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BARACK OBAMA: A STRONGER PARTNERSHIP WITH EUROPE FOR A SAFER AMERICA

"To renew American leadership in the world, I intend to rebuild the alliances, partnerships, and institutions necessary to confront common threats and enhance common security. Needed reform of these alliances and institutions will not come by bullying other countries to ratify changes we hatch in isolation. It will come when we convince other governments and peoples that they, too, have a stake in effective partnerships."

Barack Obama, *Foreign Affairs*, July 2007

BARACK OBAMA'S AGENDA FOR STRENGTHENING THE TRANSATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP

Barack Obama will reestablish America's strong partnership with our European allies. His presidency will restore the era – dating back to Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and others – when a U.S. president could rally European support because he was respected and admired abroad. After eight years of often gratuitous unilateralism, arrogance, and lack of diplomacy, Obama will treat allies with respect, repair America's damaged moral authority, and recreate a mutually beneficial partnership with valuable partners. At the same time, Barack Obama will ask more of our European friends. A more responsible and cooperative America will look to Europe to uphold its own responsibilities on issues such as Afghanistan, Iran, terrorism, Africa, and the environment.

Rebuild a Strong NATO and Rallying European Support for Afghanistan: Barack Obama believes in a strong NATO that brings peace and security to Europe and helps the United States meet security challenges around the world. As a U.S. senator, he has consistently supported the ongoing transformation of the Alliance from a Cold War security structure to a global partnership for peace and security. Barack Obama believes the process of NATO enlargement – which has helped countries throughout Central and Eastern Europe become more stable and democratic – should continue so long as new candidates for membership are democratic, peaceful, and willing to contribute to our common security.

As president, Barack Obama will rally America's European allies to support NATO's critically important mission in Afghanistan. That mission has exposed a gap between NATO's global responsibilities and its military capabilities. In a renewed U.S.-Europe partnership, President Obama will expect allies to commit more resources to this common mission and to remove some of the limits on what their troops in country can do. Senator Obama has called for deployment of at least two additional brigades of U.S. troops to Afghanistan and would expect that to be matched by enhanced contributions from our NATO allies. He is committed to success in Afghanistan and will encourage European allies to join the United States in enhancing and accelerating a multi-billion dollar effort for the reconstruction of Afghanistan over the next decade.

An Effective Partnership with the European Union: Barack Obama believes in a strong U.S. partnership with the European Union. The Bush administration's policy of "divide and rule," splitting Europe into those who were "with us or against us," has been counterproductive. The United States has an interest in a strong,

united, and peaceful Europe as a partner in global affairs. As president, Obama will continue to support Europe's strategy of enlargement, which has been history's most successful democratization strategy and has brought peace, stability and prosperity to millions. He will maintain an open economic relationship with the European Union, thus preserving the largest trade and investment partnership in the world and creating millions of American jobs and export opportunities.

Protect the Environment and Combat Climate Change: The Bush administration's failure to lead on environmental issues has been one of its most damaging legacies. Barack Obama will restore America's reputation as the country that stands up to meet the world's most pressing challenges by taking bold actions and insisting that its allies do the same. In an Obama administration, the United States will implement an economy-wide cap-and-trade program to reduce greenhouse gas emissions to the level recommended by top scientists to avoid calamitous impacts; invest \$150 billion over the next ten years to develop and deploy climate friendly energy supplies; improve energy efficiency to reduce the energy intensity of the U.S. economy by 50 percent by 2030; reduce our dependence on foreign oil and reduce oil consumption overall by at least 35 percent by 2030. He will make the United States a leader in the global effort to combat climate change by galvanizing new international partnerships. Europe will find an America that leads on the environment rather than one that avoids the issue.

Rally European Allies to Stop Proliferation in Iran: Barack Obama believes that the United States must work with our European partners to isolate Iran politically and economically if it continues to support terrorism and defy the Security Council's demand that it suspend uranium enrichment. To help achieve this goal, in May 2007 Senator Obama introduced the Iran Sanctions Enabling Act, which would pressure foreign companies to reconsider doing business with Iran by requiring the U.S. government to publish – every six months – a list of companies that invest more than \$20 million in Iran's energy sector. President Obama would work with key European allies to persuade the European Union as a whole to end its practice of extending large-scale credit guarantees to Iran. Unlike the Bush administration, President Obama would conduct direct talks with Iran, a move that would bolster support from our allies and demonstrate that any lack of progress from the Iranians is due to Tehran's refusal to cooperate, not a lack of seriousness or leadership from the United States.

Prudently Explore Missile Defenses in Europe: Barack Obama will spare no effort to protect Americans from the threats posed by nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles. With Iran actively moving forward with programs in both areas, it would be irresponsible not to explore the possibility of deploying missile defense systems in Europe to help protect against this threat. Such systems should only be deployed, however, if based on sound technology that works. Rather than rushing unilaterally to deploy an unproven system according to a political calendar, Obama will work closely with America's NATO allies to develop technologies to confront the full range of ballistic missile threats to America and its allies. He will fully consult Russia on prospects for mutually beneficial cooperation on missile defense but will not give Russia any veto over decisions about U.S. national security.

Restore the Strategic Partnership with Turkey: Barack Obama believes that a close relationship with a stable, democratic, Western-oriented Republic of Turkey is an important U.S. national interest. That relationship has been deeply strained in recent years, most importantly by the Bush administration's misguided and mismanaged intervention in Iraq, which has helped revive the terrorist threat posed to Turkey by the separatist Kurdish Workers Party (PKK). The result is that this strategically important NATO ally, the most advanced democracy in the Muslim world, is turning against the West—in recent polls only 12 percent of Turks had a favorable opinion of the United States. Obama will lead a diplomatic effort to bring together Turkish and Iraqi Kurdish leaders and negotiate a comprehensive agreement that deals with the PKK threat, guarantees Turkey's territorial integrity, and facilitates badly needed Turkish investment in and trade with the Kurds of northern Iraq. He will support the promotion of democracy, human rights, and freedom of expression in Turkey and support its efforts to join the European Union.

Strengthen Counterterrorism Policies through Judicial, Police and Intelligence Cooperation: Barack

Obama believes that America's intelligence, police and judicial partnerships with European allies are a critical component of our efforts to combat terrorism. By working to close the Guantánamo prison, forswearing the use of torture in law and in practice, and ending the operation of secret prisons, Obama will make it easier for otherwise reluctant European countries to extend full judicial cooperation with the United States.

Senator Obama supports the maintenance and expansion of the Visa Waiver Program, which enables citizens of close allies to visit the United States without a visa for tourism and business. This program is a potent symbol of American openness and confidence. Rather than end this program – a move that the U.S. Chamber of Commerce estimates would cost the U.S. economy \$66 billion in lost tourism revenue alone – Obama has strongly supported legislation to make it more secure and allow its extension to critical allies. In March 2007, he voted for a bill introduced by Senator Voinovich that would, among other measures, institute an electronic travel authorization (or “e-visa”) program, create an exit system to record the departure of all VWP participants from the United States, and require that all countries in the program report lost and stolen passports.

Lead on Disarmament in the Former Soviet Union: In 2005, Senator Obama traveled to the former Soviet Union with Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN) to investigate the dangers posed by unsecured weapons. The two senators returned from the trip and introduced legislation to establish the next generation of the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction initiative. Senator Obama helped shepherd this legislation through Congress, and it was signed into law in January 2007. The Lugar-Obama initiative builds on the Nunn-Lugar program, which has secured nearly 7,000 Soviet nuclear warheads, to reduce stockpiles of conventional weapons, including landmines and shoulder-fired missiles.

Advance Peace in Southeastern Europe: Barack Obama will work with European allies to preserve our gains and consolidate peaceful progress in the Balkans. Determined U.S. leadership to confront genocide and ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Kosovo during the 1990s shows what can be accomplished when we work closely with our European allies to stand up for basic human rights. Continued cooperation is needed in the wake of Kosovo's independence. Obama will insist that the rights of the Serb community in Kosovo and the security of Serbian religious sites be vigilantly protected and will work to encourage Serbia to seek its future in a stable and prosperous West. Russia must understand that its responsibilities as a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council, as a member of the Contact Group, and as a great power, require it to work constructively with the rest of the international community toward stability in the Balkans.

Seek a Just and Lasting Political Settlement on Cyprus: As President, Obama will show U.S. leadership in seeking to negotiate a political settlement on Cyprus. He believes strongly that Cyprus should remain a single country in which each of the two communities on the island is able to exercise substantial political authority in its own geographical zone – with a just and mutually agreed settlement of difficult issues like property, refugees, land, and security. A negotiated political settlement on Cyprus would not only end the island's tragic division but would pave the way to prosperity and peace throughout the entire region. It would finally give repose to the people of Cyprus after many years of division and uncertainty. It would help foster better Greek-Turkish relations, strengthen Turkish democracy, reduce the risk of military conflict, and remove a major obstacle to Turkish membership in the EU.

Work for Peace in Northern Ireland: Barack Obama, whose ancestors hail from Moneygall, Co. Offaly, Ireland, is committed to lasting peace in Northern Ireland, an American immigration policy that keeps faith with our tradition of offering opportunity to those who seek it, and strong economic and cultural ties between the United States and the island of Ireland. He welcomes the power-sharing executive that was established in Northern Ireland in May 2007. He recognizes that the historic political achievements of 2007 must be followed by economic development that benefits all of the people of Northern Ireland. Obama will work closely with the Irish Taoiseach, the British Prime Minister, and the Northern Ireland Executive to continue on this path of peace and prosperity.