

**The National Security Policy Process:  
The National Security Council and Interagency System**



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# **The National Security Policy Process: The National Security Council and Interagency System**

By

Alan G. Whittaker, Frederick C. Smith, and Elizabeth McKune

How United States' foreign, defense, and other national security policies are developed, coordinated, articulated, and implemented is critically important to this nation's well being. This process begins internally with the federal agencies responsible for our national security and culminates with the President ultimately making the decisions. To do this, the President needs a defined and smoothly functioning policy development and decision-making process. Other than an extremely broad outline of who should participate in the process, there are no laws or regulations directing how policy options should be developed and decisions made. Much depends upon personalities and the strengths and weaknesses of the people who work for the President, as well as the personality and management style of the President himself.

Central to the policy development and decision-making process is the National Security Council which serves as the President's principal forum for considering national security and foreign policy matters with his senior national security advisors and cabinet officials. The Council advises and assists the President on national security and foreign policies and also serves as the President's principal arm for coordinating these policies among various government agencies.<sup>1</sup>

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This paper provides an annually updated report describing the national security decision-making process of the U.S. government. Although decisions affecting our security have been made since the nation's birth, the foundations of the current system were laid immediately following World War II. This paper briefly summarizes how the process has evolved since its creation under President Truman. It describes the current NSC organizational structure and processes, and defines the roles of the key departments and agencies, including that of the National Security Council staff. Readers should keep in mind that the processes described in this paper reflect, in general, the operation of the national security interagency system. However, at times, individuals and circumstances will produce idiosyncratic ways of doing business. Finally, the paper comments upon how the interagency process is incorporating new organizational structures associated with homeland defense and homeland security.

## **EVOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY SYSTEM <sup>2</sup>**

The national security decision-making process is critical to the management of the national security interests of the United States. When the President makes foreign policy statements, meets with visiting heads of state, travels abroad, or holds press conferences dealing with national security his words usually have been carefully crafted and are the result of lengthy and detailed deliberations within the administration. U.S. presidents have been supported by some kind of interagency policymaking process in the United States government since World War I. The current interagency system involving the routine consultations of senior department and agency officials, however, was not the creation of the President or the Executive Branch. Initially, in 1947, the National Security Council was an unwanted bureaucracy imposed upon the President by Congress, and was both little used and viewed with suspicion by the chief executive.

At the end of World War II, Congress sought to pass legislation that would, in part, reorganize the conduct of national security affairs for the U.S. government to ensure that a surprise attack upon the United States, such as that inflicted at Pearl Harbor, would never again occur<sup>3</sup>. President Harry S Truman supported some kind of reorganization. When looking at the disparate pieces of information available to different elements of the United States government prior to December 7, 1941, President Truman was reported to have concluded, "If we'd all had that information in one agency, by God, I believe we could have foreseen what was going to happen in Pearl Harbor."<sup>4</sup> To put this in a current context, Truman's reaction was not unlike that which has occurred in the aftermath of September 11<sup>th</sup>. Today, the attacks of 2001 reflect the new post-Cold War challenges of monitoring dispersed, non-state actors using asymmetric tactics.

Truman supported Congress's desire to establish a permanent, centrally managed intelligence community and a unified Department of Defense. But Congress also wanted an apparatus in the Executive Branch to ensure integration and coordination of policies across departments and agencies and to advise the president on national security interests. As a result of Pearl Harbor, but also in reaction to President Roosevelt's highly personalized management of policy during World War II, Congress established a formal national security structure that was codified in the National Security Act of 1947.<sup>5</sup> Congress believed that if formal interagency consultative structures were established, intelligence and policy would be better coordinated, and experienced voices would be present to advise on Presidential decisions.

President Truman agreed with the intelligence and defense aspects of the legislation, and agreed to the need for an established advisory group, but was resistant to the idea of creating any other organization with decision-making authority or operational responsibilities within the Executive Branch.<sup>6</sup> Truman fully intended to maintain direct control of national security affairs, and any National Security Council the Congress wanted to establish would operate within his administration purely as an advisory group to be convened and recessed at the president's discretion.<sup>7</sup> Consequently, Truman rarely attended NSC meetings.<sup>8</sup> Meetings were chaired by the Secretary of State and often, instead of producing coordinated policy, provided a forum for interagency turf battles.<sup>9</sup> Department Secretaries sought guidance and decisions in private follow-up meetings with the President.

With the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, President Truman suddenly found the NSC's function of bringing together senior policymakers to be useful.<sup>10</sup> He began convening regular meetings to develop, discuss, and coordinate policy related to the war. Truman's increased use of the NSC system brought about procedures that have endured to the present day, including interagency committees with responsibilities for specific regional and functional areas, analysis and development of policy options, and recommendations for Presidential decisions.<sup>11</sup>

The NSC and its staff grew in importance, size, and responsibilities with the election of Dwight D. Eisenhower. President Eisenhower's experience with a military staff system led him to establish an elaborate interagency structure centered on a Planning Board to coordinate policy development, and an Operations Coordinating Board for monitoring the implementation of policies.<sup>12</sup> Eisenhower also created, in 1953, the post of Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, now commonly called the National Security Advisor.<sup>13</sup>

President Kennedy was uncomfortable with the extensive staff and committee system of the Eisenhower presidency and adopted a system where he talked directly with assistant secretaries or others in various agencies, as well as

utilizing a small staff of hand-picked experts in the White House.<sup>14</sup> By late 1962, there were only 12 substantive experts on the NSC staff.<sup>15</sup> Kennedy also was responsible for converting the bowling alley in the basement of the White House West Wing into a Situation Room, where around-the-clock communications are maintained with all national security agencies, U.S. embassies, and military command posts.<sup>16</sup>

Sharing Kennedy's affinity for informal advisory arrangements, President Johnson continued with an informal advisory NSC system relying upon the National Security Advisor, a small NSC staff, ad hoc groups, and trusted friends. Johnson instituted a "Tuesday Lunch" policy discussion group that included the Secretaries of State and Defense, CIA Director, and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.<sup>17</sup> Later administrations have found similar weekly breakfasts or lunches to be useful for exploring and coordinating policy issues.

Centralized control of the interagency process, and domination of the development and execution of foreign policy by the White House staff reached its zenith under Presidents Nixon and Ford. President Nixon wanted to be certain that the White House fully controlled foreign policy. Henry Kissinger's expanded NSC staff (80 professionals) concentrated on acquiring analytical information from the departments and then refining it for the National Security Advisor. Kissinger then crafted his own written recommendations for President Nixon. The system reflected the President's preference for detailed written assessments rather than group deliberations. This system also reflected Kissinger's dominating personality, as well as his bureaucratic maneuverings to establish the NSC staff as the preeminent national security/foreign policy group in the administration<sup>18</sup>. Often, Secretary of State Rogers was not even consulted about major foreign policy decisions.<sup>19</sup> Kissinger's roles in representing Nixon for opening relations with the PRC and negotiating the Vietnam War's Paris Peace Talks are illustrative of the extraordinary operational authority the National Security Advisor received from the President for both policy-making and implementation.

After Richard Nixon's resignation, President Ford inherited the final national security configuration of the Nixon era which found Henry Kissinger acting both as National Security Advisor and as the Secretary of State. Ford eventually appointed Lieutenant General Brent Scowcroft (USAF) as National Security Advisor. Kissinger maintained his role as chief foreign policy advisor to the president, and Scowcroft coordinated analyses and policy options between the executive branch departments and agencies.<sup>20</sup>

President Carter came into office wanting to ensure that he was choosing the best options in his foreign policy decisions. The interagency process initially was structured to allow for a more prominent role for the State Department. Moreover, Carter's concerns about foreign policy being overly dominated by a single individual (as it had been by Kissinger) led him to appoint a National



Security Advisor (Zbigniew Brzezinski) who was independent and able to provide alternative judgments to those he received from the State Department.<sup>21</sup> As the administration progressed, Brzezinski increasingly acted as public advocate on policy issues rather than playing a more restricted role as policy broker and coordinator. Brzezinski's public discourses often led to tensions and disagreements over policy and roles between the NSC staff, State, and other departments.<sup>22</sup>

The Reagan administration desired a more collegial approach to decision-making and sought to establish a balanced system amongst the departments responsible for national security affairs. The National Security Advisor was downgraded from taking a leading policy development role; he reported to the Chief of Staff to the President, who exercised a coordinating role in the White House. Collegiality among powerful department heads was not successfully maintained, however, and conflicts became public, especially between the Departments of State and Defense. The NSC staff also emerged as an independent actor, not only in formulating policy, but also in implementation. These operational activities resulted in the Iran-Contra affair that was investigated both by congress and a presidential commission.<sup>23</sup> In 1987, the Tower Commission and congressional investigations determined that the NSC staff deviated from its policy coordination role into policymaking and operational implementation. Both investigations concluded that the mistakes of Iran-Contra were the result of inappropriate decisions by managers and individuals, not flaws in the structure or functions of the national security system.<sup>24</sup>

Having served eight years as Vice President and participated regularly in deliberations of the Reagan administration, President George H.W. Bush became into office with definite ideas as to how the national security policy process should be organized. First, he appointed Lieutenant General (Ret.) Brent Scowcroft, recognized for his bureaucratic skills and collegial personality, to another tour as the National Security Advisor. President Bush reorganized the NSC system to include a Principals Committee, Deputies Committee, and eight Policy Coordinating Committees, and sought (not always successfully) to establish a collegial system in which the NSC acted as a broker and coordinator of policy across the Executive Branch.

The Clinton administration also sought to emphasize a collegial approach within the interagency but different perspectives on policy between the NSC staff and the cabinet departments sometimes produced tensions and turf battles. Weekly lunches involving the Secretaries of State and Defense and the National Security Advisor were used by the Clinton administration as a regular senior policy forum for exploring and coordinating issues. The biggest change in the Clinton administration was the emphasis on economics as an element of U.S. national security. The NSC membership was expanded to include the Secretary of the Treasury and the Assistant to the President for Economic Policy, who was head of a National Economic Council (NEC) created by Clinton. The NEC was

established to deal with foreign and domestic economic issues in much the same way as the NSC coordinated diplomatic and security issues, and some individuals served simultaneously on both the NSC and NEC staffs.

## **NSC ORGANIZATION**

The National Security Council is chaired by the President and is called into session at the President's discretion. Its statutory members are the President, Vice President, and the Secretaries of State and Defense. The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff is the statutory military advisor to the Council, and the Director of National Intelligence is the intelligence advisor. The National Security Advisor is not a statutory member, but is responsible for determining the agenda in consultation with the other regular attendees of the NSC, ensuring that the necessary papers are prepared, recording NSC deliberations, and disseminating Presidential decisions.

In the current Bush administration, others invited to attend formal NSC meetings include the National Security Advisor, the Chief of Staff to the President, Counsel to the President, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Assistant to the President for Economic Policy, and the Assistant to the President for Homeland Security. The Attorney General and Director of the Office of Management and Budget and are invited to attend meetings that address issues pertaining to their responsibilities. Heads of other executive departments and agencies, as well as other senior officials, also are invited, when appropriate.

The National Security Advisor is the President's personal advisor responsible for the daily management of national security affairs for the President. The President alone decides national security policy, but the National Security Advisor is responsible for ensuring that the President has all the necessary information, that a full range of policy options have been identified, that the prospects and risks of each option have been identified, that legal considerations have been addressed, that difficulties in implementation have been identified, and that all NSC principals have been included in the development process. Throughout the first term of his administration, President Bush frequently stipulated that National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice preside at NSC meetings in his absence, and this practice has continued during the second term with NSA Stephen Hadley. The National Security Advisor, appointed by the President as a personal aide, is not subject to Congressional confirmation. Thus, any attempt at oversight of the National Security Council and its staff by Congress must be conducted through meetings with the President or other principals of the National Security Council.

The professionals who work directly for the National Security Advisor constitute the NSC staff. Staff members handling substantive issues include political appointees (frequently experts from think tanks and academia), senior professionals on detail from Executive Branch departments, and military officers.

The expertise of career Foreign Service Officers in foreign affairs often means that the senior positions of the NSC regional directorates are assigned to State Department personnel. This staff (see Appendix C) conducts the day-to-day management of national security affairs for the White House and currently numbers approximately 225, with around 110 policy positions. However, the NSC also is able to rely on a network of former NSC staffers and other trusted policy experts, if needed, when reviewing policy issues. Because the statutory National Security Council historically has met infrequently and has had little direct contact with the staff level components of the Executive Branch as a body, the NSC staff is commonly referred to (incorrectly) as “the NSC.” Thus, when people in the Executive Branch agencies or Legislative Branch talk about calling or working with the NSC, they nearly always are referring to the NSC staff.

Formal meetings of the National Security Council have tended to be rare in previous administrations because Presidents did not see a need to hold “official” NSC meetings versus other, more informal, consultations. Presidents were inclined to manage national security affairs through direct meetings with cabinet officers and key advisors, and through a series of committees with defined substantive responsibilities. This pattern of infrequent NSC meetings changed with the advent of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon, and the subsequent military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. Like President Truman during the Korean War, President George W. Bush found it valuable to bring together his most senior policymakers on a regular basis to formulate policies for conducting the global war on terrorism, military campaigns in Afghanistan and Iraq, and the reorganization of agencies and activities to ensure the security of the U.S. homeland. In the immediate aftermath of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks and during the height of US military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq, the Bush NSC met on a daily basis. In the intervening periods and subsequently, the Bush NSC has met at least weekly at the White House or through the use of the Secure Video-Teleconference Service (or SVTS called “civits”) when the President has traveled or spent time at his ranch in Texas. During periods when the President travels more frequently, such as for appearances around the country on policy issues or in relation to campaign activities, the NSC regularly convenes via teleconference. Although joint NSC-HSC meetings are not frequent occurrences in the current administration, President Bush has found it useful to hold a number of such meetings over the last two years on issues related both to national security and homeland security.

The most senior, regularly constituted interagency group is the Principals Committee (PC). The six principal Presidential advisors responsible for dealing with national security affairs are the Secretaries of State, Defense, and Treasury, the National Security Advisor, Director of National Intelligence, and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In different administrations, these individuals, along with the President’s Chief of Staff and the Vice President, have met on a regular basis to discuss current and developing national security issues, review and coordinate

policy recommendations developed by subordinate interagency groups and affected departments and agencies, and give direction for implementation or follow-up analyses. Especially during the current administration, the Vice President has played a major role in the PC policy process. Although called by a variety of names in past administrations, this group has been called the Principals Committee since the administration of George H.W. Bush (1989-1993).

Other key Executive Branch officials may be called to attend Principals Committee meetings when issues related to their areas of responsibility are discussed. These invitees may include the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (DCIA, particularly when covert operations are being considered), the Attorney General, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, and the Assistant to the President for Homeland Security Affairs. When international economic issues are on the agenda, attendees may include the Secretary of Commerce, the United States Trade Representative, the Assistant to the President for Economic Policy, and the Secretary of Agriculture. The Bush administration also has included the Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security, the White House Chief of Staff, the Deputy National Security Advisor, and National Security Advisor to the Vice President in PC meetings when appropriate for the issues being considered.

Subordinate to the Principals Committee is the Deputies Committee (DC). As the senior sub-Cabinet interagency forum, the DC is responsible for directing the work of interagency working groups and ensuring that issues brought before the PC or the NSC have been properly analyzed and prepared for high-level deliberation. Historically, the DC is where the bulk of the government's policy decisions are made in preparation for the PC's review and the President's decision. Issues decided above the DC level either are very significant national security decisions, are very contentious, or both. In some circumstances (e.g., crisis situations) a significant portion of interagency policy development and coordination may be done at the DC level rather than at lower levels. Moreover, as discussed later, the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 and the subsequent global war on terrorism and military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq significantly affected the policy decision responsibilities of both the PC and DC during the first term of George W. Bush's administration.

The DC is composed of the deputy or relevant under secretaries to the cabinet secretaries. The regular DC members include the Deputy Secretary of State or Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Under Secretary of the Treasury or Under Secretary of the Treasury for International Affairs, Deputy Secretary of Defense or Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, Deputy Attorney General, Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget, Deputy Director of National Intelligence (or the Director of the National Counterterrorism Center if counterterrorism issues are being considered), Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Deputy Chief of Staff to the President for Policy, Chief of

Staff and National Security Advisor to the Vice President, Deputy Assistant to the President for Homeland Security Affairs, Deputy Assistant to the President for International Economics (when appropriate), and the Deputy National Security Advisor (who serves as its chair except when the Deputy Assistant to the President for International Economics chairs meetings dealing with international economic issues). When international economic issues are on the agenda, the DC's regular membership adds the Deputy Secretary of Commerce, a Deputy United States Trade Representative, and the Deputy Secretary of Agriculture.

Subordinate to the DC are a variety of interagency working groups called Policy Coordination Committees (PCCs).<sup>25</sup> These interagency committees are composed of substantive experts and senior officials from the departments and agencies represented on the DC. Although bounded by how much control is exerted over policy issues by the PC and DC groups, PCCs historically were the main forum for interagency coordination. In the post-September 11 policy environment with more issues being worked at the PC and DC level, PCCs have had more coordination and implementation duties than policy development responsibilities.

Contingent upon the scope of their responsibilities, some PCCs may meet regularly (weekly or even daily in a crisis situation) while others meet only when developments or planning require policy synchronization. They are responsible for managing the development and implementation of national security policies when they involve more than one government agency. PCCs provide policy analysis for consideration by the more senior committees of the NSC system and ensure timely responses to decisions made by the President. The role of each PCC in policy development and implementation has tended to vary from administration to administration according to the amount of authority and responsibility delegated to them by the DC and PC. They are organized around either regional or functional issues. Regional PCCs normally are headed by Assistant Secretaries of State while functional PCCs are headed by senior department officials or NSC Senior Directors.

Current regional PCCs include:

- Europe and Eurasia
- Western Hemisphere
- East Asia
- South Asia
- Near East and North Africa
- Africa (State and NSC co-chair)

Functional PCCs include (the department responsible for chairing the committee is in parentheses):

- Arms Control (NSC)
- Biodefense (NSC and HSC)
- Combating Terrorism Information Strategy (NSC)
- Contingency Planning (NSC: Pol-Mil and Crisis planning)
- Counter-Terrorism Security Group (NSC)
- Defense Strategy, Force Structure, and Planning (DoD)
- Democracy, Human Rights, and International Operations (NSC)
- Detainees (NSC)
- Global Environment (NSC and NEC co-chair)
- HIV-AIDS and Infectious Diseases (State & HHS)
- Information Sharing
- Intelligence and Counterintelligence (NSC)
- Interdiction (NSC)
- International Development and Humanitarian Assistance (State)
- International Drug Control Policy (NSC and ONDCP)
- International Finance (Treasury)
- International Organized Crime (NSC)
- Maritime Security (NSC and HSC)
- Muslim World Outreach (NSC and State co-chair)
- Proliferation Strategy, Counterproliferation, and Homeland Defense (NSC)
- Reconstruction and Stabilization Operations
- Records Access and Information Security (NSC)
- Space (NSC)
- Strategic Communication (NSC& State: international public diplomacy)
- Terrorist Finance (Treasury)
- Transnational Economic Issues (NEC)

Although PCCs are divided into regional or functional groups, participation is not limited to people with only regional or functional expertise. Regional PCCs may contain department or agency members with functional expertise, and functional PCCs are likely to include regional experts. For example, the non-proliferation PCC may include regional experts covering countries involved with proliferation issues, and the Counter-Terrorism Security Group (which meets weekly) includes representatives from the Department of Homeland Security.

In addition to PCC working groups, the Bush administration has found it necessary to stand up two special interagency groups to better coordinate the activities of the large commitments of US military, reconstruction, and diplomatic contingents in Afghanistan and Iraq. Neither group is a traditional PCC because both have assigned staffs to handle day-to-day operational issues, but both report to the DC in the same manner as PCCs. The Afghanistan Interagency

Operations Group (AIOG, chaired by the State Department's Coordinator for Afghanistan) coordinates interagency efforts on Afghanistan, evaluates progress on policy initiatives and whether progress on development benchmarks have been achieved, and notifies the DC when problems arise.

Likewise, the Iraq Policy and Operations Group (IPOG) coordinates the multi-faceted involvement of US government and private sector agencies in Iraq. Established after Iraq interim government assumed sovereignty over the country's affairs, the IPOG is chaired by a Deputy Assistant Secretary of State and a Senior NSC Director for Defense Policy and reports directly to the DC. The IPOG conducts daily video teleconferences on such issues as infrastructure reconstruction, security, and elections planning in Iraq.

The AIOG and IPOG represent sub-PCC working groups that often are established to allow the interagency to scrutinize and brainstorm about developing policy issues. Such groups may be short-lived as the policy issues recede in importance or appear not to warrant a major interagency effort, or eventually evolve into full blown, formal interagency PCCs. For example, during the past year PCCs have been established with regard to Information Sharing, and for Reconstruction and Stabilization as a result of the perceived need for greater interagency collaboration and coordination in these respective areas. The President makes the decision as to whether or not a working group becomes designated as a formal PCC.

As mentioned earlier, another major White House entity associated with national security affairs is the National Economic Council (NEC), first established in 1993 by President Clinton. It advises the President on matters related to global economic policy. By Executive Order, the NEC has four principal functions: to coordinate policy-making for domestic and international economic issues; to coordinate economic policy advice for the President; to ensure that policy decisions and programs are consistent with the President's economic goals; and to monitor implementation of the President's economic policy agenda. Over the course of the current Bush administration the trend of increasingly important economic issues related to national security has continued. In many foreign policy areas economic issues have become equally or more important than traditional military issues—as in the case of China. Also increasingly, international and domestic policy issues and their implications for the well-being of the US are seen to overlap. As a result, there is increased coordination and integration between the NSC and NEC staffs across the spectrum of economic policy issues.

The purview of the NEC extends to policy matters affecting the various sectors of the nation's economy, as well as to the overall strength of the U.S. and global macro-economies. Therefore, in general, members of the NEC are the department and agency heads whose policy jurisdictions affect the nation's economy. The NEC staff is composed of policy specialists whose expertise

pertains to the Council's specific areas of decision-making. There are two Deputy Assistants to the President whose responsibilities are divided between domestic and international economic issues. The Deputy Assistant for international economic issues reports both to the Deputy National Security Advisor and the National Security Advisor as well as the NEC Director. The NEC staff also is comprised of several Special Assistants to the President who report to the Director on economic policy issues related to agriculture, commerce, energy, financial markets, fiscal policy, health care, labor, and Social Security. Several NSC staff members, who report directly to the Deputy National Security Advisor, also support and coordinate with the NEC Director.

Soon after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, another interagency body responsible for coordinating policies related to homeland security was established by the Bush administration. The Homeland Security Council was established on October 8, 2001 and its Principals Committee was organized as the senior interagency forum for homeland security issues. The structure and operation of the Homeland Security Council and the Department of Homeland Security are discussed briefly later in this report.

## **NSC POLICY PROCESS**

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. The National Security Act of 1947<sup>26</sup> directs that the function of the NSC "shall be to advise the President with respect to the integration of domestic, foreign, and military policies related to the national security so as to enable the military services and the other departments and agencies of the government to cooperate more effectively in matters involving the national security," as well as to perform "other functions the President may direct for the purpose of more effectively coordinating the policies and functions of the departments and agencies of the government relating to the national security." The NSC has the responsibility to "assess and appraise the objectives, commitments, and risks of the United States" and to "consider policies on matters of common interest to the departments and agencies of the Government concerned with the national security." When the president makes a policy decision he usually will transmit the information verbally to the relevant cabinet secretaries, the National Security Advisor, or other appropriate officials. Occasionally, he will wish to ensure that there is clear understanding of policy objectives and requirements and will issue a formal decision document (which may be classified or unclassified) stating the policy in order to communicate the specifics of the decision to affected government departments and agencies, or to the general public. The current Bush administration calls these formal policy decisions National Security Presidential Directives. See Appendix A for the titles used in previous administrations.



The roles and missions of the parts of the NSC system also are influenced by historical events and developments in the different areas of U.S. national interests. For example, during the Clinton administration the NSC increasingly focused more on the relationship of economic matters and international trade to overall national security. Historically, economic issues were handled by the NSC staff and supported by the President's Council of Economic Advisors (a small office established in 1946 to provide the President with objective economic analysis and advice). The increasing complexity of macro-economic issues, however, and the extent to which national interests progressively involved economic policy led to the creation of the National Economic Council and the appointment of an Assistant to the President for Economic Policy. The current Bush administration has continued this recognition of the increasing importance of economic matters to national security affairs by appointing (or "embedding") economic specialists to most of the NSC Directorates. Likewise, the historic terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 led to the establishment of the Homeland Security Council and the Department of Homeland Security.

Historical events also affect the composition of the designated Directorates within the NSC staff—causing them to vary from one administration to the next and sometimes change during an administration. For example, until 1997, the Clinton administration had a separate NSC directorate for "Gulf War Illness Affairs," which dealt with questions of Iraq's possession and possible use of WMD against the U.S. during the Gulf War of 1991-92. As policy concerns shifted to other areas, this office was disbanded and its remaining policy issues merged with the Defense Policy and Arms Control Directorate. When the current Bush administration came into office, NSC Directorates responsible for Russian policy and for Southeast European policy (i.e., the Balkans) were merged with the European Affairs Directorate into a single European and Eurasian Affairs Directorate, reflecting the administration's desire to deal with Russia, Central and Southern Europe within the larger context of interrelated European affairs. Also, following the September 11 terrorists attacks, the NSC established the Office for Combating Terrorism (under a new Deputy Assistant to the President/Deputy National Security Advisor for Combating Terrorism), and other NSC directorates and PCCs are devoting more time to terrorist considerations and developments that may affect homeland security. This office continues in the current NSC as a Directorate headed by a Deputy Assistant to the President/Deputy National Security Advisor (see Appendix C).

The organization of the NSC staff underwent further reorganization at the beginning of the second term of the administration of George W. Bush when Stephen Hadley replaced Condoleezza Rice as National Security Advisor. Hadley established a Deputy National Security Advisor for Iraq and Afghanistan, and Deputy Assistants to the President/Deputy National Security Advisors (DAP/DNSA) for Strategic Communication and Global Outreach, and Global Democracy Strategy in addition to the continuing positions of DAP/DNSAs for

International Economics, and Combating Terrorism (See Appendix C for an NSC organizational chart). These reflected the increased emphasis in the current Bush administration on Iraq and Afghanistan, promoting freedom, democracy and human rights in the world, and communicating U.S. values and priorities effectively to the American people as well as other countries. To some extent, they also reflect recommendations from the September 2004 Report of the Defense Science Board Task Force on Strategic Communication which emphasized that policies and strategic communications must be fully integrated for each to be effective in confronting post-9/11 challenges.

The increased emphasis on the policy areas noted above also are reflected in the establishment of an NSC Directorate for Near East and North Africa affairs under the Directorate for Global Democracy Strategy in addition to the regional directorates covering those areas. The reorganization also re-established a separate NSC regional Directorate for Russia reflecting the importance of relations with Russia on a wide range of bi-lateral and multilateral issues. Also noteworthy is the formation of a Directorate for Relief, Stabilization and Development under the DAP for International Economics which signals the increased importance of policy issues in these areas for the current administration.

### **The National Security Advisor and the Policy Process<sup>27</sup>**

Presidents rely heavily upon their National Security Advisor (NSA) to undertake a number of specific roles to support them in the managing national security affairs. Because the National Security Advisor is a personal aide to the President, this person must enjoy the President's full trust and confidence. The 1987 report by the Tower Commission on the operation of the NSC staff identified a number of specific roles for National Security Advisors that have evolved and proven beneficial to the President in the effective management of national security affairs:<sup>28</sup>

- He is an "honest broker" for the NSC process. He assures that issues are clearly presented to the President; that all reasonable options, together with an analysis of their disadvantages and risks, are brought to his attention; and that the views of the President's other principal advisors are accurately conveyed.
- He provides advice from the President's vantage point, unalloyed by institutional responsibilities and biases. Unlike the Secretaries of State or Defense, who have substantial organizations for which they are responsible, the President is the National Security Advisor's only constituency.
- He monitors the actions taken by the executive departments in implementing the President's national security policies. He questions whether these actions are consistent with Presidential decisions and

whether, over time, the underlying policies continue to serve U.S. interests.

- He assumes a special role in crisis management. The rapid pace of developments during crises often draws the National Security Advisor into an even more active role of advising the President on the implications for national security of unfolding events. He fulfills the need for prompt and coordinated action under Presidential control (often with secrecy being essential) and in communicating Presidential needs and directives to the departments and agencies of the Executive Branch.
- He reaches out for new ideas and initiatives that will give substance to broad Presidential objectives for national security.
- He keeps the President informed about international events and developments in the Congress and the Executive Branch that affect the President's policies and priorities.

The emphasis placed upon these various roles as they are described in the Tower Commission varies from administration to administration according to the President's preferences for managing national security affairs, the National Security Advisor's interpretation of his or her role, and the personalities and styles of the various members of the Principals Committee and other policymaking bodies. For example, during the tenure of Condoleezza Rice as NSA, she focused more on advising the President and ensuring coordination of policy between departments, and less on initiating policy at the NSC and directly monitoring the implementation of policy in Executive Branch departments. The intense involvement of the Departments of Defense and State in the global war on terrorism and missions in Afghanistan and Iraq resulted in Secretaries Rumsfeld and Powell being more frequently involved directly in policy development and coordination with the President and Vice President rather than through the NSA. Under Stephen Hadley, the NSC emphasizes brokering policy decisions and developing consensus between executive branch agencies. Moreover, Hadley is seeking to more effectively organize the administration processes of the NSC as technology advances have threatened to overwhelm the staff with e-mails, heightened overseas involvement of US military and diplomatic assets, classified and open-source intelligence information, and instantaneous communication with US Ambassadors, commanders, and other officials throughout the world. Hadley is instituting mechanisms to triage information coming into the NSC staff and better organize the kinds of policy documents being prepared for the various policy committees and the President.

In general, the National Security Advisor's (NSA) primary roles are to advise the President, advance the President's national security policy agenda, and oversee the effective operation of the interagency system. The NSA must be able to manage the process of integrating information and policy considerations affecting national interests across the spectrum of government agencies and instruments of power and foreign policy, prioritizing their strategic importance, and synthesizing them into concise issues and options for the President's

consideration. The NSA should bring to the President only those issues that have been vetted through the interagency system so that he can benefit from the counsel of those departments with concomitant responsibilities and authorities. The NSA also must ensure that, given demands upon the President's time from such a wide variety of policy issues and political constituencies, the President only has to deal with those problems that require his level of involvement. This is a delicate management problem to not usurp the President's authority on "lower level" issues, while, at the same time, not consume his limited time on issues that others have been delegated the authority to decide. Protecting the President's time involves not only concisely and effectively presenting issues to the President, but also managing the constant demands of visiting dignitaries and modern telecommunications that allow foreign governments the capability to communicate directly with the White House. Increasingly, the ability for government leaders to converse directly means the NSA must manage the President's direct communications and act as a gatekeeper for the President to determine who warrants access to directly discuss national security matters.

On occasion, protecting the President's time requires the NSA to meet with foreign officials to deliver or receive messages, or discuss U.S. policy (as when NSA Hadley has met with British Prime Minister Tony Blair in London or Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki in Baghdad). The Tower Commission strongly cautioned that neither the National Security Advisor nor the NSC staff should be engaged in operations, or the implementation of policy, as happened during the Iran-Contra affair. Nevertheless, although the Department of State clearly has the responsibility for dealing with foreign officials and implementing foreign policy, the NSA may act as the President's emissary to the extent that the President wishes to use the National Security Advisor in this manner—although this role has been utilized sparingly in recent administrations.

The National Security Advisor also has responsibilities beyond national security affairs that affect the President's domestic political standing. This involves the NSA's dealings with Congress and the media. The NSA must work alongside other executive branch officials to build trust with Congress in order to facilitate cooperation between the branches to achieve the administration's national security objectives. Moreover, the NSA must avoid, if possible, any appearance of national security decisions being driven by domestic politics (e.g., emphasizing international crises to divert attention from a domestic political problem), both because national security affairs should be dealt with on their own merits, and because of the need to build bi-partisan consensus on foreign policy issues. As such, one additional responsibility of the NSA is insulating the NSC staff from any political pressure--either from other components of the White House staff responsible for domestic political affairs or from political interests outside the White House. This can be a difficult mission because national security priorities often are influenced by domestic politics or have domestic implications. Consequently, the NSA must focus on advising the President about

broader national security problems while being mindful of domestic political factors that may influence the acceptability of policy options.

The National Security Advisor's dealings with the media are complicated because while the Secretary of State is primarily responsible for the overall management and explanation of foreign policy, the NSA often acts as an "explicator" of policy to the media. The NSA must balance secrecy requirements with the public's right to know, and the unrelenting pressure from the media for information on a daily basis. Secrets are difficult to maintain in a democracy with a massive bureaucracy and a free press. According to former NSC staffers, news reporting and analysis generally lags policy decisions by 3-4 days and is about 60-80% accurate, depending upon the news operation and its familiarity with the issues being covered.

Thus, to be effective, the National Security Advisor must have the trust of the President, the principals of the departments and agencies involved in national security matters, substantive experts in the bureaucracy, numerous foreign leaders and their ministries, members of both parties in the Congress, and the news media. He (or she) must be able to manage this series of complex interrelationships and promote cooperation rather than competition among the various stakeholders. In an increasingly complex, multi-dimensional policy world still possessing strategic threats, the NSA must effectively administer advice and access to the President to enable him to effectively do this part of his job.

A list of the individuals who have served as the National Security Advisor, and the dates they served, is attached at Appendix B.

### **The NSC Staff and the Policy Process**

Like the National Security Advisor, the roles and missions undertaken by the NSC staff have evolved over time. Variations from one administration to another are due largely to presidential preferences as to specific NSC roles, organizational and management preferences of the National Security Advisor, and changes brought about through the necessity of responding to crises or complex national security problems. A close working relationship between the President and his cabinet secretaries may result in those departments dominating the development and implementation of national security policy. Alternatively, greater dependence by the President on the National Security Advisor and interagency rivalries sometimes can lead to a more active role in initiating and guiding policy for the NSC staff. Historical events also can limit or expand the roles taken on by the NSC. For example, the establishment of the National Economic Council in 1993 resulted from the increasing importance and complexity of economic issues in national security policy following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the growth of fledgling market economics in former

communist countries. Likewise, the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 increased the involvement of the NSC staff in counter-terrorism policymaking for both domestic and international venues, and the political and military complexities of U.S. actions in Afghanistan and Iraq have emphasized the roles of DoD and the State Department in policy development and implementation. During the first term of the current Bush administration, the NSC established a new Directorate for Strategic Planning and Southwest Asia Affairs designed to conduct strategic planning and coordination across the NSC as well as handle Southwest Asia. Under NSA Hadley, this role has evolved into separate positions of Senior Advisor for Strategic Planning and Institutional Reform as well as the directorate for Iraq and Afghanistan.

National Security Advisor Hadley has sought to keep the NSC staff focused at a strategic policy level, dealing with the long term implications of foreign developments, national security-related events and circumstances, and intelligence gathering and analysis. Hadley does not want the NSC staff taking a leading role in the implementation of presidential policies, but he does want the directors to ensure that there is successful coordination and implementation, or “follow-through”, of policy decisions made by the POTUS, PC or DC. For this reason Hadley established a Senior Advisor for Policy Implementation and Execution in 2005 to take responsibility for strategically tracking policy implementation. Hadley has sought to institute procedures through NSC directors to ensure that policies are implemented and monitored in a coordinated fashion, feedback is obtained on the outcomes of the policy, and that mechanisms are in place to reassess policies if monitoring determines that acceptable results are not achieved. In particular, Hadley has sought to define measures of success with regard to outcomes as well as specific timeline milestones. Also, Hadley has sought to establish procedures to establish and monitor proper funding processes for policy decisions by establishing a closer relationship with the Office of Management and Budget.

Some of the responsibilities of the NSC staff that have evolved over time as a result of bureaucratic dynamics and historical developments include:<sup>29</sup>

- Direct support to the President in crisis management.
- Liaison with foreign governments.
- Support for negotiations in Presidential summits.<sup>30</sup>
- Articulation of the President’s policies to other departments and, at times, to the U.S. public (through the National Security Advisor).
- Coordination of summit meetings and overseas travel by the President.
- Support to the President during telephone conversations with foreign leaders.
- Coordination of the interagency policy process and policy implementation follow-up.

The wide-ranging duties and activities of the NSC staff result from the fact that the National Security Advisor and the NSC staff work directly for the President. Although the Secretaries of State and Defense are cabinet level officials who belong to the formal National Security Council, they have no authority over the NSC staff. To the extent that the National Security Advisor and his/her staff take on functions seen as the prerogative of departments or agencies, tensions and turf battles can develop that may affect the ability of an administration to develop and coordinate policy.

For example, President Nixon's desire to control U.S. foreign policy led him to support National Security Advisor Kissinger's efforts to direct a number of foreign policy issues, including normalizing bilateral relations with the People's Republic of China, conducting the war in Vietnam and eventually chairing the peace talks with North Vietnam in Paris. This led to a dominant role by the NSC staff in the development and implementation of policy in a number of areas while supporting the National Security Advisor. During the Nixon and Ford administrations (1973-1975), Henry Kissinger served concurrently as the National Security Advisor and Secretary of State. This arrangement most likely will never occur again, in part, because this arrangement defeats the objective of having the National Security Advisor act as an honest broker of policy among the various Executive Branch agencies involved in national security affairs.

Although the Secretary of State, by law, is responsible for the development and implementation of foreign policy, the President ultimately decides who among his national security team has what duties and responsibilities. Presidents who do not wish to be involved in the details and implementation of foreign policy delegate that authority to the Secretary of State. On the other hand, Presidents who wish to be intimately involved usually rely heavily upon the National Security Advisor to help formulate foreign policy and keep them updated on developments.

A President's willingness to delegate authority for managing specific national security issues to his National Security Advisor also occasionally has resulted in the NSC staff assuming responsibility both for policy planning and execution. This is the situation that developed during the Reagan administration, resulting in the Iran-Contra affair referenced earlier in this report.

### **Principals and Deputies Committees and the Policy Process**

The Principals Committee (PC) acts as the President's senior level policy review and coordination group. In effect, the PC is the same as the National Security Council without the President and Vice President (although Vice President Cheney regularly participates in PC meetings in the current Bush administration). The PC's mission is to ensure that, as much as possible, policy decisions brought to the President reflect a consensus within the departments

and agencies. If the process works as intended, the President does not have to spend time on uncoordinated policy recommendations and can focus on high level problems and those issues upon which the departments and agencies could not reach a consensus. In administrations where there are strong rivalries among senior advisors (such as the Kissinger-Secretary of State Rogers enmity during the Nixon administration, or the competition between National Security Advisor Brzezinski and Secretary of State Vance during the Carter administration), policy coordination frequently breaks down. Even when strong disagreements (or rivalries) occur between senior policy advisors such as the Secretaries of State and Defense (e.g., Shultz and Weinberger during the Reagan administration, and Powell and Rumsfeld as reported during the first term of George W. Bush term), regularly scheduled PC meetings allow for such differences to be aired and identified, and consensus policy recommendations coordinated where agreement exists.

The frequency of Principals Committee meetings is driven primarily by the pace of events. It often meets once or twice each week to review policy on pressing matters, but may meet less or more frequently depending upon circumstances such as crisis situations or just prior to major summit meetings. Currently, when the PC in the Bush administration meets four times a week, it conducts two 45- minute back-to-back meetings on Tuesday afternoons, and a second series of two 45-minute back-to-back meetings on Thursday mornings. Each 45-minute meeting usually covers one major policy topic. In addition (or sometimes in lieu of formal PC meetings), weekly informal meetings involving the Secretaries of State and Defense, and National Security Advisor often are held over breakfast or lunch, or via conference calls or secure video teleconferences (using the SVTS system). Approximately 50% of the PC meetings are conducted using the SVTS. During the last year, meetings topics frequently have included discussions of the overall strategies for Iraq, Afghanistan, the global war on terrorism, and dealing with North Korea, Iran, and Sudan. Other issues that are time sensitive and involve critical US interests (such as the security situation in Baghdad and the plot to hijack airliners originating in England during the summer of 2006) also are likely to be discussed at the PC level. In general, as the George W. Bush administration progresses through its second term, there has been more involvement at the PC level on updating policies and honing and ensuring the successful implementation, or “follow-through”, of existing policies rather than developing many new policy initiatives.

Likewise, the Deputies Committee (DC) meets when necessary, often four or five times a week, to review PCC recommendations, deliberate issues upon which the PCCs could not reach a consensus, and decide what matters should be forwarded to the PC. Currently, the DC often meets on Tuesday mornings for two 45- minute back-to-back meetings, and on Thursday afternoons for two 45- minute back-to-back meetings. Like the PC, many of the DC meetings are conducted via SVTS. When needed, additional meetings may be held on Wednesdays. Issues worked during the last year in the Bush



administration at the DC level parallel those worked at the PC level. Like the PC during the last year of the administration's first term, the DC has been more involved with refining and ensuring the successful implementation of existing policies rather than developing many new policy initiatives.

Issues forwarded to the PC include policy recommendations made at the DC and PCC level, and policy issues upon which an interagency consensus could not be reached at the PCC and DC levels (although sometimes President Bush prefers the PC to see an array of analyses and options rather than a single, consensus position). In general, the DC seeks to review issue papers and policy options and recommendations provided by PCC level groups and pass them up to the PC during the following week.

During crisis periods, the PC, DC, and PCCs meet frequently. For example, during crises such as the 1991 Gulf War, 1999 Kosovo crisis, the aftermath of the terrorist attacks in September 2001, and the conduct of military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq, a typical day often included:

- Departmental meetings with Secretaries or Deputy Secretaries in the early morning to review developments, responsibilities, taskings, and policy issues of concern to the mission of each department.
- In mid-morning, the DC meets, sometimes conducted via secure teleconferencing with senior staff and area/functional experts, to develop interagency positions on developments and new policy issues. This DC meeting might be followed immediately by a meeting of the DC senior members (without supporting staff) to discuss sensitive intelligence or policy issues.
- In late morning or early afternoon, the PC meets to discuss the results and unresolved issues of the DC, consider strategic policy directions, and determine what issues need to be brought to the attention of the President. PC members may then meet with the President (who usually receives updates on the crisis situation from the National Security Advisor throughout the day).
- In mid or late afternoon, the DC again meets to discuss the implementation of decisions reached by the PC and President, and discuss the results of PCC meetings that have been held throughout the day (individual PCCs may meet more than once a day during crisis periods).
- Individual members of the DC are likely to have a late afternoon meeting with their Principal to confer about developments of the day, and a subsequent meeting with their staffs to discuss the day's decisions, developments, and next steps. Depending upon the circumstances of the day, the PC may have an additional evening meeting and subsequent consultation with the President.

This kind of high operational tempo may persist for several weeks or months, depending upon the duration of the crisis and the need to involve the President and cabinet level officers on a daily basis.

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 and the subsequent military missions of Operation Enduring Freedom (Afghanistan) and Operation Iraqi Freedom produced a policy decision tempo that resulted in unusually frequent (from an historical standpoint) NSC and PC meetings. Due to the simultaneity of the missions in Afghanistan and Iraq, the evolving policies and operations related to the global war on terrorism (GWOT), and domestic policy concerns related to the establishment of the Department of Homeland Security and potential domestic terrorist threats, the NSC and PC found themselves meeting on a regular, often daily, basis during the first term of President George W. Bush. The swiftness with which potential threats and circumstances could change, and the complex, multiple, and often overlapping or conflicting policy and operational issues required regular review of mission outcomes and their implications for maintaining or altering related policy decisions. The rapid pace of developments combined with the extensive senior government experience of the PC members (Vice President Cheney as a former Secretary of Defense, Secretary Powell as a former National Security Advisor and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Secretary Rumsfeld as a previous Secretary of Defense) meant that many policy problems were identified, assessed, and decided at the NSC or PC level rather than being delegated to the DC or PCCs to be staffed. Furthermore, the continual evolution of events in the field meant that PC decisions coordinated one day might then be modified in a discussion by a principal the next day with President Bush or in a departmental meeting because some new development had occurred. As such, members of the Deputies Committee often had to work hard to keep abreast of evolving policy decisions from the PC level, and strived to implement well-coordinated policies across departments and agencies. As the crisis response mode eased, more issues were able to be analyzed and policy recommendations developed at the PCC and DC level before being presented to the PC.

### **Policy Coordination Committees and the Policy Process**

Policy Coordination Committees (PCC) deal with a range of national security issues that cut across the responsibilities of Executive Branch departments and agencies. Issues may be regional, such as U.S. policy toward Iraq or NATO expansion, or functional, such as arms control agreements with Russia or terrorism in South Asia.

PCC work is different than that performed in the departments or agencies. Departmental or agency planning focuses on achieving agency objectives on a regional and operational level. Coordination is focused on departmental ways and means and is based upon internal agency doctrine and processes.

Contentious issues are resolved internally at senior levels. PCC planning is focused more on advance planning at the political and strategic level. PCCs do the “heavy lifting” in analyzing policy issues and developing policy options and recommendations that provide policy-makers with flexibility and a range of options that are politically acceptable and minimize the risk of failure. Interagency groups also must develop policy options that advance U.S. interests through coordinated actions often involving many departments and agencies. An effective interagency process reduces the complexity of the policy decisions and focuses the planning on mission success factors. This means that policy planning must integrate desired policy aims and synchronize the efforts of the different departments and agencies. Planning to advance U.S. interests is likely to involve multi-agency, and multilateral considerations.

Collaboration is central to a PCC’s success, but teamwork and unity is vulnerable to political risks, bureaucratic equities, and personal relationships. Because U.S. interests and foreign policy have tended to remain fairly stable from administration to administration, an informal policy consensus often exists across agencies when dealing with routine matters. But, policy disagreements and turf battles are inevitable because of divergent political philosophies, different departmental objectives and priorities, disagreements about the dynamics or implications of developing situations, or because departments are seeking to evolve or formulate new roles and missions. Also, hard problems do not lend themselves to easy solutions, and frequently there are genuine differences between departments over the best ways, means, and objectives for dealing with a national security problem. Moreover, because regional experts tend to dominate on overall policy approaches (even though they may lack expertise on many functional issues), different interpretations of events or credibility issues may arise within the PCC group. These issues must be openly addressed to enable the group to collaborate effectively, refine core policy issues, and achieve a consensus policy document. As one former NSC staff member observed, the easiest outcome to produce in the interagency process is to prevent policy from being made. The wide range of issues, the different policy perspectives of various departments, the nature of bureaucratic politics, contests over turf and responsibilities, disagreements over which department has the lead, and the clash of personalities and egos all place a premium on ensuring that the equities of all involved agencies are considered, and on building an informal policy consensus amongst the players.

The operational dynamics of individual PCCs, like most working group entities, vary according to the personalities (and, sometimes, personal agenda) of the individuals who are in charge of, or participate in, them. In general, however, most PCCs undertake a five-part process when working on a policy issue:

- Define the problem. This includes assessing what U.S. national interests and strategic objectives are involved, reviewing intelligence reports, and

- seeking to determine some understanding of the dynamics of the situation (including what is known, what is assumed, and what is unknown) and the interests and motivations of the actors involved. Is there a consensus on the issues at stake for the U.S. and the implications of acting or not acting? This part of the process also includes identifying additional information and intelligence needs and levying requirements to the intelligence and diplomatic communities.
- Clarify PCC processes and intra-group “rules of engagement.” Develop broad principles to guide the way the interagency group should think about a problem and craft a strategy for addressing it.
  - Articulate policy objectives, assess options, and develop an overall strategy for U.S. policy. Deliberations may include preventive strategies, or strategies for responses to possible developments as policies are implemented. Mission areas for the departments and agencies should be clarified and component strategies (including identifying capabilities and resource needs) developed that, eventually, are integrated into a single strategic approach. “Strawman” proposals are useful for clarifying departmental perspectives. Strategies usually are required for consulting with friends and allies, and developing multilateral consensus on strategic objectives and operational activities. Other considerations include monitoring the implementation of complex, multi-dimensional activities (which may include the activities of several departments), and anticipating transition dynamics as policies begin to produce expected and unanticipated effects.
  - Identify policy instruments and component strategies (including ways and means) to achieve the desired policy objectives. Operational planning must be clarified and coordinated among the agencies involved, and integrated missions must be identified and coordinated where appropriate. A process must be developed that steers around interagency and bureaucratic roadblocks. The standard operating procedures in departments and agencies may have difficulty working with coordinated interagency plans and gaps may develop in implementation. PCCs must seek ways to talk with operational-level staff to determine potential problems and solicit suggestions for effective implementation.
  - Draft an integrated policy document. Ideally, this document should confirm the strategic approach, objectives, scope of effort and timelines, requirements and preparatory actions, chains of command, communication, and responsibilities (independent and shared) and accountability for the departments. It also should identify assets, resource, and logistical requirements. Mechanisms should be established for integration at all levels as policies are implemented. Key judgments about the situation, the important policy issues, and recommendations

should be identified for the Deputies and Principals Committees. The Deputies and Principals need enough detail (but not too much) to be able to understand the dynamics of the situation, the major issues at stake, and implications for our national security. Depending upon the preferences of the incumbent administration, the PCC may be tasked to recommend a single policy option or multiple options, and provide majority and dissenting positions.

Although regional or functional PCCs deal with issues unique to their area of responsibility, there are a number of issues that most, if not all, PCCs find useful to consider. These include assessments of:

- Whether there is a compelling necessity for action. Are there threats to vital (or critical or important) U.S. interests? Is there an imperative for the U.S. to act? Are there viable alternatives to U.S. action?
- Desired U.S. objectives and the level of commitment to those objectives (by the departments and agencies, Congress, and U.S. public). Are the objectives clear and directly linked to U.S. interests?
- The level of U.S. resolve in its policy commitments as perceived by the countries the policies are targeted toward, other states in the region; allied, friendly, neutral and hostile states. The PCCs also should consider how the U.S. Congress and the U.S. public are likely to perceive the administration's resolve on proposed policies.
- The capabilities and willingness of allies, friends, and neutrals to support U.S. policy objectives and initiatives. Is there a consensus by key states or actors on the issue? What are their national interests? To what extent will they benefit or experience costs for supporting U.S. policy? What resources (political or otherwise) will they be willing to commit in support of the policy objectives; are they willing to act in a combined or coordinated manner?
- The likely reaction of regional states, allies, friends, neutrals, or hostile states that might oppose U.S. objectives. What are their calculations of costs and risks versus benefits to opposing the U.S.?
- The likely reaction of the United Nations or other international organizations to U.S. objectives. What are their calculations of costs versus benefits to supporting or opposing the U.S.?
- Costs and risks in implementing the policy versus costs and risks of inaction.
- Supporting or opposing legal authorities (e.g., international law, U.N. resolutions).
- The effects of stalled policy initiatives, and the administration's willingness to escalate (e.g., incentives, influence, coercion, etc.) to achieve policy objectives.
- Receptivity to considerations of alternative policies, and strategies for achieving the policy objectives in the face of stalled initiatives.

- The inherent limitations in trying to influence the course of events in achieving policy objectives.
- The effects of policy actions over time, including unintended consequences.
- Expected costs and benefits for those departments and agencies involved.

Some policy issues are even more complex and involve multidimensional assessments of allies and friends, neutrals, international organizations, and affected populations. For example, policy planning for peace operations, stabilization and reconstruction, or humanitarian missions would include consideration of issues related to:

- Diplomatic collaboration to solicit participants and build coalitions for delivering humanitarian assistance and deploying military forces (if required).
- The role of regional groups and organizations
- The role of the United Nations or other international organizations
- Cease-fire / disengagement / stabilization in the crisis area
- Prisoner exchange between warring parties
- Weapons control / demobilization
- De-mining
- Humanitarian relief
- Refugee / displaced person return
- Internal political cooperation
- Counter-insurgency and counter-terrorism
- Anti-official corruption / illicit criminal operations
- Strengthening local or regional institutions or organizations
- Management of factions / actors in the crisis area with political objectives incompatible with, or in direct opposition to U.S. objectives and who will seek to thwart U.S. actions
- Political transition / elections / democratization
- Rule of law / police / criminal justice
- Atrocities / abuses / war crimes prosecution
- Civil and social order
- National reconciliation
- Economic reform and restoration / private investment
- Public diplomacy
- Flash point management

Likewise, a PCC dealing with trade issues would involve considerations related to domestic and foreign economic and political issues, international laws and organizations, and different concerns for the departments and agencies involved.

Managing the process by which a PCC conducts business is complicated given the range and complexity of issues addressed. Lessons learned in the PCC process for promoting collaboration and high performance include maintaining a focus on a “high conceptual level.” This includes having participants support the following objectives:

Share an understanding of principles, goals, and priorities

- Bureaucratic interests must be represented, but remember that the final objective is good policy.
- Fully understand the policy context and preferences of their department principals, as well as those represented by others around the table.
- Expand individual frames of reference to gain an understanding of diplomatic, political, military, economic, humanitarian, development, and legal perspectives on the policy problem at hand.
- Seek a broad situation assessment, utilizing a wide range of intelligence, diplomatic, allies and friends, and NGO sources.
- Search for ambiguous assumptions and information gaps.
- Focus on a realistic time horizon.
- Clarify the tough value trade-offs in the policy decisions.
- Match commitments with political will.

Support a prudent consensus approach

- Agree on an effective process plan.
- Strengthen interagency team identity.
- Control internal politics among team members.
- Foster competitive--and constructive--debate.
- Prepare well thought out issue or policy positions backed up by data, examples, or persuasive points of argument.
- Forge a consensus approach for action. Internally, bring together opposing views and develop a consolidated position without diluting or ignoring important issues. Externally, build support with those sharing similar perspectives, and bring in supporting material from outside actors not directly involved in meetings but who can affect final acceptance of policy decisions (e.g., congressmen, staffers, trade interests, NGOs, etc.). This consideration should be weighed against the desires of higher level policy groups who prefer to have multiple analyses and options to contemplate in order to determine their own policy recommendations. Awareness of the preferences and operating styles of senior policy groups is crucial for working effectively at the PCC level.
- Keep your boss informed of developments, don't let him or her be blindsided in a higher level policy forum.

### Maintain vigilance over intra-group management

- Be well prepared on substantive issues, legal constraints, and the bureaucratic/policy preferences of your principal and the other agencies represented.
- Adjust and self-correct for changing conditions or ineffective group practices.
- Manage time, including competing commitments and responsibilities in order to advance the analytical and decision process and produce required policy products on time.
- Seek to be constructive and be willing to compromise and make trade offs.
- Participants in such meetings are not immune to considerations of their professional reputations and careers. Professionalism and the constructive handling of disagreements are important to successful operations.
- Keep pace--stay ahead of the crisis environment.
- Anticipate media/press issues and congressional concerns.

Meetings in response to crisis conditions are likely to experience additional complications. Crises are characterized by fast moving events, pressure to act quickly to minimize damage or prevent crisis escalation, partial and sometimes confusing or conflicting information or intelligence, and the complexities of multi-tasking and coordinating the activities of a wide range of actors and interested parties. Moreover, in crisis situations similar to the post-September 11 period in the George W. Bush first term, PCCs may find that most policy decisions are handled at the PC and DC level. The PCC groups may find that they are dealing with regularly changing higher level policy directives, uncertainty about policy deliberations and decisions, and limited representative authority from their department to make decisions because the rapid pace of developments keeps most serious decision issues at the PC or DC level.

For the individual, the keys to being an effective member of a crisis management team are: (1) flexibility in thinking, (2) maintaining involvement, (3) maintaining alertness, (4) maintaining a strategic focus, (5) excellent writing skills, and (6) being unbiased .

- Flexibility in thinking. The preparation process for this annual report involves interviewing a range of experienced, senior USG officials who have served on or supported principals in high level policy groups. The one attribute most frequently mentioned by these senior officials over the years as needed for working effectively in interagency groups is flexibility in thinking. Participants must be able to understand the concerns and perspectives of other participants, quickly recognize new problems, and be creative in developing new approaches for dealing with problems. Reaching a consensus decision does not mean settling for the lowest common denominator, but instead balancing competing concerns to achieve the best policy recommendations for U.S.



interests. Participants also must be able to understand the viewpoints of other participants and agencies, and capable of “re-framing” their perspectives on analyses and issues as events, actors, and interagency needs change. A firmly fixed view of the world and USG priorities becomes an obstacle to finding creative and effective solutions to complex, multi-dimensional problems.

- Maintaining involvement. Effective participation in working groups includes being an active team member, making insightful (but not redundant) contributions at meetings, knowing your department’s positions and equities, keeping senior officials in your department informed, staying abreast of the latest developments (e.g., reading the intelligence reports and embassy cables), doing a share of the drafting of papers, and being reliable (i.e., producing what you say you are going to do). This skill also includes being able to contribute to effective meeting dynamics in often unstructured situations, including supporting processes that move the analytical and policy issue paper writing process along expeditiously, and contribute to producing a high quality written document in a timely fashion.
- Maintaining alertness. Although self-evident at a superficial level, the day to day demands of working at the NSC or on interagency groups can be grueling, often 12-14 hours a day, seven days a week. NSC Directors frequently work on 3-5 PCCs simultaneously, sometimes working multiple taskings from each group in addition to their normal NSC staff responsibilities. Moreover, NSC Senior Directors also have responsibility for the 3-6 Directors who work under his or her supervision. Working in support of the president requires having physical and mental stamina. Crises that last weeks and months are even more physically and mentally demanding. They require perseverance and a willingness to spend long hours attending meetings and doing follow up work (as in the case, for example, of the Counter-Terrorism Security Group PCC which meets twice daily).
- Maintaining a strategic focus. Although individual working group members normally represent individual agencies, they must be able to concentrate on strategic interests and broad objectives, and not get bogged down in tactical or trivial issues that are the responsibilities of the policy implementing departments. They must keep in mind that they are writing recommendations for presidential action that must serve the interests of all agencies as well as the nation. Participants must be able to succinctly identify the critical central issues in frequently volatile, uncertain, complex and ambiguous situations.
- Excellent writing skills. The typical policy issue paper written for the National Security Advisor or the President is only a couple of pages. PCC level issue papers on complex topics are only a few pages long. Working group members must be able to write short, well-organized documents which clearly and succinctly describe the policy issue being considered, why the issue is important enough to warrant presidential

attention, and what options the President has for dealing with the situation. Participants must be able to think and write at the presidential level and present concise, clear analysis and arguments. A clearly written, well organized issue paper allows for more effective use of a senior policy-maker's time.

- Being unbiased means coming to working groups without personal agendas or pre-determined, inflexible positions. Effective participation on working groups requires the ability to be objective about different perspectives and aspects of issues, and being able to develop balanced analyses and recommendations that take into account the many concerns and equities of the interagency. Written recommendations for the President must clearly present facts and data, what is known, unknown or assumed, without partiality. Participants also must be able to step back from the crisis periodically to see if interests, dynamics, or its strategic context have changed. Effective PCCs must be able to periodically question assumptions established earlier in the crisis management cycle.

## **KEY DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES IN THE NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY PROCESS**

### **Department of State**

Under the constitution, the executive branch and the Congress have constitutional responsibilities for U.S. foreign policy. President George Washington's first cabinet included Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson. The Secretary of State is fourth in line of succession to the presidency.

Within the executive branch, the Department of State is the lead foreign affairs agency and the Secretary of State is the President's principal foreign policy advisor. The Department also supports the foreign affairs activities of other U.S. Government entities, including the Department of Commerce and the Agency for International Development.

In addition, as the lead foreign affairs agency, the Department of State has the primary role in:

- Leading interagency coordination in developing and implementing foreign policy;
- Managing the foreign affairs budget and other foreign affairs resources;
- Leading and coordinating U.S. representation abroad, and conveying U.S. foreign policy to foreign governments and international organizations through U.S. embassies and consulates in foreign countries and diplomatic missions to international organizations;

- Conducting negotiations and concluding agreements and treaties on issues ranging from trade to nuclear weapons; and
- Coordinating and supporting international activities of other U.S. agencies and officials.

The Department of State, like many other cabinet departments, is a centralized organization, with the Secretary of State at the helm. Beneath the Secretary in the senior hierarchy are other principals --the Deputy Secretary, Under Secretaries, and Counselor of the Department. In rank order, assistant secretaries for regional bureaus follow. (See Appendix D for a State Department organizational chart)

Although the Department of State is the lead government foreign affairs agency, it does not dictate foreign policy for the US government. Because so many executive branch departments have international programs, there is an inherent difference in perspective at interagency meetings. Secretary Colin Powell, in his testimony before Congress (April 23, 2003), addressed the phenomenon in this way: “With respect to what’s going on within the administration, it’s not the first time I have seen discussions within the administration between one department or another. I have seen four straight administrations at a senior level; and thus it has been, and thus it has always been, and thus it should be. There should be tension within the national security team, and from that tension, arguments are surfaced for the President. And the one who decides, the one who makes the foreign policy decisions for the United States of America, is not the Secretary of State, or the Secretary of Defense or the National Security Advisor. It’s the President.”

In conducting international affairs, the Secretary attends cabinet meetings, NSC meetings chaired by the National Security Advisor, and PCs. When the Secretary is traveling abroad, a deputy may be designated to attend as State’s senior representative. For example, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice has designated Deputy Secretary Negroponte to attend PCs in her absence. Similarly, Deputy Secretary Negroponte has asked Undersecretaries of Assistant Secretaries to attend DCs. Undersecretary for Political Affairs, Nicholas Burns is a prime example of an undersecretary who has attended PCs and DCs, in part because of the expertise he brings to bear. Regarding PCCs, assistant secretaries or their deputies usually attend. Delegating others to attend interagency meetings has been a fairly common practice in all administrations.

Frequently, special senior interagency committees are established. During the Clinton administration, an interagency “Coordinating Sub Group” on terrorism, whose members included State’s Ambassador for Counter-Terrorism Affairs and similarly ranked officials from DoD, FBI and CIA, met under the chairmanship of a senior NSC official. This practice persists in the current Bush administration. For example, there is an “Executive Steering Group”, chaired by a senior NSC advisor, which deals with a wide variety of issues (including Iraq)

and a Counter-Terrorism Security Group that reports directly to the Deputies Committee.

After the August 1998 bombings at the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, Secretary of State Albright appointed Accountability Review Boards (ARBs) for both events.<sup>31</sup> These boards were chaired by retired Admiral William Crowe, a former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and later US Ambassador to Great Britain. This was done in accordance with US laws that mandate convening such boards anytime there is a security-related incident causing serious injury, loss of life, or significant damage of property at or related to a US mission abroad. In brief, ARBs investigate and to make recommendations. Retired and active duty representatives from State, the FBI, CIA, and the private sector served on the two boards.

Among the recommendations from the ARBs chaired by Crowe was an appropriation of \$1.4 billion a year for at least ten years for embassy construction and repair. Madeleine Albright writes in her autobiography: "By the time I left office, we had gained agreement for appropriations close to the level recommended by Admiral Crowe, an agreement that was critical because we had learned that the dangers to our personnel were no longer localized but global. There was no such thing as a low-risk post. If we had soft spots, we could expect our enemies to exploit them."

Below this level, there are numerous other interagency groups. They may meet recurrently or just once. After Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait and Operation Desert Storm, there were a series of interagency sessions on a wide range of U.S. policy issues in the Gulf. Similarly, during the Clinton administration, the State Department called a one-time interagency meeting on Lebanon when the issue of the passport restriction on American citizens was under review. Officers at the GS-15 or equivalent rank were asked to attend from a wide array of agencies--DoD, FAA, CIA and the like. Likewise, a variety of interagency meetings were held before, during and after Operation Iraqi Freedom. The purpose of such meetings may not be to decide the issue, but to exchange views and lay groundwork for issues expected to be considered by PCCs, DCs, and PCs. Staff work for such meetings may be narrowly focused, and handled even by a single office in a bureau.

One State Department office created explicitly for the purpose of promoting interagency collaboration on policy development and execution is the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization (S/CRS). Established on August 5, 2004, the mission of S/CRS is "to lead, coordinate and institutionalize U.S. Government civilian capacity to prevent or prepare for post-conflict situations, and to help stabilize and reconstruct societies in transition from conflict or civil strife, so they can reach a sustainable path toward peace, democracy and a market economy."<sup>32</sup> The State Department's authority for this mission is derived from National Security Presidential Directive-44 (NSPD-44)

concerning the “Management of Interagency Efforts Concerning Reconstruction and Stabilization” which directs the Secretary of State to “coordinate and lead integrated United States Government efforts, involving all U.S. Departments and Agencies with relevant capabilities, to prepare, plan for, and conduct stabilization and reconstruction activities.”<sup>33</sup> Working under the authority of NSPD-44, S/CRS has established a number of sub-PCC working groups to plan, prepare, and conduct stabilization and reconstruction missions. The office works with USAID, the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the Joint Staff, Justice, Treasury, the Department of Labor, Office of Management and Budget and other government agencies to devise interagency organizational structures, identify resource requirements and prepare interagency mobilization plans, coordinate political-military planning for stabilization and reconstruction operations, conduct decision support exercises and prepare implementation strategies.

The staff work done for the Secretary of State and his or her principals for interagency meetings is a complex and highly organized undertaking. The Office of the Executive Secretary (S/ES) is key. S/ES is located on State’s “seventh floor” and is comprised of some 175 plus employees. It is responsible for coordinating State Department’s internal operations, liaising between the bureaus and principals, running the State Department’s 24/7 operations center, organizing and staffing the Secretary’s foreign travel, and liaising between the NSC and other executive branch departments. More specifically, S/ES is responsible for tasking papers within State Department for interagency meetings involving the principals. S/ES sets the due dates for these papers in line with the time of the meetings.

An Executive Secretary and four Deputy Executive Secretaries lead S/ES. The Executive Secretary traditionally is a very senior, career Foreign Service officer.

The relationship between State’s Executive Secretary and Executive Secretaries in the National Security Council and the Department of Defense is very important. It is often through their communications, both verbally and in writing that notification of high-level meetings is made. State Executive Secretaries also may receive debriefs from their counterparts on decisions from more informal meetings or discussions among the Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, and National Security Advisor.

One aspect of the State Department which sets it apart vis-a-vis the interagency process is its own special composition. In his memoirs, James Baker, former Secretary of State under Bush 41, wrote that, “Without a doubt, the State Department has the most unique bureaucratic culture I’ve ever encountered. In most of the federal government, the work is guided by a small number of political appointees who work together with civil service –the career bureaucracy that is designated to be above politics and provide institutional memory and substantive expertise. But at State there is also the Foreign

Service, the elite corps of foreign affairs officers who staff the Department's country and functional desks in Washington and our embassies abroad."<sup>34</sup>

At interagency meetings, the State Department representatives, whether in support of a principal or on their own, bring to the table a wealth of on the ground, in-depth experiences in dealing with foreign governments and cultures from around the globe, which helps frame their recommendations and conclusions. In addition, by virtue of State's position as the lead government agency in foreign affairs, the State Department has an unusual breadth of information to tap—from all agencies. In his memoirs, Secretary Shultz wrote that, "As secretary, I could see that I had at hand an extraordinary information machine: it could produce a flow of reports on what was happening in real time, background on what had been done before and how that had worked, analyses of alternative courses of action, and ideas on what might be done. The Department is a great engine of diplomacy for the secretary to use in carrying out the president's foreign policy."<sup>35</sup>

## **Department of Defense**

To understand and have an appreciation of the Department of Defense's role in the interagency process, it is instructive to look briefly at DoD's history and how it evolved into the organization it is today.

First, one should remember that the department did not exist, nor did the Joint Chiefs of Staff receive statutory authority, until the late 1940s. Up until and through the Second World War, there were two military departments--War and Navy. Both the Secretary of War and Secretary of the Navy reported directly to the President. Conflicting judgments often arose between the Army and Navy over critical issues, including allocation of resources, strategic priorities, and command arrangements. Disagreements sometimes affected how military operations were conducted. To coordinate efforts during WW II, some 75 inter-service agencies and inter-departmental committees were formed. These ad hoc arrangements worked, but only because of the nation's vast resources were we able to compensate for mistakes, inefficiencies, and internal divisions.

The National Security Act of 1947 created a National Military Establishment (NME) headed by a Secretary of Defense. The three secretaries of the military departments (including the Secretary of the newly formed Air Force) retained their powers, subject only to the authority of the Secretary of Defense to exercise "general direction, authority, and control." The newly formed National Security Council, chaired by the President, included the Secretaries of State, Defense, Army, Navy, and Air Force, and the Chairman of the National Security Resources Board. During this nascent phase of the NSC, the military's perspectives were well represented by occupying four of the seven NSC seats.

The NME was replaced by the Department of Defense under provisions of the 1949 Amendment to the National Security Act. The 1949 Amendment also increased the powers of the Secretary of Defense, diminished those of the military departments, and provided for a Chairman with no direct military command function to preside over the Joint Chiefs of Staff (and the Service Chiefs as a corporate body). Moreover, with this amendment, the secretaries of the military departments lost their membership on the NSC.

There were two legislative acts during the Eisenhower administration (1953 and 1958) that consolidated more authority in the hands of the Secretary of Defense. Given President Eisenhower's military background, it should be no surprise that he was a firm believer in centralized control and a clearly defined chain of command. A fairly strong Secretary of Defense, together with a weakly structured Joint Chiefs of Staff that functioned as a committee, prevailed through the 1960s (mainly the McNamara years) and the 1970s. It was not until the Goldwater-Nichols Act of 1986 that the military gained a greater voice in interagency affairs. The Act provided, among other things, for a stronger and more active Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff who would be the principal advisor to the President, the NSC, and Secretary of Defense (as compared to a Chairman who previously represented the views of the four Chiefs of the Services). Goldwater-Nichols also significantly increased the powers of the combatant commanders and clarified the chain of command from the President to the Secretary of Defense to the unified commanders. This ascension of the commanders, in effect, further weakened the influence of the individual service secretaries and chiefs.

Today, the Department of Defense is a centralized organization with power clearly resting in the hands of the Secretary of Defense and, secondarily, in the hands of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The Secretary of Defense, together with the Command-in-Chief, epitomizes the principle of "civilian control of the military." Ultimate authority within the Department of Defense rests with the Secretary. The three Service Secretaries report directly to him, as do the senior civilian officials in the Office of the Secretary of Defense. The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (CJCS), who is the senior ranking member of the U.S. armed forces but by law does not exercise military command, also reports to the Secretary of Defense. While the unified combatant commanders, by statute, report to the Secretary of Defense, by practice they clear (or at least discuss) all positions with the CJCS prior to communicating with the Secretary. The JCS refers to the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Service Chiefs, while the Joint Staff refers to the staff who work directly for the Chairman (CJCS), not for the JCS. (See Appendix E for a Defense Department organizational chart)

The Secretary of Defense and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff are the primary Defense players in the interagency arena. They represent the

Department at NSC meetings chaired by the President, and at Principal Committee meetings chaired by the National Security Advisor. Their deputies, the Deputy Secretary of Defense and Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, attend the Deputies Committee meetings (throughout the first Bush and the Clinton administrations, however, the Secretary of Defense was represented at the DC meetings by the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy).

At the staff level, virtually all the work in DoD for interagency deliberations is done in the Policy organization for OSD and in the J-5 directorate (Strategy, Plans and Policy) for the Joint Staff. Attendees at the Policy Coordination Committee meetings and lower lever interagency groups are Assistant Secretaries, Deputy Assistant Secretaries, and GS-15s from Policy and one- or two-star flag officers and action officers (O-5s and O-6s) from J-5. With regard to homeland security issues, the Assistant Secretary for Homeland Security is the single point of contact for the many directorates and agencies within the Department of Homeland Security, and also represents Northern Command in the interagency. It is uncommon for representatives from the unified commands or the individual services to attend interagency meetings. The possible exception might be if a combatant commander is specifically invited by the President (or National Security Advisor) to attend a meeting. People from the Joint Staff are quite protective of the fact that they work to fulfill the statutory responsibilities of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff as the principal military advisor to the President, the Secretary of Defense, and the NSC. (The Joint staff worked for the JCS as a body until Goldwater-Nichols. Now they work directly for the Chairman. The lack of command function for the CJCS and Joint Staff was directed by Congress to prevent the development of a centralized "general staff" which might develop too much power. Specifically, they wished to avoid the possibility of replicating the control of strategy held by the German General Staff during the two World Wars.)

Historically, some Presidents have preferred to hear a coordinated DoD position while others wished to hear counter-arguments and multiple options. Especially since Goldwater-Nichols, the military's views should be submitted separately from OSD's. Moreover, President Bush, in general, prefers to hear all views, including disagreements between the Secretary of Defense and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff when circumstances allow. However, crisis conditions may affect the President's willingness to pursue extensive debates on competing options. For example, after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, the Secretary of Defense and Deputy Secretary of Defense expressed opinions at a strategy session of senior Presidential advisors. At the conclusion of the meeting, the President's Chief of Staff pulled the two participants aside and admonished, "The President will expect one person to speak for the Department of Defense."<sup>36</sup> Some DoD officials believe strongly that if the OSD civilians and the military have a coordinated position and speak as one voice, the Department's views carry more weight and DoD officials can be more effective in the interagency process.



Another example of differing voices occurred during the initial deliberations in August 1990 after Iraq invaded Kuwait. After a meeting with the President, then Secretary of Defense Cheney chastised General Powell, then the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, for offering an opinion that the Secretary perceived as political advice. "Colin," he said, "you're the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs. You're not Secretary of State. You're not the National Security Advisor anymore. And you're not Secretary of Defense. So stick to military matters."<sup>37</sup>

This is not to say, however, that military officers should not speak at interagency meetings. They should speak. They are obligated to give their best military advice on the issue at hand. Often, military officers are criticized for not speaking out more forcefully. Their reluctance to speak might be because they do not want to be viewed (especially at the lower officer levels) as presenting the views of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Another reason for their reluctance may be more personality driven, i.e., a certain amount of intimidation by the senior civilians around the table. Nevertheless, some senior flag officers believe strongly that military officers also should comment on non-military matters. They argue that military officers bring a strategic perspective to interagency groups that can help clarify (or question) assumptions, identify conflicting interests, or raise questions about unintended second or third order effects of proposed policies. One former DC participant with extensive government experience recommended that military officers educate themselves more broadly on national security issues (including resource and economic issues, homeland defense and security, intra-state conflict, refugees and migration, etc.) to be able to better understand how military roles and missions may affect, or are affected by, such traditionally non-military policy issues that increasingly involve or constrain military planning.

Even so, it is important that the proper military advice be given (with officers clearly delineating whether they are representing the "position of the Chairman" or based upon their own expertise). Most of the civilians at interagency meetings have little or no experience with military operations. They generally do not have an appreciation for what happens "behind the scenes" of any successful military operation. Without getting into the weeds, military officers need to explain what could be accomplished with the use of military forces, and what are the limitations. At the same time, the military should expect at the conclusion of these deliberations to have a clear set objectives and parameters within which to operate. It is critical that DoD, and especially the uniformed military, be fully engaged in debates taking place in the White House by civilians when use of the military instrument of national policy is being considered.

Traditionally, the Department of Defense performs a secondary (or support) role to State's lead in foreign policy, but plays an active role at interagency meetings in determining the parameters, or tools, of our foreign policy. From DoD's perspective, its two primary concerns are possible uses of

military forces and expenditure of Defense resources. During the current war on terrorism with military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq (and supporting anti-terrorist military actions by other countries), however, DoD plays a more equal role in foreign policy discussions because of coalition military considerations, and political-military and security problems in the two countries. Historically, though, DoD frequently has resisted the involvement of U.S. troops because situations were assessed to not constitute a proper military mission or there are other alternatives available (i.e., other countries' military forces, UN, NGOs). The Department's position in such meetings often is to withhold use of U.S. forces unless they, and only they, possess the capability to perform a function that protects or promotes U.S. security interests.

Ultimately the decision to use military forces may be based upon political interests and not DoD's judgments about the "best" use of combatant forces. For example, in the days leading up to the decision to deploy U.S. forces into Somalia in 1992 to assist humanitarian operations responding to widespread famine, the combatant commander of the U.S. Central Command argued about the deleterious impact on military readiness for dealing with potential threats to higher level U.S. interests in the Persian Gulf and broader Middle East region. Nevertheless, the political decision that the acute humanitarian and U.S. international leadership interests at the time required U.S. intervention and overrode DoD's concerns about the impact on traditional mission capabilities.

The second frequent Department of Defense concern is the expenditure of resources. Policymakers rarely consider the cost of operations directed by the NSC. This usually is due to the urgency of taking action or a tendency to ignore (or avoid) the fact that ultimately someone has to pay the bill. There also is a common belief that "DoD possesses all the resources." While it is true that Defense's budget is many times larger than the Department of State's, for example, there are laws and regulations on precisely how and for what purposes DoD's money may be spent. So, just as use of military forces is not necessarily the best, or only, solution, careful attention needs to be paid to the cost of such actions taken through the interagency process, and to who will pay those costs.

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 have broadened the scope of DoD's contacts, roles and missions in the interagency arena. In response to the terrorist attacks, DoD approved the concept of Joint and Interagency Coordination Groups (JIACG) to improve interagency cooperation and improve operational effectiveness for all Regional Combatant Commands, JFCOM, TRANSCOM, and STRATCOM. JIACGs are tailored to meet the requirements and challenges of each Combatant Commander's AOR, and may include representatives from a wide range of USG agencies, the intelligence community, and even non-governmental organizations such as the American Red Cross.

According to Joint Forces Command which is piloting the program, the JIACG concept seeks to establish operational connections between civilian and

military departments and agencies that will improve planning and coordination within the government.<sup>38</sup> The JIACG is intended to be a multi-functional, advisory element that represents the civilian departments and agencies and facilitates information sharing across the interagency community. It provides regular, timely, and collaborative day-to-day working relationships between civilian and military operational planners. JIACGs coordinate where DoD assets need to be on a day to day basis, and with regard to contingency planning. JIACGs support Joint Planning Groups, Joint Operations Groups, Interagency Coordination Groups, and Joint Support Cells.

JIACG functions include:

- Participate in combatant command staff crisis planning and assessment.
- Advise the combatant command staff on civilian agency campaign planning.
- Work civilian-military campaign planning issues.
- Provide civilian agency perspectives during military operational planning activities and exercises.
- Present unique civilian agency approaches, capabilities & limitations to the military campaign planners.
- Provide vital links to Washington civilian agency campaign planners.
- Arrange interfaces for a number of useful agency crisis planning activities.
- Conduct outreach to key civilian international and regional contacts.

In day-to-day planning at the combatant commander headquarters, the JIACG group supports the standing joint force headquarters core element (SJFHQ) planners by advising on civilian agency operations and plans, and providing perspective on civilian agency approaches, capabilities and limitations to develop a coordinated use of national power. For example, EUCOM identifies the mission of its EUCOM Plans and Operations Center Joint Interagency Coordination Group (EPOC-JIACG) to be: “Synchronizes, coordinates, and integrates USEUCOM, DoD and non-DoD U.S. governmental agency joint, joint interagency, combined, and joint/combined interagency counterterrorist operations within the USEUCOM Area of Operations and, in concert with other unified combatant commands, within the USEUCOM Area of Interest. Resources permitting, EPOC-JIACG (CT) expands beyond CT to support the full spectrum of conflict.”<sup>39</sup>

When a joint task force forms and deploys, the JIACG extends this support to the commander's staff through the JFHQ political-military planning staff. This becomes the mechanism to plan the best mix of capabilities to achieve the desired effects that include the full range of diplomatic, information, and economic interagency activities.

In the aftermath of September 11, DoD also established the Northern Command (See Appendix F for a NORTHCOM organizational chart) to conduct operations to deter, prevent and defeat threats and aggression aimed at the United States, its territories, and interests within its assigned area of

responsibility; the US and its territories (excluding Hawaii), Canada, Mexico and portions of the Caribbean Sea and Gulf of Mexico. NORTHCOM has both a homeland defense mission, and a military support to civilian authorities civil support mission including consequence management operations as directed by the President or Secretary of Defense. In concert with the Assistant Secretary for Homeland Defense, interagency activities range from incident response, to operational planning, to joint exercises between the Department of Homeland Security and Northern Command on topics such as multiple hazard biological or chemical incidents; threats to infrastructure, aviation, or shipping facilities; airport, port, and border security; and support to civil authorities.

Northern Command works closely with the Department of Homeland Security on issues such as the coordinating and de-conflicting responsibilities for maritime awareness and interdiction, military support to civil authorities (including how to fulfill incident response requirements that local authorities can't meet such as provision of mobile chemical-biological laboratories—and who pays for the costs), coordination with other National Guard and Reserve activities in support of civil authorities, and questions about limitations under *Posse Comitatus* provisions.<sup>40</sup> The homeland defense\ homeland security requirements for NORTHCOM means that it often is involved in very non-traditional operations for a regional unified command. Recent examples of NORTHCOM activities include conducting routine Combat Air Patrols over various US cities, support for recovery operations of the Space Shuttle Columbia disaster, surveillance operations during the Washington, D.C. sniper attacks of 2002, wildfire control during 2003-2005, hurricane relief to Florida in August-September 2004.

According to senior NORTHCOM commanders, some of the biggest challenges facing the command include:

- Planning for active duty, reserve, and National Guard requirement contingencies for homeland defense or support to civil authorities.
- Planning for prevention, response, and consequent management for the possibility of multiple, simultaneous geographically dispersed terrorist incidents in CONUS.
- Managing planning requirements to draw operational forces from other commands since NORTHCOM lacks a commensurate indigenous force structure. In the event of incidents that might require the use of military forces in CONUS, NORTHCOM is responsible for specifying to DoD what capabilities are needed. If approved by DoD, the Joint Staff directs Joint Forces Command to identify and assign those forces needed for civil support.
- Educating other regional combatant commands to be cognizant that their assets also may be called upon for CONUS incident response operations (e.g., in the event of multiple, simultaneous WMD attacks).
  - In addition to theater operational considerations, regional combatant commands also should consider potential future support to homeland defense or security operations.

- Regional combatant commands that conduct theater planning for units with unique capabilities (e.g., chem.-bio recon\ response units) also should plan for possible deployments to CONUS for homeland defense requirements.
- Regional combatant commands must be prepared to plan for the implications of major terrorist attacks in CONUS that could disrupt the ability of DoD to mobilize and project U.S. forces and logistics support overseas. This is true even though one of NORTHCOM's requirements is to prepare contingency plans for continuing to support regional combatant commands even if terrorist incidents occur in CONUS.
- Educating regional combatant commands to recognize that terrorist threats to CONUS are global in nature and cut across regional AORs.
  - Regional combatant commands must be cognizant that theater policies, decisions and actions affect security in CONUS
  - Regional combatant commands must recognize that AOR "seams" constitute potential vulnerabilities to homeland defense and security.
- Educating regional combatant commands, OSD, and the Joint Staff that homeland defense planning must be fully integrated into planning for more traditional security issues such as WMD, force projection, regional security concerns, etc.
- Planning for integrating and synchronizing the activities of DoD, DHS, state and local entities, and NGOs to ensure mutual understanding and unity of effort. NORTHCOM foresees that interagency mechanisms for CONUS incidents will be driven by the type of problem encountered rather than by an pre-set bureaucratic structures.
- Provide early situational awareness, conduct effective operations when required, and facilitate planning for future operations.

## **The Intelligence Community**

The primary role of the intelligence community in the process of national security decision-making is to provide information that will help policy-makers understand the elements and dynamics of the various situations they are dealing with. Information provided by the Director of National Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency, Defense Intelligence Agency, National Security Agency, National Geospatial Intelligence Agency, National Reconnaissance Office, and other intelligence community components provides analysis about what is happening on the ground, what is the nature of the geographic area of concern, who are the actors, what are their dispositions, and what are their likely intentions. The latter is the most difficult analysis for the intelligence community to produce and often is the most contentious. (See Appendix G for an Intelligence Community organizational chart)

The Office of the Director of National Intelligence (ODNI) was established in December 2004 through the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004. The Director of National Intelligence (DNI), who must be confirmed by the U.S. Senate, does not serve as the head of any of the sixteen agencies within the U.S. intelligence community, but establishes objectives and priorities for the intelligence community and manages and directs tasking of collection, analysis, production, and dissemination of national intelligence.<sup>41</sup> The DNI approves requirements for collection and analysis, including requirements responding to the needs of policymakers and other intelligence consumers. The DNI also has responsibility for developing and executing the overall budget for the National Intelligence Program (NIP) and provides advisory tasking to intelligence elements outside of the NIP. The DNI has the authority to establish national intelligence centers as necessary and is responsible for the management of the Intelligence Community and the National Intelligence Council (NIC) which is accountable for midterm and long-term strategic analysis and the production of National Intelligence Estimates. The DNI also is responsible for ensuring accurate all-source intelligence, competitive analysis and that alternative views are brought to the attention of policymakers.

Since the establishment of the ODNI in 2004 and the appointment of its first director in April 2005, DNI representatives have assumed the role of primary intelligence support to the President and the NSC interagency system. For example, the DNI is now the statutory intelligence advisor to the National Security Council, replacing the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (DCIA). The DNI serves on the Principals Committee (PC), and likewise, the DNI Principal Deputy Director serves on the Deputies Committee (DC). However, the DCIA and DDCIA attend NSC, PC and DC meetings (respectively) when appropriate for CIA related intelligence matters. All policy statements related to the intelligence community are vetted through the ODNI.

Established to oversee and direct the implementation of the National Intelligence Program, the ODNI serves as an interface between the Intelligence Community and policymakers. Most intelligence taskers are routed through the ODNI to ensure proper coordination, although finished intelligence products often move directly from each agency to NSC members and other policymakers. Many other responsibilities and functions of intelligence community components (such as the CIA) have not changed with the establishment of the ODNI. Of note, though, the ODNI now produces the President's Daily Brief, with input from across the Community. Whenever covert operations issues are being considered, the DCIA or DDCIA are involved because the CIA retains its responsibility as the executive agency responsible for covert operations (i.e., secretly executed actions which implement policy directives of the President).

Including representatives from the various agencies in the intelligence community in PCCs or other policy planning groups is critical because reviewing

existing intelligence information and determining requirements for additional intelligence collection and analysis should be one of the first steps in considering national security issues. Analysis from the intelligence community will help decision-makers better understand the actual conditions (political, social, economic, military, transportation, communications, public health, etc.) in other countries, the capabilities of groups or countries in the area, the motivations and likely intentions of leaders, the interests and capabilities of other stakeholders, and what the potential threats are to U.S. interests and personnel both abroad and within the United States. The intelligence community also can provide assessments of the likely effects (near and long term) of proposed courses of action on specific individuals, groups, or national and regional populations. However, remember that you will never get all the information you want or feel that you need. The intelligence community is highly capable, but not omniscient.

An example of intelligence support to the interagency is the National Counterterrorism Center. The NCTC is responsible for integrating and analyzing all intelligence pertaining to terrorism and counterterrorism (CT) and conducting strategic operational planning by integrating all appropriate instruments of national power. The purpose of the coordinating role of the NCTC is to ensure that all elements of the Executive Branch—beyond simply elements of the Intelligence Community—are coordinated in their counterterrorism efforts. The Director of the NCTC monitors the implementation of these plans and has access to information from every element of the government relevant to assessing their progress and implementation. In this role, the Director of the NCTC reports directly to the President (vice the DNI), although in practice Strategic Operational Plans are approved through the DC and PC process.

Ultimately, it is up to the policy maker to decide how he or she uses intelligence; and there are many reasons why a policy maker will or will not use intelligence. For example, intelligence information enhances power in policy discussions when it bolsters one's own position, but it may be discounted if it calls into question the wisdom of following a preferred policy path. Policymakers must work out how to resolve often conflicting information or unknowns resulting from incomplete intelligence. For example, recent debates over national missile defense reflect differing interpretations of intelligence analyses about the technical capabilities and intentions of terrorist groups or states hostile to the United States. Policymakers may request focused analyses from specific intelligence agencies, or community-wide assessments in the form of in-depth National Intelligence Estimates (NIEs) or rapid assessment Special NIEs (or SNIEs) under the authority of the NIC. Conversely, policymakers may resist additional intelligence analysis if they worry that their policy positions will not be supported by the results.

Although the intelligence community's mission is to produce objective analyses that support the policy process, it often is drawn into policy deliberations by providing assessments about the likely outcome of proposed

courses of action, by determining what kinds of policies are most likely to influence leaders or groups, and by advising on whether different factions in foreign governments (including intelligence services) are likely to help or hinder the implementation of policies. The involvement of the Director of Central Intelligence George Tenet (July 1997-July 2004), with Israeli and Palestinian security services on security issues in a possible peace agreement reflects how intelligence sometimes has a direct involvement in the implementation of U.S. policy. If directed by the President, the Central Intelligence Agency also can be used to implement foreign policy through the use of covert action—secret activities in which the involvement of the United States is concealed and denied.

## **Homeland Security**

In response to the September 11, 2001 attacks and the continuing terrorist threats to the United States, President Bush established the Homeland Security Council in October 2001, and a new Department of Homeland Security in March 2003.

### **Homeland Security Council Organization<sup>42</sup>**

The Homeland Security Council (HSC) was established on October 8, 2001, and serves 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.<sup>43</sup> The members of the HSC include the President, the Vice President, the Secretary of Homeland Security, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Defense, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, the Secretary of Transportation, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Director of National Intelligence, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, the Assistant to the President for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism (APHS/CT), the Chief of Staff to the President, and the Chief of Staff to the Vice President. The Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and the Counsel to the President are invited to attend all meetings of the HSC. The Secretary of State and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (or Vice CJCS) have regularly attended HSC meetings during the Bush administration, and the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Energy, the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Veterans Affairs, the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, the Assistant to the President for Economic Policy, and the Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy are invited to attend meetings pertaining to their responsibilities. The heads of other executive departments and agencies and other senior officials are invited to attend Council meetings when appropriate.



The HSC meets at the President's direction and in the last year normally has met about bi-monthly—although more frequently when events and issues dictate. For example, the HSC met daily in response to the plot to hijack passenger airliners originating in England during the summer of 2006. When the President is absent from a meeting of the Council, at the President's direction, the Vice President may preside. The APHS/CT is responsible for determining the agenda, ensuring that necessary papers are prepared, and recording Council actions and Presidential decisions. Like the National Security Advisor in matters of national security, the APHS/CT serves as the President's key homeland security and counterterrorism advisor in the White House; she leads the HSC staff. And also co-leads, along with the National Security Advisor, the National Security Council's Combating Terrorism Strategy directorate. The APHS/CT conducts regular sessions with HSC principals as well as chairing frequent meetings of the HSC staff and representatives from the NSC. Currently the HSC staff conducts the day-to-day management of homeland security affairs for the White House and numbers approximately 40 policy positions including detailees and assignees from the US Secret Service and other Department of Homeland Security agencies, DoD, the FBI, the Department of Health and Human Services, and individuals assigned from other Executive Branch agencies.

The Principals Committee of the Homeland Security Council is organized as the senior interagency forum for homeland security issues. The HSC/PC tends to meet less frequently than its NSC/PC counterpart, usually once every other month, although more frequently if circumstances demand. The Vice President, the Secretary of Homeland Security, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Defense, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, the Secretary of Transportation, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Director of National Intelligence, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, the APHS/CT, the Chief of Staff to the President, and the Chief of Staff to the Vice President. The meetings are chaired by the APHS/CT or other senior staff, and the National Security Advisor and the Counsel to the President are invited to attend all meetings. Other key Executive Branch officials may be called to attend HSC/Principals Committee meetings when issues related to their areas of responsibility are discussed. These invitees may include the Secretaries of State, Interior, Commerce, Agriculture, Labor, Energy, Veterans Affairs, or the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency.

The HSC system also has a Deputies Committee and Policy Coordination Committees (PCCs). The role of the HSC/DC is to ensure that matters brought before the HSC or HSC/PC have been properly analyzed, reviewed by key interagency stakeholders, and prepared for action. The HSC/DC, on average, meets at least weekly, and often meets two or even three times a week. During the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in 2005, the HSC/DC conducted daily meetings for several weeks. The regular members of the HSC/DC include the Deputy Secretary of Homeland Security, the Deputy Secretary of the Treasury,

Deputy Secretary of Defense, Deputy Attorney General, Deputy Secretary of Transportation, Deputy Secretary of Health and Human Services, Deputy Director of National Intelligence, and Deputy Directors of the Office of Management and Budget, and the FBI. The HSC/DC meetings are chaired by the Deputy Assistant to the President for Homeland Security, and the Deputy National Security Advisor, the Deputy Chief of Staff to the President, and the Deputy Chief of Staff to the Vice President are invited to attend all meetings. Other officials who may be invited to attend HSC/DC meetings when issues pertaining to their departmental responsibilities or areas of expertise are involved include Deputy Secretaries of State, Interior, Commerce, Agriculture, Labor, Energy, Veterans Affairs, Environmental Protection Agency, and the Deputy National Security Advisor for Combating Terrorism. Given the wide range, and often overlapping interests of the HSC and the NSC and their various sub-committees, organizers try to avoid encroaching upon already busy schedules. Meeting schedules and topics are widely disseminated in advance across the interagency to allow invitees to determine whether departmental interests are involved, and whether their presence is needed.

Much of the coordination between NSC and HSC areas of responsibilities takes place at the DC level. Because there are so many matters containing issues that overlap both national security and homeland security, combined NSC/DC and HSC/DC meetings (called joint meetings of the NSC and HSC Deputies Committees) are common. Within the HSC structure, and, in part, because most HSC members also serve on the NSC and NSC/PC, most of the policy decision-making is handled through the DC.

Mirroring the NSC system, there are a variety of interagency Policy Coordination Committees (PCCs) subordinate to the HSC/DC. These interagency committees are composed of Assistant Secretary-level officials from the departments and agencies represented on the DC. Each department or agency representative is designated by his or her department or agency, and is expected to be able to speak on behalf of the department or agency. HSC PCCs are workhorses of the HSC policy development and coordination process, typically providing the first serious, broad interagency review and discussion of proposals or initiatives; they also provide policy analysis and recommendations for the more senior committees of the HSC system.

Some of the HSC PCCs that have operated in recent years include (all chaired by HSC Special Assistants to the President):

- Biodefense
- Border and Transportation Security
- Communications Systems and Cybersecurity (CSC, administered jointly with NSC)
- Continuity
- Critical Infrastructure Protection

- Domestic Nuclear Defense
- Information Sharing (administered jointly with NSC)
- Maritime Security (administered jointly with NSC)
- Plans, Training, Exercises, and Evaluation

## **The HSC and the Policy Process**

The primary role of the HSC and the APHS/CT is to advise the President on homeland security and counterterrorism matters. Some national security commentators contend there is not a discernible difference between national security and homeland security—that one flows into the other. If national security focuses on protecting U.S. interests around the world, homeland security begins at the nation’s water’s edge and protects our interests internally from terrorist threats, presumably emanating from abroad. As defined in the President’s *National Strategy for Homeland Security (July 2002)*<sup>44</sup>, “homeland security” is a concerted national effort to prevent terrorist attacks within the United States, reduce American’s vulnerability to terrorism, and minimize the damage and recover from attacks that do occur. In the years since 9/11, the HSC has taken an “all hazards” approach to its mission of protecting the U.S. homeland from harm and homeland security programs focus on activities within the United States and its territories, or on activities in support of domestically-based systems and processes. While homeland security concerns and national security concerns both encompass threats to the U.S., homeland security includes not only issues pertaining to attacks within the U.S. by foreign interests or factions, but also attacks perpetrated by domestic groups not affiliated with external organizations or nations. Homeland security also addresses circumstances that occur within U.S. borders, such as pandemic influenza, and responses to national disasters and emergencies such as Hurricanes Katrina and Rita that struck the U.S. Gulf coast in August and September of 2005. Thus, while the NSC addresses activities outside of the US and combating terrorism overseas, at a minimum, national security and homeland security have large areas of overlapping responsibilities. This is particularly evident when examining the make-up of the National Security Council and the Homeland Security Council.

A comparison of NSC and HSC organizations reveals that all 11 members (or statutory advisors or frequent substantive invitees) of the NSC are official HSC members (the President, the Vice President, the Secretary of Defense, the Attorney General, the Director of National Intelligence,) or invited participants (the Secretary of State, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff the Chief of Staff to the President, the Assistant to the President for National Security, the White House Counsel, the Assistant to the President for Economic Policy and the Director of the Office of Management and Budget) on the HSC. At the staff level, some directorates of the NSC (such as that under the DAP/DNSA for Combating Terrorism) have daily contact with HSC directorates. These dual responsibilities between the NSC and the HSC illustrate the post September 11, 2001 evolution and overlap of homeland security and more traditional international national

security affairs. One result is that President Bush has held several formal joint NSC-HSC meetings—such as those during the summer of 2006 concerning the threat to hijack passenger airliners originating in England.

Regardless of its relationship to the NSC, the HSC has numerous priorities in policy development. These include supporting the President and his objective of ensuring the security of the United States, and ensuring that policies associated with homeland security are based upon strategic national security interests and not political pressures. A core function of the HSC is to recommend policies to the President that are integrated and have been coordinated across the government. When circumstances involving global terrorism with domestic implications occur, the APHS/CT and the National Security Advisor are expected to act in concert. Because homeland security involves a wide swath of domestic issues—some of which have significant international components (e.g., visa policy, port security, pandemic issues, etc.)--HSC coordination challenges can involve a wider range of domestically oriented Executive Branch agencies, the Congress, and state, local and private interests. Preventive strategies for domestic defense that are likely to require state-level resource commitments; affect immigration, trade, or other economic issues; produce outcomes that are harder to visibly demonstrate (i.e., policies that produce greater security means that potential attacks are thwarted and become “non-events”); and affect a wide range of federal, state, and local (not to mention private sector) entities are highly likely to have local political as well as national security effects.

In general, the HSC provides policy support to the President on homeland security matters. HSC serves as the conduit into and from the President (and other White House offices) on policy matters. HSC is responsible for pulling together the perspectives of DHS and other government agencies that might be affected by proposed homeland security-related policy and coordinating those views through to a policy decision, and then monitoring the implementation of the policy. The HSC deals mainly with domestic policy issues, but also may play a major role in the consideration of issues and policy recommendations related to Canada, Mexico, and other actors in the immediate CONUS geographic region. These bi-lateral policy issues air transport security, maritime security, and border security, other, more traditional national security policy matters that involve NSC policy areas. HSC also is responsible for understanding the domestic implications of potential policy decisions in the homeland security area. The Department of Homeland Security, on the other hand, is responsible for coordinating with state and local officials and first responders, and for informing the HSC of state and local concerns with regard to homeland security matters and potential policy issues. DHS also is responsible for letting state and local officials know what policies or DHS activities occur that affect state and local administrations and business.

Like the Principals Committee for the NSC, the PC for the HSC acts as the President's senior level policy review and coordination, and seeks to ensure that, as much as possible, policy decisions brought to the President reflect a consensus between the relevant departments and agencies, but also clearly presents any unresolved disagreements. Typically the HSC PC meets regularly, but adjusts its frequency depending upon circumstances such as crisis situations or increased threat levels. The types of issues considered by the PC and DC of the HSC include cyber-security; bioterrorism; air, rail, road and maritime security; preparedness and protection against terrorism and natural disasters; intelligence and information sharing; and coordination and communication with Federal, State, and local authorities, as well as the private sector. Since the HSC's inception, President Bush has issued over eighteen Homeland Security Presidential Directives and about a dozen Executive Orders dealing with homeland security issues.

The APHS/CT and the HSC staff (as well as Principals and Deputies when appropriate) are responsible for ensuring interagency coordination with the Department of Homeland Security, other Cabinet Departments, and the Intelligence Community (including the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC)). Furthermore, the Assistant to the President for Homeland Security meets regularly with the President's other senior advisors, as well as the Vice President's senior advisors, and staff from other White House offices. The overlapping relationship between homeland security and traditional national security issues is reflected by the fact that over the last year, roughly a fifth of HSC-related meetings have been co-chaired by members of the NSC staff.

The HSC staff serves the President by fulfilling three primary functions. First, to advise the President on policy issues related to homeland security matters. This advice may deal with strictly CONUS homeland security matters, or on homeland security issues related to broader national security matters. These latter issues may involve close coordination with the NSC on policy recommendations. The second function is to ensure coordination across the interagency community on the analysis and development of homeland security policy to ensure the security of the country. In addition to working with the NSC, the HSC staff may work with a wide range of government agencies as well as Department of Homeland Security components. The third function is to monitor the implementation Presidential policies related to homeland security to ensure that they conform to the President's intent and objectives.

## **Department of Homeland Security**

The U.S. Department of Homeland Security was formed on March 1, 2003 through the merger of nearly 30 programs and agencies (over 180,000 personnel) from throughout the Federal government. Headed by a cabinet-level Secretary of Homeland Security, DHS has a stated mission to lead a unified

national effort to secure America through preventing and deterring terrorist attacks and protecting against and responding to threats and hazards to the Nation. DHS also “will ensure safe and secure borders, welcome lawful immigrants and visitors, and promote the free-flow of commerce”<sup>45</sup>.

To accomplish this mission, DHS has identified seven “Strategic Goals”.<sup>46</sup>

- *Awareness* -- Identify and understand threats, assess vulnerabilities, determine potential impacts and disseminate timely information to the country’s homeland security partners and the American public.
- *Prevention* -- Detect, deter and mitigate threats to the US homeland.
- *Protection* -- Safeguard the American people and their freedoms, critical infrastructure, property and the economy of the Nation from acts of terrorism, natural disasters, or other emergencies.
- *Response* -- Lead, manage and coordinate the national response to acts of terrorism, natural disasters, or other emergencies.
- *Recovery* -- Lead national, state, local and private sector efforts to restore services and rebuild communities after acts of terrorism, natural disasters, or other emergencies.
- *Service* -- Serve the public effectively by facilitating lawful trade, travel and immigration.
- *Organizational Excellence* -- Value the Department’s most important resource, its people, and create a culture that promotes a common identity, innovation, mutual respect, accountability and teamwork to achieve efficiencies, effectiveness, and operational synergies.

DHS is charged with analyzing intelligence, assessing threats, guarding U.S. borders and airports, protecting the critical infrastructure of the country, and coordinating emergency response (including natural disaster assistance). The Department has broad responsibility for a wide range of functions and activities required to safeguard the citizens of the United States, including coastal security, customs, immigration, transportation security, infrastructure protection, emergency response, and information systems security. Its intelligence functions include the analysis of information and intelligence from the FBI, DNI, CIA, and other Federal agencies to assess potential terrorist threats to the American homeland.

During 2006, DHS implemented a major reorganization based upon lessons learned from the operations of the Department since its inception. To fully perform its mission, DHS now has four major "Directorates," six other operational Components (besides FEMA, which is also a Directorate), and 18 support Components (See Appendix H for a DHS organizational chart).<sup>47</sup>

## Directorates

- **Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA)** Directorate prepares the nation for all hazards, managing Federal response and recovery efforts following any national incident. FEMA also initiates proactive mitigation activities, trains first responders, administers Grant Programs, and manages the National Flood Insurance Program.
- **Management (MGMT)** Directorate is responsible for Department budgets and appropriations, expenditure of funds, accounting and finance, procurement; human resources, information technology systems, facilities and equipment, and the identification and tracking of performance measurements. The Under Secretary for Management is assisted in carrying out management responsibilities and duties by a team that includes the following: Chief Administrative Services Officer; Chief Financial Officer; Chief Human Capital Officer; Chief Information Officer; Chief Procurement Officer; Chief Security Officer.
- **National Protection and Programs Directorate (NPPD)** seeks to advance the Department's risk-reduction mission. Reducing risk requires an integrated approach that encompasses both physical and virtual threats and their associated human elements. NPPD divisions include the Offices of: Cyber Security and Communications, Infrastructure Protection, Intergovernmental Programs, Risk Management and Analysis, and US-VISIT.
- **Science and Technology (S&T)** Directorate seeks to protect the homeland by providing Federal and local officials with state-of-the-art technology and other resources. S&T engages government, industry, and academia in collaborative efforts to identify and remedy areas of vulnerability through research, development, testing and evaluation of new technologies.

## Other Operational Components (besides the FEMA Directorate)

- **United States Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS)** administers immigration and naturalization adjudication functions and establishes immigration services policies and priorities.
- **United States Coast Guard (USCG)** protects the public, the environment, and U.S. economic interests in the nation's ports and waterways, along the coast, on international waters, or in any maritime region as required to support national security. While maritime safety, search and rescue and interdiction of illegal drugs, weapons and people are key missions, USCG is a force provider for military commands in times of national defense.
- **United States Customs and Border Protection (CBP)**, is responsible for protecting our nation's borders to prevent terrorists and terrorist weapons from

entering the United States, while facilitating the flow of legitimate trade and travel.

- **United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)**, is the largest investigative arm of DHS, identifying and shutting down vulnerabilities in the nation's border, economic, transportation and infrastructure security. In addition to protection of over 8,800 Federal facilities nationwide, ICE investigates human and contraband smuggling, financial and immigration crimes, and conducts detention and deportation of illegal aliens.
- **United States Secret Service (USSS)** protects the President and other high-level officials and investigates counterfeiting and other financial crimes, including financial institution fraud, identity theft, computer fraud, and computer-based attacks on our nation's financial, banking, and telecommunications infrastructure.
- **Transportation Security Administration (TSA)** protects the nation's transportation systems to ensure freedom of movement for people and commerce.

### **Support Components**

- **Executive Secretariat (ESEC)** serves as a liaison between the Offices of the Secretary and Deputy Secretary and the Department's 28 Components, coordinating Departmental decisions and actions, as well as managing the Department's official relations with the White House and other Federal, State, and local governmental and non-governmental entities. ESEC supports the Secretary with accurate and timely dissemination of information and written communications throughout DHS and with our homeland security partners.
- **Office of the General Counsel (OGC)** ensures that DHS activities comply with all legal requirements. OGC handles all matters of general law, legislative compliance, ethics oversight, the writing of regulations, and litigation.
- **Office of Policy (PLCY)** is the primary policy formulation and coordination Component for the Department of Homeland Security, providing a centralized, coordinated focus to the development of Department-wide, long-range planning to protect the United States.
- **Office of Intelligence and Analysis (I&A)** is responsible for using information and intelligence from multiple sources to identify and assess current and future threats to the United States.
- **Office of Legislative Affairs (OLA)** serves as primary liaison to members of Congress and their staffs, the White House and Executive Branch, and to



other Federal agencies and governmental entities that have roles in assuring national security.

- **Office of Operations Coordination (OPS)** works to deter, detect, and prevent terrorist acts by coordinating the work of Federal, State, territorial, tribal, local, and private sector partners and by collecting and fusing information from a variety of sources. OPS monitors the security of the United States on a daily basis and coordinates activities within the Department and with governors, Homeland Security Advisors, law enforcement partners, and critical infrastructure operators in all 50 States and more than 50 major urban areas nationwide.
- **Office of Public Affairs** develops and implements a communications strategy for DHS, advises the Secretary and other DHS officials on how to communicate issues and priorities of public interest most effectively, and disseminates printed and electronic materials on readiness and public participation.
- **Office of the Chief Privacy Officer** minimizes the impact on the individual's privacy, particularly the individual's personal information and dignity, while achieving the mission of the Department of Homeland Security.
- **Office for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties (CRCL)** provides legal and policy advice to Department leadership on civil rights and civil liberties issues, investigates and resolves complaints, and provides leadership to Equal Employment Opportunity Programs.
- **Domestic Nuclear Detection Office (DNDO)** works to enhance the nuclear detection efforts of Federal, State, local, territorial, and tribal governments, as well as the private sector, and to ensure a coordinated response to such threats.
- **Federal Law Enforcement Training Center (FLETC)** provides career-long training to law enforcement professionals to help them fulfill their responsibilities safely and proficiently.
- **Office of Health Affairs (OHA)** provides real-time incident management guidance, coordinates the DHS bio-defense activities, and ensures a unified approach to medical preparedness. Led by the Chief Medical Officer, OHA also develops and maintains workforce protection and occupational health standards for DHS employees.
- **Military Advisor's Office (MIL)** provides counsel to the Secretary and DHS Components in affairs relating to the facilitation, coordination and execution of policy, procedures and preparedness activities and operations between DHS and the Department of Defense (DoD).

- **Office of Counternarcotics Enforcement (CNE)** coordinates policy and operations within DHS and between DHS and other Federal departments and agencies for interdicting illegal drugs, and tracking and severing connections between illegal drug trafficking and terrorism.
- **Citizenship and Immigration Ombudsman (CISOMB)** provides recommendations for resolving individual and employer problems with the United States Citizenship and Immigration Services in order to ensure national security and the integrity of the legal immigration system, increase efficiencies in administering citizenship and immigration services, and improve customer service.
- **Office of the Chief Financial Officer (OCFO)** oversees all financial management activities relating to the programs and operations of DHS, develops and maintains an integrated agency accounting and financial management system, and oversees financial reporting and internal controls.
- **Recovery and Rebuilding of the Gulf Coast Region (GCR)** office coordinates Federal aid in the regional effort and is responsible for devising a long-term plan for rebuilding the region devastated by Hurricanes Katrina and Rita.
- **Office of Inspector General (OIG)** conducts and supervises audits, investigations, and inspections relating to the programs and operations of the Department, recommending ways for the Department to carry out its responsibilities in the most effective, efficient, and economical manner possible.

Because of the overlapping issues between the global war on terrorism, homeland defense, and homeland security, DHS works with the Defense Department's Assistant Secretary for Homeland Defense, and with a number of DoD and other U.S. Government entities, including Northern Command as mentioned above in the section on the Department of Defense. In addition to DoD, DHS works on a daily basis with the Director of National Intelligence (DNI), CIA, and other elements of the Intelligence Community (particularly through its Assistant Secretary for Intelligence and Analysis), as well as the FBI, to coordinate intelligence and strategic intelligence analysis. Like other agencies with responsibilities for national security operations, DHS staffs a 24-hour watch center (National Operations Center) for threat analysis and emergency response.

The Department of Homeland Security and the HSC face several daunting challenges based upon the breadth of their responsibilities and number of Federal entities involved. Trying to coordinate activities that range from the Coast Guard (USCG) to the Secret Service (USSS) to the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) continues to be a challenge that DHS' recent

reorganization is intended to meet more effectively. Now merged into a single Department for more than four years, the Components are making measured progress in understanding each other's roles and missions—and coordinating their activities and operations, where appropriate.

The reorganization of DHS in 2006 was intended to capitalize on the successful lessons learned during DHS's brief existence, create new entities to more effectively coordinate the operations of the many Components of the agency, and improve strategic planning and policy coordination. Much remains to be done, especially further refining areas of responsibility, developing common doctrine, unifying procedures, and enhancing efficacy and effectiveness of working together.

The national security process is fairly manageable because it involves a limited number of key players—State, Defense (including the JCS), the intelligence community, and NSC staff—all of whom have personnel who know and have worked with each other over the years. In contrast, the HSC has eight departments and agencies, plus the White House, directly involved, and another eight departments possibly involved depending upon the issue being addressed.

Despite the difficulties of melding nearly 30 formerly separate programs and agencies, DHS and its work through the HSC, has shown that the country is capable of responding in innovative ways to new challenges that emerge and that the myriad departments and agencies of the executive branch can learn to work together to advance U.S. national security efforts.

## APPENDIX A

### HISTORICAL NOMENCLATURE OF PRESIDENTIAL NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY DECISION DOCUMENTS

Truman	National Security Council papers (NSC)
Eisenhower	National Security Council papers (NSC)
Kennedy	National Security Action Memorandum (NSAM)
Johnson	National Security Action Memorandum (NSAM)
Nixon/Ford	National Security Decision Memorandum (NSDM)
Carter	Presidential Directive (PD)
Reagan	National Security Decision Directive (NSDD)
Bush	National Security Directive (NSD)
Clinton	Presidential Decision Directive (PDD)
Bush	National Security Presidential Directive (NSPD) <sup>48</sup>

Note: Presidents use Executive Orders and NSPDs (or their historical equivalents) to authorize most executive actions. In addition, the President uses directives called “findings” to authorize covert actions.

## APPENDIX B

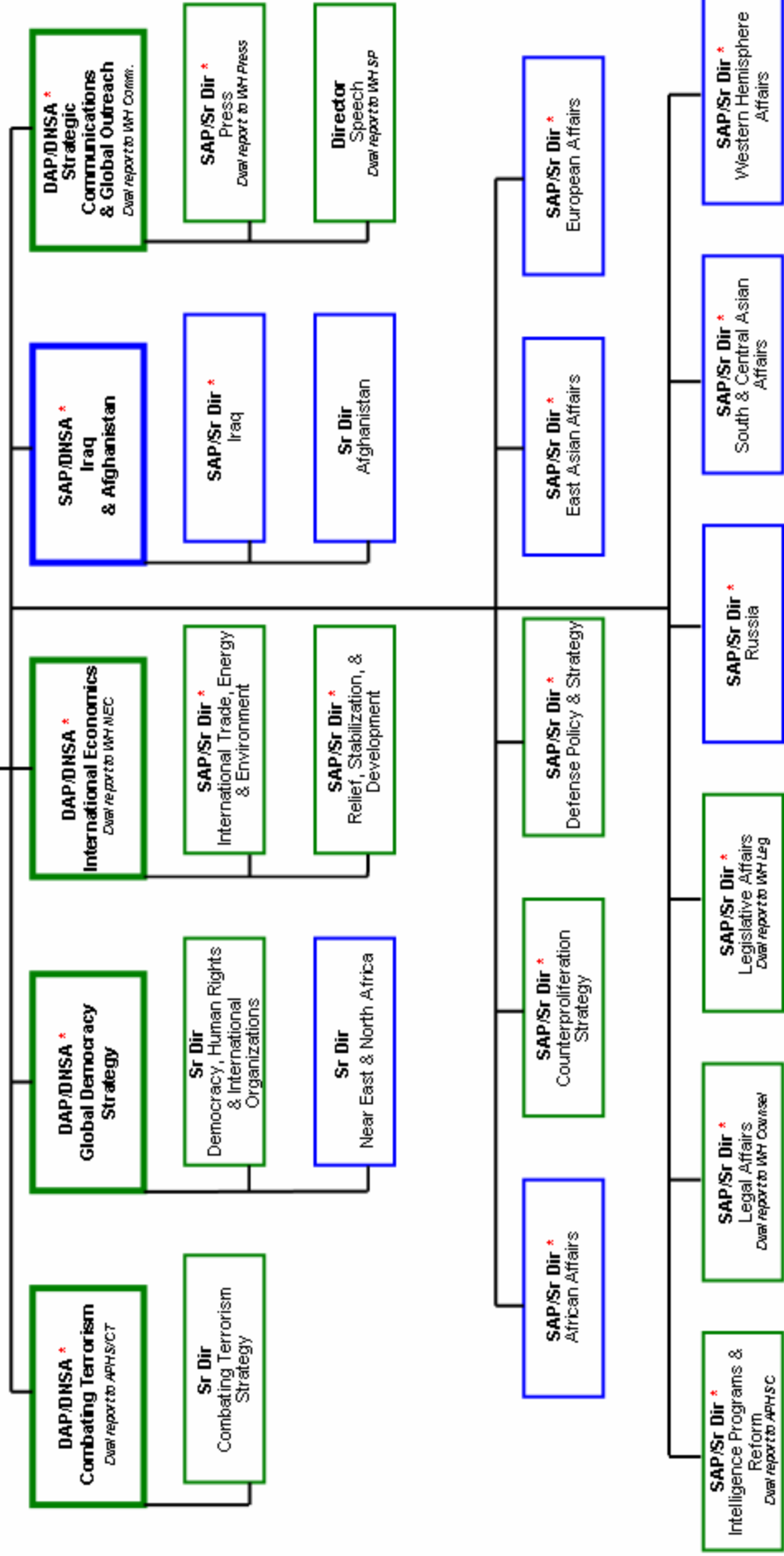
### ASSISTANTS TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

On March 23, 1953, President Dwight D. Eisenhower established the position of Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. The following is a list of the people who have occupied this position:

Robert Cutler	March 23, 1953	April 2, 1955
Dillon Anderson	April 2, 1955	September 1, 1956
Robert Cutler	January 7, 1957	June 24, 1958
Gordon Gray	June 24, 1958	January 13, 1961
McGeorge Bundy	January 20, 1961	February 28, 1966
Walt W. Rostow	April 1, 1966	December 2, 1968
Henry A. Kissinger	December 2, 1968	November 3, 1975*
Brent Scowcroft	November 3, 1975	January 20, 1977
Zbigniew Brzezinski	January 20, 1977	January 21, 1981
Richard V. Allen	January 21, 1981	January 4, 1982
William P. Clark	January 4, 1982	October 17, 1983
Robert C. McFarlane	October 17, 1983	December 4, 1985
John M. Poindexter	December 4, 1985	November 25, 1986
Frank C. Carlucci	December 2, 1986	November 23, 1987
Colin L. Powell	November 23, 1987	January 20, 1989
Brent Scowcroft	January 20, 1989	January 20, 1993
W. Anthony Lake	January 20, 1993	March 14, 1997
Samuel R. Berger	March 14, 1997	January 20, 2001
Condoleezza Rice	January 20, 2001	January 24, 2005
Stephen Hadley	January 25, 2005	Present

\* Henry Kissinger served concurrently as Secretary of State from September 21, 1973 until November 3, 1975.

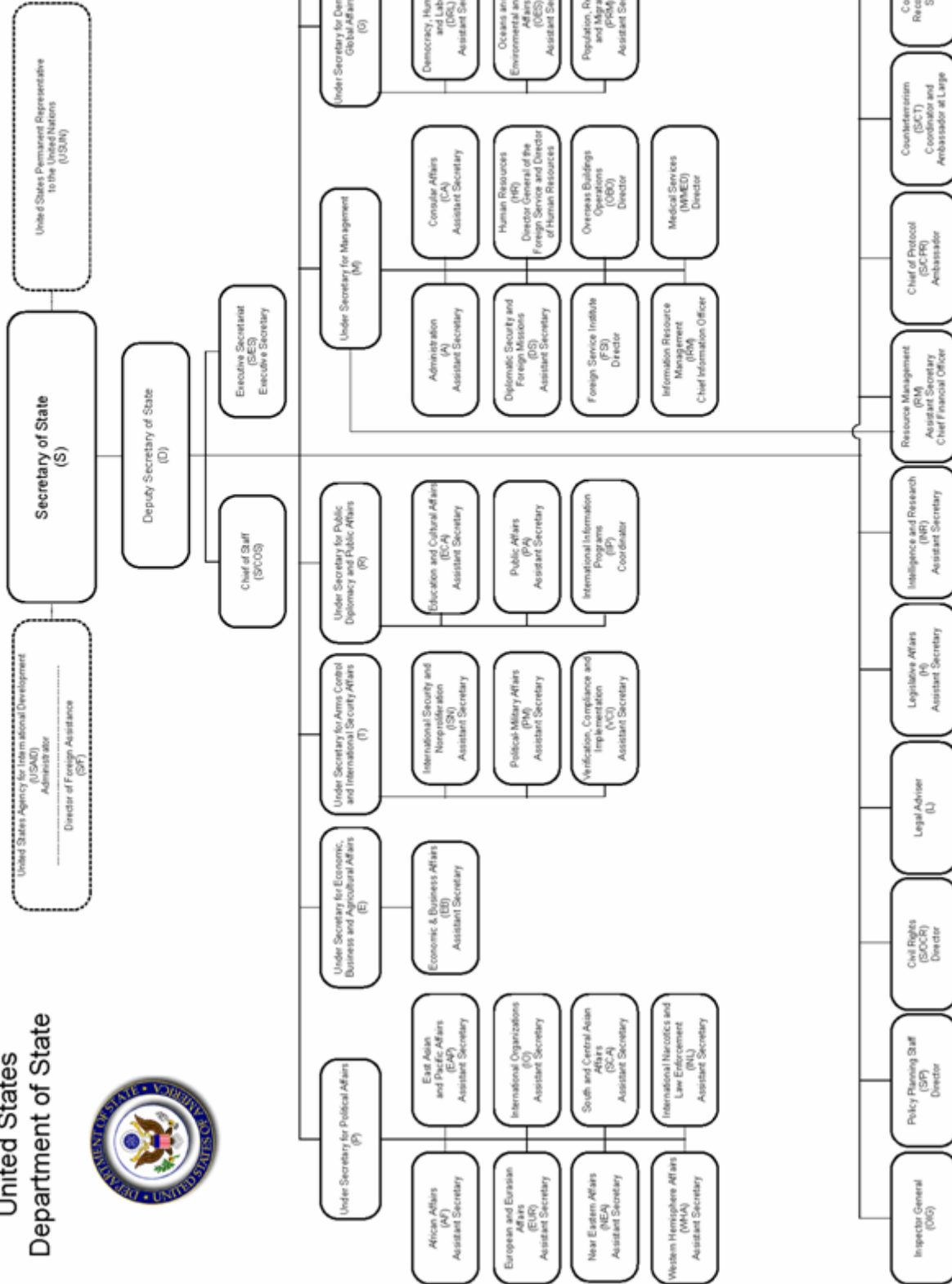
# National Security Council Appendix C:



\* - Commissioned Officer  
 Green - Functional  
 Blue - Geographic

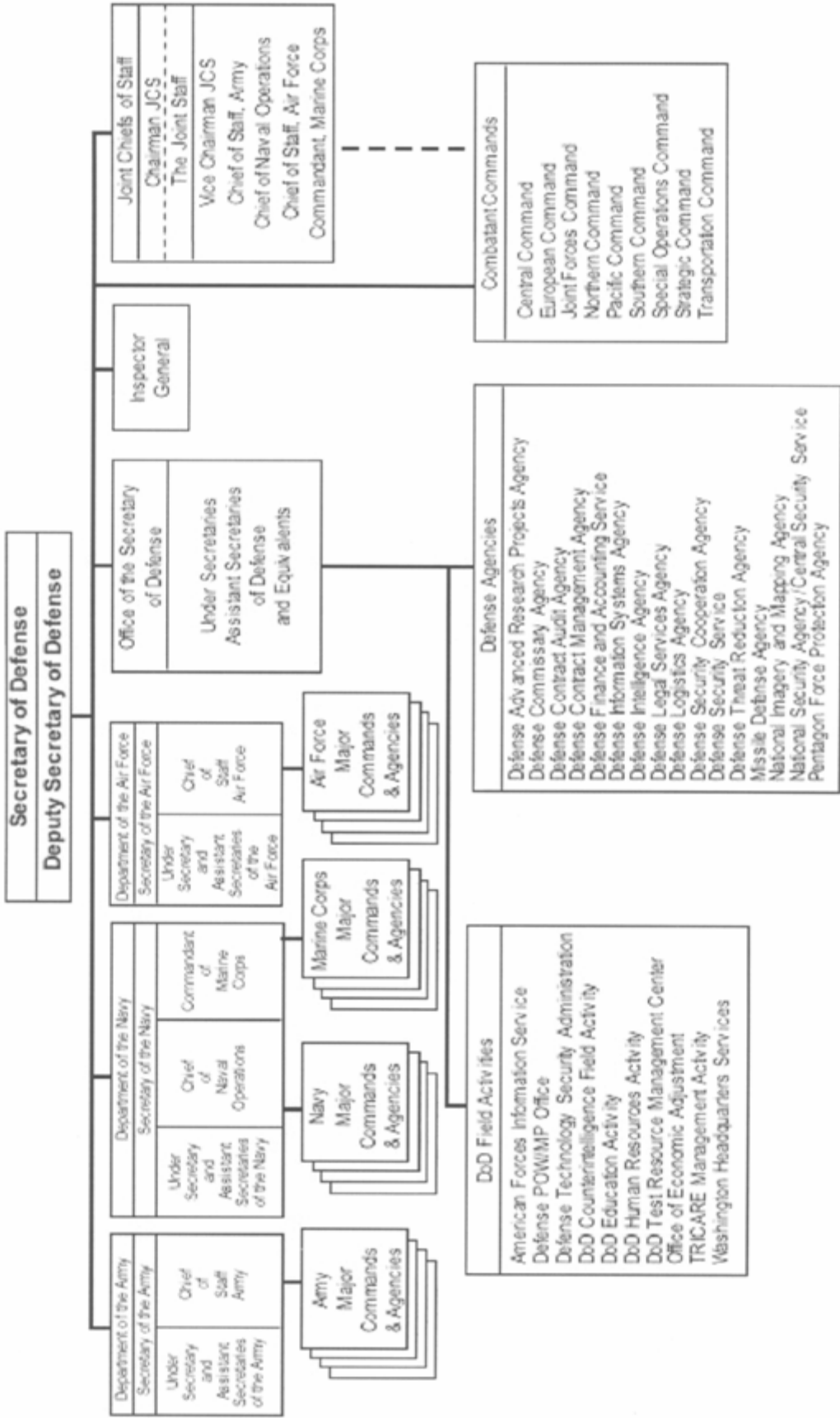
# Appendix D:

United States  
Department of State



Approved by S/ES May 2006

# Department of Defense



Date: May 2003

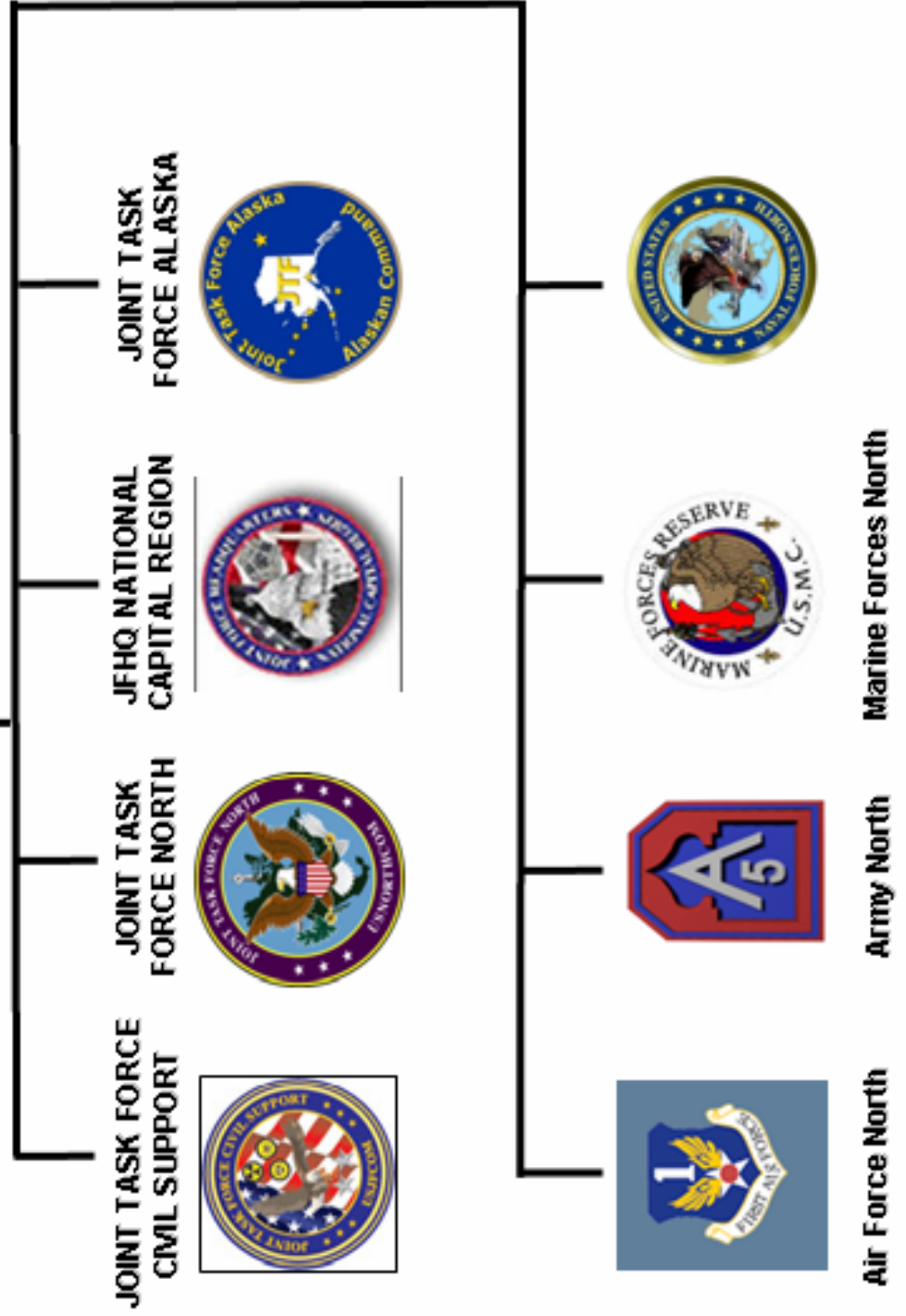




**USNORTHCOM**



**Appendix F:**



# U.S. Intelligence Community

Appendix G:

Director of National Intelligence

National CounterTerrorism Center  
National Intelligence Council  
Intell Community Management

## Program Managers

Central Intelligence Agency

Defense Intelligence Agency

FBI

National Geospacial Intelligence Agency

National Reconnaissance Office

National Security Agency

## Departmental

Justice  
DEA

Dept of Energy  
Intell

Dept of Homeland Security  
Intelligence & Analysis

Dept of State  
Bureau of Intelligence & Research

Dept of Treasury  
Terrorism & Financial Intell

## Services

Air Force  
Intell

Army Intell

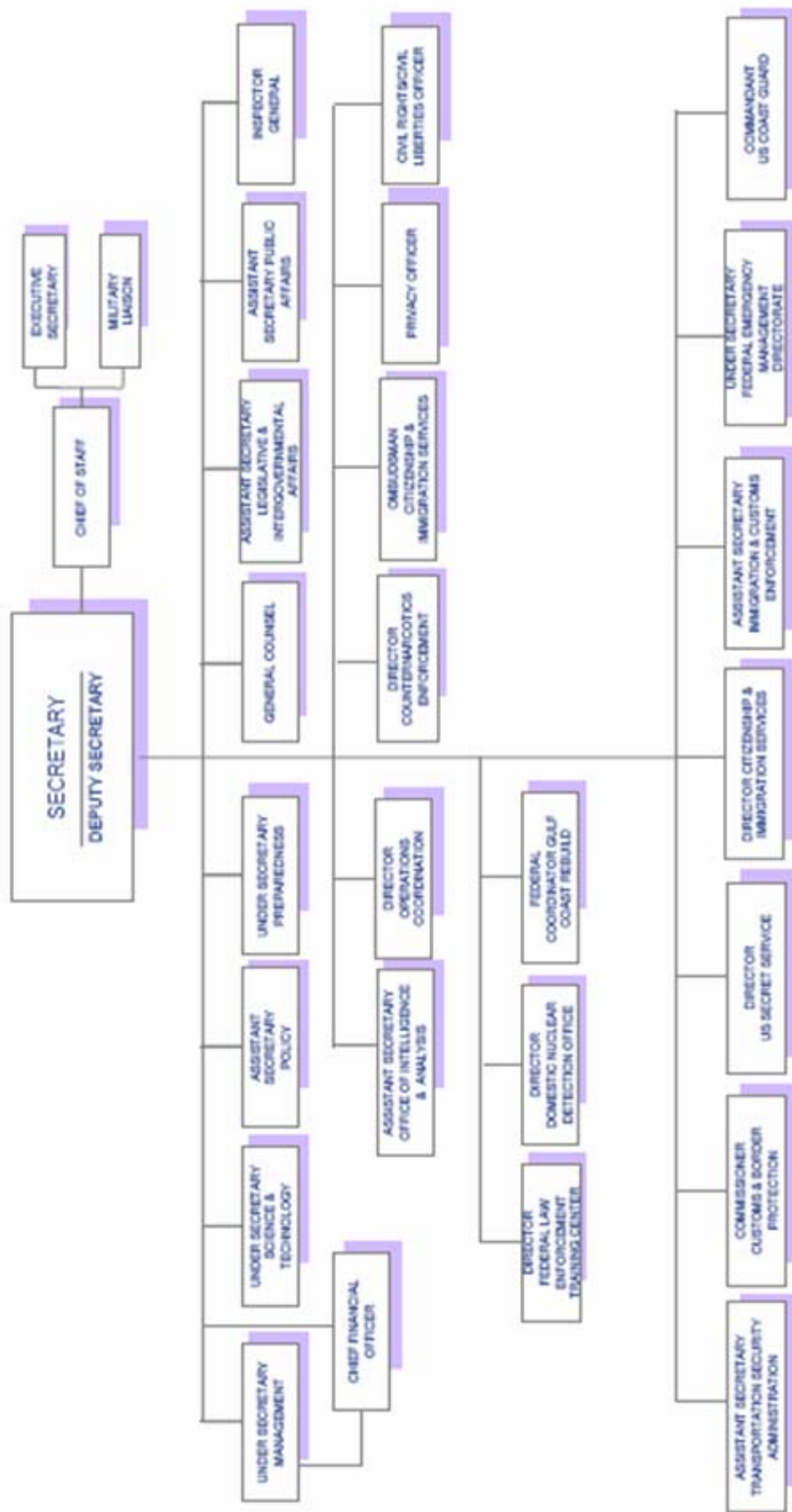
Coast Guard Intell

Marine Corps Intell

Navy Intell

# Department of Homeland Security Organization Chart

## Appendix H:



## ENDNOTES

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<sup>1</sup> See “National Security Council”, (April 2007), U.S. Government White House Website, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/>.

<sup>2</sup> See “History of the National Security Council, 1947-1997”, (April 2007), U.S. Government White House Website, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/history.html>. Also see Carnes Lord, *The Presidency and the Management of National Security*. (New York: The Free Press, 1988), pp 68-83 for a more detailed history of NSC organization and operations through the Reagan administration.

<sup>3</sup> The need to restructure the national security apparatus, in fact, had been long recognized. Between 1921 and 1945, 50 bills had been introduced into Congress to reorganize the War and Navy Departments. None was successful in being enacted into law.

<sup>4</sup> See Clark Clifford, “The workings of the national security system: past, present, and future,” *SAIS Review*, Winter-Spring 1988, interview with Philip Geyelin, pp. 19-20.

<sup>5</sup> See Carnes Lord, *The Presidency and the Management of National Security*. (New York: The Free Press, 1988), pp 68-69; Paul S. Stevens, “The National Security Council: Past and Prologue. *Strategic Review*, Winter 1989, pp 56-57.

<sup>6</sup> See Clark Clifford, “The workings of the national security system: past, present, and future,” *SAIS Review*, Winter-Spring 1988, interview with Philip Geyelin, pp. 19-20.; Paul S. Stevens, “The National Security Council: Past and Prologue. *Strategic Review*, Winter 1989, pp 56-57; Zbigniew Brzezinski, “The NSC’s Midlife Crisis,” *Foreign Policy*, 69, Winter 1987-88, pg. 83.

<sup>7</sup> See Clark Clifford, “The workings of the national security system: past, present, and future,” *SAIS Review*, Winter-Spring 1988, interview with Philip Geyelin, pp. 19-20.

<sup>8</sup> See “History of the National Security Council, 1947-1997”, (April 2007), U.S. Government White House Website, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/history.html>; Joseph G. Bock, J.G., & Duncan L. Clarke, “The National Security Assistant and the White House Staff: National Security Policy Decisionmaking and Domestic Political Considerations, 1947-1984, *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, XVI, 2, 1986, pp.258-260.; Carnes Lord, *The Presidency and the Management of National Security*. (New York: The Free Press, 1988), pp 68-69; Paul S. Stevens, “The National Security Council: Past and Prologue. *Strategic Review*, Winter 1989, pp 56-57; Zbigniew Brzezinski, “The NSC’s Midlife Crisis,” *Foreign Policy*, 69, Winter 1987-88, pg. 83.

<sup>9</sup> See “History of the National Security Council, 1947-1997”, (April 2007), U.S. Government White House Website, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/history.html>; William P. Bundy, “The national security process,” *International Security*, 7, 3, 1983, pp. 96-97; Carnes Lord, *The Presidency and the Management of National Security*. (New York: The Free Press, 1988), pp 68-69.

<sup>10</sup> See “History of the National Security Council, 1947-1997”, (April 2007), U.S. Government White House Website, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/history.html>; Paul S.

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Stevens, "The National Security Council: Past and Prologue. *Strategic Review*, Winter 1989, pp 56-57; Zbigniew Brzezinski, "The NSC's Midlife Crisis," *Foreign Policy*, 69, Winter 1987-88, pg. 83.

<sup>11</sup> See "History of the National Security Council, 1947-1997", (April 2007), U.S. Government White House Website, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/history.html>; Paul S. Stevens, "The National Security Council: Past and Prologue. *Strategic Review*, Winter 1989, pp 56-57.

<sup>12</sup> See "History of the National Security Council, 1947-1997", (April 2007), U.S. Government White House Website, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/history.html>; Joseph G. Bock, J.G., & Duncan L. Clarke, "The National Security Assistant and the White House Staff: National Security Policy Decisionmaking and Domestic Political Considerations, 1947-1984, *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, XVI, 2, 1986, pp.260-261; Carnes Lord, *The Presidency and the Management of National Security*. (New York: The Free Press, 1988), pp 70-71; Stevens, P.S. (1989), The national security council: past and prologue. *Strategic Review*, Winter 1998, 55-62. pp. 57-58; Zbigniew Brzezinski, "The NSC's Midlife Crisis," *Foreign Policy*, 69, Winter 1987-88, pg. 83-85.

<sup>13</sup> See Joseph G. Bock, J.G., & Duncan L. Clarke, "The National Security Assistant and the White House Staff: National Security Policy Decisionmaking and Domestic Political Considerations, 1947-1984, *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, XVI, 2, 1986, pp.258-260 regarding Eisenhower's action. The designations Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and National Security Advisor tend to be used interchangeably by the White House and government agencies although the former is the official title. The media nearly always uses the designation of National Security Advisor. The position of Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs evolved from the original position specified in the National Security of 1947 establishing that "(t)he (National Security) Council shall have a staff to be headed by a civilian executive secretary" (National Security Act of 1947, Sec. 101. [U.S.C. 402] (c)). President Nixon later upgraded the position from that of Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs to that of Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, a higher ranking position title in the Executive Office of the President. The title "National Security Advisor" also first came into widespread use during the Nixon administration. See Zbigniew Brzezinski, "The NSC's Midlife Crisis," *Foreign Policy*, 69, Winter 1987-88, pg. 83-86.

<sup>14</sup> See "History of the National Security Council, 1947-1997", (April 2007), U.S. Government White House Website, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/history.html>; Paul S. Stevens, "The National Security Council: Past and Prologue. *Strategic Review*, Winter 1989, pg 58; Carnes Lord, *The Presidency and the Management of National Security*. (New York: The Free Press, 1988), pp 71-72; Joseph G. Bock, J.G., & Duncan L. Clarke, "The National Security Assistant and the White House Staff: National Security Policy Decisionmaking and Domestic Political Considerations, 1947-1984, *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, XVI, 2, 1986, pp. 261-262.

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- <sup>15</sup> “History of the National Security Council, 1947-1997”, (April 2007), U.S. Government White House Website, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/history.html>.
- <sup>16</sup> See “History of the National Security Council, 1947-1997”, (April 2007), U.S. Government White House Website, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/history.html>; Paul S. Stevens, “The National Security Council: Past and Prologue. *Strategic Review*, Winter 1989, pg 58;
- <sup>17</sup> See “History of the National Security Council, 1947-1997”, (April 2007), U.S. Government White House Website, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/history.html>; Carnes Lord, *The Presidency and the Management of National Security*. (New York: The Free Press, 1988), pp 71-72; Bock, J.G., & Duncan L. Clarke, “The National Security Assistant and the White House Staff: National Security Policy Decisionmaking and Domestic Political Considerations, 1947-1984, *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, XVI, 2, 1986, pp.262-263; Paul S. Stevens, “The National Security Council: Past and Prologue. *Strategic Review*, Winter 1989, pg 58.
- <sup>18</sup> See “History of the National Security Council, 1947-1997”, (April 2007), U.S. Government White House Website, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/history.html>; Zbigniew Brzezinski, “The NSC’s Midlife Crisis,” *Foreign Policy*, 69, Winter 1987-88, pg. 86-88; Carnes Lord, *The Presidency and the Management of National Security*. (New York: The Free Press, 1988), pp 73-74; Clifford, Clark (1988), The workings of the national security system: past, present, and future. *SAIS Review*, Winter-Spring 1988, interview with Philip Geyelin, pp. 21-22.
- <sup>19</sup> See “History of the National Security Council, 1947-1997”, (April 2007), U.S. Government White House Website, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/history.html>; Zbigniew Brzezinski, “The NSC’s Midlife Crisis,” *Foreign Policy*, 69, Winter 1987-88, pg. 86-88; Carnes Lord, *The Presidency and the Management of National Security*. (New York: The Free Press, 1988), pp 73-74;
- <sup>20</sup> See “History of the National Security Council, 1947-1997”, (April 2007), U.S. Government White House Website, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/history.html>; Carnes Lord, *The Presidency and the Management of National Security*. (New York: The Free Press, 1988), pp 73-74; Paul S. Stevens, “The National Security Council: Past and Prologue. *Strategic Review*, Winter 1989, pp 58-59.
- <sup>21</sup> See “History of the National Security Council, 1947-1997”, (April 2007), U.S. Government White House Website, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/history.html>; Carnes Lord, *The Presidency and the Management of National Security*. (New York: The Free Press, 1988), pp 74-75; Paul S. Stevens, “The National Security Council: Past and Prologue. *Strategic Review*, Winter 1989, pp 59-60; Kevin V. Mulcahy, K. “The secretary of state and the national security advisor: foreign policymaking in the Carter and Reagan administrations,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, XVI, 2, 1986, pp.281-282.
- <sup>22</sup> See “History of the National Security Council, 1947-1997”, (April 2007), U.S. Government White House Website, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/history.html>; Carnes Lord, *The Presidency and the Management of National Security*. (New York: The Free Press, 1988), pp 74-75; Paul S. Stevens, “The National Security Council: Past and Prologue. *Strategic Review*, Winter 1989, pp 59-60;

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Kevin V. Mulcahy, K. "The secretary of state and the national security advisor: foreign policymaking in the Carter and Reagan administrations," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, XVI, 2, 1986, pp.283-284.

<sup>23</sup> During the early 1980's, the Reagan administration supported guerrillas (called "Contras") fighting against Nicaragua's Sandinista regime backed by Cuba and the Soviet Union. By 1984, the Democrat-controlled U.S. Congress had passed and strengthened the Boland Amendment which severely restricted U.S. financial support for the Contras. President Reagan instructed his National Security Advisor, Robert McFarlane, to find alternative means to support the Contra effort. Meanwhile, Iran was engaged in a bloody war of attrition with Iraq, and Tehran secretly approached the U.S. to obtain spare parts and weapons for its military forces. Despite a congressional embargo against any arms sales to Iran because of the seizure of the U.S. embassy and its staff in 1979, and opposition from Secretary of State George Shultz and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, the White House (supported by CIA director William Casey) decided to sell weapons to Tehran both to generate funds to support the Contras, and to encourage the release of Americans still being held hostage by Iranian supported Muslim radicals in Lebanon. When a Lebanese magazine printed a story about the secret dealings in November 1986, the U.S. congress launched investigations and President Reagan appointed an independent inquiry committee chaired by former Senator John Tower and an independent counsel to investigate criminal wrongdoing. Fourteen people were indicted and six were convicted (most for conspiracy or lying to Congress). Later, President George H.W. Bush issued pardons to McFarlane, his successor ADM John Poindexter, two CIA officers, and Secretary of Defense Weinberger before his trial began.

<sup>24</sup> See *Report of the President's Special Review Board*, February 26, 1987

<sup>25</sup> These groups were called Interagency Working Groups (IWGs, pronounced "i-wigs" ) during the Clinton Administration. They also were called Policy Coordination Committees, or PCCs, during the administration of George W. Bush (1989-1992).

<sup>26</sup> As amended.

<sup>27</sup> See United States Institute of Peace, *Passing the Baton: Challenges of Statecraft for the New Administration*. Washington, D.C., 2001; *Report of the President's Special Review Board*, February 26, 1987

<sup>28</sup> See *Report of the President's Special Review Board*, February 26, 1987

<sup>29</sup> See *Report of the President's Special Review Board*, February 26, 1987

<sup>30</sup> Primary support for summits dealing principally with economic issues are supported by the National Economic Council staff or a designated Assistant Secretary or Deputy Assistant Secretary of State responsible for the political-economic issues of the summit.

<sup>31</sup> See Madeleine Albright, *Madam Secretary* (New York: Miramax Books, 2003)

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<sup>32</sup> See U.S. Department of State website, Bureaus/Offices Reporting Directly to the Secretary, Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization.

(April 2007): <http://www.state.gov/s/crs/>

<sup>33</sup> See Federation of American Scientists website

<http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nspd/nspd-44.html>

<sup>34</sup> See James A. Baker, III, *The Politics of Diplomacy* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1995)

<sup>35</sup> See George P. Shultz, *Turmoil and Triumph* (New York: Charles Schribner's Sons, 1993).

<sup>36</sup> See B. Woodward, & D. Balz, "At Camp David: Advise and dissent," *The Washington Post*, January 31, 2002.

<sup>37</sup> See Colin L. Powell, *My American Journey*, (New York: Random House, 1995), p. 465.

<sup>38</sup> See Joint Forces Command website (April 2007):

[http://www.jfcom.mil/about/fact\\_jiacg.htm](http://www.jfcom.mil/about/fact_jiacg.htm)

<sup>39</sup> See EUCOM website (April 2007)

<http://www.eucom.mil/english/CommandStaff/ECJ3/JIACG/main.asp>

<sup>40</sup> "POSSE COMITATUS ACT" (18 USC 1385): A Reconstruction Era criminal law proscribing use of Army (later, Air Force) to "execute the laws" except where expressly authorized by Constitution or Congress. Limit on use of military for civilian law enforcement also applies to Navy by regulation. Dec '81 additional laws were enacted (codified 10 USC 371-78) clarifying permissible military assistance to civilian law enforcement agencies--including the Coast Guard--especially in combating drug smuggling into the United States. Posse Comitatus clarifications emphasize supportive and technical assistance (e.g., use of facilities, vessels, aircraft, intelligence, tech aid, surveillance, etc.) while generally prohibiting direct participation of DoD personnel in law enforcement (e.g., search, seizure, and arrests). Source:

<http://www.uscg.mil/hq/g-cp/comrel/factfile/Factcards/PosseComitatus.html>

<sup>41</sup> U.S. Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs. SUMMARY OF INTELLIGENCE REFORM AND TERRORISM PREVENTION ACT OF 2004. December 6, 2004.

[http://www.globalsecurity.org/intell/library/congress/2004\\_rpt/s2845summary.htm](http://www.globalsecurity.org/intell/library/congress/2004_rpt/s2845summary.htm)

<sup>42</sup> See Homeland Security Presidential Directive-1, (October 29, 2001), U.S. Government White House Website,

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011030-1.html> .

<sup>43</sup> See: AN ACT To establish the Department of Homeland Security, and for other purposes. H. R. 5005, 107th CONGRESS. (2002). Retrieved April 9, 2007, from LexisNexis Congressional database.

SEC. 1004. OTHER FUNCTIONS AND ACTIVITIES.

For the purpose of more effectively coordinating the policies and functions of the United States Government relating to homeland security, the Council shall--

(1) assess the objectives, commitments, and risks of the United States in the interest of homeland security and to make resulting recommendations to the President;



- 
- (2) oversee and review homeland security policies of the Federal Government and to make resulting recommendations to the President; and
  - (3) perform such other functions as the President may direct.

<sup>44</sup> See Department of Homeland Security Website: The National Strategy For Homeland Security, (April 2007), [http://www.dhs.gov/xabout/history/publication\\_0005.shtm](http://www.dhs.gov/xabout/history/publication_0005.shtm)

<sup>45</sup> See Department of Homeland Security Website: About the Department of Homeland Security: Structure and Organization, Strategic Plan (April 2007), <http://www.dhs.gov/xabout/>

<sup>46</sup> See Department of Homeland Security Website: About the Department of Homeland Security: Structure and Organization, Strategic Plan (April 2007), <http://www.dhs.gov/xabout/>

<sup>47</sup> See Department of Homeland Security website: About the Department of Homeland Security: Structure and Organization, Organization Chart, (April 2007), <http://www.dhs.gov/xabout/>

<sup>48</sup> See Federation of American Scientists website <http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nspd/index.html> for an unclassified list of NSPDs.