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ORGANIZATION FOR NATIONAL SECURITY

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31 August 1951

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COLONEL BARNES: It is essential that you get a good understanding of our national security organization early in the course. The present organization really forms the legal basis for all the economic mobilization planning that has been accomplished since World War II. It is the springboard on which all emergency mobilization measures that have been taken since Korea are based.

We realize that you have bumped into this subject in the prescribed reading and will be to some extent--and we hope you are to some extent--familiar with what Mr. Niklason is going to tell you. But we feel it is so fundamental and important that it is worth while to devote a lecture period to discuss how and why the organization came into being and explain the relations of its various components. Mr. Niklason.

MR. NIKLASON: The people of the United States have in the past thought and acted upon the assumption that peace is the normal condition of national life; that long periods of tranquility would only occasionally and briefly be interrupted by wars; and that the constitutional duty of the Federal Government "to provide for the common defense" represented only an intermittent and, in ordinary times, quite secondary aspect of its functions.

History, unhappily, has failed to sustain that comforting view. Adult nationhood is proving, as it has so often proved in the past, to be a constant and relentless struggle--a struggle which, when not actually waged with weapons, must be carried on by political and diplomatic means sustained by potential or existing military power in the background. The United States, as it reaches its present position of world leadership, is learning, like other world powers before it, that the problem of national security is not intermittent but continuous, that it is not a secondary aspect of normal government activity, but (as the authors of the Constitution clearly realized) a primary one, coloring, and in many ways controlling, nearly every other aspect of the Government. This has always been true to a greater extent than Americans were willing to admit. Its truth today can no longer be evaded or denied.

Furthermore, Americans have been accustomed in the past to think of national security too largely in purely military terms. Today it is obvious that valid national strategy must embrace all our national resources of every kind--human, material, industrial, scientific, political, and spiritual. The armed forces are simply the cutting edge--a deterrent to hostile action in ordinary times, but when used in war, a last and desperate resort.

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Military policy and preparation are vital, but they are only one part of national security policy as a whole, which, if it is to succeed, must continuously integrate political objectives, military plans, economic strength, and civilian organization into a comprehensive and carefully formulated national policy and purpose.

In the early days of the Republic, when problems were relatively simple and when three men--the President, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of War--could personally administer virtually the whole field of national security, no formal mechanisms for integration of our national security policy were necessary. But now, because of the inordinate size and complexity of modern governmental mechanisms, integration can be achieved only through organization. Yet no organization of this kind had previously been attempted.

Even after the experience of World War I had clearly pointed to the need, only partial and tentative steps were taken toward meeting it. We actually entered World War II with only the most primitive rudiments of an integrated security organization. The Army and the Navy were still virtually independent, imperfectly correlated even in such vital matters as intelligence. The mobilization planning of the Army and Navy Munitions Board, intended to relate military demands to civilian capacities, was largely forgotten and ultimately laid aside when the crisis arrived. There were no regular, formally established channels of liaison between the military and the political arms of foreign policy. Throughout the critical summer and fall of 1941, their coordination was left principally to informal meetings of the three civilian Secretaries (State, War, and Navy) or to meetings, summoned irregularly by the President, of these Secretaries and the military commanders.

The results in 1941 and 1942 were grim enough to suggest the necessity for something better. Yet this was the way in which the United States had traditionally conducted its affairs. The State, War, and Navy Departments (to say nothing of the Treasury, Agriculture, Commerce, and other agencies that might have critical functions in foreign policy or defense) had always been left to follow their separate routines, to be thrown together in time of crisis or war into whatever ad hoc organizations might seem necessary. To organize the major security agencies, as well as the security functions of the other agencies of the Government, into a single, continuing, unified, security system, implied some major changes in the structure of the Government itself.

Such an organization would tend to alter the prior ad hoc processes of policy formation by providing the President a regular system for the construction of policy through technical study, staff work, and broad review.

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Realization of the need for an integrated structure designed to provide more effective measures for the security of the Nation resulted in congressional action in March of 1944.

Congressman James W. Wadsworth of New York introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives establishing a Select Committee on Postwar Military Policy, usually referred to as the Woodrum Committee. The duty of the Committee was "to investigate all matters relating to the postwar military requirements of the United States." This was not a legislative committee. Its sole purpose was to study and report to the House of Representatives on broad, general military policies to be applied in the postwar period. The Committee reported 15 June 1944, that the time was inopportune for legislation and strongly urged the armed services to make further studies of the problem.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff directed a special committee to study the reorganization of national defense and make recommendations. This committee, consisting of two representatives of the War Department and two representatives of the Navy Department, reported to the Joint Chiefs of Staff 11 April 1945. A majority favored a single department of defense and presented detailed proposals, but the Joint Chiefs of Staff took no action on the report.

War Department proposals for reorganization of the national defense centered on the establishment of a single department of defense. This was proposed first in Lieutenant General McNarney's testimony before the Woodrum Committee. The majority report of the special committee of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the plan presented at the Senate Military Affairs Committee hearings in October 1945 by Lieutenant General Collins, representing the War Department, also proposed a single department.

Throughout the discussion relating to the postwar defense organization, the Navy had maintained its opposition to a single department of defense. The seemingly negative character of its stand on this important public issue placed it at a very real disadvantage.

When in the fall of 1945 the Senate Committee on Military Affairs began formal hearings on two bills for a single department of defense, the Navy Department was extricated from its unhappy position. At a single stroke, the Department assumed the initiative and placed itself on record as taking a positive approach to the problem of organization for defense. Secretary Forrestal in his opening statement before the Committee said:

"I do not appear here, simply in opposition to unification of the War and Navy Departments. I prefer here to present a comprehensive and dynamic program to save and strengthen our national security. I do not feel that unification of the services meets these requirements."

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The War Department plans had been limited to the reorganization of the military establishment. Mr. Forrestal's proposals went much further, taking the broad ground that national security was no longer the responsibility of the military alone. There must be not only an integration of the military departments with the State Department but a further requirement was:

" . . . the creation of mechanism within the Government which will guarantee that this Nation shall be able to act as a unit in terms of its diplomacy, its military policy, its use of scientific knowledge, and, finally, of course, in its moral and political leadership of the world."

The Navy Department's proposals, which in most essentials were to be incorporated in the National Security Act of 1947, were based in large part on the recommendations of the report on "Unification of the War and Navy Departments and Postwar Organization for National Security." This report was prepared in 1945 under the direction of Ferdinand Eberstadt at the request of Secretary of the Navy Forrestal.

Army-Navy agreement on proposed legislation was announced by the President on 16 January 1946, but it was more than a year later, 26 February 1947, before he transmitted a proposed bill to the Congress for enactment. The National Security Act of 1947 became law on the 26th of July.

After 18 months of experience under this act, certain deficiencies in some of its provisions became apparent. A task force of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, usually referred to as the Hoover Commission, reported in July 1949 that improvements in six major areas were necessary and possible. They may be summarized as follows:

First--Central authority in the National Military Establishment must be clarified and strengthened.

Second--Military budget organizations and procedures must be improved, clarified, and regularized.

Third--Teamwork throughout the National Security Organization must be improved.

Fourth--Scientific research and development must be placed on a sounder basis and related more closely to military policy and strategic plans.

Fifth--A greater sense of urgency and more realism are demanded in civilian and industrial mobilization planning and in adjusting logistic requirements to available national resources.

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Sixth--Adequate provision must be made for our civil defense and internal security and vigorous attention given to new and unconventional methods of warfare--psychological warfare, economic warfare, as well as the mass-destruction weapons of atomic, radiological, biological, and chemical warfare.

In its report to the Congress, submitted 15 February 1949, the Hoover Commission made recommendations for changes in the National Security Organization which closely followed those made by its own task force. These, in turn, were followed by the Congress in the enactment of the National Security Act Amendments of 1949, which was approved on the 10th of August.

What were the main objectives of Congress in passing the National Security Act? They may be summarized as follows:

First--To provide a comprehensive program for the future security of the United States.

Second--To provide for the establishment of integrated policies and procedures for the departments, agencies, and functions of the Government relating to national security.

Third--To establish three military departments, the Army, the Navy, and an Air Force--each to be separately administered under civilian direction.

Fourth--To provide for the coordinated direction of these departments by a civilian Secretary of Defense.

Fifth--To assure effective strategic direction of the armed forces by integrating them into an efficient team operating under unified control.

What kind of organizational structure did the Congress establish to achieve these objectives? This chart shows the organization for national security as it exists today (Chart was not reproduced).

Based upon the results of the hearings conducted by its investigating committees, the Congress was convinced that there was a need, first, for closer and continuous coordination on a high level within the Government of our domestic, foreign, and military policies; second, for an appropriate intelligence organization to serve both military and civilian agencies of security; and, third, for vastly improved planning for the control and utilization of our natural and industrial resources in time of emergency.

National Security Council

To meet the first of these requirements the National Security Council was established. It is composed of the President, Vice President,

Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, and the chairman of the National Security Resources Board. Other specified officials of government agencies may be appointed by the President by and with the consent of the Senate. Although they are not regular members of the Council, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Bradley, and the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, Mr. Charles E. Wilson, attend the meetings of the Council by invitation. The President usually presides over meetings of the Council, but he may designate any member to preside in his place.

A permanent staff of civil servants is provided to perform the administrative duties of the Council in carrying out its mission. This staff is headed by a civilian executive secretary appointed by the President. He prepares the agenda and attends the meetings of the Council. This permanent staff tends to give continuity to our national security planning.

Essentially, the Council is an advisory body to the President. Subject to the direction of the President, it is the duty of the Council, first, "To assess and appraise the objectives, commitments, and risks of the United States in relation to our actual and potential military power" and, second, "To consider policies on matters of common interest to the Department of State, Department of Defense, and the National Security Resources Board." Deliberations of the Council finally take the form of recommendations to the President who then makes the decisions on policy matters for implementation by the regular agencies of government concerned. Now, for the first time in our history, we have a statutory agency responsible for weighing our international objectives against our military capacity to support them.

Central Intelligence Agency

The Central Intelligence Agency was established for the purpose of coordinating the intelligence activities of the several government departments and agencies in the interest of national security. Under the direction of the National Security Council its duties are, first, to advise the Council in matters concerning such intelligence activities of the government agencies as relate to national security; second, to make recommendations to the Council for the coordination of such intelligence activities as relate to the national security; and, third, to correlate and evaluate this intelligence and provide for its dissemination within the Government, using, when appropriate, existing agencies and facilities. The agency has no police, subpoena, law-enforcement, or internal security functions. The Director of CIA is appointed by the President, subject to Senate confirmation.

Another board, established in June by Directive of the President, also reports to the National Security Council. It is called the Psychological Strategy Board and is composed of the Under Secretary of State, the Deputy

Secretary of Defense, and the Director of Central Intelligence. Additional members representing other government agencies may be added from time to time as determined by the Board. A representative of the Joint Chiefs of Staff sits with the Board as its principal military adviser in order that the Board may assure that its objectives, policies, and programs are related to approved plans for military operations. One of the members is designated as chairman of the Board. Under the Board is a director who has charge of the staff.

The Board is responsible for the formulation and promulgation of over-all national psychological objectives, policies, and programs, and for the coordination and evaluation of the national psychological effort.

National Security Resources Board

Another agency, also advisory to the President, was established by the National Security Act. It is the National Security Resources Board, composed of a chairman and such heads or representatives of the various executive departments and independent agencies as may from time to time be designated by the President as members of the Board. The character of the Board was changed materially by Reorganization Plan No. 25 which became effective in June 1950. Under this plan the functions of the Board were transferred to the chairman, leaving the other members of the Board as merely advisers and consultants to the chairman.

The function of the Board is to advise the President concerning the coordination of military, industrial, and civilian mobilization, including:

1. Policies to assure the most effective utilization of the Nation's manpower in the event of war.
2. Programs for the effective use, in time of war, of our natural and industrial resources for military and civilian needs.
3. Policies for unifying, in time of war, the activities of Federal agencies engaged in or concerned with production, procurement, distribution, or transportation of military or civilian supplies, materials and products.
4. The relationship between potential suppliers of, and potential requirements for, manpower, resources, and productive facilities in time of war.
5. Policies for establishing and maintaining adequate reserves of strategic and critical materials.
6. The strategic relocation of industries, services, the Government, and economic activities; the continuous operation of which is essential to the Nation's security.

Here, again for the first time in our history, we have a statutory agency responsible for the evaluation of our resources capabilities measured against the military requirements which might be necessary to support a particular, major policy decision.

Department of Defense

The third new agency, created by the National Security Act, is the Department of Defense. This executive department includes, but does not merge, the military Departments of the Army, Navy, and Air Force. Its primary functions are to provide, first, for the coordination and unified direction of the three military departments under civilian control of the Secretary of Defense; and, second, to provide for the effective strategic direction of the armed forces and for their operation under unified control.

The Secretary of Defense is the principal assistant to the President in all matters relating to the Department of Defense over which he has direction, authority, and control. Congress, however, imposed the following limitations upon the powers of the Secretary:

First--Combat functions assigned to the military services by the Security Act shall not be transferred, reassigned, abolished, or consolidated.

Second--Military personnel shall not be so transferred as to impair such combatant functions.

Third--The Secretary may not direct the use and expenditure of funds in such a manner as to effect the results prohibited by the act.

Fourth--The military departments shall be separately administered by their respective secretaries acting under the authority of the Secretary of Defense.

Fifth--Any secretary of a military department or a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff may present the Congress on his own initiative any recommendation relating to the Department of Defense after first informing the Secretary of Defense.

Obviously, the Secretary of Defense cannot discharge personally all of the various duties assigned to him. Congress created, to assist him, the Joint Chiefs of Staff; the Armed Forces Policy Council; the Munitions Board; and the Research and Development Board. These four agencies are employed by the Secretary as his principal staff within the spheres of their respective interests.

In the immediate office of the Secretary are the Deputy Secretary of Defense and three Assistant Secretaries of Defense. The Deputy Secretary performs such duties, and exercises such powers, as the Secretary of Defense may prescribe, and acts for him during his absence or disability. The purposes for which the three Assistant Secretaries are employed is left to the discretion of the Secretary of Defense. At present one handles manpower and personnel; another has charge of legal and legislative matters; and the third serves as comptroller of the Department of Defense.

On matters of broad policy relating to the armed forces, the Secretary of Defense is assisted by the Armed Forces Policy Council. In addition to the Secretary, who is chairman and has the power of decision, the membership consists of the Deputy Secretary of Defense; the Secretaries of the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force; the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; the Chiefs of Staff of the Army and the Air Force, and the Chief of Naval Operations.

Munitions Board

For the preparation of detailed statements of requirements, the JCS relies upon the three armed services, each of which prepares its own estimates of requirements and makes its own plans for procuring the men, equipment, and supplies to meet these requirements and to fulfill the mission assigned to each by the JCS, under specific war plans. The responsibility for supervising and coordinating not only such estimates and procurement plans but also the production of military equipment and supplies in an emergency rests with the Munitions Board.

In setting up the Munitions Board the National Security Act did more than give a statutory basis to a prewar agency, the Army and Navy Munitions Board. Prior to 1939 the ANMB was simply a joint body set up through inter-service agreement to coordinate the planning activities of the two services in the field of industrial mobilization. The Eberstadt Report envisaged a new Munitions Board as operating to strengthen the relations of the military services in respect to procurement and logistics generally, proposing that this Board "should, so to speak, parallel in the procurement and related logistics fields the authority and responsibility of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the field of military strategy and operations." In other words, it would be the responsibility of the Munitions Board to see that the materials, manpower, and facilities available from the national economy for the use of the armed services in peace or war would be used with maximum effectiveness in support of the plans prepared by the JCS.

The Congress accepted most of the recommendations of the Eberstadt Report in creating the new Munitions Board. The Board is composed of a civilian chairman appointed by the President, subject to confirmation by the Senate, and an Under Secretary or Assistant Secretary from each of the three military departments. The Board is subject to the authority

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and direction of the Secretary of Defense and the chairman has the power of decision relating to all matters under the jurisdiction of the Board.

The National Security Act specifies that the Board shall perform the following duties in support of logistic plans in consonance with guidance in those fields provided by the Joint Chiefs of Staff:

"(1) Coordination of the appropriate activities with regard to industrial matters, including the procurement, production, and distribution plans of the Department of Defense;

"(2) planning for the military aspects of industrial mobilization;

"(3) assignment of procurement responsibilities among the several military departments and planning for standardization of specifications and for the greatest practicable allocation of purchase authority of technical equipment and common use items on the basis of single procurement;

"(4) preparation of estimates of potential production, procurement, and personnel for use in evaluation of the logistic feasibility of strategic operations;

"(5) determination of relative priorities of the various segments of the military procurement programs;

"(6) supervision of such subordinate agencies as are or may be created to consider the subjects falling within the scope of the Board's responsibilities;

"(7) regrouping, combining, or dissolving of existing inter-service agencies operating in the fields of procurement, production, and distribution in such manner as to promote efficiency and economy;

"(8) maintenance of liaison with other departments and agencies for the proper correlation of military requirements with the civilian economy, particularly in regard to the procurement or disposition of strategic and critical material and the maintenance of adequate reserves of such material, and making of recommendations as to policies in connection therewith; and

"(9) assembly and review of material and personnel requirements presented by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and by the production, procurement, and distribution agencies assigned to meet military needs, and making of recommendations thereon to the Secretary of Defense."

Thus, the Munitions Board became the key policy-making as well as planning body within the Department of Defense relating to all matters bearing upon the procurement and production of military supplies and equipment.

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Research and Development Board

The importance of research and development to our defense program was recognized by the Congress when it included in the National Security Act provisions for the creation of the Research and Development Board. This Board is composed of a civilian chairman, appointed by the President, and two representatives from each of the Departments of the Army, Navy, and Air Force.

Subject to the authority and direction of the Secretary of Defense, the Board performs the following prescribed duties, and such other duties, as the Secretary may assign to it:

1. Preparation of a complete and integrated program of research and development for military purposes.
2. Advising with regard to trends in scientific research relating to national security and the measures necessary to assure continued and increasing progress.
3. Coordination of research and development among the military departments, and allocation among them of responsibilities for specific programs.
4. Formulation of policy for the Department of Defense in connection with research and development matters involving agencies outside the Department of Defense.
5. Consideration of the interaction of research and development and strategy, and advising the Joint Chiefs of Staff in such matters.

Many agencies, other than the Department of Defense, are engaged in research activities which may be applicable to the defense program. These include other governmental agencies, educational institutions, private research organizations, and industry. The President's Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific Research and Development is concerned only with administrative problems of common interest to Federal agencies engaged in research and development activities.

Another group of eleven eminent scientists, appointed by the President, is known as the Science Advisory Committee of the Office of Defense Mobilization. By the use of cooperative measures alone, this Committee endeavors, first, to coordinate the research activities of all agencies which are engaged in the defense program; second, to discover new or neglected avenues of research which may contribute to the defense effort; and, third, to find a way to mould the many research activities now conducted throughout the Nation into a cohesive unit for national defense.

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The principal mission of the National Science Foundation, established in May 1950, is to develop a national policy for the promotion of basic research and education in the sciences. One of its responsibilities, however, relates to the national defense. It is provided by law that, if requested by the Secretary of Defense, the National Science Foundation shall initiate and support specific research activities in connection with matters relating to the national defense by making contracts or other arrangements for the conduct of such scientific research.

I have given you a general, over-all view of the organization for national security. Other speakers, who will appear during the next 10 months, will describe for you in more detail the organization, operation, and accomplishments of the various agencies I have mentioned today.

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