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Analysis of National Security Advisory System in True Communication of National Security Issues

Muhammet Mağat¹ Bekir Parlak²

Abstract

This study explores the complex relationship between media and national security, focusing on how media influences the formulation and decision-making behind national security policies. It examines the crucial role of national security advisors and their political communication skills in shaping public perception of national security issues. The research methodology involves a comprehensive review of existing theoretical frameworks related to media, communication, and national security. The study's scope encompasses political communication, news media dynamics, the influence of journalists and academics, and the interplay between media and advisors. Focusing on the "post-truth" era, the study investigates how emotions and beliefs impact public opinion on national security matters. The central question: What characterizes the media-national security relationship? The study emphasizes the need for rational systems to ensure clarity and truth within this complex domain.

Keywords: Public Policy, Media, National Security, Public Opinion, Decision Making, Disinformation, Post-Truth.

Introduction

The term "media" literally comes from the Latin word "medium," which means "tool". It has vital importance in terms of satisfying curiosity about people, objects, the course of the relationship between them, data collection, and decision-making processes³. The media have acted as a transmitter for many years. In parallel with this, the media have been understood as "the fourth power of democracy" that makes the black box of the state more transparent. According to the "Social Responsibility Theory" and known from the Hutchins Commission Report published in 1947, the media have an obligation to explain the developments to the citizens in a comprehensive manner. After several economic, social, and political developments, other than being the narrator, I preferred to follow certain ideological discourses and even became a deceiving force in certain circumstances⁴. The relatively innocent method used by the media to create its message is agenda setting. According to the theory put forward by Maxwell Combs and Donald L. Shaw in 1972, not all information obtained is presented to the audience

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³ Iggers, Jeremy. (1998). Good News Bad News, Journalism Ethics and the Public. Westview Press. pp. 45-47. ⁴Göka, Şenol. (2011). Medya, Siyaset ve Zihnime Yansımalar. Ankara: Birleşik. p. 24.



verbatim. Within a limited time and budget, certain data are pushed to the background, while others are brought to the fore. Based on this, individuals are primarily guided about what they need to know and what they need to think⁵. Similarly, in 1947, Kurt Lewin put forward the gatekeeper theory to express which data becomes newsworthy within the said process, within the intervention of various actors and factors.

At the beginning of the 20th century, several academicians viewed mass media as a tool that conveyed one-way messages and had a clear audience. In this respect, media professionals and those in touch with them, like bureaucrats, have not hesitated to increase the dosage of propaganda. To exemplify, Lipmann argued that the idea of an "Enlightened Society" is impossible and sees a large segment of society as people who cannot grasp the essence of political and social developments or are not directly interested in them. According to him, decisions concerning society should be handled by some kind of intellectual higher committee, and the media should be used to impose the decisions taken on society⁶. Another academician who sees the media as a propaganda tool and mass communication as a one-way channel is Wilbur Schramm. According to him, the audience is just a passive object. He claims that the audience would automatically accept everything given to it and be open to infinite influence on everything from political decisions to consumption habits. In this context, the media could penetrate people's skulls and spread inside them, like a "bullet"⁷.

The statecraft, no matter the reason to do so, has always been seen as a penetrator of the media. This idea became one of the most significant topics to study, both for communication professionals and academicians. For instance, in his work titled "Ideology and Ideological Devices of the State", Althusser includes the press, radio-TV, and other communication tools within this framework when talking about the "Communication ISA (Ideological State Apparatus)"⁸. Additionally, Chomsky asserts that companies' motivation to make profits, the influence of advertisers, and the fact that journalists' main source of news is based on people such as bureaucrats, business world, and experts; make them dependent and ultimately turn them into a propaganda machine that supports the status quo⁹. Chomsky and Herman further

⁵ McCombs, Maxwell., & Shaw, Donald L. (1972). The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 176-185. p.177.

⁶ Lipmann, Walter (1922). *Public Opinion*. New York: The Macmillan Company. p. 310.

⁷ Schramm, Wilbur E. (1971). The Process and Effects of Mass Communication. In W. Schramm, & D. Roberts, *The Nature of Communication Between Humans*. Chicago: The University of Illinois Press. pp. 7-9.

⁸ Althusse, Louise. (2010). *İdeoloji ve Devletin İdeolojik Aygıtları*. (A. T. (Translation), Ed.) İstanbul: İthaki Yayınları.

⁹ Chomsky, Noam. (1999). *Medya Gerçeği*. İstanbul: Tüm Zamanlar. p.21.



present a list of filters that turn free news-making into a propaganda machine. According to this, there are six main filters such as the size, ownership, and profit orientation of mass media; advertising license to do business; who/what are the news sources of mass media; response generation and forces; anti-communism control mechanism; propaganda campaigns and polarization¹⁰. In this sense, Gieber claims that news does not have an independent existence but is a product that emerges because of the bureaucracy of those who collect or organize the news. He says, "News is created by journalists"¹¹.

By the end of the Cold War period, globalization became widely effective. Together with technological innovations, the concepts of mass communication and national security have undergone significant changes. New technological innovations have led to a paradigm shift in mass media called "communication globalism". This has led to a change in the media-politics relationship. National security has become more vulnerable to the machinations of hostile states and non-state actors through new avenues of media such as the Internet. Although it is still hard to undermine a nation's national security interests, vulnerabilities do exist. Wikileaks (2010) and the Panama Papers (2016) are the most popular examples of this new trend. While the Panama Papers released personal information about off-shore accounts or private property of some politicians and used as an ambiguous delegitimization campaign, WikiLeaks contained classified information about criticism of the United Kingdom's military operations in Afghanistan by U.S. and Afghan officials, details of Pakistan's nuclear weapons program, and covert efforts of the U.S. to fight al Qaeda in Yemen- and plan to have a policy change¹². Currently, both the media and security organizations responsible for national security are adapting to changing nuances, and it is their cooperation strategy and mutual trust that can serve the interests of national security¹³.

1. New Media, Post-Truth and Politics

By the millennium, internet usage has spread to almost the whole world. The term social media as new sources of entertainment, communication and information, emerged in the World

¹⁰ Herman, Edward S., & Chomsky, Noam. (2012). *Rizanin İmalatı: Kitle Medyasının Ekonomi Politiği*. (E. A. (Translation), Ed.) BGST Yayınları. pp. 72-107.

¹¹ Gieber, W. (1964). News is What Newspapermen Make It. In L. Dexter, & D. White, *People, Society and Mass Communication*. Newyork. p. 235.

¹² Fink, Allison. (2017). Responsible Whistleblowing: The Panama Papers, Wikileaks, and the National Security Enterprise. *The Dialectics: Journal of Law, Leadership and Society*, 1-7. pp. 3-4.

¹³ Al-Rfouh, Faisal. O. (2005). Mass Communication and National Security. *Democracy and National Security, 1*(1), 41-62.



scene. It was an unavoidable fact that such developments influenced politics and the way of doing it. At first, like the traditional media, several professionals thought that these technological innovations would enhance the global level of democracy. Recalling from the ancient tradition of the agora, direct democracy, or cyber democracy that would strengthen the transparency, and welcomed with hope and happiness¹⁴. It was expected that online, an alternative public sphere in Habermas's terms, would be created to feed civil society and improve its position as a mediator between people and the state. Habermas pointed out that critical rationality, equality, freedom of expression, and dissemination are the necessary conditions for the proper functioning of the public sphere¹⁵. Considering the appearance of themes like "post-truth", it could be seen that this was not the case. In the most basic definition, post-truth means relating to or existing in an environment in which facts are viewed as irrelevant and emotional appeals are used to influence public opinion. In this sense, it should be remembered that, as Boudillard proposed, a super-reality that would overshadow the real world can easily be created within the scope of perception management. Hyper-reality is designed and disseminated by mass media. The made-up truth overshadows the truth¹⁶.

Since the US Presidential Elections in 2008 and Occupy Wall Street Movements, social media and the internet have started to be used for political purposes. With the start of the Arab Spring events, the sphere of influence of such politically oriented movements on the internet became international. With the Russia-Ukraine War starting in 2022, the internet and internet-based applications were not only a source of cultural and technical embargo material but also became a matter of disinformation and misinformation rivalry. Besides, it could be said that the Cambridge Analytica Scandal that allegedly changed the outcome of the US Presidential Elections in 2016 and the referendum on the BREXIT constitute the most interesting cases in the field. In March 2018, news about cheating claims in the previous presidential elections was published. It is claimed that Aleksandr Kogan, a lecturer at Cambridge University, created a personality and style-behavior modeling test called 'psychographics' and applied it on to about 80 million Facebook users in the USA and UK. One of the key points here is that people deliberately logged into many other applications gave important information such as names,

¹⁴ Şener, Gülüm. (2006). Küresel kapitalizmin yeni kamusal alanı olarak internet: Yeni Toplumsal Hareketlerin İnternet Kullanımı. *Dissertation Thesis*. İstanbul, Türkiye: Marmara University. p. 64.

¹⁵ Habermas, Jürgen. (1991). The Public Sphere. In C. Mukerji, & M. Schudson, *Rethinking Popular Culture: Contemporary Perspectives in Cultural Studies.* Berkeley University of California Press. pp. 398-405.

¹⁶ Boudillard, Jean. (2013). Simularklar ve Simülasyon. (O. (. Adanır, Ed.) İstanbul: Doğu Batı Yayınları.

locations, e-mail addresses, and friend lists to the relevant service providers. The company Cambridge Analytica has enabled the collection, analysis, and use of all this information within a new marketing strategy. In this case, they not only violated laws on protecting personal data, but also nurtured polarization among people¹⁷. At this point, it must be recalled that algorithms of popular social media applications are created for making people busier and busier with these apps, by showing relevant content to appeal to each user's appetite all the time. This led to 'homophily', which means people who like to be with others who think like themselves. Hamdy argued that homophily makes civil mobilization (which is also a threat to national security), easier to occur¹⁸. For example, DCMS (House of Commons Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Committee (UK)) released a report in 2018, in which they underlined that micro-targeting what spread hyper-partisan views and the negative impact of fake-news, could result in a "democracy crisis"¹⁹. A similar perception has also been added to the NATO's Strategic Concept as Western democracies are being challenged by authoritarian actors while hybrid threats turned out to be a permanent feature of contemporary security environment with hybrid threats, the spread of disinformation and propaganda, cyber-attacks, etc. At the Wales NATO Summit in September 2014, allies agreed to "ensure that NATO is able to effectively address the specific challenges posed by hybrid warfare threats" and highlighted the significance of strategic communications. Also, the NATO Centre of Excellence on Strategic Communications in Riga, and the European Center of Excellence on Countering Hybrid warfare in Helsinki established for information sharing and counterpropaganda, while in 2016 EU-NATO cooperation in the field guaranteed Parallel and coordinated exercises (PACE)²⁰.

This situation is not only limited to the new media or its impact on creation of homophily or hyper-reality which may cause civil unrests, but also because the content of traditional media inspired from its descendant. In the most basic scenario, social media could set traditional media's agenda by agents like Twitter's trend topic lists in each country. Despite introduction of the regulations like EU's DMA or Türkiye's "Law on Amendments to the Press Law No.

¹⁷ Öztemel, İlknur. Ş. (2022). Digital Hegemony and the Russia-Ukraine War. *İletişim ve Diplomasi*, 43-57. pp. 45-48.

¹⁸ Hamdy, Naila. (2010). Arab media adopt citizen journalism to change the dynamics of conflict coverage. *Global Media Journal: Arabian Edition, 1*(1), 3-15. pp. 6-10.

¹⁹ DCMS(House of Commons Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Committee). (2018). *Disinformation and fake news: Interim Report*. Retrieved from https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/ cm201719/cmselect/cmcumeds/363/36302.html. p. 3.

²⁰ Ratsiborynska, Vira. (2024). The Strategic Security Environment and NATO's Perspectives in Developing Effective Strategic Communications. In R. Arcos, İ. Churi, & C. Ivan, *Routledge Handbook of Disinformation and National Security* (pp. 328-338). NY: Taylor& Francis Groups. pp. 329-330.



7418 and Certain Laws", numbered 31987, dated October 18, 2022, there is no direct limitation or fast-checking mechanisms on these social media service providers. The main cause of such regulations is to impose after-event punishment to discourage further negative developments. Likewise, the Turkish regulation orders imprisonment of those who spread fake news and disinformation (Article 29), all news sites to keep the content they publish for two years (Article 6), and underscores that the removal decision made for a content has become valid on all websites and platforms²¹. In addition to these, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's call for a "Communication Mobilization" to spread Turkish narration of international developments and the speech of the Presidency's Directorate of Communications, Fahrettin Altun's label of what his leading institution does as "Working for the conscious (the inner man) of the Umma and even whole World" are crucial.

2. Journalists, Academicians, National Security Advisors, and News-making

In the light of the previous parts, it could be said that we have a projection which includes policy maker working in the field of national security, academicians that contribute to the process with their scientific reviews, journalists (whether working for traditional media news center or online news centers/blogs) that provide raw material to these two group of people, and the new media that meddle into this cycle, enlarge the scheme and make it relatively less controllable. Feldman (2024) argued that the media's role in national security policymaking increased in the last two decades²². National security issues, together with factors such as publicizing demands and improving the image of institutions, are evaluated within the integrated social approach of national security²³. Policymakers are obliged to understand what is happening, identify the issues at hand, evaluate possible options for action, and ultimately make decisions that will directly affect the lives of civilians and soldiers. Errors in understanding reality can lead to wrong decisions in policy design, operational planning, and force generation. While intelligence is designed to make it possible to understand the situation regarding the enemy and the environment, other institutions are designed to help understand the situation of one's own forces²⁴. Moreover, as media and despite its failure to achieve a

²¹ Öztemel, İlknur. Ş. (2023). Türk Siyasal Hayatında Sosyal Medya Ve Dijital Platformlarin Kullanimi: 2002-2020 Dönemi. *Master Thesis*. Hacettepe University. pp. 130-131.

²² Feldman, Robert. P. (2024). *National Security and Communications*. Retrieved from The Institute for National Security Studies (INSS): https://www.inss.org.il/research/communications-national-security/

²³ Parlak, Bekir., & Mağat, Muhammet. (2021). Whole of Society Approach to National Security Issues: Public Policy and Social Media Correlation. *Kamu Yönetimi Ve Politikaları Dergisi, 2*(2), 233-256.

²⁴ Brun, Itai., & Roitman, Michal. (2020). *National Security in the Era of Post-Truth and Fake News*. Tel Aviv: Institute for National Security Studies (INSS).



modern agora or a proper public sphere, social media are mediating between a country's government and its people. Therefore, the policies of a state are conveyed and interpreted by the media²⁵.

a. Journalists: A reporter is not just an observer but a player in the national security enterprise. International journalists and foreign offices of media outlets provide continuous flow of information to the center and upgrade the level of consciousness at home. However, due to certain fiscal problems and privatization, several news agencies partnered with MNCs. Like in Reagan's term, conservative fiscal policies dominated by hefty tax cuts, immense defense spending, and deregulation, which boomed privatization and profit-centered understanding, applied. These moves increased the competitiveness of certain goods and services but also hardened the public interest-oriented view of the media. In this era, several news agencies and media outlets decreased the number of employees and closed their foreign bureaus. This has resulted in poorer coverage of international developments and multiple shocks to American audiences to discover why the majority of the African, Eurasian, or European people do not like them. Satara asserted that the outdated images and film clips from Afghanistan and Pakistan, published after 9/11, evidenced the long-term absence of foreign reporters in the region²⁶.

Other than receiving raw data from on-the-ground narrators as journalists, government officers would use media and journalists to prepare people for certain foreign-policy moves, too. As Bernard Cohen argues in his book "The Press and the Foreign Policy", even if the media cannot reach a sufficient influence on people's "what to think", its persuasive ability in terms of "what to think about" is quite high²⁷. In a secondary step, terms such as the Responsibility to Protect or Just War in international law were distorted for the sake of national interests. In this regard, CNN live broadcasts, which came to the fore with the Gulf War in 1991 and irreversibly changed the media phenomenon, have a great impact. According to this phenomenon, which is also referred to as the "CNN Effect", any event taking place in a country is announced to the whole world through the work of global media companies, increasing national and international pressure on local governments, and thus causing policy, official and even regime changes in the country in question. It is foreseen. Of course, if we look at it chronologically, this phenomenon

²⁵ Dairo, Morolake. (2017). The Connection Between National Security and Communication. *Specialty Journal of Knowledge Management*, 1-11.

²⁶ Satara, Maja. (2008). The George W. Bush Administration and the News Media: the Unfolding of a Turbulent Relationship. *M.A. Thesis*. the Department of Literature, Area Studies and European Languages at the University of Oslo. pp. 54-56.

²⁷ İrvan, Süleyman. (2001). Gündem Belirleme Yaklaşımının Genel Bir Değerlendirmesi. İletişim, 69-108. p. 70.



can be seen before the regime changes, by persuading the international public opinion by embellishing it with terms such as Democratic Peace Theory or Responsibility to Protect (R2P)²⁸. It is claimed that Washington was waiting for an excuse to interfere in the Middle East and make military lobbyists happy for continuously increasing military spending. As General Colin Powell stated in 1991: "Think hard about it. I'm running out of demons. I'm running out of villains". In this respect, the war on terrorism was a gift from heaven²⁹. What's more, *USA Today*, at the time the nation's largest-circulation newspaper, began raising serious questions about the case for invading Iraq in July 2002 when three months before the Congress was about voted to authorize the use of force and eight months before sending troops to Iraq³⁰.

In the US-led invasion of Iraq in March 2003, about 800 reporters from diverse American news organizations signed contracts with the military, to travel with advancing troops- embedded journalism³¹. However, recalling from the notification of Lipmann, propaganda is also a version of censorship, Bush Administration of the term was unwilling to cooperate with the media and share information with all, and even selected analysts and reporters to work with³². Even the term embedded journalism born from it, such traits have always been done in previous administrations. For example, in Franklin D. Roosevelt who claimed to have the best relations with the media, introduced certain rules for the White House press corps that define what information was on-background, off-the-record, or not-forattribution, and reporters who did not follow the president's rules were dismissed. In 1933, the White House Press Office was founded to present the most accurate news and analysis at the center. Meanwhile, the Voice of America (VOA) which's first broadcast was in 1942, has always been under the influence of the State Department and create basis for Washington's policies abroad. Another President that had relatively better relations with the media was John F. Kennedy who has often been called America's "first television president". He even allowed cameras to film both him and his family at the White House, to have direct communication with

²⁸ Öztemel, İlknur. Ş. (2023). Türk Siyasal Hayatında Sosyal Medya Ve Dijital Platformlarin Kullanimi: 2002-2020 DÖNEMİ. *Master Thesis*. Hacettepe University. p. 22.

²⁹ McChesney, Robert W. (2004). September 11 and the Structural Limitations of US Journalism. In B. Zelizer, & S. Allan, *Journalism After September 11* (pp. 91-100). NY: Routledge. p. 94.

³⁰ Rishikof, Harvey., & George, Roger Z. (2011). *Navigating the Labyrinth of the National Security Enterprise*. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press. pp. 325-326.

³¹ Rishikof, Harvey, & George, Roger Z. (2011). *Navigating the Labyrinth of the National Security Enterprise*. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press. pp. 305-306.

³² Satara, Maja. (2008). The George W. Bush Administration and the News Media: the Unfolding of a Turbulent Relationship. *M.A. Thesis*. the Department of Literature, Area Studies and European Languages at the University of Oslo. p. 59.



the voters, which no newspaper could alter by interpretation or omission. However, there were still disadvantaged people in this government-media relations, likewise, former reporter David Halberstam of *The New York Times* was removed from his position because of his critical reporting in Vietnam. President Lyndon B. Johnson had wire service feeds installed in the Oval Office so that he could better supervise the news coverage, other than the typical President's Daily Brief Material (PDB), and allegedly had faster decision-making regarding the situation in Vietnam. After the American Press's pyrrhic victory against the government, the Watergate Scandal during Nixon's term, relations became more strained and limited. In 1969, the White House Office of Communications was established 1969 to bypass the critical filter.

b. Academicians, Researchers, and Think-Tanks: Academicians, researchers, and think-tanks that hire or cooperate with them are significant sources of national security policy, and relatively media content creation. They contribute to the intellectual synthesis that comes from breaking down bureaucratic barriers. Their autonomous position makes them more capable of disseminating relevant policy research within government agencies than government agencies themselves and monitoring the policy function (from data collection to knowledge to conceiving means of implementation) than government bureaucracies, which might be internally segmented along such lines. There are various think-tanks in the US which could be categorized under academic, party/university, or government-related, politically affiliated, private, independent, etc. While some of them have their own publications and media establishments like the Cato Journal, Brookings Institute, Foreign Policy from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, or Foreign Affairs from the Council on Foreign Relations (on publications); The Dialogue radio program of Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars, TV Channels of The Brookings Institution and the Heritage Foundation etc.). Furthermore, many of their think tank colleagues appear several times a week as regular political commentators on CNN and other cable channels and write down articles especially for the Wall Street Journal³³. Briefly, while they provide a more detailed and elitist analysis of the recent developments to the public media, they add to the government's policy orientations as an ideally operating national security enterprise with reports and research.

c. The National Security Advisor Position: The Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs (APNSA), commonly referred to as the National Security Advisor serves as the principal advisor to the President of the United States on all national security issues. He or She

³³ McGann, James J. (2005). *Think Tanks and Policy Advice in The US*. Pennslyvania: Foreign Policy Research Institute.



participates in meetings of the National Security Council (NSC) and usually chairs meetings of the Principals Committee of the NSC with the Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense. Also, he/she sits on the Homeland Security Council (HSC). The national security advisor is supported by NSC staff who produce classified research and briefings, and his/her appointment does not need confirmation by the United States Senate.

Following the attack on Pearl Harbor, debates about the creation of a United States Department of Defense (DOD) started. In accordance with this, the United States Navy submitted the Eberstadt Report, which called instead for the creation of the National Security Council (NSC). With the National Security Act of 1947, President Truman led to the foundation of the Secretary of Defense, NSC, and NSA positions. In the most basic terms, NSA is supposed to set the agenda, engage in diplomacy, serve as a bridge between politics in policy, work as an intelligence official, be a congressional liaison, and for media relations³⁴. NSA ought to consider alternative policy directions, weigh the costs and benefits of each possible course, and ensure that all relevant bureaucratic actors receive a fair hearing in the process. This makes him/her an "honest broker" among supporters of all potential answers to problems, among professionals in statecraft, media, the academy, etc. He/she must not prioritize his/her ideas or interests, as it was concluded by the Tower Commission in 1987, and "must not use his proximity to the President to manipulate the process so as to produce his own position"³⁵.

Nevertheless, in some cases, NSA works hard to make his/her boss, the president, satisfied with their ideals and somehow work for the grounding conditions, related public opinion, and legal causes to be found out, rather than fulfilling their goal to be a mediator and honest broker. Dueck argued that a similar orientation was taken by Bush's NSA, Rice³⁶. It is reported that she had even problems persuading NSC to decide what to study on³⁷. Recalling from Chomsky's emphasis on media's dependent nature as one of the main sources of media is high-level state-bureaucrats, information-provider role for policy-makers became drastically less practical and with biased position of NSA in the term, media turned out to be an echoing,

³⁴ Halvorson, Robert. (2010). Monograph. *The Interagency Cometh: Is the National Security System of 1947 Capable of Handling the Challenges of 2009?* Kansas, USA: United States Army Command and General Staff College School of Advanced Military Studies.

³⁵ Dueck, Colin. (2014). The Role of the National Security Advisor and the 2006 Iraq Strategy Review. *Orbis, 15*(1), 15-38. pp. 30-31.

³⁶ Dueck, Colin. (2014). The Role of the National Security Advisor and the 2006 Iraq Strategy Review. *Orbis,* 15(1), 15-38. p.16.

³⁷ Brupbacher, Jared. J. (2017). People, Process, And Policy: Case Studies In National Security Advising, The National Security Council, And Presidential Decision Making. *A Thesis Presented To The Faculty Of The School Of Advanced Air And Space Studies For Completion Of Graduation Requirements*. Alabama, Usa: School Of Advanced Air And Space Studies Air University Maxwell Air Force Base. pp. 79-80.



public opinion management gadget that underscored American national identity symbols and worked for demonization of the "enemy"³⁸. A similar culture was adopted by President Trump and his executives, too. Trump had one of the most populous national security advisor teams of six. Undoubtedly, he had a different style than we all got used to, which emphasizes the alternative facts. This trait could be seen from Trump's refusal to receive a daily intelligence briefing, as a "smart person" who did not need to be told the same thing in the same words every day for the next eight years. He also rejected conversations with several intelligence officers and related executives. In this sense, he was called a President who was far more interested in shaping reality than in understanding it. Copying from their boss, several counselors helped to spread false statements. To exemplify, Kellyanne Conway, a counselor to President Trump, defended false statements by the White House press secretary about the number of people who attended the President's inauguration ceremony in January 2017³⁹.

Conclusion

Fair news making of national security issues has always been a quite hard issue that includes diverse actors, filters, propagandists, and dynamics. Regarding the developing technology and rising influence of the new media, non-official narrators, leaks, and widespread fake news, this complex process has become even harder to control. Such as former Director of the CIA, Michael Hayden, wrote a book named *The Assault on Intelligence: American National Security in an Age of Lies*, to highlight the threat of technological opening⁴⁰. He reported that even President Trump's habit of using social media provides foreign intelligence agencies with all manner of data that they can use to create profiles to assist their policy makers. In relation to this, national security policy processes become full of raw material, but the majority of them cannot be seen as trustworthy. Besides, securing classified data and controlling public opinion not to focus on conspiracy theories or be radicalized, especially in democratic states, turned out to be an additional national security topic by itself. In this labyrinth, NSA must act in a strong way that protects his/her neutrality, prioritizes national interests over any individualistic motives or any other loyalties, and perform as an honest broker with all his or her diplomatic experience and leadership traits to lead NSC to search for proper documents.

³⁸ Hutcheson, John, et al. (2004). U.S. National Identity, Political Elites, and a Patriotic Press Following September 11. *Political Communication*, *21*(1), 27-52. pp. 30-31.

³⁹ Brun, Itai., & Roitman, Michal. (2020). *National Security in the Era of Post-Truth and Fake News*. Tel Aviv: Institute for National Security Studies(INSS). pp. 6-8.

⁴⁰ Hayden, Michael V. (2018). *The Assault on Intelligence: American National Security in an Age of Lies.* Newyork: Penguin Books.



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