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 decisions should be 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 (NSC) 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 NSC advises and assists the President on national security and foreign policies and serves as the President's principal arm for coordinating these policies among various government agencies.[1] The Homeland Security Council (HSC) is a complementary body of

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cabinet officials to advise the President on preparedness and response to potential threats against the homeland. Together, the personnel supporting the NSC and the HSC are referred to as the National Security Staff.

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 following World War II with the National Security Act of 1947. This paper briefly summarizes how the process has evolved since its creation under President Truman. It describes the current NSS organizational structure and processes, and defines the roles of the key departments and agencies, including that of the National Security 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 have produced idiosyncratic ways of doing business. Finally, the paper discusses how the interagency process is incorporating new organizational structures associated with homeland defense and homeland security.

EVOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY SYSTEM [2]

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[3]. 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."[4] To put this in a current context, Truman's reaction and goals were not unlike those raised by The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (also known as the 9-11 Commission)[5] in evaluating the deficiencies in interagency collaboration and coordination which preceded the terrorist attacks of September 11th.

Moreover, the attacks of 2001 reflect the new post-Cold War challenges for the various components of the U.S. national security community in 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.[6] 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 the President on important 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.[7] 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.[8] Consequently, Truman rarely attended NSC meetings.[9] NSC meetings were chaired by the Secretary of State and often, instead of producing coordinated policy, provided a forum for interagency turf battles.[10] 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 for his own decision-making process.[11] 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.[12]

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.[13] Eisenhower also created, in 1953, the post of Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, now commonly called the National Security Advisor.[14]

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.[15] Under Kennedy, there were only 12 substantive experts on the NSC staff.[16] 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. [17]

Sharing Kennedy's affinity for more personalized access and control over his advisory system, 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. [18] Later administrations have found similar weekly breakfasts or lunches among principals to be useful for exploring and coordinating policy issues.

Centralized control of the interagency national security 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[19]. Often, Secretary of State Rogers was not even consulted about major foreign policy decisions.[20] 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 serving both as National Security Advisor and as the Secretary of State. Recognizing the pitfalls of vesting too much authority in one individual, Ford appointed Lieutenant General Brent Scowcroft (USAF) as National Security Advisor. As Secretary of State, 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.[21]

President Carter came into office wanting more diversity in the policy options coming to the president and greater balance in the contributions of department principals to ensure that he was presented with the best policy options available from across his national security system. 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.[22] 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. [23]

The Reagan administration desired a more collegial approach to decision-making and sought to avoid public disagreements among the principal advisors over policy options. The National Security Advisor was downgraded from taking a leading policy development role; now reporting 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. As a result of this chaotic situation, the Reagan administration has the distinction of having the most National Security Advisors (six individuals), each serving one- or two-year terms. 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 the U.S. Congress and a presidential commission.[24] 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 recommended functions of the national security system. [25]

Having served eight years as Vice President and participated regularly in deliberations of the Reagan administration, President George H.W. Bush came 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 basic structural organization of interagency working groups, department deputies, and department principals

organized in the George H.W. Bush administration has been retained for every succeeding presidential administration.

Like its predecessors, the Clinton administration sought to emphasize a collegial approach within the interagency, but differences over policy recommendations 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.

The George W. Bush administration's NSPD-1 defined the duties of the NSC system to "coordinate executive departments and agencies in the effective development and implementation of … national security policies."[26] However, the advent of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 resulted in numerous changes to the original intentions for the Bush administration in the conduct of national security affairs. Most significant among these was the creation of new executive branch organizations related to national security affairs. One of the major findings of both the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (more commonly known as the 9/11 Commission, and the congressional Joint Inquiry into Intelligence Community Activities before and after the Terrorist Attacks of September 11, 2001 (or 'JIICATAS911") was that there were significant signals of a looming terrorist attack in different parts of the intelligence community, but information and analysis sharing and synthesis was inadequate.[27] One result of these findings was the creation of the Office of the Director of National Intelligence to oversee and direct the implementation of the U.S. National Intelligence Program and act as the principal advisor to the President, the National Security Council, and the Homeland Security Council for intelligence matters related to the national security. More information on the ODNI and its role is contained in the section of this report on the U.S. intelligence community.

Other major U.S. government organizational structures created during the aftermath of 9/11 were the Homeland Security Council (HSC) and the Department of Homeland Security (DHS). These institutions brought new organizational responsibilities and perspectives to the consideration of national security affairs (both are discussed in detail later in this report). The increased concern with domestic as well as foreign terrorist threats raised a range of new policy issues including debates over what constitutes "national" versus

“homeland” security, separate and overlapping staff responsibilities (as reflected in the number of officials who were members both of the NSC and HSC), and the involvement of state and local governments as considerations in national policy making. National security policy development and coordination was heavily influenced by the Global War on Terrorism, Operation Enduring Freedom, Operation Iraqi Freedom, and by the significant concentration of operational imperatives and resources in the Department of Defense and U.S. Central Command.

The period following the September 11 terrorist attacks brought both temporary operational changes to policy processes, and several organizational changes to the structure of the NSC staff. In the immediate aftermath of the September 11 attacks and subsequent interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq, much of the policy development and decision-making for national security affairs was conducted at the NSC and PC level. Organizational changes in the NSC staff structure included the establishment of the Office for Combating Terrorism headed by a new Deputy Assistant to the President/Deputy National Security Advisor for Combating Terrorism and Deputy Assistants to the President/Deputy National Security Advisors (DAP/DNSA) for Strategic Communication and Global Outreach, and Global Democracy Strategy. Moreover, as the interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan extended into long term Stabilization, Security, Transition and Reconstruction (SSTR) operations, the NSC during the second term of the Bush administration found that it needed to adapt new structures to respond to immediate operational issues requiring high level guidance; political, economic and SSTR concerns; longer term policy planning and consideration of strategic interests; as well as facilitate interagency coordination.

These major, long term interventions during the Bush administration also saw the addition to the NSC of the positions of Special Advisor for Strategic Planning and Institutional Reform, and Special Advisor for Policy Implementation/ Execution in 2005. Other changes including elevating the NSC Directorate for Southwest Asia in 2005 to the level of Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor for Iraq and Afghanistan with sub-directorates for Afghanistan and Iraq, and then in May 2007 expanding the responsibilities for this position to coordinating activities across the Executive Branch to support operational commanders and other U.S. government officials in Iraq and Afghanistan.[28] In particular, this individual reported directly to the president and had the authority to coordinate strategy and policy with department and agency officials up to the level of Cabinet secretaries, as well as solicit information and resources, “identify and remedy” day to day problems, and execute policies and strategies identified by the President.

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, Defense and Energy[29]. 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 traditionally 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. However, the authorities and responsibilities of National Security Advisor, as well as other members of the President's national security team, often have varied significantly from one administration to another.

Although there has been relative stability in the statutory membership of the NSC since its inception, and in the supporting staff structures since the administration of President George H.W. Bush, one fundamental principle underlies the actual operation of the national security structures of all Presidents: the operation of the national security policy process is the result of what the President decides. Those who wish to understand the operations of the NSC and its staff must recognize that regardless of organizational charts or procedural memos produced by each administration, the actual processes are shaped by what the POTUS wants; the authorities he delegates to the various principals, staffs, and organizations; and how his staff conducts its business according their judgments about what the President most needs in terms of policy development, implementation and decision support. As such, formal lines of authority may be over-ridden or circumvented by informal authorities or relationships utilized by the President and/or his senior staff.

In practice, Presidential administrations tend to be unconcerned with whether the membership of a meeting constitutes an "official NSC" meeting, or whether all statutory, designated, or invited members are actually present. The participants in meetings at all levels are dictated by the requirements of the policy issue(s) at hand. If the President (or other principal) is needed, he will be present. If not, then his limited discretionary time will not be diverted to attending a meeting just so all the "members" will be recorded as present. For example, although the Secretary of Energy is a statutory NSC member, he is unlikely to attend unless energy or nuclear development or security issues are on the agenda.

In addition to the statutory members, each president traditionally designates other NSC members, regular attendees, invited attendees, and topic area invitees. According to the Obama administration's Presidential Policy Directive-1, which sets out the organization of the National Security Council system, in addition to the statutory members indicated above, President Obama

has directed that the “membership” of the NSC will include: the Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Homeland Security, the Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations, the Assistant to the President and Chief of Staff (Chief of Staff to the President), and the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs (National Security Advisor).

Regular attendees include:

- The Director of National Intelligence(as a statutory advisor)
- The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (as a statutory advisor)

Regular invited attendees include:

- The Counsel to the President
- The Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor (also designated to serve as Secretary)

Topic area invitees:
Regular invitees when international economic issues are on the agenda:

- The Secretary of Commerce
- The United States Trade Representative
- The Assistant to the President for Economic Policy
- The Chair of the Council of Economic Advisers.

Regular invitee for homeland security or counter-terrorism issues:

- The Assistant to the President for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism

Regular invitee for science and technology related issues:

- The Director of the Office of Science and Technology Policy

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 evaluated, that legal and funding considerations have been addressed, that potential difficulties in implementation have been identified, and that all NSC principals have been included in the policy development and recommendation process. Throughout the first term of his administration, President George W. Bush frequently stipulated that National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice preside at NSC meetings in his absence, and this practice continued during the second term with NSA Stephen Hadley (officially, if the President does not attend, the meeting is a

Principals Committee meeting and not an NSC meeting). The National Security Advisor, appointed by the President as a personal aide, is not subject to Congressional confirmation. Thus, any attempt at reviewing the processes or policymaking of the National Security Council and its staff by Congress must be conducted through meetings with the President or other Senate-confirmed principals of the National Security Council.

The professionals who work directly for the President under the National Security Advisor's direction constitute the National Security 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, for example, 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 300, with around 160 policy positions and the remainder support positions (including the White House Situation Room staffed by approximately 35 watch officers and 35 technical/communications staffers). However, the NSC also is able to rely on a network of former NSC members, 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 National Security Staff. With the merging of the NSC and HSC staffs under the Obama administration, references to the NSC will likely revert to referring to the actual statutory National Security Council.

Formal meetings of the National Security Council have tended to be rare in most 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 during the George W. Bush administration 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 U.S. military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq, Bush had the formal NSC meet on a daily basis. As the initial crises

receded to continuing national security policy problems, formal NSC meetings become more infrequent.

The Obama administration has maintained the practice of regular (weekly or more frequent) meetings of NSC members, but has emphasized the composition of meetings according to the topics under consideration and the needs of the President rather than concerns with formally established "National Security Council" meetings. Press statements from the Obama White House often mention the President's meetings with his "national security team" rather than the formal NSC. Although the Obama administration regularly utilizes the technological upgrades to the White House Situation Room implemented during 2006-2007, President Obama prefers to hold NSC meetings in person, and most PC meetings are face-to-face. Use of the Secure Video-Teleconference Service (or SVTS-- pronounced "civits") is used when the President or other principals travel, or for Deputies Committee, Interagency Policy Committee meetings or other inter-departmental discussions.

The most senior interagency group is the Principals Committee (NSC/PC).[30] The PC for all practical purposes is the membership of the NSC without the President and Vice President. The PC is called into session and chaired by the National Security Advisor. In addition to the National Security Advisor, the other principal members of the PC are the Secretaries of State, Defense, Treasury, Homeland Security, and Energy, the National Security Advisor, the Attorney General, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, the Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations, the Chief of Staff to the President, the Director of National Intelligence, and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. [31]

In most administrations, the Principals Committee has 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. The Vice President attends PC meetings when issues related to his interests or responsibilities are being considered.

Other key Executive Branch officials may be invited to attend Principals Committee meetings when issues related to their areas of responsibility are discussed. The regular invited attendees are the Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor, the Deputy Secretary of State, the Counsel to the President, and the Assistant to the Vice President for National Security Affairs. Topic area regular invitees include the Secretary of Commerce, the United States Trade Representative, the Chair of the Council of Economic Advisers, and the Assistant to the President for Economic Policy when international economic issues are on the Agenda. At the discretion of the National Security Advisor, the Assistant to the President for Economic Policy may serve as chair when dealing with international economic issues. Topic area

regular invitees for homeland security or counterterrorism related issues include the Assistant to the President for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism (who also serves as the PC chair on homeland security topics). Topic area regular invitees for science and technology related issues include the Director of the Office of Science and Technology Policy. Similar to NSC meetings, the heads of other executive departments and agencies, along with additional senior officials, may be invited to PC meetings as appropriate.

Subordinate to the Principals Committee is the Deputies Committee (NSC/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. President Obama has codified this responsibility for the DC in his Presidential Policy Directive organizing the National Security Council System (PPD-1) by directing that "NSC/DC shall ensure that all papers to be discussed by the NSC or the NSC/PC fully analyze the issues, fairly and adequately set out the facts, consider a full range of views and options, and satisfactorily assess the prospects, risks, and implications of each."[32] 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 the most sensitive national security decisions, are very contentious within the interagency, 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. PPD-1 specifically identifies this responsibility of the DC by directing that "the NSC/DC shall be responsible for day-today crisis management."

The DC is composed of the deputy or relevant under secretaries to the cabinet secretaries. The DC is chaired by the Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor (AP/DNSA) or the Assistant to the President for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism. The regular members of the DC include the Deputy Secretary of State (who in practice sometimes may be represented by the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs), Under Secretary of the Treasury (who sometimes may be represented by the Under Secretary of the Treasury for International Affairs), Deputy Secretary of Defense (who sometimes may be represented by the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy), Deputy Attorney General, Deputy Secretary of Energy, Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget, Deputy to the United States Representative to the United Nations, Deputy Director of National Intelligence (or sometimes the Director of the National Counterterrorism Center if counterterrorism issues are being considered), Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Assistant to the Vice President for National Security Affairs.

Like the PC, other senior executive branch officials may participate in DC meetings when appropriate for the substantive issues on the agenda. The Assistant to the President for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism and

Deputy National Security Advisor chairs DC meetings when homeland security or counterterrorism related issues are on the agenda, and attends meetings on other topics as appropriate. Likewise, the Deputy Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor for International Economics will attend DC meetings when international economic issues are on the agenda and may be directed to chair the meeting at the discretion of the AP/DNSA. PPD-1 also directs that an Associate Director of the Office of Science and Technology Policy will participate in DC meetings when science and technology related issues are being considered.

Subordinate to the DC are a variety of interagency working groups called Interagency Policy Committees (NSC/IPCs).[33] 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, IPC-type committees historically are the main forum for interagency coordination. Sometimes events may affect this traditional role. In the aftermath of the September 11 terrorist attacks and subsequent interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq during the George W. Bush administration, most high level policy issues were worked at the PC and DC level, and IPC level groups had more coordination and implementation duties than policy development responsibilities. During the second term of the Bush administration and during the first years of the Obama administration, IPCs again have been delegated greater responsibility for policy development to permit deputies and principals to focus on the most critical issues.

Contingent upon the scope of their responsibilities, some IPCs may meet regularly (weekly or even several times 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. IPCs provide policy analysis for consideration by the more senior committees of the NSC system (e.g., the DC and PC) and ensure timely responses to decisions made by the President. The role of each IPC 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. In the Obama administration, IPCs are expected whenever possible to find consensus before elevating issues to DCs. They are organized around either regional or functional issues.

Regional IPCs normally are headed by Assistant Secretaries of State while functional IPCs are headed by senior department officials or NSS Senior Directors.

The Obama administration has not released an unclassified list of IPCs. However, the IPCs of the new administration can be expected to continue to

work on policy issues in most of the same areas as the PPCs that functioned during the George W. Bush administration.

Regional PPCs that functioned during the Bush administration included (the department responsible for chairing the committee is in parentheses):

- Europe and Eurasia (State)
- Western Hemisphere (State and NSC co-chair)
- Mexico/Central America Regional Strategy (State and NSC co-chair)
- East Asia (State)
- South and Central Asia (State)
- Iran (State and NSC co-chair)
- Syria-Lebanon (State and NSC co-chair)
- Africa (State and NSC co-chair)
- Russia (State and NSC co-chair)
- Iraq (NSC)
- Afghanistan (State and NSC co-chair)

Functional PPCs that functioned during the Bush administration included (the department responsible for chairing the committee is in parentheses):

- Arms Control (NSC)
- Biodefense (NSC and HSC)
- Combating Terrorism Information Strategy (NSC)
- Contingency Planning/Crisis Response Group (NSC)
- Counter-Terrorism Security Group (NSC and HSC)
- 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 & NSC)
- Information Sharing (NSC and HSC)
- Intelligence and Counterintelligence (NSC)
- Interdiction (NSC)
- International Development and Humanitarian Assistance (State and NSC co-chair))
- International Drug Control Policy (NSC and ONDCP)
- International Finance (Treasury)
- International Organized Crime (NSC)
- Maritime Security (NSC and HSC)
- Proliferation Strategy, Counterproliferation, and Homeland Defense (NSC)

- Reconstruction and Stabilization Operations (State and NSC)
- Records Access and Information Security (NSC)
- Space (NSC)
- Public Diplomacy and Strategic Communications (State)
- Transnational Economic Issues (NSC)
- Weapons of Mass Destruction – Terrorism (WMD-T) (NSC)
- Avian and Pandemic Influenza (NSC and HSC)
- Communication Systems and Cybersecurity (NSC and HSC)

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

The NSC, PC, DC, and IPC entities all are supported by the National Security Staff (NSS--see the discussion in the next section regarding the merger the of NSC and HSC staffs). The NSS is one of several senior advisory groups or offices organized under the Executive Office of the President (EOP) to advise the President across a range of critical policy areas.[34] Although the councils and offices of the EOP have tended to remain fairly stable across administrations (some components, such as the Council of Economic Advisors is statutory, while others, such as the National Economic Council, have been created by Executive Orders), Presidents often have altered their structures or created new policy advisory or analysis groups as a result of historical events.

National Security Staff

The most significant organizational change implemented by the Obama administration is the decision to fully integrate the staffs supporting the Homeland Security Council and National Security Council.[35] As noted in previous versions of this report, consideration of the merging of the two staffs was a regular topic of discussion in the White House during the second term of the Bush administration. President Obama came into office believing that "homeland security is indistinguishable from national security" and at the outset of his administration directed a Presidential Study to create an "integrated, effective, and efficient" structure to manage both national security and homeland security crises and policy development and implementation.[36] The results of this study included determinations that although the Homeland Security Council should be retained as the "principal venue for interagency deliberations on issues that affect the security of the homeland such as terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, natural disasters, and pandemic influenza," it was also determined that a

distinction between national security and homeland security issues is "artificial" and that the NSC and HSC should be supported by a single "National Security Staff." President Obama decided that new organizational positions would be established within the NSS structure and assigned responsibilities for "cybersecurity, WMD terrorism, transborder security, information sharing, and resilience policy, including preparedness and response."[37] President Obama also decided to retain the position of Assistant to the President for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism (AP/HSCT) as his "principal advisor" on such issues (see Appendix C).

The organizational outcome of the merging of the NSC and HSC staffs created a single staff structure headed by the National Security Advisor with major homeland security and counterterrorism responsibilities assigned to the AP/HSCT & DNSA, and his Deputy Assistant to the President for Homeland Security (DAP/HS, see Appendix C). Reorganized NSS directorates with responsibilities for homeland security issues include Counterterrorism, Cybersecurity[38], Intelligence Policy, Nonproliferation, Transborder Security (including information sharing between border security and homeland security agencies), and Resilience (with components focusing on preparedness and on emergency response).

In practice, the Obama administration NSS views homeland security issues within a global context and has sought to avoid characterizing security matters as homeland versus international. Responsibilities for "national security" or "homeland security" are derived from the substantive areas of responsibility assigned to each directorate. For example, if homeland security matters arise in a regional directorate, those staffers are expected to be responsible for coordinating with the AP/HSCT, the DHS, the Department of State, or other appropriate agencies for the development of policy analysis and recommendations to the DC, PC, or the President. The NSS retains positions with specific responsibilities for homeland security issues (for example, in the Obama administration the AP/HSCT also serves as Homeland Security Advisor and Deputy National Security Advisor for Counterterrorism.).

The Obama administration has retained a number of the NSC directorates present in the Bush administration, but also has made several significant changes to the NSS structure and organization. For example, when Stephen Hadley succeeded Condoleezza Rice as Bush's NSA at the start of the second term, President Bush reorganized the NSC and established the Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Adviser (AP/DNSA) [39] for Iraq and Afghanistan Policy and Implementation as well as Deputy Assistants to the President/Deputy National Security Advisors (DAP/DNSA) position to lead directorates responsible for Combating Terrorism; Global Democracy Strategy, international economics, and strategic communication and global outreach.[40] The second term Bush NSC staff had six DAP/DNSAs and 16 DAPs/SAPs. President Obama has sought to "flatten" the NSC staff structure by reducing the

number of DNSAs to five, and DAPs to five (a few individuals share both titles, [41]and see Appendix C). President Obama's objective in structuring his NSC staff organization in this fashion is to enable more direct contact between the President and those staff members doing the day to day work on substantive issues.

Differences between the Obama administration NSS and the Bush NSC structure include the following:

- Gen.(ret.) James Jones, Obama's National Security Advisor, has modified the structure of the regional NSS directorates to more closely reflect the Combatant Command Structure utilized by the DOD. For example, Gen Jones has taken the former Bush NSC directorates for European Affairs and Russia and Central Asia and combined them into a Directorate for Europe, Russia, and Central Asia. Likewise, Bush directorates for Near East and North Africa, South and Central Asia Affairs have been centralized in a Central Region Directorate which includes sub-directorates for the Middle East, the Gulf, and South Asia. However, the Afghanistan-Pakistan Directorate remains a separate directorate because of the substantial political and military commitments by the U.S. in this area.
- The Directorate for Relief, Stabilization and Development under the DNSA for International Economics has been changed to a Directorate for Development, Democracy and Stabilization, with the addition of a separate Directorate for International Economics and a Directorate for International Environment and Energy Security.
- The organization of the Office of Strategic Communications and Global Outreach has been changed into the Directorate of Strategic Communications with sub-Directorates for Global Engagement, and for Press, Speech and Communications.
- The Office for Global Democracy Strategy and its sub-Directorates has been merged into a single Directorate for Multilateral Affairs and Human Rights.
- Nuclear, biological, and arms control and proliferation issues are now handled by a Nonproliferation Directorate with sub-Directorates for International Arms Control and Non-Proliferation, and for WMD Terrorism and Threat Reduction. WMD threats also are considered by the Preparedness sub-Directorate in the Resilience Directorate both to prevent and respond to potential terrorist attacks.

Another significant change in the Obama administration is the organizational structure for managing Iraq and Afghanistan policy. For example, following the commitment of significant numbers of U.S. forces to Afghanistan and Iraq during the Bush administration, as mentioned above, the NSC established an Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor for Iraq and Afghanistan with sub-directorates for Afghanistan and Iraq. Moreover, the Bush administration also created an Afghanistan Interagency Operations Group (AIOG) and an Iraq Policy and Operations Group (IPOG).

These two special interagency groups were instituted to better coordinate the activities of the large commitments of U.S. military, reconstruction, and diplomatic contingents in Afghanistan and Iraq. Neither group was a traditional IPC because both were assigned staffs to handle day-to-day operational issues, but both reported to the DC in the same manner as PCCs in the Bush administration. The IPOG continues to function under the Obama NSC as a coordinating office for approximately 18 working groups responsible for a variety of functional areas associated with the U.S. involvement in Iraq. It receives administrative support from the State Department. The AIOG, however, was disbanded because it was determined that other components and working groups were better suited to handle policy and coordination issues associated with Afghanistan. Furthermore, the Obama administration has abolished the position of Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor for Iraq and Afghanistan, and assigned Afghanistan policy to a Directorate for Afghanistan-Pakistan. U.S. policy for Iraq is now handled in the Gulf sub-Directorate of the Central Region Directorate of the NSS. Reflecting President Obama and NSA Jones' emphasis on direct support by NSS experts to the President, staff from these Directorates still meet regularly with the POTUS.

Homeland Security Council [42]

The Homeland Security Council (HSC) was established on October 8, 2001 in response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 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.[43] President Obama has stated that he views the HSC as his "principal venue for interagency deliberations on issues that affect the security of the homeland such as terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, natural disasters, and pandemic influenza."[44] It also serves as the President's principal forum for reviewing homeland security policy matters with his senior national security advisors and cabinet officials.

The Obama administration has retained the membership of the HSC as specified in HSPD-1.[45] 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 (as the statutory principal military adviser to the HSC) have regularly attended HSC meetings during the Bush administration, as well as the Secretary of Agriculture, Secretary of the Interior, Secretary of Energy, Secretary

of Labor, Secretary of Commerce, Secretary of Veterans Affairs, Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, Assistant to the President for Economic Policy, and Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy who 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 with the President at his direction and, during the Obama administration, has met less frequently than the NSC. This pattern is the result of President Obama's emphasis on bringing together principals who need to be consulted on various policy issues (vice convening a formal HSC meeting), as well as the overlap between the membership of the NSC and its PC and the HSC and its PC. At the President's direction, the APHS/CT may preside at HSC meetings when the POTUS is absent. The APHS/CT also 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.

The HSC Principals Committee (HSC/PC) and Deputies Committee (HSC/DC) both continue to operate under the Obama administration's NSS reorganization. The Principals Committee of the Homeland Security Council is organized as the senior interagency forum for homeland security issues. With the merging of the NSC and HSC staffs, more homeland security and counterterrorism issues are handled by the NSA, the APHS/CT, Principals and other appropriate advisors, resulting in less need for formal HSC/PC meetings. However, the HSC/PC meets whenever necessary, and individual PC members meet on regular basis with each other to discuss developments and policy issues. Regular members of the HSC/PC include the Vice President, Secretary of Homeland Security, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of Defense, Attorney General, Secretary of Health and Human Services, Secretary of Transportation, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Director of National Intelligence, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, APHS/CT, Chief of Staff to the President, and 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, and the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency.

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, Vice President, Secretary of Defense, Attorney General, Director of National Intelligence,) or invited participants (the Secretaries

of State and Energy, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Chief of Staff to the President, the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, White House Counsel, Assistant to the President for Economic Policy and Director of the Office of Management and Budget) to the HSC.[46] As noted above, the Obama administration has tended to focus on determining participants in policy meetings according to the substance of the meeting and the appropriateness of the participants, and has been less concerned about whether the membership of the group constitutes a formal NSC, HSC, or PC meeting. Meetings among principals, the President, and staff occur on a regular basis each week to deal with events and the development of policy.

The HSC system also has a Deputies Committee (HSC/DC) and Interagency Policy Committees (IPCs). 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 meets on a regular basis to oversee homeland security issues and manage breaking incidents. The regular members of the HSC/DC include the Deputy Secretary of Homeland Security, 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. The Deputy National Security Advisor, Deputy Chief of Staff to the President, and 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, and the Environmental Protection Agency. 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.

Because the HSC remains as a separate policy advisory body, the Obama administration has retained a variety of Interagency Policy Coordination Committees (IPCs) 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 IPCs are the 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. Most IPCs meet on a weekly basis.

The Obama administration has not released an unclassified list of HSC IPCs. However, many will continue the work of the HSC PPCs that functioned during the George W. Bush administration. Bush HSC PPCs included (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
- Domestic Readiness
- Information Sharing (administered jointly with NSC)
- Maritime Security (administered jointly with NSC)
- National Security Professional Development

National Economic Council

One notable example of an advisory office established in response to historical developments and increasing influence on U.S. national interests is that of the National Economic Council (NEC). Historically, international 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 in 1993 by President Clinton and the appointment of an Assistant to the President for Economic Policy. The NEC 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.[47]

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 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. In the past there have been two Assistants to the President whose responsibilities are divided between domestic and international economic issues. Currently there is one Assistant to the President for Economic Policy (who also serves as the Director

of National Economic Council) and one Deputy Assistant to the President (and Deputy National Security Advisor) for International Economics. The Deputy Assistant for International Economics reports both to the National Security Advisor and the NEC Director. The NEC staff also is comprised of two other Deputy Assistants to the President and several Special Assistants to the President who report to the Director on economic policy issues related to fiscal policy, energy, financial markets, , health care, and labor.,. Several NSS staff members, who report directly to the Deputy National Security Advisor, also support and coordinate with the NEC Director.

Increasingly from the time of the Clinton administration, economic issues are a major concern in the overall national security of the United States. 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 U.S. are seen to overlap. As a result, there is increased coordination and integration between the NSS and NEC staffs across the spectrum of economic policy issues. The George W. Bush administration retained the NEC, and the Obama administration has continued this recognition of the continuing importance of economic matters, particularly given the recent global economic crisis, and especially, the relationship of economic development to poverty

NSC POLICY PROCESS

The process of producing national security policies is determined by the organizational structure of the system approved by the President, the National Security Advisor's overall management of the system, and the performance of key individuals responsible for foreign policy and other national security issues across the executive branch. Perhaps the most thorough analysis and critical assessment of the policy processes for national security was conducted by the Project on National Security Reform, and reported in its "findings" report of July 2008.[48] Headed by a board of senior, experienced former government officials, the project evaluated the national security policy development and execution process in various administrations and identified the organizational strengths and weaknesses of those processes. One finding of the report was that the working relationships of the "different parts of the national security system" always reflected "the managerial style of the president." Furthermore, "(d)ifferent presidents rearranged these relationships frequently. However, only infrequently would they seek to change the bureaucracies themselves or significantly alter the outputs these bureaucracies were expected to produce."[49]

Thus, the basic organizational structures used by each presidential administration since that of George H.W. Bush have tended to be remarkably similar. Nevertheless, no matter how similar various administration wiring diagrams may be, or however the National Security Advisor and the staff want to organize meetings, procedures, or prepare reports, the actual process is shaped by the President's management style and what structures and processes the president desires and supports. It is the President's preferences for using (or excluding) different subordinates in his decision making process, what responsibilities, authorities, and access he allocates to his staff at the White House or various executive branch departments and agencies, and (perhaps most importantly) how he refines the process based upon the successes or failures of his system to produce satisfactory results in foreign policy and other national security affairs that yield the actual day-to-day "policy process" of his administration.[50] As such, particularly as an administration's term proceeds, formal lines of authority may be over-ridden or circumvented by informal authorities or relationships utilized by the President and/or his senior staff.

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[51] 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." Ensuring the continuity of this important organization in the current administration is reflected in President Obama's Presidential Policy Directive #1 which directs that "the NSC shall advise and assist me in integrating all aspects of national security policy as it affects the United States -- domestic, foreign, military, intelligence, and economic (in conjunction with the National Economic Council). Along with its subordinate committees, the NSC shall be my principal means for coordinating executive departments and agencies in the development and implementation of national security policy."[52]

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. Frequently, this takes place at formal NSC meetings. At times, he will wish to ensure that there is clear understanding of policy objectives and requirements of the initial decision, and he 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 Obama administration calls these formal policy decisions Presidential Policy Directives (PPDs). See Appendix A for the titles used in previous administrations.

The National Security Advisor and the Policy Process

Presidents rely heavily upon their National Security Advisor (NSA) to undertake a number of specific roles to support them in the management of 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:[53]

- 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 report 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 for George W. Bush, 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. As the wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, and against terrorism progressed and more routine patterns of policy management were established, her successor, Stephen Hadley, increasingly focused upon brokering policy decisions and developing consensus between executive branch agencies.

The national security policy process during the first years of the Obama administration mirrored that of previous administrations in the challenges of having the capability to immediately advise the President on a wide range of national security matters while establishing it's staffing, procedures, and processes. No new administration comes into office with a fully staffed, unified national security team. The National Security Advisor must draw upon and integrate experts and advisors from the presidential campaign retinue, professionals from previous administrations with national security experience, academic and think tank experts, and, finally, senior career employees from across the executive branch with deep experience in national security affairs. As such, in addition to the traditional NSA roles identified above (such as providing independent advice to the President), Gen. Jones has had to devise and establish a national security policy development and advisory support process for the President, assess and facilitate the most effective means for the President to interact with principals and other senior advisors, and organize and manage the President's National Security Staff—all while confronting a range of complex and challenging national security issues.

Although Gen. Jones is the principal advisor to the President on national security issues, he views one of his most important duties as the NSA to be ensuring that the President always hears multiple views on policy issues, and multiple options with regard to possible policy actions. As reported in a New York Times article, Jones does not want his stature as the National Security Advisor to mute or discourage other advisors from providing frank assessments to the President when he is present at meetings.[54] Gen. Jones also discussed his goal to promote a "bottom's up" development of policy analysis, reflecting his desire to encourage direct discussion between the President and the NSS rather than serving as a filter or consolidator. Whereas NSA Hadley took a more hands-on approach to triage information coming into the NSC staff and organize the kinds of policy documents being prepared for the various policy committees and President Bush, Gen. Jones has left such oversight to other members of the

staff and focused more on maximizing the quality and range of information and policy options available to President Obama with detailed supporting information.

During the second term of the Bush administration, NSA Hadley sought to pay special attention to ensuring that there was successful coordination and implementation, or "follow-through," of policy decisions made by the President, PC or DC across the multiple and multi-faceted national security challenges being faced by the administration. For this reason, Hadley established a Senior Advisor for Policy Implementation and Execution in 2005 to take responsibility for strategically tracking policy implementation. Hadley sought to institute procedures through NSS directors to ensure that policies were implemented and monitored in a coordinated fashion, that feedback was obtained on the outcomes of policy decisions, and that mechanisms were in place to reassess policies if monitoring determined that acceptable results were not achieved. Gen. Jones also has placed an emphasis on proper follow-up of policy decisions in NSS Directorates, but has used the Strategic Planning Directorate to conduct a wide-ranging series of strategic policy reviews during the first year of the Obama presidency, and to draft an Obama administration National Security Strategy for the United States.

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. Moreover, the NSA must bring to the President not only information he wants to see, but also information he needs to see—and in a form compatible with the President's decision-making and management style. For example, President George W. Bush preferred to make the final decision on policy recommendations that reflected a consensus of his advisors. As such, NSAs Rice and Hadley sought to hammer out a general agreement among Principals and departments before bringing a decision paper with a recommended policy to President Bush for a final decision. President Obama, on the other hand, prefers not to have recommended positions brought to him for a yes or no decision. Instead, he favors a slate of options on policy issues with detailed assessments of the pros and cons for each option. If brought a consensus position by his policy advisors, President Obama also expects to see a full analysis of any significant dissenting positions on the policy area under 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, U.S. Ambassadors, military commanders, and other officials throughout the world the capability to communicate directly with the White House. Increasingly, the ability for foreign leaders and others 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.

Managing communications as part of the policy process involves not only the President, but also the NSA and NSS staff. For example, the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and operations in Afghanistan and Iraq highlighted critical White House needs for maintaining situational awareness and ensuring that the President has the most up-to-date information. At the time of 9/11, the White House possessed limited meeting space beyond the Situation Room, and limited facilities for teleconferencing and other multi-media communication and presentations. In response to these requirements, the Bush administration undertook an extensive renovation of the Situation Room complex on the ground floor of the West Wing during 2006-2007 to construct multiple conference rooms incorporating state of the art secure telecommunications, video and data displays.[55] These conference facilities enable the President, Principals, Deputies, and NSS staff to securely video conference with officials around the world and across departments and agencies in Washington D.C. and the rest of the United States.

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 Jones met with NATO leaders over the appointment of a new NATO Secretary General prior to a NATO summit,[56] or with the Russian National Security Advisor and Foreign Minister on arms control issues.[57]). The Tower Commission strongly cautioned that neither the National Security Advisor nor the NSC staff should be engaged in operations, or the direct 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 NSS 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 (and, in particular, those dealing with homeland security issues) 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 National Security 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. Most recently on May 26, 2009, President Obama directed that the NSC staff and the Homeland Security Council staff be reorganized into a single "National Security Staff."[58] Although this reorganization had little effect on the normal practices of crisis response and policy development and implementation oversight, it did have the effect of fully integrating international, transnational and homeland security matters, and placing all policy matters under a single organizational chain of command.

Although the National Security Staff (NSS) frequently plays a key role in policy development and recommendations because of their direct relationship with the President, 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 NSS. Historical events also can limit or expand the roles taken on by the NSS. 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 counterterrorism 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.

Some of the responsibilities of the NSC staff/NSS that have evolved over time as a result of bureaucratic dynamics and historical developments include:[59]

- Coordination of the interagency policy process and policy implementation follow-up.
- Articulation of the President's policies to other departments and, at times, to the U.S. public (through the National Security Advisor).
- Liaison with foreign governments.
- Support to the President during telephone conversations with foreign leaders.
- Support for negotiations in Presidential summits.[60]
- Coordination of summit meetings and overseas travel by the President.
- Direct support to the President in crisis management.

The wide-ranging duties and activities of the NSS result from the fact that the National Security Advisor and the NSS 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 NSS. 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. Moreover, whenever NSS takes on operational roles it raises concerns that such actions may be conducted secretly, as well as independently of the review of other departments and agencies with greater substantive experience, and without the knowledge of other cabinet officials who have responsibilities for informing congress.[61]

For example, President Nixon's desire to ensure that he controlled 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 participated in PC meetings during the 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, the PC (or some variation if all the official PC members are not present) in the Obama administration meets several times each week based upon the number of issues requiring its attention. 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 secure telephone conference calls or secure video teleconferences (using the SVTS system). For the Obama administration, almost all PC meetings are conducted in person, with the SVTS system reserved for crises or other rapidly emerging situations. This is a departure from the pattern of the second Bush term when approximately 50% of the PC meetings were conducted using the SVTS. During the last year, meetings topics have included discussions of the overall strategies for Iraq, Afghanistan, terrorism threats, policy on U.S.-China strategic and economic relations, and relations with Pakistan, Haiti, North Korea, and Iran. Other issues that are time sensitive and involve critical U.S. interests (such as the terrorist attempt to blow up a Northwest Airlines airliner on Christmas Day 2009, the earthquake in Haiti, and increased Taliban attacks in Afghanistan during 2009) are likely to be discussed at the PC level at first, but quickly fall under the responsibility of the Deputies Committee.

Likewise, the Deputies Committee (DC) meets when necessary, often five to seven times a week (sometimes more than once in a single day), to review IPC recommendations, deliberate issues upon which the IPCs could not reach a consensus, and decide what matters should be forwarded to the PC. During the Bush administration the DC tended to have regularly scheduled meetings several times each week (e.g., Tuesday mornings and Thursday afternoons). The Obama administration DC also has found it necessary to meet several times a week (almost daily—including weekends) but tends to organize meetings in balance with the schedules of the deputies in their home departments. Like the PC, many of the DC meetings are conducted via secure telephone conference calls or SVTS. Issues worked during the last year in the Bush administration at the DC level parallel those worked at the PC level. Much like the PC during the second term of the administration, the DC has sought to balance the development of new policies with ensuring the successful implementation of existing policies.

Issues forwarded to the PC include a range of policy options, any consensus policy recommendations made at the DC and IPC level, and identification of policy issues upon which an interagency consensus could not be reached at the IPC and DC levels. In general, the DC seeks to review issue papers and policy options and recommendations provided by IPC level groups and pass them up to the PC. Other than face-to-face or SVTS meetings to discuss policy issues, the PC and, especially the DC, also have an additional mechanism called the “paper PC” or “paper DC” process. In circumstances when a policy decision or action is called for and either there is insufficient time to bring PC or DC members together for a meeting, or the issue can be handled without the time required for a face-to-face (or SVTS) meeting, the National Security Advisor will circulate a written policy draft to PC or DC members to review, adjudicate, and return within a short period of time. The DC, which tends to review a wider range of policy issues (only the most important rise to the PC level), uses the “paper DC” process much more frequently than the PC. There are often four or five “paper DC” documents circulating at any one time.

During crisis periods, the PC, DC, and IPCs 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 IPC meetings that have been held throughout the day (individual IPCs 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 principals 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.

Not only do crisis situations alter the "normal" policy review and determination processes of an administration, but, as noted above, the dynamics and processes will evolve in response to the President's preferences for managing the crisis. For example, 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 during the George W. Bush administration. 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 the Bush administration. 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 PPCs 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 IPC and DC level before being presented to the PC. As noted previously, the national security policy apparatus is not a rigid system-- it adapts to circumstances and operates according to what the President needs, wants, and supports.

Interagency Policy Committees and the Policy Process

Interagency Policy Committees (IPCs) are responsible for 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.

IPC 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. IPC planning is focused more on advance planning at the political and strategic level. IPCs 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 an IPC’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 IPC 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 IPCs, 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 IPCs 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.

- Issue Terms of Reference. Develop broad principles to guide the way the interagency group should think about a problem and craft a strategy for addressing it. Clarify IPC processes and intra-group procedures for conducting meetings and accomplishing the task(s).

- 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. “Straw man” 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. IPCs must seek ways to talk with operational-level staff to determine potential problems and solicit suggestions for effective implementation.

Draft an integrated policy options 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, resources, 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 IPC may be tasked to recommend a single policy option or multiple options, and provide majority and dissenting positions.[Ideally, this process should include mechanisms for measuring the success of the policies, i.e., “metrics.” There also should be milestones set for completion of the various components of the policy to ensure implementers are clear that action is expected to be taken, and results reported back to senior policymakers.}

Although regional or functional IPCs deal with issues unique to their area of responsibility, there are a number of issues that most, if not all, IPCs 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 IPCs 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, an IPC 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 an IPC conducts business is complicated given the range and complexity of issues addressed. Lessons learned in the IPC process for promoting collaboration and high performance include maintaining a focus on a "high conceptual level." This includes having participants support the following objectives:

<u>Share an understanding of principles, goals, and priorities</u>

- 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 IPC 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 rapidly developing crisis situations similar to the post-September 11 period in the George W. Bush first term, IPCs may find that most policy decisions are handled at the PC and DC level. The IPC 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. This may include supporting processes that move the analytical and policy options and recommendation process along in an expeditious manner, and contributing 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. NSS Directors frequently work on 3-5 IPCs simultaneously, sometimes working multiple taskings from each group in addition to their normal staff responsibilities. Moreover, NSS 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. During crisis situations, periods of threat, or rapidly developing events, IPC members may find themselves meeting several times a day over extended periods.
- 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 become mired 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. NSC/NSS officials from the last 20 years identify accomplished writing, after substantive expertise, as one of the most essential skills required for working on the NSS. The typical policy issue paper written for the National Security Advisor or the President is only a couple of pages. IPC 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 policy 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 IPCs must be able to periodically question assumptions established earlier in the crisis management cycle.

The HSC and the Policy Process

The primary role of the Homeland Security Council and the APHS/CT, currently John Brennan, is to advise the President on homeland security and counterterrorism matters. Homeland security is a critical part of overall national security and increasingly has both national and international dimensions as the U.S. seeks to increase its security by promoting cooperation with international partners.[62] As defined in the President's *National Strategy for Homeland Security* (October 2007)[63], "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, supporting domestically-based systems and processes, or safeguard against external threats through visa screening, watch lists, the foreign government Container Screening Initiative, etc.[64] The 2007 Homeland Security Strategy emphasizes leveraging a wide range of instruments of national power and influence "to prevent terrorism, protect the lives and livelihoods of the American people, and respond to and recover from incidents."[65] As such, Homeland Security policy involves a wide range of U.S. government agencies engaged in countering threats and protecting the country both at home and abroad.

In the post 9/11 security environment, U.S. national security issues encompass both foreign dangers and homeland security threats. Homeland security concerns include 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 public safety events 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, and the May 2010 Gulf of Mexico oil spill. Thus, while the

NSC emphasizes national security trends and developments outside of the U.S. 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.

Regardless of its relationship to the NSC, the HSC has numerous homeland security 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 integrate various departmental and agency perspectives, and have been coordinated across the federal government state and local governments, as well as appropriate entities in the private sector. When circumstances involving global terrorism or other threats with domestic implications occur, the APHS/CT and the National Security Advisor have shared responsibilities and 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 planning considerations for homeland security 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 and implications.

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 homeland security policy matters. The HSC is responsible for pulling together the perspectives of government agencies involved with homeland security matters that might be affected by proposed homeland security-related policy, and then coordinating those views through to a policy decision, and monitoring the implementation of the policy. The HSC deals mainly with domestic security policy issues, but also may play a major role in the consideration of issues and policy recommendations related to Canada, Mexico, other actors in the immediate CONUS geographic region, and, increasingly, states in other regions when potential homeland security issues may be involved. These bi-lateral policy issues may involve air transport security, visa screening and traveler watch lists, shipping container screening, maritime security, and border security. Although such issues are handled with the expanded NSS staff structure, they still fall under HSC policy areas rather than formal NSC policy responsibilities. HSC also is responsible for understanding the domestic implications of potential policy decisions in the homeland security area, and

working with DHS which is responsible for coordinating with state and local officials both with regard to their responsibilities,[66] on policies or DHS activities 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 forum for senior level forum for 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 (consensus is a goal—but not if the result is a policy reflecting the lowest common denominator of agreement). 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 prevent and disrupt terrorist attacks; protect critical infrastructure; respond to and recover from incidents (including natural disasters); cyber-security; bioterrorism; air, rail, road and maritime security; preparedness and protection against terrorism and natural disasters; information sharing; and coordination and communication with federal, state, and local authorities, as well as the private sector. The NSA, APHS/CT and the National Security 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)). For example, the APHS/CT typically consults weekly with DHS officials and daily with the ODNI.

The HSC NSS IPCs analyze policy issues and develop 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 homeland security through coordinated actions often involving many departments and agencies, as well as state and local governments and the private sector. 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.

KEY DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES IN THE NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY PROCESS

Department of State

Under the U.S. Constitution, the Executive Branch and 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 senior officials, including a principal Deputy Secretary of State (who serves as Acting Secretary of State in the Secretary's absence), a Deputy Secretary of State for Management and Resources, and the Counselor of the Department. Beneath the Deputy Secretaries are a series of Under Secretaries responsible for policy and management areas. Assistant Secretaries for regional and functional bureaus then follow in terms of authority and responsibilities. (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 U.S. 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 and 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, and PCs chaired by the National Security Advisor. When the Secretary is traveling abroad, a deputy may be designated to attend as State's senior representative. For example, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton has designated Deputy Secretary Steinberg to attend PCs in her absence. Similarly, Deputy Secretary Steinberg has asked Under Secretaries of Assistant Secretaries to attend DCs. Under Secretary for Political Affairs, William Burns is a prime example of an under secretary who has attended PCs and DCs, in part because of the expertise he brings to bear. Regarding IPCs, 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 Obama 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 U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, Secretary of State Albright appointed Accountability Review Boards (ARBs) for both events.[67] These boards were chaired by the late Admiral William Crowe, a former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and later U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain. This was done in accordance with U.S. 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 U.S. 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." The program to secure U.S. facilities overseas continues with $1.4B per year as the basis for the Capital Security Cost

Sharing program. Each agency having an overseas presence is expected to contribute to the $1.4B total.

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 IPCs, 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."[68] 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."[69] Working under the authority of NSPD-44, S/CRS has established a number of sub-IPC working groups to plan, prepare, and conduct stabilization and reconstruction missions. The office works with the U.S. Agency for International Development (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."[70]

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." [71]

Department of Defense

To understand and have an appreciation of the Department of Defense's (DOD'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, 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

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 where the Secretary of Defense exercises authority, direction and control over the Department of Defense, and serves as a member of the President's Cabinet and the National Security Council. The Secretary of Defense, together with the Commander-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) is the senior ranking member of the U.S. armed forces and the principal military advisor to the President and the Secretary of Defense, but by law does not exercise military command. 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 that works 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 national level 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 defense and civil support [72] issues, the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Homeland Defense and Americas' Security Affairs is the single point of contact for the many directorates and agencies within the Department of Defense.

Historically, It was uncommon for representatives from the unified commands or the individual services to attend the most senior level 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. The Joint Staff typically represents the combatant commanders in interagency meetings. 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, the NSC, and the HSC[73]. (The Joint staff worked for the JCS as a body prior to 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.)

The advent of U.S. military interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan, combined with enhanced teleconferencing upgrades to the White Situation room, have led to increased participation by theater commanders in SVTS sessions with the President. For example, during the U.S. "surge" of military forces into the Baghdad region during 2007, Gen. David Petraeus, the Commander of Multi-National Force-Iraq, participated in SVTS sessions with President Bush to discuss developments in the country. Likewise, Gen. Petraeus, as the current Commander, International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) and Commander, U.S. Forces Afghanistan, regularly participates in SVTS conferences with President Obama and his national security team. Moreover, widespread VTC capabilities have facilitated increased participation by military commands in lower level interagency VTC conferences. For example, since 2009 the Pentagon has hosted a weekly Pakistan-Afghanistan Federation Forum VTC that includes various U.S. military commands in the U.S. and around the world, the State Department in Washington, D.C. and overseas embassies, White House NSS staff members, the U.S. Agency for International Development, and other executive branch agencies. VTC forums such as the PAK-AF forum allow the military and civilian interagency components concerned with specific national security issues to share information and plan strategy on a regular basis.

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. 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."[74] 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."[75]

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, as well as the limitations and potential consequences in using such forces. 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 three primary concerns are possible uses of military forces, expenditure of Defense resources, and preventing a situation from deteriorating to the point that it requires military intervention. In some circumstances, for example the period of combat operations in Iraq and current combat operations in Afghanistan, however, DOD plays a more than equal role in foreign policy discussions because of coalition military considerations (e.g., civil-military, nation-building and/or stability operations in Afghanistan and Iraq), 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 US Central Command (USCENTCOM) 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. These political interests 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 third concern is preventing a situation from deteriorating to the point that it requires military intervention. DOD plays an active role in interagency meetings shaping the strategic situation in many regions of the world. DOD strives to ensure that USG policy and resources are adequately coordinated to shape the environment and obtain results favorable to U.S. interests. Working

closely with the Department of State, USAID and other agencies, DOD's involvement in regional programs can be the catalyst for policy changes that could avert future military intervention. An example of this was DOD's active role in changing USG policy regarding Colombia. Until 2002, U.S. policy for Colombia was primarily based upon helping Colombia reduce its drug production. After 9/11, DOD lobbied hard for a change in the policy and was successful in getting a PC to authorize the development of a new NSPD for Colombia. DOD led the effort to produce NSPD 18 on November 2002--in effect changing the Colombia policy from counter-drug to counter-narcoterrorism. This policy's immediate impact was the strengthening of the Colombian government and avoiding potential instability that could have triggered a request for U.S. military intervention.

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, as well as the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami disaster response operations, and the 2005 Hurricanes Katrina and Rita disaster response operations broadened the scope of DOD's contacts, roles and missions in the interagency arena. In response to the terrorist attacks and the need for greater coordination and integrated operations with mission partners, DOD approved the concept of Joint Interagency Coordination Groups (JIACG) to improve interagency cooperation and improve operational effectiveness for all Geographic Combatant Commands, USJFCOM, USTRANSCOM, USSOCOM, and USSTRATCOM. 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, as well as private voluntary or non-governmental organizations (PVOs or NGOs) such as the American Red Cross.

The JIACG concept seeks to establish operational connections between civilian and military departments and agencies that will improve planning and coordination within the government.[76] The JIACG is 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 support Joint Planning Groups, Joint Operations Groups, Interagency Coordination Groups, and Joint Support Cells.

JIACGs complement the interagency coordination that takes place at the strategic level through the National Security Council System (NSCS). Members participate in deliberate, crisis, and transition planning, and provide links back to their parent civilian agencies to help synchronize joint task force (JTF) operations with the efforts of civilian USG agencies and departments.

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, requirements and 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 domestic, international, intergovernmental, regional, and Private Sector/Non-Governmental (PS/NGO) 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, USEUCOM identifies the mission of its USEUCOM 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 (CT) 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."[77]

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 United States Northern Command (See Appendix F for a USNORTHCOM organizational chart). The command's mission is to conduct homeland defense, civil support and security cooperation to defend and secure the United States and its interests. The AOR includes the U.S. (minus Hawaii which is in US Pacific Command's AOR), Canada, Mexico, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Bahamas, Turks and Caicos Islands, and associated Maritime areas. USNORTHCOM has both a homeland defense mission and a civil support mission including defense support of civilian authorities (DSCA) operations as directed by the President or Secretary of Defense.

The Commander of USNORTHCOM is dual-hatted as the NORAD Commander. NORAD has unique security relationships with various interagency partners in the U.S. and Canada. Close working relationships with The Royal Canadian Mounted Police, DHS's Customs and Border Protection, and Department of Justice's Federal Bureau of Investigation link both countries together in the day-to-day air defense of North America. This dual command

arrangement is unique in the sense that NORAD and USNORTHCOM mission areas have direct implications for both HSC and NSC policy matters. The USNORTHCOM organization reflects the complexity of the area of responsibility (AOR). To facilitate coordination with federal, state and local agencies, the Command has a robust Interagency Coordination (IC) directorate headed by a Senior Executive Service (SES) official. In concert with the Assistant Secretary for Homeland Defense, interagency activities range from incident response, to operational planning, to Theater Security Cooperation and Building Partnership Capacity programs and efforts, to joint exercises between the Department of Homeland Security and USNORTHCOM on topics such as multiple hazard chemical, biological, radiological, nuclear and high-yield explosive (CBRNE) incidents; threats to infrastructure, aviation, or shipping facilities; airport, port, and border security; and support to civil authorities.

USNORTHCOM works closely with the Department of Homeland Security and other Federal agencies on issues pertaining to Homeland Defense and Homeland Security such as the coordinating and de-conflicting responsibilities for maritime awareness and interdiction, and counter-drug and counter-narcoterrorism operations. When directed by the President or Secretary of Defense, USNORTHCOM provides defense support of civil authorities (i.e., DSCA, including responding to requests for assistance (RFAs) when local, state, or Federal agencies need DOD capabilities such as aviation support, specialized medical support, etc.) and also coordinates with the National Guard to integrate their capabilities when they are in State or Federal status.[78] The homeland defense/civil support requirements for USNORTHCOM necessitate that it often is involved in very non-traditional operations for a geographic combatant command. Recent examples of NORAD activities include support for recovery operations of the Space Shuttle Columbia disaster, military support for the United Nations General Assembly, G-8/G-20 Summits, Democratic and Republican Conventions, POTUS protection, and Presidential inaugurations and funerals. Moreover, NORAD continues to provide Operation Noble Eagle combat air patrols ensuring air defense coverage for North America, including the National Capital Region (NCR) and during National Special Security Events (NSSE). The NSSEs, POTUS protection, and NCR security, NORAD works daily with the United States Secret Service, Transportation Security Administration, Federal Aviation Administration, Transport Canada, and numerous other interagency partners both in the U.S. and Canada. In the NCR, the multi-domain NCR Coordination Center (NCRCC) has representatives from the NORAD Eastern Air Defense Sector in the same facility with all federal agencies involved with aviation security in the NCR.

Some of USNORTHCOM's unique challenges include:

- Planning for active duty, reserve, and National Guard requirement contingencies for homeland defense or civil support.

- Planning for prevention, response, and consequence management for the possibility of multiple, simultaneous geographically dispersed terrorist incidents in CONUS.
- Managing planning requirements since USNORTHCOM has a limited number of assigned forces for civil support. In the event of incidents that might require the use of military forces in CONUS, USNORTHCOM is responsible for specifying to DOD what capabilities are needed. If approved by DOD, the Joint Staff directs Joint Forces Command to identify and allocate those forces needed for civil support. The inherent time delay in this process and the training capabilities or shortfalls of available forces are important issues, especially when put in the context of responding in a timely and effective manner to 9/11 and/or Hurricane Katrina level (or greater) homeland events.
- Advocating for homeland defense planning to 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, DOJ, state and local entities, and NGOs to ensure mutual understanding and unity of effort. USNORTHCOM coordinates with the interagency community so that mechanisms for CONUS incidents will be driven by the type of problem encountered rather than by pre-set bureaucratic structures.
- Provide early situational awareness, conduct effective operations when required, and facilitate planning for future operations.
- Promoting information sharing between USNORTHCOM and federal, state, local, and PS/NGO partners.
- Enhancing interoperable communications during catastrophic disasters to be able to provide support where needed, when needed. Viable and interoperable communication nodes are necessary to expedite USNORTHCOM's assistance and to target support where the critical need exists.
- Establish a Common Operating Picture. Catastrophic disasters mandate a requirement for quick assessment of the situation and support needs from affected locations. The Federal Government and USNORTHCOM require real time information about the magnitude and effects of natural and manmade disasters to properly, and promptly, tailor effective DOD support to Homeland Defense and Civil Support partners.

The Intelligence Community

The primary role of the intelligence community in the process of national security decision-making is to provide information and analysis of that information to help policy-makers (including war-fighters and those in the law enforcement communities) understand the elements and dynamics of the various situations they must address. Information provided by the Director of National Intelligence,

Central Intelligence Agency, Defense Intelligence Agency, National Security Agency, National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency, Federal Bureau of Investigation, and other intelligence community components contribute to the overall assessment about what is happening on the ground, what is the nature of a geographic area of concern, who are the actors, what are their dispositions, and what are their likely capabilities and intentions. The latter is the most difficult analysis for the intelligence community to produce and may sometimes result in differing opinions and predictions, based upon the inherently subjective nature such analysis. (See Appendix G for an Intelligence Community organizational chart)

The Office of the Director of National Intelligence (ODNI) was established in December 2004 by the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004, further amending the National Security Act of 1947. The Director of National Intelligence (DNI), who is appointed by the President and must be confirmed by the U.S. Senate, is the principal adviser to the President and National Security and Homeland Security Councils, and serves as the leader of the ODNI, and the U.S. intelligence community. The DNI establishes objectives, priorities, and guidance for the intelligence community and manages and directs tasking of collection, analysis, production, and dissemination of national intelligence.[79] 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 monitoring the execution of the National Intelligence Program (NIP) and provides advisory tasking to intelligence elements of departments and agencies outside of the NIP. The DNI has the authority to establish national intelligence centers as necessary and is responsible for the management of the National Intelligence Council (NIC) which produces 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, including the President's Daily Brief (PDB).

Since the establishment of the ODNI in 2005 and the appointment of its first director in April of that year, the DNI has assumed the role of primary intelligence advisor to the President and the NSC and HSC, 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 per CIA authorities and equities. The DNI also has the authority to issue binding policy directives to the various elements of the intelligence community.

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, NSA, NGA, etc.) have not changed with the establishment of the ODNI. Of note, though, the ODNI now owns the President's Daily Brief, with input from across the Community. Whenever covert action activities are being considered, the DCIA is 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 elements in the intelligence community in IPCs or other national security 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 conditions (political, social, economic, military, transportation, communications, public health, environmental, 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 U.S. courses of action on specific individuals, groups, or national and regional populations. However, remember that policymakers may not always get all the information they want or feel that they need. The intelligence community is highly capable, but not omniscient.

An example of intelligence support to the interagency policy process 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. As part of that last responsibility, the NCTC ensures that all elements of the Executive Branch—beyond just elements of the Intelligence Community—are coordinated in their counterterrorism efforts. The Director of the NCTC (D/NCTC) has two reporting channels. Regarding intelligence operations conducted by the intelligence community and NCTC's intelligence analysis activities, the D/NCTC reports to the DNI. On matters concerning the planning and progress of joint counterterrorism operations (other than wholly intelligence operations), the D/NCTC reports to the President.

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, unfortunately, 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, 2001attacks and the continuing terrorist threats to the United States, President George W. Bush established the Homeland Security Council in October 2001 and a new Department of Homeland Security in March 2003. The Homeland Security Council is discussed earlier in this report in the Homeland Security Council Organization section.

Department of Homeland Security

The U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) was formed on March 1, 2003, through the merger of nearly 30 programs and agencies (currently over 225,000 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."[80]

To accomplish this mission, DHS has identified five responsibilities:[81]

- Guarding Against Terrorism:

Protecting the American people from terrorist threats is DHS's founding principle and highest priority. This is an effort where everyone - families and communities, first responders, the private sector, state and local governments, as well as the federal government - has an important role to play. We will direct every resource available toward prevention and preparedness, and empower Americans to live in a constant state of readiness, not a constant state of fear.

- Securing our Borders:

Fulfilling DHS's mission also means securing our borders - our Southern border, our Northern border, and our air and sea ports of entry, while also facilitating legitimate commerce. Every year, DHS apprehends and deports more than a million illegal immigrants, focusing on those with criminal records, and we are using technology, manpower and physical infrastructure to improve operational control of our borders. Recently, DHS announced a new initiative to strengthen security on the Southwest border to disrupt the drug, cash and weapon smuggling that is helping to fuel cartel violence in Mexico.

- Enforcing our Immigration Laws

The Department bears responsibility for facilitating legal immigration and naturalizing new Americans - as well as providing a range of other immigration services - while cracking down on those who violate our nation's laws. In recent months, DHS has issued new guidance to their agents in the field to focus their energies on apprehending criminal illegal aliens and prosecuting employers who knowingly hire illegal workers. At the same time, DHS is committed to providing employers with the most up-to-date and effective resources to maintain a legal workforce through the expansion of the E-Verify program.

- Improving our Readiness for, Response to and Recovery from Disasters

The Department plays a critical role in helping communities in all stages of a disaster - preparation, response and long term recovery. Empowering and educating communities and businesses through Ready.gov is one important approach. Since January, DHS has also taken the lead on coordinating the government's response to the H1N1 virus, and worked in close coordination with local authorities to respond to severe storms in Arkansas, Kentucky, and Missouri and flooding in North Dakota and Minnesota.

- Maturing and Unifying the Department

Six years on since the Department's creation, DHS's goal is simple: one DHS, one enterprise, a shared vision, with integrated results-based operations. Through a consolidated headquarters, they are bringing 35 Washington, D.C.-area office locations together. DHS is implementing a series of wide-ranging efficiency initiatives that leverage the economies of scale at the Department in

order to recover hundreds of millions of dollars and create a culture of responsibility and fiscal discipline.

DHS is charged with synthesizing and analyzing homeland security 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, border 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 Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Director of National Intelligence (DNI), Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and other 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 three major "Directorates" besides the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), seven operational Components, and 18 support Components (See Appendix H for a DHS organizational chart).[82]

Directorates

- **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, 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.

DHS Operational Components

- Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA)
- United States Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS)
- United States Coast Guard (USCG)
- United States Customs and Border Protection (CBP)
- United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)
- United States Secret Service (USSS)
- Transportation Security Administration (TSA)

Because of the overlapping issues between the global war on terrorism, homeland defense, and homeland security, DHS works with the Department of Defense's (DOD) Assistant Secretary for Homeland Defense, and with a number of DOD and other U.S. Government entities, including USNORTHCOM as mentioned above in the section on the Department of Defense. In addition to DOD, DHS works on a daily basis with the 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.

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. Because of its broad responsibilities for homeland security, and its complex, multi-organizational structure, DHS has researched best practices in other departments and agencies, and developed structures and processes to more effectively manage its roles and missions. For example, like other agencies with responsibilities for national security operations, DHS staffs a 24-hour watch center (National Operations Center) for threat analysis and incident response. The Secretary of Homeland Security and senior advisors receive a daily security brief about developments, warning issues, policy concerns, and intelligence analysis. There are formalized procedures for dealing with IPCs, the National Security Staff, and responding to congressional inquiries and taskers. DHS has established a White House Actions and Interagency Coordination staff which is designed to be a single point of contact for White House and interagency concerns and views, as well as ensuring that official DHS positions are coordinated and communicated through a single entity.

In early 2007 DHS established IPC Action Officer Networks to facilitate the timely analysis of issues and coordination of interagency policy documents throughout the Department. The designation of action officers in each DHS Component facilitated the ability of DHS IPC leads or representatives to have

routine and rapid access to points of contact designated to speak for each Component on issues that might be before an HSC working group. Action officers likewise have the responsibility to ensure that DHS Directorate and Component leadership are aware of current policy considerations and IPC developments. In addition to a formalized structure to support its participation in IPCs, DHS also has established standard operating procedures for supporting DHS participation at the HSC Deputies and Principals Committees level. These include staff work on interagency coordination and policy development, tasker identification, scheduling and briefing preparation, meeting participants and support, IPC developments, and preparation of meeting Summary of Conclusions (SOC).

In addition to senior level policy development, coordination, and implementation, and defense against terrorist threats, DHS also must address preparations for responding to major emergencies within the U.S. According to Homeland Security Presidential Directive (HSPD) -5, "The Secretary of Homeland Security is the principal Federal official (PFO) for domestic incident management."[83] As such, the DHS Secretary is solely "responsible for coordinating Federal operations within the United States to prepare for, respond to, and recover from terrorist attacks, major disasters, and other emergencies."[84] To coordinate the myriad federal, state, and local agencies that would be involved in a terrorist attack, major disaster or other homeland security "incident" is a daunting challenge for interagency cooperation and management. In response to this challenge, DHS may activate a strategic- level interagency Crisis Action Team to support execution of the Secretary of DHS' ability to execute his or her HSPD-5 responsibilities. When activated, the DHS Crisis Action Team will integrate its effort with DHS' National Operations Center to conduct its primary functions of strategic-level "situational awareness reporting, decision support, and planning activities" in support of the Secretary of DHS.[85]

Whenever a DHS Crisis Action Teams is activated, its planning support will be provided by the Incident Management Planning Team (IMPT), which exists to provide "contingency and crisis-action incident management planning" in preparation for such emergencies. The IMPT staff has direct access to subject matter experts from various DHS Components, interagency departments and agencies and non-governmental organizations, and an "on call" staff drawing from a still wider variety of other government agencies when appropriate for the incident at hand. The IMPT utilizes the planning process described in the Integrated Planning System (IPS) to conduct interagency contingency and crisis action planning. The objective of the IPS is to "develop and establish a framework to coordinate Federal support to State, local and Tribal entities when needed." The IPS builds upon the structure and processes of the National Response Framework managed by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). [86]

In the national security world of post 9/11, it is clear that the lines between traditional national security and homeland security increasingly have become blurred. The significant overlap of individuals who are members both of the National Security Council (NSC) and the HSC, the many overlapping issues handled by the respective PCs and DCs, and the many joint NSC-HSC IPCs all reflect the domestic nature of national security, and the many international facets of homeland security and defense. The highly complex aspects of trend analysis and interagency policy development, coordination, integration, implementation, and monitoring increasingly will continually test the ability of the many components of the U.S. Government and its senior policymakers to work together both across inter-departmental lines and international dimensions. The country and its national/homeland security apparatus must be capable of responding in innovative ways to new challenges that emerge and to ensure that the myriad departments and agencies of the executive branch are able to work together effectively to advance U.S. national security efforts. Nothing less than the security of the United States of America is at stake.

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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)
Obama	Presidential Policy Directive (PPD)[87]

Note: Presidents use Executive Orders and PPDs (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

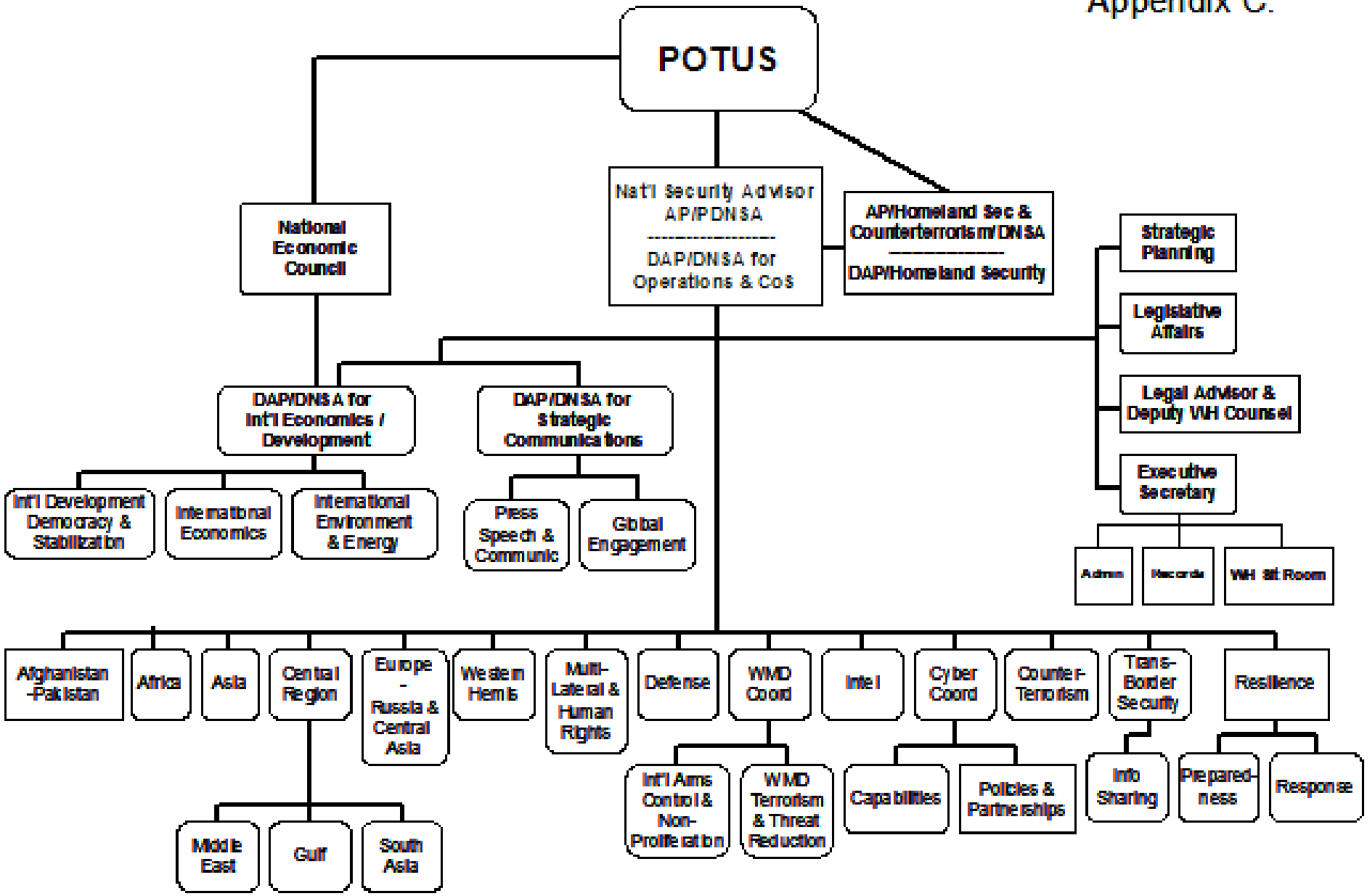
On March 23, 1953, President Dwight D. Eisenhower established the position of Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. The following is a list of the people who have occupied this position:

	Appointed	Departed
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	January 19, 2009
James Jones	January 20, 2009	October 8, 2010
Thomas Donilon	October 8, 2010	to present

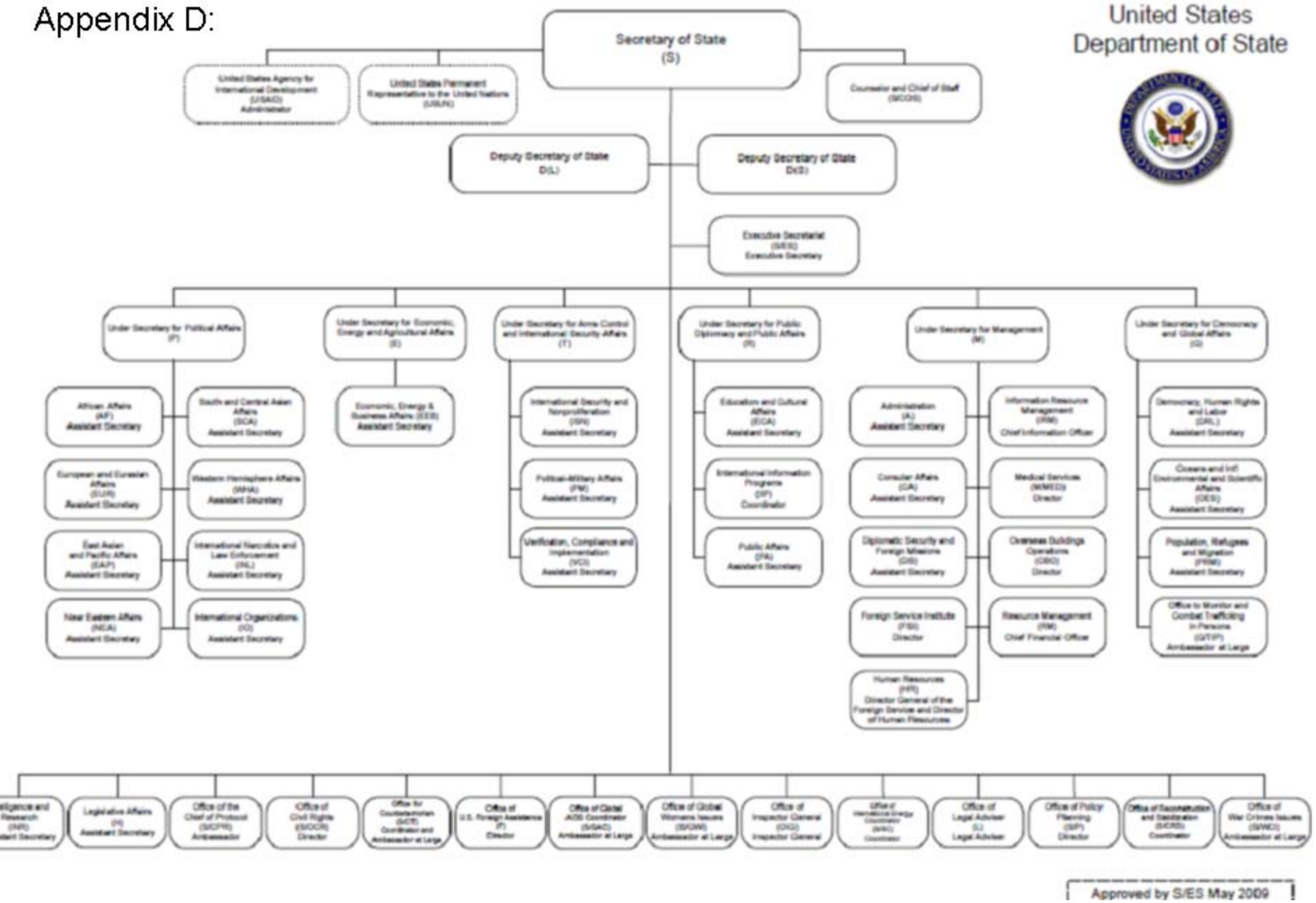
* Henry Kissinger served concurrently as Secretary of State from September 21, 1973 until November 3, 1975.

National Security Staff (Dec 2009)

Appendix C:

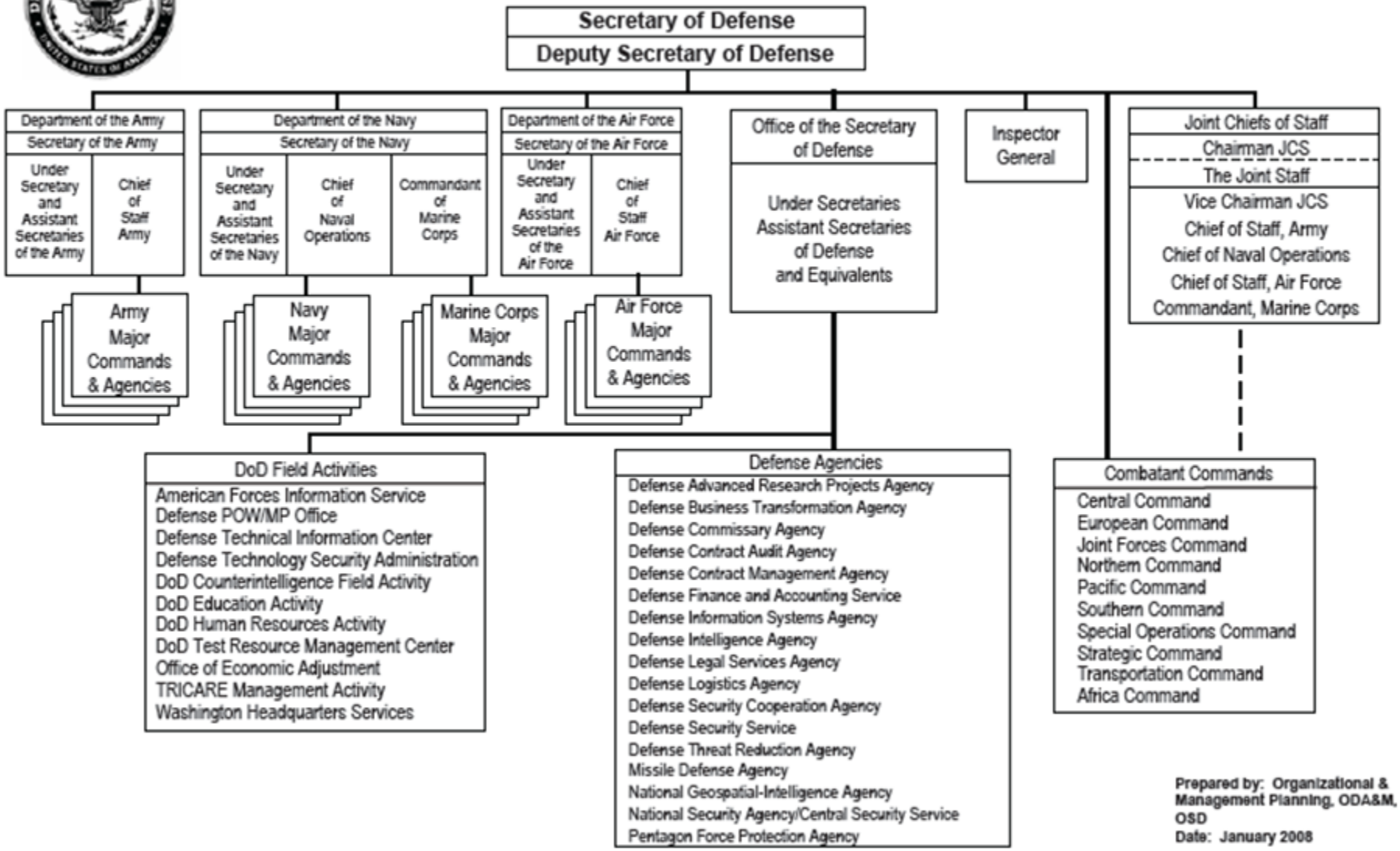


Appendix D:


United States
Department of State
Secretary of State
(S)
United States Agency for International Development (USAID) Administrator
United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations (USUN)
Counselor and Chief of Staff (S/COS)
Deputy Secretary of State D(L)
Deputy Secretary of State D(S)
Executive Secretariat (S/ES) Executive Secretary
Under Secretary for Political Affairs (P)
Under Secretary for Economic, Energy and Agricultural Affairs (E)
Under Secretary for Arms Control and International Security Affairs (T)
Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs (R)
Under Secretary for Management (M)
Under Secretary for Democracy and Global Affairs (G)
African Affairs (AF) Assistant Secretary
South and Central Asian Affairs (SCA) Assistant Secretary
European and Eurasian Affairs (EUR) Assistant Secretary
Western Hemisphere Affairs (WHA) Assistant Secretary
East Asian and Pacific Affairs (EAP) Assistant Secretary
International Narcotics and Law Enforcement (INL) Assistant Secretary
Near Eastern Affairs (NEA) Assistant Secretary
International Organizations (IO) Assistant Secretary
Economic, Energy & Business Affairs (EEB) Assistant Secretary
International Security and Nonproliferation (ISN) Assistant Secretary
Political-Military Affairs (PM) Assistant Secretary
Verification, Compliance and Implementation (VCI) Assistant Secretary
Education and Cultural Affairs (ECA) Assistant Secretary
International Information Programs (IIP) Coordinator
Public Affairs (PA) Assistant Secretary
Administration (A) Assistant Secretary
Information Resource Management (IRM) Chief Information Officer
Consular Affairs (CA) Assistant Secretary
Medical Services (MED) Director
Diplomatic Security and Foreign Missions (DS) Assistant Secretary
Overseas Buildings Operations (OBO) Director
Foreign Service Institute (FSI) Director
Resource Management (RM) Chief Financial Officer
Human Resources (HR) Director General of the Foreign Service and Director of Human Resources
Democracy, Human Rights and Labor (DRL) Assistant Secretary
Oceans and Int'l Environmental and Scientific Affairs (OES) Assistant Secretary
Population, Refugees and Migration (PRM) Assistant Secretary
Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons (G/TIP) Ambassador at Large
Legislative Affairs (H) Assistant Secretary
Office of the Chief of Protocol (S/CPR) Ambassador
Office of Civil Rights (S/OCR) Director
Office of U.S. Foreign Assistance (F) Director
Office of Global AIDS Coordinator (S/GAC) Ambassador at Large
Office of Global Women's Issues (S/GWI) Ambassador at Large
Office of Inspector General (OIG) Inspector General
Office of Legal Adviser (L) Legal Adviser
Office of Policy Planning (S/P) Director
Office of War Crimes Issues (S/WCI) Ambassador at Large
Approved by S/ES May 2009

Department of Defense

Appendix E:



Prepared by: Organizational & Management Planning, ODA&M, OSD
Date: January 2008

Appendix F:

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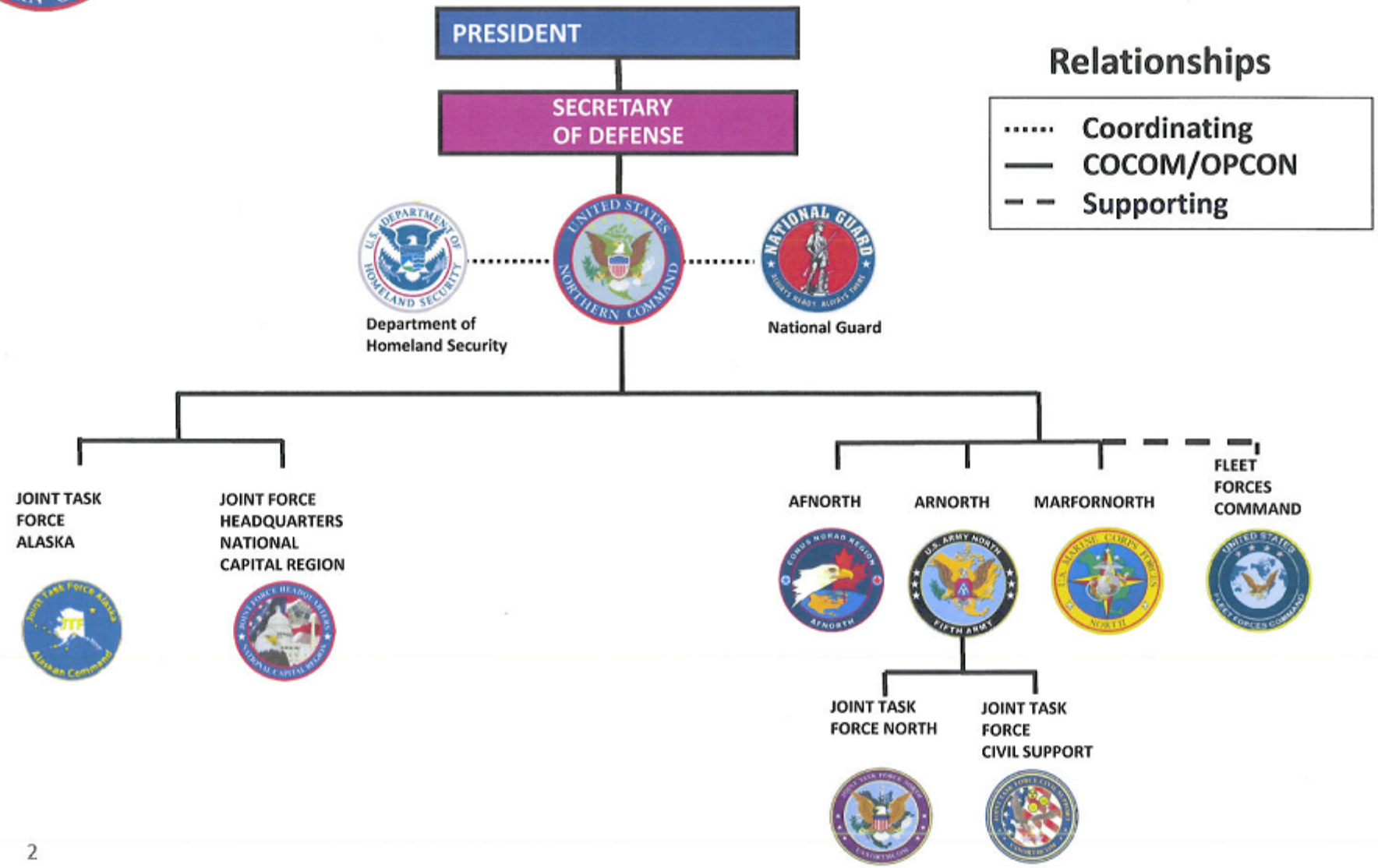
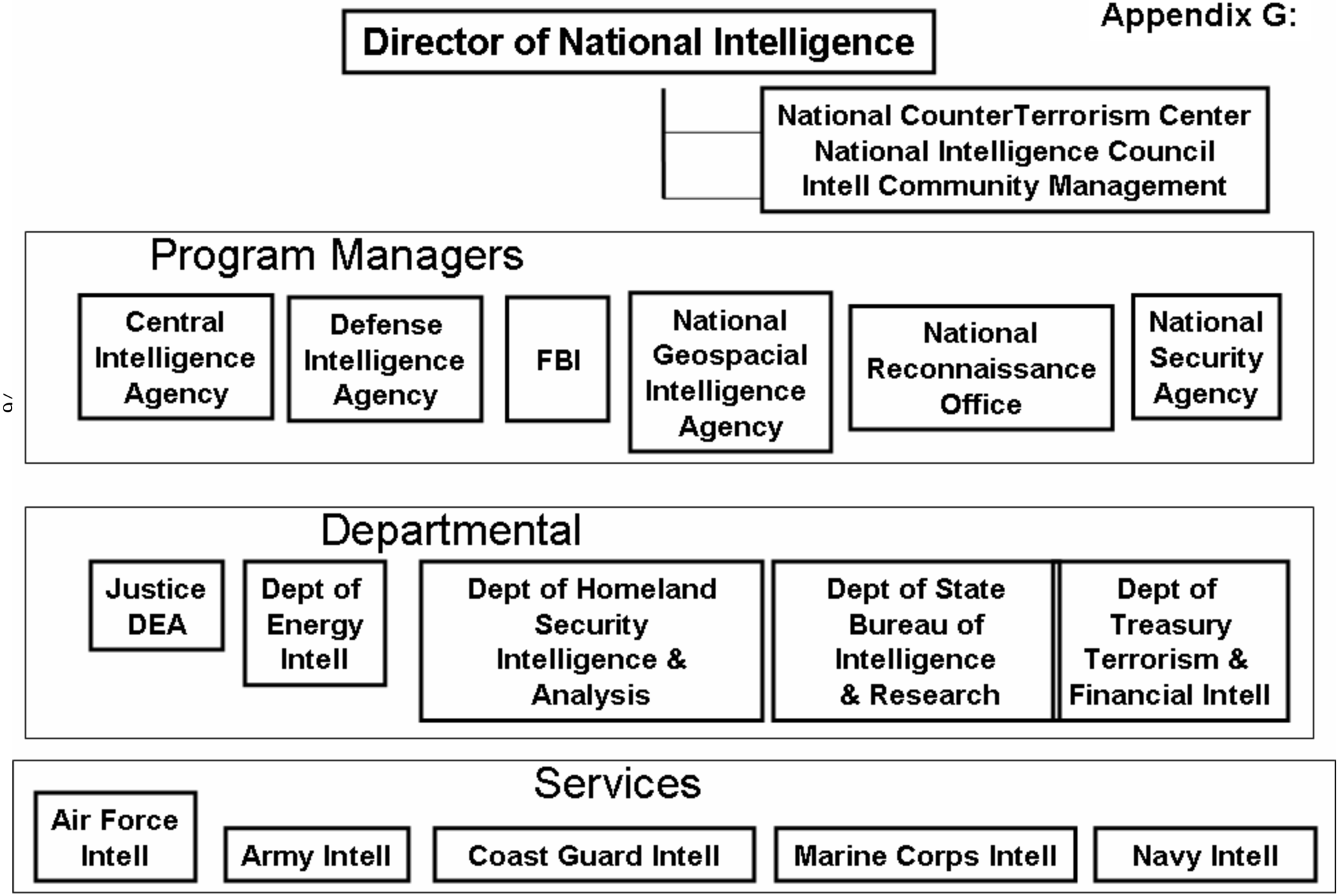
USNORTHCOM C2



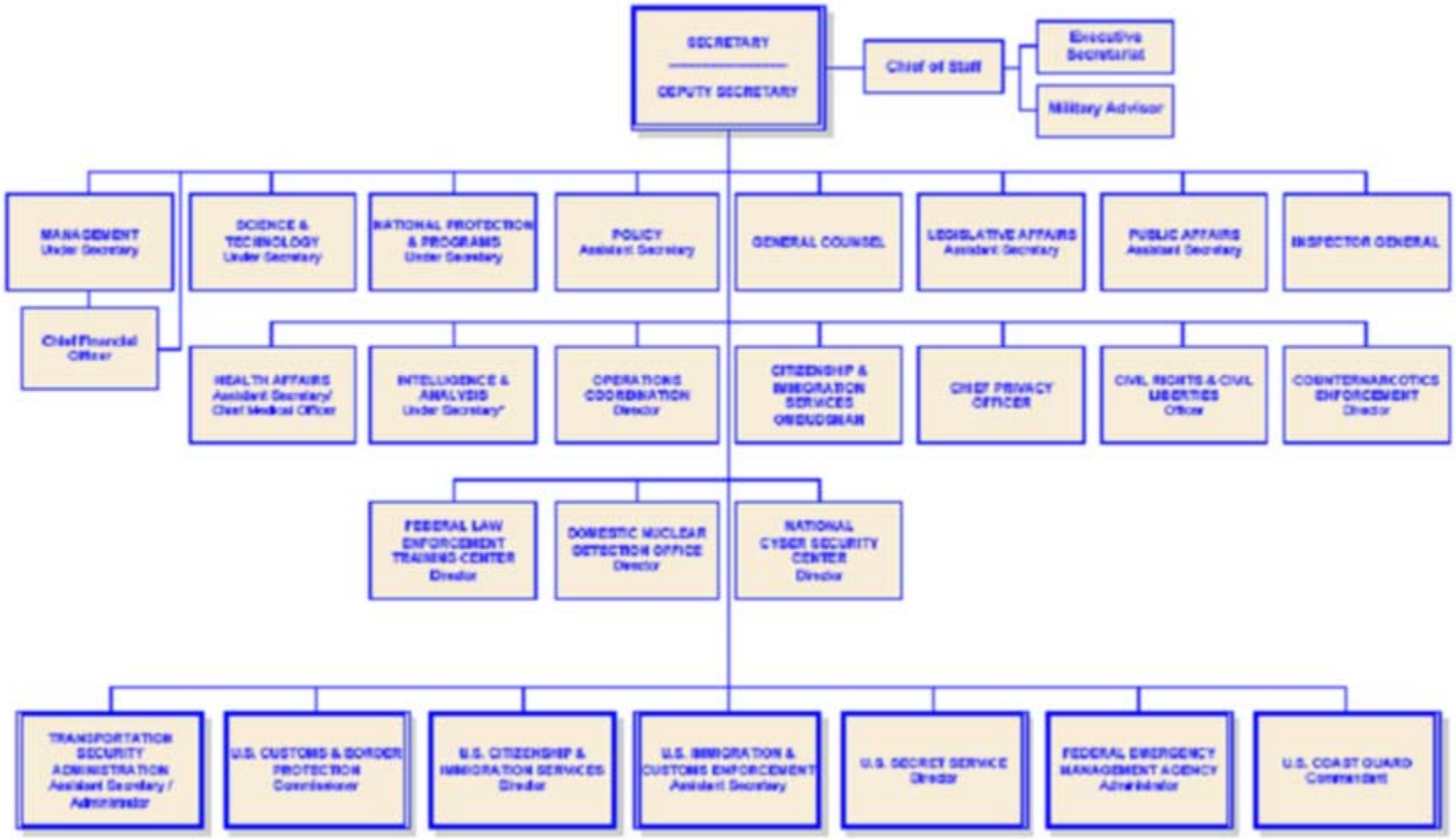
U.S. Intelligence Community

Appendix G:



Appendix H:

U.S. Department of Homeland Security



* Under Secretary for Intelligence & Analysis title created by Public Law 110-53, Aug. 3rd, 2007

ENDNOTES

[1] See "National Security Council", U.S. Government White House Website, Retrieved March 2010: http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/ .

[2] See "National Security Council, History", U.S. Government White House Website, Retrieved March 2010: http://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/eop/nsc/history/. 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.

[3] 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.

[4] 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.

[5] See National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States. (Philip Zelikow, Executive Director; Bonnie D. Jenkins, Counsel; Ernest R. May, Senior Advisor). *The 9/11 Commission Report*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2004.

[6] 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.

[7] 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.

[8] 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.

[9] See "National Security Council, History", U.S. Government White House Website, Retrieved March 2010: http://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/eop/nsc/history/ ; 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.

[10] See "National Security Council, History", U.S. Government White House Website, Retrieved March 2010: http://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/eop/nsc/history/; 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.

[11] See "National Security Council, History", U.S. Government White House Website, Retrieved March 2010: http://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/eop/nsc/history/; 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.

[12] See "National Security Council, History", U.S. Government White House Website, Retrieved March 2010: http://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/eop/nsc/history/; Paul S. Stevens, "The National Security Council: Past and Prologue. *Strategic Review*, Winter 1989, pp 56-57.

[13] See "National Security Council, History", U.S. Government White House Website, Retrieved March 2010: http://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/eop/nsc/history/; 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.

[14] 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.

[15] See "National Security Council, History", U.S. Government White House Website, Retrieved March 2010: http://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/eop/nsc/history/; 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.

[16] "National Security Council, History", U.S. Government White House Website, Retrieved March 2010: http://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/eop/nsc/history/.

[17] See "National Security Council, History", U.S. Government White House Website, Retrieved March 2010: http://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/eop/nsc/history/; Paul S. Stevens, "The National Security Council: Past and Prologue. *Strategic Review*, Winter 1989, pg 58;

[18] See "National Security Council, History", U.S. Government White House Website, Retrieved March 2010: http://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/eop/nsc/history/; 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.

[19] See "National Security Council, History", U.S. Government White House Website, Retrieved March 2010: http://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/eop/nsc/history/; 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.

[20] See "National Security Council, History", U.S. Government White House Website, Retrieved March 2010: http://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/eop/nsc/history/; 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;

[21] See "National Security Council, History", U.S. Government White House Website, Retrieved March 2010: http://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/eop/nsc/history/; 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.

[22] See "National Security Council, History", U.S. Government White House Website, Retrieved March 2010:
http://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/eop/nsc/history/; 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.
[23] See "National Security Council, History", U.S. Government White House Website, Retrieved March 2010:
http://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/eop/nsc/history/; 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.283-284.
[24] 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.
[25] See *Report of the President's Special Review Board,* U.S. Government Printing Office, February 26, 1987.
[26] See Presidential Policy Directive-1 (February 13, 2009). Retrieved March 2010. Federation of American Scientists website: http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/direct.htm

[27] Beginning in February 2002, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence conducted a joint investigation into the activities of the U.S. Intelligence Community with regard to the September 11, 2001 attacks against the United States. The joint congressional investigation, entitled the Joint Inquiry into Intelligence Community Activities before and after the Terrorist Attacks of September 11, 2001 or 'JIICATAS911," released its final report in December 2002. Concurrently, Congress and President Bush agreed to establish an independent bipartisan commission "to prepare a full and complete account of the circumstances" regarding the terrorist attacks of 9/11. Upon the enactment of Public Law 107-306 on November 27, 2002, the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (more commonly known as the 9/11 Commission) was established. The commission released its final report in July 2004. For additional information on the Joint Inquiry, see: http://www.gpoaccess.gov/serialset/creports/911.html. For additional information on the 9/11 Commission, see: http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/911/report/index.htm

[28] The White House, Office of the Press Secretary May 15, 2007 Fact Sheet: Lieutenant General Douglas E. Lute: Experience and Authority. Originally Retrieved November 2008: http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2007/05/20070515-10.html

[29] The Secretary of Energy was added as a statutory member of the National Security Council by the Energy Independence and Security Act of 2007 (P.L. 110-140, H.R. 6), in Title IX: International Energy Programs, Subtitle C, Miscellaneous Provisions, Section 932: National Security Council Reorganization. This section amended Section 101(a) of the National Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 402(a)).

[30] Although called by a variety of names in past administrations, this most senior policy group below the National Security Council has been called the Principals Committee since the administration of George H.W. Bush (1989-1993).

[31] See Presidential Policy Directive-1 (February 13, 2009). Retrieved March 2010. Federation of American Scientists website: http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/direct.htm

[32] See Presidential Policy Directive-1 (February 13, 2009). Retrieved March 2010. Federation of American Scientists website: http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/direct.htm

[33] These groups were called Interagency Working Groups (IWGs, pronounced “i-wigs”) during the Clinton administration, Policy Coordination Committees, or PCCs, during the George W. Bush administration, and Interagency Policy Committees, or IPCs, by the Obama administration. Regardless of the name assigned, these working groups have shared similar responsibilities, functions, and seniority of participants in each administration.

[34] The Executive Office of the President (EOP) was created in 1939 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The EOP is composed of senior advisory groups or offices established to advise the President across a range of critical policy areas and is overseen by the White House Chief of Staff. The following entities exist within

the Executive Office of the President: National Security Council, National Economic Council, Council of Economic Advisers, Council on Environmental Quality, Domestic Policy Council, Office of Administration, Office of Management and Budget, Office of National Drug Control Policy, Office of Science and Technology Policy, Office of the United States Trade Representative, President's Economic Recovery Advisory Board, President's Intelligence Advisory Board and Intelligence Oversight Board, White House Military Office, and the White House Office. Retrieved March 2010. White House website: http://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/eop

[35] See Statement by the President on the White House Organization for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism, White House Press Office, May 26, 2009. U.S. Government White House Website. Retrieved March 2010: http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Statement-by-the-President-on-the-White-House-Organization-for-Homeland-Security-and-Counterterrorism

[36] See Presidential Study Directive-1 (February 23, 2009). Retrieved March 2010. Federation of American Scientists website: http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/direct.htm

[37] See Statement by the President on the White House Organization for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism, White House Press Office, May 26, 2009. U.S. Government White House Website. Retrieved March 2010: http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Statement-by-the-President-on-the-White-House-Organization-for-Homeland-Security-and-Counterterrorism

[38] See Remarks by the President on Securing Our Nation's Cyber Infrastructure, White House Press Office, May 29, 2009. U.S. Government White House Website. Retrieved March 2010: http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-by-the-President-on-Securing-Our-Nations-Cyber-Infrastructure

[39] Within the Executive Office of the President, the most senior staff members have the title of Assistant to the President (such as the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs--more commonly known as the National Security Advisor). Next in seniority on the staff are Deputy Assistants to the President. The third level of seniority are the Special Assistant to the President, who often also are the Senior Directors who manage the various regional and functional offices. The fourth level of seniority is Senior Directors who do not hold the title of Special Assistant to the President. Finally, the fifth level of substantive staff at the NSC hold the title of Director in regional or functional areas. NSC staff also may include "Special Advisors" who are responsible for areas of special concern to the President. See Appendix C for an organizational chart of the NSC staff.

[40] See White House memorandum, March 28, 2005. Retrieved March 2010. Federation of American Scientists website: http://www.fas.org/irp/news/2005/03/nsc-reorg.pdf

[41] The Obama White House has three APs (two of whom are DNSAs) and five DAPs (three of whom are DNSAs). The following positions utilize these titles:
Assistant to the President and National Security Advisor
Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor

Assistant to the President for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism (is a DNSA, but this designation is not used in his title)
Deputy Assistant to the President and National Security Staff Chief of Staff (is a DNSA, but this designation is not used in his title)
Deputy Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategic Communications and Speechwriting
Deputy Assistant to the President for International Economic Affairs
Deputy Assistant to the President for Homeland Security (not a DNSA)

[42] See Homeland Security Presidential Directive-1, (October 29, 2001), Retrieved March 2010. Federation of American Scientists website: http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nspd/hspd-1.htm .

[43] 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.

[44] See Statement by the President on the White House Organization for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism, White House Press Office, May 26, 2009. U.S. Government White House Website. Retrieved March 2010: http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Statement-by-the-President-on-the-White-House-Organization-for-Homeland-Security-and-Counterterrorism

[45] See Homeland Security Presidential Directive-1, (October 29, 2001), Retrieved March 2010. Federation of American Scientists website: http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nspd/hspd-1.htm .

[46] See Homeland Security Presidential Directive-1, (October 29, 2001), Retrieved March 2010. Federation of American Scientists website: http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nspd/hspd-1.htm .

[47] See National Economic Council. U.S. Government White House Website. Retrieved March 2010: http://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/eop/nec

[48] See Locher, James R., et al. *Project on National Security Reform - Preliminary Findings.* July 2008. Available at: http://www.pnsr.org/web/page/579/sectionid/579/pagelevel/1/interior.asp

[49] See Locher, James R., et al. *Project on National Security Reform - Preliminary Findings.* July 2008, p. 12.

[50] See Locher, James R., et al. *Project on National Security Reform - Preliminary Findings.* July 2008. For example, the *Preliminary Findings* report points out

that President Carter provided few incentives to "compel" Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski work together on the coordination of foreign policy development and execution (p. 15) and the experiences of other administrations in allocating responsibilities and authorities (p.45-47). During the George W. Bush administration, 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 coordinating policy through the NSA, Condoleezza Rice (author's note). The PNSR also identifies a number of structural problems that often directly conflict with a president's desire to delegate responsibility and authority to other parts of the interagency—frequently yielding less than satisfactory results and often leading to re-centralizing decision making and policy monitoring in the White House. See the "Systemic Deficiencies Burden The President With Issue Management" section on the *Preliminary Findings* report, pp. 45-52.

[51] As amended.

[52] See Presidential Policy Directive-1 (February 13, 2009). Retrieved March 2010. Federation of American Scientists website: http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/direct.htm

[53] See *Report of the President's Special Review Board,* U.S. Government Printing Office, February 26, 1987.

[54] Cooper, H. (2009, May 7). National Security Adviser Tries Quieter Approach. The New York Times. Retrieved March 2010 from: http://www.nytimes.com/2009/05/07/us/07jones.html

[55] See "The White House Museum: Situation Room." http://www.whitehousemuseum.org/west-wing/situation-room.htm. The White House Museum site contains an excellent series of photos about the history of the White House Situation Room, and its post-renovation appearance. Also, see Michael Donley, Cornelius O'Leary, and John Montgomery, *Inside The White House Situation Room: A National Nerve Center*. CIA Center for the Study of Intelligence, 2007. https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/97unclass/whithous.html

[56] See http://www.nytimes.com/2009/05/07/us/07jones.html. Retrieved March 2010.

[57] See http://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory?id=8943618. Retrieved March 2010.

[58] See White House Press release, May 26, 2009. Statement by the President on the White House Organization for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism. Retrieved March 2010. White House Website: http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Statement-by-the-President-on-the-White-House-Organization-for-Homeland-Security-and-Counterterrorism

[59] See *Report of the President's Special Review Board,* U.S. Government Printing Office, February 26, 1987.

[60] 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, but the NSC does take the lead on economic summits with a strong political component, such as the G8 summit meetings.

[61] See I.M. Destler and Ivo H. Daalder, A New NSC for a New Administration.

Brookings Policy Brief Series, # 87, Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C. Retrieved March 2010: http://www.brookings.edu/papers/2000/11governance_daalder.aspx

[62] See Department of Homeland Security: National Strategy For Homeland Security, (October 2007). Retrieved March 2010: http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/nat_strat_homelandsecurity_2007.pdf

[63] See Department of Homeland Security: National Strategy For Homeland Security, (October 2007). Page 3. Retrieved March 2010: http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/nat_strat_homelandsecurity_2007.pdf

[64] For more on DHS' Container Screening Initiative see: Retrieved March 2010: http://www.dhs.gov/xprevprot/programs/gc_1165872287564.shtm

[65] See Department of Homeland Security: The National Strategy For Homeland Security, (October 2007). Pp. 49-50. Retrieved March 2010: http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/nat_strat_homelandsecurity_2007.pdf

[66] See Department of Homeland Security Website: The National Strategy For Homeland Security, (October 2007), section on state and local responsibilities, p. 33. Retrieved March 2010: http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/nat_strat_homelandsecurity_2007.pdf

[67] See Madeleine Albright, *Madam Secretary* (New York: Miramax Books, 2003)

[68] U.S. Department of State website, Bureaus/Offices Reporting Directly to the Secretary, Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization. Retrieved March 2010: http://www.state.gov/s/crs/

[69] See National Security Presidential Directive-44. Retrieved March 2010, Federation of American Scientists website: http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nspd/nspd-44.html

[70] See James A. Baker, III, *The Politics of Diplomacy* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1995)

[71] See George P. Shultz, *Turmoil and Triumph* (New York: Charles Schribner's Sons, 1993).

[72] For additional information about DOD's role in Civil Support, see JCS Joint Publication 3-28, "Civil Support," (14 September 2007) Retrieved September 2010. Federation of American Scientists website: www.fas.org/irp/doddir/dod/**jp3-28**.pdf

[73] See NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 2006, Pub. L. No. 109-163, 119 STAT. 3404 (2006). See section 908 which amended subsection (b) of section 151 of title 10, U.S. code regarding the responsibilities

of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The change designated the CJCS as a statutory advisor to the HSC as well as the NSC.

[74] See B. Woodward, & D. Balz, "At Camp David: Advise and dissent," *The Washington Post*, January 31, 2002.

[75] See Colin L. Powell, *My American Journey*, (New York: Random House, 1995), p. 465.

[76] See US Joint Forces Command website. Originally retrieved November 2008: http://www.jfcom.mil/about/fact_jiacg.htm. Retrieved March 2010: http://smallwarsjournal.com/documents/jiacgfactsheet.pdf

[77] See USEUCOM website. Originally retrieved November 2008: http://www.eucom.mil/english/CommandStaff/ECJ3/JIACG/main.asp

[78] "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.history.navy.mil/library/online/posse%20comit.htm (original source prior to 2008: http://www.uscg.mil/hq/g-cp/comrel/factfile/Factcards/PosseComitatus.html

[79] 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

[80] See Department of Homeland Security (DHS) 2008 Strategic Plan. Retrieved March 2010: http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/DHS_StratPlan_FINAL_spread.pdf

[81] The 2008 DHS Strategic Plan has not yet been revised by the Obama administration, and is still used as the basis for organizational vision and planning for the department. The 2008 plan identified Strategic Goals and Objectives for the department which have been redefined as department "Responsibilities" to the American people. See Department of Homeland Security (DHS) 2008 Strategic Plan. Pp. 6-25. Retrieved March 2010: http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/DHS_StratPlan_FINAL_spread.pdf

[82] See Department of Homeland Security website: About the Department of Homeland Security: Structure and Organization, Organization Chart, Retrieved March 2010:, http://www.dhs.gov/xabout/

[83] See Homeland Security Presidential Directive-5, (February 28, 2003), Retrieved March 2010. Federation of American Scientists website: http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nspd/hspd-5.html

[84] Information in this section cites and draws upon briefings and material provided by Incident Management Section of the Department of Homeland Security's Office of Operations Coordination, Operations Coordination Division, Future Operations Branch.

[85] For more information on DHS' National Operations Center, see the DHS website on the Office of Operations Coordination. Retrieved March 2010: http://www.dhs.gov/xabout/structure/editorial_0797.shtm

[86] For additional information on the National Response Framework managed by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) see: http://www.fema.gov/emergency/nrf/ (Retrieved March 2010)

[87] See Federation of American Scientists website http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nspd/index.html for an unclassified list of NSPDs.