

## **XXII. Establishing a National Security Council in Greece: Background, Social and Organisational Context, Strategic Aims and Objectives**

[Published first in: Christian Glatz], Gunther Hauser & Franz Kernic (Hg.), *Europäische Sicherheit und Streitkräftereform in der Weltgesellschaft: Ausgewählte Beiträge zu einem Seminar an der Landesverteidigungsakademie Wien (Dezember 2004)*, Schriftenreihe der Landesverteidigungsakademie 17/2005, Wien: Institut für Strategie und Sicherheitspolitik, 2005, 131-53]

### ***A. Composition and Operation of the Governmental Council on Foreign and Defence Matters (KYSEA)***

#### ***1. Introduction***

The ever-increasing mobility in Greece's geopolitical neighborhood calls for an evaluation and re-design of the existing crisis management mechanism, with a long-term perspective. Due to the fact that the mechanism in question is based on the functioning of the Governmental Council on Foreign and Defence Matters (KYSEA), this evaluation is focused on the Council's current structure and on its weaknesses,

#### ***2. Structure of KYSEA***

KYSEA is composed of eight ministers and one deputy minister who are regular members and by three ministers and the Chief of the

Hellenic National Defence General Staff (HNDGS) when topics of their field and competence are discussed. The main conditions for an effective and essential operation of KYSEA are:

i) its members to be fully aware of the condition of all the capabilities that may affect security -in the strict and the wider sense of the word- as well as of the country's ability to react;

(ii) every minister must be aware of all the problems and abilities of the country, i.e. to have extensive knowledge on the fields of action of other ministries and state organisations, hearing them into consideration when entering the room in which important decisions will be taken;

(iii) crisis management requires that a regular and continuous flow of information is guaranteed, even though the building facilities of ministries are geographically apart;

(iv) a continuous collaboration between the aforementioned persons on an almost permanent basis must be guaranteed during a severe crisis, without impact on the regular operation of the respective ministries, which in a similar case must operate at 200% of their ability.

It is evident that addressing the aforementioned operational conditions is not an easy task. Furthermore, the Secretariat of KYSEA is restricted by Law to only take down shorthand of minutes during meetings, and is therefore unable to provide essential support to the Council's work outside the meetings. On the other hand, the dualism between the Cabinet's Secretary and the MoD's representative officer in terms of military-related decision-making intensifies the Council's dysfunction further.

Participation in the Council is complemented by three persons, either from the Prime Minister's office, or by persons reporting directly to him (heads of the Strategy Planning office or the Diplomatic office, and the Advisor on Defence issues). During a crisis, the overlapping of responsibilities between the Prime Minister's Diplomatic Office and the leadership of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs may create several internal problems for the government, as well as project contradictory messages outside of the country. The presence of three persons from the Prime Minister's Office in the Council complicates also the function of the body, as it is apparent that their role is to provide the Prime Minister with facts and evaluations, which may not be available to the other participants, or to contribute with last minute estimates based on data that has not reached the cabinet ministers or that has not been included a priori in the ministers' brief, before the Council's meeting.

### 3. *The work of KYSEA*

The overall text of the Law on KYSEA does not deal at all with the mechanism that would enable the Council to carry out its mission. The body's lack of institutional memory is evident, as even though the body's duties are described, no mention whatsoever can be found of the range and complexity that is linked to its mission. Essentially, this leaves the handling of crises to mere *ad hoc* arrangements (crisis management mechanisms). In other words, the body enacted lacks support mechanisms with institutional substance and is unable to process *a priori*, before a crisis actually evolves, the issues within its competency. Consequently, the Council finds itself before irreversible facts and is called to resolve them without ensuring the necessary internal cohesion, at least to the extent that its capability to formulate a complete operational picture of the state's mechanisms when a crisis does evolve is far from evident. Finally, it is obvious that in case of a major crisis, the evaluation and use of powers and resources outside the state's mechanisms will not be possible, as these resources are not systematically registered or evaluated in the framework of National Security planning.

The Council is called to decide upon major military technology systems, without having any support for economic-technical analysis to this end, or for inherent international-political and international-economic analysis, and finally without any regular relevant information for members. Apparently, the Council finds adequate the analyses provided by the Ministry of National Defence, which however, does not possess a complete and specialized ability for analyses on issues of international politics and economy. In what concerns the specialized technical analysis, many problems have repeatedly arisen in the past.

The text of the Law is characterized by confusion between the notion of National Security, which is considered as a matter of police authority, and the notion of National Defence, which is seen from the military aspect only. Thus, a huge range of capabilities and possible weapons is left aside. It is not accidental that the Minister of Mercantile Marine participates in the Council only when its agenda is the selection of the Coast Guard Chief. Apparently, the legislator does not attribute enough importance to the fact that the largest part of Greece's imports is executed by sea, that the Greek commercial fleet is the largest in the world, that the sea constitutes the country's main route of supply during periods of crises, and that shipping is perhaps the country's only

heavy industry and maybe the most important one for its economic balance.<sup>1</sup> It is concluded that if the Council operates on the basis of the aforementioned notional overlap, it will not be able to assess all the parameters that make up the country's national security (i.e. production, energy distribution and import, sea supply routes, principal civil networks etc.).

On the basis of the aforementioned weaknesses, the Council is called upon to set the country in a state of partial or total mobilisation of its means and resources. That means that it is called to steeply increase the operation cost of the state mechanism, in spite of ignoring essential crisis data and the estimated cost of its operational options.

Furthermore, a large part of the Council's energy is consumed in dealing with career decisions for members of the national security bodies (the Armed Forces, the Police, etc.), whereas the Prime Minister and the competent minister could decide upon those, as the remaining ministers cannot be familiar with the typical and essential qualifications of each candidate. During the past, such decision-making processes constituted an arena for the personal competition between ministers, having no apparent relevance to the ministries and the assignments being decided upon.

#### *4. Operation of KYSEA as a war council*

“During a period of war, KYSEA is renamed to War Council”. According to the description provided for by the Law, and summarizing what has been mentioned herein, the current composition of KYSEA is unable to fulfill the duties of a war council. The reasons for this are in short the following;

-KYSEA lacks a support mechanism that would provide it with a continuous flow of information on issues related to the country's security in the wider sense. Consequently, the Council does not have the

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1. It is not accidental that a similar view of things by fascist Italy led to the declaration of war against Britain and France by Mussolini while two thirds of the Italian commercial fleet was outside Italian territorial waters. This led to the limitation or even captivation of the Italian ships within foreign ports and consequently the reduction of the country's transportation capacity towards areas outside the Italian peninsula by 70%, compared to the pre-war period.

institutional memory that would not only outline the basis of a crisis, but would also introduce evaluated scenarios on how to handle events, accompanied by cost projections (economic, political, diplomatic, social) for every possible course of action proposed to the leadership of the country.

- The composition of KYSEA does not facilitate the handling of crises in the least, given that a major state-level crisis is complex and requires a combination of data from significantly different activities of the state, depending on the circumstance (i.e. sea transports in the Aegean and transfer of funds through the international banking system). Furthermore, incomparable parameters of the problem must be evaluated and updated immediately (e.g. the will of the country's leadership and the fluctuation of the price of oil due to international profiteering practices, as recently happened with the price of crude oil). Consequently, the existing structure of the body, requires from persons with an already burdened work programme, to devote themselves to in-depth analysis, which in order to be successful, as international experience shows, presupposes groundwork as well as devotion for the duration of the crisis, something that is not feasible for ministers who must supervise their ministries up close.

- The aforementioned operation framework of KYSEA cannot keep pace with the evolution of modern crises and the rhythms they impose. The handling of fires and severe weather phenomena in the framework of civil protection is a completely different matter from the handling of a grave international political crisis, even more so when this crisis is a war. The groundwork required for this sort of crises is extremely time-consuming and complex to be dealt with by a few irregular meetings, organized in parallel with other duties by geographically scattered officials who have a different level of knowledge concerning the parameters of the crisis being managed.

- The *ad hoc* creation of a Crisis Management Body is without precedent among NATO member states, as well as in comparison to the countries of the former Warsaw Pact. This, on its own, is characteristic in terms of the reduced preparedness of the country in the face of grave crises. Thus, one would reasonably ask whether the external artificial creation of crises constitutes a means to the political enforcement and blackmailing of Greece. Obviously, we are led to the conclusion that Turkey and other hegemonic powers probably systematically evaluate Greece through this specter.

The formulation of a new law, which will state in more explicit and systematic terms, when and how the country's War Council is formed, would constitute a definite improvement. Even more so if there was a distinction between a limited and an extended War Council, so that, if ever needed, the continuous monitoring of developments and the administratively uninterrupted operation of the state mechanism in its totality can be achieved. Furthermore, this would serve as a clear signal to international actors, of Greece's serious intent to handle a crisis. Finally, it is all too clear that this law should be formulated in continuation of the National Security Doctrine, at least in terms of the country's non-negotiable goals.

### *5. KYSEA and National Security Structure*

The lack of a permanent and institutionalized Crisis Management Body naturally leads to the lack of or to insufficient preparation of all the specialized physical infrastructures required for monitoring the evolution of crises in real time. The complexity and the size of a crisis directly affect all the parameters that must be monitored in a coordinated and uninterrupted manner during a crisis. At the same time, there is a lack of all the infrastructures, which allow the centralized and detailed evaluation of threats to the country's security, in order to timely shape the suitable policies for deterring crises. In other words, the Greek state has not made the necessary investments in physical infrastructures in order to reduce, eventually, the total cost of a series of crises, which are either way part of a country's life. Consequently, even if we suppose that the ad hoc creation of crisis management bodies is correct, the lack of organisation or even the irregular and fragmentary organisation of permanent infrastructures results in waste of time when trying to establish the minimum links required between the physical infrastructures, which in the end operate on significantly lower performance levels, due to their provisional nature.

It is quite puzzling how KYSEA can shape the country's National Security Policy without a National Security Doctrine on the one hand, and without a centralized evaluation of the possibilities and vulnerabilities of the country on the other. In other words, it is quite surprising how the Defence Policy, which is subsequent to the National Security

Doctrine, is shaped and, consequently, how the weapons procurement policy together with the country's technical and economic development policy are formulated. However, even assuming that in some way the eight ministries mentioned as regular members of KYSEA had the ability to fully shape the quality and quantity aspects of various systems and possibilities that can be mobilized during a crisis, the problem of the executive and coordinative responsibility is still unresolved. Theoretically, the war council drafts a strategy and shapes decisions on a high level, without dealing with the issue of coordination, the time, place and intensity of use of these possibilities.

### *6. Need for a new institutional organization of KYSEA*

In conclusion, it is necessary to review the Law that governs the composition and operation of KYSEA, as well as to create institutionalized structures, which will prepare all the structures and will draft the scenarios - probable and less probable - to be implemented by the participants in KYSEA during a period of crisis.

## ***B. The Need to Create a National Security Council***

### *1. Why is it needed?*

*“Let's not kid ourselves. Good intelligence does not necessarily mean good policies. Neither do good politics lead to a good intelligence service. The steps are small, slow and steady. Fireworks are not often seen”.* Richard Kerr, CIA Deputy Director, at a meeting of secret services officials in Plovdiv, Bulgaria (4/5/2000).

The above statement underlines a constant problem in policy-making, which in essence has to do with the stability of structures that shape politics on an institutional (i.e. permanent) level on the one hand, and the existence of a historical memory inside these structures on the other, a memory capable of leading to the formulation of policies covering all the activities that make up a country's security web. Briefly stated, the establishment of a National Security Council is needed for the following reasons:

1. The uninterrupted operation of the primary mechanisms of foreign, defence and other policies that constitute a country's security framework.

2. The consequent safeguarding of the *historical memory* of structures that are activated in the aforementioned framework, through the creation of a core, which will not be dissipated upon changes of office, whether this change concerns the rotation of political parties, or a change of political personalities within the same party.

3. The existence of an institution, which during periods of severe crisis will be responsible for the coordination of activities by individual bodies, so that multiple views and delays in suggesting alternatives and presenting significant problems to a higher political and governmental level can be avoided. This way, the uncoordinated and unevaluated presentation to the higher state (governmental and political) authorities, of options and problems created during the flow of events, as they are ascertained by the various government bodies, can be avoided. For example, the Public Power Corporation has a completely different perception of time in comparison to the Mercantile Marine Ministry. The coordination by a third body becomes even more significant when the aforementioned authorities, during specific cases of problems and crises, are characterized by reduced reaction and decision-making times and their ability for composed and objectively correct reactions is compromised further, as the crisis evolves.

4. During periods of standard management of state issues, the N.S.C. will be able to concentrate the full capability of the state, aiming to work out scenarios for the handling of possible crises, calculating scenario variants and producing a "library of scenarios", which can be updated by the addition of new elements when the crisis actually surfaces. This means that the N.S.C. will receive data from all state services that are part of the wider national security web, which it will evaluate and utilize for drafting scenarios as well as for timely forecasting possible threats.

5. It will function as a leadership training centre for the state's principal organisations involved in the state's security, by providing knowledge bases and exercise scenarios to deal with fundamental systemic crises (the state is considered to be a system which receives the largest systemic destabilisation when a number of its fundamental structures are put to the test by external or internal factors). In essence, it teaches leaderships to act in a concerted manner, while at the same time, through the aforementioned exercise scenarios, it allows each one of these leaderships to understand the problems that



exist on the level of a country's security during a systemic crisis.

6. The National Security Council will allow the complete evaluation of the size and gravity of problems faced by the system - State, due to the fact that the scenarios must detect the problems traced in the individual structures of the staff system, both with quantitative and qualitative accuracy and without any ideological preconceptions.

7. The National Security Council will be responsible for the drafting of the country's National Security Doctrine, which incorporates all the estimates and predictions that result from the scenarios it has worked out, as mentioned in points 4 and b above.

Consequently, the Council's principal mission will be the strategic evaluation of threats to the national security, the drafting of scenarios concerning such threats and the ways to deal with them, the provision of training scenarios to the main state structures (ministries, organisations, etc.) to the same end, notifying the higher government leadership about these issues on a permanent basis, as well as the coordination of state structures on a higher level, during the crises, functioning as an intermediate consultant between the Governmental Council on National Security and the remaining state bureaucracy.

## 2. *What is national security?*

The classic definition of the term is provided by Buzan in the book *People, States and Fears*.<sup>2</sup> The term essentially concerns the protection, at least, of the country's power, through the protection and strengthening, when possible, of the aspects of power: economic, technological, military, cultural, political, geographical and human. From a functional perspective, the fewer aspects of power are available to a country, the more vulnerable it is to severe changes of the geostrategic status quo, and the more it has to resort to the use of the power aspects it possesses: the possible adversaries perfect their techniques by focusing on their adversary's limited range of abilities, based on the teachings of strategic

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2. Also by Clarke, Michael (ed.), *New Perspectives on Security*, Brassey's, London 1993; Keohane, Robert E., *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey 1995 and Gilpin, Robert, *War and Change in World Politics*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1995, 14th edition.

theory. Turkey is a typical example, the main “currency” of which in its international relations is its Armed Forces, its geographical location -that is very appealing to naval powers (USA, UK) that are known for their *sine qua non* need to hook their power on land- as well as the mass of its population combined with its low age average.<sup>3</sup>

### *3. The institutional positioning of the National Security Council*

Based on international data (mostly concerning USA, Turkey, China, Russia, France and the UK), the Council reports to and is controlled by the head of state empowered with executive authority or by another person who is part of the executive leadership and has been authorized directly by the head of state. The reasons for this are very simple. On the one hand, the development of competitive relations between the Council and other bureaucratic structures of the state is avoided, something that would result in the untimely and invalid communication with the higher executive. On the other hand, it is easier for the Higher Government Council (KYSEA with an extended composition) during periods of crisis, to receive direct information on all the factors that affect the country's power coefficients, and thus to be able to formulate decisions that take into consideration all the parameters in a short period of time. Furthermore, the confusion from reports overlapping one another in terms of time and subject can be avoided. This is achieved because the Council's composition allows the uninterrupted row and processing of information and data even during the period of standard management of state affairs. Furthermore, its organisational dependence on the Prime Minister allows the avoidance of internal bureaucratic disputes that could easily limit the flow of necessary information for its operation.

### **4. The composition of the National Security Council**

Indicatively, and based on the data published concerning similar bodies internationally, their efficacy, as well as the problems which were identified following various crises during the past decades, the

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3. The rest of Europe, especially the EU, is principally a land power, which in the geopolitical analysis of the US and the UK, if politically unified, threatens them with isolation front the Eurasian geopolitical continuum.

structure outlined below is considered to be suitable for Greece's standards.

The National Security Advisor is appointed as head of the Council by the Prime Minister. His term of office will last five years so as to cover also transitional periods in the case of change in the government. Alternatively, his term of office may last four years, since his position is a political selection by the Prime Minister at the time. Each of the Advisors is an *ex officio* member of KYSEA, without the right to vote, while together with the Head of HNGDS, the Head of the National Intelligence Service, the Head of the Hellenic Police, the Head of the Fire Department, the Head of the Civil Protection Service and the Director of the Energy Regulatory Authority, they constitute the higher coordinating body for the handling of crises on an official level during periods of peace. In war periods, the structure is different, but this is part of a different rationale, as stipulated by the country's National Security Doctrine in force.

A person selected by the Prime Minister is appointed to the position of secretary of the NSC with a term of office that will last not less than eight years, and whose appointment will be ratified by the Parliamentary Committee on Foreign and Defence Affairs. This is a managerial position, with duties similar to those of the Advisor, should the latter need to be replaced in the Council if he does not perform his duties. Due to the managerial nature of the position, it would be convenient if the specific office constitutes the "institutional" memory of the body on a higher level.

It is underlined that for the uninhibited operation of the Council, it is necessary that the terms of office are completed on a calendar basis and not according to political situations. As for their renewal, there must be no limit to the number of times it can be renewed.

The Council's personnel are divided into two main categories: secretarial support and executive research personnel. The duties of the first category are apparent. Ten to fifteen people are enough for the full range of activities included. The second category has two components: public administration employees, who have been seconded to the Council due to their special knowledge and function, in parallel, and as links to, the organisations from which they come. The second category includes specialized researchers, either public administration employees in the strict or wider sense, or not, who work for the Council drafting scenarios, strategically evaluating threats regarding national security issues, as well as managing crises.

Within the Council, a Crisis Management Centre will be established, which will be staffed by higher state employees seconded to the Council, and by the most reliable and established Greek researchers from State and/or Academic Research Institutes. Head of this Centre will be the Advisor; the Secretary and, on a case-by-case basis the heads or higher officers from the aforementioned Organisations and Services, will also participate. The role of this Centre will be to evaluate and combine the information provided, on a permanent basis. This information will be provided by the other crisis management centers (Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Public Order, Ministry of National Economy, Ministry of Environment, Physical Planning and Public Works, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs), in order to produce a synthetic view at the higher governmental level as well as alternative solutions that will take into consideration the general image of the country during the crisis.

At any given moment, the Centre in question must be aware of the condition of the basic operation parameters of various networks, that are critical for the operation of the country: transportation, telecommunications, production and distribution of power, fuel, water supplies and sewage in major urban concentrations, hospitals, food distribution networks, ancillary networks safeguarding essential living conditions (which will have to be created, since at this point they do not exist in the country), reserves and storage of strategic materials and consumables etc. It is obvious that in order for this information flow to be achieved, even more so during a period of a severe systemic crisis, a complete technological infrastructure is necessary, separate from the existing structures, and capable of operating under extremely unfavorable conditions. This means that a C4I system must be created (command, control, communication, computers and intelligence), which will function on a dedicated basis for the needs of the Crisis Management Centre, through dedicated circuits, independent of the commercially available circuits which by nature are the first to collapse during periods of crisis (e.g. collapse of telecommunications during the 1999 earthquake in Athens, due to overload and commercial-conceived circuits that exclude facilities not safeguarding satisfactory return on investment rates).

Based on the above, it is advisable that the duration of secondments and personnel contracts for the research- executive branch be at least five years, maybe even seven. In ideal conditions, the person-

nel in question would serve for ten years, something that would at the same time guarantee maximum familiarity with the system-country and avoid the incorrectly perceived mentality of “permanency”. Furthermore, a period of two years could be integrated into the training and familiarisation for new executives, while it would also be easier to integrate the further training of executives, thus creating a group of specialized people, ready to geographically expand the Council’s activities, if deemed necessary during a crisis. This way, the creation of adequate personnel in terms of quantity and quality (in what concerns the knowledge on issues studied and their development) will be achieved. The personnel in question will be able to focus on the continuous evaluation and synthesis of information, as well as on the drafting of scenarios and plans.

A basic principle for the operation of the body must be limiting the number of permanent executives (appointed for a ten-year term of office) in the Council, as well as the use of external know-how when necessary. In the context of Greek conditions, it is estimated that for the Council’s optimum performance, fifty to seventy people are needed (Advisor, Secretary, personnel with a ten year term of office and secretarial support), in addition to the external associates for specialized studies that arise on a case-by-case basis.

### *C. Structure of the Proposed National Security Council*

#### *1. Introduction*

The NSC, due to the nature of its mission, demands specialized recruiting, which for obvious reasons, may not follow the public sector personnel recruiting regulations. Consequently, the act establishing the body should be accompanied by a regulation pertaining to the personnel recruitment method and its working status. On the other hand, the confidential classification of plans for handling major crises, which will be elaborated by the council, necessitates the definition of its internal structure, so as to protect at the same time the final access to these plans and to allow for the regular flow of information and ideas inside the analytical and planning sector, with a view to achieving the greatest possible fusion of ideas and capabilities.

Based on the above assumptions and taking the projected activity of the NSC as our guideline, as described above, the detailed structure presented below is considered to be the most suitable for Greece's reality.

## *2. Brief Outline of the Factors Affecting the Structure of Greece's NSC*

The general parameters and factors that must be taken into consideration upon drafting the structure of Greece's future National Security Council are briefly the following:

- a. Inadequacy of funds and technical means to cover all crisis management efforts under the current state of affairs.
- b. Lack of specialized human resources with working experience in relevant structures, even abroad.
- c. State structure with significant structural weaknesses, horizontally and vertically in the administrative hierarchy.
- d. Volatile geopolitical neighborhood, in conjunction with the inadequacy of crisis absorption means in areas close to Greece's borderline. There is neither space nor time, nor a proportionately supreme power, to prevent a strategic shock.
- e. Strong economic dependence of our country on energy transactions in imports and exports, dependence on mandatory routes and roads which are situated in politically volatile areas.
- f. Small size of armed forces and of qualitative and quantitative factors of power, in relation to the area lying within the country's vital economic and political interests.
- g. Irredentism in neighboring countries, at the expense of Greece.
- h. Oscillating policy -to put it leniently - promoted by larger countries both of the EU and on an international level, towards irredentism, by supporting simultaneously the adherents of Realpolitik and whatever it represents for the injudicious and the ignorant.
- i. Many non-governmental capabilities, which act as power multipliers for the country.
- j. The geomorphology of our country, combined with its social evolution over the past 30 years, has rendered Greece vulnerable to a large number of asymmetric threats. This vulnerability is exacerbated by the alteration of social values, as has been highlighted in various reports

produced by academic workgroups and centers.

k. The reshaping of major alliances and coalitions, in which our entry has been participating in the last few years, and the visible directions which are bound to be followed in the foreseeable future, have greatly affected the proposed structure of the NSC.

### *3. Principal Duties and Posts*

#### *3.1 National Security Advisor*

This person will be selected by the Prime Minister and will report to him, given that he/she will be his advisor in national security matters at a strategic level. He/she will coordinate the work of the NSC, provide guidelines in strategic planning matters and analyses in terms of long-term planning and will submit to the Prime Minister proposals for altering the structure and activity of NSC.

#### *3.2 NSC Secretary*

He/she will serve as deputy director and will hold a permanent post, or at least a 10-year service obligation, so as to establish an active institutional memory and continuity at the head of this body/instrument.

#### *3.3. Head of the Analysis & Planning sector, the first pillar of the NSC*

He/she will be responsible for the operation of one of the two vital NSC sectors and will head the personnel coordinating subject areas of analysis.

##### *3.3.1. Heads of Subject areas of Analysis*

It is suggested that the following subject areas of analysis are distinguished, with some sub-sectors:

- Geo-strategic Analysis
- Geo-economic Analysis
- Micro and Macro-economic Analysis in the EU

-Technology divided into sub-sectors of military technology, dual use technology, civil technology of strategic orientation, telecommunications.

-Political and mass psychology, psychological operations, sociological parameters of international policy.

-Space applications in national security,

-Civil protection system and basic emergency state structures.

Each analytical sector is divided internally into sub-sectors and areas of interest, which will be further elaborated below.

Based on the levels of analysis theory, as expressed in international literature and as drawn from international experience, strategic planning takes place within the analytical sector, given that, on the one hand, the Subject Area Coordinator along with the Head of the Analysis & Planning sector bear the responsibility of strategic planning under the Council's supervision; and that, on the other hand, permanent social workers work within the analytical sector and, with their special knowledge of the state structures and capabilities, contribute significantly to the substantial correlation of planning with its implementation. In all relevant international centers, Strategic Planning is inextricably interwoven with analysis, interacts and is organically dependent on it. Strategic planning will lead to a National Security Doctrine, from which the National Defence Doctrine and the overall strategic planning of the state will derive.

#### *3.4. The second pillar of the NSC is the Crisis Management Centre*

This Centre is responsible for crisis management following the Prime Minister's instructions, and coordinates all necessary state services and capabilities. The Centre has a triple mission, the most significant part of which involves the preparation of the state's mechanisms, both overall and detailed. In particular, the centre, according to its mission statement, will have the following two basic missions:

-producing crisis scenarios, in cooperation with the Analysis & Planning sector; and

-conducting exercises on the basis of the aforementioned scenarios, with a triple final objective:

i) Firstly, the fusion of state agencies with one another and with means and organisations outside the state sector, cooperating in order to conduct the management of a crisis while economizing on means and



force, on the one hand, and on the other, by achieving the goal in the most rapid way possible;

ii) Secondly, drawing up rules, composing manuals and plans on the basis of exercise results, which would constitute the crises management library of the general state mechanism, by replacing general emergency operational plans, such as *Xenocrates*; in this way, the operation of the crisis management mechanism becomes automatic, in whatever extent possible, on a wider scale, including even the lowest levels;

iii) Thirdly, exercising political leadership up to the highest level in the system-state crisis management scale, based on actual data, such as those resulting from the exercises and analyses. Ideally, this practice will help the political leadership, which is obliged to take the final strategic decisions, to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the system-state from a holistic point of view.

The third mission of the centre is crisis management, following instructions from the Prime Minister. In this case, the NSC's Crisis Management Centre becomes the general coordinator of all the means available and of the natural and human resources. It is for this reason that the Centre is staffed with high-ranking state officials from the ministries or bodies involved and with the leadership at the Analysis & Planning sector of the NSC and the top Leadership of the NSC. In this case, it introduces to KYSEA solutions and strategies and takes orders from it, which it subsequently carries out by exercising its coordinating role. In case of war, it is well understood that military operations will be coordinated by the Crisis Management Centre (National Operations Centre) and the other structures of the Ministry of National Defence, while the NSC, through its Crisis Management Centre, will coordinate the system-state to achieve the political, economic and diplomatic goals of war.

It should be underlined that in case of crisis management, the NSC does not act as a substitute for the relevant ministries and the other state agencies and organisations in terms of exercising their duties. Once the Prime Minister gives the order to the National Security Advisor to activate the Crisis Management Centre for countering a crisis, its role is to coordinate, by providing strategic guidelines already approved by the KYSEA, and by supervising their implementation. The system-state's role is to achieve the political and other objectives, as they have been indicated and defined by the KYSEA.

### *3.5. The third pillar of the NSC is the Department of Telematic Applications and Information Systems*

This unit is divided into two departments, for reasons of analytical clarity, which are further separated internally into sub-domains.

-The Sector of Telematic Applications, having as its main object the creation and further development of a national network of semi-automatic or automatic functioning of basic infrastructures and the creation of focal points for situational awareness and the activation of these infrastructures. The objective is to acquire the ability to control, in real-time or quasi real-time, those network infrastructures and to restore them swiftly in case of a major failure.<sup>4</sup>

-The Sector of Information Systems is responsible for creating the information infrastructure which will allow successful crisis management, even in an environment of intense info-centric war. The duties of this particular unit comprise the information infrastructure of the NSC and the telecommunications structure (which is now directly dependent on informatics) of the National Emergency Tele-communications System. The latter is indispensable and the current reality in our country is unacceptable in this sector, based on minimum criteria of survivability and transferability of the necessary volume of data, while the system presents a great number of easily identifiable points of collapse. This particular unit is responsible for planning, creating and developing a national C4I system, by placing unbreachable compatibility parameters and performance for any other branch system, which should provide to the C4I system of the NSC all the necessary information for crisis management, but also produce crises scenarios and conduct exercises for this purpose.

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4. The power distribution centre of the PPC is a useful example for understanding the purpose of this sector. Through this centre it is possible to monitor the entire power distribution network and the power production of PPG. On a certain degree, it can also cope with failures in production stations and in the transmission grid, by providing standby systems. Likewise, the sector of Telematic Applications covers the entire country and a variety of systems (e.g. irrigation, sewage, electricity, fuel etc.). The worst and most costly assault indicted upon a state, with the exception of war, is the disruption of those networks, which serve the everyday needs of its citizens.

### *3.6. The fourth pillar of the NSC consists of its administrative structure*

Its basic mission is to support all the needs incurred by the constant data flow, analyses, subsequent scenarios and assessments.

## *4. Internal Structure of Pillars - Duties and Joint Actions*

As already explained above, the NSC's function is based upon four pillars (Analysis and Planning, Crisis Management Centre, Telematic Applications and Information Systems and Administrative Support). The basic operating principle of the NSC is that it constitutes primarily an analytical and advisory KYSEA instrument, which draws its executive jurisdiction (Crisis Management Centre), when necessary, from the KYSEA and particularly the Prime Minister.

For obvious reasons, the fourth pillar (Administrative support) will not be analyzed further: its final structure will be defined by the final form and the function of the rest of the instrument. If, for instance, the Crisis Management Centre produces the necessary training tasks for vital state organisations and agencies, then the administrative workload would be significantly increased.

### *4.1 Analysis & Planning*

The first pillar constitutes the “mind” of the NSC; its mission is the uninterrupted monitoring and data analysis in particular fields of interest, and the prompt and reliable provision of processed data, to the top leadership of the state and to the Crisis Management Centre. In particular, every thematic sector can be structured in subject areas as follows.

#### *4.1.1. Geo-strategic analysis:*

European Union; Mediterranean basin and Near East; Pacific region; Quartet (Russia, China, India and the US);<sup>5</sup> Africa and Latin America

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5. In February 2005, following the visit of a US deputy minister to India, it was announced officially that the US intends to help India become a global power by providing it with military and other kinds of technology. Obviously, the ultimate objective is to control China, by simultaneously sitting back on the total security costs in all aspects.

#### 4.1.2. *Geo-economic analysis:*

International finance credit system; International commercial coalitions and commercial relationships; Energy flows and energy economics; Developing countries; Economics of natural resources

#### 4.1.3. *Macro arid micro-economic EU analysis:*

This entails the timely diagnosis of economic trends and policies within the EU, something which has proven to be particularly useful, judging from political development related to the Stability Pact.

#### 4.1.4. *Technology:*

Military Technology and Research; Dual Use Technology; Strategic Civic Technology (e.g. energy. transportation etc.); Telecommunications (in cooperation with the third pillar, due the information systems in the telecommunications)

#### 4.1.5. *Political Psychology and Mass Sociology:*

Political Psychology (on a group level/of specific Limited groups;<sup>6</sup> Psychological Operations; Personality Analyses (psychograms); Mass Psychology and Mass Political Phenomena<sup>7</sup>

#### 4.1.6. *Space Applications in National Security*

Military satellite systems; International Partnerships and National Space Doctrine; Satellite Data Analysis Centre<sup>8</sup>

#### 4.1.7. *Basic State Substructures and Critical Networks:*

-*Basic State infrastructures* (a number of agencies and organisations

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6. A typical example is still the function of the US Ministers Council during the Cuba Crisis (The Kennedy tapes), but also the function of the EU Committee.

7. The influence of grasps or movements on the international scene, either independent or directed. The recent “movements for democracy” in Georgia, Ukraine, in Lebanon and also in Kyrgyzstan constitute, on the contrary, a typical example of psychological operations planned by the relevant CIA sector, which specializes in political governmental subversions through such “spontaneous movements”.

8. In cooperation with the respective Intelligence Department at the Ministry of National Defence, this will have the responsibility of operating the systems, economizing on resources and time. In this case, the NSC Centre exchanges information on primary data with the respective centre at the Ministry of National Defense and directs the collection, when deemed necessary (tasking).

which are necessary for the functioning of the state system in a period of serious and prolonged crisis, with emphasis on the points of self-collapse of those infrastructures);

-*Critical Networks* (which allow for the cohesive functioning of the whole country, and without which the country would be divided into a non-cohesive and uncontrollable group of areas and functions).<sup>9</sup> Apparently, the cooperation with the fourth sector of the first pillar is necessary and a *sine qua non*.

#### 4.2 Crisis Management

The second pillar is the Crisis Management Centre. As stated above, the Centre's mission is dual. On the one hand, it produces scenarios and evaluates the reaction of the agencies involved, while, on the other hand, it handles crises on the Prime Minister's instructions, by informing KYSEA on a continuing basis.

The function of this sector, as presented above, is divided functionally into two periods: the period of peace and the period of war. Such a division is deemed necessary, not only for the sake of the orderly function of this particular instrument, but also to transmit to third-party observers useful and coherent messages, relating to the will of the country's political leadership and the crisis status.<sup>10</sup>

In periods of peace, the Crisis Management Centre has two missions. The first one relates to the drafting of crisis scenarios, spanning all

9. The US bombing of Yugoslavia aimed at eliminating these two sectors: destroying or at least suspending the function of these substructures, and suspending the networks with the impending threat of entire destruction, in case Milosevic would not comply. They failed in the first part, because Tito had already built in 1960 an underground six-storey city under Belgrade to cope with a similar Soviet attack. In the second part the US was successful.

10. An important guide for this particular synthesis and a theoretical background for the useful function of these different syntheses on a political level is the still contemporary book *On Escalation* by Herman Kahn. This particular work has become the theoretical foundation of planning for the nuclear deterrence force and the relevant US doctrine, which is currently used for the planning of the asymmetric war doctrine, a doctrine intended to be implemented on a planetary scale. On the basis of this doctrine the US plans the structure of their forces on a timeline by 2050, according to interviews by General Shoemaker, also researcher of the Rumsfeld group.

grades of tension, from rescuing individuals to the collapse of basic infrastructures and networks, as an aftermath of destruction, whether natural or related to human activities. Consequently, the second mission is to undertake the training of the leadership of state organisations and agencies to cooperate for resolving problems arising from a crisis, and to counter unpredictable situations, through crisis simulation environment (in digital and real form).

It is stressed that, in this case, the Centre does not substitute the secondary structures, which carry out the tasks for the resolution of a crisis. On the contrary, it monitors and identifies weaknesses, malfunctions, inadequacies and deviations, not only in the plans, but also in the structures, by generating problems of different kinds and levels of difficulty during a simulation. Part of its mission is to embody, in this case, the role of the “villain” so as to instigate problems before a real crisis arises.<sup>11</sup>

These two “peaceful” missions are the everyday routine of the Crisis Management Centre (CMC). At the same time they are on a state of alert for the eventuality of a war period. The connection the “war” period is effected through a “scenario library”, which it has produced, and continues to produce, and which can be swiftly updated with new data on the eve of a crisis. Since every crisis is determined by imponderable factors, it is necessary that every scenario be available in sufficient variations (qualitative and quantitative), thus enabling also a more substantial training of leaderships.

Two remarks are necessary: the first relates to the drafting of scenarios. In order to be able to study scenarios in conditions of actual crises, cooperation is a necessity, not only between the other sectors of the NSC, but also with other relevant bodies of crisis management in other state sectors. In this case, the mission of the CMC is not only to familiarize (i.e. to introduce and further educate) the entire state mechanism with major crises, but also to create, as a coordinator, a network of management centers and users. In other words, while the Analysis

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11. The lack of coordination in the recent CH-47 crash in Mt. Athos is an example for avoidance. The helicopter, which was carrying monks to Mt. Athos, crashed, while the country’s primary air defence network, without undergoing any war pressure, had no idea what had happened to its radar bearing, which had appeared on the major air defence radars a few minutes before. What would have happened if the network had had to address multiple bearings, in an environment of intense countermeasures, and under the threat of missile attacks?

and Planning sector is responsible, by means of its cooperation with other state organisations and bodies, for the timely warning in relation to the creation of crisis conditions, the CMC undertakes to coordinate the training and to create the crisis handling web in peacetime and assumes a leading role in wartime, following the Prime Minister's orders.

The second remark bears on the crisis handling webs. The notion of a web presupposes the ability for concerted action, through interactive information exchange. In other words, it is necessary, at least, to have a competent technological infrastructure so as to connect the local crisis handling centers with the general coordinator. Unfortunately, in Greece this infrastructure is of doubtful efficiency in circumstances of exacerbated crises.<sup>12</sup> Consequently, based on the contribution of the third pillar to the NSC, a new system must be planned, by allocating sufficient time and resources, due to the meaninglessly wasted time in the past.

With regard to the wartime composition of the CMC and its role in this case, the following are to be considered as an initial descriptive approach. To begin with, the Centre -following consultation with the Prime Minister- defines the condition of a state's mobilisation (similar to the US Defense Condition or DEFCON). This activity, per se, is a degree of escalation without immediate external characteristics and side effects, but aims to function as a clear warning to third-party observers. In other words, although it does not bind future government behavior it provides the necessary space and time for negotiations. Negotiating with the aim to gradually de-escalate a crisis (the so-called stand down ladder) is typical in similar circumstances. An absolutely failed version of this activity was the case of Imia.

Concurrently, mobilisation alters the CMC's composition, which constitutes in itself an escalation indicator. As mentioned above, in peacetime, the members consist of the Advisor, the NSC Secretary, the Head of NSC's second pillar, the Head of NSC's third pillar and representatives of state organisations and agencies. In wartime, the Council is supplemented by the participation of the Heads of particular organisations (the Commander of the National Intelligence Service (EYP), the Chief of the Hellenic Police (ELAS), the Chief of the Defence General Staff (GEETHA), the Commander of the Information Agency of the

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12. The Olympic Games' C4I system should be the nucleus, the spine of a broader system, which would link the separate management centre in the country. Unfortunately, the System, due to the initial bad planning and subsequent implementation, did not meet our expectations.

Defence Ministry), something that characterises the gradual escalation of a crisis. The wartime composition is specialized even further. In a first phase, there is an increased participation of all the members, while, in a second phase, the nucleus meets (grades 1 to 5 in the chart) and takes executive decisions, which are submitted for approval to KYSEA (wartime composition) and to the Prime Minister. It is stressed that the convocation of the military composition of KYSEA is the ultimate symbolic escalation phase, beyond which the applications of the active phases of the plans begin (we regard as passive phases those measures and actions, whose consequences do not incur irreversible results outside a country).

Consequently, the levels of escalation relate to:

- The CMC's composition;
- The KYSEA's composition;
- The state's mobilisation status

Every level comprises internal and external characteristics, which indicate to the adversary a scale of tendencies and actions of the country's political leadership, and a mobilisation status of the state mechanism. The internal characteristics relate to the country per se, and to the state mechanism. The external characteristics involve mainly the citizens' understanding of the continuing events and their severity, and consequently the fundamental psychological preparation and understanding of the potential adversary and of third party observers. A basic tenet in the theories and analyses related to defence, in a narrow and broader sense, is that security is at the same time subjective and objective, static and dynamic, targeted and generic. A long series of theoretical analyses of actual events (from an individual to an interstate level) have documented these characteristics and their corresponding importance superficially but not substantially, on the creation of security structures and their subsequent functioning.

#### *4.3. Telematic Applications & Information Systems*

Taking for granted the need to establish a technological background, which will enable the real-time handling of crises, the role of the third pillar proves to be of considerable importance. This pillar, of Telematic Applications and Information Systems, has as an object the planning



and the organisation of similar systems at a national level, in order to create and subsequently constantly evaluate, by means of exercises, both the state of readiness and the integrity of the web of such systems.

Internally, the pillar is divided into two sectors: Telematic Applications and Information Systems. This distinction is made for reasons of functionality, as the two sectors utilize identical or similar technologies.

Regarding telematic applications, it should be noted that they are already used by hundreds of thousands of people, without their even realizing it. The most complex applications involve the management of large and spatially expanded networks (railroads, power plants, ports, etc.), while on a smaller scale they are used in the industry as well as in domestic and other applications. On a strategic level, this particular sector involves the country's capability to function while economizing on means, personnel and resources under circumstances of intense pressure on its basic infrastructures and services (transportation, energy, main civil infrastructure networks). From this aspect, it should evaluate the existing networks, suggest the necessary modifications, and plan trunk networks for state use, which could function under adverse circumstances and events (natural or physical), and consequently safeguard the functioning of the main infrastructure networks with high redundancy.

Outside the NSC, it is indispensable that the third Pillar cooperates with centers or planning agencies or offices of major public utility companies, such as the Public Power Corporation, the Telecommunications Organisation (OTE), the refineries, major drinking water suppliers, road network contractors and operators, etc. In this use, it undertakes the role of the general coordinator, in terms of remote network planning, continuously conducting of exercises, and the planning of necessary modifications deriving from the analysis of exercise results.

The sector of Information Systems is an extensive and specific facet of the activities covered by the third pillar. Greece is characterised by the rapid exploitation of information, however not of the so-called Information Society.<sup>13</sup> The critical importance of protecting the country's information infrastructure is obvious, given its nodal role in the opera-

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13. The 'Information Society' is the Media's favorite subject. However, the term is often misused and is becoming the pretext for irrelevant activities. It is the exploitation of information which determines its quality, and not the acquisition of the information itself. This part constitutes a fixed tenet in intelligence and in the analytical sector of these agencies.

tion of all networks (supposing that the aim is to act in real or almost real time). This sector, in cooperation with the analytical sector, assesses the country's existing technologies, suggests solutions and modifications related to critical systems, plans the emergency infrastructure for these activities and provides the NSC with infrastructure and protection. Essentially, it has an analytical, advisory and executive role at different levels of action. At the same time, however, its close cooperation with the industry and specialized scientific centers (academic and/or independent) allows immediate constant information and updating with the help of the latest technological developments.<sup>14</sup>

### *Conclusion*

Concluding, the NSC is composed of four pillars: the Analytical, the Crisis Management Centre, the Telematic Applications and Information Systems and the Secretariat. This structure allows not only the assessment and the information analysis, but also provides for scenarios and the management of crises. The objective of the NSC is to support KYSEA and the Prime Minister in the assessment of threats spanning the broad range of contemporary security of states, in specialized scenarios and crises.<sup>15</sup> It does not substitute, but in the course of crisis management, coordinates and oversees the proper implementation of all areas, of all the state agencies and services being used, and of other non-national resources which are also used either on the basis of concrete plans or on a case-by-case basis. It acts under the command of KYSEA and/or the Prime Minister.

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14. It is not a coincidence that every year, at the international hackers' gathering, held in the US, the CIA and the NSA organize parties, under cover of the names of the hackers, who work for them. During these events, young experts of the agency and participating hackers discuss the new "weapons" which have been developed, ways of protection and their potent applications. In addition, many states have established special agencies on cyber-warfare (Germany, China, North and South Korea, US, UK, Russia, France).

15. During his recent visit in Europe, President George W. Bush stressed in his speech that nowadays the security of a state covers a wide range of activities, which military force alone or the state cannot counter. It has been established as common practice to use the broader definition of national security and on the basis of this definition, the US is now seeking the cooperation of old Europe.

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