



THE WORLD BEYOND IRAQ

"It is time to have a debate with John McCain about the future of our national security. And the way to win that debate is not to compete with John McCain over who has more experience in Washington, because that's a contest that he'll win. The way to win a debate with John McCain is not to talk, and act, and vote like him on national security, because then we all lose. The way to win that debate and to keep America safe is to offer a clear contrast, and that's what I will do when I am the nominee of the Democratic Party – because since before this war in Iraq began, I have made different judgments, I have a different vision, and I will offer a clean break from the failed policies and politics of the past."

[Speech in Fayetteville, NC, 3/19/08]

A NEW VISION, A CLEAR CONTRAST

On the fifth anniversary of the invasion of Iraq, Barack Obama laid out his plan to responsibly end the war in Iraq and reestablish American leadership around the globe. He also explained in clear terms why he is the best candidate to provide a clean break from the failed policies and divisive politics that led us into Iraq and that is damaging our national security today.

Barack Obama believes we need to have a debate about national security in this election, but he believes that Senator Hillary Clinton has appealed to the fears of the American people instead of our hopes. She has continued a trend of tough talk and tired politics that has contributed to a "Security Gap" in this nation. The "Security Gap" is the gap between the rhetoric of those who claim to be tough on national security, and the reality of growing insecurity caused by their decisions. A gap between Washington experience, and the wisdom of Washington's judgments. A gap between the rhetoric of those who tout their support for our troops, and the overburdened state of our military.

IRAQ: A FAILURE OF JUDGEMENT, A NEW STRATEGY NEEDED

The Surge: A Tactical Success, But a Strategic Failure: The surge succeeded in reducing violence since the record levels of late 2006. Attacks have leveled off or risen slightly in the early part of 2008. The goal of the troop surge was to create space for Iraq's political leaders to reach agreement to end Iraq's civil war. Since the surge began, more than 900 American troops have died, but the Iraqi government has not stepped up. The Iraqi government has not met its most important goals including figuring out what to do with Iraq's oil resources and providing basic public services. General David Petraeus, the top American commander in Iraq, himself said that no one "feels that there has been sufficient progress by any means in the area of national reconciliation."

A New Strategy Needed: At great cost, heroic American troops have found the right tactics to contain violence, but we still have the wrong strategy. Drawing down our troop presence is the best way to finally apply

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real pressure on the Iraqi government to make the political accommodations necessary to end the civil war. Barack Obama will immediately give his military commanders a new mission in Iraq: ending the war. He will immediately begin to remove our combat brigades from Iraq. He will remove troops at a pace of 1 to 2 brigades a month, and have all of our combat brigades out of Iraq within 16 months. And he will leave enough troops in Iraq to guard our embassy and diplomats, and a counter-terrorism force to strike al Qaeda if it forms a base that the Iraqis cannot destroy. And he will not build permanent bases in Iraq. During our drawdown, Obama will launch aggressive initiatives to press for reconciliation within Iraq, to achieve a new regional compact on stability in Iraq and the Middle East, and to address Iraq's humanitarian crisis.

A Clear Contrast: In 2002, as Washington lined up for war, Barack Obama had the judgment and courage to oppose it. The decision to go to war, one advanced by President George W. Bush and enabled by the support of Senators Clinton and John McCain, are not just words; they have had real consequences. The Iraq war has lasted longer than World War I and World War II, longer than the Civil War and the Revolution. Nearly 4,000 Americans have died. More than 60,000 have been injured and wounded. The U.S. may spend \$2.7 trillion on this war and its aftermath, yet we are less safe around the globe and more divided at home. Barack Obama has a plan to move beyond Iraq to address the threats we face around the globe.

THE CENTRAL FRONT: AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN

2007 was the most violent year in Afghanistan since the invasion in 2001. The United Nations estimated that violence increased 30 percent last year. Al Qaeda has built a stronghold in the tribal areas of northwestern Pakistan. Terror groups affiliated with or inspired by al Qaeda are flourishing around the world. As president, Barack Obama will:

Redeploy American Troops to Afghanistan. Barack Obama will deploy at least an additional two 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.

Strengthen NATO's Hand in Afghanistan: NATO currently has about 41,000 troops in Afghanistan. However, the 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. As president, Obama will work with European allies to end these burdensome restrictions and strengthen NATO as a fighting force.

Train and Equip the Afghan Army and Police: Barack Obama will strengthen the training and equipping of the Afghan army and police and increase Afghan participation in U.S. and NATO missions, so that there is more of an Afghan face on security.

Increase Non-Military Aid to Afghanistan by \$1 billion: To prevent the country's backsliding into chaos, Barack Obama would increase U.S. non-military aid to Afghanistan to \$3 billion. This aid would fund reconstruction, police and army training, embassy operations, and local projects including efforts to impact the lives of ordinary Afghans and to give farmers alternatives to growing opium poppies. The aid would also be tied to better performance by the Afghan national government, including anti-corruption initiatives and efforts to extend the rule of law across the country.

Strike Al Qaeda: Last summer, Barack Obama was criticized for challenging conventional thinking and saying that as president, if he had actionable intelligence about the whereabouts of al Qaeda leaders in Pakistan--and the Pakistanis cannot or will not act--then he will use highly targeted force to do so. At the time, Senator Clinton said Obama's statement was a "very big mistake." Over the last few months, the wisdom behind

Clinton's assertion was called into question as the Central Intelligence Agency successfully took out senior al Qaeda leader Abu Laith al Libi, in North Waziristan, Pakistan, in January.

THE FORGOTTEN CHALLENGES

The Iraq war has distracted us from challenges across the globe, from Islamic terrorism, to nuclear proliferation, and from climate change to competition from China. When Barack Obama is president, he will:

Dry Up Support for Terror

Strengthen Institutions to Fight Terrorism Overseas: Barack Obama will establish a Shared Security Partnership Program to invest \$5 billion over three years to improve cooperation between U.S. and foreign intelligence and law enforcement agencies. This program will include information sharing, funding for training, operations, border security, anti-corruption programs, technology, and the targeting of terrorist financing. And this effort will focus on helping our partners succeed without repressive tactics, because brutality breeds terror, it does not defeat it.

Launch a Public Diplomacy Effort: Barack Obama will launch a coordinated, multi-agency program of public diplomacy. He will open "America Houses" in cities across the Arab world. Modeled on the successful program the United States launched following World War II, America Houses would offer state-of-the-art English-language training programs, discussions, and a wide selection of current periodicals, newspapers, and literature. They would offer free Internet access and moderated programs that promote direct exchange with Americans. Obama also would 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. Together these initiatives will show the Muslim world the best America has to offer.

Offer an Alternative to Madrasas: Worldwide, an estimated 100 million children are not attending school, according to Human Rights Watch. This is a gap that extremists have stepped into with radical Muslim madrasas. Barack Obama would establish a \$2 billion Global Education Fund to eliminate the global education deficit and offer an alternative to extremist schools.

Speak Directly to Muslim Audience: Obama will personally lead diplomacy efforts, beginning with a speech at a major Islamic forum in the first 100 days of his administration. He will make clear that we 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.

Prevent Nuclear Terrorism

Set Goal of Nuclear-Free World: Obama believes in the commitment made under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty to work to ultimately eliminate nuclear stockpiles. Obama has said that America will not disarm unilaterally. Indeed, as long as nuclear weapons exist, the United States will retain a strong nuclear deterrent, but Obama will set new course for our nation and the world to reduce reliance on these weapons and prevent them from getting into dangerous hands.

Secure Nuclear Weapons Materials in Four Years: Barack Obama will lead a global effort to secure all nuclear weapons materials at vulnerable sites within four years – the most effective way to prevent terrorists from acquiring a nuclear bomb. Barack Obama will work with Russia to make sure nuclear weapons and nuclear weapons materials are secured. He will work with other countries to develop and implement a comprehensive set of standards to protect nuclear materials from theft. He also will increase the pace at which nuclear security detectors are placed at key border crossings.

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Work with Russia to Take Nuclear Weapons off Hair-Trigger Alert: The United States and Russia have thousands of nuclear weapons on hair-trigger alert. Maintaining this Cold War stance today is unnecessary and increases the risk of an accidental or unauthorized nuclear launch. As president, Barack Obama will work with Russia to find common ground and bring significantly more weapons off hair-trigger alert.

Negotiate to Dramatically Reduce Nuclear Stockpiles: Both the United States and Russia have not made sufficient progress to reduce the size of their nuclear arsenals. This has undermined commitments under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and efforts to secure and reduce the spread of nuclear materials around the world. Barack Obama will start by verifiably ending production of fissile material for weapons and by gaining agreement not to build new weapons. He will seek deep cuts with Russia and other nuclear powers to reduce global stockpiles dramatically by the end of his presidency.

Address North Korea's and Iran's Nuclear Programs: Barack Obama will use a combination of diplomacy and pressure both to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons and to eliminate North Korea's nuclear weapons program. He will also seek to strengthen the Nonproliferation Treaty so that any violation automatically triggers sanctions.

Strengthen Failing States, the Seedbeds of Terrorism and Conflict

Double Foreign Assistance to \$50 billion: As president, Barack Obama will double our annual investments in foreign assistance to \$50 billion by 2012 and ensure that these new resources are invested wisely with strong accountability measures.

Achieve the Millennium Development Goals: The United Nations (UN) has embraced the Millennium Development Goals, which aim to cut extreme poverty in half by 2015. In the Senate, Barack Obama co-sponsored the International Cooperation to Meet the Millennium Development Goals Act. As president, Obama will target new U.S. assistance to help the world's weakest states to build healthy and educated communities, reduce poverty, develop markets, and generate wealth. He will also work to ensure that increases in U.S. assistance are matched by our partners in the G-8.

Fight Corruption: We must couple our assistance abroad with an insistent call for reform, transparency and accountability. We must commit ourselves to spearheading an international initiative to root out corruption. As a starting point, an Obama administration will add corruption to the annual human rights reports prepared by the State Department. America must lead by example by making our own contracting decisions merit-based and transparent.

Enhance U.S. Leadership in the Effort to Combat HIV/AIDS, TB, and Malaria: There are an estimated 33 million people across the planet infected with HIV/AIDS. Barack Obama believes that we must do more to fight the global HIV/AIDS pandemic, as well as malaria and tuberculosis. The first priority should be to reauthorize the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), which is about to expire, but also to rewrite the bill to allow best practices – not ideology – to drive funding. In that context, Obama will commit \$50 billion over five years to strengthen the existing program and expand it to new regions of the world, including Southeast Asia, India, and parts of Europe.

Provide Sustainable Debt Relief to Developing Countries: The poorest countries in the world suffer under the weight of an enormous burden of external debt. Barack Obama wants to see 100 percent debt cancellation for the world's heavily-indebted poor countries. He is committed to living up to the promise to fully fund debt cancellation for Heavily-Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC). An Obama administration will press for reforms at

the World Bank to ensure that poor countries receive grants rather than loans, and that countries have the resources they need to respond to the external shocks that threaten to derail economic progress.

Combat Climate Change:

Combat Global Climate Change: Climate change is an unprecedented man-made threat to the environment. While American lives, property and natural habitat are at direct risk, the destabilization and conflict that will be caused by potential droughts, migrations, border disputes, and food and water shortages around the world also pose serious threats to U.S. national security. As the largest producer of greenhouse gases, America must lead by capping and reducing greenhouse emissions across the economy, and replacing more of our fossil fuels with clean-burning renewables and biofuels. Barack Obama would work towards binding, enforceable commitments from developed nations to reduce carbon emissions and provide more assistance to developing countries to help them fuel their growth with greener energy.

Launch the Global Energy and Environment Initiative (GEE): In his energy plan, Barack Obama called for the creation of a new Global Energy Forum of the world's largest greenhouse gas emitters. He also made clear that we cannot ignore the developing countries that are being worst affected by climate change and force them to tackle adaptation on their own. To that end, he will call on the Global Energy Forum to launch the GEE Initiative to bring developing countries into the global effort to develop alternative sources of energy and prepare for the ravages of a changing climate. An Obama administration will also create an Emerging Market Energy Fund to expand the developing world's renewable energy portfolio.

Maintain American Competitiveness

No nation has remained the world's strongest power without maintaining the world's strongest economy. China's rise may pose the most important foreign policy challenge to the U.S. in coming years. It is critical the U.S. do all it can to assure China's rise is peaceful, and, if it remains so, the U.S. should welcome China's continuing emergence and prosperity.

Address Challenge from China: As president, Barack Obama will work to build and expand areas where we can cooperate with China. For example, China is our fastest growing export market. Because of Washington's wasteful spending and flawed trade policy, China is now one of the world's largest holders of American debt. It is not in our economic or national security interests to permit China to hold such sway over us. In addition to getting our fiscal house in order, Obama feels strongly that we must vigorously defend U.S. trade interests with China by ensuring we operate on a level playing field. Obama will 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. We must strictly enforce our trade laws against unfair Chinese practices, refuse access to our market for unsafe Chinese products – like toys painted with lead paint – insist that Beijing crack down on intellectual property theft, and demand that China move to a market-based currency. Obama favors assistance for American workers hurt by the changing global economy, and much stronger efforts to ensure U.S. competitiveness globally.

REBUILDING THE TOOLS OF AMERICAN SECURITY

Renew American Diplomacy

Talk to Adversaries: Barack Obama believes that conducting diplomacy with your adversaries as well as your friends is a matter of common sense. It is also the lesson of our history: John F. Kennedy had a direct line to Nikita Khrushchev; Richard Nixon met with Mao Zedong; Ronald Reagan was negotiating arms agreements with Mikhail Gorbachev. Barack Obama knows that skillful diplomacy can drive wedges between adversaries; that the only way to know your enemy is to take their measure; and that tough talk is of little use if you're not willing to do it directly to adversaries. Obama is not afraid of losing a public relations battle to a dictator; he's

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ready for America to go before the world and win those battles, because that's how tough, smart diplomacy works, and that's how American leaders have scored some of the greatest strategic successes in US history.

Reset the Military

Expand to Meet Military Needs on the Ground: A major stress on our troops comes from insufficient ground forces. Barack Obama supports plans to increase the size of the Army by 65,000 troops and the Marines by 27,000 troops. Increasing our end strength will help units retrain and re-equip properly between deployments and decrease the strain on military families. As president, Obama will ensure that our troops have adequate rest between deployments.

Rebuild the Military for 21st-Century Tasks: As we rebuild our armed forces, we must meet the full-spectrum needs of the new century, not simply recreate the military of the Cold War era. The U.S. military must: build up our special operations forces, civil affairs, information operations, engineers, foreign area officers, and other units and capabilities that remain in chronic short supply; invest in foreign language training, cultural awareness, and human intelligence and other needed counterinsurgency and stabilization skill sets; and create a specialized military advisors corps, which will enable us to better build up local allies' capacities to take on mutual threats.

Guarantee Our Ground Forces Have the Proper Training for New Challenges: Obama is a co-sponsor of the Webb-Hagel plan to ensure that soldiers and Marines have sufficient training time before they are sent into battle. This is not the case at the moment, where American forces are being rushed to Iraq and Afghanistan, often with less individual and unit training than is required.

Use all the Tools of American Power

Build a National Security Apparatus for the 21st Century: In 1947, President Harry Truman signed the National Security Act of 1947 to fundamentally reorganize our instruments of statecraft following World War II. The act created the Department of Defense, the National Security Council, and the Central Intelligence Agency. Sixty years later, these organizations that were built to fight the Cold War may be outdated, and may have contributed to intelligence and planning breakdowns that led us to our failed strategy in Iraq. As president, Barack Obama will use the process of preparing the National Security Strategy – a statutory requirement from the Goldwater-Nichols Act of 1986 on each administration to submit an annual report to Congress setting out the nation's comprehensive strategic security objectives – 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 cyberterrorism.

Strengthen the State Department's Capacity to Prevent and Respond to Conflict: The State Department has an essential role as our lead diplomatic agency to assess the risk of conflict in developing countries, to act quickly to prevent and forestall violence, and to spearhead efforts to stabilize countries in the aftermath of conflict. As president, Barack Obama will ensure that the State Department has the authorities and resources to lead U.S. government efforts to prevent and respond to conflict. Obama will increase the size of the Foreign Service, fully fund the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization and create a new Office of Conflict Prevention and Resolution with senior ambassadors to support high-level negotiations and provide the expertise and capacity to seize opportunities or address crises as they arise. An Obama administration will also build a ready reserve corps of private civilians that can participate in post-conflict, humanitarian and stabilization efforts around the globe.

Integrate Civilian and Military Capacities: As the U.S. confronts new global challenges, greater cooperation between civilian and military agencies is essential. Barack Obama will 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. In Washington, an Obama administration will assert a powerful coordinating role for the National Security Council, with a Deputy National Security Advisor empowered 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.

Elevate, Streamline and Empower a 21st Century US Development Agency. Barack Obama will lead an effort to modernize our foreign assistance policies, tools, and operations. Obama will 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. He will ensure that this agency has the highest caliber leadership and plays a central role in the formulation and implementation of critical development and related foreign policy strategies. An empowered and elevated agency should be more nimble in the face of change and use tax dollars more responsibly.

Expand our Development Corps: We cannot expect more of our foreign assistance dollars without also hiring, training, and supporting a substantial new cadre of development experts to lead our efforts. In the 1960s and 1970s, USAID was widely seen as the most effective bilateral development agency overseas—nearly 15,000 full time development professionals worked on behalf of the U.S. government around the globe. Today, USAID has only 1,100 Foreign Service direct hires. As part of his effort to reform foreign assistance, Barack Obama will invest the necessary resources to staff a modern development agency prepared for the challenges of the 21st century.

Strengthen International Institutions

Strengthen the UN and Regional Organizations: Barack Obama supports renewed US leadership in support of effective United Nations and regional peace operations. Such missions engage nations around the world to bring stable peace to war-torn regions; to establish the rule of law and to prevent state failure; to address threats that are not easily contained by borders and boundaries; and to halt atrocities and genocide. Yet, our expectations of the UN have often not been met -- because obstructionist member states have blocked timely action (as on Darfur and in the UN Human Rights Council) and because corruption and management failures have undermined the UN's effectiveness. An Obama administration will pursue significant UN reforms at the same time as it improves the UN's ability to conduct future peace and stability operations. It will also work with other multinational actors that deploy peacekeeping forces like the African Union, the European Union, the Economic Community of West African States, and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to help strengthen their capacity to conduct such missions. As president, Obama will lead in the UN Security Council, work with Congress to ensure the US pays its peacekeeping assessments on time, and marry peacekeeping missions with serious diplomatic initiatives.

Bolster the North Atlantic Treaty Organization: For nearly 50 years, NATO was oriented to fighting the Cold War. NATO needs to continue its evolution to meet the emerging threats of the 21st century, including terrorism and weapons proliferation. Barack Obama will close the gap between NATO's expanding missions and its lagging capabilities. He will rally members to contribute more troops, and increase NATO's ability to deploy forces rapidly over long distances, and sustain high intensity operations for extended periods of time. He will work to streamline decision-making processes, and give commanders in the field more flexibility. And he will urge member states to invest more in reconstruction and stabilization.