opinion. It is the largest and arguably the most visible instrument of power that a nation state has at its use. In a democracy with the right of free speech and press, military strategy is often critiqued and analyzed. Since the beginning of the GWOT and the embedding of the media within military units in Iraq there have been articles written daily that scrutinize the issues of reservist and homeland security. The theses will highlight a few influential articles and opinions that analyze the research problem.

In January of this year a pair of articles appeared in the *Christian Science Monitor*. These articles contained numerous interviews with police administrators, city managers, fire chiefs, and hospital administrators; in particular these articles address how cities around the country were dealing with the deployments of many of their employees and first responders who also serve as part of a reserve unit in support of the GWOT (McLaughlin 2003 and Paulson 2003).

A similar article in *Newsweek* discussed a survey conducted by the National League of Cities about the lingering effects of shrinking tax rolls and the increase
overtime and call for service demanded by post 11 September security measures (Joseph and Sinderband 2003). Similar articles were written in *Time, USA Today, LA Times, National Cities Weekly,* and *Christian Science Monitor* about the finding of the National League of Cities survey. Additionally, spokesmen from the National League of Cities were guest speakers on the *CNN* series *Inside Politics with Judy Woodruff and Show Down in Iraq* discussing their findings and recommendations.

In a series of similar articles in the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, Washington Post, New York Times, LA Times, State Legislature, Dubuque (IA) Telegraph Herald,* and *Christian Science Monitor,* staff writers discussed the impact on the numerous cities facing the loss of manpower due to the NMS’s reliance on the reserve to conduct the GWOT. In one of these articles, Washington D.C. Mayor Anthony Williams went to Congress to describe the strain the increased patrols and heightened security for the nation’s capitol after 11 September placed on his police department. The mayor explained how this affects how crime is fought; neighborhoods are patrolled by fewer police officers since he has had to increase security around national landmarks and critical infrastructure has increased (Dvorak 2001).

Finally, in a pair of articles written in the *Tampa Tribune* and the *Economist,* United States Senator Bill Nelson, a Florida Democrat, questioned the long-standing reliance on National Guard soldiers to carry out an increasing number of missions overseas. The senator noted the large number of reservists from his state who are currently deployed and how this deployment strips critical members from their community and limits the way a governor can respond to national disasters within their state (Beamguard 2003).
Summary

In summary, this chapter identified pervious research on the use of the reserves and the effect of this use on police departments and the nation's homeland security. This subject is one that has been debated since the end of the Vietnam War when President Nixon changed military strategy to depend more on reservists for national security. Such reliance will continue long into the future if history is any indication (Beamguard 2003). The key is to understand the issues, arguments, and perspectives that others have presented, so when a decision is made it will be efficient and long lasting. This literature review was structured to give some exposure to the current research prior to the next two chapters that further elaborate on this current research, to describe the method of examining the research question, and to provide from the results of the examination.
Indeed, activations of military reserves comes at a time when protecting the country internally is as critical as its external battles. Depending on how many are activated it could have a significant impact. It isn't until you lose those people that you understand their importance. (2001 2)

William Bratton, Former New York City Police Commissioner

Research for this thesis will be conducted in accordance with the categorical research design strategy. It will answer the primary research question: Do to the frequent and lengthy call-ups of reservists who work for law enforcement agencies affect the ability of their agencies to fulfill their responsibilities to homeland security? This thesis will do this by focusing on the specific secondary and tertiary research questions that relate to this topic. The categorical approach breaks down the primary research question listed above into three categories. The categories are the current role of reserves, the organizations involved in homeland security and homeland defense strategies, and lastly the impact on local police departments from the large-scale, long-term deployments of reservists.

First, this thesis will study the past and present use of the reserves in order to observe what has caused the increase in lengthy and frequent deployments for reservists. This will supply insight in to potential problems. Next, it is necessary to determine who are the primary organizations involved in homeland security and homeland defense for the United States and to describe the role of local police departments and the National Guard in the execution of the homeland security strategy. Doing this will identify the potential impact on local police departments of large-scale deployments of reservists,
which is category three. The examination of all of the questions and their logical tertiary questions will enable a satisfactory analysis of the current homeland security organizational structure and the consequently vulnerabilities to the American homeland due to the current deployment rate of reserve units. When vulnerabilities are identified, an attempt will be made to discuss alternatives and to provide areas for further research.

This thesis will look at three distinguishable periods starting with the Cold War period, Bush-Clinton period, and ending with the current GWOT period. The thesis secondary examines what organizations are involved in homeland security and homeland defense. The thesis provides details and research on tertiary questions that relate to that category, such as the role do police departments and the reserves play in homeland security and defense and what effect reserve deployments on the ability of governors to provide homeland security for their state. To address these questions the project will analyze the multiple agencies and documents that define the US homeland security and homeland defense strategies.

Lastly the author conducted a series of interviews with newspaper editors, staff writers, and Employer Support for Guard and Reserve ombudsmen. The author also interviewed sheriffs and police chiefs of law enforcement organizations in Kansas who have no fewer than fifty and no more than one hundred commissioned law enforcement officers to determine the impact of the current large-scale, long-term deployments of reservists upon local law enforcement organizations. The interviews that contained nine standard questions were not random; those who were interviewed were selected because of familiarity and proximity to the author. This may prevent the interviews from being a representative sample for the rest of the United State’s law enforcement organizations.
These interviews, however when combined with additional ones conducted by other authors and researchers throughout the nation, produce reliable conclusions about the primary and secondary questions addressed in this thesis.

Summary

These same categories will be used throughout the remaining chapters of this project for continuity. The secondary and tertiary questions create a more complete picture of the problem under investigation in this project. The examinations of these questions within their categories will facilitate a comprehensive analysis of this subject. The literature review from the previous chapter and the methodology outlined here provide the framework for the analysis discussed in chapter 4 and the conclusions and recommendations detailed in chapter 5.
CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

When a local reserve unit is mobilized, the members in it most often are called up as a whole, not by ones and twos. Overnight, first responder agencies can lose 30 percent of their ability to perform their regular function. (2003 1)

Colonel Alan Smith

This thesis uses a categorical approach to explore the primary research question. This process breaks down the primary research question listed above into three categories. The categories are: the current role of reserves, the organizations involved in Homeland security and homeland defense strategies, and the impact of large-scale, long-term deployments of reservists on local police departments. The author explored the logical tertiary questions that allow the categories to be analyzed adequately. The research into the history and current role of reserve forces in the nation’s homeland security mission allowed for an in-depth study of why activations have increased for reserve forces and what impact this has had on governors’ abilities to protect their states as more and more forces are activated for federal homeland defense or homeland security missions throughout the United States and overseas.

While addressing the first secondary question (what has caused the current increase in reserve deployments), the thesis will also provide details and research on tertiary questions that relate to that category. The first of the tertiary issues will address the changes in regulatory, legal, and statutory requirements for the reserves. To examine these changes the thesis will look at three distinguishable periods: the Cold War period, the Bush-Clinton period, and the current GWOT period.

25
Use of the Reserve Component

Cold War

During the Cold War, the reserves were considered a strategic reserve of trained manpower. Their role was to prepare for deployment in support of the active army in Europe and Korea. Between 1950 and 1989, the Army consisted of twenty-eight divisions: eighteen were in the active Army and ten were in the National Guard. During this period, they were deployed only ten times with only seven of these deployments being overseas, such as to Korea and Vietnam. During the 1980s, the military experienced the largest peacetime defense budget in United States history. The reserves had over one million troops in their formations, and in spite of their growing numbers; the requirements to mobilize did not expand. The rate of support was equivalent to 2,750 personnel on active duty at any given time (Robinson 2002). Charles Cragin, former Principal Deputy Assistant of Defense for Reserves Affairs, best depicted the period:

To serve in the reserves during that period meant finding oneself suspended in the frozen logic of the Cold war. Such logic held that reserve forces were precisely that - they were kept ready in reserve, waiting for the advent of World war III and the cataclysmic contingency that would call them on the front lines in the fight against communism in Europe or Asia. (2001 1)

The constitutional role of the reserves to mobilize and deploy for wartime missions remained unaltered from 1950 to 1989. However, that would change at the end of the Cold War. Figure 1 shows the increase in deployments for reservists that ensued with the new strategy.
The disappearance of the Warsaw Pact and the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union created a new world order. The United States now had a new enemy. In spite of the general impression of most Americans that the fall of the Berlin Wall would lead to and nullify the need to continue the arms buildup, which had peaked during the Reagan era, the next ten years would not validate these views (Sarcione 2000).

Cold War military planners presumed that more forces were needed to defend Europe against the Soviets than were needed to fulfill the United State's commitments elsewhere in the world. An unprecedented downsizing of the active Army occurred at the
end of the Cold War. Combat forces were whittled to ten divisions by 1993. Meanwhile the United States had adopted a new National military strategy prior to Desert Storm. (Anderson 2003) This had a dramatic effect on reservists.

Desert Shield and Storm began when the Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein ordered his forces into Kuwait. In a matter of days Hussein seized the country, placing American interests in the Gulf region in jeopardy. President Bush authorized military action and the call up of reserve units. Bush expressed his confidence in the reserve force from all the services, including combat and combat service support troops, and he explained how they constituted an integral part of the active force in the operation (Duncan 1997). In spite of this endorsement, the president's words did not halt the controversy over the use of reserve combat units at a time when active units were available (Green 2003). The Army Staff, General Norman Schwarzkoph, Central Command Commander, and Lieutenant General John Woodmansee, V Corp Commander, all agreed that it was inefficient to call up half trained troops when trained ones were available. The viability of the Army's Total Army Concept was facing stanch opposition.

With Army Chief of Staff General Carl Vuono on one side of the issue and the Army's field commanders on the other, it was not surprising that Congress also would give an opinion on the matter (Schubert and Kruse 2001). Representative Les Aspen, Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, characterized the opposition to the call-up as “solid as sand.” In hopes of elevating the controversy, Congress later passed a defense appropriation bill allowing the president to call up reserve units to active duty for up to 270 days. The role of the reserves posed a clear dilemma for military and political leadership (Greene 2003).
National Guard combat arms units did not deploy in the early months of 1991, the United States and coalition forces attacked and defeated Saddam Hussein's forces in one of the most decisive campaigns in military history. In spite the controversy over reserve combat units, thousands of reserve combat service support and combat support units contributed to the dramatic victory (Greene 2003). At the end of the Gulf war, military leaders had to answer many questions. At the top of that list was a question still asked today: Does the United States need a large standing Army, or should they use reserves? The question during the early 1990s was for the most part already answered. The Department of Defense had already started the downsizing and economically the nation could not allow it to stop. Additionally, the overwhelming victory in the Gulf led many to believe that airpower could defeat most modern conventional armies even before United States ground forces had to fire a shot. This belief led the National Command Authority to downsize and reconstruct the entire command plan (Anderson 2003).

The Presidential Decision Directive 25, the 1994 *Defense Authorization Act*, and the 1994 Active/Reserve Off-Site Agreement reduced the total military by over 33 percent between 1991 and 1999. The active component forces eliminated eight hundred thousand troops (Anderson 2003). The active army was cut from eighteen to ten active divisions; and over 50 percent of the Army's combat arms, combat service support, and combat support units were integrated into the reserve’s command plans. The reserves saw the disappearance of the Round Out concept and the introduction of the Enhanced Separate Brigade (E Brigades) concept (Sarcione 2000). Figure 2 depicts these changes and identifies the current force structure of the Army.
Several other factors were present in addition to the reduction of active duty soldiers and force structure. The active duty military maintained their smallest budgets since before the Regan era. Consequentially, a reserve force offered as a cost effective way of maintaining many military capabilities during peacetime. Therefore, the dilemma of what role the reserves would play in the National Military Strategy was answered in ways that many had not expected. Moreover, during the same time frame that the Army was experiencing a 40 percent decrease in forces, it also witnessed a 300 percent increase in deployments as depicted in figure 3 (Anderson 2003).
Figure 3. The Geostrategic Environment, 1989-1999


Global War on Terrorism Period

I think as we look at the role that the Department of Defense plays in Homeland Security. . . . The most obvious component of the Department of Defense with domestic security is the National Guard. We will have to work with the Department of Defense and with the governors to identify what that role will be. (2001 1)

Directory of Homeland Security Tom Ridge

Some might ask why this author would separate the current period from that of the post Cold War era by saying that the trend has stayed the same. The trend is the same in that President Bush is still using the reserve component for the same things that his father and President Clinton used them for during the post-Cold War period, but 11
September 2001 has changed things for everyone, including the reserves. On 14 September 2001, President Bush declared a national emergency, which allowed him to call up to one million reservists for a two year deployment. This emergency placed reservists at airports, at entrances to military installations in the United States and overseas, and most importantly, in the middle of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan (GAO Aug 2003).

About three hundred thousand of the one and one-quarter million reservists have been called up since 11 September, and there is no end in sight to these deployments. One-quarter of a million reservists were mobilized for Desert Storm, but these reservists knew the duration of their deployment and were then redeployed. The GWOT is a much different animal (GAO Aug 2003). The current QDR and NSS do not allow for a clean exit strategy form conflicts because of their preemptive nature. Units may be called to deploy to Afghanistan, and then within a short time these same units may deploy again to Iraq or elsewhere. The Secretary of Defense has asked military planners and leaders to prevent back-to-back deployments if possible, but this may be difficult because America is a nation conducting a war with a military that is too small and has the wrong mix between the active forces and reserves (Kilian 2003). In addition to these challenges, leaders are insisting on transformational changes to new threats, new strategies, new technologies, and new equipment (Ryan 2002).

The current mandate to combat terrorists or those that support terror entails preemptive strikes on terrorists in their homes in order to prevent Americans from being attacked in theirs. Even though reservists support active duty forces overseas who are combating terrorist, they will also be asked to provide homeland security in America.
The Army Reserve Components are composed of the Army Reserves and the Army National Guard. The Army Reserves are able to mobilize and support both Homeland defense and Homeland Security, but because of the Posse Comitatus act of 1878 the President would need to declare an emergency and authorize their active duty military equipment or personnel to support civilian law enforcement in a Title 10 active duty status. The President authorized this shortly after 11 September. The President also created the United States Northern Command and the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Homeland defense whose roles are to coordinate the Department of Defense efforts, to advise the Secretary of Defense and the President on threats to North America, and to create military plans to combat them (GAO July 2003).

The second component of the Army Reserve Component is the Army National Guard. They are unique in their nature. Their origins can be tracked to the militias of the Colonial War. They serve two masters: the federal master of all armed forces, the President of the United States, and their state's governor. They can be mobilized by either of these persons and perform the same missions as their Regular Army and Army reserve brothers in Title 10 or 32 status. If their governor maintains command over them while their performing under Title 32 status, they are not subject to Posse Comitatus. If they are under Title 10, they are subject to the Posse Comitatus Act as any other active duty member (Hynson 2002).

The decrease in active and reserve force structure, end strength, and the current practices that require the US military to conduct preemptive strikes for homeland security have all led to an increase in operational tempos. Reservists over the last decade have increased their contributions from 1.4 million duty days in 1989 to 13 million duty days
in 2001. With the events of 11 September, that role has only increased more. Reservists must live with the uncomfortable fact that they will deploy at least once every five years; for the first time in American history since Vietnam, reservists will have combat arm units fighting and dying in combat zones around the world and for the first time since the attack on Pearl Harbor, they will be protecting the American Homeland against a legitimate and formidable threat (Anderson 2003).

Before this analysis moves on to the secondary question, it is necessary to discuss briefly the impact on states as they lose more and more of their National Guardsmen to federal activations. In the winter of 2004 at the National Governor’s Association Conference, this very topic was an issue on all fifty-four states and territories’ discussion lists. Lieutenant General Steven Blum, Chief of the National Guard Bureau, explained to the governors during the conference that we were a nation at war and that we lived in unprecedented times for the United States Armed Forces. Blum, however, discussed his intent to ensure states that a minimum of 50 percent of their National Guard force would be available to them at any one time to support civilian authorities and assist their governors in the war on terrorism on title 32 or state active duty (Haskell 2004).

Politicians are worried about our country’s heavy dependence on the National Guard and the possible shortages in manpower that may arise if a large state call up was needed to assist during a natural disaster (Tanner 2004). United States Senator Bill Nelson of Florida claimed that the current use of the National Guard is inappropriate and leaves state governors short handed. Nelson claims that even without the current federal activation, the state of Florida still had to ask other states and the federal government for help with Hurricane Andrew because of the large number of soldiers that were required
for that emergency. Nelson believes it will be even worse today (Beamguard 2003). N. Wayne Ruthven, director of the Arkansas Department of Emergency Management, estimates the outflow of National Guard troops from his state could cause a 40 percent delay in disaster response time a delay might lead to more deaths in an emergency (Roig-Franzia 2004).

Politicians worry that the depletion of reserve forces would be worsened if the stop loss measures are lifted. A recent survey of five thousand soldiers from fifteen states showed that the rate at which Army Guard members choose to leave the military could jump to between twenty and 32 percent a year among those who have served an overseas deployment longer than twelve months. The average departure rate for soldiers who served similar tours from 2001 to 2003 was 12 percent. Another recent survey in the Navy Times newspaper revealed that eight out of ten United States troops say the force is “stretched too thin” (Moniz 2004).

Major Players in Homeland Security and Homeland Defense Strategies

While addressing the facts in the second category, this section will also discuss the second secondary question of what organizations involved in homeland security and homeland defense. It will also provide details and research on tertiary question that relate to that category, such as what role do police departments and the reserves play in homeland security and homeland defense and what effect have reserve deployments had on the ability of governors to provide homeland security for their states? These questions will reveal the many layers agencies and documents that define the United States Homeland security and homeland defense Strategies. Over the last two years ten national strategies have been created that combat terrorism.
In November 2002, the President established the Department of Homeland Security (DHLS), which placed twenty-two agencies under Secretary Ridges' control. This reorganization also placed one hundred and seventy thousand employees within this department; the third largest amongst government agencies, and it received a thirty-six-billion dollar budget, the third largest in the federal government. Along with significant resources, the DHLS was also given a great deal of responsibility and authority. DHLS is the single agency responsible for homeland security. It coordinates America's great resources to protect the homeland. Although this department seeks to offer a quick, unified response to any security threat, it will not be easy for DHS to coordinate the law enforcement and investigative function with local law enforcement and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).
Local law enforcement, in most cases, will be the first responders to a crisis or a terrorist event in the United States. In addition to being first responders they are the most visible law enforcement that a terrorist will see when he enters the United States. The
events of 11 September increased the requirements and expectations for local law enforcement, who are now being asked to prevent terrorist incidents in addition to being first to respond to an incident. This is a task that the FBI has been given also. The FBI has been the primary federal law enforcement agency since the days of J. Edgar Hoover. They have been known for reactionary investigations that are on a targeted group or individual after a crime has been committed, but they have not focused on the prevention of crime. Now, however, America expects the FBI and local law enforcement to prevent crime and more specifically, terrorism, before more incident citizens are killed.

In an attempt to prevent terrorism, the FBI has created Joint Terrorism Task Forces (JTTF) around the country. Joint Terrorism Task Forces (JTTF) combine local, state, and federal resources throughout America in order to share intelligence, combine resources, enhance awareness, and thus stop events before they occur. JTTF’s are under federal jurisdiction; they are deputized by the FBI to enforce federal laws throughout the United States. In spite of this initiative, many local law enforcement chief administrators believe that the budget makers in Washington are forgetting them.

Taking into consideration the nature of local law enforcements mission and the world’s current events, the International Association of Chiefs of Police’s (IACP), the Patrol and Tactical Operations (PTO) Committee, along with participation by the Division of State and Provincial Police (S&P) and the Division of State Associations of Chiefs of Police (SACOP) gathered intelligence via a needs assessment survey to determine the needs and the level of preparedness of local, state, tribal and federal law enforcement agencies should handle a disastrous event, such as a terrorist attack, riot or major natural disaster occur.
The survey was distributed to more than 17,000 local, state, tribal, and federal law enforcement agencies. More than 4,500 surveys were completed and returned, which yielded a 25 percent response rate--much higher than the average 10 to 12 percent rate. The demographic makeup of the respondent base was almost identical to that of law enforcement agencies in the United States, with more than 75 percent of the participating agencies representing communities with populations of 50,000 or less (Voegtlin 2003). The survey reveled some major findings that may be construed as vulnerabilities to the nation’s homeland security plan. The first major finding was that nine out of ten responding agencies do not feel “adequately prepared” to prevent or respond to a terrorist act. The agencies want additional resources, such as funding, communications, training and equipment; police executives do not feel their front-line agencies are ready to protect the country against another attack similar to that of 11 September 2001. Tables 1 and 2 reveal the survey outcomes and show a startling lack of confidence in the level of readiness by local law enforcement agencies for terrorist type events (Voegtlin 2003).

![Figure 5. How Prepared Do You Think Your Agency Is?](image)

Although agencies believe that they are ill prepared for a terrorist event, they also believe that they are improving. More than 80 percent of the agencies have tried to increase their preparedness after the 11 September attacks by: purchasing new equipment, increasing training, increasing manpower, enhancing preparedness plans and creating partnerships. In spite of the increased requirements on local agencies to purchase equipment and conduct preemptive patrols and investigation, only 10 percent of agencies have secured additional funding since 11 September. Tables 3, 4, 5 indicate the steps that they have taken to improve their preparedness (Voegtlin 2003).
The IACP survey also asked agencies what items they needed to prevent a disaster or terrorist event. Table 6 shows their response (Voegtlin 2003).
Lastly, the survey also revealed that crisis management, consequence management, law enforcement, and intelligence agencies are all making the attempt to train together and exercise their response plans, mass casualty plans, investigative techniques, command and control interoperability, and public affairs plans to a disaster or terrorist event. Table 7 shows the response that agencies gave when asked what groups they had worked with for disaster preparedness since 11 September.

![Figure 11. Disaster Preparedness Collaboration Since 11 September](source: Voegtlin2003. 12.)

DHLS will attempt to do something that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the FBI have been criticized for in past: coordination and cooperation. In addition to coordinating actions with the FBI and local governments for crisis management, one of the agencies within DHLS will be the lead agency for consequence management. The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) is known for their work and recovery efforts in natural disasters, but it will now be a major player in the response to terrorist events.
These are just a few of the federal agencies that will be involved. There were over one hundred agencies that were involved in the recovery operations in New York City after 11 September. Each situation will differ based on the incident and the travesty of the event requiring response. Additional, each city, county, and state has a different degree of preparedness for disasters. The federal response plan that will some day morph into a national response plan requires local, county, and state governments to do all they can at their level prior to requesting federal assistance.

In spite of the press clippings that state the importance of DHLS’s connection to local governments and the FBI, it could be argued that the most important relationship for DHLS will be with the Department of Defense. The budget and organizational structure make a strong argument for DHSL to have a very cooperative relationship with the Department of Defense. DoD has created Northern Command for just this reason. NORTHCOM coordinates all federal responses to requests for assistance within the United States; the states Adjutant Generals (on the authority of their Governor) do the same for all Title 32 requests. In addition to its soldiers, the Defense Department has equipment, communications, intelligence, special units, and facilities that can be utilized for crisis or consequence management. Additionally, the Department of Defense’s military missions overseas support homeland defense (Klippstein 2003). Afghanistan, Iraq, the Philippines, Indonesia, Singapore, Yemen, and Pakistan are only a few locations that the United States is currently conducting military operations. These and other ongoing military operations abroad have reduced the terrorist threat against the United States and the world (Kelly 2002).
DHLS is a large complex organization whose wide ranging missions depend on relationships federal, state, and local law enforcement in order to be successful. DHLS also uses agencies like the Coast Guard, Bureau Immigration, Custom Enforcement (BICE), and Boarder Patrol to enhance border security. But were does DoD fit into this mission? DoD’s assets have been used for years on the Southern boarder as part of Joint Task Force 6. Title 10 and Title 32 recourse have been used as part of this task force in the War on drugs. Is looking for terrorists much different? Shortly after 11 September, the answer was no. Governors and federal government officials placed soldiers on the northern and southern boarders of the United States. (Bloomquist 2002) DHLS missions are not easy. It will be hard for them to measure success, but it will be deadly obvious when they fail.

Local Police Department Challenges Due to Reserve Deployments

It is clear that another way for DHLS to define failure is the inability to coordinate, cooperate, and inform local law enforcement of what the threat looks like, where the threat is located, and with what they need help. Local law enforcement agencies are like the non-commission officer in the Army. They can make you successful if you train them, trust them, and empower them. Anything less and they will not complete the mission with the desired end state. This leads to the final category: what challenges have local law enforcement agencies experienced because of the frequent and lengthy deployments of reservists. This project will use a existing surveys, research findings, and interviews along with the author’s own interviews to produce a body of research that proves this category will be no different. Research already completed by PERF, GAO, and League of Cities provides insight into the challenges that municipalities
face in attempting to satisfy the demanding public with reduced budgets. In order to examine the last of the secondary questions, what challenges have local law enforcement agency experience because the frequent and length deployments of reservists, first one must analyze the challenges that cities faced prior to 11 September, the proportion of cities that could be affected by the deployment of reservists, and how the selection, training, and certification process exacerbates the loss of local police officers due to frequent deployments.

Until recently the Department of Defense did not think to track the civilian employers of their one and one-third million reservists. Civilian employers much like their military counterparts have not tracked their employees that were serving in the reserves (Fiore 2003). Colonel Alan Smith, Ombudsmen for the National Committee for Employer Support for Guard and Reserve, explained that for many years the military did not want to intrude into a reservist’s personal life by asking and tracking where he/she worked as a civilian, and the civilian employers followed the same protocol with of their reservists. A significant percentage of the reserve force that make up half of the national defense also work in civilian lives as so-called first-responders, protecting cities across the nation (Fiore 2003). The GWOT has forced this information to be tracked due to the possible overnight loss of 30 percent of a first-responder agency (Maller 2003). The combination of not knowing who works where and for whom, along with an unpredictable open-ended deployment schedule that in some cases gives two months notice to soldiers or in other cases two days notice, has created a dilemma for many civilian employers. When the dilemma is with a police department, fire department, emergency medical unit, or hospital it has also created a problem for the entire
community (Currie 2003). The loss of law enforcement officers due to deployments has a
direct effect on what cities and counties can provide in enforcement and security services.
In the aftermath of 11 September the promise was given from Congress and from the
White House that the federal government would help local governments with homeland
security, but some believe that the reliance on reservists for homeland defense will make
this very difficult (Davis 27 January 2003).

In a recent poll of four hundred and sixty-one cities the National League of Cities
discovered that 26 percent of the cities claimed that they are less able to provide to their
communities because of activations of their city employees for reserve duty since 11
September. Of these cities, 64 percent said they have lost police officers to reserve
activation since 11 September (Davis 10 March 2003). In addition to the loss of police
officers to reserve duty in the aftermath of 11 September, police chiefs and sheriffs, cities
and counties, and mayors and governors around the nation were facing the daunting task
of providing protection of critical infrastructure within their jurisdictions. Many law
enforcement departments were already short of personnel and were operating on a
reduced budget at the time of the 11 September attack; the tragic event and its subsequent
consequences only made a difficult situation worse (Davis 2003).

In an attempt to provide a closer look at the impact of this situation on local law
enforcement and homeland security for the nation, the author conducted interviews with
police chiefs and sheriffs in the state of Kansas whose law enforcement agencies
employed over fifty officers and less than one hundred officers. Throughout the ten
interviews, that were conducted the law enforcement administrators revealed that each
had only a handful of reservists who work in their departments, and they had seen a
increase in deployments of these reservists since Desert Storm and most defiantly since
11 September and the start of Operation Iraqi Freedom. The administrators also revealed
that since 11 September that they have increased security or patrolling around critical
infrastructure within their jurisdictions and had to shift schedules or pay overtime to
officers to cover deployed reservists shifts. The administrators found the loss of highly
trained personnel investigators, school recourse officers, and supervisors put them in a
difficult situation. These reservists could not be easily replaced with someone with
similar skills within the department. All the administrators said that although they were
able to meet their calls for service, additional security and patrol requirements in spite of
the loss of their deployed employees, they also said that they were using short term fixes
that could ultimately cause morale problems within their rank and file and financial
problems within their communities.

Newspaper and magazine reporters throughout the country have conducted
similar interviews that offer many of the same findings. Lance Davis, Nation’s City
Weekly, interviewed Fred Russell, deputy administrator for Augusta, GA, who revealed
that Augusta, much like other cities, was operating with four officers deployed from their
police department in addition to the thirty-five vacancies that already existed because of a
reduced budget. Because of vacancies and the new responsibilities that local police
department have assumed, Russell believes that the federal government should be
providing move financial assistance to strapped state, county, and city governments
(Davis 2003). Ed Fennell, human resources director, of Johnson City, TN, explains how,
as in Kansas and Georgia, a platoon of police officers are missing in his police
department due to activations since 11 September. Fennell explains how the city has four
fifteen officer platoons that work twelve hour shifts and when a platoon is gone it changes what the department has to do for vacation days for their remaining officers (Davis 10 March). In a similar situation in Chattanooga, Mayor Bob Corker explains how the city had been fighting an uphill battle to fill vacancies within their police department when they were hit with fifteen activations and tightened security measures. The city is paying overtime to keep up with services as they build a deficit for an already tight budget (Davis 10 March). John Destefano, Mayor of New Haven, CT, explained that one in four police departments are facing cuts; 16 percent have laid off police officers.

A real threat to hometown America is beginning. Besides coping with the shrinking tax rolls, cities are facing a three billion dollar deficit that they have accumulated due to anti-terrorism efforts since 11 September mostly in order to pay for overtime (Anonymous 2003). As units are placed on alert, the budgets of law enforcement agencies in cities, counties, and states will be affected. Jerry Mitchell reports on the problems in Mississippi, Melinda Rogers on the difficulties in Minnesota, Amanda Paulson of the hardships in Nebraska, Missouri, and California, and Kris Axtam of the issues in Colorado and Texas.

The most alarming reports, however, may be the ones from Florida. Deputy Secretary of Defense, Paul Wolfowitz, has admitted that Florida’s case is the most extreme. Florida has more reservists on the front line and were the first National Guard combat units called to the war. Florida has had over half of their National Guardsmen activated since the beginning of the war. Take Crystal River, a small town north of St. Petersburg. In a department of twenty-one officers, the only two detectives have been deployed. Senior Pentagon officials have reported that these reservists were activated
because they were so good and they were needed on the front lines. Activations have created a dilemma for the Miami Police Department because many of their members serve in the 124th Infantry Regiment, one of the first National Guard units deployed. The department has many police officers who are used to dealing with the hot, dangerous Miami streets in the summer—a perfect fit for the street fighting in Baghdad (Economist 2003).

These are only a few examples of the communities facing difficulties with manpower shortages, loss of critical personnel, and financial shortfalls within their police departments. The activations of reservists leave communities with fewer people to fulfill the post 11 September security requirements. One solution that has been proposed occurred in the 71st annual meeting of the United States Conference of Mayors. The assembly decided to request through the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee that S. 1245, “Homeland Security Grant Enhancement Act of 2003,” be altered to allow for direct funding to local governments, overtime reimbursement, and matching funds for maintenance and construction. Although alterations have not made it out of committee yet, if passed they could provide some annual financial relief to local governments.

**Summary**

The *National Strategy for Homeland* asks local police departments to play a major role. The answer to this thesis's primary question provides the reader with conclusions on whether this concept is viable. Many departments are facing financial hardships in addition to the loss of thousands of police officers who are now serving in the Army green instead of the police blue that their department hired them for.
In this chapter the author focused on the role of reserves, the organizations involved in nations homeland security and homeland defense strategies, and the impact of large-scale, long-term deployments of reservists on local police departments. Addressing these categories and answering their tertiary questions allows the author to discuss his conclusions and his recommendations in the last chapter.
CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

In the next chapter, all conclusions presented are based on the unbiased analysis of the existing facts, interviews, surveys, and valid opinions that have been discussed in previous chapters. From these conclusions, it will be possible to propose recommendations for how to rectify the current challenges facing police administrators, military commanders, and local, state, and federal elected officials.

The research concludes that reserves are being used more now than ever before. It confirmed that the frequency and length of activizations increased dramatically in the last decade (Robinson 2003). The author discussed the changes in the NMS, NSS, defense philosophy, and policy since the end of WWII that have had a direct correlation to the increased use of the reserves. This included the Abrams Doctrine and the reductions in the active force that have had a lasting affect on the expectations for reserves (Anderson 2003).

In addition to the civilian employers facing hardships because of the mobilization of their employees, governors and politicians are worried that activations by their state’s National Guard has left these areas devoid of the manpower needed to respond quickly to disasters that might occur (Beamguard 2003). This has drastic effects on local law enforcement since the National Guard on Title 32 orders can perform police actions and act as a reaction force during disasters, riots, or terrorist events. If the state’s National Guard is less capable of performing their mission, this may require local law enforcement
agencies to make do with what they have longer or until federal forces or agencies can respond.

Another conclusion is that the Department of Defense after Desert Storm realized the implications of the increased reliance on reserves and the effects such reliance has on their employers. They created a department, Employer Support for Guard and Reserves, but failed to require a mandatory database or tracking system to document for whom their reservists worked during the week. This prevents the Department of Defense from providing the appropriate level of information and knowledge to employers about the mobilization process informing them of and the legal rights of reservists and the businesses that employ them. This explains why the Department of Defense does not know what portion of police departments in the United States employ officers who are also soldiers in the reserves, and it does not know the challenges that and their communities, states and nation face in regards to homeland security because they are in Army green and not police blue (Fiore 2003).

The nation’s homeland security depends upon local law enforcement agencies to prevent terrorism by building their community policing networks, exchanging information with citizens, and gathering and sharing intelligence. Law enforcement agencies will also be first responders to critical incidents, and they will implement the federal and state response plans. They will also be the primary agencies that deal with stabilizing and calming citizens in order to eliminate their fear. When this initial help leaves a community, the law enforcement agency for that jurisdiction will have to rebuild the sense of trust and security these officers provided (Flynn 2002).
Not only are state, county, and city governments across America facing funding problems, but the federal government is also asking them to provide even more security even though it is slow to provide the money necessary to do this (Davis 2003). Many department were already short handed prior to 11 September, but the post 11 September security demands and hiring practices along with the loss of deployed reservists, lead departments to report that they are less able to protect their communities (Voegtlin 2003). The Police Executive Research Forum reiterated this in their report. They stated that the New York City, Chicago, and Los Angeles Police Departments each were each operating with over one thousand fewer officers prior to 11 September; increased security and federal law enforcement hiring has only made them more short handed (Flynn 2002).

In addition to these statistics, the author also completed interviews with Kansas’s law enforcement administrators. Although his interviewees were not selected randomly, and despite the fact that Kansas is not indicative of every state’s current deployment rates, the results are comparable to other surveys and interviews done by reporters in other jurisdictions. These results led the author to believe that the current, frequent, and lengthy deployments of reservists who work as police officers in their civilian careers have created a vulnerability in the nation's homeland security.

The lack of sufficient sample size for interviews and surveys throughout the nation prevents the research from investigating the impact of deployments on the specific vulnerabilities; however, the conditions that would cause officers or personnel from law enforcement agencies to leave their vital roles within the community are certainly discernable. It is imperative that the vulnerabilities caused by deployments are averted as
soon as possible. A possible gap in homeland security could lead to a horrific attack on the homeland.

**Recommendations**

The implementation of the Army’s transformation process has not yet been felt in the reserves. These changes should be expedited to re-structure the force and reestablish a balance of force structure in the active force and the reserves. Moving units around from the active force to reserves and from the reserves to the active force is only one aspect of the transformation. The civilianization process that DOD is undertaking is another, but it alone will not solve the entire force structure issues. The future force structure construct and the DOD policy of not relying on reservists in the first fifteen days of a conflict are great initiatives, but they will not fix all the issues of the current situation. In the last year, the demand for reservists has increased instead of declined. We have more reservists in Iraq today than 17 March 2003, and more deployment orders are being created for the next year.

The missions in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Sinai have also not gone away. The Department of Defense will continue to use reservists in a “mop up” role around the world to established closure in regions that past administrations deemed to be in the interest of America’s national security. At the same time, the current administration will continue to call on and utilize reservists in Iraq, Afghanistan, the United States and Guantanamo Bay to fight the GWOT. The DOD must balance domestic and overseas missions with its responsibility for homeland security. Moreover, it will be impossible for the United State’s reserve force to sustain the same operations tempo without adding active force structure. If this is not considered the DOD risks losing reserve soldiers who
have had enough of the deployments and extended training commitments that take them away from their homes and their careers. Additionally the DOD may lose the employers of reservists who say they are loosing money, staffing, and continuity within their organizations because of the frequent and lengthy deployments of their employees. It is also recommended that more research be undertaken to determine the specific vulnerabilities that the nation faces when it deploys reservists who are also police officers in their civilian careers. Such research must consist of a random survey with a larger sampling base than the author conducted and must relate more directly to this subject than the surveys that others have completed in the past. This research would be enhanced by the Department of Defense’s creation of an employer database (mandatory reporting) that is linked to the DOD or services personnel system. This database would track the employer of a reservist by type, name, and type of complaints. The use of such a database would allow the ESGR to summit surveys or follow up correspondence to employers after they have had an employee mobilize and return. This would allow the DOD to ascertain any problems that employers may have experienced during this process and to allow the DOD to adjust and solve problems so that major problems can be avoided in the future. After a period of time the goal would be to identify warning indicators that would forecast problems with retention, employer support, and the recruiting of certain career backgrounds (such as LEOs) into the reserves.

The tracking must go both ways. It is important that civilian law enforcement agencies track their employee involvement in the reserves. So that they might avoid challenges when an employee is deployed. It will also allow LEA’s to develop strategies to cope effectively with the deployment of employees and allow them to use additional
trained officers to assume the duties of deployed reservists in critical positions in the
department. Law enforcement agencies need to look at their department’s structure,
mission, and jurisdiction, much like the Federal Bureau of Investigations did, and after
consulting with their attorneys they need to decide if allowing their officers to participate
in reserve service is the best thing for national security. The Department of Justice and
DOD should study the same issue so that they can make a federal legal ruling for the
entire country.

Additionally, the new concern with homeland security should also be tied to the
budgets of local communities that do most of the legwork in the prevention of and
response to critical incidents. Legislation should be passed to compensate law
enforcement agencies that utilize overtime pay to compensate officers who perform
duties in response to the deployment of a reservist from their department. Like the “Weed
and Seed “Community Police Grants, additional dollars should be available for
departments that have innovative and ground breaking policing practices that lead to
better prevention or information sharing than the normal current practices. This would
reward departments for thinking “outside of the box” and creating new ideas in
prevention.

Lastly, the National Security Team must make decisions about the strategic use of
the reserve force. Should reservists be mobilized in a time of war, or should the current
NSS, NMS, and QDR continue to be used for stability and support operations and crisis
operations around the world and at home?

In conclusion, this research project has validated that reserves are being mobilized
more now in American history than ever before and that many of these reserves work for
law enforcement agencies in their civilian careers. It has also provided insight into the challenges that local law enforcement agencies face in the aftermath of 11 September, such as tightened budgets and increased security and terrorism prevention. The most significant result of this project was the validation of the fact that the increased activation of reserves over the last decade has indeed had an impact on local law enforcement agencies and has caused them to use overtime to fill the gaps left by officers mobilized with their reserve units. This was validated by interviews with law enforcement agency administrators and existing surveys and poles completed in the last two years by the PERF, IACP, and National League of Cities. Unfortunately, the degrees to which these challenges have affected the nations homeland security were not discovered. These discoveries are critical to the national security of the United States. There will be no third chance to correct flaws within homeland security. The American people demand that 11 September be the last event of its kind on American soil.
GLOSSARY

Active Component (Army). That portion of each of the armed forces (such as the Regular Army) that serves 24 hours a day, 365 days a year, until retired; transferred to a reserve unit, inactive reserve, or National Guard; or discharged from service. This does not include those in an Active duty Guard or a Reserve status but does include reserve officers serving a contractual period of active duty after commissioning. (JP 1-02)

Civil Disturbances Riots. Acts of violence, insurrections, unlawful obstructions or assemblages, or other disorders prejudicial to public law and order. The term civil disturbance includes all domestic conditions requiring or likely to require the use of Federal Armed forces pursuant to the provisions of Chapter 15 of Title 10, United States Code. (JP 1-02)

Domestic Emergencies. Emergencies effecting the public welfare and occurring within the 50 states, District of Columbia, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, US possessions and territories, or any political subdivision thereof, as a result of enemy attack, insurrection, civil disturbance, earthquake, fire, flood, or other public disasters, or equivalent emergencies that endanger life and property or disrupt the usual process of government. The term domestic emergency includes any or all of the emergency conditions defined below: a. civil defense emergency — A domestic emergency disaster situation resulting from devastation created by an enemy attack and requiring emergency operations during and following that attack. It may be proclaimed by appropriate authority in anticipation of an attack. (JP 1-02)

Deployment (Army). The movement of forces within areas of operations. 2. The positioning of forces into a formation for battle. 3. The relocation of forces and materiel to desired areas of operations. 4. Deployment encompasses all activities from origin or home station through destination, specifically including intra-continental United States, inter-theater, and intra-theater movement legs, staging, and holding areas. 5. Those activities required to prepare and move a force and its sustainment equipment and supplies to the area of operations in response to a crisis or natural disaster. (See also force projection.) See FM 55-12, 71-100, 100-5, 100-15, and 100-17. (JP 1-02)

Force Projection. The movement of military forces from the Continental United States (CONUS) or a theater in response to requirements of war or stability and support operations. Force-projection operations extend from mobilization and deployment of forces, to redeployment to CONUS or home theater, to subsequent mobilization. Force projection includes the following eight stages: mobilization; predeployment activity; deployment; entry operations; operations; war termination and post conflict operations; redeployment and reconstitution; and demobilization. See FMs 71-100, 100-5, 100-15, 100-20, and 100-30. (JP 1-02)
Force Protection. Security program designed to protect soldiers, civilian employees, family members, facilities, and equipment, in all locations and situations, accomplished through planned and integrated application of combating terrorism, physical security, operations security, personal protective services, and supported by intelligence, counterintelligence, and other security programs. (Army) — One of the four primary elements that combine to create combat power. It conserves the fighting potential of a force. The four Components of force protection are: operational security and deception operations; the soldier's health and morale; safety; and the avoidance of fratricide. (See also peace operations.) See FMs 100-5, 100-15, and 100-23. (JP 1-02)

Full Mobilization. Expansion of the active Armed forces resulting from action by Congress and the President to mobilize all Reserve Component units in the existing approved force structure, all individual reservists, retired military personnel, and the resources needed for their support to meet the requirements of a war or other national emergency involving an external threat to the national security. Reserve personnel can be placed on active duty for the duration of the emergency plus six months.

Homeland Defense. The protection of U.S. territory, sovereignty, domestic population, and critical Infrastructure against external threats and aggression. (JP 1-02)

Homeland Security. is those active and passive measures taken to protect the population, area, and infrastructure of the United States, its possessions, and territories by: deterring, defending against, and mitigating the affects of threats, disasters, and attacks; supporting civil authorities in crisis and consequence management; and helping to ensure the availability, integrity, survivability, and adequacy of critical national assets. (JP 1-02)

Local Police Departments. Will include Sheriff and Police Departments of all sizes that perform service calls, investigation, and law enforcement duties. It will not include detention organizations. (Mohatt)

Major Disaster. Any flood, fire, hurricane, tornado, earthquake, or other catastrophe which, in the determination of the President, is or threatens to be of sufficient severity and magnitude to warrant disaster assistance by the Federal Government under Public Law 606, 91st Congress (42 United States Code 58) to supplement the efforts and available resources of State and local governments in alleviating the damage, hardship, or suffering caused thereby.

Mission. The task, together with the purpose, that clearly indicates the action to be taken and the reason there for. 2. In common usage, especially when applied to lower military units, a duty assigned to an individual or unit; a task. 3. The dispatching of one or more aircraft to accomplish one particular task. (Army) — The commander's expression of what the unit must accomplish and for what purpose. (See also commander's intent.) See FMs 100-5, 100-90, and 101-5. (JP 1-02)
Mobilization. The act of assembling and organizing national resources to support national objectives in time of war or other emergencies. 2. The process by which the Armed forces or part of them are brought to a state of readiness for war or other national emergency. This includes activating all or part of the Reserve Components as well as assembling and organizing personnel, supplies, and materiel. Mobilization of the Armed forces includes, but is not limited to, the following categories:

Selective Mobilization. Expansion of the active Armed forces resulting from action by Congress and/or the President to mobilize Reserve Component units (RC), individual ready reservists, and the resources needed for their support to meet the requirements of a domestic emergency that is not the result of an enemy attack.

Partial Mobilization. Expansion of the active Armed forces resulting from action by Congress (up to full mobilization) or by the President (not more than 1,000,000 for not more than 24 consecutive months) to mobilize Ready Reserve Component units, individual reservists, and the resources needed for their support to meet the requirements of a war or other national emergency involving an external threat to the national security.

National Security Strategy (NSS): The use of the reserves is not specifically noted in the 2002 National Security Strategy. This document along with the National Homeland security strategy and 2001 Quadrennial Defense Review will be the primary strategic and policy publications that will be used in this project. (JP 1-02)

Natural Disaster. All domestic emergencies except those created as a result of enemy attack or civil disturbance. See FM 100-20. (JP 1-02)

Reserves or Reserve Components. For the purpose of this project the term reserve or reserve component will be used to identify elements of both reserve components of the Army. In cases where separate identification is warranted the terms National Guard or Army Reserve will be used. (JP 1-02)

Sustainment. The provision of personnel, logistic, and other support required to maintain and prolong operations or combat until successful accomplishment or revision of the mission or of the national objective. (JP 1-02)

Total Mobilization. Expansion of the active Armed forces resulting from action by Congress and the President to organize and/or generate additional units or personnel, beyond the existing force structure, and the resources needed for their support, to meet the total requirements of a war or other national emergency involving an external threat to the national security.
APPENDIX A

AGENCIES INTERVIEWED AND THEIR RESPONSES

1. Leawood Kansas Police Department
2. Dodge City Kansas Police Department
3. Riley County Kansas Police Department
4. Douglas County Kansas Sheriff Department
5. Shawnee County Kansas Sheriff Department
6. Garden City Kansas Police Department
7. Lenexa Kansas Police Department
8. Leavenworth County Kansas Sheriff Department
9. Salina Kansas Police Department
10. Hutchison Kansas Police Department
<table>
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<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
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<th>9</th>
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<td>58</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>1wk</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td>2. Shawnee County SD</td>
<td>90</td>
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<td>1mo</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>15day</td>
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<td>3. Lenexa PD</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1mo</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>90d</td>
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<td>Sample Size</td>
<td>1 mo</td>
<td>2 mo</td>
<td>6 mo</td>
<td>18 mo</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Loss of Key</td>
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<td>Duration</td>
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<td>Reason</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Riley County PD</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1 m</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Loss of key highly trained people</td>
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<td>15 d</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
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<td>No</td>
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<td>1 mo</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
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<td>No</td>
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APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How many employees work in your department?

2. How many of these employees serve in the National Guard or Reserves?
   a. Do you track this?
   b. Do you ask this during your hiring process?

3. Approximately how many days a year is your department’s average Guard/Reserve employee absent from the work place to perform military duties?

4. Have you seen a significant change in this over the last 20 years? If so when?
   a. Since the Gulf War?
   b. Since 11 September?
   c. Since Iraq Freedom?

5. Over the last 3 years what was the typical deployment length?
   a. Longest?

6. Generally do you feel your department receives adequate notice prior to an employee’s deployment?
   a. What do you consider adequate time?

7. During the last three years, has your department experienced problems related to employee’s absence for military service?
   a. What were the problems?

   1. Short notice?
   2. Verifying orders?
   3. Length of deployment?
   4. Too many deployments?
   5. Loss of critical employee?
   6. Loss of manpower?
   7. Overtime expenses to compensate loss?
b. Have these problems created difficulties in providing services to the people in your jurisdiction?

1. Are there other factors involved in this problem?
2. Lower budget?
3. Lower manpower?
4. Increased workload?

8. How were they resolved?

9. Since 11 September has your department had to change its services? If so what?


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