

Memorandum

National Security Calendar and Priorities

September, 2008

The following academic study is in the form of a national security transition memo that follows many of the techniques developed during the era of Ronald Reagan. This memo is illustrative and an example of the type of NSC "National Security Calendar" that John McCain could consider should he be elected President, if he wishes to utilize some of the methodologies adopted during the Reagan Administration. Ronald Reagan's vision became reality. In much the same way, John McCain's vision for 2013 and beyond could also become reality. A structured approach will be vital to ensure accurate intelligence collection, timely Presidential decisions and effective implementation of policies through carefully orchestrated events: speeches by the President, foreign travel, meetings with Heads of State and effective relations with the Congress in a bipartisan manner.

Great ideas can be presented by Presidential candidates but the key to resolving real world problems will be a structure that allows vision, not reaction; systemic thinking, rather than linear approaches; strong American leadership that listens to others and acts by bringing friends on board along with explanations to the American people that go beyond partisan politics to ensure bipartisan support of the President's program.

Listening, consulting and leading would be the main characteristics of this approach to governance. Getting ahead of the curve, not just merely reacting to international events on the Hill and internationally, can be a trademark of the McCain Presidency.

Normally, transition procedures begin following an election but times are different today. America is at war in Afghanistan, Iraq and is fighting the War on Terror. Relations are also simmering with Iran. The world economy is in the doldrums. The price of oil, heavily influenced by growing demand in China and India, is skyrocketing to nearly \$150/barrel.

The following memo is a "sample" national security calendar. It is based on a preliminary analysis of upcoming events on the international calendar for 2009, such as the Summit of the Americas in Trinidad and Tobago (April), the G-8 Summit in Italy (July), the United Nations General Assembly (October) and the ASEAN Summit (November).

This illustrative memo is organized in the following sections:

Themes: What are the themes of Senator McCain's foreign and defense policies summarized in key policy pillars?

Calendar: How can these themes be best expressed in Oval office events, speeches, radio addresses, foreign travel and Head of State meetings?

Issues: What are the twenty-five most important foreign policy issue areas which need to be addressed upon taking office, followed by Presidential National Security Decision Directives?

Procedures: What effective procedures can be implemented in the White House Situation Room and NSC/White House staff to inform the President and institute an effective system for establishing National

Security policies and emergency preparedness and serve as a communication center for frequent teleconferences with key allied leaders?

People: Who are the top people who should be tapped for NSC, State, Defense, CIA and the international jobs at Treasury, USTR, OMB, Commerce, Energy, Council of Economic Advisors and the National Economics Council?

I. Themes

Senator McCain has made it his mission to restore American power, prosperity and prestige in the most pragmatic and responsible way against the backdrop of a dangerous world. Upon taking office, he will seek to implement the major themes of his Presidential campaign, which can be summarized by the following.

Restore Iraq: The recent success of the US troop surge strategy in Iraq demonstrates that a peaceful and stable Iraq is not only possible but within our grasp. America must look toward the future and work with the Iraqi people to build a functioning democratic nation with strong economic growth that serves as a positive force in an unstable region.

Fight Terrorism and Extremism while Protecting the Homeland: International terrorism is one of the most serious threats facing the United States and the world today. The McCain Administration will not only seek out those who plot and carry out these heinous crimes but those who finance and harbor terrorists. Through strong international collaboration, America will continue to battle the Taliban and Al Qaeda in Afghanistan and will secure nuclear/chemical/biological materials that could be used in terrorist acts and make the world a more stable and peaceful place.

Firmly Face Adversaries: The erosion of America's prestige abroad has cast doubt on our country's vision, determination and commitment to global peace and security. America must demonstrate its resolve in solving complex geopolitical issues while taking a firm stance toward those nations that promote global conflict and instability.

Reevaluate Russian Relations: The McCain Administration must reevaluate virtually every facet of this bilateral relationship. The benefits of G-8 membership should be linked to respecting its neighbor's territory, curtailing proliferation, increasing government transparency and ceasing 'energy politics'. Encourage Russia to advance democratic reforms and human rights in exchange for greater economic cooperation. Work jointly to continue efforts to disarm nuclear weapons and secure nuclear materials.

Reinvigorate Allied Relationships: The McCain Administration will approach global affairs in an integrated, dynamic and realistic manner. In forthrightly addressing peace in the Middle East, U.S. relations with our allies (especially the EU, Israel, Japan, Norway and Taiwan), our resolve to fight the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missile delivery systems, NATO enlargement, our commitment to Taiwan and other key issue areas, this nation's leadership position in world affairs will be restored and strengthened.

Expand Free Trade: In order to grow the economy, international trade barriers must be removed as free trade is in the best interests of America. Trade treaties such as NAFTA must be emulated with other nations to increase markets available to American goods and services. American workers need to be trained in the skills that will keep the economy competitive in the high tech global economy.

Achieve Energy Independence: The United States must achieve energy security by increasing domestic energy production, enhancing efficiency and investing in the development of new and innovative technologies. Only then can the United States be free of its dependence on foreign oil and hostile governments. This will not only benefit the environment and the United States' foreign policy maneuvering abilities but also the economy as an entirely new sector will be created.

Develop a Free Market Based Response to Climate Change: Initiate a cap and trade system based on market principles to decrease carbon emissions in concert with other nations. Global warming poses a clear threat to American prosperity and must be addressed in a serious manner. New clean technologies and an expanded nuclear power program can decrease American emissions while providing much needed jobs and economic expansion.

Serve the Cause of Human Dignity: The United States must support the development of democracy worldwide and work with nations to enhance government transparency, accountability and responsibility. Immigration reform and border control, a key national security issue, must be undertaken in a practical and human manner that safeguards the United States. Issues such as the spread of HIV/AIDS and other humanitarian crises along with African economic and political development must also be addressed.

II. Calendar and NSC Procedures

We envision a strong first year in foreign policy with well planned, time efficient meetings for the President. Upon election there will be a scramble among foreign leaders to meet the new President. It is important that these meetings not be convened 'ad hoc', but in a systematic fashion reinforcing and advancing key themes and objectives. McCain should launch a 'Friends on Board' approach by systematically scheduling Heads of State visits, foreign travel and organized teleconference sessions with foreign leaders facilitated through a modernized White House Situation Room. *(See article in Appendix 1.1)*

The first year foreign policy calendar below is illustrative, but it includes certain benchmarks (e.g. the annual G-8 meeting in Italy, the ASEAN Summit and the UNGA in October) which will be on the President's schedule. The arrangement of the calendar should integrate key foreign policy campaign themes while remaining sensitive to domestic priorities, including key legislation in Congress.

For example, the schedule highlights the President's goal of building closer relations with our Western Hemisphere neighbors. It also underscores the importance of robust U.S.-Japan relations. Finally, it takes a cautious approach to early meetings with Russia and China as it is important to build support and consensus among key allies in Europe, Asia and Latin America before these initial meetings take place.

Foreign Policy Objectives and Scheduling Themes:

- 1) *Establish a 40% minimum share of the President's time for global policy matters and the foreign affairs related calendar.*
 - Determine daily, weekly and monthly foreign policy briefing sessions for the President.
 - Daily National Security Briefing at 9:30 am (National Security Advisor and relevant staff).
 - Two National Security Council meetings per week to establish key foreign policy objectives.
 - Create NSC Special Situation Groups to evaluate U.S. conflict situations and responses in Afghanistan and Iraq.
 - Appoint an 'Afghan Czar' who is responsible and reports directly to the President on all issues related to the war in Afghanistan.
 - Create NSC Special Situation Group on Russian issues (e.g. Georgia conflict).

2) *Establish Effective National Security Council Mechanism*

- Have the National Security Advisor issue **National Security Study Directives (NSSD)** on key national security topics for the President (see following draft topics after calendar) to be completed in two to five months depending on the topic.
- Based on the **NSSD's**, the President will review and decide upon **National Security Decision Directives (NSDD)**.
- These Presidential directives will be completed within 90 days of the President taking office.

3) *Establish Effective NSC Process for Achieving Stability in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan*

- Coordinate war efforts with the NSC and the Joint Chiefs of Staff.
- Evaluate short, medium and long-term intelligence assessments.
- Pursue diplomatic solutions to assure long-term security and economic stability.

4) *Schedule Meetings and Teleconferences with Heads of State and Foreign Dignitaries*

- Schedule two or three **Head of State visits** per month for twelve months forward including one state dinner per month and two working lunches with the other heads of state.
- Plan monthly **phone calls with Heads of States** (e.g. Japan, Britain, Russia, Iraq, Afghanistan, etc.)
- Consider carefully the schedule for State dinners to reward key allies.
- Establish 'Friends on Board' teleconference sessions with key allied leaders on a regular basis to establish a rapport and camaraderie among leaders on a personal basis.
- Schedule 90 minute weekly sessions to call key foreign leaders for 15 minute teleconference sessions totaling six leader calls a week.

5) *Schedule Foreign Travel*

- Review calendar of currently scheduled events (i.e. G-8 in July, Summit of the Americas, ASEAN Summit as well as an early visit to Iraq and Afghanistan).
- Prepare **foreign travel** schedule for the President for the first year.
- Prepare 2009 public diplomacy calendar (e.g. IMF/World Bank, G-8, NATO, WTO, etc.)

6) *National Security Calendar*

- Create and update regularly a National Security calendar.
- Establish National Security calendar identifying key issues and a timetable for intelligence collection, Presidential Decision Directives and plans for implementation of key policies through Presidential Head of State meetings, speeches, legislation and travel.

7) *White House Situation Room - 'All Along the Watchtower'*

- Establish effective inventory and information flow and communication within the White House Situation Room creating and using a modernized 'watchtower' to monitor and respond to global and national events on a timely basis.
- Establish a management system to organize and simplify information flow and intelligence to the President including contingency plans for continuity of government and response in an age of terrorism.

Notional First Year Calendar:

January: Inauguration Speech - A strong foreign policy dimension to the Inaugural Address, underscoring the campaign's vision and primary themes. These include: restoring Iraq, firmly facing adversaries, reevaluating Russian relations, growing the world economy, protecting against terrorism and reinvigorating allied relationships. The President should task twenty-five or so **National Security Study Directives** for key topics due by the end of March. Schedule one day of foreign leader teleconference calls, 15 minutes each, for a total of twenty-five calls to key foreign leaders. (e.g. The EU, NATO, Japan, Middle East, Russia etc.)

February: Trilateral Meeting - Invite the leaders of Mexico and Canada to a 'trilateral' meeting in Washington which emphasizes our good neighbor policies and the expansion of free trade for the Western Hemisphere.

March: Key Ally Meetings - An early visit by the British, Japanese and Israeli Prime Ministers along with the EU President (Czech Republic) would help underscore the importance of strengthened bilateral ties with key allies. The honored 'first visit' should be carefully chosen. The President begins review of key National Security Studies and begins to make Presidential policy decisions.

April: Trip 1 -Latin America - The President will attend the Summit of the Americas in Trinidad and Tobago where he should build on the themes of February's 'Trilateral meetings' and his vision regarding regional free trade. Bi-laterals should be scheduled during this event.

May: Trip 2 – Iraq and Afghanistan - The President visits Afghanistan and Iraq reinforcing his message of peace and stability with a possible stopover in Brussels to make a major speech to NATO.

June: NSDD – The President issues policy decisions, **National Security Decision Directives**, on the key issues that were tasked in January.

July: Trip 3 - Europe - Attend the G-8 economic summit (Italy is next year's host). In addition to the multilateral meetings, schedule bi-laterals with the leaders present, including the Russian President. Consideration should be given to whether post-Summit visits with major speeches should be made in Berlin, Paris or to the U.K. Parliament,. A time-efficient alternative to visiting individual capitals would be to give an address in Strasbourg, the home of the European Parliament.

August: Russia Meeting - Invite the Russian President to a retreat in a relaxed setting (e.g. Arizona).

September: Speech - IAEA - The President gives a speech at the annual IAEA General Conference in Vienna focusing on non-proliferation, security/terrorism prevention, energy security and a clean environment achieved through the greater use of nuclear power.

October: Speech – United Nations General Assembly - Make a major speech addressing the President's vision of the role of the United States in the 21st century at the annual United Nations General Assembly in New York. The President should consider hosting a reception at the Waldorf Astoria that honors foreign ministers attending the UNGA. Foreign leaders should be given a photo opportunity with the President to engender good will.

November: Trip 4 - Asia – An ASEAN Summit is scheduled for the end of the year. Visit Japan, Korea, Thailand and Vietnam. The President will have already highlighted the importance of strengthened ties with Japan and an early visit there would be appropriate. We would expect a visit of Japan's Prime Minister in early 2009, a bilateral at the G-8 meeting and then an Official visit in November. Likewise a visit to South Korea (especially important for the morale of American troops) could underscore our strategic and economic support for our Pacific/Asian allies.

December: Preserve time for the President's role in annual holiday festivities.

III. Issues: National Security Study Directives and Policy Development

Section 1 – U.S. Themes and Issues

Restore Iraq

Achieve Stability: Continue the troop surge and counter-insurgency strategy, which has improved Iraqi security and stability substantially. Under this recent policy, the Iraqi Government has been given the breathing room it desperately needed to consolidate. This strategy must continue or all of the hard-fought gains of the past year will be lost and Iraq will slide back into sectarian conflict.

“We must give General Petraeus and the Americans he has the honor to command adequate time to salvage from the wreckage of our past mistakes a measure of stability for Iraq and the Middle East, and a more secure future for the American people.”¹

Determine US troops Deployed: Bring home increasing numbers of American troops stationed in Iraq as the situation becomes more stable and the Iraqi Security Forces are able to take over more responsibilities. Troops cannot be brought home prematurely but emphasis must be put on bringing them home and reducing deployment lengths as soon as the situation warrants.

“I do not want to keep our troops in Iraq a minute longer than necessary to secure our interests there... Our goal is an Iraq that no longer needs American troops.”²

Create a Strong Centralized Government: Work with the Iraqi Government to capitalize on the stability and security provided by the surge. Form a diverse and inclusive government that can not only take control of security and political issues but can effectively allocate oil resources to the population. Continue to build up Iraqi Security Forces that will function under Iraqi Government control.

“The Government of Iraq and the Iraqi Army are now taking more responsibility for the security of their own country.”³

Create Sustained Economic Growth: Continue market reforms and encourage the growth of the private sector in Iraq. Provide more stability, greater governmental regulatory power and reduce unemployment throughout the nation, which in turn will improve the security situation. Encourage increased foreign direct investment to further spur economic growth. Double Iraqi oil production from 2.5 million barrels per day to 5 million barrels per day by 2013.

“Economic progress is essential if the security gains in Iraq are to be sustained... To move young men away from the attractions of well-funded extremists, we need a vibrant, growing Iraqi economy.”⁴

Advance Regional Security: Work with Arab and Israeli leaders to promote peace and regional security in the volatile Middle East region. No greater example can be given than Iraq of the possible transformation of a broken system to one of stability and economic growth. Work with Arab states to repatriate Iraqi refugees, decrease cross border weapons smuggling and increase international economic cooperation.

“Our most vital security interests are at stake in Iraq. The stability of the entire Middle East, that volatile and critically important region, is at stake.”⁵

(All quotes in red are statements of John McCain – see endnotes for specific reference)

Fight Terrorism and Extremism while Protecting the Homeland

Eliminate the Threat of Loose Nuclear Materials: Work with international partners and the IAEA to catalogue and contain stocks of nuclear related materials. Enhance cooperation with Russia and build on the new nuclear cooperation agreement to further contain the massive amounts of dangerous nuclear material left from the Cold War era. Create an effective and secure system to store hazardous nuclear materials.

“I would also redouble our common efforts to reduce the risk that nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons may fall into the hands of terrorists or unfriendly governments.”⁶

Eradicate Al Qaeda and Defeat the Taliban in Afghanistan: Continue pursuing Al Qaeda leadership, including Osama Bin Laden, and financial support worldwide and attempt to eliminate their influence among Middle Eastern populations. Continue to battle the Taliban in Afghanistan by employing new effective counter-insurgency tactics that have proved successful in Iraq. This must be done in cooperation with our NATO allies, who must be compelled to live up to their commitments and help secure Afghanistan.

“Our recommitment to Afghanistan must include increasing NATO forces, suspending the debilitating restrictions on when and how those forces can fight, expanding the training and equipping of the Afghan National Army through a long-term partnership with NATO to make it more professional and multiethnic, and deploying significantly more foreign police trainers.”⁷

Pressure Pakistan on Al Qaeda and the Taliban: Work with the Pakistani Government to root out extremist elements in the frontier regions that serve as a staging ground for attacks on NATO forces in Afghanistan. Provide the Pakistani Government with increased anti-terrorism training and resources on the condition of accountability while remaining sensitive to the precarious situation of a Muslim government being closely associated with the United States Military.

“Pakistan is a critical theater in countering the threat of al Qaeda and violent Islamic extremism and I look forward to the government increasing its future cooperation. There are serious problems that must be addressed. The situation in Pakistan's frontier regions requires immediate and continued attention. It is critical that the United States continue to work in partnership with the Pakistani people and their democratically elected government to tackle the many challenges we both face.”⁸

Combat Radical Islam: Continue to expand efforts to win over the hearts and minds of the populations of Middle Eastern nations with increased humanitarian efforts such as the construction of schools and hospitals. Coordinate with security plans to make sure these construction projects coincide with security gains and offer local people hope for the future by cooperating with U.S. and multinational forces in order to reduce the ranks and legitimacy of Islamic extremist groups.

“Defeating the terrorists who already threaten America is vital, but just as important is preventing a new generation of them from joining the fight. As president, I will employ every economic, diplomatic, political, legal, and ideological tool at our disposal to aid moderate Muslims.... who are resisting the well-financed campaign of extremism that is tearing Muslim societies apart.”⁹

Firmly Face Adversaries

Terminate the Iranian Nuclear Enrichment Program and Disarm North Korea: Continue to apply pressure on the Iranian Government to cease its uranium enrichment program. Cooperate with the United Nations and the IAEA to pressure the Iranian regime through tough economic and political sanctions. Push the United Nations Security Council to take a firmer stance on Iranian non-compliance with international mandates. Demand the North Koreans abide by their disarmament pledge and completely disclose all nuclear activity. Continue working with Russia, China, Japan and South Korea to advance regional security and stability. Utilize the tools of diplomacy but do not take the threat of military strikes off the table.

“Rather than sitting down unconditionally with the Iranian president or supreme leader in the hope that we can talk sense into them, we must create the real-world pressures that will peacefully but decisively change the path they are on.”¹⁰ “It is a vital national interest for the North Korean nuclear program to be completely, verifiably and irreversibly ended.”¹¹

Integrate China into the International Order: Undertake a comprehensive analysis of Chinese military, energy, financial and economic prospects. Evaluate a situation that could ignite major social unrest or regional military conflict (e.g. Taiwan). Encourage China to act more responsibly in the international arena on issues such as the conflicts in Zimbabwe and Burma while pushing for increased product safety and political reform as it integrates economically with the democratic world.

“China's newfound power implies responsibilities. It raises legitimate expectations that internationally China will behave as a responsible economic partner by developing a transparent code of conduct for its corporations, assuring the safety of its exports, adopting a market approach to currency valuation, pursuing sustainable environmental policies, and abandoning its go-it-alone approach to world energy supplies”¹²

Continue American Support for Israel while Pursing Peace with the Palestinians: Work with our strong ally Israel on creating a stable and peaceful Palestinian Government that does not rely on terrorist tactics to achieve its political aims. Encourage our Arab allies to take immediate steps to ensure short-term stability, while pursuing durable, long term solutions to the Israeli-Palestinian dispute. Chart a path to strengthen U.S.-Israeli ties in the expectation that some Palestinian demands can be accommodated, without losing sight of America’s overriding strategic interests in a viable, secure Israel.

“The long-elusive quest for peace between Israel and the Palestinians must remain a priority.”¹³

Eliminate the Threat of Proliferation: Prepare an updated assessment of the scale and likely timing of the threat posed to U.S. interests at home and abroad by those rogue nations which are actively acquiring components of nuclear weapons and ballistic missile delivery systems. Create new U.S. policy incentives and disincentives which could stem these dangerous development efforts and work to strengthen the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Increase the budget for the IAEA, enhance its intelligence support and reduce the burden of proof required for it to take action.

“We need to increase IAEA funding and enhance the intelligence support it receives. We also need to reverse the burden of proof when it comes to discovering whether a nation is cheating on its NPT commitments.”¹⁴

Reevaluate Russian Relations

Support Georgia and Push Back Against Russian Aggression: Make it clear to the Putin Regime that attacking sovereign democratic nations, such as Georgia, will not be tolerated. Link the benefits of G-8 and WTO membership to progress on cooperating with the international community to settle disputes. Do not allow Russia to intimidate and manipulate former Soviet states that seek to embrace democracy and economic prosperity. Seek to minimize Russian control of these former Soviet states and allow them to pursue their own choice in government and political orientation.

“Make it clear to Russia's rulers that acts of violence and intimidation come at a heavy cost. There will be no place among G-8 nations, or in the WTO, for a modern Russia that acts at times like the old Soviet Union. The Cold War is over, the Soviet empire is gone, and neither one is missed. Least of all is that empire missed by the once captive nations of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Ukraine, and Georgia. These brave young democracies have joined the free world, and they are not going back.”¹⁵

Work with Russia on Nuclear Security: Work jointly to continue efforts to disarm nuclear weapons and continue to draw down nuclear arsenals. Cooperate in logistics and funding new programs to secure nuclear materials left over from the Cold War that could fall into the hands of terrorists and rogue nations. Maintain an effective nuclear deterrent but do not expand or create new nuclear weapons systems unless they are strategically necessary and reduce the total number of weapons that need to be deployed.

“I believe we should reduce our nuclear forces to the lowest level we judge necessary, and we should be prepared to enter into a new arms control agreement with Russia reflecting the nuclear reductions I will seek.”¹⁶

End Russia's Use of Energy as a Political Weapon: Decrease Russia's leverage on European and international energy markets by building pipelines that bypass Russian control, such as in nations like Georgia. Partner with European nations and other allies in the region to decrease the Russian hold on regional energy supplies and make it clear to the Russian Government that 'energy politics' is not an acceptable form of diplomacy.

“As I have long warned, Russia under the rule of Vladimir Putin is becoming more aggressive toward the now democratic nations that broke free of the old Soviet empire. Russia also holds vast energy wealth. And this heavy influence in the oil and gas market has become a political weapon that Russia is clearly prepared to use.”¹⁷

Enact the Missile Defense Program: Continue efforts to build Asia and Europe based missile interceptors with the cooperation of our allies. Work with allied nations, such as the Czech Republic and Poland, to allay any concerns over the shield and build on the relationship of military cooperation. Take a strong stance toward Russian objections to the shield system, as it is a purely defensive measure.

“I also believe we should work with Russia to build confidence in our missile defense program, including through such initiatives as the sharing of early warning data and prior notification of missile launches.”¹⁸

Reinvigorate Allied Relationships

Reinvigorate U.S.-Japan Relations: Outline current developments and trends in bilateral economic, energy, financial, political and military ties. Describe the benefits and risks associated with a fundamental reordering of priorities in present U.S.-Japan relations, with the strengthening of security relations at the top of a new bilateral agenda. Accelerate bilateral technology cooperation in the energy areas such as nuclear power and recycling, coal sequestration, green energy and energy efficiency (including the auto sector).

*“I welcome Japan's international leadership and emergence as a global power, encourage its admirable ‘values-based diplomacy’ and support its bid for permanent membership in the UN Security Council.”*¹⁹

Continue NATO Enlargement: Evaluate current obstacles to the effective integration of eastern bloc nations into NATO and lessons which can be drawn from previous enlargement efforts while taking a strong stance against Russian objections. Identify the most suitable candidate nations for the next round of expansion, such as Georgia and Ukraine, and a timetable of preparatory technical and political milestones for each country.

*“Western nations should make clear that the solidarity of NATO, from the Baltic to the Black Sea, is indivisible and that the organization's doors remain open to all democracies committed to the defense of freedom.”*²⁰

Strengthen Hemispheric Relationships: Build stronger relationships with our allies in the Western Hemisphere while promoting an agenda of regional cooperation and economic growth. Partner with nations, such as has been done with Columbia, to increase security and anti-narcotic operations along with comprehensive immigration reform. Push for more democratic reforms in Cuba and convince other nations to resist the anti-American rhetoric of Venezuela's Hugo Chavez.

*“I understand how vitally important it is to the prosperity and security of our country to strengthen our trade, investment and diplomatic ties to other countries in our hemisphere. I have often traveled over the years to Central and South America, and I have learned our relationships there are as important, if not more important, as any relationships we have in the world.”*²¹

Protect Taiwan: Provide an updated assessment of the Chinese military buildup directed at the ROC and those cross strait political and other scenarios which could ignite a military response from Beijing. Take an inventory of U.S. policy options and regional military assets which could be brought to bear to defend Taiwan and the underlying policy decisions necessary to lay the groundwork for a rapid U.S. military response.

*“When China threatens democratic Taiwan with a massive arsenal of missiles and warlike rhetoric, the United States must take note.”*²²

Support a Stable Indian Subcontinent: Reassess the current state of play on the Subcontinent and devise policy options to encourage the resumption of serious diplomatic negotiations between India and Pakistan. Evaluate scenarios involving an escalation of regional tensions and prospective U.S. responses/actions. Continue to press China on its proliferation activities vis-a-vis Pakistan and examine the merits of financial leverage to help catalyze strengthened regional stability.

*“We should engage actively with both India and Pakistan to improve the security of nuclear stockpiles and weapons materials.”*²³

Expand Free Trade

Lower Barriers to Free Trade: Work to expand free trade and open up new markets for American business. Ensure WTO and free trade rules are followed by all participating nations. Assess the prospects and timing for the new trade round and the likely obstacles which have to be overcome. Strike a proper balance between expanded trade and security related concerns (e.g. the transfers of controlled, military relevant technologies, etc).

“We should continue to promote free trade, as it is vital to American prosperity. Americans will thrive in a world of economic freedom because our products and services remain the best and because our country draws strength from the forces shaping the new global economy.”²⁴

Support NAFTA and Increase Latin American Trade: Propose and enact new trade agreements among our hemispheric friends and allies. Make the case to hesitant nations that free trade will mutually increase wealth and prosperity while expanding diplomatic cooperation.

“I'm an unapologetic supporter of NAFTA, the Central American Free Trade Agreement, and the Colombian Free Trade Agreement, and why I believe a hemispheric free trade agreement is a worthy and necessary goal whose time has come.”²⁵

Make American Workers More Competitive: Increase job training programs that will prepare Americans to compete in the age of globalization as many jobs will disappear from America. Retraining workers will not only grow the economy but make it more dynamic and increase American standing in the global economy.

“If a worker loses a job we must retrain them and prepare them for 21st Century jobs. That's why I have proposed a comprehensive reform of our unemployment insurance and worker retraining programs.”²⁶

Achieve Energy Independence

Devise a Strategy for Energy Security: Work to reduce U.S. oil demand and oil imports from hostile oil producing nations. Promote nuclear power, green energy, clean coal, technological innovation and conservation. Accelerate domestic oil and gas exploration and production in an environmentally sensitive manner. Expand the IEA to incorporate China, India and Brazil. Coordinate oil stocks and pursue transparency in the oil markets.

“No problem is more urgent today than America's dependence on foreign oil. It threatens our security, our economy and our environment.”²⁷

Eliminate Isolationist Energy Tariffs and Wasteful Energy Subsidies: End tariffs and subsidies that prove to be wasteful and counterproductive. Subsidies, such as the one for corn derived ethanol, have destroyed the market and created serious problems for poorer nations in regards to their food costs. Abandon tariffs on foreign fuels, such as ethanol, so market forces can allocate resources efficiently.

“The United States has committed a series of errors in not adopting a sustainable energy policy; one of those is the subsidies for ethanol from corn.”²⁸

Cooperate with Domestic Energy Companies: Do not increase or implement new taxes on domestic energy companies, as this would be counterproductive to American energy security. Work with domestic energy companies to maximize production and efficiency while ensuring their profits are reinvested in new energy production, which will ultimately lower energy costs to the American consumer.

“Give American businesses new incentives and rewards to seek, instead of just giving new taxes to pay and new orders to follow.”²⁹

Develop a Free Market Based Response to Climate Change

Construct a Domestic and International Cap and Trade System: Utilize market based reforms, such as cap and trade systems, to reduce carbon emissions while offering incentives for companies to go ‘green’. Work with developing nations to draft an international carbon emissions reduction plan so domestic carbon reduction does not come at the expense of U.S. business. Work to enhance efficiency and reduce demand for energy nationwide while exploring alternative non-emitting sources of power generation such as wind, solar and nuclear.

“The facts of global warming demand our urgent attention, especially in Washington. Good stewardship, prudence, and simple common sense demand that we act to meet the challenge, and act quickly.”³⁰

Become a Leader in the New International ‘Green Economy’: Direct government programs to spur green and clean energy development techniques such as clean coal. Once these technologies become time tested they can be utilized not only in America but all over the planet, which in turn will decrease damage to the environment and boost American business.

“Once we supply the means of clean-burning coal and carbon capture, nations everywhere will pursue the same end: abundant energy with low carbon emissions. China in particular has enormous coal reserves that could power its continued economic growth cleanly and efficiently. And by mastering the technology, America will lead the way.”³¹

Serve the Cause of Human Dignity

Spread American Democratic Principles: Document the spread of democracy in our hemisphere and worldwide over the past two decades and the common themes which were at work. Discuss the relationship between sustained economic success and democratic institution building and the kinds of incentives and disincentives the G-8 countries could offer to deepen the roots of democracy in non-aligned nations as well as those with authoritarian regimes.

“America needs to revive the democratic solidarity that united the West during the Cold War. We cannot build an enduring peace based on freedom by ourselves.”³²

Restore America as the World’s Moral Leader: Act in the defense of freedom and liberty worldwide as Americans have done for their entire history. Fight for justice and freedom for oppressed and subjugated people everywhere while recognizing that we should not be careless in employing our most precious asset, American lives, without just cause and specific purpose.

“There’s tyranny and tragedy throughout the world and we can’t right every wrong but we can do what America has done throughout our history and that is be a beacon of hope and liberty and freedom for everyone in the world as Ronald Reagan used to quote, a shining city on a hill.”³³

Expand African Security and Economic Cooperation: Continue and expand programs to fight HIV/AIDS in Africa along with other pressing humanitarian crises. Work to expand trade and links to spur local economic development. Cooperate with African governments in establishing accountable and stable government systems that engage in democratic reform.

“My administration will seek to engage on a political, economic, and security level with friendly governments across Africa. Many African nations will not reach their true potential without external assistance to combat the entrenched problems, such as HIV/AIDS, that afflict Africans disproportionately.”³⁴

Implement a Fair and Practical Immigration Policy: Enact comprehensive immigration reform that begins with securing the U.S.-Mexico border, a key national security liability. Once the border is secured, devise a system that allows an ordered and fair immigration system which meets the United States economic needs in certain industrial and agricultural sectors while ensuring the rights and privileges of current U.S. citizens and residents.

“Deal practically and humanely with those who came here, as my distant ancestors did, to build a better, safer life for their families, without excusing the fact they came here illegally or granting them privileges before those who have been waiting their turn outside the country. We must enact and implement the other parts of practical, fair and necessary immigration policy. We have economic and humanitarian responsibilities as well, and they require no less dedication from us in meeting them.”³⁵

Section 2 - Breakdown of Key U.S. Bilateral Relationships

Japan	Japanese Objectives	McCain Objectives	Obama Objectives
<p>Leader: Yasuo Fukuda</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Right</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Expand economic, military and energy security partnership. - Recognize Japan as cornerstone of security and stability in Asia and counterbalance to China. - Support bid for a permanent seat on the Security Council. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Serve as strongest ally in Asia and counterbalance a rising China. - Maintain ‘values-based diplomacy’ and support for a global economy. - Continue to provide international leadership on climate change and cooperate on energy security with a focus on nuclear power. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Continue progressive environmental policies and producing new clean technologies. - Continue and expand international aid efforts. - Support new U.S. climate change approach.

U.K.	British Objectives	McCain Objectives	Obama Objectives
<p>Leader: Gordon Brown</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Left</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reaffirm ‘Special Relationship’ - Aid in withdrawal from Iraq. - Support U.K.’s independent voice within the EU. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Advance existing economic and military ties. - Serve as Europe’s leader in the fight against terrorism. - Support key transatlantic security measures, such as a missile defense shield and NATO expansion. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strengthen economic and political cooperation. - Aid in EU integration efforts. - Partner on new global measures for climate change, development assistance, and non-proliferation.

Russia	Russian Objectives	McCain Objectives	Obama Objectives
<p>Leader:</p> <p>Dmitry Medvedev (President) Vladimir Putin (Prime Minister)</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Right</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Respect Russia’s new global power and influence. - Reduce U.S. military presence in Eastern Europe and Central Asia and allow Russia to dominate former Soviet States (e.g. Georgia). - Stop NATO enlargement (Georgia/Ukraine) and missile defense shield expansion. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cease ‘energy politics’ and advance disarmament and non-proliferation efforts. - Cease all nuclear, military and economic cooperation with Iran. - Respect Georgian territorial integrity or else risk punishment by international economic/diplomatic isolation. (WTO/G-8 Membership) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Act as a cooperative member of multilateral institutions. - Increase government transparency, rule of law and democratization and cooperate with United States on nuclear non-proliferation and securing hazardous materials. - Solve Georgian dispute diplomatically.

Canada	Canadian Objectives	McCain Objectives	Obama Objectives
Leader: Stephen Harper Political Affiliation: Right	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Respect independent voice in world affairs. - Continue the United States' support of NAFTA. - Bolster efforts to improve cross border transit and trade. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reinvigorate strategic alliance and NATO cooperation. - Advance trade ties and cooperation in the War on Terror. - Increase energy production and oil trade. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase economic and political ties. - Reform NAFTA to protect American jobs. - Cooperate on climate change, immigration, and counter-terrorism.

Israel	Israel Objectives	McCain Objectives	Obama Objectives
Leader: Ehud Olmert Political Affiliation: Left Term Expires: September, 2009	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Guarantee Israel's security. - Increase economic and military aid. - Work for peace, but recognize Israel as the region's only secular democracy. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strengthen the permanent alliance between countries. - Ensure Israel maintains a 'qualitative military edge' in Middle East. - Counter the influence of Iran, Hamas, Hezbollah, and Islamofacism. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work with Palestinians to achieve a peace agreement. - Make concessions in the name of peace. - Continue to develop 'clean energy technologies'.

China	Chinese Objectives	McCain Objectives	Obama Objectives
Leader: Hu Jintao Political Affiliation: Authoritarian	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Recognize China as an emerging power with global influence. - Expand Chinese access to U.S. markets. - Acknowledge China as dominant power in Asia. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Improve transparency in military development. - Cooperate on matters related to Iran, Venezuela and other subversive regimes. - Cease unfair economic/trade practices and military/industrial espionage. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Serve as a responsible actor in the international order. - Designate climate change, energy, and the environment as priority issues. - Improve rule of law and human rights, especially with respect to Sudan, Burma, and Tibet.

India	Indian Objectives	McCain Objectives	Obama Objectives
Leader: Manmohan Singh Political Affiliation: Left	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ratify US-India Atomic Energy Cooperation Act. - Recognize India's growing influence in world politics. - Strengthen economic relations and expand access to military technology. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ratify US-India Atomic Energy Cooperation Act. - Act as stable 'subcontinent', balancing China's regional influence. - Ease regional tensions with Pakistan and improve the security of nuclear weapons. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Build on common democratic principles to forge a strategic partnership. - Aid in fight against pollution and climate change. - Reduce nuclear weapons stockpiles and ban testing

Germany	German Objectives	McCain Objectives	Obama Objectives
Leader: Angela Merkel Political Affiliation: Center	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support EU leadership and vision of a European super-state. - Build on shared democratic principles to expand transatlantic cooperation. - Include along with the Security Council in major talks; support bid for a permanent seat. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reconstruct a strong transatlantic partnership. - Support non-proliferation efforts with Iran. - Utilize unique relationship with Russia to ease East-West tensions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support the Security Council to find a peaceful, diplomatic solution with Iran. - Provide practical leadership for an expanding EU. - Provide leadership role on climate change and international aid/poverty reduction efforts.

France	French Objectives	McCain Objectives	Obama Objectives
Leader: Nicholas Sarkozy Political Affiliation: Right	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support France's 'return to Europe', including its efforts to revitalize the EU. - Increase economic ties. - Show patience with France's 'reintegration' into NATO's military structure. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strengthen economic, political, and military ties. - Push for an EU that is more assertive on defense and counter-terrorism. - Swiftly re-integrate into NATO's military structure. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Solidify cooperation on diplomatic, economic, and military affairs. - Provide sensible leadership in the EU, encouraging enlargement and democracy. - Advocate a world order based on multilateralism and respect for international institutions.

Italy	Italian Objectives	McCain Objectives	Obama Objectives
Leader: Silvio Berlusconi Political Affiliation: Right	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support desire to serve as independent voice within EU. - Expand economic and trade relations. - Rely on diplomatic and economic solutions to solve transnational conflicts and threats. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Implement a more stable government agenda. - Continue to serve as a leading ally in War on Terror and to stop Iranian nuclear program. - Remain steadfast in support of a missile defense shield and American military bases in Europe. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cooperate with Britain, France, and Germany to strengthen the diplomatic, economic, and defense policies of the EU. - Reduce crime / corruption and increase government transparency. - Support the United States' renewed commitment to diplomacy / multilateralism.

Saudi Arabia	Saudi Objectives	McCain Objectives	Obama Objectives
Leader: Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz Political Affiliation: Absolute Monarch	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Respect Saudi role as moderate Middle East power. - Increase access to weapons/defense technology. - Decrease U.S. military presence/association with Saudi Arabia. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase oil production. - Stop funding extremism worldwide. - Expand cooperation on counter-terrorism / intelligence sharing. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Stop funding terrorism/extremism. - Improve human/women's rights situation. - Work constructively in Middle East peace process.

Iran	Iranian Objectives	McCain Objectives	Obama Objectives
Leader: Mahmoud Ahmadinejad Political Affiliation: Right	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Stop meddling in Iran-Iraq relations. - Cease regime change efforts and funding dissidents. - Recognize Iran's right to develop and maintain a peaceful civilian nuclear program. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cease uranium enrichment program. - Cease involvement in Iraq. - Cease all support of terrorism. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Accept incentives to cease enrichment program. - Institute government reform and improve human rights. - Re-establish diplomatic relations.

Iraq	Iraqi Objectives	McCain Objectives	Obama Objectives
Leader: Nouri Al-Maliki Political Affiliation: Right	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Allow government to exercise greater sovereignty. - Provide foreign aid and encourage foreign investment. - Provide political counsel and military support. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Build a functioning government that will maintain order and stability. - Expand the Iraqi military and police. - Increase oil production. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Construct a diverse and inclusive central government. - Cooperate with Pentagon on a timely withdrawal of U.S. troops. - Assume responsibility for the reconstruction of Iraq. (logistically and financially).

Brazil	Brazilian Objectives	McCain Objectives	Obama Objectives
Leader: Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva Political Affiliation: Left	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Abandon agricultural subsidies. - Develop greater energy and economic partnership. - Recognize Brazil as a moderating, peaceful influence in South America. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cooperate to expand economic, energy, and defense ties. - Assume a moderating leadership role with leftist states. - Act as a pragmatic intermediary in regional conflicts. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reinvigorate economic and political cooperation in the hemisphere. - Exercise a strong, pragmatic voice in regional affairs. - Cooperate on strong climate change and environmental measures (Amazon protection).

United Nations	U.N. Objectives	McCain Objectives	Obama Objectives
Secretary General: Ban Ki-Moon Term Expires: December 2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Restore the United States' commitment to the UN. - Fulfill past and present funding obligations. - Help UN to assume a strengthened role in world affairs. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Place greater pressure on China and Russia to cooperate within the Security Council. - Assume more responsibility in efforts to restore stability in Iraq and Afghanistan. - Adopt a more hard-line approach to dealing with rogue states. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cooperate to restore the vitality of the United Nations. - Construct a world order founded upon institutions. - Initiate aggressive global campaigns with regard to climate change and development assistance/poverty reduction.

NATO	NATO Objectives	McCain Objectives	Obama Objectives
<p>Secretary General: Jaap de Hoop Scheffer</p> <p>Supreme Allied Commander Europe: Bantz Craddock</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Champion NATO as the principal transatlantic political and military alliance. - Act as a partner, not as total leader of NATO. - Continue with vocal support of NATO's expansion. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Display support of U.S. defense policy. - Provide more troops for Afghanistan. - Move aggressively with respect to expansion. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Restore NATO as the cornerstone of transatlantic political and military relations. - Contribute troops to collective security operations. - Expand NATO's commitment to reconstruction and nation-building operations.

IAEA	IAEA Objectives	McCain Objectives	Obama Objectives
<p>Director General: Mohamed ElBaradei</p> <p>Term Expires: 2009</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Provide greater financial and public support. - Shift U.S. non-proliferation efforts into cooperative, international processes. - Restore strength and legitimacy of IAEA through timely intelligence sharing. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strengthen policies and procedures for dealing with rogue states. - Construct a new, aggressive policy of deterrence. - Apply renewed pressure on Iran to adhere to IAEA regulations. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Curtail the spread of loose nuclear materials. - Increase cooperation with U.S. non-proliferation efforts across the globe. - Encourage member states to increase funding and resources.

IEA	IEA Objectives	McCain Objectives	Obama Objectives
<p>Executive Director: Nobuo Tanaka</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Help developing countries implement sustainable energy policies. - Coordinate strong, unified action among members. - Assume leadership role in energy demand reduction. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Advocate policies that are consistent with a strong, market-based global economy. - Devote greater resources to studying nuclear power. - Leverage OPEC toward increased output and coordinate oil stocks. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Advocate for a global energy supply that is more reliant on renewable sources. - Expand cooperation with India and China to reduce pollution/emissions. - Strengthen funding and resources devoted to environmental protection.

European Union	EU objectives	McCain Objectives	Obama Objectives
<p>President of the European Commission: Jose Manuel Barroso</p> <p>Term Expires: October 2009</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support EU enlargement and ensure its 'seat at the table' on all major global issues. - Renew the United States' willingness to work with the EU and show patience as it integrates. - Build on shared values and concerns (immigration, terrorism, etc.). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bolster agreements on defense and anti-terror measures. - Encourage the expansion of NATO and the establishment of a missile defense shield. - Cooperate to resolve existing trade disputes and partner in a new era of free trade. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Construct a new transatlantic partnership that serves as the basis of an international order for peace and action on climate change. - Move forward with EU expansion and integration. - Continue its generous provision of foreign aid to developing countries.

World Trade Organization	WTO Objectives	McCain Objectives	Obama Objectives
<p>Director-General: Pascal Lamy</p> <p>Term expires: August 2009</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reaffirm US commitment to a global economy based on free trade. - Work together with member states to reach agreement on the Doha Round. - Cooperate with Canada and Mexico to renew NAFTA. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reach agreement on the Doha Round. - Support U.S. efforts to sign free trade agreements with Columbia and Panama. - Expand WTO membership to observer states, including Russia. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ensure that the WTO and its dispute resolution mechanisms foster a system of free and fair trade. - Conclude an agreement on the Doha Round that meets the needs of the developing world. - Support the United States' push to modernize NAFTA.

Al-Qaeda	Al-Qaeda Objectives	McCain Objectives	Obama Objectives
<p>Leadership: Osama bin Laden</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Withdraw all US military forces from Saudi Arabia and the Middle East. - End US occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan. - Cease support of Israel. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Surrender to U.S. military and allied forces. - Acknowledge Israel's right to exist. - Cease targeting civilians. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cease operations targeting civilians. - Acknowledge Israel's right to exist. - Move towards political process.

Section 3 - Breakdown of Key Non-US Foreign Policy Relationships

Japan – China	Japanese Objectives	Chinese Objectives
<p>Japanese Leader: Yasuo Fukuda</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Right</p> <p>Chinese Leader: Hu Jintao</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Authoritarian</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cooperate on environmental protection and transfer of clean energy technology - Limit Chinese military growth/regional influence - Increase trade cooperation - Cooperate on North Korean disarmament - Cooperate on North Korean abduction issues - Settle border dispute in East China Sea (natural resource exploration) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase access to new technology and investment - Stop Japanese military expansion - Increase trade - Increase clean energy technology transfer - Ignore border dispute and continue to explore natural resources in the East China Sea

Japan – Russia	Japanese Objectives	Russian Objectives
<p>Japanese Leader: Yasuo Fukuda</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Right</p> <p>Russian Leader: Dmitry Medvedev (President) Vladimir Putin (Prime Minister)</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Right/Authoritarian</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Settle border disputes - Increase trade (Japanese investment) - Cooperate on production of nuclear fuel from Kazakhstan - Ensure stable imports of gas from Sakhalin Island 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ignore border dispute - Increase access to Japanese technology - Increase trade (more loans/investment)

India - China	Indian Objectives	Chinese Objectives
<p>Chinese Leader: Hu Jintao</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Authoritarian</p> <p>Indian Leader: Manmohan Singh</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Left</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Settle border disputes - Limit Chinese military buildup - Increase Trade - Dominate China regionally 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Settle border disputes - Limit Indian military/naval expansion and access to American weapons systems - Cooperate on Tibetan exile control - Dominate India regionally

Russia - China	Russian Objectives	Chinese Objectives
<p>Chinese Leader: Hu Jintao</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Authoritarian</p> <p>Russian Leader: Dmitry Medvedev (President) Vladimir Putin (Prime Minister)</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Right/Authoritarian</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Aid in hedging against American military expansion in Central Asia - Increase trade (sell more oil/gas/weapons) - Control Chinese influence in Eastern Russia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Purchase more advanced weapons systems - Increase access to oil/gas/Eastern Russian resources (timber/minerals) - Decrease oil price (Market manipulation)

Russia - India	Russian Objectives	Indian Objectives
<p>Russian Leader: Dmitry Medvedev (President) Vladimir Putin (Prime Minister)</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Right/Authoritarian</p> <p>Indian Leader: Manmohan Singh</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Left</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase defense / military sales - Limit American influence in region - Increase trade 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Purchase more advanced weapons - Increase nuclear cooperation - Play Russians/Americans off against each other in defense agreements to maintain sovereignty

Japan - India	Japanese Objectives	Indian Objectives
<p>Japanese Leader: Yasuo Fukuda</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Right</p> <p>Indian Leader: Manmohan Singh</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Left</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase transfer of environmentally friendly energy technology - Increase trade (more Japanese investment) - Position India to hedge against China's rise 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase access to technology, especially nuclear/clean energy technology - Increase trade (more loans/investment) - Work with Japan to hedge against Chinese rise

Israel - EU	Israeli Objectives	EU Objectives
<p>Israeli Leader: Ehud Olmert</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Left</p> <p>President of the European Commission: Jose Manuel Barroso</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Limit support for Palestinians - Reduce business dealings with Iran - More support for military/defensive actions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Resolve Israeli-Palestinian conflict peacefully - Do not militarily attack Iran - Limit actions that inflame Arab world (i.e. 2006 invasion of Lebanon/settlement construction in occupied lands)

Palestine - Israel	Palestinian Objectives	Israeli Objectives
<p>Palestinian Leader: Mahmoud Abbas</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Fatah</p> <p>Israeli Leader: Ehud Olmert</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Left</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Recognize Fatah as true Palestinian Government and only negotiate with it - Increase pressure on Hamas - Stop building settlements in occupied land - Treat Palestinians better/recognize rights - Make concessions for peace (e.g. land / prisoners) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Create a stable/broadly supported government that can be negotiated with and held accountable - Rein in Hamas - Cease all support of terrorism - Recognize Israeli claims to occupied lands are justified for self-defense reasons

Russia - Iran	Russian Objectives	Iranian Objectives
<p>Russian Leader:</p> <p>Dmitry Medvedev (President) Vladimir Putin (Prime Minister)</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Right/Authoritarian</p> <p>Iranian Leader: Mahmoud Ahmadinejad</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Right</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sell military technology - Sell nuclear technology - Coordinate control of energy markets - Keep Americans from military dominance of Middle East 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase access to advanced weapons systems - More nuclear cooperation/greater access to advanced nuclear (enrichment) technology - Act as counterbalance to American influence/military threats

EU - Russia	EU Objectives	Russian Objectives
<p>President of the European Commission:</p> <p>Jose Manuel Barroso</p> <p>Russian Leader:</p> <p>Dmitry Medvedev (President) Vladimir Putin (Prime Minister)</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Right/Authoritarian</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cease 'energy politics' - Respect the sovereignty of former Soviet states (Georgia/Ukraine) - Cease military build up/threatening rhetoric - Increase democratic reforms/human rights 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase Europe's dependence on Russian energy supplies - Regain influence in former Soviet states - Cease EU meddling in internal Russian politics - Prevent NATO/Missile Shield expansion

Brazil - China	Brazilian Objectives	Chinese Objectives
<p>Chinese Leader: Hu Jintao</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Authoritarian</p> <p>Leader: Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Left</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase trade - Have Chinese act as balance to the United States - Make sure Chinese respect Brazilian environment when extracting raw materials/resources 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase access to energy resources - Limit American influence in South America - Increase trade/investment

African Nations - China	African Objectives	Chinese Objectives
<p>Chinese Leader: Hu Jintao</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Authoritarian</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gain prosperity/relieve extreme poverty - Increase access to Chinese investment - Have Chinese help economy in long term (not just short term resource extraction/environmental degradation) - Less imports of cheap Chinese goods, which hurt African businesses / domestic economic development (no 'new colonialism') 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase access to resources (especially oil) - Limit American military expansion in Africa - Increase influence/control among African governments

Russia - NATO	Russian Objectives	NATO Objectives
<p>Russian Leader:</p> <p>Dmitry Medvedev (President) Vladimir Putin (Prime Minister)</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Right/Authoritarian</p> <p>Secretary General: Jaap de Hoop Scheffer</p> <p>Supreme Allied Commander Europe:</p> <p>Bantz Craddock</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Respect Russia's re-emergence as a great power - Stop expansion of NATO membership - Cease NATO meddling in Russia and its 'sphere of influence' - Intimidate NATO nations through aggressive military posturing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Stop Russian interference in former Soviet states - Respect sovereignty of neighbors (Georgia) - Stop military posturing - Be more accepting of NATO expansion

Russia - Germany	Russian Objectives	German Objectives
<p>Russian Leader:</p> <p>Dmitry Medvedev (President) Vladimir Putin (Prime Minister)</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Right/Authoritarian</p> <p>German Leader: Angela Merkel</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Center</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase German reliance on Russian energy supplies (re-orient national policy away from U.S. and toward Russia) - Force Germany to acquiesce to Russian demands (Stop NATO expansion through 'energy politics') - Cease calls for democratization/human rights - Increase trade/German investment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Keep the peace between Russia and West - Increase trade/investment - Become less dependant on Russian energy supplies

Turkey - EU	Turkish Objectives	EU Objectives
<p>President of the European Commission:</p> <p>Jose Manuel Barroso</p> <p>Turkish Leader: Abdullah Gul</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Right/Islamic</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gain entry into EU - More support from EU nations - Act as middleman/mediator between Europe/Middle East - Increase trade and encourage more immigration/respect for Turkish immigrant communities in Europe (especially in Germany) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Be patient on EU accession process - Act as pacifier/moderate force in Middle East - Retain secular governance - Decrease corruption - Act as counterbalance to Russian energy supplies (pipelines)

North Korea - China	North Korean Objectives	Chinese Objectives
<p>Chinese Leader: Hu Jintao</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Authoritarian</p> <p>North Korean Leader: Kim Jung Il</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Authoritarian</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support against the West (U.S.) - Increase food/fuel aid to keep economy afloat - Help keep regime alive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Stop destabilizing Asian markets/economic growth (i.e. missile/nuclear tests) - Do not collapse (fear of massive population migration to China) - Do not unify with South (Remain buffer against American military) - Dismantle nuclear weapons program to promote regional stability

India - Pakistan	Indian Objectives	Pakistani Objectives
<p>Indian Leader: Manmohan Singh</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Left</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Achieve control of Kashmir - Stop Pakistani backed terrorism - Increase military advantage over Pakistan - Create a stable Pakistani government that can be negotiated with / held accountable 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Achieve control of Kashmir - Close military gap with India - Cease Indian meddling in internal Pakistani affairs - Limit Indian military expansion

Iran - China	Iranian Objectives	Chinese Objectives
<p>Chinese Leader: Hu Jintao</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Authoritarian</p> <p>Iranian Leader: Mahmoud Ahmadinejad</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Right</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Procure more Chinese investment/capital - Procure more Chinese weapons/technology - Have China act as protector against Western sanctions in UNSC - Acquire more nuclear technology 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Achieve greater access to Iranian energy resources - Assured steady supply of oil/gas (not controlled by U.S.) - Build pipelines directly to China - Increase weapons sales

North Korea – South Korea	North Korean Objectives	South Korean Objectives
<p>North Korean Leader: Kim Jung Il</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Authoritarian</p> <p>South Korean Leader: Lee Myung-bak</p> <p>Political Affiliation: Right</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Maintain sovereignty/defensive security - Procure more food/international aide - Push back against US presence on Korean Peninsula 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Continue nuclear disarmament - Reach a lasting peace - Increase economic integration

IV. People

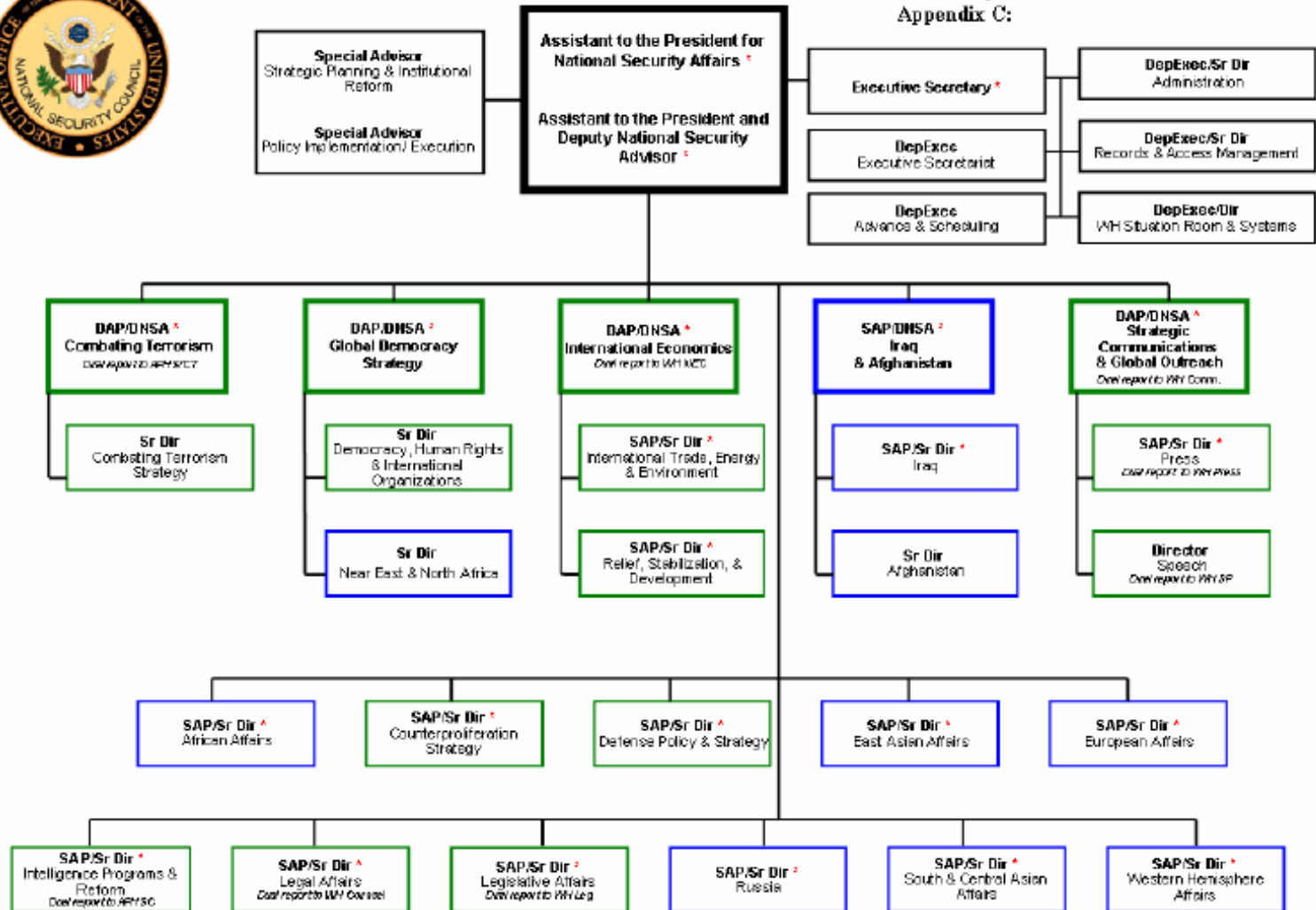
The final element of a coherent national security transition agenda involves restructuring the organizational and policy making structure which define and implement this nation's foreign policy/nations security objectives. In order to ensure the timely and efficient implementation of key McCain Administration themes and objective, members of the foreign policy and defense teams should be encouraged to begin devising short candidate lists for management and policy related positions within State, NSC, DoD, CIA and other relevant agencies. Once 'management level' positions have been filled, these department heads should devise short candidate lists to fill positions according to the attached organizational charts.

- Create a short list of candidates for each 'management level' position on the organizational chart;
- Prepare a briefing document on policy positions for prospective McCain appointees;
- Staff the key implementation related positions within each agency with political appointees (i.e. Executive Secretaries);
- Ensure that interdepartmental groups are chaired by political appointees (i.e. frame the terms of reference and policy scope in a manner which reinforces the President's objectives); and
- Determine reporting lines for all foreign policy-related positions and devise a short candidate list for agency personnel.



FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

National Security Council
Appendix C:



* - Commissioned Officer
Green - Functional
Blue - Geographic

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Figure 3.1: The National Security Council
Source: National Defense University

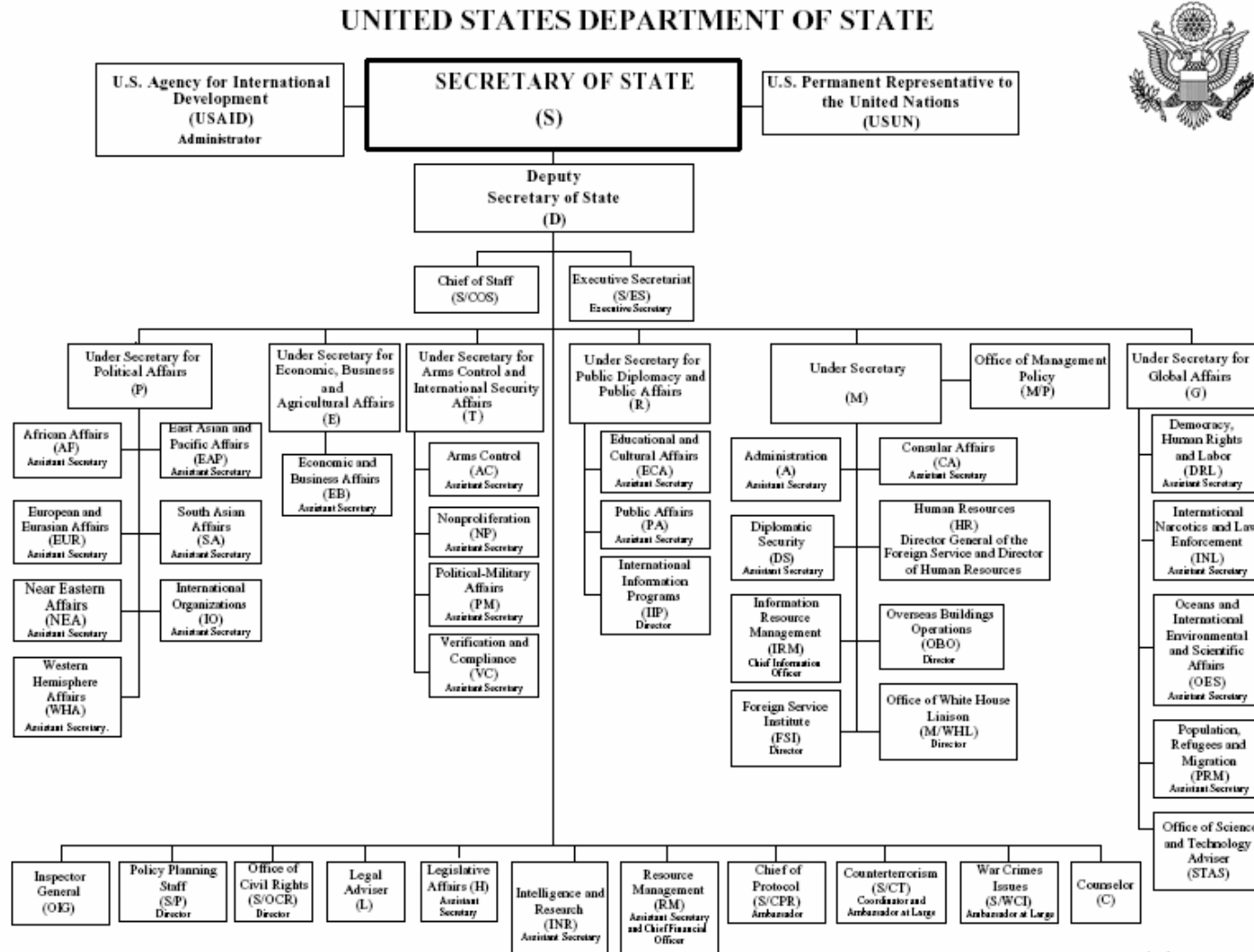


Figure 3.2: The U.S. Department of State
Source: U.S. Department of State



Office of the Secretary of Defense

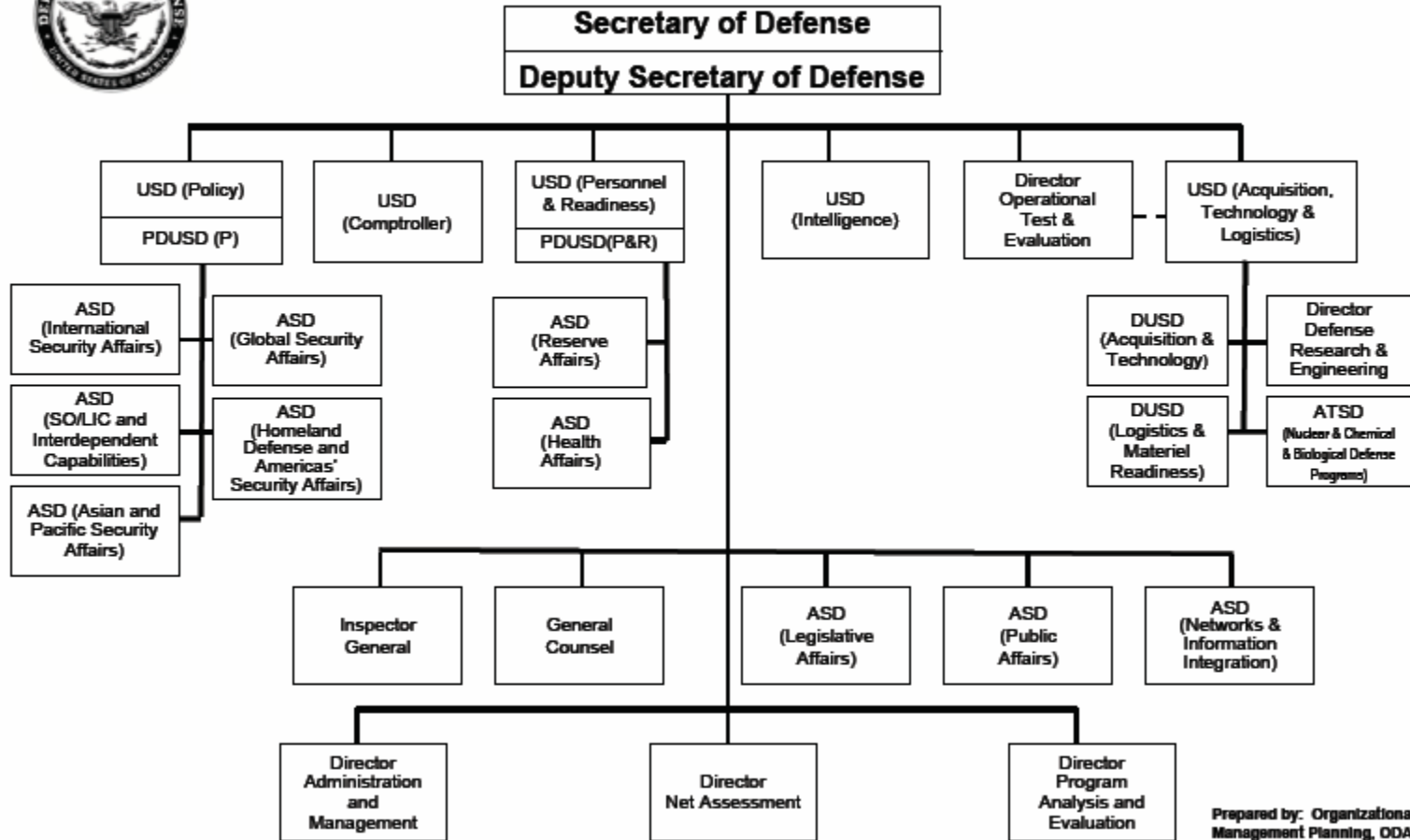
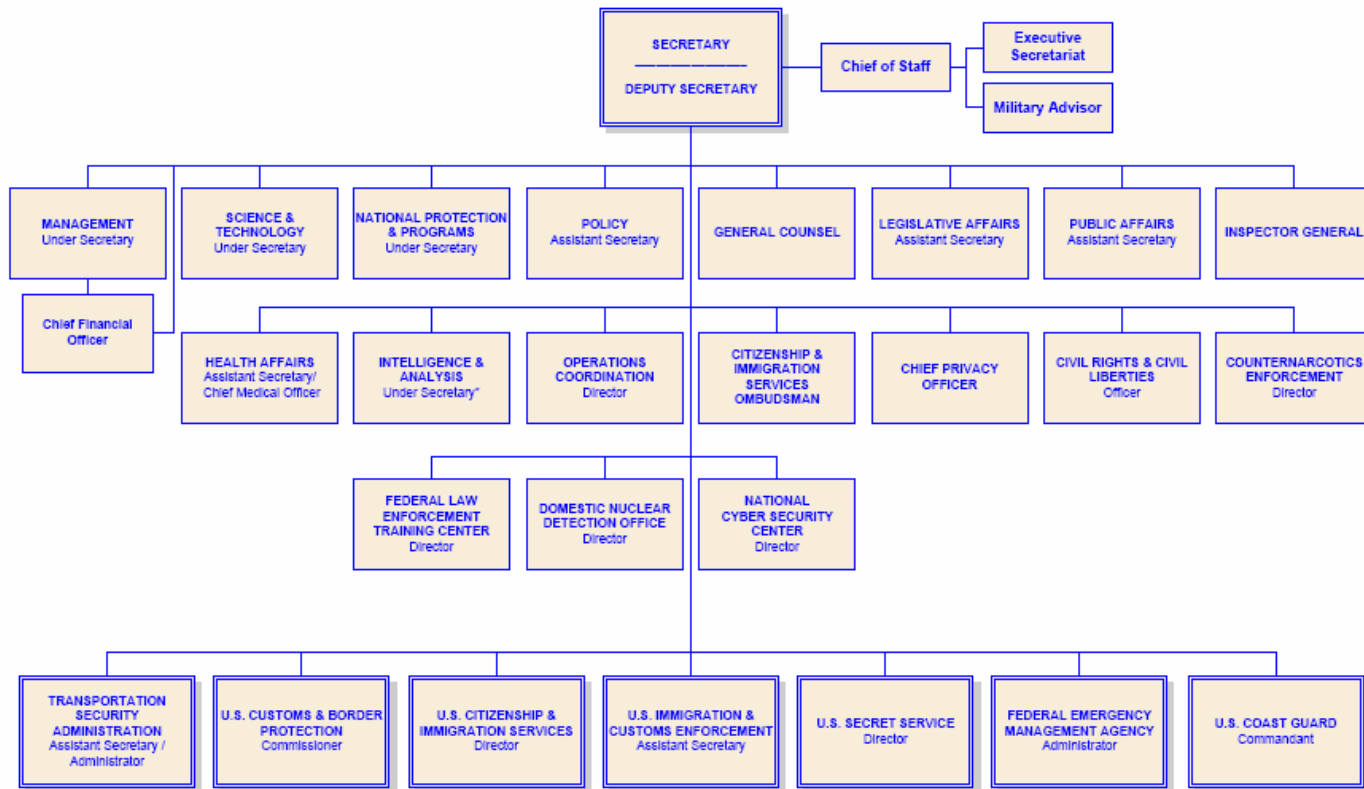


Chart reflects PAS officials and those reporting directly to the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense

Prepared by: Organizational & Management Planning, ODA&M, OSD
Date: January 2008

Figure 3.3: The U.S. Department of Defense
Source: Department of Defense

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY



* Under Secretary for Intelligence & Analysis title created by Public Law 110-53, Aug. 3rd, 2007

Approved 3/20/2008

Figure 3.4: The Department of Homeland Security

Source: The Department of Homeland Security

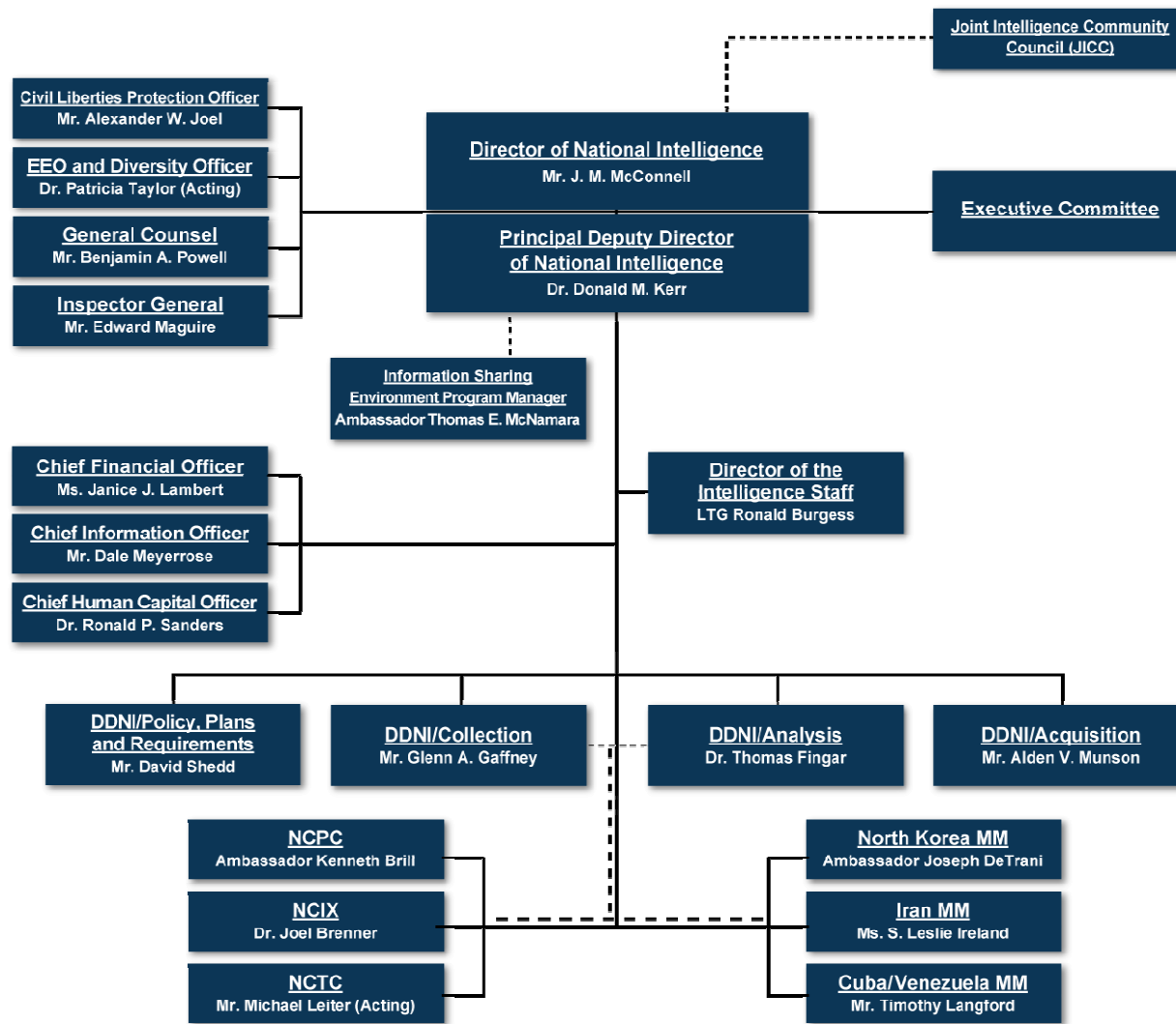


Figure 3.5: The Director of National Intelligence
Source: Office of the Director of National Intelligence

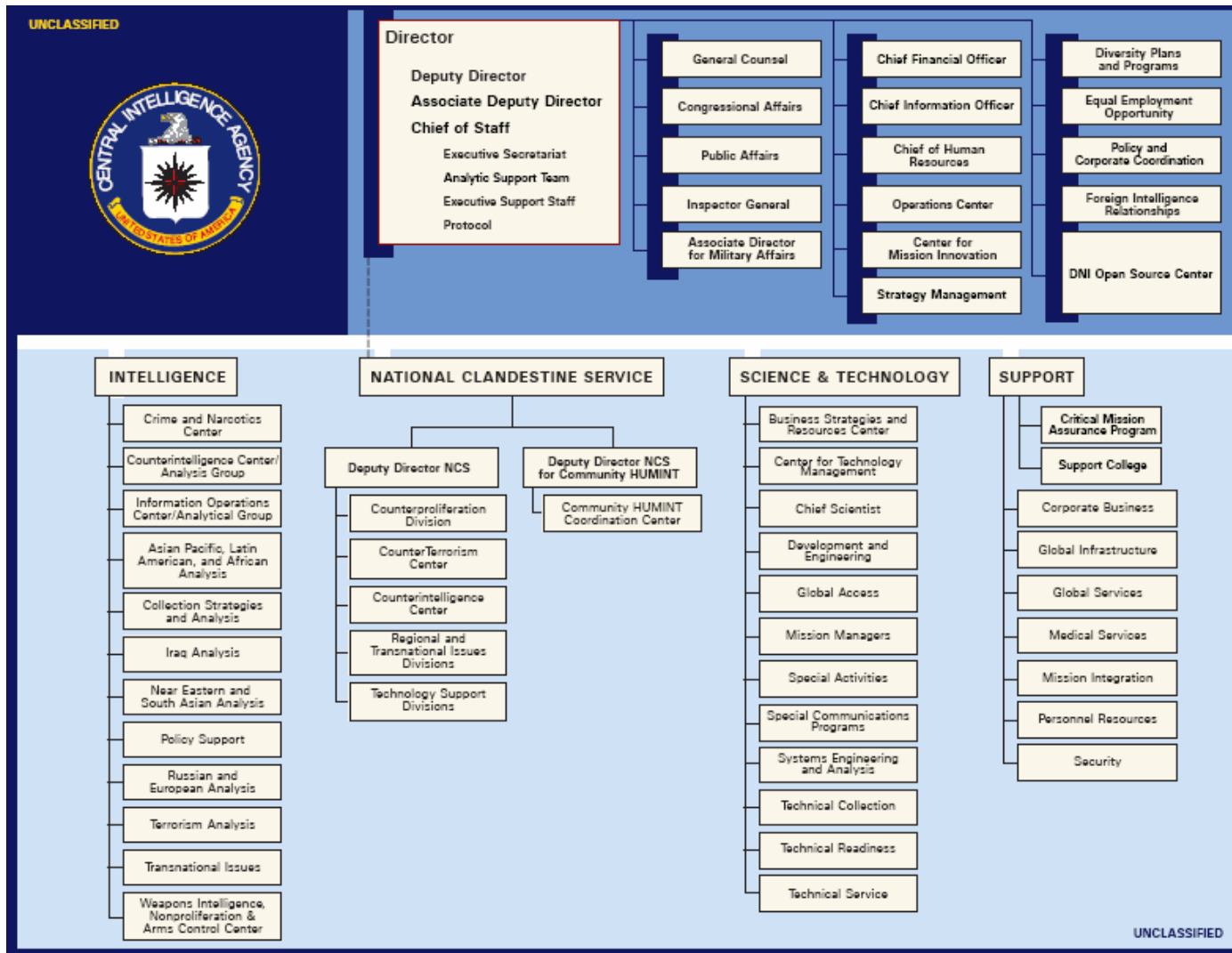


Figure 3.6: The Central Intelligence Agency
Source: Central Intelligence Agency

Appendix 1.1

Inside the White House Situation Room

A National Nerve Center

[Michael Donley, Cornelius O'Leary, and John Montgomery](#)

Go to the southwest gate of the White House complex, present the guard with identification, and state your business. If you are on the appointment list, an escort will be called. Walk up West Executive Avenue and turn right into the West Basement entrance; another guard will check your pass for White House access. Take the first right, down a few stairs. To the left is the White House Mess; on the right is a locked door.

Behind these layers of security is the White House Situation Room (WHSR), a conference room surrounded on three sides by two small offices, multiple workstations, computers, and communications equipment. The conference room is soundproofed and well appointed but small and slightly cramped. The technical equipment is up to date, though not necessarily "leading edge"; every square foot of space is functional. Visitors typically are impressed by the location and technology, but they are often surprised at the small size.

While it is widely known that important meetings are held here, the importance of the WHSR in the daily life of the National Security Council (NSC) and White House staff and its critical role in Washington's network of key national security operations and intelligence centers are less understood. This paper is intended to fill that void. We believe there is a longstanding need within middle and senior levels of the Intelligence Community (IC) for a basic understanding of NSC and White House functions and how current intelligence information is provided to key decisionmakers, including the President.

Mission, Organization, Functions

The WHSR was established by President Kennedy after the Bay of Pigs disaster in 1961. That crisis revealed a need for rapid and secure presidential communications and for White House coordination of the many external communications channels of national security information which led to the President.⁽¹⁾ Since then, the mission of the "Sit Room" has been to provide current intelligence and crisis support to the NSC staff, the National Security Adviser, and the President. The Sit Room staff is composed of approximately 30 personnel, organized around five Watch Teams that provide 7-day, 24-hour monitoring of international events. A generic Watch Team includes three Duty Officers, a communications assistant, and an intelligence analyst. The number and composition of personnel varies, depending on shift requirements and workload.

Sit Room personnel are handpicked from nominations made by military and civilian intelligence agencies for approximately two-year tours. This is a close, high-visibility work environment. Egos are checked at the door, as captured in the admonition of a former Sit Room Director to incoming Duty Officers: "Just remember that there are many important people who work in the White House, and you're not one of them." Personal characteristics count: an even temperament, coolness under pressure, and the ability to have a coherent, professional, no-advance-notice conversation with the President of the United States.

Sit Room functions are perhaps described best in the daily routine of activities. The day begins with the Watch Team's preparation of the Morning Book. Prepared for the President, Vice President, and most senior White House staff, the Morning Book contains a copy of the *National Intelligence Daily*, the *State Department's Morning Summary*, and diplomatic cables and intelligence reports. These cables and reports are selected based on their relevance to ongoing diplomatic initiatives and /or specific subject matter on the President's schedule. The Morning Book is usually in the car when the National Security Adviser is picked up for work. The morning routine also includes the *President's Daily Brief*, which is prepared by CIA, hand-delivered, and briefed by a CIA officer to the President and other NSC principals.⁽²⁾

In addition, the Watch Teams produce morning and evening summaries of highly selective material. These summaries, targeted on current interagency issues, are transmitted electronically to the NSC staff. Such summaries, which draw on a number of finished interagency products, field reports, and newswires, may also elicit requests for the original products. The Sit Room staff does not perform intelligence analysis or render the kind of formal interagency judgments found in National Intelligence Estimates. But it is important to recognize that, especially at the White House, there is always more intelligence information available than there is time for senior decisionmakers to read, and it falls to the Sit Room to boil that information down to its essential elements.

In a typical 24-hour day, the Sit Room will provide alerts on breaking events to NSC and White House personnel. Triggered by specific events and followed with consultations among operations and intelligence centers, the alert notification process results in a rapid series of phone calls to key officials. Responsibility for informing the President belongs to the National Security Adviser. Later, a written "Sit Room Note" will be prepared, summarizing the event with up-to-the-minute reports from other centers, perhaps including a photo, diagram, or map. At the direction of the National Security Adviser, such a note might be delivered by a Duty Officer directly to the Oval Office or the President's residential quarters. After hours, depending on their personal style or interest, the President or Vice President might call the Sit Room directly or drop by unannounced for a quick update.

The advent of 24-hour-a-day television news broadcasting as well as radio has added a new dynamic to warning and alert operations. Not only do Duty Officers pour over hundreds of incoming cables, but they also are constantly bombarded by on-site television broadcasts from the crisis area and newswire services pumping a steady volume of information destined for the morning front pages. The Duty Officer's task is to ensure that the President and National Security Adviser are informed not only of the current situation but also how the situation is being portrayed by the media. Less-than-objective images can sometimes place the Duty Officer in a position of having to produce "negative" intelligence to put the event into context. Occasionally, it may even prove necessary to tell the principal that the events as portrayed by the press are incorrect.

While the advancements in telecommunications have placed more pressure on the watch standers, they have also simplified the exchange of information among participating agencies. The same satellites that allow news reporting from the field also enable crisis-support elements to extract information from remote databases, provide for timely reporting, and, in some cases, engage in video teleconferencing.

Another typical Sit Room activity is arranging the President's phone calls and other sensitive communications with foreign heads of state. This includes coordinating the timing of such calls at each end, providing interpreters where necessary, and ensuring appropriate security and recordkeeping. In this function, the Sit Room coordinates closely with the White House Communications Agency, which supplies communications technicians to the Watch Teams.

The importance of the Sit Room's communications function cannot be overstated. In all situations other than nuclear war or physical threats against the President, the Sit Room is in effect the 24-hour, one-stop shop for the White House staff. It is also the funnel through which most communications, especially classified information, will pass when the President is not in residence. It is an essential link, providing the traveling White House with access to all the information available from Washington's national security community.

Essential Relationships

There are two essential relationships that the Situation Room has to maintain if it is to be successful in providing timely information to the Oval Office. The most important relationship is with the NSC's Executive Secretary, who reports directly to the National Security Adviser and the Deputy.

As statutory head of the NSC staff, the Executive Secretary is the primary point of contact for the White House Staff Secretary and is the key player in moving national security information to and from the Oval Office. [\(3\)](#) National-security-related memorandums from departments and agencies to the President are transmitted through the NSC's Executive Secretary for staffing to the appropriate office. When staffing is complete, finished packages for the National Security Adviser or the President are sent back up the chain through the Executive Secretary. When the President makes a decision or approves a course of action, the Executive Secretary formally communicates the decision to affected departments and agencies. Thus, virtually all national security correspondence passes through the Executive Secretary.

For this reason, the Sit Room has often been administratively assigned to the Office of the Executive Secretary. With inclusion of the Sit Room, the Executive Secretary becomes the focal point for all information going to the National Security Adviser, from the deliberative ("slow paper") policy process to fast-moving perishable intelligence and crisis information. As coordinator of the President's national security schedule, the Office of the Executive Secretary also has an enormous reservoir of policy and operational information at its fingertips. It is through this key relationship that the Sit Room will first hear of a proposed Presidential trip abroad or a potential call to a foreign head of state.

A second essential connection for the WHSR is its relationship with the National Security Adviser, formally known as the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. He and the Deputy are the officials most "in the know," and they are in frequent and direct contact with NSC principals and key subordinates. Because of the Sit Room's role in the alert process, its position as the funnel for national security information when the President is traveling, and its 24-hour capability, a close working relationship with the National Security Adviser usually develops. For the system to work at its best, a special trust has to be established among the National Security Adviser, the Executive Secretary, and the Sit Room Director.

This trust is especially important in establishing the thresholds for warning and alert after hours and providing advance notice of future events. Upon the death of a foreign head of state, for example, it may not be necessary to awaken the National Security Adviser or the President in the middle of the night. If there are no threats to American citizens involved and no action for the President to take, perhaps a "wake-up" notification at 5 a.m. would suffice. Similarly, it is not unusual for the Sit Room Director to be included in sensitive interagency meetings before initiation of military operations or for the National Security Adviser to instruct the Sit Room that a special "Eyes Only" message should be brought directly upstairs. Establishing such trust can be developed only through close and routine personal interactions.

Through daily interaction with the Executive Secretary and National Security Adviser (including the Deputy), and routine access to the schedules and agendas of interagency meetings, the Sit Room Director is able to provide effective operational guidance to Watch Teams. The teams are then in a better position to assess the value and importance of incoming cables and newswires in the context of long-range policy issues under discussion at the highest levels, as well as fast-breaking crises that will demand Presidential attention. This intimate knowledge of the President's schedule makes the Sit Room unique among Washington-area operations and intelligence centers.

Support to the NSC Staff

The NSC staff is organized into regional and functional directorates located in the Old Executive Office Building (OEOB). A directorate is headed by a Senior Director, who is appointed by the President to coordinate and oversee Presidential policy in a particular area. A Senior Director's counterpart at State or Defense would be at the Assistant Secretary level. The Senior Director supports the National Security Adviser, in effect coordinating the interagency policy agenda in a given area. The directorates are best described as a mile wide and an inch deep because they usually consist only of a Senior Director assisted by two to four directors. On a day-to-day basis, the Sit Room supports the NSC directorates by electronically routing nearly 1,000 messages to staff members; scanning cables, newswires, and press reports; and monitoring CNN for fast-breaking events.

It is important that the NSC's Directorate for Intelligence Programs not be confused with Sit Room operations. The Intelligence Directorate oversees interagency intelligence policies and programs such as covert action Findings, counterintelligence, major procurement projects, and the interagency intelligence budget; it has no responsibility for production, dissemination, or coordination of current intelligence. [\(4\)](#)

Direct Sit Room contact with the NSC staff increases markedly during crises. In some cases, such as Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and the 1991 coup attempt against President Gorbachev, it is not unusual for the Senior Director to move into the Sit Room to be closer to the crisis and take advantage of the on-duty staff and its communications services. This approach, however, has limitations: Sit Room Watch Teams may lack the specific regional expertise appropriate to the crisis; Sit Room spaces are cramped and not suited physically to accommodate longer term crisis operations; and Watch Teams have a continuing responsibility to monitor other global events.

Intelligence Support to Policymakers

Efforts to strengthen intelligence support to policymakers have a long history. Every administration seems to reach its own *modus vivendi*, squaring expectations with realities between the policy and intelligence communities. As in the creation of the Sit Room

itself, postcrisis evaluations often are catalysts for change. Many adjustments in organization, process, and personnel have been made over the years in response to the problems perceived at the time. We describe below a model that was used successfully in the late 1980s to strengthen intelligence support at the NSC Senior Director and Interagency Working Group level.

In the late 1980s, the connectivity of the Sit Room to the NSC staff benefited from the assignment of several regional and functional intelligence analysts to the Sit Room staff. These analysts worked for the Sit Room Director but had offices in the OEOP and were assigned to the NSC's regional and functional directorates. Their job was to provide tailored current intelligence support to the staff and to serve as a focal point for Sit Room support in the directorates. Though a recent casualty of personnel cutbacks, this approach was developed after several years of trial and error focused on improving internal and external intelligence support for the National Security Adviser and the NSC staff.

Use of intelligence analysts to provide daily intelligence augmentation to NSC directorates was previously considered necessary to keep up with even the normal volume of relevant intelligence and cable traffic. At the same time, resulting from their close association with the policy staff, intelligence analysts also garnered an insider's perspective on interagency policy deliberations. This perspective strengthened the Sit Room's ability to anticipate specific intelligence requirements. During crises, the Senior Director would have a familiar face who would coordinate intelligence support in the Sit Room and who would know where to find key information in the IC. In turn, the Sit Room Watch Team would be augmented by appropriate functional or regional expertise from an intelligence analyst familiar with current interagency policy deliberations. It proved on many occasions to be a useful marriage.

Use of on-scene intelligence analysts was also a valuable means for the IC to enhance its support to the White House. With insights gained through daily interaction with the NSC directors, the analysts communicated the precise current needs of the directorates to the IC's production elements. The analysts served as a soundingboard for IC-initiated studies and would discuss with NSC directors the gist of draft or just-published studies, often resulting in requests for deskside briefings. Finally, the analysts were responsible for framing the bulk of the issues included in the Sit Room's *Weekly Emphasis List*, which was often exchanged with other agencies.

Again, it is important not to confuse the role of the Sit Room Watch Team or intelligence analysts with the role of other, more senior players in the interagency intelligence process. The interagency process includes National Intelligence Officers (NIOs), who are responsible for coordinating the preparation and adjudication of formal interagency National Intelligence Estimates in support of the policy community. NIOs are often included in senior-level interagency meetings and provide feedback and tasking to the IC. Whereas the NIO is focused on *future* (although sometimes near-term) requirements for collection, production, and analysis, the Sit Room analyst was focused on ensuring access to *today's* information already available in the Community, and on effecting close coordination at the working level.

This model worked for several reasons: It supported (rather than competed with) the senior policymakers' role as crisis managers; the Sit Room's role as the NSC focal point for current intelligence was reinforced; midcareer analysts were careful not to intrude on NIO responsibilities; and the process worked the same way with the same people in both routine and crisis environments.

Interagency Connections

In addition to providing current intelligence support to the NSC staff in important regional and functional areas, the Sit Room has a more independent role to play as an operations and intelligence center. There is a constant need for daily coordination on current issues with other centers, especially at the Defense and State Departments and CIA. This coordination takes place largely out of view of the NSC staff and leadership, but is nonetheless critical to the effectiveness of the interagency system. When less formal coordination has been found inadequate, formal interagency groups have been chartered by the President or National Security Adviser to strengthen connectivity among operations and intelligence centers, improve the flow of information, develop common practices and procedures where possible, and coordinate hardware and software decisions concerning interagency communications systems.

Sit Room responsibilities sometimes extend beyond intelligence and national security functions. Maintaining connectivity with the Federal Emergency Management Agency, the Departments of Justice, Transportation, Commerce, and other agencies, the Sit Room is frequently the initial point of White House notification for domestic disasters, including everything from earthquakes, fires, and floods to Haitian refugees and Federal prison riots. The periodic inclusion of Coast Guard and other Federal agency personnel as Sit Room Duty Officers has sometimes proved helpful in these crises, because the Sit Room may be called upon to facilitate initial coordination of crisis response within the White House until an appropriate interagency task force is formed.

Comparisons With Other Washington-Area Centers

Perhaps the most distinguishing feature of the Sit Room is its proximity to the President. As in real estate, the operative principles are location, location, and location. To be sure, the President gets most important intelligence advice and inputs from the Director of Central Intelligence, NIOs, and other key officials. But these officials cannot be at the White House 24 hours a day. The Sit Room often is the "first phone call" when senior White House officials are looking for the latest intelligence information, and it plays a key role in synthesizing cables and intelligence products originated by other agencies.[\(5\)](#)

A second feature is that the Sit Room is both an operations and intelligence center for the White House. These activities are divided in most departments and agencies. In the Department of Defense, for example, the National Military Command Center is colocated but separate from the National Military Joint Intelligence Center. Likewise, in the State Department and at CIA headquarters, operations and intelligence activities are separated. In the White House, this means that the relationship between policy development and current intelligence can be extremely close.

The close connectivity between intelligence and policy also means that the White House is not a passive consumer of intelligence. Even at the national level, information has an "operational" and sometimes "tactical" dimension. Diplomatic and intelligence cables may be closely correlated with Presidential events, perhaps allowing a glimpse of the talking points of a foreign head of state only hours or minutes before he meets with the President.

A third feature is the small size of the Sit Room staff. By all measures, the Sit Room is the smallest of the Washington-area operations and intelligence centers. This has come to mean a relatively junior staff. Senior Duty Officers are perhaps O-3, or GS-12 or 13 equivalents, as compared to O-6 or GS-15 equivalents elsewhere. Limitations of size and depth, however, can in part be offset by quality personnel, high standards of performance, the Sit Room's interagency character, excellent technical support, and the motivation that comes with working inside the White House.

In addition to the Sit Room's inherent limitations stemming from the small size of its staff, it lacks many advantages of a large intelligence agency. But the Sit Room does not need such advantages to fulfill its mission, and it should not be considered a peer competitor for influence in the IC. The implications of the Sit Room's proximity to the President, moreover, should not be underrated. Despite its limitations, the Sit Room by virtue of its location has greater access and potential impact on White House officials than any of Washington's other operations and intelligence centers.

Implications for Leadership

A better understanding of the role of the WHSR has important implications for NSC leadership and for the intelligence agencies which supply both information and personnel to the NSC staff, including the Sit Room.

There is a need within the NSC for continuing education and dialogue among staff and leadership about the role and potential of the Sit Room in support of NSC activities. An orientation to Sit Room operations should be mandatory for incoming NSC staff officers. Likewise, an orientation to the NSC and interagency process should be mandatory for incoming Sit Room Duty Officers.

In addition, the National Security Adviser, Executive Secretary, and Sit Room Director should nurture in their personal interactions a routine concept of operations for crisis management. The enemy in crises is confusion and "ad hoc"ness; responsibilities and expectations need to be as clear as possible. Sit Room personnel provide some of what little continuity exists within the NSC staff, and they are often able to observe potential gaps in the complex, fast-moving crisis management process. Routine and open dialogue with key NSC officials is essential for getting the most from the Sit Room staff.

The messages for the IC are equally clear. First, departmental and agency Watch Teams should be better educated about who works at the Sit Room and what they do. Operations and intelligence center personnel need to know that access is sometimes more important than rank. When a Sit Room Duty Officer phones, even though he or she may be junior in rank or grade, take the call and get the answer. Do not view the Sit Room as an institutional threat; support the White House in any attempt to find information and accept that the deadlines imposed, however unreasonable, will be for good reason. The IC should be confident that Sit Room information requests are for legitimate purposes and will not be mishandled.

Second, send your best people and treat them well when they return. Personnel nominated to serve as Sit Room duty officers should have operations/intelligence center experience. These are junior-to-midlevel personnel going to an outside assignment--not always regarded as a career-enhancing move. But the destination is crucial; these junior personnel may have more contact with senior officials than certain agency directors. Personal screening of nominations by the leadership of supporting agencies is called for, as well as personal debriefings. In addition, look for opportunities to augment the Sit Room staff or NSC directorates with mid- to senior-level intelligence analysts during periods of intense activity or crisis.

When Sit Room Duty Officers return to your agency for their next assignment, ensure that the personnel system makes the most of their experience. Promotion boards do not always recognize the signature of the National Security Adviser or his Deputy on personnel evaluation or promotion recommendation forms. Take a close look at planned career progression, and concentrate on placement that takes advantage of the White House experience and enlarges the individual's Sit Room-attained knowledge of the IC.

Conclusion

Greater knowledge about the role of the WHSR has the potential for several beneficial effects within the IC. These include strengthening current intelligence support within the NSC staff and the White House; improving the timeliness of intelligence support during crises; enhancing the quality of individual agency products in support of national leadership; and better internal use of department and agency personnel with White House experience. In current intelligence and crisis support, the Situation Room is well positioned at the working level to assist in bridging the needs of the policy and intelligence communities. IC effectiveness would be improved with better understanding of how the White House works, how the President gets information, and how decisions are made.

Footnotes

[\(1\)](#) Bromley Smith, "Organizational History of the National Security Council During the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations," p. 51. Unpublished monograph, courtesy of the NSC staff.

[\(2\)](#) Further unclassified background on the *President's Daily Brief* can be found in: "PDB, the Only News Not Fit for Anyone Else To Read," *The Washington Post*, 27 August 94, p. 7.

[\(3\)](#) 50 U.S.C. 402, Sec. 101(c)

[\(4\)](#) An example of the coordination and oversight functions performed by the NSC's Intelligence Directorate may be found in David G. Major's article, "Operation `Famish': The Integration of Counterintelligence into the National Strategic Decisionmaking Process," *Defense Intelligence Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 1, spring 1995.

[\(5\)](#) For a broader and fuller treatment of the White House/CIA relationship, see Robert M. Gates, "An Opportunity Unfulfilled: The Use and Perceptions of Intelligence at the White House," *Washington Quarterly*, winter 1989.

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<https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/97unclass/whithous.html>

Endnotes

¹ *Speech, the University of Denver in Denver, Colorado May 27th, 2008.*

² *Speech, the National VFW Headquarters in Kansas City, Missouri. April 7, 2008*

³ “This new battle plan is succeeding where our previous tactics failed. The Government of Iraq and the Iraqi Army are now taking more responsibility for the security of their own country and fighting successfully in Basra, Sadr City and Mosul. We must give General Petraeus and the Americans he has the honor to command adequate time to salvage from the wreckage of our past mistakes a measure of stability for Iraq and the Middle East, and a more secure future for the American people.” (*May 27th, 2008, the University of Denver in Denver, Colorado*)

⁴ *Speech, the National VFW Headquarters in Kansas City, Missouri. April 7, 2008*

⁵ *Speech, the National VFW Headquarters in Kansas City, Missouri. April 7, 2008*

⁶ *Speech, the University of Denver in Denver, Colorado May 27th, 2008.*

“While we have serious differences, with the end of the Cold War, Russia and the United States are no longer mortal enemies. As our two countries possess the overwhelming majority of the world’s nuclear weapons, we have a special responsibility to reduce their number. I believe we should reduce our nuclear forces to the lowest level we judge necessary, and we should be prepared to enter into a new arms control agreement with Russia reflecting the nuclear reductions I will seek. Further, we should be able to agree with Russia on binding verification measures based on those currently in effect under the START Agreement, to enhance confidence and transparency. In close consultation with our allies, I would also like to explore ways we and Russia can reduce – and hopefully eliminate – deployments of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. I also believe we should work with Russia to build confidence in our missile defense program, including through such initiatives as the sharing of early warning data and prior notification of missile launches. There are other areas in which we can work in partnership with Russia to strengthen protections against weapons of mass destruction. I would seriously consider Russia’s recent proposal to work together to globalize the Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces Treaty. I would also redouble our common efforts to reduce the risk that nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons may fall into the hands of terrorists or unfriendly governments.”

⁷ “The Taliban’s recent resurgence, however, threatens to lead Afghanistan to revert to its pre-9/11 role as a sanctuary for terrorists with global reach. Our recommitment to Afghanistan must include increasing NATO forces, suspending the debilitating restrictions on when and how those forces can fight, expanding the training and equipping of the Afghan National Army through a long-term partnership with NATO to make it more professional and multiethnic, and deploying significantly more foreign police trainers. It must also address the current political deficiencies in judicial reform, reconstruction, governance, and anticorruption efforts.” (*Foreign Affairs, An Enduring Peace Built on Freedom, Securing America’s Future, Nov/Dec 2007*)

⁸ 8/11/08 McCain Statement on Resignation of Perez Musharraf

⁹ “Defeating the terrorists who already threaten America is vital, but just as important is preventing a new generation of them from joining the fight. As president, I will employ every economic, diplomatic, political, legal, and ideological tool at our disposal to aid moderate Muslims -- women’s rights campaigners, labor leaders, lawyers, journalists, teachers, tolerant imams, and many others -- who are resisting the well-financed campaign of extremism that is tearing Muslim societies apart. My administration, with its partners, will help friendly Muslim states establish the building blocks of open and tolerant societies. And we will nurture a culture of hope and economic opportunity by establishing a free-trade area from Morocco to Afghanistan, open to all who do not sponsor terrorism.” (*Foreign Affairs, An Enduring Peace Built on Freedom, Securing America’s Future, Nov/Dec 2007*)

¹⁰ “Even so, we hear talk of a meeting with the Iranian leadership offered up as if it were some sudden inspiration, a bold new idea that somehow nobody has ever thought of before. Yet it’s hard to see what such a summit with President Ahmadinejad would actually gain, except an earful of anti-Semitic rants, and a worldwide audience for a man who denies one Holocaust and talks before frenzied crowds about starting another. Such a spectacle would harm Iranian moderates and dissidents, as the radicals and hardliners strengthen their position and suddenly acquire the appearance of respectability...Rather than sitting down unconditionally with the Iranian president or supreme leader in the hope that we can talk sense into them, we must create the real-world pressures that will peacefully but decisively change the path they are on. Essential to this strategy is the UN Security Council, which should impose

progressively tougher political and economic sanctions. Should the Security Council continue to delay in this responsibility, the United States must lead like-minded countries in imposing multilateral sanctions outside the UN framework. I am proud to have been a leader on these issues for years, having coauthored the 1992 Iran-Iraq Arms Non-Proliferation Act. Over a year ago I proposed applying sanctions to restrict Iran's ability to import refined petroleum products, on which it is highly dependent, and the time has come for an international campaign to do just that. A severe limit on Iranian imports of gasoline would create immediate pressure on Khamenei and Ahmadinejad to change course, and to cease in the pursuit of nuclear weapons." (June 2, 2008, AIPAC Policy Conference in Washington, D.C)

¹¹ "It is a vital national interest for the North Korean nuclear program to be completely, verifiably and irreversibly ended." (May 27th, 2008, the University of Denver in Denver, Colorado)

¹²

- Quote: "China's newfound power implies responsibilities. It raises legitimate expectations that internationally China will behave as a responsible economic partner by developing a transparent code of conduct for its corporations, assuring the safety of its exports, adopting a market approach to currency valuation, pursuing sustainable environmental policies, and abandoning its go-it-alone approach to world energy supplies." (*Foreign Affairs, An Enduring Peace Built on Freedom, Securing America's Future, Nov/Dec 2007*)

¹³ "The long-elusive quest for peace between Israel and the Palestinians must remain a priority. But the goal must be genuine peace, and so Hamas must be isolated even as the United States intensifies its commitment to finding an enduring settlement." (*Foreign Affairs, An Enduring Peace Built on Freedom, Securing America's Future, Nov/Dec 2007*)

¹⁴

- Quote: *Speech, the University of Denver in Denver, Colorado May 27th, 2008.*
- "The nuclear nonproliferation regime is broken for one clear reason: the mistaken assumption behind the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) that nuclear technology can spread without nuclear weapons eventually following. The next U.S. president must convene a summit of the world's leading powers -- none of which have an interest in seeing a world full of nuclear-armed states -- with three agenda items. First, the notion that non-nuclear-weapons states have a right to nuclear technology must be revisited. Second, the burden of proof for suspected violators of the NPT must be reversed. Instead of requiring the International Atomic Energy Agency board to reach unanimous agreement in order to act, as is the case today, there should be an automatic suspension of nuclear assistance to states that the agency cannot guarantee are in full compliance with safeguard agreements. Finally, the IAEA's annual budget of \$130 million must be substantially increased so that the agency can meet its monitoring and safeguarding tasks." (*Foreign Affairs, An Enduring Peace Built on Freedom, Securing America's Future, Nov/Dec 2007*)

¹⁵ Quote: (August 18, 2008, 109th Annual Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States National Convention, Orlando, Florida).

¹⁶ "While we have serious differences, with the end of the Cold War, Russia and the United States are no longer mortal enemies. As our two countries possess the overwhelming majority of the world's nuclear weapons, we have a special responsibility to reduce their number. I believe we should reduce our nuclear forces to the lowest level we judge necessary, and we should be prepared to enter into a new arms control agreement with Russia reflecting the nuclear reductions I will seek." (May 27th, 2008, the University of Denver in Denver, Colorado)

¹⁷ (August 18, 2008, 109th Annual Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States National Convention, Orlando, Florida).

¹⁸ *Speech, the University of Denver in Denver, Colorado May 27th, 2008.*

¹⁹ "I welcome Japan's international leadership and emergence as a global power, encourage its admirable "values-based diplomacy," and support its bid for permanent membership in the UN Security Council." (*Foreign Affairs, An Enduring Peace Built on Freedom, Securing America's Future, Nov/Dec 2007*)

²⁰ “Western nations should make clear that the solidarity of NATO, from the Baltic to the Black Sea, is indivisible and that the organization's doors remain open to all democracies committed to the defense of freedom.” (*Foreign Affairs, An Enduring Peace Built on Freedom, Securing America's Future, Nov/Dec 2007*)

²¹ “I recently traveled to Colombia and Mexico because I understand how vitally important it is to the prosperity and security of our country to strengthen our trade, investment and diplomatic ties to other countries in our hemisphere. I have often traveled over the years to Central and South America, and I have learned our relationships there are as important, if not more important, as any relationships we have in the world. It is the reason why I'm an unapologetic supporter of NAFTA, the Central American Free Trade Agreement, and the Colombian Free Trade Agreement, and why I believe a hemispheric free trade agreement is a worthy and necessary goal whose time has come. And while it is surely not my intention to become my opponent's scheduler, I hope Senator Obama soon visits some of the other countries of the Americas for the first time. Were he to do so, I think he, too, would see that stronger economic bonds with our neighbors and the closer friendships they encourage, are a great benefit in many ways to our country. Colombian President Uribe, a man of courage and vision, has risked much to combat the narco-terrorists of FARC for the sake of all peoples in this hemisphere. His recent leadership in freeing Americans held hostage for years should earn him the respect and gratitude of all Americans. And we should emulate his statesmanship by passing the trade agreement Colombia and the United States have negotiated, and which both countries would greatly benefit from.”
(July 14th, 2008, 2008 National Council of La Raza Convention in San Diego, CA)

²² “When China threatens democratic Taiwan with a massive arsenal of missiles and warlike rhetoric, the United States must take note.” (*Foreign Affairs, An Enduring Peace Built on Freedom, Securing America's Future, Nov/Dec 2007*)

²³ “We should engage actively with both India and Pakistan to improve the security of nuclear stockpiles and weapons materials.”
(May 27th, 2008, the University of Denver in Denver, Colorado)

²⁴ “But we should continue to promote free trade, as it is vital to American prosperity. Americans will thrive in a world of economic freedom because our products and services remain the best and because our country draws strength from the forces shaping the new global economy, ranging from inflows of foreign investment to new businesses created by highly skilled immigrants. Americans can be confident that a world of economic and political freedom will sustain our global leadership by promoting our values and enhancing our prosperity. To unite us with friends and allies in a common prosperity, as president I will aggressively promote global trade liberalization at the World Trade Organization and expand America's free-trade agreements to friendly nations on every continent.”
(*Foreign Affairs, An Enduring Peace Built on Freedom, Securing America's Future, Nov/Dec 2007*)

²⁵ (July 14th, 2008, 2008 National Council of La Raza Convention in San Diego, CA)

²⁶ “I understand free trade is not a positive for everyone. If a worker loses a job we must retrain them and prepare them for 21st Century jobs. That's why I have proposed a comprehensive reform of our unemployment insurance and worker retraining programs. We will use our community colleges to help train workers for specific opportunities in their communities. And for workers of a certain age who have lost a job that won't come back, we'll help make up the difference in wages between their old job and a temporary, lower paid one until they've completed retraining and found secure new employment at a decent wage.”

(July 7, 2008, Denver, CO)

²⁷ “No problem is more urgent today than America's dependence on foreign oil. It threatens our security, our economy and our environment. The next President must be willing to break completely with the energy policies not just of the Bush Administration, but the administrations that preceded his, and lead a great national campaign to put us on a course to energy independence. We must unleash the creativity and genius of Americans, and encourage industries to pursue alternative, non-polluting and renewable energy sources, where demand will never exceed supply.” (June 3rd, 2008, Speech in New Orleans, LA)

²⁸ <http://www.iht.com/articles/ap/2008/06/15/america/LA-POL-Brazil-US-McCain.php>

²⁹ “The purpose of this plan is to give American businesses new incentives and rewards to seek, instead of just giving new taxes to pay and new orders to follow. My strategy gives people time to adapt, instead of causing a jolt to your electricity bill and widespread shutdowns of tradition coal-fired plants.” (June 24th, 2008, Santa Barbara, CA)

³⁰ “To dramatically reduce carbon emissions, I have proposed a new system of cap-and-trade that over time will change the dynamic of our energy economy. We will cap emissions according to specific goals, measuring progress by reference to past carbon emissions. By the year 2012, we will seek a return to 2005 levels of emission, by 2020, a return to 1990 levels, and so on until we have achieved at least a reduction of sixty percent below 1990 levels by the year 2050. In this way, we will transition into a low carbon energy future while staying on a course of economic growth. The purpose of this plan is to give American businesses new incentives and rewards to seek, instead of just giving new taxes to pay and new orders to follow. My strategy gives people time to adapt, instead of causing a jolt to your electricity bill and widespread shutdowns of tradition coal-fired plants.” (*June 24, 2008, Santa Barbara, CA Speech,*)

³¹ “Once we supply the means of clean-burning coal and carbon capture, nations everywhere will pursue the same end: abundant energy with low carbon emissions. China in particular has enormous coal reserves that could power its continued economic growth cleanly and efficiently. And by mastering the technology, America will lead the way.” (*June 18th, Springfield, MO*)

³² “More broadly, America needs to revive the democratic solidarity that united the West during the Cold War. We cannot build an enduring peace based on freedom by ourselves.” (*Foreign Affairs, An Enduring Peace Built on Freedom, Securing America's Future, Nov/Dec 2007*)

³³ Quote: Forum at Saddleback Church, August 16, 2008, California

³⁴ “Africa's problems -- poverty, corruption, disease, and instability -- are well known. Less discussed is the promise offered by many countries on that continent. My administration will seek to engage on a political, economic, and security level with friendly governments across Africa. Many African nations will not reach their true potential without external assistance to combat the entrenched problems, such as HIV/AIDS, that afflict Africans disproportionately. I will establish the goal of eradicating malaria -- the number one killer of African children under the age of five -- on the continent. In addition to saving millions of lives in the world's poorest regions, such a campaign would do much to add luster to America's image in the world. These and other efforts, including enhancing trade and investment, would assist Africans in sparking a renaissance that would enable the continent's people to achieve their potential. Africa continues to offer the most compelling case for humanitarian intervention. With respect to the Darfur region of Sudan, I fear that the United States is once again repeating the mistakes it made in Bosnia and Rwanda. In Bosnia, we acted late but eventually saved countless lives. In Rwanda, we stood by and watched the slaughter and later pledged that we would not do so again. The genocide in Darfur demands U.S. leadership. My administration will consider the use of all elements of American power to stop the outrageous acts of human destruction that have unfolded there.” (*Foreign Affairs, An Enduring Peace Built on Freedom, Securing America's Future, Nov/Dec 2007*)

³⁵ <http://www.johnmccain.com/Informing/Issues/68db8157-d301-4e22-baf7-a70dd8416efa.htm>