National Security "Players"

The President & Congress

The President

Formal Power of the President

o 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

o 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
 - o e.g., desegregating the military
- o Power to Make Treaties
- o Veto Power

Informal Sources of Presidential Power

o 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
- o "Bully-Pulpit"

Presidential Style

Do it all: Carter
Nixon: control
Delegate Responsibility: Reagan
Small Group Control: Bush

Constraints on Presidential Power

o Power is shared with other institutions

Congress

budgets

War Powers Act

o Chain of command

 Intermediate stops between Presidential decision & government action

• Nixon & Schlesinger & "the button"

o 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

o 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 <u>60 days without specific</u> 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