

Promises and Proposals—National Security & Foreign Policy¶

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Selected Recap

A. Priorities for the first 100 days

- Iraq — On his first day as President, Barack Obama would give the military a new mission: ending the Iraq war.^[1] Barack Obama will make getting out of Iraq his first priority as president.^[2]
- Al-Qaeda / Taliban — As Commander-in-Chief, I will have no greater priority than taking out these terrorists who threaten America, and finishing the job against the Taliban.^[3]
- Middle East Peace Process — From the start of his Administration, Barack Obama would take an active role in the Middle East Peace Process and personally commit to do everything he could advance the cause of peace.^[4]
- The Americas — Pursue aggressive, principled, and sustained diplomacy in the Americas from Day One.^[5]
- Speech to Islamic forum — Give a speech at a major Islamic forum in the first 100 days of his administration.^[6]
- Korean Peninsula — Barack Obama would work from the very beginning of his term in office to secure the American people and our interests in the Korean peninsula.^[7]

B. Personnel-Related Issues

New Jobs/Offices that Definitely Require Personnel

- National Declassification Center — will serve as a clearinghouse to set rules and regulations for declassification for federal agencies, and to make declassification secure but routine, efficient, and cost-effective.^[8]
- Military Families Advisory Board — consisting of experts and family representatives from each service, it would help identify and develop actionable policies to ease the burden on spouses and families. The board would provide an institutionalized conduit (presently missing) for the evolving concerns of military families to be brought to the attention of senior policymakers and the public.^[9]
- State Department — Office of Conflict Prevention and Resolution — office with senior ambassadors to support high-level negotiations and provide the expertise and capacity to seize

opportunities or address crises as they arise.[\[10\]](#)

- Create a senior position to coordinate domestic intelligence gathering.[\[11\]](#)
- National Cyber Advisor — Establish the position of national cyber advisor who will report directly to the president and will be responsible for coordinating federal agency efforts and development of national cyber policy.[\[12\]](#)
- Reinstate the position of Special Envoy to the Americas, which has been vacant since June 2004.[\[13\]](#)

Significant New Programs that May Require New Senior-Level Personnel

- Mobile Development Teams (MDTs) that bring together personnel from the military, the Pentagon, the State Department, and USAID. [\[14\]](#)
- Civilian Assistance Corps — (modeled after similar auxiliary groups in Virginia and California) would provide each federal agency a pool of volunteer experts (doctors, lawyers, engineers, city planners, agriculture specialists, police, etc.) willing to deploy in crises. They would be pre-trained and screened for deployment to supplement departments' expeditionary teams. [\[15\]](#)
- Create a National Family Locator System to help families locate loved ones after a disaster.[\[16\]](#)
- Add Value to Agriculture Initiative (AVTA) — Spur research and innovation aimed at bringing about a Green Revolution for Africa, by partnering with land grant institutions, private philanthropies and business to support agricultural processing through increased investment in research and development for improved seeds, irrigation methods, and affordable and safe fertilizers.[\[17\]](#) Make critical investments in providing the package of tools needed to allow poor farmers to succeed in the agricultural market, including by providing training in regulation and quality control standards and by increasing finance and financing instruments for rural enterprises as well as access to markets.[\[18\]](#)
- Global Education Fund — Devote at least \$2 billion of the \$50 billion in foreign assistance to a Global Education Fund to eliminate the global education deficit, fill the financing gap for primary education, and offer an alternative to extremist schools.[\[19\]](#)
- Rapid Response Fund — A seed fund that will provide a shot of adrenaline to young

democracies and post-conflict societies, through foreign aid, debt relief, technical assistance and investment packages that show the people of newly hopeful countries that democracy and peace deliver, and the United States stands by them.^[20]

- Shared Security Partnership Program — Will forge an international intelligence and law enforcement infrastructure to take down terrorist networks.^[21] Invest \$5 billion over three years to improve counter-terrorism cooperation between U.S. and foreign intelligence and law enforcement agencies.^[22] Program will include information sharing, as well as funding for training, operations, border security, anti-corruption programs, technology, and the targeting of terrorist financing.^[23]

Significant Adjustments to Existing Jobs/Offices

- Restructured USAID — Coordinate and consolidate PEPFAR, Millennium Challenge Corporation, Middle East Partnership Initiative and many foreign assistance programs currently housed in more than 20 executive agencies into a restructured, empowered and streamlined USAID.^[24]

- Director of National Intelligence — Give the DNI a fixed term like the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the chairman of the Federal Reserve.^[25]

- Elevate the Chief of the National Guard to the rank of four-star general and make the chief a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the top military advisory panel to the president.^[26]

- National Security Council — empower a Deputy National Security Advisor to develop integrated strategies to build capable, democratic states and ensure policy coherence in the application of development and democracy programs as key elements of U.S. power.^[27]

- National Security Council — Appoint a deputy security advisor to be in charge of coordinating all U.S. programs aimed at reducing the risk of nuclear terrorism and weapons proliferation. The deputy will work closely with him, the national security adviser, the director of the Office of Management and Budget, and senior officials of the relevant cabinet departments.

The deputy will have budgetary oversight over all programs related to nuclear security.^[28]

Suggestions of Specific People

Part I — General Promises and Policies

1. Foreign Policy Process and Structure

A. Foreign Policy Process

Involve the American people

- Require national security officials to have periodic national broadband town hall meetings to discuss foreign policy.[\[29\]](#)
- Personally deliver occasional fireside chats via webcast.[\[30\]](#)
- Deliver an annual State of the World address that clearly lays out the foreign policy challenges and opportunities the U.S. faces and explains the direction of, and rationale for, American foreign policy.[\[31\]](#)
- Provide opportunities for a new generation of Americans to serve their country – in the State Department, in the US Agency for International Development (USAID), in the Peace Corps and in an expanded military.[\[32\]](#)

Promote transparency

- “I will always tell the American people the truth. I will always tell you where I stand.”[\[33\]](#)
- Reverse Bush’s policy of secrecy.[\[34\]](#) Protect sources and methods, but don't use sources and methods as pretexts to hide the truth.”[\[35\]](#)
- Create a National Declassification Center with a mission to streamline declassification. The Center will serve as a clearinghouse to set rules and regulations for declassification for federal agencies, and to make declassification secure but routine, efficient, and cost-effective.[\[36\]](#)

Diminish Partisanship in Foreign Policy

- Convene a bipartisan, bicameral Consultative Group of leading members of Congress to foster better executive–legislative relations and bipartisan unity on foreign policy.[\[37\]](#)
 - o Group will be comprised of the congressional leadership of both political parties, and the chair and ranking members of the Armed Services, Foreign Relations, Intelligence, and Appropriations Committees.[\[38\]](#)

- o Group will meet with the president once every month to review U.S. foreign policy priorities, and will be consulted in advance of major military action.[\[39\]](#)
- Seek durable bi-partisan support for our foreign policy, so that a broad majority of the American people supports our efforts to promote both our interests and our values around the world.[\[40\]](#)

Strengthen Civil–Military Relations

- Establish sound, strategic leadership at the White House and the Pentagon and restore mutual respect and a common sense of purpose in civil–military relations.[\[41\]](#)
- Draw upon the vital expertise of military leaders and have a Defense Secretary who appreciates the counsel of the professional military.[\[42\]](#)

Command with Responsibility and Accountability

- Assign military leaders and senior national security officials to positions and hold them accountable for performance based on their abilities, not in accord with political preferences or to reward loyalty.[\[43\]](#)
- In the rare instances of wrongdoing (for example at Abu Ghraib), senior leaders should face the same accountability as enlisted personnel and junior officers.[\[44\]](#)

B. Foreign Policy Structure

Review National Security Structure

- Use the process of preparing the National Security Strategy (required by the Goldwater–Nichols Act of 1986) to determine the appropriate inter–agency infrastructure to maximize the use of all elements of our national power. This exhaustive review will include an examination of force sizing, intelligence agencies, and weapons systems, as well as the development of long–term plans to deal with emerging threats like cyber–terrorism.[\[45\]](#)

Integrate Civilian and Military Capacities

- Integrate federal agencies and the military in stabilization and aid efforts.[\[46\]](#)
- Create Mobile Development Teams (MDTs) that bring together personnel from the military, the Pentagon, the State Department, and USAID, fully integrating U.S. government efforts in counter–terror, state–building and post–conflict operations.[\[47\]](#)

Conventions in the handling of detainees.[\[62\]](#)

o Develop a fair and thorough process based on the Uniform Code of Military Justice[\[a\]](#) to distinguish between those prisoners who should be prosecuted for their crimes, those who can't be prosecuted but who can be held in a manner consistent with the laws of war, and those who should be released or transferred to their home countries.[\[63\]](#)

Privacy, Civil Liberties, and Security

• Provide intelligence and law enforcement agencies with the tools they need to track and take out the terrorists without undermining our Constitution and our freedom.[\[64\]](#)

o No more illegal wire-tapping of American citizens.[\[65\]](#) Update FISA to provide greater oversight and accountability to the congressional intelligence committees to prevent future threats to the rule of law.[\[66\]](#)

o No more national security letters to spy on citizens who are not suspected of a crime.[\[67\]](#)

o No more tracking citizens who do nothing more than protest a misguided war.[\[68\]](#)

o No more ignoring the law when it is inconvenient.[\[69\]](#)

o Revisit the PATRIOT Act to ensure that there is real and robust oversight of tools like National Security Letters, sneak-and-peek searches, and the use of the material witness provision.[\[70\]](#)

o Require real oversight to avoid jeopardizing the rights and ideals of all Americans.[\[71\]](#)

• Habeas Corpus —Restore habeas rights. Obama believes that those who pose a danger to this country should be swiftly tried and brought to justice, but those who do not should have sufficient due process to ensure that we are not wrongfully denying them their liberty.[\[72\]](#)

2. Intelligence

Director of National Intelligence

• Insulate the DNI from political pressure by giving the DNI a fixed term like the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the chairman of the Federal Reserve.[\[73\]](#)

Quality

• Improve the American intelligence apparatus by investing in its capacity to collect and

analyze information, share information with other agencies and carry out operations to disrupt terrorist operations and networks.[\[74\]](#)

- Never twist the facts to support bad policies.[\[75\]](#)

Improve Information Sharing and Analysis

- Create a senior position to coordinate domestic intelligence gathering.[\[76\]](#)
- Establish a grant program to support thousands more state and local level intelligence analysts.[\[77\]](#)
- o Address the problem in our prisons, where inmates are being explicitly targeted for conversion by al Qaeda and its ideological allies.[\[78\]](#)
- Increase our capacity to share intelligence across all levels of government.[\[79\]](#)
- Force agencies to share information.[\[80\]](#)

3. Defense

Maintain Conventional Strength

- Maintain the strongest, best-equipped military in the world to defeat and deter conventional threats.[\[81\]](#)

Rebuild the Military for 21st-Century Tasks

- Reevaluate every major defense program in light of current needs, gaps in the field, and likely future threat scenarios in the post 9-11 world. Rebalance our capabilities to ensure that our forces can succeed in both conventional war-fighting and in stabilization and counter-insurgency operations.[\[82\]](#)
- Listen to our ground commanders when they tell us what kinds of technology and skills they need to fight most effectively. Prioritize getting vitally needed equipment to our Soldiers and Marines before lives are lost.[\[83\]](#)
- Meet the full-spectrum needs of the new century.[\[84\]](#)
- o Focus on strengthening the ground force units and skills that military officers have dubbed “High Demand/Low Density”[\[85\]](#)
- o Create a specialized military advisors corps, which will enable us to better build up local

in harm's way, the U.S. must clearly define the mission, prescribe concrete political and military objectives, seek out the advice of our military commanders, evaluate the intelligence, plan accordingly, and ensure that our troops have the resources, support, and equipment they need to protect themselves and fulfill their mission.[\[159\]](#)

- Will not use nuclear weapons to destroy terrorist training camps.[\[160\]](#)

4. Homeland Security

Quadrennial Review

- Direct the Department of Homeland Security to complete a Quadrennial Review (like the Pentagon's). The review will be a comprehensive examination of the national homeland defense strategy, inter-agency cooperation, preparedness of Federal response assets, infrastructure, budget plan, and other elements of the homeland defense program and policies of the United States with a view toward determining and expressing the homeland defense strategy of the United States and establishing a homeland defense program for the next 20 years.[\[161\]](#)

Funding Reform

- Allocate homeland security funding according to risk, not as a form of general revenue sharing.[\[162\]](#)
- Roll back funding cuts that have affected first responders and increase federal resources and logistic support to local emergency planning efforts.[\[163\]](#)

Infrastructure Protection

- Develop a meaningful critical infrastructure protection plan across the nation and work with the private sector to ensure that all real targets are prepared for disasters both natural and man-made.[\[164\]](#)
- Prioritize security investments in refineries, pipelines and power grids.[\[165\]](#)
- Establish a clear set of federal regulations that all chemical plants must follow, including improving barriers, containment, mitigation, and safety training, and, where possible, using safer technology, such as less toxic chemicals.[\[166\]](#)
- Strengthen port security — mandate screening of all inbound cargo to the U.S., improve scanning of cargo at foreign ports, and promote greater sharing of shipping data across nations.[\[167\]](#)

guidelines, ensure prompt federal assistance to emergency zones, and increase medical surge capacity.[\[180\]](#)

o Strengthen the federal government's partnership with local and state governments on these issues by improving the mechanisms for clear communication, eliminating redundant programs, and building on the key strengths possessed by each level of government.[\[181\]](#)

- Provide funding for programs in order to enhance emergency care systems throughout the country.[\[182\]](#)

Nuclear Fuel Disposal

- Ensure safe and secure disposal of nuclear fuel.[\[183\]](#)
- Implement regulations and guidelines to account for all dangerous nuclear waste.[\[184\]](#)
- Ensure that nuclear power plants and waste facilities have the resources to keep terrorists from obtaining potential weapons.[\[185\]](#)
- Create specific and uniform guidelines to track and control individual spent fuel rods or segments.[\[186\]](#)

Airline Security

- Improve airline security.[\[187\]](#)
- Redouble our efforts to determine if the measures implemented after 9/11 are adequately addressing the threats our nation continues to face from airplane-based terrorism.[\[188\]](#)
- Support increased numbers of federal airport screeners and improved funding for aviation security.[\[189\]](#)
- Develop and use a comprehensive terrorist watch list in a way that safeguards passengers' privacy while ensuring the safety of air travel.[\[190\]](#)

Border Security

- Improve border security.[\[191\]](#)
- Transfer \$367.6 million to add an additional 1,000 border agents to our nation's most vulnerable areas as well as increase funding overall for border protection efforts.[\[192\]](#)

- Work with international institutions and NGOs to ensure that not simply money but expertise is available to transitional societies. [\[292\]](#)
- Work with our allies to build a roster of available and deployable policemen, customs experts, engineers, agricultural economists, negotiators, education specialists so that nascent governments and international institutions can draw upon foreign expertise as needed. [\[293\]](#)

7. Threat-Specific Policies

A. Terrorism

Military and Law Enforcement Operations

See the Defense, Homeland Security, and Region/State-Specific Sections.

Shared Security Partnership Program

- Establish a Shared Security Partnership Program to forge an international intelligence and law enforcement infrastructure to take down terrorist networks. [\[294\]](#)
- Program will include information sharing, as well as funding for training, operations, border security, anti-corruption programs, technology, and the targeting of terrorist financing. [\[295\]](#)
- Invest \$5 billion over three years to improve counter-terrorism cooperation between U.S. and foreign intelligence and law enforcement agencies. [\[296\]](#)

Anti-Terror Public Diplomacy

- Launch a coordinated, multi-agency program of public diplomacy. [\[297\]](#)
- Open “America Houses” in cities across the Arab world. [\[298\]](#)
- o Modeled on the successful program the United States launched following World War II. [\[299\]](#)
- o Would offer state-of-the-art English-language training programs, discussions, and a wide selection of current periodicals, newspapers, and literature. [\[300\]](#)
- o Offer free Internet access. [\[301\]](#)
- o Offer moderated programs that promote direct exchange with Americans. [\[302\]](#)
- Launch a new “America’s Voice Corps” to rapidly recruit and train fluent speakers of local languages (Arabic, Bahasa, Farsi, Urdu, and Turkish) with public diplomacy skills, who can

ensure our voice is heard in the mass media and in our efforts on the ground.^[303]

- Offer an alternative to madrasas through the Global Education Fund^[304]
- Speak directly to Muslim audiences
- o Personally lead diplomacy efforts.^[305]
- o Give a speech at a major Islamic forum in the first 100 days of his administration.^[306]
- o Make clear that we are not at war with Islam, will stand with those who are willing to stand up for their future, and that we need their effort to defeat the prophets of hate and violence.^[307]

B. Nuclear Threats

Structure Government for a Comprehensive Strategy

- Nuclear Risk Reduction Work at Defense, State, and Energy — Organize the departments and staff that are responsible for these broad policy areas to ensure effective implementation of a comprehensive strategy for nuclear security.^[308]
- National Security Council — Appoint a deputy security advisor to be in charge of coordinating all U.S. programs aimed at reducing the risk of nuclear terrorism and weapons proliferation. The deputy will work closely with the President, the national security adviser, the director of the Office of Management and Budget, and senior officials of the relevant cabinet departments. The deputy will have budgetary oversight over all programs related to nuclear security.^[309]

Prevent Nuclear Terrorism and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons Capability

- Secure nuclear materials
- o Lead a global effort to secure all nuclear weapons and material at vulnerable sites^[c] within four years.^[310]
- o Work with Russia to make sure that nuclear weapons and nuclear weapons materials in Russia and around the world are fully secured.^[311]
- o Work with other countries to develop and implement a comprehensive set of standards to protect nuclear materials from attacks and theft.^[312]
- o Increase funding by \$1 billion a year to ensure that within four years, the essential

architecture — including an international nuclear fuel bank, international nuclear fuel cycle centers, and reliable fuel supply assurances — to meet growing demands for nuclear power without contributing to the proliferation of nuclear materials and fuel production facilities.[\[324\]](#)

o The Nuclear Threat Initiative has offered \$50 million in funding to create a nuclear fuel bank provided it is matched 2-1 by government contributions. Obama would get the fuel bank started with a \$50 million investment by the United States and urge other nations to contribute to it, starting with Russia.[\[325\]](#)

- Highly-Enriched Uranium

o Phase out highly enriched uranium from the civil sector.[\[326\]](#) The U.S. will lead the effort to:

§ Remove HEU from vulnerable research reactor sites around the world;[\[327\]](#)

§ Assist in the conversion to low-enriched fuel;[\[328\]](#)

§ Give unneeded facilities incentives to shut down;[\[329\]](#)

§ Enhance physical protection measures pending HEU removal;[\[330\]](#)

§ Blend down recovered civil HEU for use as power reactor fuel.[\[331\]](#)

o Negotiate a verifiable global ban on the production of highly enriched uranium and plutonium for use in nuclear weapons.[\[332\]](#)

- Build state capacity to prevent theft, diversion, or spread of nuclear materials[\[333\]](#)

o Give new impetus to the use of UN Security Council Resolution 1540, which mandates that all nations implement effective domestic controls to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.[\[334\]](#)

o Work to lay out the essential steps to put strong systems in place.[\[335\]](#)

o Mobilize international financial support to help states take those steps.[\[336\]](#)

o Convene a summit in 2009 (and regularly thereafter) of leaders of Permanent Members of the UN Security Council and other key countries to agree on implementing many of the above measures on a global basis.[\[337\]](#)

- Prevent the spread of nuclear weapons capabilities

- Help states meet their obligations under UN Security Council resolution 1540 and the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention to prevent terrorists and other states from developing and acquiring biological weapons. [\[375\]](#)
- Work with the international community to make any use of disease as a weapon declared a crime against humanity. [\[376\]](#)

Mitigate the Consequences of Bioterror Attacks

- Increase R&D to improve our sensor technologies to detect attacks at the earliest possible stage. [\[377\]](#)
- Ensure that decision-makers have the information and communication tools they need to manage disease outbreaks by linking health care providers, hospitals, and public health agencies. [\[378\]](#)
- Invest \$10 billion per year over the next 5 years in electronic health information systems will not only improve routine health care, but in a biological crisis or other catastrophe, give health officials the crucial information they need to deploy resources and save lives. [\[379\]](#)
- Improve our ability to cope with infectious diseases by improving the surge capacity and robustness of our health care system. [\[380\]](#) For example, help hospitals form collaborative networks to deal with sudden surges in patients. [\[381\]](#)
- Ensure that the U.S. has adequate supplies of medicines, vaccines and diagnostic tests and can get these vital products into the hands of those who need them. [\[382\]](#)
- Ensure that the federal government does all it can to get people the information and resources they need to help protect themselves and their families in bioterror attacks and other disasters. [\[383\]](#)

Develop New Medicines, Vaccines, and Production Capabilities

- Support and promote further advances in the life sciences and associated technologies. [\[384\]](#)
- Build on America's unparalleled talent and advantage in science, technology, and engineering, and the powerful insights into biological systems that are emerging, to create new drugs, vaccines, and diagnostic tests and to manufacture these vital products much more

quickly and efficiently than is now possible.[\[385\]](#)

- Stress the need for broad-gauged vaccines and drugs and for more agile and responsive drug development and production systems.[\[386\]](#)

Diminish Impact of Major Infectious Disease Epidemics —

- Continue to lead international efforts to develop new diagnostics, vaccines, and medicines that will be available and affordable in all parts of the world.[\[387\]](#)
- Create a permanent framework that would increase international disease surveillance, response capacity and public education and coordination, especially in Southeast Asia.[\[388\]](#)

Avian Flu

- Provide more funding to purchase vaccines and antivirals and improve our ability to spot and isolate a pandemic as soon as it begins.[\[389\]](#)
- Publish the final HHS Pandemic Flu Preparedness Plan.[\[390\]](#)
- Form a senior-level task-force to devise an international strategy to deal with the avian flu and coordinate policy among our government agencies.[\[391\]](#)
- Order enough doses of flu treatment to cover the recommended 25 percent of the population.[\[392\]](#)

D. Cyber Threats

Prioritize Cyber Security

- Establish the position of National Cyber Advisor who will report directly to the president and will be responsible for coordinating federal agency efforts and development of national cyber policy.[\[393\]](#)
- Lead an effort, working with private industry, the research community and our citizens, to build a trustworthy and accountable cyber infrastructure that is resilient, protects America's competitive advantage, and advances our national and homeland security.[\[394\]](#)
- Declare the cyber infrastructure a strategic asset, vital to national security and the global economy, and develop and deploy systems to protect it.[\[395\]](#)
- Invest in math and science education that is vital to protecting our national security and our competitiveness.[\[396\]](#)

Improve National Cyber Defense

- Harden our nation's cyber infrastructure — Work with industry and academia to develop and deploy a new generation of secure hardware and software for our nation's critical cyber infrastructure (including for the defense and intelligence) communities. [\[397\]](#)
- Develop a comprehensive cyber security and response strategy that ensures that we have the ability to identify our attackers and a plan for how to respond that will be measured but effective. [\[398\]](#)

Protect America's Economic and Personal Security

- Protect the IT infrastructure that keeps America's economy safe — Work with the private sector to establish tough new standards for cyber security and physical resilience for the systems for critical infrastructure (including electricity, water, and sewage, to oil and gas, air traffic control, voting systems, and finance). [\[399\]](#)
- Prevent corporate cyber-espionage — Work with industry to develop the systems necessary to protect our nation's trade secrets and our research and development. [\[400\]](#)
- Partner with industry and our citizens to secure personal data stored on government and private systems. [\[401\]](#)
 - o Develop tight standards [\[g\]](#) for securing America's personal information. [\[402\]](#)
 - o Back legislation to require a company that may have disclosed a resident's personal information without authorization to inform the victim of the disclosure. [\[403\]](#)

Crackdown on Cyber Crime

- Shut down the mechanisms used to transmit criminal profits by shutting down untraceable Internet payment schemes. [\[404\]](#)
- Initiate a grant and training program to provide federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies the tools they need to detect and prosecute cyber crime. [\[405\]](#)

E. Space Threats

Space Security

- Restore U.S. leadership on space issues by seeking a code of conduct for space-faring nations, including a worldwide ban on weapons to interfere with satellites and a ban on testing anti-satellite weapons. Initiating and stating a willingness to participate in a regime protecting

access to space will help the United States return to a position of leadership in promoting global stability.[\[406\]](#)

- Thoroughly assess possible threats to U.S. space assets and the best options, military and diplomatic, for countering them. This will include establishing contingency plans to ensure that U.S. forces can maintain or duplicate access to information from space assets and accelerating programs to harden U.S. satellites against attack.[\[407\]](#)

- Weapons in space are a bad idea.[\[408\]](#)

- A treaty that increases space security is a good idea but is likely to take a long time to negotiate.[\[409\]](#)

Part II — Region or State Specific Policies

1. Iraq

Ending the War

- On his first day as President, Barack Obama would give the military a new mission — ending the Iraq war.^[410] Barack Obama will make getting out of Iraq his first priority as president.^[411]
- Be as careful getting out as we were careless getting in.^[412]

Troop Redeployment

- Removal of our troops will be responsible and phased, directed by military commanders on the ground^[h] and done in consultation with the Iraqi government. Military experts believe we can safely redeploy combat brigades from Iraq at a pace of 1 to 2 brigades a month that would remove them in 16 months^[i].^[413]
- Under the Obama plan, a residual force will remain in Iraq and in the region to conduct targeted counter-terrorism missions against al Qaeda in Iraq and to protect American diplomatic and civilian personnel^[j].^[414]
- Move troops from secure areas first and volatile areas later^[k].^[415]
- In carrying out that strategy, we will inevitably need to make tactical adjustments.^[416]
- o Barack Obama will consult with commanders on the ground and the Iraqi government to ensure that our troops were redeployed safely, and our interests protected.^[417]
- During redeployment, put the Iraqi security forces in the lead, intensify and focus our efforts to train those forces, and expand the number of our personnel – especially special forces – who are deployed with Iraqi units as advisers.^[418]
- o Iraqi police and military units must be properly funded and inclusive.^[419]
- Troops should be redeployed to the United States; to Afghanistan; and to other points in the region.^[420]
- Iraq's democratically-elected Prime Minister has embraced this time frame. Now it's time

accord on reconciliation and contentious questions such as federalism, oil revenue sharing, and de-Ba'athification are resolved.[\[432\]](#)

- America should not impose a tri-partite division of Iraq. The Iraqis may choose that, but it must be their choice.[\[433\]](#)

- We should only train Iraqi Security Forces if Iraq's leaders reconcile their differences.[\[434\]](#)

Diplomacy

- Launch an aggressive diplomatic effort to reach a comprehensive compact on the stability of Iraq and the region.[\[435\]\[I\]](#)

- o This effort will include all of Iraq's neighbors, including Iran and Syria, and the UN.[\[436\]](#)

- o This compact will aim to secure Iraq's borders; keep neighboring countries from meddling inside Iraq; isolate al Qaeda; support reconciliation among Iraq's sectarian groups; and provide financial support for Iraq's reconstruction and development.[\[437\]](#)

- o Support regional sources of stability. Work to develop a long-term strategy of regional cooperation.[\[438\]](#)

- Work with Kurdish leaders to come to an accommodation with Turkish leaders who see the Kurdish ascendance as a threat.[\[439\]](#)

- Press Sunni Arab states like Saudi Arabia to use their influence to encourage Iraqi Sunnis to reconcile.[\[440\]](#)

- Press Iran, Syria, and Saudi Arabia to stem the flow of foreign fighters, arms, and financial resources into Iraq, but encourage their financial support of reconstruction efforts. Be a tough negotiator with Syria and Iran, sending a clear message that they need to stop meddling in Iraq's affairs.[\[441\]](#)

Humanitarian Aide

- Form an international working group to address this crisis.[\[442\]](#)

- Secure greater regional contributions to humanitarian relief, refugee care and integration, and economic assistance. Build on the United Nations' new willingness to expand its mission in Iraq, encouraging the European Union, the Arab League, and other regional groupings

- Barack Obama will not build permanent bases in Iraq, but will continue efforts to train and support the Iraqi security forces as long as Iraqi leaders move toward political reconciliation and away from sectarianism. [\[458\]](#)

Status of Forces Agreement

- Any Status of Forces Agreement, or any strategic framework agreement, should be negotiated in the context of a broader commitment by the U.S. to begin withdrawing its troops and forswearing permanent bases. [\[459\]](#)
- Any security accord must be subject to Congressional approval. [\[460\]](#)
- Any agreement must include immunity for U.S. troops and Defense Department personnel from Iraqi jurisdiction. [\[461\]](#)

2. Afghanistan and Pakistan

U.S. Military

- Deploy at least 2 additional brigades (7,000 personnel) of rested, trained American troops to Afghanistan to reinforce our counter-terrorism operations and support NATO's efforts to fight the Taliban. [\[462\]](#)
 - o Need more troops, more helicopters, better intelligence-gathering and more nonmilitary assistance to accomplish the mission in Afghanistan. [\[463\]](#)
- Finish the fight against al Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan. [\[464\]](#) Make the fight against al Qaeda and the Taliban the top priority that it should be. [\[465\]](#)

NATO Forces

- Seek greater contributions from NATO allies. [\[466\]](#)
- Eliminate national restrictions on NATO forces — The NATO force is short-staffed and some countries contributing forces are imposing restrictions on where their troops can operate, tying the hands of commanders on the ground. Obama will work with European allies to end these burdensome restrictions and strengthen NATO as a fighting force. [\[467\]](#)

Afghan Forces

- Strengthen the training and equipping of the Afghan army and police. [\[468\]](#)
- Increase Afghan participation in U.S. and NATO missions. [\[469\]](#)

insurgents.[\[480\]](#)

- If Pakistan is willing to go after high-level terrorist targets like Osama bin Laden, give Pakistan all of the support it needs.[\[481\]](#)
- If the U.S. has actionable intelligence about the whereabouts of al Qaeda leaders in Pakistan – and the Pakistanis cannot or will not act against terrorists known to be behind attacks on American civilians – then use highly targeted force to do so.[\[482\]](#)
- Will not use nuclear weapons to go after terrorist targets in Pakistan.[\[483\]](#)

3. Iran

Nuclear Weapons Program

- Prevent Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons.[\[484\]](#)
- Will not take any options off the table.[\[485\]](#)
- Use tough, direct diplomacy — backed by real incentives and real pressures — to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons.[\[486\]](#)
 - o Carefully prepare — open up lines of communication, build an agenda, coordinate closely with our allies, and evaluate the potential for progress.[\[487\]](#)
 - o Will not sit down with Iran just for the sake of talking. But willing to lead tough and principled diplomacy with the appropriate Iranian leader at a time and place of our choosing – if, and only if – it can advance the interests of the United States.[\[488\]](#)
 - Assemble an international coalition that will exert a collective will on Iran so that it is in their own interest to verifiably abandon their nuclear weapons efforts.[\[489\]](#)
 - o Work with Europe, Japan and the Gulf states to find every avenue outside the UN to isolate the Iranian regime – from cutting off loan guarantees and expanding financial sanctions, to banning the export of refined petroleum to Iran, to boycotting firms associated with the Iranian Revolutionary Guard, whose Quds force has rightly been labeled a terrorist organization.[\[490\]](#)
 - o Iran should face strong and increasing sanctions if it refuses to verifiably abandon their illicit nuclear programs.[\[491\]](#)
 - o If Iran verifiably abandons its nuclear program and support for terrorism, we should consider economic incentives like membership in the World Trade Organization and political

incentives like full diplomatic relations.[\[492\]](#)

- Strengthen the Nonproliferation Treaty so any violation automatically triggers sanctions.[\[493\]](#)
- Build on recent actions by the U.N. Security Council to restrict the supply of nuclear technology and freeze the assets of Iranian leaders.[\[494\]](#)
- Permit states to divest pension funds of stocks in companies that invest in Iran's energy sector, denying Iran a critical source of hard currency to advance its illicit nuclear program.[\[495\]](#)
- Support the Durbin-Smith Senate Bill, the Iran Counter Proliferation Act, which calls for sanctions on Iran and other countries for assisting Iran in developing a nuclear program.[\[496\]](#)

Revolutionary Guard

- Tighten sanctions on the Iranian regime -- particularly on Iran's Revolutionary Guard, which supports terrorism.[\[497\]](#)

4. Russia

Overall

- Russia is neither our enemy nor close ally right now.[\[498\]](#)
- Don't shy away from pushing for more democracy, transparency, and accountability in that country.[\[499\]](#)
- Engagement with President Medvedev and his government must not lead us to turn a blind eye to democratic erosion inside Russia.[\[500\]](#)

Nuclear Nonproliferation

- See nuclear threats section.

Georgia

- Strongly support the people of Georgia and the Americans delivering humanitarian aid.[\[501\]](#)
- There is no possible justification for Russia's actions.[\[502\]](#) Condemn Russian aggression and demand that Russia abide by the cease-fire.[\[503\]](#)
- Call for active international engagement to resolve the disputes over South Ossetia and

Abkhazia.[\[504\]](#)

o There should be a United Nations mediator to address this crisis, and the United States should fully support this effort. Also convene other international forums to condemn this aggression, to call for an immediate halt to the violence, and to review multilateral and bilateral arrangements with Russia.[\[505\]](#)

• Georgia's territorial integrity must be respected,[\[n\]](#) and that Georgia should be integrated into transatlantic institutions, including NATO.[\[506\]](#)

o Russia's recognition of South Ossetia and Abkhazia as independent states must be rejected.[\[507\]](#)

§ Call for a meeting of the United Nations Security Council to condemn Russia's decision in coordination with our European allies. Lead within the UN and other international forums to cast a clear and unrelenting light on the decision, and to further isolate Russia internationally because of its actions. The OSCE must also send a serious monitoring group[\[o\]](#) to Georgia.[\[508\]](#)

o Russian peacekeeping troops should be replaced by a genuine international peacekeeping force, Georgia should refrain from using force in South Ossetia and Abkhazia, and a political settlement must be reached that addresses the status of these disputed regions.[\[509\]](#)

• U.S. and its allies must stand firm in support of Georgia's economic and political stability and opposing Russia's efforts to undermine Georgia's democratically-elected government.[\[510\]](#)

o Support the EU's decisions to send civilian monitors to Georgia as part of the necessary international monitoring mechanism provided for in the cease-fire agreement, and to sponsor an international conference to assist reconstruction in Georgia.[\[511\]](#)

• Russia's actions will have consequences. They will imperil the Civil Nuclear Agreement, and Russia's standing in the international community – including the NATO-Russia Council, and Russia's desire to participate in organizations like the WTO and the OECD.[\[512\]](#)

o Support the EU's decision to postpone talks on a new EU-Russia partnership until Russia fully honors its commitments.[\[513\]](#)

o If Russia's government continues to violate the norms and practices of the international community, the United States and our allies must review all aspects of relations with

Russia. [\[514\]](#)

- Help Georgia rebuild what has been destroyed — call for an additional \$1 billion in reconstruction assistance for the people of Georgia. [\[515\]](#)
- The six-point peace plan of August 12 must be implemented in its entirety. [\[516\]](#)
- Together with European and other partners, we must stand united in support of a Europe in which all states can freely determine their foreign policies and alliances and in which the rule of law is respected. [\[517\]](#)
- Bush Administration should call for a US-EU-Georgia summit in September that focuses on strategies for preserving Georgia's territorial integrity and advancing its economic recovery. [\[518\]](#)

5. North Korea

Nuclear Weapons Program

- Eliminate North Korea's nuclear weapons program [\[519\]](#)
- Will not take any options off the table. [\[520\]](#)
- Use tough, direct diplomacy — backed by real incentives and real pressures — to eliminate North Korea's nuclear weapons program. [\[521\]](#)
- Assemble an international coalition that will exert a collective will on North Korea so that it is in their own interest to verifiably abandon their nuclear weapons efforts. [\[522\]](#)
 - o North Korea should face strong and increasing sanctions if it refuses to verifiably abandon their illicit nuclear programs. [\[523\]](#)
- Strengthen the Nonproliferation Treaty so any violation automatically triggers sanctions. [\[524\]](#)
- Provide the leadership essential to ensure the full implementation of the recent agreement with North Korea. [\[525\]](#)
- North Korean Declaration
 - o Confirm the full extent of North Korea's past plutonium production and its uranium enrichment activities, and get answers to disturbing questions about its proliferation activities

with other countries, including Syria.[\[526\]](#)

- o Only lift sanctions based on North Korean performance. If the North Koreans do not meet their obligations, we should move quickly to re-impose sanctions that have been waived, and consider new restrictions going forward.[\[527\]](#)

- o Continue to pursue the kind of direct and aggressive diplomacy with North Korea that can yield results. The objective must be clear: the complete and verifiable elimination of North Korea's nuclear weapons programs, which only expanded while we refused to talk. As we move forward, we must not cede our leverage in these negotiations unless it is clear that North Korea is living up to its obligations.[\[528\]](#)

- o Barack Obama would work from the very beginning of his term in office to secure the American people and our interests in this vital region.[\[529\]](#)

- Proliferation of Nuclear Technology to Syria

- o Until we are able to confirm that North Korea is no longer in the nuclear proliferation business, the United States should not lift sanctions on Pyongyang.[\[530\]](#)

6. Israel

Ensure a strong U.S.–Israel partnership

- First and incontrovertible commitment in the Middle East must be to the security of Israel, America's strongest ally in the Middle East.[\[531\]](#)

- o "[A]s President I will never compromise when it comes to Israel's security."[\[532\]](#)

- Support foreign assistance to Israel, including the annual foreign aid package that involves both military and economic assistance to Israel. Advocate for increased foreign aid budgets to ensure that these funding priorities are met.[\[533\]](#)

- Ensure that Israel can defend itself from any threat – from Gaza to Tehran.[\[534\]](#)

- o Sustain the unique U.S.–Israel defense relationship by fully funding military assistance and continuing cooperative work on missile defense programs, such as the Arrow.[\[535\]](#)

- o Implement a Memorandum of Understanding that provides \$30 billion in assistance to Israel over the next decade – investments to Israel's security that will not be tied to any other nation.[\[536\]](#)

- o Approve the foreign aid request for 2009.[\[537\]](#)
- o Export military equipment to our ally Israel under the same guidelines as NATO.[\[538\]](#)
 - Barack Obama cosponsored the U.S.–Israel Energy Cooperation Act. This bill would establish a grant program to support joint U.S.–Israeli research and development efforts in the areas of alternative and renewable energy sources – a key step toward energy independence, which is very much in the national security interests of the U.S. and Israel.[\[539\]](#)
 - Mean what we say when we speak the words: “never again.”[\[540\]](#)

Hamas

- Never recognize Hamas unless it renounces its fundamental mission to eliminate Israel.[\[541\]](#)
- Isolate Hamas until it recognizes Israel’s right to exist, abandons violence, and abides by previous agreements made between the Palestinian Authority and Israel.[\[542\]](#)
- o Cosponsored the Palestinian Anti–Terrorism Act of 2006 — outlaws direct assistance to any entity of the Palestinian Authority controlled by Hamas until it meets the conditions of the United States, Russia, the European Union and the United Nations to renounce violence, recognize Israel, and agree to abide by all agreements signed by the Palestinian Authority.[\[543\]](#)

Palestinian Politics

- Stand by Palestinians who are committed to cracking down on terror and carrying the burden of peacemaking.[\[544\]](#)
- Obama signed a letter urging President Bush to make it clear to Palestinian leaders that terrorist groups must either disarm or be barred from the political process.[\[545\]](#)
- Opposed holding elections in 2006 with Hamas on the ballot.[\[546\]](#)
- Since the elections, Obama has stated that Israelis must have a true Palestinian partner for peace. He has sought to encourage Palestinian moderates who seek peace and to isolate Hamas and other extremists who are committed to Israel’s destruction.[\[547\]](#)

Hezbollah

- Obama signed a letter to the European Union pressing the EU to designate Hezbollah as a terrorist organization.[\[548\]](#)

- Call for the end of Syrian and Iranian support of Hezbollah via arms shipments and funding. [\[549\]](#)
- Urged the enforcement of UN Resolution 1701, which demands the cessation of arms shipments to Hezbollah, a resolution that Syria and Iran continue to disregard. [\[550\]](#)
- Long before the July 2006 conflict, Barack Obama worked to limit Hezbollah's influence in the region, signing a letter urging President Bush to place al-Manar, the official television station of Hezbollah, on the Treasury Department's Specially Designated Global Terrorist Entity list and to aggressively target organizations that aid in its broadcast. [\[551\]](#)

Israel's Right to Self-Defense

- Support Israel's right to self-defense. [\[552\]](#)
- Stand up for Israel's right to defend itself in the United Nations and around the world. [\[553\]](#)

Iraq

- Do not allow the Iranians and Syrians to use Iraq as another Afghanistan or a staging area from which to attack Israel or other countries. [\[554\]](#)

Two State Solution

- Israel's security is sacrosanct. It is non-negotiable. [\[555\]](#)
- The Palestinians need a state that is contiguous and cohesive, and that allows them to prosper – but any agreement with the Palestinian people must preserve Israel's identity as a Jewish state, with secure, recognized and defensible borders. [\[556\]](#)
- Jerusalem will remain the capital of Israel, and it must remain undivided. [\[557\]](#)
- Work towards a two-state solution, with both states living side by side in peace and security. [\[558\]](#)
 - o Won't wait until the waning days of his presidency. Sen. Obama will take an active role, and make a personal commitment to do all he can to advance the cause of peace from the start of his Administration. [\[559\]](#)
 - o Be a strong and consistent partner in this process – not to force concessions, but to help committed partners avoid stalemate and the kind of vacuums that are filled by violence. [\[560\]](#)

- Israel can also advance the cause of peace by taking appropriate steps – consistent with its security (as it agreed to with the Bush Administration at Annapolis):[\[561\]](#)
 - o Ease the freedom of movement for Palestinians[\[562\]](#)
 - o Improve economic conditions in the West Bank[\[563\]](#)
 - o Refrain from building new settlements[\[564\]](#)

Help Palestinian Families Get the Aid they Need without Supporting Terrorism

- Support U.S. efforts to provide aid directly to the Palestinian people by bypassing any Hamas–led government that refuses to renounce violence and recognize Israel’s right to exist.[\[565\]](#)

Israel’s Right to Exist

- The establishment of Israel was just and necessary, rooted in centuries of struggle, and decades of patient work.[\[566\]](#)

Neighboring States

- Strongly urge Arab governments to take steps to normalize relations with Israel, and to fulfill their responsibility to pressure extremists and provide real support for President Abbas and Prime Minister Fayyad.[\[567\]](#)
- Persuade other nations such as Saudi Arabia to recognize common interests with Israel in dealing with Iran.[\[568\]](#)
- Egypt must cut off the smuggling of weapons into Gaza.[\[569\]](#)
- Syria
 - o The United States has a responsibility to support Israel's efforts to renew peace talks with the Syrians.[\[570\]](#)
 - o Never force Israel to the negotiating table, but neither should we ever block negotiations when Israel's leaders decide that they may serve Israeli interests.[\[571\]](#)
 - o As President, Barack Obama would do whatever he could to help Israel succeed in these negotiations.[\[572\]](#)
- § Success will require the full enforcement of Security Council Resolution 1701 in Lebanon

and a stop to Syria's support for terror.[\[573\]](#)

7. Mexico

- Cross-Border Security Partnerships

- o Support the efforts of our border states to foster cooperation and constructive engagement with the region.[\[574\]](#)

§ E.g. — Arizona, for instance, has entered into agreements with its neighboring Mexican state, Sonora, to cooperate on fighting border violence and drug trafficking. These agreements have led to the training of Sonora detectives to investigate wire transfers used to pay smugglers in their state; improved radio communication; and better tracking of fugitive and stolen vehicles. The Arizona-Sonora partnership – based on information-sharing, technical assistance and training – provides an excellent model for regional cooperation on security issues.[\[575\]](#)

- o Work to integrate these efforts into the region's coordinated security pact.[\[576\]](#)

- Mexican Drug Cartels

- o We have a shared responsibility with Mexico and other nations in the region to battle both the supply and demand ends of the illegal drug trade.[\[577\]](#)

- o Continue the fight to rid our communities of meth and offer support to help addicts heal and reduce the demand for the drug.[\[578\]](#)

- o Work to cut off drug lab supplies by restricting global imports of precursor chemicals.[\[579\]](#)

- o Take on the Mexican drug cartels in partnership with Mexico and other nations in the region.[\[580\]](#)

8. Latin America and the Caribbean

Overview

- Open a new chapter of cooperation and partnership with our neighbors to promote democracy, opportunity and security across the hemisphere.[\[581\]](#)

- Work together to address our common challenges, including economic development, global warming, energy independence, and the battle against drug trafficking and terror.[\[582\]](#)

- Restore the U.S.'s traditional leadership in the Americas – on democracy, trade and

with Mexico, Brazil, Argentina and Chile.[\[630\]](#)

§ Call on the American people to join this effort through an Energy Corps of engineers and scientists who will go abroad to help develop clean energy solutions.[\[631\]](#)

Deforestation and Carbon Sequestration

- Offer incentives to maintain Latin American forests and manage them sustainably.[\[632\]](#)

A. Venezuela

- Engage Venezuela.[\[633\]](#)

B. Cuba

- Policy toward Cuba will be guided by one word: Libertad. And the road to freedom for all Cubans must begin with justice for Cuba's political prisoners, the rights of free speech, a free press and freedom of assembly; and it must lead to elections that are free and fair.[\[634\]](#)

- o Never, ever, compromise the cause of liberty.[\[635\]](#)

- o Never, ever, rule out a course of action that could advance the cause of liberty.[\[636\]](#)

- Turn the page and begin to write a new chapter in U.S.–Cuba policy to help advance the cause of freedom and democracy in Cuba. Keep U.S. national interests, and not partisan or electoral interests, at the forefront. Strive to empower the Cuban people and aim to position the United States to help foster a stable and peaceful transition in Cuba to avoid potential disasters that could result in mass migration, internal violence or the perpetuation of the Cuban dictatorship. A democratic opening in Cuba is, and should be, the foremost objective of our policy.[\[637\]](#)

- Help the Cuban people become less dependent on the Castro regime in fundamental ways.[\[638\]](#)

- Grant Cuban Americans unrestricted rights to visit family and send remittances to the island.[\[639\]](#)

- Aggressive and Principled Diplomacy

- o Pursue direct diplomacy, without preconditions, but with careful preparation. Set a clear agenda. Be willing to lead that diplomacy at a time and place of our choosing, but only when we have an opportunity to advance the interests of the United States, and to advance the cause of

freedom for the Cuban people. [\[640\]](#)

o Take steps to liberalize relations with Cuba now while holding back important incentives such as relaxation of the trade embargo and greater foreign aid so that we can encourage change in a post-Fidel government. [\[641\]](#)

• Embargo

o Maintain the embargo because it provides us with leverage. [\[642\]](#)

o If a post-Fidel government takes significant steps toward democracy, beginning with the freeing of all political prisoners, the United States is prepared to take steps to normalize relations and ease the embargo that has governed relations between our countries for the last five decades. [\[643\]](#)

C. Haiti

• Provide food assistance in the short term to prevent hunger and stave off additional political instability. [\[644\]](#)

• Improve Haiti's economic prospects over the long-term by providing more technical assistance and job training. [\[645\]](#)

• Continue to press Haiti's leaders to finally bridge the political divides that have torn that country asunder. [\[646\]](#)

• Always be clear and consistent in supporting freedom and democracy. [\[647\]](#)

• The U.S. and the entire international community have a responsibility to continue helping Haiti along a path to a better future. [\[648\]](#)

D. Columbia

• Promote security and combat drugs

o Continue efforts to support Colombia in a way that also advances our interests and is true to our values. [\[649\]](#)

o Support the creation and reinforcement of robust civilian institutions in Colombia that contribute to lasting peace and to ending the decades-long reign of terror perpetrated against the Colombian people by illegal armed groups of every stripe. [\[650\]](#)

o Support continuing the Andean Counterdrug Program to combat narco-trafficking in

Colombia. Enhance the program and broaden the involvement of Colombians, while reducing its reliance on American contractors.[\[651\]](#)

o Last March, Colombian security forces targeted a senior Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) leader, and Ecuador and Venezuela moved troops and tanks to their borders with Colombia, bringing hostilities to a boiling point. But this must not be used as a pretense to ratchet up tensions or to threaten the stability of the region.[\[652\]](#)

o Support Colombia's right to strike terrorists who seek safe-haven across its borders, to defend itself against FARC.[\[653\]](#)

o Address any support for the FARC that comes from members of neighboring governments because this behavior must be exposed to international condemnation, regional isolation, and if necessary strong sanctions.[\[654\]](#)

o Work with the government to end the reign of terror from right wing paramilitaries.[\[655\]](#)

• Columbia Free Trade Deal — While the Colombia Free Trade Agreement has some labor and environmental standards, these protections are undermined by persistent violence and impunity in Colombia. Labor protections remain useless in an environment where union leaders are routinely assassinated. Barack Obama will work with Colombia to bring the perpetrators to justice and protect labor activists.[\[656\]](#)

• Make clear our support for labor rights, human rights, rule of law, and Columbia's democratic institutions.[\[657\]](#)

9. East and South Asia

Overall

• Strengthen our partnerships with Japan, South Korea, Australia and the world's largest democracy – India – to create a stable and prosperous Asia.[\[658\]](#)

• Build on our strong bilateral relations and informal arrangements like the Six Party talks to forge a more effective regional framework in Asia that will promote stability, prosperity and help us confront common transnational threats such as tracking down terrorists and responding to global health problems like avian flu and goes beyond bilateral agreements, occasional summits, and ad-hoc arrangements like the six-party talks.[\[659\]](#)

A. China

- Engage China on common interests like climate change, even as we continue to encourage their shift to a more open and market-based society. [\[660\]](#)
- Maintain American Competitiveness
 - o Work to build and expand areas where we can cooperate with China. [\[661\]](#)
 - o Get our own fiscal house in order to reduce the sway China has over us by virtue of the American debt it holds. [\[662\]](#)
 - o Vigorously defend U.S. trade interests with China by ensuring we operate on a level playing field. [\[663\]](#)
 - o Press China to live up to its commitments in trade agreements, to meet its international responsibilities, and to promote human rights and legal and political reform in China itself. [\[664\]](#)
 - o Strictly enforce our trade laws against unfair Chinese practices. [\[665\]](#)
 - o Refuse access to our market for unsafe Chinese products – like toys painted with lead paint. [\[666\]](#)
 - o Insist that Beijing crack down on intellectual property theft. [\[667\]](#)
 - o Demand that China move to a market-based currency. [\[668\]](#)
- Tibet
 - o Speak out for the human rights and religious freedom of the people of Tibet. [\[669\]](#)
 - o If Tibetans are to live in harmony with the rest of China's people, their religion and culture must be respected and protected. Tibet should enjoy genuine and meaningful autonomy. The Dalai Lama should be invited to visit China, as part of a process leading to his return. [\[670\]](#)
 - o Condemn the use of violence to put down peaceful protests, and call on the Chinese government to respect the basic human rights of the people of Tibet, and to account for the whereabouts of detained Buddhist monks. [\[671\]](#)
- Taiwan
 - o The PRC should reduce the military threat to Taiwan by drawing back the missiles it has deployed in southeast China and by other security confidence-building measures. [\[672\]](#)
 - o On issues such as Taiwan's observer status in the World Health Organization, where the health of all Chinese people is at stake, China should allow Taiwan greater international

space.[\[673\]](#)

- o Reopen blocked channels of communication with Taiwan officials.[\[674\]](#)
- o Continue to provide the arms necessary for Taiwan to deter possible aggression. [\[675\]](#)
- o Encourage both Taipei and Beijing to build commercial, cultural, and other ties, laying the groundwork for a closer relationship and ultimately movement toward resolution of their differences.[\[676\]](#)
- o Maintain our "one China" policy, our adherence to the three U.S.-PRC Joint Communiqués concerning Taiwan, and observance of the Taiwan Relations Act, which lays out the legal basis for our relationship.[\[677\]](#)
- o Barack Obama will do all that he can to support Taiwan's democracy in the years ahead.[\[678\]](#)

B. Burma

- Support the Bush Administration's plan to deploy a disaster assistance response team to Burma to assess the needs of Burma's people, and urge the Burmese government to allow our team access so that we can move quickly and expeditiously in coordination with others in the international community to get help to those who most need it.[\[679\]](#)
- Although the regime in Burma is one whose repressive rule deserves our condemnation, humanitarian assistance should not be used as a political tool against those in need.[\[680\]](#)

10. Middle East

A. Lebanon

- Support the Lebanese who have marched and bled for democracy.[\[681\]](#)

11. Africa

General

- The U.S. and other nations have an obligation and self-interest in being full partners with Kenya and with Africa.[\[682\]](#)
- Work with the African Union to enhance its ability to keep the peace.[\[683\]](#)

A. Sudan (including Darfur)

- Continue to demand that China bring pressure to bear on Khartoum to stop the genocide

in Darfur.[\[684\]](#)

- Opposed to the Bush Administration negotiating a normalization of relations with the Government of Sudan that would include removing it from the list of state sponsors of terrorism. This would reportedly be in exchange for Khartoum's agreement to allow Thai and Nepalese troops to participate in the joint African Union–United Nations peacekeeping force in Darfur.[\[685\]](#)

- o No country should be removed from the list of state sponsors of terrorism for any reason other than the existence of verifiable proof that the government in question does not support terrorist organizations.[\[686\]](#)

- o Bush Administration should be holding the Government of Sudan accountable for its past promises to let UN peacekeepers operate within its borders – Khartoum's record of inaction and obstruction when it comes to the deployment of the AU–UN force must not be rewarded.[\[687\]](#)

- o Bush Administration should be holding Sudan accountable for failing to implement significant aspects of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), imperiling the prospects for scheduled multiparty elections in 2009.[\[688\]](#)

- o Push Khartoum to fully account for the murder of John Granville, the American citizen and USAID official gunned down on New Year's Eve.[\[689\]](#)

B. Zimbabwe

- The Government of Zimbabwe is illegitimate and lacks any credibility.[\[690\]](#)

- Support the United Nations Security Council statement condemning the violence sweeping Zimbabwe, and underscoring that the Zimbabwean government's campaign of repression and brutality has made it impossible for the June 27 elections to be free and fair.[\[691\]](#)

- The result of the abrogated March 2008 elections that represents the genuine will of the Zimbabwean people.[\[692\]](#)

- The South African government and the ANC must recognize the need – and must call for – the kind of diplomatic action that is necessary to pressure the Zimbabwean government to stop its repressive behavior.[\[693\]](#)

- Work with regional leaders and others to press for postponed elections conducted under

12. Europe & Central Asia

Overall

- Every nation in Europe must have the chance to choose its own tomorrow free from the shadows of yesterday. [\[703\]](#)
- Support a strong European Union that deepens the security and prosperity of this continent, while extending a hand abroad. [\[704\]](#)
- America and Europe should renew our common commitment to face down the threats of the 21st century just as we did the challenges of the 20th. [\[705\]](#)

A. Serbia

- Support a Serbian government that devotes its energies to the Stabilization and Association Agreement with the European Union. [\[706\]](#)
- Work with European partners to ensure that all actors in the region relegate inflammatory rhetoric and provocative actions to the past. [\[707\]](#)
- Work with all international and local actors in Kosovo to realize the full array of protections for Serbs there, including enhanced competencies for Serb municipalities, unfettered and undisturbed access and operation of the Serbian Orthodox Church, and the right of return and restoration of property for all refugees and displaced persons. [\[708\]](#)
- Look for a vibrant partner in Belgrade with which we can together cultivate our relationship. [\[709\]](#)
- Serbia ultimately belongs in the European Union. The EU and Serbia should rapidly deepen their ties, a move that would help demonstrate to the Serb people that they are indeed genuinely part of the West. [\[710\]](#)

B. Kosovo

- Kosovo's independence is a unique situation resulting from the irreparable rupture Slobodan Milosevic's actions caused; it is in no way a precedent for anyone else in the region or around the world. [\[711\]](#)
- Kosovo's independence comes with responsibilities — Barack Obama hopes that Kosovo's government and people act with urgency to ensure that Kosovo becomes a positive example of