National Security “Players”

The President & Congress
The President
Formal Power of the President

○ Commander-in-Chief

  - The President shall be commander in chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices... (U.S. Constitution, Article II, Section 2)
U.S. Constitution: Presidential Powers

- He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls...
Formal Powers of The President

- **Chief Executive**
  - "Heads" the national security establishment
  - All executive dept resources for intelligence & analysis & implementation of policy
    - NSC staff
  - appoints all senior officials, including military officials
  - Executive Orders
    - e.g., desegregating the military

- **Power to Make Treaties**
- **Veto Power**
Informal Sources of Presidential Power

- **Status, prestige & popularity**
  - Status of the office – Head of State
    - Only nationally elected official
    - Symbol of country
  - Prior experience = status
    - Positive example
      - Bush Sr., heads CIA, Amb. To China
    - Negative examples
      - Clinton (draft avoider/protester) & military
  - Public support
Informal Sources of Presidential Power

- Networks & ties to other political leaders & appointees
  - Johnson's Senate ties
  - Election campaign help
- Personality
  - Reagan – very effective with domestic public
  - Clinton – very effective with foreign leaders
  - Carter
- “Bully-Pulpit”
Presidential Style

- Do it all: Carter
- Nixon: control
- Delegate Responsibility: Reagan
- Small Group Control: Bush
Constraints on Presidential Power

- **Power is shared with other institutions**
  - Congress
    - budgets
    - War Powers Act
- **Chain of command**
  - Intermediate stops between Presidential decision & government action
  - Nixon & Schlesinger & “the button”
- **reelection & fixed term**
Rational Actor Model Considerations

- Electorate-wide presidency embodies “national interest”
- Socialization of national candidates
- Concentration of executive power in presidency links decision & action
Bureaucratic Model Considerations

- Personal conception of national interests
- Institutional interests
  - Maintaining the “powers” of the Presidency
  - Prerogatives of presidency
- Domestic interests
  - Party politics
  - Domestic policy agenda
- Personal interests
  - Reelection
  - History & Reputation
Special Assistant to the President for National Security

- Personal assistant to President
  - access
  - Confidence
  - From coordinator to policy maker & presidential spokesperson

- rivalry with Sec. State/Sec. Defense
The Congress
U.S. Constitution: Congressional Powers

- Article I, Section 8:
  - The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States;
  - To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;
  - To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;
  - To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;
  - To provide and maintain a navy;
  - To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;
  - To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;
  - To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;
Formal Sources of Congressional Power

- Budget authority
- Investigative authority
- Confirm senior appointments (Senate)
- Declaration of War
  - War Powers Act 1973
- Ratify international treaties (Senate)
- Large number of committees and subcommittees with staff able to probe many issues
Informal Sources of Congressional Power

- Representative legitimacy
- Issue exposure
  - public hearings
  - floor debates
Constraints on Congressional Power

- Authority split between 2 houses
- large number of members with diverse agendas
  - acts slowly
Rational Actor Model Considerations

- Need for majority consensus drives policy to “median” solutions
  - Common “national interest”
  - Two houses with different character
- Crisis overwhelms everyday politics
Bureaucratic Model Considerations

- Collective conception of national interest
- Institutional interests
  - relative power viz presidency
  - Relative power between House & Senate
  - Committee & subcommittee power
- Domestic interests
- Party politics
- Other policy priorities
- Personal political interests
  - pork-barrel projects
  - grand-standing (waste, fraud, etc.)
End
War Powers Act 1973

- President cannot commit U.S. forces to overseas combat for more than 60 days without specific authorization from Congress [Sec. 5(b)]
- Congress can direct withdrawal of U.S. forces from overseas combat at any time [Sec. 5(c)]
House Committees

- Committee on Appropriations
- Committee on Armed Services
- House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence
- Committee on International Relations
- Select Committee on Homeland Security
Senate Committees

- Appropriations Committee
- Armed Services Committee
- Foreign Relations Committee
- Government Affairs Committee
- Senate Select Committee on Intelligence