

USAWC STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

HOMELAND SECURITY AND DEFENSE: THE ONE ARMY APPROACH

by

Colonel Terry Ethridge
United States Army National Guard

Colonel David Cameron
Project Adviser

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ABSTRACT

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The interrelation between Homeland Security and National Defense began with the formulation of the National Security Strategy. This essay examines the military's role in homeland security and defense through an evaluation of the Homeland Security Strategy and its relation to the National Security Strategy. It provides an explanation of the interrelation between the two strategies and the military's roles in these strategies. It also describes the critical missions of homeland security and how the military interfaces with those missions. It also presents why the U.S. military must maintain its capability to engage in symmetrical encounters, while transforming its forces into units capable of conducting asymmetrical engagements.

HOMELAND SECURITY AND DEFENSE: THE ONE ARMY APPROACH

The Bush Administration has made some of the most sweeping changes in governmental history. To defend the nation, the President has established the Department of Homeland Security, reorganized the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), consolidated the Intelligence agencies under a single director, and formed the new Northern Command. The purpose of all of this restructuring has been designed to secure the homeland. In accord with their National Security Strategy (NSS), the President and Secretary of Defense have indicated how the National Defense and Military Strategies will support the NSS. Likewise the President has heeded the requirements of this great nation's Constitution: "The United States shall guarantee to every state in this union a Republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence."¹ This essay examines the military's role in homeland security and defense through an evaluation of the Homeland Security Strategy and its relation to the National Security Strategy. It provides an explanation of the interrelation between the two strategies and the military's roles in these strategies. It also describes the critical missions of homeland security and how the military interfaces with those missions. It concludes with recommendations for strengthening homeland security and defense.

Homeland Security Strategy and its Relation to the National Security Strategy

The interrelation between Homeland Security and National Defense began with the formulation of the National Security Strategy. In the absence of a National Grand Strategy, The National Security Strategy is a starting point for the President's strategic guidance. The President articulates: "Our Nation's cause has always been larger than our Nation's defense. We fight, as we always fight, for a just peace—a peace that favors liberty. We will defend the peace against the threats from terrorists and tyrants. We will preserve the peace by building good relations among the great powers. And we will extend the peace by encouraging free and open societies on every continent."² In this detailed statement, the President, has established his view of the nation's values and goals. His National Security Strategy provides direction for a nation that stands as the world's only superpower and that seeks to build a free world in the twenty-first century.

The formation of the Homeland Security Department was obviously a strategic starting point for the Bush Administration in response to the 9/11 attacks on the nation. Subsequently the next arduous task was to develop a National Strategy for Homeland Security, published in July 2002. This is the first strategy in our nation's history that specifically addresses the security

of the homeland. In it the Administration lays out a comprehensive plan that enhances protection of citizens and reduces vulnerability to terrorist attacks. The strategy sets the following objectives: "Prevent terrorist attacks within the United States, reduce America's vulnerability to terrorism, and minimize the damage and recover from attacks that do occur."³ The objectives serve a second purpose by providing the foundation for the definition of homeland security: "Homeland security is a concerted national effort to prevent terrorist attacks within the United States, reduce America's vulnerability to terrorism, and minimize the damage and recover from attacks that do occur."⁴ Each phrase of the definition is clear and precise: "a concerted national effort," "prevent terrorist attacks," "reduces vulnerability and minimizes damage." The strategy offers support to the focus of the National Security Strategy, and represents an overall strategic endeavor to defeat the nation's enemies.

Homeland Security and National Security, though similar in nature, are different in purpose. "The National Security Strategy of the United States aims to guarantee the sovereignty and independence of the United States, with our fundamental values and institutions intact."⁵ On the other hand, "The National Strategy for Homeland Security complements the National Security Strategy of the United States by addressing a very specific and uniquely challenging threat – terrorism in the United States."⁶ Both seek to secure the nation. Their complementary and mutuality are critical to the success of our security at home and abroad. This interaction has specific purpose, but execution of both strategies will be lengthy and complicated.

As the Congress created the National Security Council through the legislation of the "National Security Act in 1947"⁷, President Bush endeavored to bolster interagency coordination and policy formulation by establishing the Homeland Security Council. His Executive Order declares; "I hereby establish a Homeland Security Council (the "Council"), which shall be responsible for advising and assisting the President with respect to all aspects of homeland security. The Council shall serve as the mechanism for ensuring coordination of homeland security-related activities of executive departments and agencies and effective development and implementation of homeland security policies."⁸ Homeland Security Council members are also designated in the same Executive Order. But even as it has been implemented, some questions remain: Can the interagency manage the execution of such a complicated process? Or does the system itself bedevil overall execution?

National security depends more than ever on interagency operations which play a significant role in policy formulation and meeting the objectives set forth by our strategies. Two key cabinet-level agencies are the National Security Council and Homeland Security Council.

“The National Security Council is the President's principal forum for considering national security and foreign policy matters with his senior national security advisors and cabinet officials.”⁹ Similarly, “The Homeland Security Council (HSC) shall ensure coordination of all homeland security-related activities among executive departments and agencies and promote the effective development and implementation of all homeland security policies.”¹⁰ The Department of Defense plays a significant role in each Council. Both Councils rely on the interagency process for policy formulation. Figure 1 depicts a cabinet level view of the government’s interagency operations:

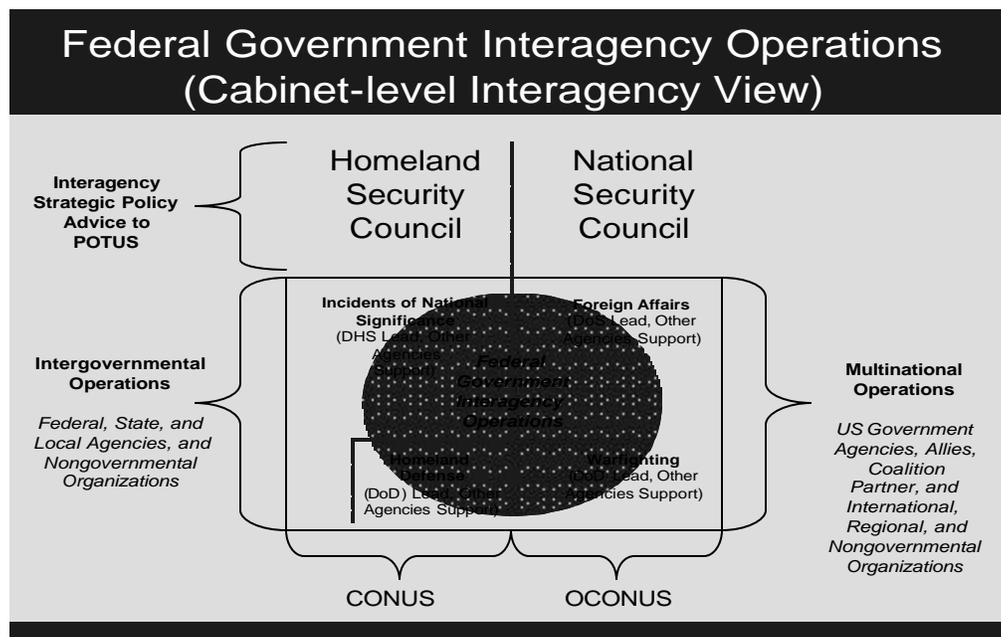


Figure 1. Federal Government Interagency Relation¹¹

The National and Homeland Security Policies procedure evolves an interagency process that is extremely complicated, yet functional. “The interagency role in five interrelated roles of policy is conceptualization, articulation, budgeting, implementation and post implementation.”¹² Both National and Homeland Security policy development is the culmination of a revolving process that fosters interactions among three separate committees for policy recommendation to the President. The interagency process of policy formulation resides in an interaction among the Policy Coordination Committees (PCC), the Deputies Committee (DC), and the Principals Committee (PC). Figure 2 graphically depicts the National Security Council policy formulation process. All policy issues are coordinated and reviewed in each of these committees.

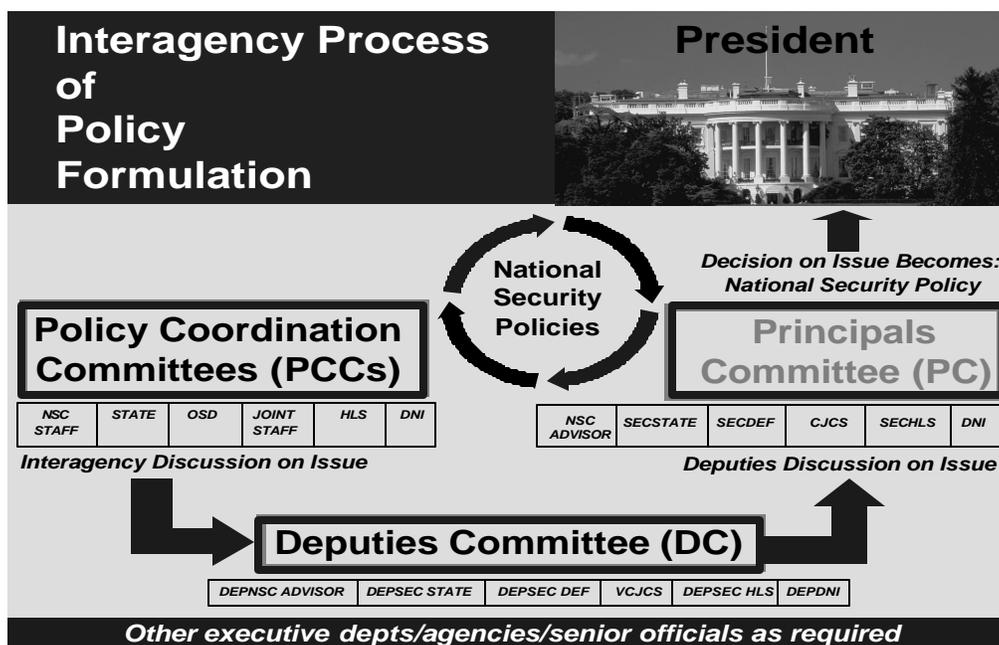


Figure 2. National Security Council Interagency Process of Policy Formulation 13

The Policy Coordination Committee (PCC) of both Security Councils includes a staff and members assigned by Presidential directive. For example the National Security Council includes members from, Department of State, Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD), the Joint Staff, Homeland Security, and the Central Intelligence Agency. Members are assigned who are best qualified to address the Council's assigned mission. The Homeland Security Council PCC is similar in design, but since it focuses on the homeland, its membership differs from that of the National Security Council. The Policy Coordination Committee functions include "the day-to-day focal point for interagency coordination of national security policy." "Further it provides policy analysis for other senior committees and ensures timely responses to decisions made by President."¹⁴ Once an issue is considered for resolution through policy, the draft policy is coordinated among the assigned agencies. Then it is sent to the Deputies Committee for review and evaluation.

The Deputies Committee is the senior sub cabinet interagency forum for national and homeland security policy. It is assigned to "prescribe/review work of interagency groups and ensure that NSC/Principal's Committee issues have been properly analyzed and prepared for discussion."¹⁵ The Deputies Committee, like the Policy Coordination Committee (PCC) of both Security Councils, includes a Deputies Staff and members assigned by Presidential directive.

The final committee for discussion on an issue of consideration of policy is the Principals Committee (PC). The PC is the final decision maker on an issue before Presidential authorization of policy. This process for meeting interagency objectives is complicated and can be protracted. Some issues require years of review before they are addressed in formal policy. The National Security and Homeland Security Councils work hand-in-hand to formulate policy. Each has areas of concern that can overlap. But basically the Homeland Security Council's primary concern is the security of the homeland against outside attacks. The National Security Council is concerned with foreign affairs and homeland defense.

The military has a functional role throughout this interagency process, primarily on the National Security Council side of the interagency process. The Armed Forces role is to assure that the policy process includes a balanced civil-military input to national security strategy. At each level of the various committees, there is military representation. The policy procedure requires a cooperative environment, yet because of the difference in roles between civilian and military agencies friction inevitably occurs. In his lecture on National Strategy Professor Al Stolberg, contended that "The cultural differences between the military and civilians creates rivalries and tensions within the agencies. Competitions for resources between agencies create hesitancy among the players to buy-in to the process. The civil-military friction arises from differing roles, points of view, and cultural differences as well."¹⁶ The term Interagency in itself suggests a competitive atmosphere, much like intramural athletic events. Yet this bureaucracy exists by Executive Order of the President for the purpose of advising him on policy decisions that support the nation's strategic objectives. Complicated as it may seem this process and procedure does work. Consider the effectiveness of the process as evidenced by the strategic hierarchy that is in place today. Twelve separate National Strategies have been developed as national policy, all within two years. They provide pillars of support to the National Security Strategy. Figure 3 depicts the current strategic hierarchy of the Bush Administration and their interrelationship to homeland security and defense.

Homeland Security Critical Mission Areas

"The National Strategy for Homeland Security aligns and focuses homeland security functions into six critical mission areas: Intelligence and warning, border and transportation security, domestic counterterrorism, protecting critical infrastructures, defending against catastrophic terrorism and emergency preparedness."¹⁷ These critical mission areas then provide governmental agencies with a framework for coordination, for setting interagency objectives, and primarily for allocating resources.

National Strategy Documents

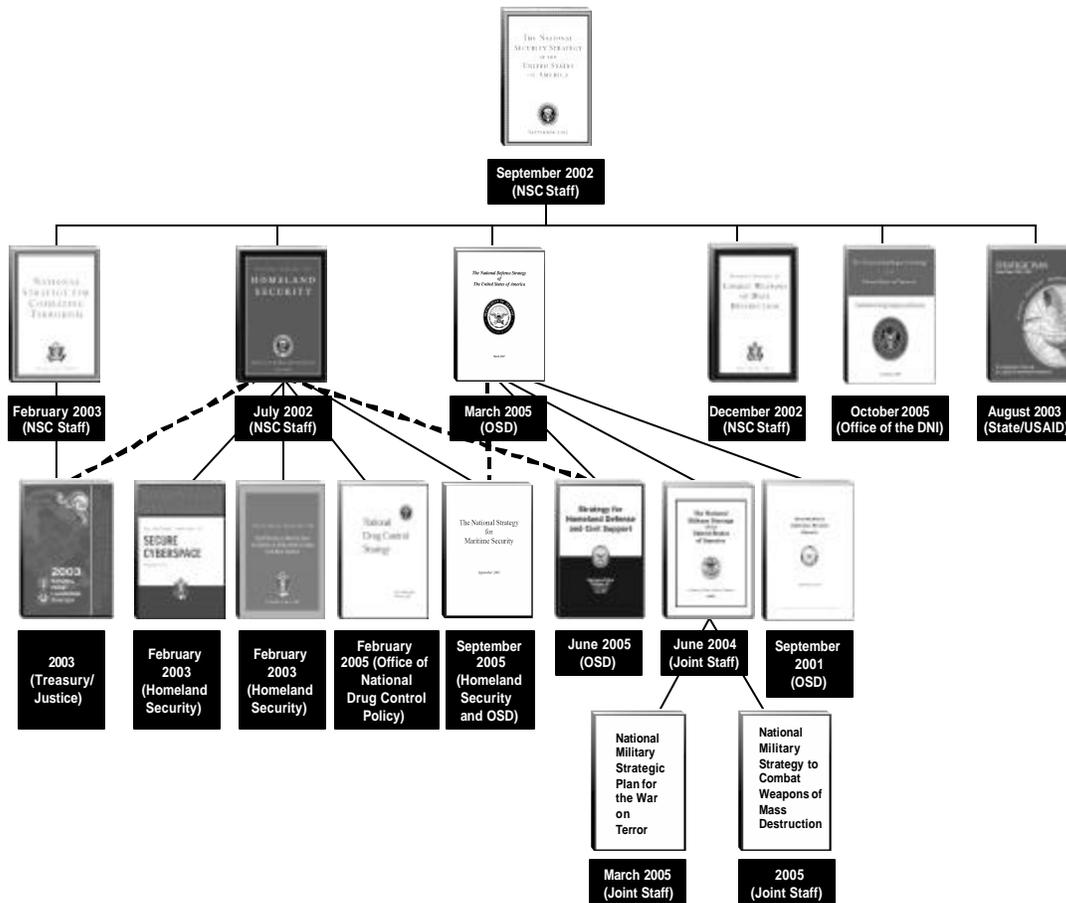


Figure 3. National Strategy Documents¹⁸

The war on terrorism has shifted the strategic paradigm from symmetrical to asymmetrical warfare. It is highly unlikely in this era of globalization that a symmetrical twentieth-century force-on-force war such as WWII will happen again. Thomas Barnett points out that “In retrospect, where we should have been applying this concept of asymmetrical warfare was not so much to regional rogues but to transnational terrorist networks like al Qaeda...By focusing on nation-states as the great source of violence and threat in the system, we ignored the rising role of transnational terrorism.”¹⁹ The Bush Administration has redirected our strategy to conduct and defend against asymmetrical warfare.

In a study conducted by the Defense Science Board on the Department of Defense's role in Homeland Security, the board noted that, "One of the most important issues for DoD and HLD/HLS in general is the sharing of intelligence and information required to deter and prevent terrorist attacks."²⁰ Intelligence to facilitate early warning of threats is the first critical mission area. Surprise, as in any small force engagement, is critical to the success of an operation. Terrorism thrives on unpredictability and uncertainty; accordingly, the administration acknowledges the need for a better intelligence and warning system. "We must have an intelligence and warning system that can detect terrorist activity before it manifests itself in an attack so that proper preemptive, preventive and protective action can be taken."²¹ Appropriate systems must be in place at every level of government. Homeland security is not exclusively the federal government's responsibility; it begins at the grass roots levels of state and local governments. Worthwhile intelligence is more likely to be obtained from a local police department in a routine arrest than from an international source.

Our two border oceans and our friends to the north and south have provided effective deterrents to the nation's enemies of the past. The 9/11 attacks tragically revealed our vulnerabilities, so the Bush administration has reviewed its policies on border and transportation security. DoD, in concert with other federal agencies, is faced with onerous task of defending the nation's homeland. The following data is what planners must consider in order to accomplish the task. "The United States consists of 3.5 million square miles of territory, 88,000 miles of open shoreline, 3.5 million nautical miles (US Maritime Zone), 7,500 miles of land borders, and 293 million people. Each year there is over 500 million border crossings, including 11.2 million trucks, 7.5 million maritime cargo containers, 2.2 million rail cars, 289,000 aircraft, and 211,000 sea vessels."²² DoD's formulation of the USNORTHCOM Combatant Command was accomplished to emphasize the role of the military in securing and defending the nation.

Globalization comes with a price; almost every U.S. community is connected in some way to the global transportation infrastructure. Although our economy relies on this vast system of transportation, it has ironically become a threat to our nation's security. In an effort to consolidate, coordinate and protect the transportation system and our borders, "The President proposed to Congress that the principal border and transportation security agencies - the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the U.S. Customs Service, the U.S. Coast Guard, the Animal and Plant Inspection Service, and the Transportation Security Agency – be transferred to the new Department of Homeland Security."²³ Although this reorganization may improve the efficiency of the transportation and border system, it could as well prove to be too bureaucratic to manage the size and complexity of such a system.

No longer can the nation depend solely on our law enforcement agencies simply to capture and prosecute criminals. The rules changed with 9/11: Now our local law enforcement agencies provide the front-line defense against terrorism. The National Guard and Active Duty components have been utilized at the direction of President in several scenarios to assist local law enforcement. Missions ranging from airport security, to infrastructure protection, as well as natural disaster relief have been performed. "While law enforcement agencies will continue to investigate and prosecute criminal activity, they should now assign priority to preventing and interdicting terrorist activity within the United States."²⁴ This reorientation of local law enforcement, coupled with changes in the intergovernmental coordination process and the complete restructure of the FBI, should prove beneficial in the prevention and preemption of terrorist attacks.

Weeks after the 9/11 attacks, military personnel performing duty in varying statuses began protecting critical infrastructures of the nation. As an example "the National Guard had soldiers on duty within hours –over 3,000 within three days and over 5000 within 10 days."²⁵ Airports, rail systems, dams, bridges, and nuclear facilities are just a few of the nation's vulnerable sites or assets. Infrastructure protection involves not only the protection of physical networks, but of virtual networks as well. Our nation is highly dependent on both, which makes the protection of both infrastructures so critical. "Protecting America's critical infrastructure and key assets will not only make us more secure from terrorist attack, but will also reduce our vulnerability to natural disaster, organized crime and computer hackers."²⁶ USNORTHCOM created a Joint Task Force to handle the needs of the Washington D.C. region. "Joint Force Headquarters National Capital Region (JFHQ-NCR), based at Fort McNair, Washington, D.C. is responsible for land-based homeland defense, defense support of civil authorities (DSCA), and incident management in the National Capital Region."²⁷ The Bush administration seeks to protect the nation's infrastructure through several major initiatives, but it is a monumental task to just simply identify all critical infrastructures.

"The expertise, technology, and material needed to build the most deadly weapons known to mankind – including chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear weapons – are spreading inexorably."²⁸ These types of weapons in terrorist hands could cause more disastrous results than those of 9/11 and possibly of hurricane Katrina. The sarine subway gas attack in Japan could have devastated that nation; likewise this country has to take prudent measures to prevent such an act inside its borders. Utilization of the recently formed Weapons of Mass Destruction Civil Support units is a critical step toward prevention and detection. As with all of the previous critical mission areas, the strategy depends mostly on prevention. Prevention of

catastrophic threats requires that the agencies interacting with Department of Homeland Security work in unity to synergize actions in support of these objectives.

The President has brought many agencies into the Department of Homeland Security. This effort to unify homeland security was designed to streamline the assets of the government's response not only to terrorist attacks, but to natural disasters as well. The Department of Homeland Security was created to strengthen the nation's capabilities both to prepare for and to respond to all attacks and disasters. Appropriately, the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) was moved under the control of the Homeland Security department. Even though there are internal problems with this consolidation the purpose is clear. Response should be based on systematic preparedness, not on crisis management. In his testimony to the Senate Committee Hearing on Homeland Security, Former FEMA Director Michael Brown states his "department's mission has been marginalized; its response capability had been diminished. There's a whole clash of culture between Department Homeland Security mission to prevent terrorism and FEMA's mission to respond to and prepare for responding to a disaster of any nature."²⁹ His testimony was made after he had resigned his position as FEMA director and was in response to the Senate question of why FEMA wasn't more prepared for the Hurricane Katrina disaster. Obviously, from his testimony there was friction between in the interagency construct. "Under the Presidents proposal, the Department of Homeland Security will consolidate federal response plans and build a national system for incident management in cooperation with state and local government."³⁰ Accordingly, state and local governments should provide the federal government with local plans and ensure that responders are properly equipped, trained, and exercised.

U.S. Military's Role in Homeland Security

It is evident that the traditional force-on-force military strategy is not appropriate for combating terrorism. In their efforts to destroy and degrade governmental controls of states and regions, terrorists will not mount frontal attacks. "On 9/11 America got a real dose of what asymmetrical warfare is going to be in the twenty-first century. It isn't going to come from rising near-peers like China.... The real asymmetrical challenge we will face will come from globalizations disenfranchised, or losers largely left behind in the states most disconnected from globalization's advance."³¹ It is widely believed that globalization has contributed inadvertently to the rise of terrorism throughout the world. "Rogue states and disruptive regions of the world, where governments are non-existent or too weak to curtail terrorist activities, are the areas where, as Thomas Barnett put it, have been largely left behind."³² The U.S. military must

maintain its capability to engage in symmetrical encounters, but must as well transform its forces into units capable of conducting asymmetrical engagements.

Homeland security and defense is an exceedingly complex mission. It involves a focused effort from Department of Defense as well as other agencies both at home and abroad. On the home front, the question that often arises regarding the use of the military in the role of homeland security and defense and the duty status of these soldiers. "Only the President and the Secretary (or their duly authorized alternates) are vested with the lawful authority to direct Armed Forces of the United States in the execution of military action, including the movement of forces and the initiation of operations."³³ This authority involves the use of soldiers in a lawful execution of military actions and should not be confused with a state governor's ability to activate National Guardsmen in a state support role. US Code Title 10 only governs the use of federal forces.

Active Duty soldiers' status is authorized under US Code, Title 10 and is thus bound by the restrictions of the Posse Comitatus Act. The law currently reads: "Whoever, except in cases and under circumstances expressly authorized by the Constitution or Act of Congress, willfully uses any part of the Army or the Air Force as a Posse Comitatus or otherwise to execute the laws shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than two years, or both."³⁴ An example of this came during Hurricane Katrina when Active Duty personnel from many of the services were ordered by the Secretary of Defense to aid in the relief effort. As Active Duty soldiers, or as Reserve sailors and airmen, served roles under title 10. Accordingly, their duties were restricted by law, particularly the Posse Comitatus Act, so they could not perform or take part in law enforcement duties. However, National Guard Soldiers were deployed in the same relief effort, but were serving under title 32 and, in some instances, as State Active Duty soldiers. Under such authority they were allowed to perform law enforcement duties.

The National Guard may be employed under three type duty codes: State Active Duty, Title 10, and Title 32. State Active Duty soldiers are activated by the Governor, primarily for State-specific emergency missions. It should be noted that the state assumes the responsibility for pay and benefits under this statute, not the federal government. Historically these missions have been responses to natural disasters (flood, fires, earth quakes, etc.) and law enforcement activities. Title 10 activates Guard soldiers into full federalized service, making the National Guard soldiers the equivalent of Active Duty soldiers. But most current Homeland Security missions are currently performed under Title 32, which authorizes federal pay and allowances for Guard soldiers. It allows more freedom for Title 32 soldiers to participate in law enforcement activities and is unrestricted by the Posse Comitatus Act. Guard soldiers activated post 9/11

for airport security, were under the provisions of Title 32. This authority therefore affords the Guard soldier latitude to perform law enforcement duties. Figure 4 depicts a process for domestic support operations in a response to a disaster.

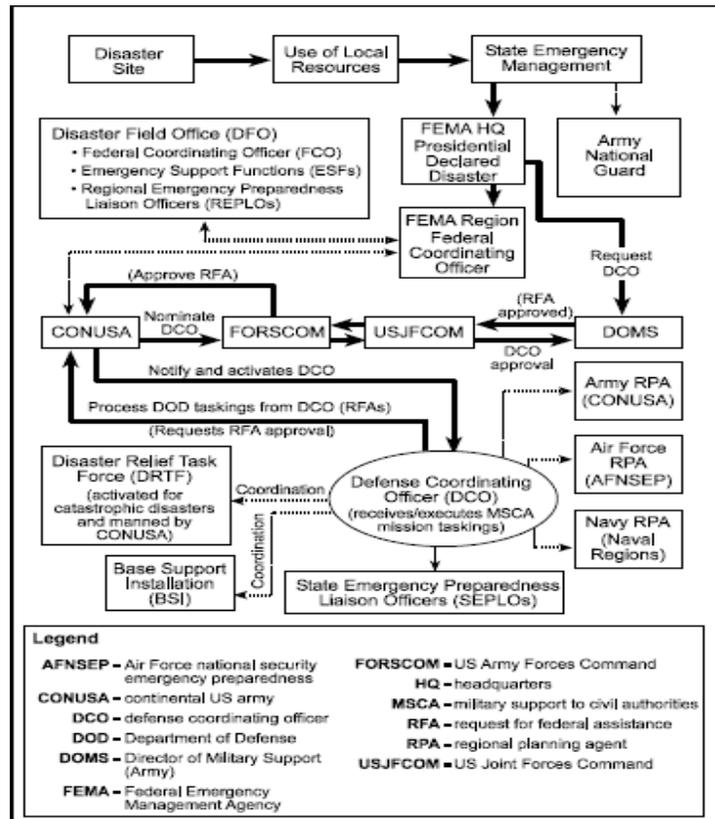


Figure 4. Domestic Support Operations In Disaster Relief.³⁵

As the Chart flows from the disaster site to the use of local resources or first responders the next phase involves the state emergency management agency. At this point in the process the National Guard may be requested to assist by the emergency management agency at the direction of the state's governor (Not Shown). In this instance, the National Guard would serve under State Active Duty status supported by state resources. Or the President could authorize their service under Title 32. If a governor requests federal assistance through the declaration of a disaster, the Federal Emergency Management Agency, by direction of the President may request military support. If Active Duty personnel are then utilized, their status would fall under the provisions of Title 10 and appropriate restrictions would apply. National Guard personnel

may be ordered by the President under Title 32 or Title 10, based on the change of responsible agency. If the President declares the disaster, then the military personnel serving under either Title 10 or 32 would take direction from Secretary of Defense or his designated representative. This process is complicated, but when followed properly, it provides the necessary support to respond to a disaster in fastest possible manner. Much depends on the availability of the service members.

Unlike in the past, the Guard support for Homeland Security is now taking place while the National Guard's role has dramatically increased in support of the Active Component in variety of locations around the world. This increased operational tempo has correspondingly increased the stress on the National Guard, limiting the Guard's capabilities to support Homeland Security. In a recent speech, LTG H. Steven Blum, Chief of the National Guard, noted that "80,000 of the nation's Guard and Reserve forces are deployed in 40 nations. The largest portion is serving in Iraq, where Guard units account for eight of 15 combat brigades. 'Yes, we can do both,' he said, referring to the Iraq war and domestic response."³⁶ Even so, the National Guard Bureau has worked hard to maintain a goal of keeping 50% of the states' forces available at home for domestic responses. It is uncertain whether this increased utilization of the Guard poses a risk to Homeland Security or strengthens Homeland Defense.

U.S. Military's Role in Homeland Defense

The National Defense Strategy sets the following objectives: "Secure the United States from direct attack, Secure Strategic access and retain global freedom of action, Strengthen alliances and partnerships, and Establish favorable security conditions."³⁷ These objectives have been derived from the guidance of the National Security Strategy. As strategies are developed they may become the basis for another new policy or strategy. This was the case when Defense Secretary Rumsfeld announced in June 2005 the Strategy for Homeland Defense and Civil Support. "The Strategy for Homeland Defense and Civil Support articulates strategic goals and objectives and provides direction to relevant Homeland Defense activities across the department. These activities include deterring and preventing attacks, protecting critical defense and designated civilian infrastructure, providing situational understanding, and preparing for and responding to incidents."³⁸ DoD should be applauded for its efforts to close the gap between homeland security and defense. Now both strategies are in concert with each other; they now complement the objectives of the National Security Strategy.

DoD's approach to homeland security begins with the objectives set forth by the National Strategies and the development of three Joint Publications defining DoD support. JP 3-26,

Homeland Security, is considered the primary overarching doctrine, while JP 3-26.1 Homeland Defense and JP 3-26.2 Civil Support provide supporting doctrines. “JP 3-26 proposes that our nation’s defense begins with military activity overseas in the role of first line defenders. This allows our military to deter or preempt adversary attacks on the homeland before they occur.”³⁹

The Department of Defense (DoD) serves as lead agency for Homeland Defense. As the Global War on Terror (GWOT) persists DoD is striving to counter the threat to the homeland by taking the fight to the terrorists. But even more is being done. Along with the previously mentioned sweeping changes made by the Bush Administration, DoD has formed a new combatant command, USNORTHCOM. The U.S. NORTHCOM mission statement is clear: “Conduct operations to deter, prevent and defeat threats and aggression aimed at the United States, its territories and interests within the assigned areas of responsibility (AOR).”⁴⁰ NORTHCOM is thus responsible for arraying forces in response to a military request within its AOR, which includes the continental United States.

Homeland Defense could be misconstrued as more of an offense than defense, since U.S. soldiers are deployed all around the world. Active, Reserve and National Guard soldiers are widely deployed in effort to take the fight to our advisories. Terrorism is an asymmetrical threat that can appear anywhere, anyplace, and anytime. US Forces are fighting aboard to keep the fight outside our borders. The President and Secretary of Defense have melded a force of Active Duty, Reserves and Guard Soldiers - all in Title 10 status - to defend this nation’s freedom. As Title 32 so proclaims: “In accordance with the traditional military policy of the United States, it is essential that the strength and organization of the Army National Guard and the Air National Guard as an integral part of the first line defenses of the United States be maintained and assured at all times.”⁴¹ The US Code thereby authorizes the President to utilize all forces available in the defense of the nation.

Conclusion

The role of the military remains critical to the security of this nation. The strategies of the Homeland Security Department and Department of Defense are mutually supporting, as are the National Defense Strategy and Strategy for Homeland Defense and Civil Support. This essay has described our nation’s security posture and defense objectives and goals. It has provided an overview of how the military interacts within homeland security and defense. It provided examples of how the military serving in the proper status, may be involved in either strategy. The final section of this research project offers recommended changes that may prove beneficial to the policy processes and thus to the security and defense of the nation. Current

problems in defining missions are mostly coordination issues that can be addressed by the National Security Council and the President. National security relies ultimately on a civil-military approach that may not be perfect, but does have its advantages, and on the nation's leadership. The military must always be the backbone of the nation's freedom and security. Without our military, the charge of the President will be for naught: "In the twenty-first century, only nations that share a commitment to protecting basic human rights and guaranteeing political and economic freedom will be able to unleash the potential of their people and assure their future prosperity."⁴²

Recommendations

The following recommendations are offered to strengthen the military's role in Homeland Security. Consolidate the Homeland Security Council with the current National Security Council and designate the current Director of Homeland Security as a permanent member of the National Security Council. This would provide the President with an assured Homeland Security focus in the National Security Council. It would also provide the Director with equal status to other Secretaries on the Council; he would no longer serve only as an advisor. This change would streamline the policy process by assuring interagency participation and coordination at each level. Finally, a NORTHCOM representative should be assigned in OSD to provide the PCC with pertinent data regarding homeland security.

The Department of Defense should align the mission statement for NORTHCOM with the current Strategy for Homeland Security. Preemption, prevention, and defending are the cornerstones to the Bush Administration strategy on homeland security. Further study should consider whether the National Guard Bureau should occupy key positions in NORTHCOM, since the first military responders will most likely be National Guard units. This designation would provide the current structure with additional personnel focused on the mission of homeland security and defense.

The military force currently available for Homeland Security and Defense is the Active Component and U.S. Army Reserve, but homeland security may be better provided by the National Guard. Unlike the Active Component, the National Guard resides in every state of the union. The National Guard is the only force with a dual state and federal mission. In the event of a terrorist attack, the first military responders would likely be the National Guard due to their proximity and their state response requirement. LTG Blum made some sweeping changes to the National Guard when he began his tenure. One of his changes was a mandate to reorganize each state's headquarters from a State Area Command (STARAC) to a Joint Forces

Headquarters-State (JFHQ-State). This change made perfect sense in that the "JFHQ provides command and control as a subordinate headquarters for national level response efforts during a national disaster or emergency."⁴³ Furthermore this allows for the appointment of a Joint Task Force-State commander with the ability to command both Title 10 and Title 32 forces. "The writers of the Constitution knew firsthand the value of state's keeping their own militias and the nation's unfettered access to those militias when national security warranted."⁴⁴

The National Guard is logically and constitutionally positioned to assume the Homeland Security mission. Certain mission capabilities are already in place and can be capitalized upon to provide for the security of the homeland. For example, a number of states possess Weapons of Mass Destruction-Civil Support Teams (CST) capable of providing highly trained and equipped personnel to respond to WMD attacks. "To date, the National Guard has fielded 32 CST's and will have a total of 55 teams by FY07."⁴⁵ The Army National Guard will deactivate its Reconnaissance and Interdiction Detachments (RAID) this year. These units will be replaced by the newly formed Security and Surveillance Detachments. The primary mission for these new units is to support the Homeland Security effort at the state level. "Congressional restrictions currently prohibit overseas deployment of WMD-CSTs; however, the National Guard is working to change legislation to allow CSTs to support military operations overseas."⁴⁶ Congress should consider lifting the overseas deployment restrictions on these units in order to capitalize on their unique capabilities. Similar units with like capabilities are also available, as are the Guard's Military Police, Engineers and other traditional units.

The response to Hurricane Katrina exposed the nation's reliability and dependability on both Active and National Guards forces. Assistant Secretary of Defense Paul McHale stated in an interview that "The Total Force task organization deployed in response to Hurricane Katrina reflected a very large, very robust mix of Active Component and Reserve Component capabilities, but the operational planning conducted and superbly executed by the Guard was largely completed without the close coordination with NORTHCOM and the Joint Staff...In response to Katrina we made it right because the operators made it work, not because of our prior planning."⁴⁷ The military has a role in the defense and security of this great nation. The "Army's Force Generation Model"⁴⁸ portrays a rotation of Active Duty units into and out of conflicts on a cycle of every three years. The Reserve Component rotation cycle extends out over ever six years. The synchronization of this process for both Active Component and Reserve Component is critical not only to support the combatant commanders, but to the homeland security effort as well. A critical issue is the current stresses that are placed on those deployed units, further, units not deployed still have the mission of securing the homeland. The

Departments of Defense and Homeland Security should do a better job of coordinating the critical requirements of the military, instead of just hoping that the stay-behind units will be adequate in times of need.

If the foregoing recommendations are implemented we will live in a more secure nation.

Endnotes

¹ U.S. Constitution, art. 4, sec. 4.

² George W. Bush, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (Washington, D.C.: The White House, September 2002), 1.

³ George W. Bush, *National Strategy for Homeland Security* (Washington, D.C.: The White House, July 2002), vii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁷ "The National Security Council," linked from The Whitehouse Home Page at "National Security Council," available from <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/>; Internet; accessed 13 November 2005.

⁸ "Homeland Security Council Executive Order," linked from The Whitehouse Home Page at "News Release," March 2002 available from <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011029-16.html>; Internet; accessed 13 November 2005.

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¹¹ Al Stolberg, "Interagency Process of Policy Formulation," briefing slides with scripted commentary, Carlisle Barracks, U.S. Army War College, 4 November 2005.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ George W. Bush, *National Strategy for Homeland Security* (Washington, D.C.: The White House, July 2002), viii.

¹⁸ Peter Atkinson, "National Policies," briefing slides with scripted commentary, Carlisle Barracks, U.S. Army War College, 3 November 2005.

¹⁹ Thomas P.M. Barnett, *The Pentagon's New Map; War and Peace in the Twenty-first Century*, (New York: Berkley Books, 2005), 91.

²⁰ "DoD Roles and Mission in Homeland Security," linked from Defense Science Board at "Reports" available from http://www.acq.osd.mil/dsb/reports/2004-09-vol_II_final_part_B.pdf.

²¹ George W. Bush, *National Strategy for Homeland Security* (Washington, D.C.: The White House, July 2002), viii.

²² "DoD Roles and Mission in Homeland Security," linked from Defense Science Board at "Reports" available from http://www.acq.osd.mil/dsb/reports/2004-09-vol_II_final_part_B.pdf.

²³ Ibid., viii.

²⁴ Ibid., ix.

²⁵ LTG H Steven Blum, Chief National Guard Bureau, *National Guard Homeland Defense White Paper: September 11, 2001, Hurricane Katrina, and Beyond*, (Washington D.C.: National Guard Bureau, 11 October 2005), 3.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ "Joint Force Headquarters National Capital Region (JFHQ-NCR)," linked from U.S. NORTHCOM Home Page at "About_US" available from http://www.U.S.NORTHCOM.mil/about_us/JFHQ_NCR.htm; accessed 10 February 2006.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Homeland Security and Government Affairs, *Hurricane Katrina: The Homeland Security Department's Preparation and Response*, 109th Cong., 2d sess., 10 February 2006,

³⁰ Ibid., x.

³¹ Thomas P.M. Barnett, *The Pentagon's New Map; War and Peace in the Twenty-first Century*, (New York: Berkley Books, 2005), 93.

³² Ibid.

³³ U.S. Joint Forces Command, *Joint Operations Planning*, Joint Publication 5-0 (Suffolk, VA: United States Joint Forces Warfighting Center, 10 August 2005), I-6.

³⁴ "Posse Comitatus Act, Title 18 of the U.S. Code (USC), Section 1385," linked from U.S. NORTHCOM Home Page at "Fact Sheet" available from <http://www.U.S.NORTHCOM.mil/index/cfm?fuseaction=news.factsheet#> U.S NORTHCOM; Internet; accessed 13 November 2005.

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³⁸ "Department of Defense Releases the Strategy for Homeland Defense and Civil Support," linked from US Department of Defense Home Page at "News" available from <http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Jun2005/d20050630homeland.pdf>; Internet; accessed 18 December 2005.

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⁴¹ "U.S. Code 32" linked from Office of the Law Revision Counsel Home Page at "Download" available from US Code <http://uscode.house.gov/uscode>; Internet; accessed 19 December 2005.

⁴² George W. Bush, *National Strategy for Homeland Security* (Washington, D.C.: The White House, July 2002), cover letter.

⁴³ LTG H Steven Blum, Chief National Guard Bureau, *National Guard Homeland Defense White Paper: September 11, 2001, Hurricane Katrina, and Beyond*, (Washington D.C.: National Guard Bureau, 11 October 2005), 8.

⁴⁴ Association of the United States Army, *Profile of the U.S. Army: a reference handbook*, (Arlington Institute of Land Warfare, Association of the United States Army, 2005), 17.

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⁴⁶ Ibid

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