



BARACK OBAMA: THE WAR WE NEED TO WIN

“It is time to turn the page. It is time to write a new chapter in our response to 9/11. . . . When I am president, we will wage the war that has to be won, with a comprehensive strategy with five elements: getting out of Iraq and on to the right battlefield in Afghanistan and Pakistan; developing the capabilities and partnerships we need to take out the terrorists and the world’s most deadly weapons; engaging the world to dry up support for terror and extremism; restoring our values; and securing a more resilient homeland.”

[Speech in Washington, DC, 08/01/07]

OBAMA’S PLAN TO DEFEAT TERRORISM WORLDWIDE

1. THE RIGHT BATTLEFIELD

“The first step must be getting off the wrong battlefield in Iraq, and taking the fight to the terrorists in Afghanistan and Pakistan.”

The Iraq war has made America less safe than it was before 9/11. According to the National Intelligence Estimate, Al Qaeda has reorganized to pre-9/11 strength and poses a “persistent and evolving” threat to the U.S. homeland. Iraq is a training ground for terror, torn apart by civil war. Afghanistan is more violent than it has been since 2001. 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. Barack Obama opposed the war in Iraq from the beginning and has a plan to responsibly end the war in Iraq so that we can focus on the right battlefield--Afghanistan and Pakistan. As president, Barack Obama will:

- **End the War in Iraq Responsibly.** In January 2007, Barack Obama introduced S. 433, the Iraq War De-escalation Act. Under that plan, we would already be drawing down our forces in Iraq – and ramping up the diplomatic surge necessary to put an end to the civil war in Iraq – with a goal of having all our combat troops out by March 31, 2008. Obama’s plan helped form the basis of the bill passed by the Senate and vetoed by President Bush. If Bush does not change course, then Barack Obama will make getting out of Iraq his first priority as president.

- **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 39,000 troops in Afghanistan. However, the force is short-staffed according to requirements laid down by NATO commanders. At the same time, some countries contributing forces are imposing restrictions on where their troops can operate, tying the hands of commanders on the ground. In particular, France and Germany have been unwilling to commit troops to areas where the fighting is heaviest. As president, Obama will work with European allies to end these burdensome restrictions and strengthen NATO as a fighting force. An increased U.S. commitment to the NATO mission will substantially strengthen our hand in asking for more from our European friends.
- **Train and Equip the Afghan Army and Police.** American Major General Robert Durbin, who oversees the training of Afghan security forces, recently said only 40 percent of the 70,000-strong police force is properly equipped with weapons, communication equipment and vehicles. The outgoing head of Canada's force in Afghanistan estimated it will take at least three years before Afghanistan's corruption-plagued police can stand on its own. 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.** Before the American invasion, Afghanistan was a failed state whose government did not provide for the security and needs of its people. It was the perfect environment in which al Qaeda could flourish. Today, Afghan security is undercut by lack of development, corruption, and drug trafficking. 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.
- **Demand More from Pakistan.** As was made clear in the recent National Intelligence Estimate, al Qaeda has successfully made the tribal areas of northwestern Pakistan a base to launch attacks into Afghanistan and beyond. As president, Barack Obama would condition U.S. military aid to Pakistan on their making progress to close down the training camps, evict foreign fighters, and prevent the Taliban from using Pakistan as a base to strike inside of Afghanistan. In addition, if the United States has actionable intelligence about high value terrorist targets and Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf will not act on it, an Obama Administration will. Obama also will increase aid to Pakistan for development and secular education to counter extremists.

2. CAPABILITIES AND PARTNERSHIPS

“The second step in my strategy will be to build our capacity and our partnerships to track down, capture or kill terrorists around the world, and to deny them the world’s most dangerous weapons.”

Barack Obama will strengthen America’s ability to fight and win the battles of the 21st Century, marshalling all the forces of the federal government, creating new partnerships with our friends and allies around the globe, and turning the page on failed Bush-Cheney diplomacy that refuses to reach out and have a dialogue with our enemies. As president, Barack Obama will:

- **Prepare the Military to Meet 21st-Century Threats.** Barack Obama will not hesitate to use military force to take out terrorists who pose a direct threat to America. This requires a broader set of capabilities, as outlined in the Army and Marine Corps’s new counterinsurgency manual. Obama will ensure that our military becomes more stealthy, agile, and lethal in its ability to capture or kill terrorists. He will recruit, train, and equip our armed forces to better target terrorists, and to help foreign militaries to do the same. This will include a program to bolster our military’s ability to speak different languages, understand different cultures, and coordinate complex missions with our civilian agencies.
- **Better Integrate Federal Agencies.** One of the greatest tactical failures in the occupation of Iraq was the inability to marshal the capabilities of American experts in the State Department and elsewhere to aid in the stabilization and rebuilding. Because of inadequate planning by civilian leaders, the military has been asked to carry this burden alone. As president, Barack Obama will integrate federal agencies and the military in stabilization and aid efforts. Obama will set up new Mobile Development Teams that bring together personnel from the State Department, Pentagon and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) to deploy to regions at risk.
- **Improve Intelligence Gathering at Home and Abroad.** Barack Obama will 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.
- **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.

- **End Nuclear Smuggling.** In the former Soviet Union, there are approximately 15,000-16,000 nuclear weapons and stockpiles of uranium and plutonium capable of making another 40,000 scattered across 11 time zones. People have been caught trying to smuggle nuclear materials to sell them on the black market. Barack Obama will lead a global effort to secure all nuclear weapons and material at vulnerable sites within four years. He will negotiate a verifiable global ban on the production of highly enriched uranium and plutonium for use in nuclear weapons. He also will fully implement the Lugar-Obama legislation to help our allies detect and stop the smuggling of weapons of mass destruction throughout the world.
- **Use All Instruments of Our Power.** President Bush has refused to directly negotiate with Iran, and North Korea, and those countries have continued developing nuclear weapons programs. Bush refused to deal with Syria, and that country is continuing to support terror in Lebanon, Iraq and beyond. Barack Obama believes we should use all instruments of our power, including diplomacy, to protect our interests. He's not afraid that he'd lose a public relations battle against a dictator. Obama has the strength to walk into any meeting and tell the leadership of any rogue nation the hard truths they don't want to hear – especially if it helps to advance the security interests of the United States.

3. DRYING UP SUPPORT FOR EXTREMISTS

“America must show – through deeds as well as words – that we stand with those who seek a better life. . . . As president, I will make it a focus of my foreign policy to contain and roll back the tide of hopelessness that gives rise to hate.”

Even the best military, intelligence, and police work in the world won't beat al Qaeda if we cannot stop the organization from rebuilding every time we break their network and kill their leaders. From Africa to Central Asia to the Pacific Rim, nearly 60 countries stand on the brink of conflict or collapse. These failed states are the perfect incubators for extremism and terror. Barack Obama will work to combat hopelessness around the globe and dry out the rising well of support for extremism. As president, Obama will:

- **Double U.S. Spending on Foreign Aid to \$50 Billion a Year by 2012.** Barack Obama would target this new spending towards strategic goals, including helping the world's weakest states to build democratic institutions, foster healthy and educated communities, reduce poverty and generate wealth. Obama also will ask our allies to contribute more support for diplomatic efforts, multilateral peacekeeping and efforts to rebuild societies ravaged by conflict.
- **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 invest part of increased U.S. assistance to establishing a \$2 billion Global Education Fund to eliminate the global education deficit and offer an alternative to extremist schools.

- **Launch a Public Diplomacy Effort.** World opinion of the United States has fallen significantly since September 11. According to the Pew Global Attitudes Survey, 80 percent of citizens of predominantly Muslim countries have solidly negative views of the United States. 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 in Germany 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 through the use of modern information technology. Obama also would launch a new “America’s Voice Corps” to rapidly recruit and train fluent speakers of local languages (Arabic, Bahasa Melayu, 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. Together these initiatives will show the Arab world the best America has to offer.
- **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 are not at war with Islam, 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.

4. RESTORING OUR VALUES

“We cannot win a war unless we maintain the high ground and keep the people on our side. But because the administration decided to take the low road, our troops have more enemies. Because the administration cast aside international norms that reflect American values, we are less able to advance our values. When I am president. . . we will again set an example for the world that the law is not subject to the whims of stubborn rulers, and that justice is not arbitrary.”

Barack Obama would restore America’s standing, reputation and authority in the world. As president, Obama will:

- **End the Use of Torture and Extreme Rendition.** Military and intelligence experts agree that torture is not an effective means of interrogation, and our using it threatens American troops serving abroad. From both a moral standpoint and a practical standpoint, torture is wrong. Barack Obama will end the use torture without exception. He also will eliminate the practice of extreme rendition, where we outsource our torture to other countries.
- **Close the Guantanamo Bay Detention Center.** Guantanamo has become a recruiting tool for our enemies. The legal framework behind Guantanamo has failed completely, resulting in only one conviction. President Bush’s own Secretary of Defense, Robert Gates, wants to close it. Former Secretary of State Colin Powell, wants to close it. The first step to reclaiming America’s standing in the world has to

be closing this facility. As president, Barack Obama will close the detention facility at Guantanamo. He will reject the Military Commissions Act, which allowed the U.S. to circumvent Geneva Conventions in the handling of detainees. He will develop a fair and thorough process based on the Uniform Code of Military Justice 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.

- **Revise the PATRIOT Act.** Barack Obama believes that we must provide law enforcement the tools it needs to investigate, disrupt, and capture terrorists, but he also believes we need real oversight to avoid jeopardizing the rights and ideals of all Americans. There is no reason we cannot fight terrorism while maintaining our civil liberties. Unfortunately, the current administration has abused the powers given to it by the PATRIOT Act. A March 2007 Justice Department audit found the FBI improperly and, in some cases, illegally used the PATRIOT Act to secretly obtain personal information about American citizens. As president, Barack Obama would 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.
- **Eliminate Warrantless Wiretaps.** Barack Obama opposed the Bush Administration's initial policy on warrantless wiretaps because it crossed the line between protecting our national security and eroding the civil liberties of American citizens. As president, Obama would update the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act to provide greater oversight and accountability to the congressional intelligence committees to prevent future threats to the rule of law.
- **Restore Habeas Corpus.** The right of habeas corpus allows prisoners to ask a court to determine whether they are being lawfully imprisoned. Recently, this right has been denied to those deemed enemy combatants. Barack Obama strongly supports bipartisan efforts to restore habeas rights. He firmly 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.

5. SECURING OUR HOMELAND

"Too often this administration's approach to homeland security has been to scatter money around and avoid hard choices, or to scare Americans without telling them what to be scared of, or what to do. A department set up to make Americans feel safer didn't even show up when bodies drifted through the streets in New Orleans. That's not acceptable."

The first responsibility of any president is to protect the American people. Yet, more than five years after the 9/11 attacks, our country is still unprepared. As president, Barack Obama will take every step to make our homeland more secure. He will:

- **Allocate Homeland Security Funding According to Risk.** Barack Obama believes that the president and Congress should direct our precious homeland security dollars according to risk, not as a form of general revenue sharing.
- **Review our Homeland Security Every Four Years.** Barack Obama will have the Department of Homeland Security complete a Quadrennial Review the same way the Pentagon does every four years. 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.
- **Create a Real National Infrastructure Protection Plan.** The federal government's National Asset Database, which is supposed to guide homeland security priorities, lists 77,069 potential U.S. targets including petting zoos and popcorn factories. Experts say this database is relatively useless for any level of homeland security planning. Barack Obama's Department of Homeland Security will develop a meaningful critical infrastructure protection plan across the nation and will work with the private sector to ensure that all real targets are prepared for disasters both natural and man-made.
- **Secure our Chemical Plants.** Chemical plants are potential terrorist targets because they are often located near cities, are relatively easy to attack, and contain multi-ton quantities of hazardous chemicals. While a number of plants have taken steps to improve security, there are still major gaps, and the federal government has never established meaningful, permanent security regulations. Barack Obama will establish a clear set of federal regulations that all plants must follow, including improving barriers, containment, mitigation, and safety training, and, where possible, using safer technology, such as less toxic chemicals.
- **Monitor our Ports.** Despite the 9/11 Commission's strong recommendation that the government significantly improve port security, the Bush Administration underfunded security at the nation's ports by more than \$1 billion for fiscal year 2005. Barack Obama has been a consistent supporter of strengthening our port security, and has voted for efforts to 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.
- **Protect our Energy Infrastructure.** An attack on our energy infrastructure could devastate our economy. Barack Obama will prioritize security investments in our refineries and pipelines and power grids.
- **Support First Responders.** During emergencies our nation's first responders -- police, firefighters, and emergency medical professionals -- come to the rescue. They deserve the tools necessary to get the job done safely and quickly. Unfortunately,

over the past few years the Bush administration has repeatedly attempted to significantly reduce support for our nation's first responders. Barack Obama has consistently fought attempts to undercut the base of our homeland security system. Obama is committed not only to rolling back the funding cuts that have affected first responders, but also to increasing federal resources and logistic support to local emergency planning efforts.

- **Improve Interoperable Communications Systems.** Our nation lost precious time during the 9/11 attacks and Hurricane Katrina because of the lack of a 21st-century communications network for first responders, local governments, and federal agencies. In January 2007, the Department of Homeland Security gave only six of 75 metropolitan areas high grades for emergency communications. These systems must enable communications across city, county, and state lines and there must be a system by which the federal government communicates with local entities. Barack Obama supports efforts to provide greater technical assistance to local and state first responders and dramatically increase funding for reliable, interoperable communications systems. He also supports a more rapid turnover of broadcast spectrum to first responders.
- **Improve Information Sharing and Analysis.** The attacks of September 11th demonstrated the critical importance of information sharing. While some progress has been made, we are still not good enough at "connecting the dots." State and local emergency officials represent more than 95 percent of America's counterterrorism capability, but they too often do not get actionable intelligence from federal sources. Barack Obama will improve our intelligence system by creating a senior position to coordinate domestic intelligence gathering; establishing a grant program to support thousands more state and local level intelligence analysts; and increasing our capacity to share intelligence across all levels of government.