

Possible Questions for the Armed Services Hearing on Adding CNGB to the JCS

For the Chairman:

- Some have claimed that without the Chief of the National Guard Bureau reporting through a civilian service chief, adding him to the Joint Chiefs of Staff will harm civilian control of the military.
 - Do you report through a civilian service chief, or directly to the Secretary of Defense?
 - Does your direct reporting relationship to the Secretary of Defense harm civilian control of the military?
 - Are you aware of any plans, regardless of adding the Chief of the National Guard Bureau to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to place a civilian secretary between him and the Secretary of Defense to ensure that he is fully under civilian control?
 - Does the term “civilian control of the military” typically refer to command relationships or advisory relationships?
 - The Joint Chiefs provide advice to civilian authorities, correct? So adding someone—anyone—to the Joint Chiefs of Staff would not change the fact that civilian authorities still receive the advice and decide what to do with it, correct?
- You have stated several times both in a hearing before this committee and in written correspondence that the Chief of the National Guard Bureau does not have budgetary responsibilities.
 - Would you please interpret the section of DoD Directive 5105.77, the Charter of the National Guard Bureau, which specifies that the CNGB shall “plan, program, and administer the budgets of the Army and Air National Guard of the United States?”
 - Can you describe the CNGB’s responsibility with regard to the nearly \$25 billion appropriated in the National Guard Military Personnel, Operations & Maintenance, and Military Construction, and the National Guard and Reserve Equipment Account?
- You have stated several times that budgetary authority is necessary to serve as a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.
 - Would you please interpret the Title 10 language establishing the JCS which does not anywhere specify budgetary responsibilities?
 - Can you explain what service budgetary responsibilities you have as the Chairman?
- You stated in a letter that you invite the Chief of the National Guard Bureau to every meeting of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and that you plan to continue doing so.

- In light of that policy, what practical difference will the Chief's statutory inclusion have on the Joint Chiefs of Staff other than codifying in law a change you already say that you have made in practice?
- Do you believe that composition of every statutory body of the Department of Defense under the purview of the Chairman should be left to the preferences of the individual serving in that role, or do you believe the composition should be codified in law?
- How do you plan to note when the Chief of the National Guard Bureau offers a dissenting opinion from your own, or do you plan to note such dissent as you are legally required to do for other members of the Joint Chiefs?
- As many others also have, you have stated that adding the Chief of the National Guard Bureau to the Joint Chiefs of Staff will disrupt the unity of the Army and Air Force.
 - You and General Odierno both sit on the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Do you ever presume to speak on behalf of the Army, since you are also an Army General?
 - If not, what makes you believe that General McKinley would attempt to speak for either the Army or the Air Force? I ask this question because the National Guard Bureau's charter specifically directs that with respect to his service components, the Chief of the National Guard Bureau will report through his respective services. Do you have some reason to believe General McKinley or future Chiefs will not adhere to that Charter?
- You have stated that there is no compelling need to add the Chief of the National Guard Bureau to the Joint Chiefs of Staff.
 - Can you tell me, what is the rank and position of the most senior National Guard officer who sits on the Joint Staff? How many active component officers on the Joint Staff outrank that officer?
 - Can you give me an approximate percentage of the general officers on the Joint Staff who are National Guard officers? How does that ratio compare to the percentage the Guard makes up of the Total Force?
 - Can you give me an approximate percentage of the other military personnel on the Joint Staff who are National Guard officers? How does that ratio compare to the percentage the Guard makes up of the Total Force?
 - How many of the current Combatant Commanders are National Guard officers? How many National Guard officers have ever been formally recommended for combatant command by their parent military services?

- Given the lower ranks and lower percentages of Guard representatives on the Joint Staff, what is your factual basis for claiming that you receive the Guard's best military advice as a component of any product or recommendation put forward by the Joint Staff?

For the Vice Chairman:

- You previously served as the Commander of U.S. Northern Command. In that role, you worked with National Guard general officers more than any other individual present in this hearing.
- Your former Deputy, General Grass, is a National Guard Lieutenant General. Did the Department of Defense determine on its own that the Deputy Commander of U.S. Northern Command should be a National Guard officer, or was that position reserved for the National Guard by the Congress?
- Can you describe the process that was used to select your successor at Northern Command? How many National Guard officers were recommended by the service chiefs for consideration? Was the individual ultimately selected for the position a National Guard officer? What experience did he have in his career in commanding U.S. military forces operating within the United States? What experience did he have working with the National Guard under the command and control of state governors?

For the Chief of Staff of the Army:

- In a letter with Secretary McHugh, you stated that adding the Chief of the National Guard Bureau to the Joint Chiefs of Staff would create an imbalance among the reserve components.
- Does the Federal Reserve have a single joint activity similar to the National Guard Bureau? If they do not have such an entity, do you believe that it makes sense to organize such a joint activity to put the Federal Reserve on par with the National Guard?
- If you do not favor such a change, are you not also advocating for an imbalance within the reserve components? Why should one reserve component receive its own four star joint activity and another one should not?
- Truthfully, I do not understand the logic of your point. On the one hand, you claim that you sufficiently advocate for both the Army Guard and Army Reserve on the Joint Chiefs at the present time. Yet you also claim in your letter that if the Chief of the National Guard Bureau were added to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, this would create an imbalance among the reserve components. Are you saying you will not represent the Army Reserve as effectively as you believe the Chief will represent the National Guard if he is added to the Joint Chiefs of Staff? That is the only way his presence could create an imbalance between your reserve components. But if you are saying you would be an equally good representative of the Army Reserve as he will be of the National Guard, then no imbalance will exist. Which is it, in your opinion?

- Does this imbalance already exist since the Chief already participates in the Joint Chiefs?
- Has any Chief of Staff of the Army ever been a National Guard officer?
- Approximately what percentage of your Army staff are National Guard officers? How does that compare to the percentage the Army Guard makes up of the entire Army?

For the Chief of Staff of the Air Force:

- Part of the requirement for adding the Chief of the National Guard Bureau to the Joint Chiefs of Staff is the recognition that his advice will be more critical than ever heading into this period of budget austerity.
 - Can you describe your plans to grow the Air National Guard in light of a Pentagon report released in April of this year by former Assistant Secretary McCarthy and retired Vice Chairman General Cartwright that demonstrates indisputably that a force mix involving a larger proportion of reserve component forces will save the Department money while preserving current force structure?
 - How do your plans address the well-known “fighter bathtub” that threatens to eviscerate the Air National Guard?
 - Why has it been so difficult, up to this point, for TAGs of the various states to gain access to your plans for their Air Guard wings that are scheduled to lose fighters?
 - Given air of secrecy, does it surprise you that TAGs want a National Guard representative on the Joint Chiefs whom they believe will make sure the Air Guard has a future mission?

For the Chief of Naval Operations:

- Do you know if Admiral Holloway or Admiral Hayward—who both served as the Chief of Naval Operations in 1978—supported the proposed addition of the Commandant of the Marine Corps as a full voting member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff?
- Do you support or oppose having General Amos sit as a full voting member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff?
- Do you believe General Amos’s presence on the Joint Chiefs of Staff in any way confuses the President or the Secretary of Defense about the Department of the Navy’s view on a given question? Or is their clear recognition that you two speak for two different groups of uniformed service members?
- Do you have any reason to believe that General McKinley and his successors will not draw that distinction as clearly as you and General Amos have been able to?

For the Commandant of the Marine Corps:

- Can you describe the role of the Commandant on the Joint Chiefs of Staff after the passage of the National Security Act in 1947?
- Can you describe the legislative process by which that role was changed in 1978? Did the Department of Defense support adding the Commandant as a full voting member of the Joint Chiefs, or did the Department oppose the change?
- Why do you believe the Marine Corps pushed so strongly to be a full voting member on the Joint Staff?
- Senator Webb, the Chairman of the Personnel Subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee, wrote an article in 1972 called "Roles and Missions: Time for a Change," in which he proposed that the Commandant be added to the Joint Chiefs of Staff. It is a great and insightful article, and unfortunately it took Congress six years to follow his recommendation.
 - In that article, Senator Webb wrote, "The Commandant of the Marine Corps is still not a full member of the Joint Chiefs, sitting as a member only on matters concerning the Marine Corps. He must 'declare interest' in order to voice his opinions. Although he currently sits on a great majority of issues through this process, a proper statement of Marine Corps missions would obviously expand those matters which concern the Corps to include those which concern the defense of the United States, and hence give the Commandant a rightful full membership on the Joint Chiefs."
 - Clearly Senator Webb believed at that time that an ad hoc relationship with the Joint Chiefs meant that the Commandant had an insufficient voice. Do you agree with that assessment? How do you think that the Commandant's voice has been strengthened by full membership on the Joint Chiefs? Would you ever accept going back to the old relationship the Commandant had with the Joint Chiefs?
 - Senator Webb made another great point in his article. He wrote, "An additional point concerning our influence on the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the various unified commands is worth mentioning. A Marine general officer has never headed a 'J' staff on the Joint Chiefs. Furthermore, of the 41 flag rank officers currently serving on that Staff, only one is a Marine! The Air Force supplies 15 generals, the Army 21 and the Navy 13 admirals. This lack of representation is paralleled on all unified commands, as only three other Marine generals are serving in any capacity on all other unified commands; one on Pacific Command, one on European Command, and one on MAC-V [the command in Vietnam]. Considering the world situation today and the vital role the Corps is playing in it, this tokenism is inexcusable."
 - Given the proportion of the National Guard to the Total Force and the very limited representation it has on the Joint Staff and in the joint commands, do you not see a similarity between the tokenism the Corps faced in 1972 and what the Guard faces today?

For the Chief of the National Guard Bureau:

- In a letter dated this week, which I believe you submitted for the record, the 54 TAGs stated that "The Chief of the National Guard Bureau can no longer fully perform the duties of his office without being a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff." Do you agree with that statement, and if so, why?
- Do you believe that your addition to the Joint Chiefs of Staff will confuse the service lines of authority? How will you and your successors keep that from happening?
- Do you believe that your role on the Joint Chiefs will in any way threaten civilian control of the military, as some have claimed, because you report directly to the Secretary of Defense and not through a Service Secretary?
- Would you please describe your budgetary responsibilities? Are budgetary responsibilities necessary for the advisory role of a Joint Chief?
- How will you behave differently if you are added to the Joint Chiefs as a matter of law and not just of policy? Will this change do anything besides institutionalize in law a present operating reality for the Joint Chiefs of Staff?
- Why do you think the National Guard is so grossly underrepresented on the Joint Staff and the Army and Air Staffs? How do you believe that underrepresentation impacts national policy, including budgetary policy pertaining to the National Guard?
- Former Assistant Secretary McCarthy and former Vice Chairman General Cartwright certainly expressed the view in their report that the National Guard and the Federal Reserve are cost-effective components compared to the active component. Do you agree? How would that fact influence your advice offered as a full member of the Joint Chiefs?
- Why, in your opinion, has no Combatant Commander or Service Chief of Staff ever been a member of the National Guard? Will your presence on the Joint Chiefs do anything to change that imbalance?
- Do you believe there are any significant risks to adding the Chief of the National Guard Bureau to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, particularly in light of the fact that you already participate in all meetings of the Joint Chiefs on an ad hoc basis as a non-voting member?
- Would you seek to use your new role in any way to gain some kind of advantage or imbalance with the Federal Reserve?
- What do you think are the similarities between your current role on the Joint Chiefs and the role of the Commandant prior to 1978?
- What do you think this change will mean to the men and women of the National Guard?