

Full Evaluation and Ranking/Grading  
Document of Five Candidates in the  
2008 US Presidential Election

Evaluation and Ranking/Grading Document  
Completed by The Foundation for Democratic  
Advancement (October, 2008)

Purpose: Determine a ranking and grades for three main candidates for the 2008 US Presidency, in terms of the better representative of the United States as a whole.

This determination is an outside perspective to give the citizens of the American an informed different perspective of three candidates running for the 2008 US Presidency. The views in this Evaluation/Ranking/Grading are the views of the FDA. Also, the Determination is an example of a way to assist in the selection of political candidates--through evaluation and ranking/grading.

The five Main Candidates for the 2008 US Presidency:

John McCain (Republican)

Barack Obama (Democrat)

Ralph Nader (Third Party candidate—independent)

Bob Barr (Third party candidate—Libertarian Party)

Chuck Baldwin (Third Party candidate—The Constitution Party)

\* Though Mr. McCain and Mr. Obama are the main presidential candidates, Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Nader, and Mr. Barr were added due to the apparent quality of their candidacies. Mr. Paul was not added, because in September, 2008 he endorsed Mr. Baldwin for president.

The FDA and its members are in no way affiliated with any of the candidates in this study.

The study represents an independent assessment of five US Presidential candidates based on objectivity, transparency, and non-partisanship.

Methodology for Evaluation and Ranking of the US Presidential candidates:

Evaluate the candidates as representatives of the United States—  
backgrounds and visions.

Evaluate the policies of the respective political parties.

Key policy areas to be evaluated:

Economy: (sound, fiscal management of public revenue and expenditure, and fair distribution of government expenditure to all sectors of America.)

Health: (sound health care policy for Americans, which meets the needs of Americans and makes economic sense)

Environment: (more responsible, sustainable management of the United States environment)

Foreign policy (sound, responsible use of the United States' resources and military personnel outside in foreign lands)

Weighting:

Because the candidates are mere extensions of the parties, and party policies are significant in terms of what the candidate offers for the United States as a whole, policies are given triple the weight over the background of the candidates.

This weighting should not impact the significance of candidates' visions, because vision should be reflected in policies.

Overall: Establish the basic priority of the United States as a whole, and use the basic priority to evaluate and rank the candidates in terms of their backgrounds and visions.

The basic priority of the United States as a whole in terms of presidential representative:

Leadership—identifies issues and act on them, vision, strength to carry through, independent yet team player, and strong communication with public.

The FDA selected leadership because of the 2008 US and world economic troubles, and outstanding US foreign affairs issues including the ongoing occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan.

Methodology for Ranking:

Rank each candidate for the basic priority, and then rank overall based on a combination of the results for each candidate section.

The policy sections to be evaluated correspond to the basic priorities for policy:

1. sound, fiscal management of public revenue and expenditure, and fair distribution of government expenditure to all sectors of the United States
2. sound health care policy for Americans, which meets the needs of Americans and makes economic sense
3. more responsible, sustainable management of the American environment
4. sound, responsible use of American resources and military personnel in foreign lands

Evaluate the policies of the political parties in each policy section based on a comparison of the political parties' policies in light of the basic priorities and comparative soundness.

Chief Evaluator:

Stephen Garvey, President and CEO of the FDA. Mr. Garvey has recent experience working on the Baker Mountain Quality of Life Assessment, Evaluation/Ranking/Garding of the 2008 Canadian Federal Election—Kootenay-Columbia riding, 2008 Alberta Provincial parties in the 2008 Alberta election, and the Alderman candidates in the 2007 Lethbridge Alberta, Municipal election.

**Information sources:**

Media articles and analysis of candidates.

Political parties policy statements, including policy promises.

Speeches by the candidates.

---

## Table of Contents:

Background of Candidates

Vision of Candidates

Three policy areas:

Economy

Health

Environment

Foreign Affairs

Overall Totals

Analysis

Conclusion

# Backgrounds

## John McCain

### **Age**

72

### **Religion**

Raised Episcopalian; now attends a Southern Baptist church.

### **Education**

National War College, attended courses, 1973-1974

United States Naval Academy, B.S., 1958

### **Candidacy Status**

Formally declared candidacy April 25, 2007.

### **Political Experience**

U.S. Senator from Arizona, 1987-present

U.S. Representative from Arizona, 1983-1987

### **Professional Experience**

Senate Navy Liaison, 1977-1981

United States Navy 1958-1981

### **Family Information**

Spouse: Cindy Hensley McCain

Children: Sidney McCain, Doug Shepp, Andrew Shepp, Meghan McCain, John Sidney McCain IV, James McCain, Bridget McCain

First elected to the U.S. House of Representatives from Arizona in 1982, John has led the fight for reforming Washington, eliminating wasteful government spending, and strengthening our nation's armed forces.

John McCain's reform agenda to reduce federal spending and lower taxes quickly elevated him to statewide office and he was elected to the United States Senate in 1986, after serving two terms in the U.S. House.

In the Senate, John continued to demand that Congress put an end to loopholes for special interests and fix the broken system in Washington that too often allows lobbyists to write legislation and members of Congress to waste taxpayer money. In November 2004, Senator McCain was overwhelmingly reelected with nearly 77 percent of the vote.

As the son and grandson of distinguished Navy admirals, John McCain deeply values duty, honor and service of country. John attended college at the United States Naval Academy, and launched a 22-year career as a naval aviator upon his graduation. He continued the McCain tradition of service to country passed down to him from his father and grandfather when he asked to serve in the Vietnam War.

On July 29 1967, John narrowly survived the first of many near-death experiences during his lifetime while preparing to take off on a bombing mission over North Vietnam from his ship, the USS Forrestal. A missile accidentally fired from a nearby plane struck the fuel tanks on John's plane and created a deadly inferno aboard the ship. John barely escaped the fiery disaster that killed 134 men, injured hundreds more and destroyed 20 planes.

Instead of taking the option to return home after the Forrestal disaster, Senator McCain volunteered for more combat duty - a fateful decision that stopped the clock on his life and separated him from his family, and country, for five and a half years.

During his 23rd bombing mission on October 26, 1967, a missile struck John's plane and forced him to eject, knocking him unconscious and breaking both his arms and his leg. John was then taken as a prisoner of war into the now infamous "Hanoi Hilton," where he was denied necessary medical treatment and often beaten by the North Vietnamese. John spent much of his time as a prisoner of war in solitary confinement, aided by his faith and the friendships of his fellow POWs. When he was finally released and able to return home years later, John continued his service by regaining his naval flight status.

Senator McCain's last Navy duty assignment was to serve as the naval liaison to the United States Senate. John retired from the Navy in 1981. His naval honors include the Silver Star, Bronze Star, Legion of Merit, Purple Heart, and the Distinguished Flying Cross.

Senator McCain has seven children and four grandchildren, and currently lives in Phoenix, Arizona with his wife Cindy.

**John Sidney McCain III**, a [Republican](#), has represented [Arizona](#) in the [United States Senate](#) since 1986. He is the Republican candidate for President in the 2008 Presidential election.<sup>[1]</sup> He was a presidential candidate in the 2000 election, but was defeated in the Republican primaries by then-Texas Governor and now President [George W. Bush](#).

Summary:

Political: 25 years experience in US senate and congress

Professional: 27 years in US navy; received 5 navy honors

## Barack Obama

a [Democrat](#), is the junior [Senator](#) from [Illinois](#) ([map](#)). He is the only African-American currently serving in the U.S. Senate, the fifth in U.S. history and the third since [Reconstruction](#). He is the Democratic Party nominee for president in 2008.

Obama was born August 4, 1961 in Honolulu, Hawaii. Obama studied for two years at Occidental College, before transferring to Columbia University. There he majored in political science, with a specialization in international relations. Upon graduation, he worked for a year at newsletter publisher Business International (now part of [The Economist Group](#)), and moved to Chicago, where he was a community organizer in the [Altgeld Gardens](#) housing project on the city's South Side. It was during his time spent here that Obama joined the Trinity United Church of Christ.<sup>[1]</sup>

He left Chicago to study law at Harvard University, where he was elected the first black president of the *Harvard Law Review*. He graduated *magna cum laude*. After law school, he returned to Chicago and organized an aggressive voter registration effort that registered over 100,000 voters and aided in the election of President [Bill Clinton](#) and Senator [Carol Moseley Braun](#), the first African-American woman ever elected to the U.S. Senate. Soon after, he joined a local civil rights law firm, and he became a lecturer of constitutional law at the University of Chicago.

[\[edit\]](#)

#### Political career

In 1996, Obama was elected to the [Illinois State Senate](#) from the south side neighborhood of Hyde Park, in Chicago. He served as chairman of the Public Health and Welfare Committee when the Democrats regained control of the chamber. Regarded as a staunch liberal, but also "respected ... as a bipartisan dealmaker," during his tenure in the legislature, he helped to author a state [Earned Income Tax Credit](#) that provided benefits to the working poor. He also worked for legislation that would cover residents who could not afford health insurance. He successfully helped pass bills to increase funding for [AIDS](#) prevention and care programs. Obama also passed bills that put limits on racial profiling and put cameras in police interrogation rooms. <sup>[2]</sup>

In 2000, he ran unsuccessfully in the Democratic primary for Illinois' 1st Congressional district against incumbent [Bobby Rush](#). Rush had suggested during the campaign that Obama "wasn't black enough" for the position. Rush received 61% of the vote, while Obama received 30%. <sup>[3]</sup>

Obama was chosen to deliver a keynote address at the 2004 Democratic National Convention in Boston, Massachusetts.

The April 18 2005 issue of *TIME* magazine listed the 100 most influential people in the world. Obama was included on the list under the section of 'Leaders and Revolutionaries' for his high-profile entrance to federal politics and his popularity within the Democratic Party. <sup>[4]</sup> British journal the *New Statesman* listed Obama as one of 10 people who will change the world in its October 2005 edition.

[\[edit\]](#)

#### 2004 Senate Race

In 2004, Obama ran for the U.S. Senate seat to be vacated by Sen. [Peter Fitzgerald](#). Obama squared off against Republican [Jack Ryan](#), who ultimately had to drop out of the race due to sensationalistic scandal. [Alan Keyes](#) was chosen as the new GOP candidate. Keyes had gained much attention as a conservative firebrand in his unsuccessful presidential campaigns in 1996 and 2000. A Marylander, Keyes had established legal residency in Illinois with the nomination, the only requirement to run for office. The *Chicago Tribune* sarcastically greeted Keyes by editorializing: "Mr. Keyes may have noticed a large body of water as he flew into O'Hare. That is called Lake Michigan." After a campaign in which Keyes called Obama's position on abortion, "the slave-holder's position", accused gays and lesbians of being "selfish hedonists", and claimed that Jesus would not vote for his opponent, Obama won handily in the general election, receiving 70% of the popular vote to Keyes's 27%.

[\[edit\]](#)

#### First moves as a senator

Obama was sworn in on January 4, 2005. He ranked 99th out of 100 Senators in terms of official seniority (greater seniority brings greater privileges in the Senate).

Obama's first action in the Senate was to decline to be the Senate co-sponsor of a move to question Ohio's Electoral College votes following the 2004 presidential election. He then voted against the resolution. <sup>[5]</sup>

Obama came to the Senate with a plan that resembled the career of another high-profile Senator's first term, [Hillary Clinton](#). Obama's "Plan" called for him to focus his energies on his home state, and in spite of overtures from more liberal activists, to stay out of the spotlight. In the first few months Obama held 39 town hall meetings. However, the devastation of Hurricane Katrina and the picture of class and race that it exposed caused Obama to step into the national spotlight sooner than he expected. He said of his first year, "I could have been much more quiet this year than I have been and gotten away with it ... People would have explained it as, 'He is taking the Hillary model.'" <sup>[6]</sup>

[\[edit\]](#)

2008 presidential race

Obama announced on January 16, 2007 that he would "create a presidential exploratory committee" as the first step towards his potential candidacy for the [2008 presidential election](#) <sup>[7]</sup>

On February 10, 2007, he announced in Springfield, Illinois that he would indeed [seek the presidency in 2008](#). <sup>[1]</sup>

Also in February 2007, [Dan Shapiro](#) announced that he would become Obama's political advisor/strategist. <sup>[8]</sup> Shapiro was a long-time political operative on Capitol Hill, and was previously an advisor to Sen. [Bill Nelson](#) (D-Fla.). The appointment of Shapiro coincided with Obama's desire to deliver several speeches (including at the March 2007 [AIPAC](#) annual conference) to stress his devotion to Israel.

Shmuel Rosner described his view of the events in his Haaretz blog: "Oh, let's just say it: Jewish voters are major donors to the Democratic Party and its nominees." <sup>[9]</sup> Worth noting is that Lee Rosenberg, AIPAC's treasurer, is also "a backer, and a member of Obama's finance committee." <sup>[10]</sup> On July 11, 2007, the Obama campaign appointed [Eric Lynn](#) as its "liaison to Jewish Community" and advisor on Middle East issues. <sup>[11]</sup>

Immediately after his appointment, Lynn beamed out an email that can be seen [here](#). It's subject was "Barack Obama: A Strong Record of Supporting Israel."

## Summary

Political: 4 years in state congress, 4 years in US Senate (junior senator)

Professional: lawyer and lecturer in constitutional law

## Ralph Nader

Ralph Nader is a political activist and consumer advocate. He unsuccessfully ran for U.S. President in [1996](#), [2000](#), and [2004](#). Nader announced on [February 24, 2008](#) that he would run as a third party candidate for President in the [2008 race](#).

### Fast Facts

[February 27, 1934](#): Born

Grew up in [Winsted, Connecticut](#)

[1958](#): Graduated from [Harvard Law School](#)

[1965](#): Wrote [Unsafe at Any Speed](#)

### Life and History

Ralph Nader is a political activist and five time presidential candidate. He often speaks up against what he views to be the running of American government by corporations. In his [2008](#) candidacy platform, he raised impeachment of [President Bush](#) and [Vice President Cheney](#) as a key matter.

In the [2000](#) election, many [Democrats](#) credited Nader with being responsible for pulling away a lot of the Democratic votes from [Al Gore](#), thus causing Gore to lose the election to Bush.

He is the first ever [Arab](#)-American U.S. presidential candidate. He has also written a number of books that deal with his beliefs on public policy.

In 1955 Ralph Nader received an AB magna cum laude from the Woodrow Wilson School of International Affairs Princeton University, with a major in East Asian studies, which afforded him the opportunity to study Chinese and Russian.

In 1958, he received a LLB with distinction from Harvard Law School.

After a six-month spell in the Army in 1959, Ralph traveled through Latin America, Africa and Europe, where he gained first hand witness of the time's great social struggles and interviewed world leaders as a freelance journalist.

He began practicing law in Hartford, Connecticut in 1959 and from 1961-63 he lectured on history and government at the University of Hartford.

### Consumer Advocate

Nader's career as a public advocate started at the age of 31 with an article titled "The Safe Car You Can't Buy," which along with his subsequent book, "Unsafe at Any Speed," documented safety defects in U.S. cars and criticized the automobile industry's safety practices, specifically targeting the Corvair.

Helped by testimony from the CEO of General Motors that the company had hired a private detective to investigate Nader's private life, the book became a best seller.

Nader subsequently sued GM for invasion of privacy and received \$425,000 in an out-of-court settlement. He invested and used the money as a de facto philanthropic fund for his projects aimed at strengthening civil society.

Nader's research on auto safety and his lobbying in Washington helped push Congress to pass the 1966 National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act.

He also lobbied for the 1967 Wholesome Meat Act, which called for federal inspections of beef and poultry and imposed standards on slaughterhouses, the 1967 Freedom of Information Act and the 1970 Clean Air Act.

In 1969, he helped found the Center for Study of Responsive Law (CSRL), a non-profit organization staffed mostly by college, graduate and law students. Those students became known as “Nader’s Raiders” and studied and issued reports on a variety of consumer issues.

In his career as consumer advocate he founded many organizations including the Public Interest Research Group (PIRG), the Center for Auto Safety, Public Citizen, Clean Water Action Project, the Disability Rights Center, the Pension Rights Center, the Project for Corporate Responsibility and The Multinational Monitor (a unique monthly magazine that keeps tabs on corporate behavior internationally).

Summary:

Political: ran five times, unsuccessfully for US president; credited for preventing Al Gore from winning the 2000 election, by attracting votes away from Gore. (Never been an elected official.)

Professional: author on consumer protection; extensive non-profit work including setting up various non-profit organizations; advocate for consumer protection; lawyer

## Bob Barr

**Bob Barr** is the 2008 Libertarian nominee for President of the United States. Previously, he represented the 7<sup>th</sup> District of Georgia in the U. S. House of Representatives from 1995 to 2003, serving as a senior member of the Judiciary Committee, as Vice-Chairman of the Government Reform Committee, and as a member of the Committee on Financial Services. He now practices law with the Law Offices of Edwin Marger, and runs a consulting firm, Liberty Strategies LLC, headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia and with offices in the Washington, D.C. area. Barr works tirelessly to help preserve our fundamental right to privacy and our other civil liberties guaranteed in the Bill of Rights. From 2003 to 2008, he occupied the *21<sup>st</sup> Century Liberties Chair for Freedom and Privacy* at the American Conservative Union. Since 1997 he has served as a Board Member of the National Rifle Association. Bob is also a member of The Constitution Project’s Initiative on Liberty and Security, and he served from 2003 to 2005 as a member of a project at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University addressing matters of privacy and security. In fact, recognizing Bob Barr’s leadership in privacy matters, *New York Times* columnist William Safire has called him “Mr. Privacy.” Barr serves as a board member for Privacy International, an international watchdog group headquartered in London.

Bob has appeared on virtually every major cable and network television program dealing with public policy matters, and has served as a contributor for CNN. He has written a regular column for the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, hosted a nationally-syndicated weekly radio show, and served as Contributing Editor for *The American Spectator*. Bob’s writings appear in numerous academic, local, regional, national and international publications. He is the author of “The Meaning of Is, The Squandered Impeachment and

Wasted Legacy of William Jefferson Clinton,” published by Stroud & Hall. He is a member of the Board of Advisors for the *Georgetown Journal of Law and Public Policy*.

Bob has served as an adjunct professor at Kennesaw State University in Kennesaw, GA, and serves as a national officer for Tau Kappa Epsilon Fraternity.

Bob was appointed by President Reagan to serve as the United States Attorney for the Northern District of Georgia (1986-90), and served as President of Southeastern Legal Foundation (1990-91). He was an official with the CIA from 1971-78.

Barr is a speaker with the All American Speakers Bureau ([www.allamericanspeakers.com](http://www.allamericanspeakers.com)). He has traveled widely and spoken to audiences across America and internationally, and has served as an official member of the U.S. delegation at several major United Nations conferences.

## Summary

Political: 8 years in US House of Representatives

Professional: lawyer, author, public speaker, various non-profit work dealing with civil liberties in particular privacy, 1986-1990 US Attorney General for the Northern District of Georgia, 1971-1978 official with the CIA.

## Chuck Baldwin

Chuck was born on May 3, 1952, to Mr. & Mrs. Edwin J. Baldwin in La Porte, Indiana. Ed Baldwin was a welder by trade and a converted alcoholic. His life story has been played over the international radio program, "Unshackled." He was a lay preacher in the jails and prisons of Northern Indiana for over 35 years.

Chuck is married to the former Miss Connie Kay Cole. Chuck and Connie were married on June 2, 1973 after meeting in college. They have three children. All three children and their families are active, dedicated Christians. Their daughter, Sarah, is married to Allan Baker, a Structural Engineer. They have three children, Emily, Jay and Amy. One son, Christopher, is married to the former Miss Jana McCoy. They have three sons: Charles, James, and Jeb. Chris owns his own plumbing construction business. The youngest son, Timothy, is a former Florida Assistant State Attorney (called District Attorney in some states) who now owns his own law firm. All three children and their families reside in Pensacola.

As a young man, Chuck had decided to pursue a career in law enforcement. His plan was to join the U.S. Marine Corps and afterward begin working as a Deputy Sheriff in La Porte County, Indiana. The Sheriff at that time was Cliff Arnold. (Arnold later became an Indiana State Representative.) Mr. Arnold had told Chuck that following his tour in the Marines, a position at the Sheriff's office was waiting for him. All that changed in the summer of 1970 when Chuck answered the divine call to Gospel ministry. As a result, instead of joining the Marines, Chuck enrolled in Bible College.

After graduating from La Porte High School in 1971 Chuck attended Midwestern Baptist College in Pontiac, Michigan, for two years. He then married and moved to Lynchburg, Virginia. He enrolled in the Thomas Road Bible Institute (now known as the Liberty Bible Institute at Liberty University) and graduated with his Bible Diploma. He then earned his Bachelor of Theology and Master of Theology degrees via external degree programs from Christian Bible College in Rocky Mount, North Carolina. Chuck received his first honorary Doctor of Divinity degree from Christian Bible College. He received his second honorary Doctor of Divinity degree from Trinity Baptist College in Jacksonville, Florida. On this occasion Dr. Baldwin brought the Commencement Address to a crowd of over 5,000.

Dr. Baldwin and his wife met with four others on June 22, 1975, for the first meeting of the Crossroad Baptist Church. The church was organized in September of that year. Six acres of prime property were purchased in 1978. In 1985 the church was recognized by President Ronald Reagan for its unusual growth and influence. The church has gone through five building programs and has just move into its current 750-seat auditorium and office complex. The church plans to next construct a gymnasium/youth center. Some of the choice spiritual and political leaders of the nation have spoken in this pulpit including Liberty University Chancellor Jerry Falwell, Reform Party Presidential Candidate Pat Buchanan, Alabama Supreme Court Chief Justice Roy Moore, Evangelist Pete Rice, U.S.S. Pueblo Intellegence Officer Lt. Commander Steven Harris, Author Salem Kirban, Vietnam Veteran/Evangelist Tim Lee, Author & Liberty University Professor Harold Willmington, Rep. Joe Scarborough, Rep. Jeff Miller, Tortured For Christ Author Harlan Popov, Evangelist Chuck Millhuff, Pastor Walt Hanford, Author/Evangelist Don Boys, Author/Evangelist/ WW II Veteran Kenny McComas, Captain Eugene "Red" McDaniel, Businessman Stanley Tam, Dr. Reed Bell, "Top Gun" Pilot/Gulf War Veteran Commander Sandy Jones, Alabama Governor Fob James, Jr., Rev. Jesse Lee Peterson, 2000 Constitution Party Presidential Candidate Howard Phillips, Reform Party Vice Presidential Candidate Ezola Foster, D. James Kennedy Associate Janet Folger, 2004 Constitution Party Presidential Candidate Michael Peroutka, Former Pastor of the Indianapolis Baptist Temple, Dr. Greg Dixon, Ambassador Alan Keyes, and others.

Dr. Baldwin is the host of a lively, hard-hitting radio talk show called, "Chuck Baldwin Live." This is a daily, one hour long call-in show in which Dr. Baldwin addresses current event topics from a conservative Christian point of view. This program, which has been on the air for nearly seven years now, has been highly successful in helping to elect conservatives to local, state and national offices. "Chuck Baldwin Live" is regarded as perhaps the most influential voice in the Florida Panhandle for conservative, Christian principles. Thousands of concerned citizens are being informed and inspired to social and political activism as a direct result of this radio talk show. Chuck's guest list reads like a "Who's Who" from both the local and national scene. The program made its national debut in early May 2001 on the Genesis Communications Network.

From 1980-1984 Dr. Baldwin served as Pensacola Chairman, and then State Chairman of

the Florida Moral Majority. Through these efforts many successful rallies and conferences were conducted. (One rally drew nearly 2,000 people during a driving rain storm.) Pro-family legislation was enacted, and Christians were educated as to moral-political information and involvement. Also, thousands of new conservative voters were generated.

Chuck has authored two books. The first is entitled "Subjects Seldom Spoken On" which contains eleven sermons not normally addressed. The second, "This Is The Life," is a verse-by-verse exposition of the Epistles of John. Numerous theological booklets have also been written by Dr. Baldwin, including the popular, "Let's Look at Legalism." Through his radio program Dr. Baldwin has edited and produced "The Freedom Documents." This volume contains over fifty of the most important and influential documents of American history. No where else that we know of can you find these great, historic documents under one title. Chuck also writes daily editorials that are sent to thousands of subscribers electronically. These editorial opinions are carried by several newspapers, newsletters, and Internet web sites around the country.

Chuck Baldwin is a prolific writer/columnist whose articles and political commentaries are carried by a host of Internet sites, newspapers, and news magazines. His columns have appeared in such national publications as Insight magazine. His articles are featured regularly on Internet news sites such as World Net Daily, Covenant News, News With Views, Alan Keyes' Renew America, Gulf1, Web Today and a host of others. His columns also appear regularly in newspapers such as the Greenville, South Carolina Times Examiner and The Independent Florida Sun.

Chuck has appeared on virtually every local media outlet in the Pensacola, Florida area including television, radio, and newspaper. He has also appeared on national television networks, including CNN and MSNBC. ABC television news once filmed his radio broadcast for a feature story. He has appeared on prime time national news shows such as Scarborough Country on MSNBC and Anderson Cooper on CNN. He has also appeared on the German Radio Network, and the British Broadcasting Corporation's television network. Chuck has also been featured in national magazines and newspapers such as Esquire, The Miami Herald, and The Washington Times.

On May 2, 2004, Constitution Party Presidential Candidate Michael Peroutka asked Dr. Baldwin to join him as his Vice Presidential running mate for the 2004 general election. The Constitution Party officially selected Michael Peroutka as its Presidential candidate and Dr. Chuck Baldwin as its Vice Presidential candidate at its national convention in Valley Forge, Pennsylvania on June 25th and 26th, 2004.

Chuck Baldwin has preached in churches all over the United States and overseas. He has spoken (Chuck's Speeches) at several notable events including being the keynote speaker at the 50th anniversary of D-Day celebration at the Naval Air Station, Pensacola, Florida.

Dr. Baldwin has been proclaimed an honorary member of both the Pensacola City Council and the Women for Responsible Legislation. He has appeared before the Tiger

Bay Club as well as several civic organizations. He has also been the guest of honor at a meeting of the Sons of Confederate Veterans. He was also awarded the Bronze Medal of Patriotism by the Sons of the American Revolution.

Twice, Dr. Baldwin was proclaimed "Minister Of The Day" in the Florida House of Representatives. Recently, this distinction was awarded him by the Florida State Senate. Also, Pastor Baldwin has had audiences with former Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush, Sr. and Governors Bob Martinez, Fob James, Jr. and Jeb Bush. He has also been officially recognized by the Escambia County Florida Sheriffs Department as an Honorary Deputy Sheriff.

Dr. Baldwin is a member of the Board of Directors for Gospel Radio Latin America (G.R.L.A.) in Ft. Worth, Texas, and on the Board of Regional Vice Presidents for Trinity Baptist College in Jacksonville, Florida. He received the "National Medal of Patriotism" award from the American Police Hall of Fame and is a volunteer chaplain at the State Prison in Century, Florida. He is also listed in "Who's Who of the Gulf Coast."

#### Summary

Political: ran as US vice president nominee in 2004

Professional: over 35 years lay preacher in jails, minister, author.

#### Background Evaluation:

Basis for evaluation: Leadership--identifies issues and act on them, vision, strength to carry through, independent yet team player, and strong communication with public.

Score	McCain	Obama	Nader	Barr	Baldwin
	9/10	5/10	8/10	8/10	4/10

Rational: McCain has extensive experience serving America in the Navy and extensive political experience in the US House of Representatives and Senate; Obama has minimal political and professional experience; Nader has extensive experience with consumer protection in other civil areas, and political experience from running in five presidential elections; Barr has political experience in the US House of Representatives, and extensive experience in civil liberties; Baldwin has minimal political experience and professional experience limited to being a preacher and minister.

# Vision for America

## John McCain

Country first before anything else  
Keep nation prosperous, strong and growing  
More independence from foreign oil sources  
Make health care more accessible  
Continue war in Iraq and Afghanistan until successful

## Barack Obama

Claimed change in the policies of federal government and politics of Washington  
Help the lower income bracket of America—health care reform, tax cuts  
Continue war in Afghanistan  
Unite America by overcoming divisions like race  
Fix the economy  
Improve America's reputation abroad with less unilateralism

Change unclear? Political—Obama received millions in donations.

(Policies differ very little from McCain's)

## Ralph Nader

Shift the power in America from “corporate interests’ and corporate governments’ autocratic control” to the American people.  
National health care  
Secure a living wage for workers

## Bob Barr

Less government in all  
aspects of federal government whether foreign policy or the economy.

Less government from Barr's standpoint translates into a more prosperous, functioning society.

## Chuck Baldwin

An independent America from foreign ownership in any form in the US  
“a free sovereign, republic”  
emphasis on individual liberty, less government

freedom of choice within market  
protection of America—America first policy

### Vision Evaluation:

Basis for evaluation: Leadership--identifies issues and act on them, vision, strength to carry through, independent yet team player, and strong communication with public.

Score	McCain	Obama	Nader	Barr	Baldwin
	5/10	5/10	10/10	6/10	4/10

Rational: Nader's vision for a shift in power from corporate interests to the American people is on target for the source of America's internal problems; McCain and Obama's visions are general and obvious; Barr's vision of less government is sound, but not complete (viz., less government is not the answer to America's problems; Baldwin's protectionism is counter productive to America's interests and the global direction of the world.

# Economic

## John McCain

\$52bn pension rescue plan:

- Temporarily guarantee savings accounts
- Reduce taxes on retirement accounts
- Increase investor loss write-offs from \$3,000 to \$15,000
- Cut in capital gains tax on share profits from 15% to 7.5%

### Bring The Budget To Balance By 2013

John McCain will balance the budget by the end of his first term. The near-term path to balance is built on three principles:

**Reasonable economic growth.** Growth is an imperative - historically the greatest success in reducing deficits (late 1980s; late 1990s) took place in the context of economic growth.

**Comprehensive spending controls.** Bringing the budget to balance will require across-the-board scrutiny of spending and making tough choices on new spending proposals.

**Bi-partisanship in budget efforts.** Much as the late 1990s witnessed bipartisan efforts to put the fiscal house in order, bi-partisan efforts will be the key to undoing the recent spending binge.

In the long-term, the only way to keep the budget balanced is successful reform of the large spending pressures in Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid.

McCain Policies Will Support Reasonable Economic Growth: Small business is the key to job growth. Small business will benefit from:

Low individual tax rates - sole-proprietorships, partnerships, landlords and others are taxed under the individual income tax.

Access to capital from low tax rates on dividends and capital gains.

Minimizing expensive mandates - such as those for health insurance and pro-union initiatives like card check.

Enhancing international competitiveness to keep jobs here; not abroad.

A lower corporate tax rate.

Improved investment and research incentives to ensure that workers have the most modern technology.

Bringing the budget to balance, reducing federal borrowing, and controlling spending to reduce the burden on the economy.

Comprehensive Spending Controls: John McCain will institute broad reforms to control spending:

The McCain administration would reserve all savings from victory in the Iraq and Afghanistan operations in the fight against Islamic extremists for reducing the deficit. Since all their costs were financed with deficit spending, all their savings must go to deficit reduction.

A one-year spending pause. Freeze non-defense, non-veterans discretionary spending for a year and use those savings for deficit reduction. A one-year pause in the growth of discretionary spending will be imposed to allow for a comprehensive review of all spending programs. After the completion of a comprehensive review of all programs, projects and activities of the federal government, we will propose a plan to modernize, streamline, consolidate, reprioritize and, where needed, terminate individual programs.

Take back earmark funds. The McCain Administration will reclaim billions of add-on spending from earmarks and add-ons in FY 2007 and 2008.

Bi-partisan Fiscal Discipline: A McCain Administration will provide the leadership to achieve bipartisan spending restraint equivalent to that in the 1997 Balanced Budget

Agreement between a GOP Congress and a Democratic President. In 1997, President Clinton and the GOP Congress agreed to balance the budget by restraining the growth in spending and cutting taxes over a ten-year period.

With the same bipartisan effort today, with the federal budget that is now 70 percent larger, we could keep taxes low and still balance the budget by holding overall spending growth to 2.4 percent. Unlike Congress and the Executive branch in recent years, a McCain Administration will enforce the spending restraint to balance the budget and keep it balanced.

A McCain Administration would perform a comprehensive review of all programs, projects and activities of the federal government, and then propose a plan to modernize, streamline, consolidate, reprioritize and, where needed, terminate individual programs. McCain could use the bi-partisan commission structure used for the Defense Base Realignment and Closure Commission (BRAC). Such a commission could be required to report to the President who would then submit the recommendations to the Congress for a straight up or down vote.

A McCain Administration will review all special spending provisions to end subsidies to high-income individuals and corporations

Eliminating Wasteful Spending

Stop Earmarks, Pork-Barrel Spending, And Waste: John McCain will veto every pork-laden spending bill and make their authors famous. As President, he will seek the line-item veto to reduce waste and eliminate earmarks that have led to corruption. Earmarks restrict America's ability to address genuine national priorities and interfere with fair, competitive markets.

Leadership, Courage And Choices: Reducing spending means making choices. John McCain will provide the courageous leadership necessary to control spending, including: Eliminate broken government programs. The federal government itself admits that one in five programs do not perform.

Reform our civil service system to promote accountability and good performance in our federal workforce.

Reform procurement programs and cut wasteful spending in defense and non-defense programs.

Reforming Entitlement Programs For The 21st Century

Reform Social Security: John McCain will fight to save the future of Social Security, and he believes that we may meet our obligations to the retirees of today and the future without raising taxes. John McCain supports supplementing the current Social Security system with personal accounts - but not as a substitute for addressing benefit promises that cannot be kept. John McCain will reach across the aisle to address these challenges, but if the Democrats do not act, he will. No problem is in more need of honesty than the looming financial challenges of entitlement programs. Americans have the right to know the truth and John McCain will not leave office without fixing the problems that threaten our future prosperity and power.

Control Medicare Growth: The growth of spending on Medicare threatens our fiscal future. John McCain has proposed comprehensive health care reforms that will reduce the growth in Medicare spending, improve the quality of care, protect seniors against rising Medicare premium payments, and preserve the advancements in medical science central to providing quality care.

Pro-Growth Tax Policy

Keep Tax Rates Low: Entrepreneurs are at the heart of American innovation, growth and prosperity. Entrepreneurs create the ultimate job security - a new, better opportunity if your current job goes away. Entrepreneurs should not be taxed into submission. John McCain will keep the top tax rate at 35 percent, maintain the 15 percent rates on dividends and capital gains, and phase-out the Alternative Minimum Tax. Small businesses are the heart of job growth; raising taxes on them hurts every worker.

Cut The Corporate Tax Rate From 35 To 25 Percent: A lower corporate tax rate is essential to

keeping good jobs in the United States. America was once a low-tax business environment, but as our trade partners lowered their rates, America failed to keep pace. We now have the second highest corporate tax rate in the world, making America a less attractive place for companies to do business. American workers deserve the chance to make fine products here and sell them around the globe.

Allow First-Year Deduction, Or "Expensing", Of Equipment And Technology Investments:

American workers need the finest technologies to compete. Expensing of equipment and technology will provide an immediate boost to capital expenditures and reward investments in cutting-edge technologies.

Establish Permanent Tax Credit Equal To 10 Percent Of Wages Spent On R&D: This reform will simplify the tax code, reward activity in the United States, and make us more competitive with other countries. A permanent credit will provide an incentive to innovate and remove uncertainty. At a time when our companies need to be more competitive, we need to provide a permanent incentive to innovate, and remove the uncertainty now hanging over businesses as they make R&D investment decisions.

Innovation Tax Policy

Ban Internet Taxes: John McCain believes we must make a farsighted, robust, and fervent commitment to innovation and new technologies to sustain our global competitiveness, meet our national security challenges, achieve less costly and more effective health care, reduce dangerous dependence on foreign sources of oil, and raise the quality of education in the United States. John McCain has been a leader in keeping the Internet free of taxes. As President, he will seek a permanent ban on taxes that threaten this engine of economic growth and prosperity.

Ban New Cell Phone Taxes: John McCain understands that the same people that would tax e-mail will tax every text message - and even 911 calls. John McCain will prohibit new cellular telephone taxes.

Lower Barriers to Trade

John McCain believes that globalization is an opportunity for American workers today and in the future. Ninety-five percent of the world's customers lie outside our borders, and we need to be at the table when the rules for access to those markets are written. To do so, the U.S. should engage in multilateral, regional and bilateral efforts to reduce barriers to trade, level the global playing field and build effective enforcement of global trading rules.

Competitive American Workers

John McCain understands that globalization will not automatically benefit every American. We must prepare the next generation of workers by making American education worthy of the promise we make to our children and ourselves. We must be a nation committed to competitiveness and opportunity. We must fight for the ability of all students to have access to any school of demonstrated excellence. We must place parents and children at the center of the education process, empowering parents by greatly expanding the ability of parents to choose among schools for their children.

John McCain will overhaul unemployment insurance and make it a program for retraining, relocating and assisting workers who have lost a job. The unemployment insurance system created in the 1950s needs to be modernized to meet the goals of helping displaced workers make ends meet between jobs and moving people quickly on to the next opportunity. John McCain will reform the half-dozen training programs to approaches that can be used to meet the bills, pay for training, and get back to work. John McCain believes that we can strengthen community colleges and technical training, and give displaced workers more choices to find their way back to productive and prosperous lives.

Taxes: Simpler, Fair, Pro-Growth, And Competitive

Keep Tax Rates Low: Entrepreneurs are at the heart of American innovation, growth and prosperity. Entrepreneurs create the ultimate job security - a new, better opportunity if your current job goes away. Entrepreneurs should not be taxed into submission. John McCain will keep the top tax rate at 35 percent, maintain the 15 percent rates on dividends and capital gains,

and phase-out the Alternative Minimum Tax. Small businesses are the heart of job growth; raising taxes on them hurts every worker. John McCain's opponent wants to increase the marginal income tax rate which applies to the nation's 23 million small business owners who pay their taxes under the individual tax rate system.

Cut The Corporate Tax Rate From 35 To 25 Percent: A lower corporate tax rate is essential to keeping good jobs in the United States. America was once a low-tax business environment, but as our trade partners lowered their rates, America failed to keep pace. American workers deserve the chance to make fine products here and sell them around the globe.

Allow First-Year Deduction, Or "Expensing", Of Equipment And Technology Investments: American workers need the finest technologies to compete. Expensing of equipment and technology will provide an immediate boost to capital expenditures and reward investments in cutting-edge technologies.

Establish A Permanent Tax Credit Equal To 10 Percent Of Wages Spent On R&D: This reform will greatly simplify the tax code, reward activity in the United States, and make us more competitive with other countries. A permanent credit will provide an incentive to innovate and remove uncertainty. At a time when our companies need to be more competitive, we need to provide a permanent incentive to innovate, and remove the uncertainty now hanging over businesses as they make R&D investment decisions.

Allow Families To Keep Their Businesses: John McCain proposes reducing the Estate Tax rate to 15 percent and permit a generous \$10 million exemption.

#### Opening New Markets

John McCain believes that globalization is an opportunity for American workers today and in the future. Ninety-five percent of the world's customers lie outside our borders and we need to be at the table when the rules for access to those markets are written. To do so, the U.S. should engage in multilateral, regional and bilateral efforts to reduce barriers to trade, level the global playing field and build effective enforcement of global trading rules.

Export growth is the strongest part of our sluggish economy, and we should be encouraging the growth of even more jobs in this sector through more free trade agreements which give American firms more access to sell our goods and services abroad.

#### Lower Energy Costs

John McCain's Lexington Project will address the rising costs of energy that are hurting small businesses. He strongly supports increased domestic exploration of oil and natural gas. This will send a strong signal to oil markets that future supplies will be more plentiful, countering the rise in oil prices. The market for natural gas is less internationally integrated than that of oil - increased domestic production will lower the cost of this key energy source.

The Project will transform electricity generation. John McCain has set the goal of building 45 new nuclear power plants by 2030 - creating 700,000 jobs and providing cheap electricity. It will provide incentives for the production of electricity from renewable sources. Finally, the Lexington Project will devote \$2 billion annually to research that will allow the clean use of our most plentiful and low-cost energy source: coal.

#### Gas and Food Prices

John McCain will help Americans hurting from high gasoline and food costs. Americans need relief right now from high gas prices. John McCain will act immediately to reduce the pain of high gas prices.

John McCain believes we should send a strong message to world markets. Under his plan, the United States will be telling oil producing countries and oil speculators that our dependence on foreign oil will come to an end - and the impact will be lower prices at the pump.

John McCain's policies will increase the value of the dollar and thus reduce the price of oil. In recent years, the declining value of the dollar has added to the cost of imported oil. This will change. Americans will have a stronger economy, a stronger dollar and greater purchasing power for oil, gas and food.

John McCain believes we should institute a summer gas tax holiday. Hard-working American families are suffering from higher gasoline prices. John McCain called on Congress to suspend the 18.4 cent federal gas tax and 24.4 cent diesel tax from Memorial Day to Labor Day.

Reuters: Gas Tax Holiday "Of Most Immediate Effect To Consumers." "Of most immediate effect to consumers was his appeal to the U.S. Congress to suspend the 18.4 cent federal gas tax and 24.4 cent diesel tax from Memorial Day at the end of May to Labor Day in early September." (Steve Holland, "McCain Proposes Tax Cuts And Lashes Democrats," Reuters, 4/15/08)

USA Today: "A USA TODAY Analysis Showed That McCain's Gas-Tax Proposal Could Save Motorists \$6.8 Billion In Taxes During The Summer." (Kathy Kiely, "Gas-Tax Holiday Among McCain's Plans For Economy," USA Today, 4/16/08)

John McCain will repeal the 54 cents per gallon tax on imported sugar-based ethanol, increasing competition, and lowering prices of gasoline at the pump.

John McCain will roll back corn-based ethanol mandates, which are contributing to the rising cost of food.

### Home Plan

John McCain believes there is nothing more important than keeping alive the American dream of owning a home. Priority number one is to keep well-meaning, deserving home owners who are facing foreclosure in their homes.

John McCain's approach to helping sub-prime or other financially strapped mortgage borrowers is built on sound principles:

No taxpayer money should bail out real estate speculators or financial market participants who failed to perform due diligence in assessing credit risks. Any assistance for borrowers should be focused solely on homeowners and any government assistance to the banking system should be based solely on preventing systemic risk.

Any policy of financial assistance should be accompanied by reforms that promote greater transparency and accountability to ensure we never face this problem again.

John McCain has proposed a new "HOME Plan" to provide robust, timely and targeted help to those hurt by the housing crisis. Under his HOME Plan, every deserving American family or homeowner will be afforded the opportunity to trade a burdensome mortgage for a manageable loan that reflects their home's market value.

Eligibility: Holders of a sub-prime mortgage taken after 2005 who live in their home (primary residence only); can prove creditworthiness at the time of the original loan; are either delinquent, in arrears on payments, facing a reset or otherwise demonstrate that they will be unable to continue to meet their mortgage obligations; and can meet the terms of a new 30 year fixed-rate mortgage on the existing home.

John McCain's HOME Plan Will Keep 200,000 To 400,000 Families From Losing Their Homes. "But at the same time, McCain is calling for aggressive federal action to help keep 200,000 to 400,000 families from losing their homes. That plan has many of the elements of a proposal by Rep. Barney Frank, D-Mass., and Sen. Chris Dodd, D-Conn., requiring participating lenders to forgive part of the loan principal and then write a new loan that would be backed by the federal government through the Federal Housing Administration." (Tom Raum, "Everyone's Invited: McCain Economic Plan Draws From Both Parties," Tucson Citizen, 4/17/08)

How It Works: Individuals pick up a form at any Post Office or download the form over the Internet and apply for a HOME loan. The FHA HOME Office certifies that the individual is qualified, and contacts the individual's mortgage servicer. The mortgage servicer writes down and retires the existing loan, which is replaced by an FHA guaranteed HOME loan from a lender.

John McCain will bolster groups like Neighborworks America that provide mortgage assistance to homeowners in their communities.

# Barack Obama

## Jumpstart the Economy

**Enact a Windfall Profits Tax to Provide a \$1,000 Emergency Energy Rebate to American Families:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden will enact a windfall profits tax on excessive oil company profits to give American families an immediate \$1,000 emergency energy rebate to help families pay rising bills. This relief would be a down payment on the Obama-Biden long-term plan to provide middle-class families with at least \$1,000 per year in permanent tax relief.

**Provide \$50 billion to Jumpstart the Economy and Prevent 1 Million Americans from Losing Their Jobs:** This relief would include a \$25 billion State Growth Fund to prevent state and local cuts in health, education, housing, and heating assistance or counterproductive increases in property taxes, tolls or fees. The Obama-Biden relief plan will also include \$25 billion in a Jobs and Growth Fund to prevent cutbacks in road and bridge maintenance and fund school repair - all to save more than 1 million jobs in danger of being cut.

## Provide Middle Class Americans Tax Relief

Obama and Biden will cut income taxes by \$1,000 for working families to offset the payroll tax they pay.

**Provide a Tax Cut for Working Families:** Obama and Biden will restore fairness to the tax code and provide 150 million workers the tax relief they need. Obama and Biden will create a new "Making Work Pay" tax credit of up to \$500 per person, or \$1,000 per working family. The "Making Work Pay" tax credit will completely eliminate income taxes for 10 million Americans.

**Eliminate Income Taxes for Seniors Making Less than \$50,000:** Barack Obama will eliminate all income taxation of seniors making less than \$50,000 per year. This proposal will eliminate income taxes for 7 million seniors and provide these seniors with an average savings of \$1,400 each year. Under the Obama-Biden plan, 27 million American seniors will also not need to file an income tax return.

**Simplify Tax Filings for Middle Class Americans:** Obama and Biden will dramatically simplify tax filings so that millions of Americans will be able to do their taxes in less than five minutes. Obama and Biden will ensure that the IRS uses the information it already gets from banks and employers to give taxpayers the option of pre-filled tax forms to verify, sign and return. Experts estimate that the Obama-Biden proposal will save Americans up to 200 million total hours of work and aggravation and up to \$2 billion in tax preparer fees.

## Trade

Obama and Biden believe that trade with foreign nations should strengthen the American economy and create more American jobs. He will stand firm against agreements that undermine our economic security.

**Fight for Fair Trade:** Obama and Biden will fight for a trade policy that opens up foreign markets to support good American jobs. They will use trade agreements to spread good labor and environmental standards around the world and stand firm against agreements like the Central American Free Trade Agreement that fail to live up to those important benchmarks. Obama and Biden will also pressure the World Trade Organization to enforce trade agreements and stop countries from continuing unfair government subsidies to foreign exporters and nontariff barriers on U.S. exports.

**Amend the North American Free Trade Agreement:** Obama and Biden believe that NAFTA and its potential were oversold to the American people. They will work with the leaders of Canada and Mexico to fix NAFTA so that it works for American workers.

**Improve Transition Assistance:** To help all workers adapt to a rapidly changing economy, Obama and Biden will update the existing system of Trade Adjustment Assistance by extending it to service industries, creating flexible education accounts to help workers retrain, and providing retraining assistance for workers in sectors of the economy vulnerable to dislocation before they lose their jobs.

**End Tax Breaks for Companies that Send Jobs Overseas:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden believe that companies should not get billions of dollars in tax deductions for moving their operations overseas. Obama and Biden will also fight to ensure that public contracts are awarded to companies that are committed to American workers.

**Reward Companies that Support American Workers:** Barack Obama introduced the Patriot Employer Act of 2007 with Senators Richard Durbin (D-IL) and Sherrod Brown (D-OH) to reward companies that create good jobs with good benefits for American workers. The legislation would provide a tax credit to companies that maintain or increase the number of full-time workers in America relative to those outside the US; maintain their corporate headquarters in America if it has ever been in America; pay decent wages; prepare workers for retirement; provide health insurance; and support employees who serve in the military.

## Invest in the Manufacturing Sector and Create 5 Million New Green Jobs

**Invest in our Next Generation Innovators and Job Creators:** Obama and Biden will create an Advanced Manufacturing Fund to identify and invest in the most compelling advanced manufacturing strategies. The Fund will have a peer-review selection and award process based on the Michigan 21st Century Jobs Fund, a state-level initiative that has awarded over \$125 million to Michigan businesses with the most innovative proposals to create new products and new jobs in the state.

**Double Funding for the Manufacturing Extension Partnership:** The Manufacturing Extension Partnership (MEP) works with manufacturers across the country to improve efficiency, implement new technology and strengthen company growth. This highly-successful program has engaged in more than 350,000 projects across the country and in

2006 alone, helped create and protect over 50,000 jobs. But despite this success, funding for MEP has been slashed by the Bush administration. Barack Obama and Joe Biden will double funding for the MEP so its training centers can continue to bolster the competitiveness of U.S. manufacturers.

**Invest In A Clean Energy Economy And Create 5 Million New Green Jobs:** Obama and Biden will invest \$150 billion over 10 years to advance the next generation of biofuels and fuel infrastructure, accelerate the commercialization of plug-in hybrids, promote development of commercial scale renewable energy, invest in low emissions coal plants, and begin transition to a new digital electricity grid. The plan will also invest in America's highly-skilled manufacturing workforce and manufacturing centers to ensure that American workers have the skills and tools they need to pioneer the first wave of green technologies that will be in high demand throughout the world.

**Create New Job Training Programs for Clean Technologies:** The Obama-Biden plan will increase funding for federal workforce training programs and direct these programs to incorporate green technologies training, such as advanced manufacturing and weatherization training, into their efforts to help Americans find and retain stable, high-paying jobs. Obama and Biden will also create an energy-focused youth jobs program to invest in disconnected and disadvantaged youth.

**Boost the Renewable Energy Sector and Create New Jobs:** The Obama-Biden plan will create new federal policies, and expand existing ones, that have been proven to create new American jobs. Obama and Biden will create a federal Renewable Portfolio Standard (RPS) that will require 25 percent of American electricity be derived from renewable sources by 2025, which has the potential to create hundreds of thousands of new jobs on its own. Obama and Biden will also extend the Production Tax Credit, a credit used successfully by American farmers and investors to increase renewable energy production and create new local jobs.

### **New Jobs Through National Infrastructure Investment**

Barack Obama and Joe Biden believe that it is critically important for the United States to rebuild its national transportation infrastructure – its highways, bridges, roads, ports, air, and train systems – to strengthen user safety, bolster our long-term competitiveness and ensure our economy continues to grow.

**Create a National Infrastructure Reinvestment Bank:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden will address the infrastructure challenge by creating a National Infrastructure Reinvestment Bank to expand and enhance, not supplant, existing federal transportation investments. This independent entity will be directed to invest in our nation's most challenging transportation infrastructure needs. The Bank will receive an infusion of federal money, \$60 billion over 10 years, to provide financing to transportation infrastructure projects across the nation. These projects will create up to two million new direct and indirect jobs and stimulate approximately \$35 billion per year in new economic activity.

### **Technology, Innovation and Creating Jobs**

Barack Obama and Joe Biden will increase federal support for research, technology and innovation for companies and universities so that American families can lead the world in creating new advanced jobs and products.

**Invest in the Sciences:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden support doubling federal funding for basic research and changing the posture of our federal government from being one of the most anti-science administrations in American history to one that embraces science and technology. This will foster home-grown innovation, help ensure the competitiveness of US technology-based businesses, and ensure that 21st century jobs can and will grow in America.

**Make the Research and Development Tax Credit Permanent:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden want investments in a skilled research and development workforce and technology infrastructure to be supported here in America so that American workers and communities will benefit. Obama and Biden want to make the Research and Development tax credit permanent so that firms can rely on it when making decisions to invest in domestic R&D over multi-year timeframes.

**Deploy Next-Generation Broadband:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden believe we can get broadband to every community in America through a combination of reform of the Universal Service Fund, better use of the nation's wireless spectrum, promotion of next-generation facilities, technologies and applications, and new tax and loan incentives.

### **Support Small Business**

**Provide Tax Relief for Small Businesses and Start Up Companies:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden will eliminate all capital gains taxes on start-up and small businesses to encourage innovation and job creation. Obama and Biden will also support small business owners by providing a \$500 "Making Work Pay" tax credit to almost every worker in America. Self-employed small business owners pay both the employee and the employer side of the payroll tax, and this measure will reduce the burdens of this double taxation.

**Create a National Network of Public-Private Business Incubators:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden will support entrepreneurship and spur job growth by creating a national network of public-private business incubators. Business incubators facilitate the critical work of entrepreneurs in creating start-up companies. Obama and Biden will invest \$250 million per year to increase the number and size of incubators in disadvantaged communities throughout the country.

### **Labor**

Obama and Biden will strengthen the ability of workers to organize unions. He will fight for passage of the Employee Free Choice Act. Obama and Biden will ensure that his labor appointees support workers' rights and will work to ban

the permanent replacement of striking workers. Obama and Biden will also increase the minimum wage and index it to inflation to ensure it rises every year.

**Ensure Freedom to Unionize:** Obama and Biden believe that workers should have the freedom to choose whether to join a union without harassment or intimidation from their employers. Obama cosponsored and is strong advocate for the Employee Free Choice Act, a bipartisan effort to assure that workers can exercise their right to organize. He will continue to fight for EFCA's passage and sign it into law.

**Fight Attacks on Workers' Right to Organize:** Obama has fought the Bush National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) efforts to strip workers of their right to organize. He is a cosponsor of legislation to overturn the NLRB's "Kentucky River" decisions classifying hundreds of thousands of nurses, construction, and professional workers as "supervisors" who are not protected by federal labor laws.

**Protect Striking Workers:** Obama and Biden support the right of workers to bargain collectively and strike if necessary. They will work to ban the permanent replacement of striking workers, so workers can stand up for themselves without worrying about losing their livelihoods.

**Raise the Minimum Wage:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden will raise the minimum wage, index it to inflation and increase the Earned Income Tax Credit to make sure that full-time workers earn a living wage that allows them to raise their families and pay for basic needs.

### **Protect Homeownership and Crack Down on Mortgage Fraud**

Obama and Biden will crack down on fraudulent brokers and lenders. They will also make sure homebuyers have honest and complete information about their mortgage options, and they will give a tax credit to all middle-class homeowners.

**Create a Universal Mortgage Credit:** Obama and Biden will create a 10 percent universal mortgage credit to provide homeowners who do not itemize tax relief. This credit will provide an average of \$500 to 10 million homeowners, the majority of whom earn less than \$50,000 per year.

**Ensure More Accountability in the Subprime Mortgage Industry:** Obama has been closely monitoring the subprime mortgage situation for years, and introduced comprehensive legislation over a year ago to fight mortgage fraud and protect consumers against abusive lending practices. Obama's STOP FRAUD Act provides the first federal definition of mortgage fraud, increases funding for federal and state law enforcement programs, creates new criminal penalties for mortgage professionals found guilty of fraud, and requires industry insiders to report suspicious activity.

**Mandate Accurate Loan Disclosure:** Obama and Biden will create a Homeowner Obligation Made Explicit (HOME) score, which will provide potential borrowers with a simplified, standardized borrower metric (similar to APR) for home mortgages. The HOME score will allow individuals to easily compare various mortgage products and understand the full cost of the loan.

**Close Bankruptcy Loophole for Mortgage Companies:** Obama and Biden will work to eliminate the provision that prevents bankruptcy courts from modifying an individual's mortgage payments. They believe that the subprime mortgage industry, which has engaged in dangerous and sometimes unscrupulous business practices, should not be shielded by outdated federal law.

### **Address Predatory Credit Card Practices**

Obama and Biden will establish a five-star rating system so that every consumer knows the risk involved in every credit card. They also will establish a Credit Card Bill of Rights to stop credit card companies from exploiting consumers with unfair practices.

**Create a Credit Card Rating System to Improve Disclosure:** Obama and Biden will create a credit card rating system, modeled on five-star systems used for other consumer products, to provide consumers an easily identifiable ranking of credit cards, based on the card's features. Credit card companies will be required to display the rating on all application and contract materials, enabling consumers to quickly understand all of the major provisions of a credit card without having to rely exclusively on fine print in lengthy documents.

**Establish a Credit Card Bill of Rights to Protect Consumers:** Obama and Biden will create a Credit Card Bill of Rights to protect consumers. The Obama-Biden plan will:

Ban Unilateral Changes

Apply Interest Rate Increases Only to Future Debt

Prohibit Interest on Fees

Prohibit "Universal Defaults"

Require Prompt and Fair Crediting of Cardholder Payments

### **Reform Bankruptcy Laws**

Obama and Biden will reform our bankruptcy laws to protect working people, ban executive bonuses for bankrupt companies, and require disclosure of all pension investments.

**Cap Outlandish Interest Rates on Payday Loans and Improve Disclosure:** Obama and Biden will extend a 36 percent interest cap to all Americans. They will require lenders to provide clear and simplified information about loan fees, payments and penalties, which is why they'll require lenders to provide this information during the application process.

**Encourage Responsible Lending Institutions to Make Small Consumer Loans:** Obama and Biden will encourage banks, credit unions and Community Development Financial Institutions to provide affordable short-term and small-dollar loans and to drive unscrupulous lenders out of business.

**Reform Bankruptcy Laws to Protect Families Facing a Medical Crisis:** Obama and Biden will create an exemption in bankruptcy law for individuals who can prove they filed for bankruptcy because of medical expenses. This exemption will create a process that forgives the debt and lets the individuals get back on their feet.

## **Work/Family Balance**

Obama and Biden will double funding for after-school programs, expand the Family Medical Leave Act, provide low-income families with a refundable tax credit to help with their child-care expenses, and encourage flexible work schedules.

**Expand the Family and Medical Leave Act:** The FMLA covers only certain employees of employers with 50 or more employees. Obama and Biden will expand it to cover businesses with 25 or more employees. They will expand the FMLA to cover more purposes as well, including allowing workers to take leave for elder care needs; allowing parents up to 24 hours of leave each year to participate in their children's academic activities; and expanding FMLA to cover leave for employees to address domestic violence.

**Encourage States to Adopt Paid Leave:** As president, Obama will initiate a strategy to encourage all 50 states to adopt paid-leave systems. Obama and Biden will provide a \$1.5 billion fund to assist states with start-up costs and to help states offset the costs for employees and employers.

**Expand High-Quality Afterschool Opportunities:** Obama and Biden will double funding for the main federal support for afterschool programs, the 21st Century Learning Centers program, to serve a million more children. Obama and Biden will include measures to maximize performance and effectiveness across grantees nationwide.

**Expand the Child and Dependent Care Tax Credit:** The Child and Dependent Care Tax Credit provides too little relief to families that struggle to afford child care expenses. Obama and Biden will reform the Child and Dependent Care Tax Credit by making it refundable and allowing low-income families to receive up to a 50 percent credit for their child care expenses.

**Protect Against Caregiver Discrimination:** Workers with family obligations often are discriminated against in the workplace. Obama and Biden will enforce the recently-enacted Equal Employment Opportunity Commission guidelines on caregiver discrimination.

**Expand Flexible Work Arrangements:** Obama and Biden will create a program to inform businesses about the benefits of flexible work schedules; help businesses create flexible work opportunities; and increase federal incentives for telecommuting. Obama and Biden will also make the federal government a model employer in terms of adopting flexible work schedules and permitting employees to request flexible arrangements.

## **Restore Fiscal Discipline to Washington**

**Reinstate PAYGO Rules:** Obama and Biden believe that a critical step in restoring fiscal discipline is enforcing pay-as-you-go (PAYGO) budgeting rules which require new spending commitments or tax changes to be paid for by cuts to other programs or new revenue.

**Reverse Bush Tax Cuts for the Wealthy:** Obama and Biden will protect tax cuts for poor and middle class families, but they will reverse most of the Bush tax cuts for the wealthiest taxpayers.

**Cut Pork Barrel Spending:** Obama introduced and passed bipartisan legislation that would require more disclosure and transparency for special-interest earmarks. Obama and Biden believe that spending that cannot withstand public scrutiny cannot be justified. Obama and Biden will slash earmarks to no greater than year 1994 levels and ensure all spending decisions are open to the public.

**Make Government Spending More Accountable and Efficient:** Obama and Biden will ensure that federal contracts over \$25,000 are competitively bid. Obama and Biden will also increase the efficiency of government programs through better use of technology, stronger management that demands accountability and by leveraging the government's high-volume purchasing power to get lower prices.

**End Wasteful Government Spending:** Obama and Biden will stop funding wasteful, obsolete federal government programs that make no financial sense. Obama and Biden have called for an end to subsidies for oil and gas companies that are enjoying record profits, as well as the elimination of subsidies to the private student loan industry which has repeatedly used unethical business practices. Obama and Biden will also tackle wasteful spending in the Medicare program.

## **Make the Tax System More Fair and Efficient**

**End Tax Haven Abuse:** Building on his bipartisan work in the Senate, Obama will give the Treasury Department the tools it needs to stop the abuse of tax shelters and offshore tax havens and help close the \$350 billion tax gap between taxes owed and taxes paid.

**Close Special Interest Corporate Loopholes:** Obama and Biden will level the playing field for all businesses by eliminating special-interest loopholes and deductions, such as those for the oil and gas industry. Cut taxes for 95 percent of workers and their families with a tax cut of \$500 for workers or \$1,000 for working couples. Provide generous tax cuts for low- and middle-income seniors, homeowners, the uninsured, and families sending a child to college or looking to save and accumulate wealth.

Eliminate capital gains taxes for small businesses, cut corporate taxes for firms that invest and create jobs in the United States, and provide tax credits to reduce the cost of healthcare and to reward investments in innovation. Dramatically simplify taxes by consolidating existing tax credits, eliminating the need for millions of senior citizens to file tax forms, and enabling as many as 40 million middle-class Americans to do their own taxes in less than five minutes without an accountant.

**Under the Obama Plan:**

**Middle class families will see their taxes cut – and no family making less than \$250,000 will see their taxes increase.** The typical middle class family will receive well over \$1,000 in tax relief under the Obama plan, and will pay tax rates that are 20% lower than they faced under President Reagan. According to the Tax Policy Center, the Obama plan provides three times as much tax relief for middle class families as the McCain plan.

**Families making more than \$250,000 will pay either the same or lower tax rates than they paid in the 1990s.** Obama will ask the wealthiest 2% of families to give back a portion of the tax cuts they have received over the past eight years to ensure we are restoring fairness and returning to fiscal responsibility. But no family will pay higher tax rates than they would have paid in the 1990s. In fact, dividend rates would be 39 percent lower than what President Bush proposed in his 2001 tax cut.

**Obama’s plan will cut taxes overall, reducing revenues to below the levels that prevailed under Ronald Reagan** (less than 18.2 percent of GDP). The Obama tax plan is a net tax cut – his tax relief for middle class families is larger than the revenue raised by his tax changes for families over \$250,000. Coupled with his commitment to cut unnecessary spending, Obama will pay for this tax relief while bringing down the budget deficit.

**Impact of the Obama Tax Plan**

WHO	TAX CUT
Married Couple Making \$75,000 with two children, one of whom is in college	<b>\$3,700</b> [includes \$1,000 Making Work Pay; \$500 universal mortgage credit; and \$4,000 college credit net of current college credits]
Married Couple making \$90,000	<b>\$1,000</b>
Single Parent making \$40,000 with two young children and childcare expenses.	<b>\$2,100</b> [includes \$500 making work pay; \$500 universal mortgage credit, and \$1,100 from Obama expansion of the child care tax credit]
70-Year Old Widow Making \$35,000	<b>\$1,900</b>

**Source:** Calculations based on IRS Statistics of Income. Tax savings is conservative; does not account for up to \$500 in savings from expanded Savers Credit and the \$2,500 in savings per family from the Obama healthcare plan

**\$60bn middle class rescue plan:**

- Temporary tax credits to help create new jobs
- Penalty-free withdrawals from retirement accounts
- Moratorium on banks foreclosing on "good-faith" homeowners
- Greater lending to states and local government

**Ralph Nader**

**Nader Proposes Crackdown on Corporate Crime, Fraud and Abuse**

The US needs to crackdown on corporate crime, fraud and abuse that have in the last four years looted and drained trillions of dollars from workers, investors, pension holders and consumers. Among the reforms needed are resources to prosecute and convict the corporate executive crooks and to democratize corporate governance so shareholders

have real power; pay back ill-gotten gains; rein in executive pay; and enact corporate sunshine laws, among others.

Below are twelve initial steps for an effective crackdown on corporate crime, fraud and abuse. The Nader campaign will return to this issue and expand the discussion on the solution to corporate crime and abuse.

#### Twelve Steps to an Effective Crackdown on Corporate Crime

*Increase Corporate Crime Prosecution Budgets:* The Department of Justice's corporate crime division and the Securities and Exchange Commission have been chronically under funded and therefore do not have sufficient resources to combat the corporate crime wave in the United States. This results in inadequate investigation, settlement of cases for weak fines, and ignoring many corporate crime violators completely. There needs to be a strong corporate law and order will in the White House.

*Ban Corporate Criminals from Government Contracts:* The US should enact a tough, serious debarment statute that would deny federal business to serious and/or repeat corporate lawbreakers. The federal government spends \$265 billion annually on goods and services. These contracts should not support corporate criminals. These standards should also apply to procurement contracts in Iraq.

*Crack Down on Corporate Tax Avoidance:* The US should punish corporate tax escapees by closing the offshore reincorporation loophole and banning government contracts and subsidies for companies that relocate their headquarters to an offshore tax haven. The IRS should be given more power and more budgetary resources to go after corporate tax avoiders. Publicly-traded corporations should be required to make their tax returns public.

*Democratize Corporate Governance:* Shareholders should be granted the right to democratically nominate and elect the corporate board of directors by opening up proxy access to minority shareholders and introducing cumulative voting and competitive elections. Shareholders should be given the power to approve all major business decisions, including top executive compensation. Shareholders should be treated as the owners of the corporation since, in fact, that is what they are.

*Expand Corporate Disclosure:* Corporate sunshine laws should be enacted that require corporations to provide better information about their records on the environment, human rights, worker safety, and taxes, as well as their criminal and civil litigation records.

*Rein in Excessive Executive Pay:* Shareholder authorization should be required for top executive compensation packages at each annual shareholder meeting. Stock options, which now account for about half of the executive compensation, should be counted on financial statements as an expense (which they are). Tax deductions for compensation 25 times above the compensation received by the lowest paid worker in a corporation should be eliminated, as recommended by business guru Peter Drucker.

*Fix the Pension System:* Corporations must be held more responsible for the retirement security of their employees. At a minimum we need to give workers a voice on the pension board; not require workers to stuff their 401(k) plans with company stock; and give workers the right to control their 401(k) plans. In addition, an Office of Participant Advocacy should be created in the Department of Labor to monitor pension plans.

*Restore the Rights of Defrauded Investors:* Repeal the self-styled securities reform laws that block defrauded investors from seeking private restitution, such as the private

Securities Litigation Reform Act of 1995, which allowed the aiders and abettors of massive corporate crime (e.g., accountants, lawyers, and bankers) to escape civil liability.

*Regulate Derivatives Trading:* All over-the-counter financial instruments, including derivatives, should be subjected to the same or equivalent audit and reporting requirements as other financial instruments traded on stock exchanges. Rules should be enacted regarding collateral-margin, reporting and dealer licensing in order to maintain regulatory parity and ensure that markets are transparent and problems can be detected before they become a crisis.

*End Conflicts of Interest on Wall Street:* Enact structural reforms that separate commercial and investment banking services and prevent other costly, documented conflicts of interest among financial entities, such as those that have dominated big banks and security firms in recent years.

*Track the Extent and Cost of Corporate Crime:* The Department of Justice should establish an online corporate crime database. Also, just as the FBI issues an annual street crime report, "Crime in the United States," it should also publish an annual report on corporate and white collar crime with recommendations.

*Foster a National Discussion on Corporate Power:* Establish a Congressional Commission on Corporate Power to explore various legal and economic proposals that would rein in unaccountable giant corporations. The Commission should seek ways to improve upon the current state corporate chartering system in a world of global corporations and propose ways to correct the inequitable legal status of corporations as "persons." The Commission would be led by congressionally-appointed experts on corporate and constitutional law, and should hold citizen hearings in at least ten cities followed by a report and recommendations.

*Fair Trade that Protects the Environment, Labor Rights and Consumer Needs*  
NAFTA and the WTO make commercial trade supreme over environmental, labor, and consumer standards and need to be replaced with open agreements that pull up rather than pull down these standards. These forms of secret autocratic governance and their detailed rules are corporate-managed trade that puts short-term corporate profits as the priority. While global trade is a fact of life, trade policies must be open, democratic, and not strip-mine environmental, social and labor standards. These latter standards should have their own international pull up treaties.

*A Family Farm: Consumer Agricultural Policy*

American agriculture is being dominated by two contrary trends in the 21st Century. First, conventional family farm agricultural production is being destroyed by low prices and lack of market access due to mergers, acquisitions by big agribusinesses and their monopsony power over farmers. Second, there is a boom in more sustainable agricultural production and consumption due to increased consumer awareness and demand for healthy, fresh, and nutritious food. Federal policy must focus on the farm and food system as a continuum that provides many benefits. We must advance the production, marketing, use and disposal of food and fiber in accordance with consumer, environmental, worker and family farm standards of justice and sustainability. Additionally, we must challenge misallocation of resources caused by the growing concentration and wealth by agribusiness, chemical, biotechnology and financial corporations over the food and fiber economy. This entails shifting government policy to provide research and information relevant to independent food producers, organic

farmers, insuring open and competitive markets, promoting new food infrastructures, and preventing pollution and degradation of natural resources.

Issues that Matter for 2008

[Adopt a Wall Street securities speculation tax](#)

[Adopt single payer national health insurance](#)

[Adopt the National Initiative](#)

[Aggressive crackdown on corporate crime and corporate welfare](#)

[Cut the huge, bloated, wasteful military budget](#)

[Defend, Restore and Strengthen the Civil Justice System](#)

[Impeach Bush/Cheney](#)

[No to nuclear power, solar energy first](#)

[Open up the Presidential debates](#)

[Put an end to ballot access obstructionism](#)

[Repeal the Taft-Hartley anti-union law](#)

[Reverse U.S. policy in the Middle East](#)

[Work to end corporate personhood](#)

A Federal Budget that Puts Human Needs Before Corporate Greed and Militarism

The United States needs a redirected federal budget that adequately funds crucial priorities like infrastructure, transit and other public works, schools, clinics, libraries, forests, parks, sustainable energy and pollution controls. The budget should move away from the deeply documented and criticized (by the US General Accounting Office, retired Admirals and Generals and others) wasteful, redundant "military industrial complex" as President Eisenhower called it, as well as corporate welfare and tax cuts for the wealthy that expand the divide between the luxuries of the rich and the necessities of the poor and middle class.

The Wasteful and Redundant Defense Department Budget Needs to Be Cut

Half of the operating costs of the U.S. federal budget is spent on the military. The federal budget should move away from the wasteful, redundant "military industrial complex." Wasteful spending on expensive military equipment and post World War II deployments that we do not need makes the U.S. less secure in many other neglected ways.

The Task Force on A Unified Security Budget for the United States, drawing on the knowledge of analysts with expertise in different dimensions of the security challenge, made recommendations in March 2004 that would cut defense spending by \$51 billion. The Task Force was organized by the Center for Defense Information, Foreign Policy in Focus, and Security Policy Working Group. In addition, they recommend a unified approach to fighting terrorism and increasing security that includes increases in non-military expenditures, noting that in a 2002 speech President Bush identified development assistance as a security tool, linking the desperate resort to terrorism with the hopelessness of persistent poverty.

The Task Force report is excerpted for your information. Our views go beyond these positions.

*Our military is still dominated by an obsolete conventional and nuclear structure, designed to counter the least likely threat: a large-scale conventional challenge. As a result, the United States is burdened with a very expensive but misdirected military prepared for large-scale warfare rather than the challenges and operations that American forces now face with increasing strain. The dangers we face today come less from a potential superpower rival and more from failing states that have the potential to destabilize entire regions and to become magnets for transnational terrorist groups.*

Currently seven times as much is spent on military vs. non-military security spending. The Task Force brings this into greater balance reducing the ratio to 3:1. In order to achieve this better balance the Task Force notes that the nature of today's threats allows the U.S. to:

Reduce the pace of investment in the next generation of weapons. The U.S. has a technological edge over all nations, including all of its adversaries. Nonetheless, the U.S. continues rushing expensive new generations of fighters, helicopters, ships, submarines, and tanks into production. Most of these weapons were designed to fight the now-collapsed Soviet Union.

New technologies and systems will be developed and tested as prototypes, but they need not be manufactured in quantity unless the threat warrants it. It is simply a waste of money and other resources to keep a huge military force on hair-trigger readiness for the conflicts of the last century.

In addition, a more restrictive policy of exporting advanced aircraft and other weapons to potentially unstable regions would also help us to safely slow down the pace of developing future weapon systems.

Stop deployment of the national missile defense system until the technology is proven and the threat warrants, while maintaining a robust research program. This would save billions of dollars and insure that America does not close the door on any promising technology. So far, despite spending over \$75 billion, we have not found any that works, and we cannot plan our security around doing so. Nor can we risk antagonizing Russia and China and possibly driving them into a military alliance, or alienating our European allies, or sparking a new nuclear arms race in Asia.

Reduce our expensive and largely redundant strategic nuclear arsenal to 1,000 warheads, as a first step to further cuts; take our nuclear forces off hair-trigger alert.

Close unnecessary military bases. While force structures and manpower have been reduced by 37% since the end of the Cold War, bases overseas have been reduced by only 25% and bases in the U.S. by only 20%. There is probably room for even larger reductions since in 1988, before the end of the Cold War, an official estimate put excess base capacity at 40%. After the end of the Cold War and the reduction of potential threat, presumably the excess capacity is now even greater.

Overhaul the Pentagon's financial management operations. In 2003, the Defense Department (DoD) failed its General Accounting Office audit for the seventh year in a row. The DoD Inspector General found that it had failed to account for more than a trillion dollars in financial transactions, not to mention planes, tanks, and missile launchers. The Pentagon has about 2,200 overlapping financial systems, which cost \$18 billion a year to run.

The Bush administration has laid out a Defense Transformation initiative that is supposed to fix these problems. The positive features of this initiative, the ones that actually create new accountability and controls, should be pursued. The initiative has, however, embedded within it, proposals that will actually weaken accountability by reducing Pentagon reporting requirements to Congress and the public, while also weakening labor and environmental protections. These proposals need to go.

Realign forces to better prepare them for likely missions, including counterterrorism, peacekeeping, reconstruction, security, and stability operations.

At the same time, the Task Force recommends increases in spending on non-military security including:

Reinvesting in diplomacy. We will refocus resources on diplomacy as preventive action to resolve conflicts before they become violent.

Developing international security forces. The U.S. cannot meet every contingency by itself. The vain attempt to do so only stretches our resources and leaves us with inadequate forces. Nor can we simply recast outlaw states in our own image by threatening and using military force. This strategy breeds resentment, fosters countervailing coalitions, and overburdens our resources.

Reinvigorating the nonproliferation regime. The first line of defense against the spread of WMD is the interlocking set of treaties and institutions that form the global nonproliferation regime. This must include:

Expanding significantly the budget of the Nunn-Lugar program and other initiatives designed to help secure and dismantle the nuclear arsenal of the former Soviet Union, since this may be the most likely place for terrorists to get their hands on WMD.

Solidifying the norms against proliferation through multilateral regimes. The U.S. must strengthen the nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) by ratifying an IAEA Additional Protocol permitting more rigorous inspections, asking for assurances that all states implement full-scope IAEA safeguards agreements, and proposing increases in that agency's funding. And we must ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, which will create a more powerful nonproliferation tool through its intrusive verification regime.

Working for more effective implementation of the Chemical Weapons Convention, including an improved inspection system, and resume participation in meetings to develop a biological weapons protocol and strengthen verification and enforcement obligations under the Biological Weapons Convention.

Ratifying the Small Arms Control Pact, the Antipersonnel Landmine Treaty, and the Rome Treaty establishing the International Criminal Court.

Strengthening existing export control authorities, focusing especially on regulating truly sensitive exports to hostile and unstable regimes.

The collapse of the cold war, changing trade relationships with China, Russia, and other countries, and the post-9/11 world require a rethinking of U.S. security spending.

Continuing to build weapons for old threats results in waste that we cannot afford. The recommendations of the Task Force are a good beginning point for a re-evaluation of U.S. security strategies and spending.

Seven Point Plan to End Poverty in the United States:

As the wealthiest country in the world, with high productivity per capita, a country that produces an abundance of capital, credit, technology and food, we can end poverty. Yet,

according to the Bureau of the Census, poverty and hunger for children and adults is increasing rather than decreasing — 34.6 million Americans lived in deep poverty, 12.1% of the U.S. population. Many millions of Americans live in what is called ‘near poverty’ by the Labor Department. We must make ending poverty a priority and weave that goal into a network of policies:

Truly Progressive Taxation

An End to huge Corporate Subsidies and Military Budget Waste

Job Creation

Equal Pay for Women

Child-Care

Living Wages for All Workers

Create More Jobs by Investing in America's Future

Since January 2001, 2.7 million jobs have been lost and more than 75% of those jobs have been high wage, high productivity manufacturing jobs. Overall 5.6% of Americans are unemployed while 10.5% of African Americans are unemployed. Unemployment among Latinos is nearly 30 per cent higher than January 20, 2001. By requiring equitable trade, investing in urgently needed local labor-intensive public works (infrastructure improvements), creating a new renewable energy efficiency policy; by fully funding education and redirecting large bureaucratic and fraudulent health expenditures toward preventive health care we can reverse this trend and create millions of new jobs.

Restore the critical Social Safety Net

Fair Tax Where the Wealthiest and Corporations Pay their Share; Tax Wealth More than Work; Tax Activities We Dislike More than Necessities

The complexity and distortions of the federal tax code produces distributions of tax incidence and payroll tax burdens that are skewed in favor of the wealthy and the corporations further garnished by tax shelters, insufficient enforcement, and other avoidances.

Corporate tax contributions as a percent of the overall federal revenue stream have been declining for fifty years and now stand at 7.4% despite massive record profits. A fundamental reappraisal of our tax laws should start with a principle that taxes should apply first to behavior and conditions we favor least and pinch basic necessities least, such as the clearly addictive industries (alcohol and tobacco), pollution, speculation, gambling, extreme luxuries, instead of taxing work or instead of the 5% to 7% sales tax food, furniture, clothing or books.

Tiny taxes (a fraction of the conventional retail sales percentage) on stock, bond, and derivative transactions can produce tens of billions of dollars a year and displace some of the taxes on work and consumer essentials. Sol Price, founder of the Price Clubs (now merged into Costco) is one of several wealthy people in the last century who have urged a tax on wealth. Again, it can be at a very low rate but raise significant revenues. Wealth above a quite comfortable minimum is described as tangible and intangible assets. The present adjustment of Henry George’s celebrated land tax could also be considered.

Over a thousand wealthy Americans have declared, in a remarkable conflict against interest, that the estate tax, which now applies to less than 2 percent of the richest estates,

should be retained. The signers of this declaration included William Gates, Sr., Warren Buffett and George Soros. Ralph Nader does not believe that "unearned income" (dividends, interest, capital gains) should be taxed lower than earned income, or work, inasmuch as one involves passive income, including inheritances and windfalls, while the latter involves active effort with a higher proportion of middle and lower income workers relying on and working each day, some under unsafe conditions, for these earnings.

Against Bail Out—in favour of jail time for those who created the economic collapse

## Bob Barr

The government cannot continue spending at this rate if America is to remain competitive in the global marketplace. The new administration's number one job will be to drastically reduce spending ...

Over the past decade, total government spending (state, local and federal) has increased from \$2.9 trillion to an astonishing \$5.1 trillion in 2008. The \$3.1 trillion federal budget submitted by President Bush for 2009 is greater than the combined 1998 spending of the federal government, all 50 states and over 87,000 local governments.

The government cannot continue spending at this rate if America is to remain competitive in the global marketplace. The new administration's number one job will be to drastically reduce spending by limiting federal outlays to only the government's legitimate functions, as provided in the United States Constitution.

Every area of federal spending can and should be cut. Entitlements must be reformed and welfare should be cut, including subsidies for business sometimes called corporate welfare. Military outlays should be reduced and pork barrel spending eliminated. Needless, duplicative, and wasteful programs, most of which have no constitutional basis, should be terminated.

Controlling government spending is a necessary step to enact true tax reform, which will reduce the burden on all Americans and allow them to keep more of their hard-earned money.

We should seek to establish a wall of separation between government and the economy. The legitimate economic functions of government are to protect property rights, adjudicate disputes, and provide a legal framework in which voluntary trade is protected. The government should stop attempting to "manage" the free market.

Capitalism is the only economic system that rewards risk, protects individual liberty, and furthers economic freedom. America will be most prosperous and free when the government stops interfering with private economic decision-making.

Americans pay far too much in taxes. In 2008, Tax Freedom Day was April 23, which means the average taxpayer worked nearly four months to pay all levels of government taxes. It is impossible for any one person to fully comprehend the U.S. Tax Code; each year billions of hours are spent by taxpayers trying to comply with the tax laws.

Tax reform is desperately needed in the United States; but before we can reform the tax code, we must sharply reduce the tax burden on Americans. Meaningful tax reform begins with reining in government spending. Second, we need a tax code that makes taxation fairer and simpler for all citizens.

There are several alternative tax reform strategies. One would be to create a flat income tax, while cutting or eliminating many other levies, such as the estate tax (or “death tax”) and capital gains tax. Another option would be to replace the income tax and payroll taxes with a consumption tax, such as the Fair Tax; but prior to which it would be essential to repeal the Sixteenth Amendment, which allows government to tax the earnings of all hard-working Americans. Initiating a consumption tax while leaving the power to tax income in place inevitably would result in having an income tax on top of a consumption tax.

There may even be good alternatives for tax reform that have not yet been proposed. All of these ideas are better than the present system, and must be debated to determine which would best protect liberty and promote prosperity.

However, tax reform should not end at just reforming the tax code. America’s corporate income tax is among the highest in the world, putting the U.S. at an international disadvantage. The estate tax takes advantage of a person’s death. The capital gains tax discourages investment and capital formation. All of these mu The Federal Reserve is a secretive and unaccountable organization which dominates monetary policy, regulates financial institutions, and increasingly intervenes in economic markets. Congress must insist on accountability and transparency in the Federal Reserve’s operation, while reconsidering the Fed’s almost total control over the money supply. We should begin a debate over more far-reaching policy changes, including eliminating the federal government’s control over the money supply, thereby leaving monetary policy under the control of the market rather than of politics.

The cost of entitlement programs is pushing America towards financial ruin. Even though the traditional, bloated federal welfare system had been reformed in the late 1990s, other programs like Medicaid, Medicare, and Social Security are unsustainable at their current spending rates. With the latter two programs alone facing estimated total unfunded liabilities topping \$100 trillion, the government will eventually face the choice of raising taxes by as much as 50 percent or defaulting on promised benefits, if we do not begin taking action right now.

Government should stop acting as the welfare agency of first resort under the guise of providing social insurance. In general, private charity should be the first resort for anyone in need. The process of welfare reform begun by Congress in 1996 should be continued to reduce even further people’s dependence on Washington. In 2007, for example, Americans gave more than \$300 billion to charity, an increase over 2006 despite growing economic uncertainty. Government should eliminate regulatory barriers that inhibit private philanthropy, and expand tax deductions to encourage charitable giving.

As for Medicaid, Medicare, and Social Security, government must emphasize private choice in health care and private retirement accounts. Benefits also should be adjusted to reflect changing demographics as the Baby Boom generation retires, and to emphasize care for those most in need.

Chuck Baldwin

**The Constitution Party supports reimposing tariffs on all foreign imports**

In order to keep jobs in this country, we need to have a trade policy that works in the best interest of the American people. To this end, I favor a tariff based revenue system, originally implemented by our founding fathers, & which was the policy of the United States during most of our nation's history. A tariff on foreign imports, based on the difference between the foreign item's cost of production abroad and the cost of production of a similar item produced in the United States, would be a Constitutional step toward a fair trade policy that would protect American jobs and, at the same time, raise revenue for our national government.

"President Reagan said, 'A nation without borders is no nation at all.' He was right, of course, and now the globalists are seeking to erase our borders and merge the United States into a North American Union with Canada and Mexico that would be the end of the United States as a sovereign nation and would be a stepping stone toward the merger of the United States into a World Government dominated by the United Nations.

"As President, I would take the preservation of our nation's sovereignty and independence extremely seriously. This means that the burgeoning North American Union is dead on arrival the day I am sworn in as President. Upon taking office I would request that Dr. Jerome Corsi, the foremost expert on the danger posed by the North American Union, accept a special assignment to ensure that every single "working group" and any other bureaucratic remnant of the Security and Prosperity Partnership (under whatever name) be completely eliminated from every Federal agency so that this danger is put to rest for good.

"Gone, too, is the NAFTA superhighway. And for that matter, I would lead the United States out of NAFTA and CAFTA altogether. And any prospect for the FTAA would be dead as well.

"I oppose all international trade agreements which have the effect of diminishing America's economic self-sufficiency and of exporting jobs, the loss of which impoverishes American families, undermines American communities, and diminishes America's capacity for economic self-reliance, and the provision of national defense.

"We see our country and its workers as much more than bargaining chips for multinational corporations and international banks in their ill-conceived and evil New World Order. At every turn I will stand up for the economic security and well being of the American people and for the independence and sovereignty of our American republic.

## Economic Evaluation:

Basis for evaluation: sound, fiscal management of public revenue and expenditure, and fair distribution of government expenditure to all sectors of the United States

Score	McCain	Obama	Nader	Barr	Baldwin
	6/10	5/10	8/10	7/10	2/10

Rational: Baldwin's focus on trade/sovereignty protection is very narrow; Obama's focus on the middle class does not get to the source of America's economic problems; McCain's focus on balanced budget, spending controls, fiscal responsibility, and economic growth do not go far enough; Bar's focus on significant reduced government spending and tax reform is closer to fixing America's economic problems, but not far enough and too much reliance on the imperfect marketplace; Nader's focus on corporate crime and accountability, reduced government spending in particular the US military complex, and progressive tax system is the closest approach to deal with American's economic problems; though more emphasis on reduced government spending would make Nader's economic policy even more effective.

# Health

## John McCain

John McCain's refundable tax credit (\$5,000 for families and \$2,500 for individuals) **will not only shield millions of families from a tax increase but will actually give them MORE dollars to invest in their health care needs.**

**Better Than "Members of Congress":** Under the McCain Plan, your employer can provide you with health insurance **as good as a "Member of Congress" (approximately \$12,000)**, and you would pay no more in taxes – regardless of your tax bracket. In fact, you would have additional money left over from the McCain tax credit to put in a health savings account.

If you or your family is in the 28% bracket, with an income of \$180,000, you could receive employer provided health insurance even better than a Member of Congress, with a cost of almost \$18,000, with no increase in taxes. Even the liberal leaning Tax Policy Center, agrees that the McCain proposals will result in a **"net tax benefit" of more than \$1,200** for an average tax payer. A recent Lewin Group study estimated **savings of more than \$1,400 per American family**

John McCain believes that we can **achieve savings in Medicare without reducing benefits or eligibility**. He has proposed common-sense reforms that will not only put Medicare on a path of financial stability but ensure access to quality care for millions of Americans. Some of the policies proposed by the McCain plan include:

- **Promote payment reform** that allows us to move away from the current fragmented and volume-based service to a system which rewards coordinated and quality focused care.
- **Eliminate Medicare fraud and abuse** to ensure that nearly \$60 billion a year, almost 10 percent of total Medicare spending, that goes to line the pocket of criminals instead of providing quality care for seniors.
- Ensure that **drug premiums for the wealthiest Americans are not being subsidized by the middle class.**
- Promote a new **generation of treatment models that better manage chronic care conditions** while rewarding prevention and wellness.
- **Greater use of Health IT and medical homes** to promote greater co-ordination of care.
- Reduce drug costs by allowing **greater use of generics** (including bio-generics).

**Putting Families In Charge:** Under the McCain Plan American families will not only decide where the tax credit should be directed for their coverage needs but any additional money left over after purchasing coverage will be controlled by the family in a portable health savings account. Ridiculing this line of strange attack, *The Associated Press* stated, "Of course it would, because it's meant to pay for insurance. That's like saying money for a car loan will go straight to the car dealer."

John McCain believes that **no American should be denied access to quality and affordable coverage simply because of a pre-existing condition**. As President, John McCain will work with governors to develop a best practice model that states can follow – a Guaranteed Access Plan or GAP – that would reflect the best experience of the states to ensure these patients have access to health coverage. There would be reasonable limits on premiums, and assistance would be available for Americans below a certain income level.

The McCain health plan builds on the employer-based system. **Employers will have the same incentive to provide health insurance as they do today since they will continue to deduct the cost of health insurance they provide to employees.**

- **Millions With Employer Coverage Will Do Better Under The McCain Plan:** Millions of American families with employer sponsored coverage in all tax brackets with the same coverage as a "Members of Congress" will now come out ahead with additional funds going into a portable health savings account. Importantly, younger and healthier employees with the McCain health care tax credit will have a bigger incentive to stay with the employers. ***For example, a 25-year-old employee in the 25 percent tax bracket with a \$2,500 tax credit could either purchase a policy in the individual market for the same amount or stay with his employer plan and receive a \$5,000 policy with an additional \$1,250 to invest in a portable health savings account. Why would people choose fewer benefits for more money?***

## Barack Obama

On health care reform, the American people are too often offered two extremes - government-run health care with higher taxes or letting the insurance companies operate without rules. Barack Obama and Joe Biden believe both of these extremes are wrong, and that's why they've proposed a plan that strengthens employer coverage, makes insurance companies accountable and ensures patient choice of doctor and care without government interference.

The Obama-Biden plan provides affordable, accessible health care for all Americans, builds on the existing health care system, and uses existing providers, doctors and plans to implement the plan. Under the Obama-Biden plan, patients will be able to make health care decisions with their doctors, instead of being blocked by insurance company bureaucrats.

Under the plan, if you like your current health insurance, nothing changes, except your costs will go down by as much as \$2,500 per year.

If you don't have health insurance, you will have a choice of new, affordable health insurance options.

### **MAKE HEALTH INSURANCE WORK FOR PEOPLE AND BUSINESSES - NOT JUST INSURANCE AND DRUG COMPANIES.**

- Require insurance companies to cover pre-existing conditions so all Americans regardless of their health status or history can get comprehensive benefits at fair and stable premiums.
- Create a new Small Business Health Tax Credit to help small businesses provide affordable health insurance to their employees.
- Lower costs for businesses by covering a portion of the catastrophic health costs they pay in return for lower premiums for employees.
- Prevent insurers from overcharging doctors for their malpractice insurance and invest in proven strategies to reduce preventable medical errors.

- Make employer contributions more fair by requiring large employers that do not offer coverage or make a meaningful contribution to the cost of quality health coverage for their employees to contribute a percentage of payroll toward the costs of their employees health care.
- Establish a National Health Insurance Exchange with a range of private insurance options as well as a new public plan based on benefits available to members of Congress that will allow individuals and small businesses to buy affordable health coverage.
- Ensure everyone who needs it will receive a tax credit for their premiums.

**REDUCE COSTS AND SAVE A TYPICAL AMERICAN FAMILY UP TO \$2,500 AS REFORMS PHASE IN:**

- Lower drug costs by allowing the importation of safe medicines from other developed countries, increasing the use of generic drugs in public programs and taking on drug companies that block cheaper generic medicines from the market
- Require hospitals to collect and report health care cost and quality data
- Reduce the costs of catastrophic illnesses for employers and their employees.
- Reform the insurance market to increase competition by taking on anticompetitive activity that drives up prices without improving quality of care.

**The Obama-Biden plan will promote public health.** It will require coverage of preventive services, including cancer screenings, and increase state and local preparedness for terrorist attacks and natural disasters.

**A Commitment to Fiscal Responsibility:** Barack Obama will pay for his \$50 - \$65 billion health care reform effort by rolling back the Bush tax cuts for Americans earning more than \$250,000 per year and retaining the estate tax at its 2009 level.

## Ralph Nader

### Health Care for All

The state of health care in the United States is a disgrace. For millions of Americans it is a struggle between life, health and money. The Nader Campaign supports a single-payer health care plan that replaces for-profit, investor-owned health care and removes the private health insurance industry (full Medicare for all). This approach is supported by Physicians for a National Health Program (PNHP); the American Nurses Association; the U.S. Labor Party; the California Nurses Association; the National Association of Social Workers; the Associations of Physicians Assistants; and the National Association of Midwives, among others.

The United States spends far more on health care than any other country in the world, but

ranks only 37th in the overall quality of health care it provides, according to the World Health Organization. The U.S. is the only industrialized country that does not provide universal health care. More than 44.3 million Americans have no health insurance, and tens of millions more are underinsured. Private corporations pay less than 20% of health costs. Thus, even if you have insurance, you may not be able to afford the care you need, and some treatments may not be covered at all.

For a family living on the edge financially and facing the onset of a serious illness or disabling injury, a lack of health insurance can trigger bankruptcy or even homelessness. Homelessness only leads to more health care problems a world of inadequate hygiene, communicable diseases, exposure to the elements, violence, and emotional trauma. Studies by the National Academy of Sciences' Institute of Medicine find that the homeless are far more likely to suffer from chronic medical conditions such as diabetes, cardiovascular disease, and asthma.

The Nader campaign favors replacing our fragmented, market-based system with a single-payer health plan - where the government finances health care, but keeps the delivery of health care to private non-profits, and allows free choice of doctors and hospitals for patients.

The U.S. health care system has many grave faults that could be remedied by a system of universal coverage, including serious gaps in coverage for: prescription drugs and medical supplies; dental, vision, and hearing care; long-term care; mental health care; preventive care for children; and treatment for substance abuse. A recent study by National Academy of Sciences' Institute of Medicine estimates that 18,000 25- to 64-year-old Americans die every year as a result of lack of coverage. That is 18,000 human beings every year, not counting younger Americans.

#### Shrinking Choices for the Health Consumer

Health care should be provided by a national, single-payer health insurance program funded by the federal government and providing comprehensive benefits to all Americans throughout their lives. Under the current system, hundreds of billions of dollars a year are wasted by health-care sellers on billing, fraud and administrative expenses. Excess profits and high CEO (and other executive) salaries at large HMOs and other health-care companies add further costs. PNHP highlights the trend:

Our pluralistic health care system is giving way to a system run by corporate oligopolies. A single-payer reform provides the only realistic alternative.

A few giant firms own or control a growing share of medical practice. The winners in the new medical marketplace are determined by financial clout, not medical quality. The result: three or four hospital chains and managed care plans will soon corner the market, leaving physicians and patients with few options. Doctors who don't fit in with corporate needs will be shut out, regardless of patient needs.

Dr. Steffie Woolhandler of Harvard Medical School points out that "we are already spending enough to provide every American with superb medical care - \$5,775 per person this year [2003]. That's 42% higher than in Switzerland, which has the world's second most expensive health care system, and 83% higher than in Canada." Indeed, 14.9 percent of our gross domestic product is spent on health care and the cost is growing

rapidly. Japan spends 7.6% of its GDP, Australia 8.5%, Holland 8.6% and Canada 9.5%. By 2013, per capita health care spending in the U.S. is projected to increase to 18.4 percent of GDP.

A recent study by David U. Himmelstein, MD and Dr. Woolhandler found that our current system is wasteful and obstructively bureaucratic:

Over 24% of every health care dollar goes to paperwork, overhead, CEO salaries, profits, and other non-clinical costs. Because the U.S. does not have a system that serves everyone and instead has over 1,500 different insurance plans, each with their own marketing, paperwork, enrollment, premiums, rules, and regulations, our insurance system is both extremely complex and fragmented. The Medicare program operates with just 3% overhead, compared to 15% to 25% overhead at a typical HMO.

Some research has found even higher levels of administrative cost in our current health care system. A December, 2002 report for the state of Massachusetts, designed to develop a statewide plan for "universal health care with consolidated financing," reported that 40 percent of every health care dollar spent in the state goes to administrative costs.

Prepared by the pro-HMO consulting firm Law & Economics Consulting Group, the report studied three options; only the single-payer option met the developmental criteria.

Studies show that savings from a single-payer system would be more than enough to provide universal coverage for the same amount that we are now paying. In 2001, a federally funded study of single-payer universal health coverage, prepared for the Office of Vermont Health Access by the Lewin Group, found the state could save more than \$118 million a year over current medical insurance costs-and still cover every Vermonter. "Our analysis indicates that the single payer model would cover all Vermont residents, including the estimated 51,390 uninsured persons in the state, while actually reducing total health spending in Vermont by about \$118.1 million in 2001 (i.e., five percent). These savings are attributed primarily to the lower cost of administering coverage through a single government program with uniform coverage and payment rules."

The impact of overhead on private physicians is also significant.

Physicians in the U.S. face massive bureaucratic costs. The average office-based American doctor employs 1.5 clerical and managerial staff, spends 44% of gross income on overhead, and devotes 134 hours of his/her own time annually to billing. Canadian physicians employ 0.7 clerical/administrative staff, spend 34% of their gross income for overhead, and trivial amounts of time on billing (there's a single half page form for all patients, or a simple electronic system).

#### Fraudulent Billing

Typical government estimates put the figure for billing fraud and abuse at 10 percent of annual spending, amounting to over \$150 billion annually. PNHP urges the banning of investor-ownership health care sellers in order to dramatically reduce fraudulent billing. Single-payer will reduce fraud because all of the medical information will be in one system - not multiple systems, i.e. multiple insurance companies, employer records, hospital records. Malcolm Sparrow of Harvard University points out that about 90% of hospital bills have mistakes, with overcharges comprising two out of three of the errors, according to business surveys. Unlike the single-payer system in Canada&mdash;where

everybody has health insurance and no one sees a bill here in the U.S. complex and fragmented bills devour huge amounts of time and resources. Single-payer would reduce both bureaucracy and the opportunity for fraud and bring to light patterns regarding outcomes or other areas needing attention.

#### Waste in Health Care Practices

A recent study by researchers at Dartmouth Medical School suggests that care in the U.S. could be just as good, or better, and cost a lot less - perhaps as much as 30 percent less - if conservative practice patterns were adopted. In regions with nearly identical health care needs, the Dartmouth team found that the overall quantity of services performed could vary by as much as 60 percent. The differences were due to more frequent physician visits, greater use of specialists and minor tests, and more in-patient stays. More expensive care does not necessarily result in better chances of survival or greater levels of satisfaction with that care. Indeed, by some standards, such as quality of care, access to outpatient services, and preventive care-like flu shots and Pap tests-higher-intensity regions actually fared worse than conservative regions.<sup>6</sup> Sometimes too much medical care does harm to a patient, such as unnecessary x-rays, and even operations, having adverse side effects. The single-payer system helps to minimize this problem-physicians ordering unnecessary tests or performing needless surgeries will be spotted. This can only contribute positively to every patient's ability to do real health planning.

#### The Seeds of Single Payer Sound Proposals & Reputable Endorsements

The Nader campaign finds persuasive a plan based on Physicians for a National Health Program's *A National Health Program for the United States: A Physicians' Proposal*, first published in the New England Journal of Medicine in 1989, and *A National Long-Term Care Program for the United States; A Caring Vision*, published in the Journal of the American Medical Association in 1991 (both available at [www.pnhp.org](http://www.pnhp.org)). Founded by Drs. David Himmelstein and Steffie Woolhandler of Harvard Medical School, PNHP has received endorsements for its plans from over 12,000 physicians and medical students, among them: former Surgeons General David Satcher and Julius Richmond; Marcia Angell, MD-Past Editor, New England Journal of Medicine; Quentin Young, MD-Past President, American Public Health Association; Joel Alpert, MD-Past President, American Academy of Pediatrics; Christine Cassell, MD-Past President, American College of Physicians; Elinor Christiansen, MD-Past President, American Medical Women's Association; and Gary Dennis, MD-Past President, National Medical Association (titles for affiliation only).

#### Under PNHP's proposed plans:

Everyone would be included in a single, comprehensive public plan covering all medically necessary services, including acute, rehabilitative and long-term care, mental-health services, dental care, prescription drugs and medical supplies.

Everyone would have access to personalized care with a local primary care physician, and free choice of doctors and hospitals at all times. In a publicly-financed, universal health care system medical decisions would be left to patients and doctors, not to insurance companies or the government.

Health care sellers would stay private, and the health plan would provide for different payment schemes for health-care sellers, to minimize disruption to the existing system. The payment schemes would be designed to prevent profit motives from unduly

influencing physicians, so there would be no structured incentives to recommend too much or too little care.

A transition fund would be established for insurance-company employees whose jobs would be eliminated due to the simplicity of the single-payer system.

The Nader Campaign wishes particularly to applaud the soundness of PNHP's focus on prevention as a critical part of health care. Adequate provision of prevention services not only fosters healthier lives but also proves highly cost-effective in the long run. A commitment to prevention services will require the implementation of systems ensuring the reduction of environmental factors leading to chronic illness (i.e. reducing or eliminating lead in our water, mercury contamination in our food, and asthma-inducing air pollution), especially in our urban areas. Public health policies are needed to wean our culture away from fatty fast foods and encourage healthier life styles, via sound diets, exercise regiments, and reductions in smoking and drug use. As PNHP notes:

Quality requires prevention. Prevention means looking beyond medical treatment of sick individuals to community-based public health efforts to prevent disease, improve functioning and well-being, and reduce health disparities. These simple goals, articulated in {the National Center for Health Statistics'} Healthy People 2000, remain elusive. Nine preventable diseases are responsible for more than half of the deaths in the United States, yet less than 3% of health care spending is directed toward prevention.

A single-payer health plan that includes a prevention focus will be integral to mitigating behaviors and environmental conditions that increase health problems. Again, in the words of PNHP:

Health care financing should facilitate problem solving at the community level.

Community-based approaches to health promotion rest on the premise that enduring changes result from community-wide changes in attitudes and behaviors as well as ensuring a healthy environment. Stores that refuse to sell tobacco to minors and promote low-fat foods, schools that teach avoidance of human immunodeficiency virus infection, and a (public) health department that can guarantee clean air and water have a more vital role in ensuring health than does private health insurance.

The views of nurses are also persuasive. As Deborah Burger, RN, President of the California Nurses Association notes:

As caregivers responsible for protecting patients 24 hours a day, seven days a week, registered nurses see clearly the failure of our current healthcare system and the crisis in access, availability, and quality of health care for everyone in this nation.

The roots of the crisis lie in the growth of a healthcare industry concerned primarily with revenue, profits, and market share rather than quality healthcare.

The California Nurses Association favors creation and implementation of a new system based on a single, universal standard of care for all that respects the humanity and the right of all our residents to quality healthcare. Key components should include:

Single, universal standard of care applied to all patients

Universal access for all; not to be tied to income, residency status or other exclusionary criteria

Uniform benefits

Mandated and enforced safe caregiver staffing ratios based on patient need

Expansion of clinical and economic reporting requirements

Giving priority to healthcare problems associated with race, gender or socio-economic status

A shift away from private administration and financing to a model of public administration and financing

Require hospitals provide all necessary and appropriate care to any patient needing emergency care

Prohibit healthcare providers from seeking to limit care to only the most healthy, and thus least expensive, patients Computer-based technologies based on patient and caregiver safety standards and skill enhancement, rather than skill displacement

Transition employment programs for workers displaced as a result of healthcare reforms

The *U.S. Labor Party's Prescription for a Healthy America* also makes a contribution to the cause of fundamental reform. The Labor Party Plan, called Just Health Care, calls for:

- Taking the profit out of health care noting that as much as 30 cents of every premium dollar is squandered on enormous CEO salaries, shareholder profits, advertising and administration.
- Providing comprehensive coverage of all appropriate care, including:
  1. Doctor visits
  2. Nursing home and long-term care
  3. Hospitalization
  4. Preventive & rehabilitative services
  5. Access to specialists
  6. Prescription drugs
  7. Mental health treatment
  8. Dental & vision services
  9. Occupational health services
  10. Medical supplies & equipment
  11. Guaranteeing access to health care (The Labor Party plan notes: "The number of Americans without health insurance continues to increase each year. Of the 44.3 million uninsured, nearly half aged 18-64 work full time. Just Health Care will extend coverage to every U.S. resident whether working full or part time, retired, laid off, in school or between jobs. By taking health care off the bargaining table, quality health care becomes a right, not a benefit.")
  12. Fair financing (The US Labor Party points out that the cost of health care is rapidly rising. The United States will spend \$1.6 trillion on health care in 2004.)

#### Consumer Oversight

Any system, even one animated by service and our non-profit structures, requires oversight by the consumers-requiring inserts in communications (paper or electronic ) from health care vendors and the single-payer agency, inviting consumers to join and voluntarily contribute minimum membership dues. The Nader campaign proposes that a federally-chartered non-profit membership organization be created through a

Congressional charter to serve as a national patient watchdog (with state chapters) to keep this large part of our economy on its toes. Patients would be able to sign up at their local doctor's office, hospital, or clinic. This organization — call it the Consumer Health Vigilance Association — would have full-time advocates overseeing relevant governmental agencies, Congress, and the private health sector. Empowered with all the rights that corporations wield—advocacy, lobbying, litigation, research, and alliance-development with other citizen groups—this modest organization would be chartered so as to ensure that public policies affecting the provision, quality, and cost of health services reflect fairly the needs and concerns of consumers and continue to be informed by their organized voices.

#### Financing

Although we can easily provide universal, single-payer health insurance for the same amount that we spend and waste on health care now, public funding will be required to replace the portion now paid for by employers and individuals. Consider PNHP's model: A universal public system would be financed this way: The public financing already funneled to Medicare and Medicaid would be retained. The difference, or the gap between current public funding and what we would need for a universal health care system, would be financed by a payroll tax on employers (about 7%) and an income tax on individuals (about 2%). The payroll tax would replace all other employer expenses for employees' health care. The income tax would take the place of all current insurance premiums, co-pays, deductibles, and any and all other out of pocket payments.

For the vast majority of people a 2% income tax is less than what they now pay for insurance premiums and in out-of-pocket payments such as co-pays and deductibles, particularly for anyone who has had a serious illness or has a family member with a serious illness. It is also a fair and sustainable contribution. Currently, over 44.3 million people have no insurance and thousands of people with insurance are bankrupted when they have an accident or illness. Employers who currently offer no health insurance would pay more, but they would receive health insurance for the same low rate as larger firms. Many small employers have to pay 25% or more of payroll now for health insurance - so they end up not having insurance at all.

For large employers, a payroll tax in the 7% range would mean they would pay less than they currently do (about 8.5%). No employer, moreover, would hold a competitive advantage over another because his cost of business did not include health care. And health insurance would disappear from the bargaining table between employers and employees.

However, before assessing any income tax, the Nader campaign would tax the corporations polluting the environment, industries manufacturing addictive products, and stock speculation — in addition to closing corporate tax loopholes. These tax law changes will be more than sufficient to make an income tax surcharge on most individuals unnecessary.

Providing universal health care can only be accomplished through a single-payer system: no country ever achieved universal coverage with private health insurance. President Harry Truman proposed universal health care in 1948 but was rebuffed by Congress. The time to act is yesterday. Let us end our disastrous descent into the corporatization of medicine and its callous consequences.

## Bob Barr

Our health care policy should be reformed based on the principle of consumer-oriented health care.

Access to affordable, quality health care is an important objective. For this reason, some politicians have pushed for government programs to extend health care benefits to those who cannot afford or who otherwise do not maintain private medical insurance. These efforts come on top of taxpayer-subsidized benefits in the form of Medicare and Medicaid.

There are many causes of today's high healthcare cost "crisis". Medical care costs more than it should; access to insurance is more limited by government than it should be; the practice of medicine is more regulated than it should be. The American health care system desperately needs to be treated for ill health.

Our health care policy should be reformed based on the principle of consumer-oriented health care. Regulations which mandate insurance coverage and inflate premiums should be eliminated. Controls which unduly restrict competition within the health care industry, and that limit access to insurance across state lines, should be ended. Moreover, current tax policy, which is biased towards employer-provided, comprehensive health insurance, should be reformed, encouraging individual purchase of less costly catastrophic policies. Federal health care programs, most notably Medicare and Medicaid, have become financially unsustainable. These programs need to be transformed to emphasize patient choice, focus on the truly needy, and add cost-saving incentives. Here, too, market principles should be applied to bring better quality health care at less cost.

Today's health care problems are complex, but the solution is not socialized medicine in any form. Countries that have nationalized their medical systems inevitably ration care through the political system; costs are driven down only by denying needed care.

## Chuck Baldwin

Freedom of Choice In Health Care

**"I strongly support the freedom of choice of practitioner and treatment for all citizens for their health care" --Chuck Baldwin**

Government regulation and subsidy constitutes a threat to both the quality and availability of patient-oriented health care and treatment. Hospitals, doctors, and other health care providers should be accountable to patients - not to politicians, insurance bureaucrats, or HMO Administrators.

If the supply of medical care is controlled by the federal government, then officers of that government will determine which demand is satisfied. The result will be the rationing of services, higher costs, poorer results - and the power of life and death transferred from caring physicians to unaccountable political overseers.

I support proposals for employee-controlled "family coverage" health insurance plans based on cash value life insurance principles.

The federal government has no Constitutional provision to regulate or restrict the freedom of the people to have access to medical care, supplies or treatments. I, therefore, support the

elimination of the federal Food and Drug Administration, as it has been the federal agency primarily responsible for prohibiting beneficial products, treatments, and technologies here in the United States that are freely available in much of the rest of the civilized world.

I condemn and will oppose any legislation designed to secure government subsidies for special interests, such as the HMOs, and/or to protect the artificially high cost to consumers of prescription drugs. A Baldwin Administration will work to put an end to corporate welfare in all areas, including the health care industry. I further support the right of patients to seek redress of their grievances through the courts against insurers and/or HMO's.

I also oppose any legislation, such as Homeland Security Bill, H.R. 5005, which seeks to authorize the forced vaccination of American citizens against small pox. The government should not have the power to force people to receive immunizations or vaccinations.

### Health Evaluation:

Basis for evaluation: sound health care policy for Americans, which meets the needs of Americans and makes economic sense

Score	McCain	Obama	Nader	Barr	Baldwin
	6/10	5/10	9/10	5/10	5/10

Rational: McCain offers a quick but limited fix for the healthcare system; and Obama offers the same but with less specifics; Nader offers a comprehensive, progressive single-payer health care plan with universal coverage, opposes the corporation of medicine, and allows patient free choice of doctors and hospitals; Barr proposes the privatization of healthcare' Baldwin proposes to US healthcare, basically, as it is via employer plans and insurance coverage. Baldwin and Barr received scores of "5" because there are benefits of private healthcare such as consumer choice and greater incentive on the part of the medical industry to provide. Nader's proposal was only limited by specifics.

# Environment

John McCain

## Heritage

Our nation's conservation movement began over a century ago as westward expansion encouraged clearcutting logging practices, unsustainable grazing policies, and the overhunting of game and fish populations. Visionaries such as Teddy Roosevelt, John Muir, and Ding Darling rallied Americans behind unprecedented efforts to save our wild landscapes, important watersheds and migratory bird corridors. Their labors led Americans to embrace principles of multiple-use public lands management and natural resource conservation based upon sound science. This heritage must be understood and reignited in Americans to meet the challenges we face.

## National Treasures

Our national parks, national seashores, wildlife refuges and national monuments embody America's commitment to preserving our most precious natural treasures. Unfortunately, Congress' failure to devote the proper resources towards operations and maintenance has caused many park units to fall into disrepair. As we reconnect with our outdoor heritage we must focus on maintaining these areas. From the Grand Canyon to Gettysburg, to the Indiana Dunes and the Everglades, we must preserve the cultural significance and natural beauty of our most wild and historic places. These irreplaceable landscapes deserve our renewed attention.

## Wildlife and Fisheries

Every year, more than 45 million Americans venture to our forests, marshes, mountains, lakes and streams to pursue the traditions of hunting and fishing. Our sportsmen are citizen stewards of these sensitive areas and play a vital role in maintaining the abundance of wildlife found on our public lands. Indeed the sportsmen community is perhaps our strongest advocate for programs that encourage habitat protection and wildlife conservation. A vibrant hunting and angler community is essential to supporting our state and federal game and fish agencies.

Additionally, we should promote collaborative public-private partnership initiatives such as the North America Waterfowl Management Plan, which build upon the common objectives of various stakeholder groups including hunters and conservation advocates. We must also reverse the declining access to quality hunting and angling opportunities vital to the sportsmen tradition. The long term success of wildlife and fisheries populations is dependant upon a knowledgeable society invested in the efforts to provide for wildlife access and habitat protection.

## Wetlands

America's "no net loss" wetlands policy is not being achieved. Rapid urbanization and poor water resource management continues to claim a considerable acreage of our delicate wetlands. Therefore, we must develop water resource policies that will protect these important natural assets for the benefit of all. This means employing long-term science-based strategies that properly manage strained freshwater resources, like the Great Lakes watershed, and promote polices that will preserve sensitive areas like the Everglades and the Louisiana coastal marshes.

## Open Space

Economic development is essential to a strong American economy but urban sprawl shouldn't be allowed to expand unabated at the expense of our remarkable wild and scenic public lands. Instead we should promote responsible growth and encourage state and local officials to implement open space initiatives and establish green corridors within our communities. This will require strengthening federal tools like Land and Water Conservation Fund that emphasizes

recreation and the protection of wildlife areas.

## Climate Change and Energy Independence

Climate change is the single greatest environmental challenge of our time. The facts of global warming demand our urgent attention, especially in Washington. Not only does our dependence on foreign oil bring about sizable national security risks but the preponderance of scientific evidence points to the warming of our climate from the burning of fossil fuels. We can no longer deny our responsibility to lead the world in reducing our carbon emissions.

John McCain has announced The Lexington Project, a comprehensive energy and climate strategy to provide America with secure sources of energy, ensure our continued prosperity, and address global climate change. This plan includes the elements necessary to achieve these objectives by: producing more power, pushing technology to help free our transportation sector from its use of foreign oil, cleaning up our air, addressing climate change, and ensuring that Americans have dependable energy sources.

This strategy recognizes that we must reexamine our national energy policy and enact reforms that allow the market to do more to open new paths of invention and ingenuity. And we must do this in a way that gives American businesses new incentives to develop clean and renewable energy technologies. The most direct way to achieve this is through a cap-and-trade system that sets clear limits on all greenhouse gases, while also allowing the sale of rights to excess emissions.

We have an opportunity for American agriculture to be a major player in the pursuit of energy independence through the development of bio diesel and cellulosic energy. In moving forward, we must integrate environmental policies that maintain quality wildlife habitat near and downstream of farmland. The past quarter century shown that environmental stewardship programs like the Conservation Reserve Program and the Wetland Reserve Program have helped reduce wetland loss, improve water quality and minimize soil erosion. As we build our new energy economy, these programs should be recognized as good agriculture practices central to sustaining healthy ecosystems.

John McCain will establish a market-based system to curb greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, mobilize innovative technologies, and strengthen the economy. He will work with our international partners to secure our energy future, to create opportunities for American industry, and to leave a better future for our children.

## John McCain's Principles for Climate Policy

- Climate Policy Should Be Built On Scientifically-Sound, Mandatory Emission Reduction Targets And Timetables.
- Climate Policy Should Utilize A Market-Based Cap And Trade System.
- Climate Policy Must Include Mechanisms To Minimize Costs And Work Effectively With Other Markets.
- Climate Policy Must Spur The Development And Deployment Of Advanced Technology.
- Climate Policy Must Facilitate International Efforts To Solve The Problem.

## John McCain's Cap and Trade Policy

John McCain Proposes A Cap-And-Trade System That Would Set Limits On Greenhouse Gas Emissions While Encouraging The Development Of Low-Cost Compliance Options. A climate cap-and-trade mechanism would set a limit on greenhouse gas emissions and allow entities to buy and sell rights to emit, similar to the successful acid rain trading program of the early 1990s. The key feature of this mechanism is that it allows the market to decide and encourage the lowest-cost compliance options.

### **How Does A Cap-And-Trade System Work?**

A cap-and-trade system harnesses human ingenuity in the pursuit of alternatives to carbon-based fuels. Market participants are allotted total permits equal to the cap on greenhouse gas emissions. If they can invent, improve, or acquire a way to reduce their emissions, they can sell their extra permits for cash. The profit motive will coordinate the efforts of venture capitalists, corporate planners, entrepreneurs, and environmentalists on the common motive of reducing emissions.

### **Greenhouse Gas Emission Targets And Timetables**

2012: Return Emissions To 2005 Levels (18 Percent Above 1990 Levels)

2020: Return Emissions To 1990 Levels (15 Percent Below 2005 Levels)

2030: 22 Percent Below 1990 Levels (34 Percent Below 2005 Levels)

2050: 60 Percent Below 1990 Levels (66 Percent Below 2005 Levels)

### **The Cap And Trade System Would Allow For The Gradual Reduction Of Emissions.**

The cap and trade system would encompass electric power, transportation fuels, commercial business, and industrial business – sectors responsible for just below 90 percent of all emissions. Small businesses would be exempt. Initially, participants would be allowed to either make their own GHG reductions or purchase "offsets" – financial instruments representing a reduction, avoidance, or sequestration of greenhouse gas emissions practiced by other activities, such as agriculture – to cover 100 percent of their required reductions. Offsets would only be available through a program dedicated to ensure that all offset GHG emission reductions are real, measured and verifiable. The fraction of GHG emission reductions permitted via offsets would decline over time.

## Innovating, Developing and Deploying Technologies

To Support The Cap And Trade System, John McCain Will Promote The Innovation, Development And Deployment Of Advanced Technologies. John McCain will reform federal government research funding and infrastructure to support the cap and trade emissions reduction goals and emphasize the commercialization of low-carbon technologies. Under John McCain's plan:

Emissions Permits Will Eventually Be Auctioned To Support The Development Of Advanced Technologies. A portion of the process of these auctions will be used to support a diversified portfolio of research and commercialization challenges, ranging from carbon capture and sequestration, to nuclear power, to battery development. Funds will also be used to provide financial backing for a Green Innovation Financing and Transfer (GIFT) to facilitate commercialization.

John McCain Will Streamline The Process For Deploying New Technologies And Requiring More Accountability From Government Programs To Meet Commercialization Goals And Deadlines.

John McCain Will Ensure Rapid Technology Introduction, Quickly Shifting Research From The Laboratory To The Marketplace.

John McCain Will Employ The Inherent Incentives Provided By A Cap-And-Trade System Along With Government-Led Competitions As Incentives For New Technology Deployment.

## John McCain Will Foster Rapid and Clean Economic Growth

John McCain Believes An Effective And Sustainable Climate Policy Must Also Support Rapid Economic Growth. John McCain will use a portion of auction proceeds to reduce impacts on low-income American families. The McCain plan will accomplish this in part by incorporating measures to mitigate any economic cost of meeting emission targets, including:

Trading Emission Permits To Find The Lowest-Cost Source Of Emission Reductions.

Permitting "Banking" And "Borrowing" Of Permits So That Emission Reductions May Be Accelerated Or Deferred To More Economically Efficient Periods.

Permitting Unlimited Initial Offsets From Both Domestic And International Sources.

Effectively Integrating U.S. Trading With Other International Markets, Thereby Providing Access To Low-Cost Permit Sources.

Establishing A Strategic Carbon Reserve As A National Source Of Permits During Periods Of Economic Duress.

Early Allocation Of Some Emission Permits On Sound Principles. This will provide significant amount of allowances for auctioning to provide funding for transition assistance for consumers and industry. It will also directly allocate sufficient permits to enable the activities of a Climate Change Credit Corporation, the public-private agency that will oversee the cap and trade program, provide credit to entities for reductions made before 2012, and ease transition for industry with competitiveness concerns and fewer efficiency technology options.

A commission will also be convened to provide recommendations on the percentage of allowances to be provided for free and the percentage of allowances to be auctioned, and develop a schedule for transition from allocated to maximum auctioned allowances. Cap-and-trade system will also work to maximize the amount of allowances that are auctioned off by 2050.

## John McCain Will Provide Leadership for Effective International Efforts

John McCain Believes That There Must Be A Global Solution To Global Climate Change. John McCain will engage the international community in a coordinated effort by:

Actively Engaging To Lead United Nations Negotiations.

Permitting America To Lead In Innovation, Capture The Market On Low-Carbon Energy Production, And Export To Developing Countries – Including Government Incentives And Partnerships For Sales Of Clean Tech To Developing Countries.

Provide Incentives For Rapid Participation By India And China, While Negotiating An Agreement With Each.

## John McCain Will Develop a Climate Change Adaptation Plan

John McCain Believes A Comprehensive Approach To Addressing Climate Change Includes Adaptation As Well As Mitigation. He believes:

An Adaptation Plan Should Be Based Upon National And Regional Scientific Assessments Of The Impacts Of Climate Change.

An Adaptation Plan Should Focus On Implementation At The Local Level Which Is Where Impacts Will Manifest Themselves.

A Comprehensive Plan Will Address The Full Range Of Issues: Infrastructure, Ecosystems, Resource Planning, And Emergency Preparation.

Barack Obama

## **BARACK OBAMA AND JOE BIDEN: PROMOTING A HEALTHY ENVIRONMENT**

*"We cannot afford more of the same timid politics when the future of our planet is at stake. Global warming is not a someday problem, it is now. We are already breaking records with the intensity of our storms, the number of forest fires, the periods of drought. By 2050 famine could force more than 250 million from their homes . . . . The polar ice caps are now melting faster than science had ever predicted. . . . This is not the future I want for my daughters. It's not the future any of us want for our children. And if we act now and we act boldly, it doesn't have to be."*  
[Barack Obama, Portsmouth, NH, 10/8/07]

Barack Obama has worked to ensure that our nation's environmental laws and policies balance America's need for a healthy, sustainable environment with economic growth. He has reached across the aisle to sponsor ambitious legislation to drastically reduce greenhouse gas emissions and turn this crisis of global warming into a moment of opportunity for innovation and job creation. *The League of Conservation Voters has given Barack Obama the highest lifetime rating of anyone currently running for president.* As president, Barack Obama will make combating global warming a top priority. He will reinvigorate the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), respecting its professionalism and scientific integrity. And he will protect our children from toxins like lead, be a responsible steward of our natural treasures and reverse the Bush

administration's attempts to chip away at our nation's clean air and water standards.

## **CLIMATE CHANGE**

Global warming is real, is happening now and is the result of human activities. Barack Obama and Joe Biden

believe we have a moral, environmental, economic and security imperative to tackle climate change in a serious, sustainable manner.

**Reduce Carbon Emissions 80 Percent by 2050:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden support implementation of a market-based cap-and-trade system to reduce carbon emissions by the amount scientists say is necessary: 80 percent below 1990 levels by 2050. They will start reducing emissions immediately in his administration by establishing strong annual reduction targets, and they will also implement a mandate of reducing emissions to 1990 levels by 2020.

A cap-and-trade program draws on the power of the marketplace to reduce emissions in a cost-effective and flexible manner. Under the program, an overall national cap on carbon emissions is established. The emissions allowed under the cap are divided up into individual allowances that represent the permission to emit that amount. Because the emissions cap restricts the amount of pollution allowed, allowances that give a company the ability to pollute take on financial value. Companies are free to buy and sell allowances in order to continue operating in the most profitable manner available to them. Those that are able to reduce pollution at a low cost can sell their extra allowances to companies facing high costs. Each year the number of allowances will decline to match the required annual reduction targets.

**100 Percent Allowance Auction:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden's cap-and-trade system will require all pollution credits to be auctioned. A 100 percent auction ensures that all large corporate polluters pay for every ton of emissions they release, rather than giving these emission rights away for free to coal and oil companies.

**Invest Revenue for a Clean Energy Future:** Some of the revenue generated by auctioning allowances will be used to support the development and deployment of clean energy, invest in energy efficiency improvements to help families reduce their energy prices, and to address transition costs, including helping American workers affected by this economic transition and helping lower-income Americans with their energy costs.

## **I. Invest in a Clean Energy Economy and Create American Jobs**

Barack Obama and Joe Biden will invest \$150 billion over 10 years in advanced energy technologies.

### **(1) Increase Investment in Basic Research and Human Capital.**

Invest in Basic Research: Barack Obama and Joe Biden will double federal science and research funding for clean energy projects.

Invest in a Skilled Clean Technologies Workforce: Barack Obama and Joe Biden will invest in job training and transition programs to help workers and industries adapt to clean technology development and production.

### **(2) Invest in Key Technology Deployment.**

Clean Technologies Deployment Venture Capital Fund: Barack Obama and Joe Biden will create a Clean Technologies Venture Capital Fund to fill a critical gap in U.S. technology development. This fund will partner with existing investment funds and our National Laboratories to ensure that promising technologies move beyond the lab and are commercialized in the U.S.

Production Tax Credit: Barack Obama and Joe Biden will also extend the federal Production Tax Credit (PTC) for 5 years to encourage the deployment of renewable technologies.

### **(3) Set Standards to Allow the Market to Invest and Innovate.**

Barack Obama and Joe Biden will also establish new national standards to ensure less carbon intensive energy is used in our energy supply.

Establish a National Low Carbon Fuel Standard: Barack Obama and Joe Biden will establish a National Low Carbon Fuel Standard (LCFS) to speed the introduction of low-carbon, non-petroleum fuels. The standard requires fuels suppliers to reduce the carbon their fuel emits by ten percent by 2020.

Require 25 Percent of Electricity to Come from Renewable Sources by 2025: Barack Obama and Joe Biden will establish a 25 percent federal Renewable Portfolio Standard (RPS) to require that 25 percent of electricity consumed in the U.S. is derived from clean, sustainable energy sources, like solar, wind and geothermal by 2025.

Ensure the Federal Government Uses Renewable Sources of Electricity: Barack Obama and Joe Biden will ensure that at least 30 percent of the federal government's electricity comes from renewable sources by 2020.

## **II. Invest in the Fastest, Cleanest Way to Reduce Emissions: Energy Efficiency**

Barack Obama and Joe Biden will make energy conservation a top priority and use their offices to communicate directly with the American people about the importance of reducing our energy consumption. Their agenda will provide the American people the tools they need to begin reducing their energy consumption and energy bills.

**Make the Federal Government the Leader in Saving Electricity:**

**Make Federal Buildings More Efficient:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden will ensure that all new federal buildings are zero-emissions by 2025, and they will ensure that all new federal buildings are 40 percent more efficient within the next five years. They will also make retrofitting existing federal buildings a top priority and seek to improve their efficiency by 25 percent within five years.

**Overhaul Federal Efficiency Codes:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden will ensure his Department of Energy will regularly update efficiency standards.

**Use Innovative Measures to Dramatically Improve Efficiency of Buildings:**

**Set National Building Efficiency Goals:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden will establish a goal of making all new buildings carbon neutral, or produce zero emissions, by 2030. They will also establish a national goal of improving new building efficiency by 50 percent and existing building efficiency by 25 percent over the next decade to help us meet the 2030 goal.

**Establish a Grant Program for Early Adopters:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden will create a competitive grant program to award those states and localities that take the first steps in implementing new building codes that prioritize energy efficiency. They will also provide a federal match for those states with public benefits funds that support energy efficiency retrofits for existing buildings.

**Flip Incentives to Energy Utilities:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden will work to provide incentives for energy conservation by ensuring utilities get increased profits for improving energy efficiency, rather than higher energy consumption. This decoupling of profits from increased energy usage will incentivize utilities to partner with consumers and the federal government to reduce monthly energy bills for families and businesses. Barack Obama and Joe Biden will provide early adopter grants and other financial assistance from the federal government to states that implement this energy efficient

policy.

**Expand Federal Efficiency Grants:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden will expand federal grant programs to help states and localities build more efficient public buildings that adopt aggressive green building provisions like those provided by Green Globes and the Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design program of the U.S. Green Buildings Council.

**Create a Green Job Corps:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden will create an energy-focused youth jobs program for disconnected and disadvantaged youth. This program will provide participants with service opportunities to improve energy conservation and efficiency of homes and buildings in their communities, while also providing practical experience in important career fields of expected high-growth employment. It will also engage private sector employers and unions to provide apprenticeship opportunities. The program will also work closely with Barack Obama and Joe Biden's proposed Clean Energy Corps to help participants find additional service opportunities after they complete the Green Job Corps.

**Invest in a Digital Smart Grid:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden will pursue a major investment in our national utility grid to enable a tremendous increase in renewable generation and accommodate 21<sup>st</sup> century energy requirements, such as reliability, smart metering and distributed storage. Barack Obama and Joe Biden will direct federal resources to the most vulnerable and congested urban and rural areas where significant renewable energy sources are located. They will work toward national transformation of our energy grid in partnership with states and utilities.

**Increase Fuel Economy Standards:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden will double fuel economy standards within 18 years while protecting the financial future of domestic automakers. Their plan will provide retooling tax credits and loan guarantees for domestic auto plants and parts manufacturers, so that the new fuel-efficient cars can be built in the U.S. rather than overseas.

**Invest in Developing Advanced Vehicles:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden will invest in advanced vehicle technology that utilizes advanced lightweight materials and new engines. They will also expand consumer tax incentives by lifting the 60,000-per-manufacturer cap on buyer tax credits to allow more Americans to buy ultra-efficient vehicles.

**Build More Livable and Sustainable Communities:**

**Reform Federal Transportation Funding:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden will re-evaluate the transportation funding process to ensure that smart growth considerations are taken into account and he will also re-commit federal resources to public mass transportation projects across the country.

**Require States to Plan for Energy Conservation:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden will require governors and local leaders in our metropolitan areas to make “energy conservation” a required part of their planning for the expenditure of federal transportation funds.

**III. Make the U.S. a Leader in Combating Climate Change around the World  
Re-Engage with the U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC):**

The UNFCCC process is the main international forum dedicated to addressing the climate change problem and an Obama administration will work constructively within it.

**Create New Forum of Largest Greenhouse Gas Emitters:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden will create a Global Energy Forum – based on the G8+5, which includes all G-8 members plus Brazil, China, India, Mexico and South Africa – comprised of the largest energy consuming nations from both the developed and developing world, which would focus exclusively on global energy and environmental issues. This Global Energy Forum will complement – and ultimately merge with – the much larger negotiation process underway at the UN to develop a post-Kyoto framework.

**Transfer American Technology to the Developing World to Fight Climate Change:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden will create a Technology Transfer Program within the Department of Energy dedicated to exporting climate-friendly technologies, including green buildings, clean coal and advanced automobiles, to developing countries to help them combat climate change.

**Confront Deforestation and Promote Carbon Sequestration:** A comprehensive strategy to combat global warming must address tropical deforestation which accounts for approximately 20 percent of global greenhouse gas emissions. Reducing rates of tropical deforestation will not only slow greenhouse gas emissions but will also protect the livelihoods of local people and the abundance of biodiversity inextricably linked to those forests. By offering incentives to maintain forests and manage them sustainably, the United States can play

a leadership role in dealing with climate change. In addition, Barack Obama and Joe Biden will develop domestic incentives that reward forest owners, farmers, and ranchers when they plant trees, restore grasslands, or undertake farming practices that capture carbon dioxide from the atmosphere.

### **CLEAN AIR**

Air pollution causes thousands of deaths each year. Barack Obama and Joe Biden have a record of successfully fighting for cleaner air. In an Obama administration, they will continue that fight.

**Fight for Clean Air:** During his time on the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee, Barack

Obama helped stop President Bush's attempt to undermine the Clean Air Act, which would have increased

industrial emissions of mercury and sulfur. He also helped block attempts to roll back environmental

regulations on oil refineries. And he has been an outspoken proponent of funding for the Diesel Emissions

Reduction Act of 2005, a bipartisan initiative that could achieve major reductions in harmful emissions by

helping states clean up diesel vehicles.

As president, Barack Obama will restore the force of the Clean Air Act. He and Joe Biden will fight for

continued reductions in smog and soot, and continue his leadership in combating toxins that contribute to air

pollution. Unlike President Bush, they will listen to his scientific advisers on air quality standards. And they

will reverse the Bush administration's attempts to chip away at our nation's clean air standards.

**Reduce Health Risks Caused by Mercury Pollution:** More than five million women of childbearing age have

high levels of toxic mercury in their blood and approximately 630,000 newborns are born every year at risk.

The EPA estimates that every year, more than one in six children could be at risk for developmental disorders

because of mercury exposure in the mother's womb. Barack Obama fought a Bush administration rule that

would have imposed very weak emissions reductions on utilities, delaying meaningful reductions in power plant

mercury emissions for another two decades. Recognizing that one major cause of mercury also comes through

the air from across the oceans, particularly from China, Obama introduced legislation to ban the export of

elemental mercury, and he successfully pressured the U.S. Department of Energy to stop its proposed sale of

large quantities of mercury to companies overseas. Obama also introduced legislation to phase out the use of

mercury in the manufacture of chlorine.

## **CLEAN WATER**

As a senator, Barack Obama has been a strong leader on clean water issues. He fought against offshore drilling in the U.S. Senate, and he supports maintaining current moratoriums on new offshore oil and natural gas drilling. He supports full funding for the Clean Water State Revolving Fund, which funds water quality protection projects for wastewater treatment, nonpoint source pollution control, and watershed and estuary management. He also supported a new stormwater cleanup program to manage polluted runoff from roads and highways, which is the largest source of water pollution in coastal areas today. In Illinois, Obama cosponsored legislation that stopped the use of MTBE, a fuel additive which has been found to contaminate ground water.

As president, he will improve the quality of our nation's lakes, rivers, and drinking water.

**Clean up our Water:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden will reinvigorate the drinking water standards that have

been weakened under the Bush administration and update them to address new threats.

They will help

communities by restoring better federal financing for water and wastewater treatment infrastructure, and they

will continue his leadership in protecting national treasures like the Great Lakes from threats such as industrial

pollution, water diversion, and invasive species. Barack Obama and Joe Biden will establish policies to help

high-growth regions with the challenges of managing their water supplies.

**Regulate CAFOs:** Concentrated Animal Feeding Operations (CAFOs), which raise more than 40 percent of

U.S. livestock, comprise a larger share of the livestock industry every year. Barack Obama has worked for

tougher environmental regulations on CAFOs. He has supported legislation to set tough air and water pollution

limits for livestock operations, including limits on nitrogen, phosphorus, hydrogen sulfide, ammonia, and other

pollutants. In the Obama Administration, the Environmental Protection Agency will strictly monitor and

regulate pollution from large CAFOs, with fines for those who violate tough air and water quality standards.

Obama also strongly supports efforts to ensure meaningful local control.

**Restore the Wetlands:** Barack Obama is an advocate for preserving our wetlands and supports a broad range

of traditional conservation programs, including the North American Wetlands Conservation Act and the

Wetland Reserve Program in the Farm Bill. He and Joe Biden will work with local governments to develop the best strategies for protecting and expanding wetlands. Obama's record on protecting wetlands dates back to his days as a state senator, when he was a cosponsor of the Wetlands Protection Act, which provided for the conservation of wetlands in Illinois. Barack Obama will help the Gulf Coast restore the wetlands, marshes and barrier islands that are critical to tamping down the force of hurricanes and serve as critical fish and wildlife habitat. As president, he will immediately close the Mississippi River Gulf Outlet, which experts say funneled floodwater into New Orleans.

**Restore the Great Lakes:** Having lived near Lake Michigan for 20 years, Barack Obama has a deep appreciation for the Great Lakes – for their beauty as well as their centrality to the region's economy, recreation, transportation, and drinking water. He has worked tirelessly in the Illinois State Senate and U.S.

Senate to protect the Great Lakes from sludge, mercury, and invasive species. As president, Barack Obama will push for the passage of the Great Lakes Collaboration Implementation Act, which will move us past playing defense against environmental problems and toward a comprehensive restoration of the Great Lakes. He is a cosponsor of the Great Lakes Environmental Restoration Act, which would provide grants for projects including wetland restoration, coastal wildlife and fisheries habitat improvement, water quality improvement and nonpoint source pollution reduction. Recently, when the Indiana Department of Environmental Management agreed to allow a BP refinery to release significantly more ammonia, treated solids and mercury into Lake Michigan, Barack Obama fought back, calling for congressional hearings into the permit and its relation to Clean Water Act provisions intended to prevent any decline in water quality.

**Water in the West:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden understand that the American West is facing a serious water crisis. In the long run, we do not have enough water to meet the West's fast-growing needs. Barack Obama and Joe Biden believe the federal government has an important role to play in helping local communities conserve water. They support federal policies to encourage voluntary water banks, wastewater treatment, and other market-based conservation measures. We also need to improve technology for water conservation and

efficiency, and remove institutional barriers to increase cooperation and collaboration among federal, state, tribal, and private organizations. Nevada's "cash for grass" program, in which people are paid to remove grass and put in desert landscaping, is an excellent model of conservation, and Barack Obama and Joe Biden intend to help local communities develop similar projects that work for them.

### **HEALTHIER COMMUNITIES**

As president, Barack Obama will continue his fight, begun as a community organizer, to protect our children from health hazards and developmental disabilities caused by environmental toxins, such as lead, mercury, particulate matter, and industrial land waste. Barack Obama and Joe Biden will fight to clean brownfields, restore abandoned industrial riverfront sites, and give communities the tools they need to eat healthy foods and expand livable, walkable neighborhoods.

**Protect Children and Families from Lead Poisoning:** Lead is a neurotoxin that is especially harmful to the developing nervous systems of fetuses and young children. There are currently 400,000 children suffering from lead poisoning in the U.S. In 2005, Barack Obama introduced the Lead-Free Toys Act, which would require the Consumer Product Safety Commission to ban children's products containing more than a trace amount of lead.

Following news reports that millions of Chinese-made toys were being recalled because of lead paint, he has pressured toy manufacturers and Bush administration officials to do a better job of protecting American children.

In 2006, Barack Obama introduced the Lead Poisoning Reduction Act, which would help protect children from lead poisoning by requiring all non-home-based child care facilities, including Head Start programs and kindergartens, to be lead-safe within five years. The legislation would also establish a \$42.6 million grant program to help local communities pay to make these facilities safe. The Environmental Protection Agency recently announced support for Obama's proposal to remove toxic lead from child care, pre-school, and kindergarten facilities.

Barack Obama has fought to get the Environmental Protection Agency to publish long-overdue rules for how contractors involved in the renovation and remodeling of homes should deal with lead paint hazards. When the

rules are eventually finalized, they will prevent 28,000 lead-related illnesses each year, resulting in an annual net economic benefit of more than \$4 billion.

**Protect the Public from Nuclear Material:** After a series of reports that Illinois nuclear power plants failed to disclose that radioactive substances had leaked into the groundwater, Barack Obama worked with Senator Dick Durbin (D-IL) to introduce legislation that would require nuclear companies to inform state and local officials if there is an accidental or unintentional leak of a radioactive substance. In 2005, Obama introduced legislation requiring the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to track unaccounted spent nuclear fuel rods used at power plants in the United States.

**Control Superfund Sites and Data:** Barack Obama demanded that the Environmental Protection Agency report on what it is doing to reduce and control human exposure to hazardous contaminants at more than 100 Superfund sites nationwide. As a state senator, he voted to create the Brownfields Rehabilitation and Redevelopment Program, which encourages private sector voluntary remediation of environmentally-distressed and underutilized sites. As president, Obama will restore the strength of the Superfund program by requiring polluters to pay for the cleanup of contaminated sites they created.

**Strengthen Federal Environmental Justice Programs:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden will make environmental justice policies a priority within the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). As a U.S. Senator, Obama has worked to ensure that low-income communities are represented in the EPA's long-term planning. As president, he and Joe Biden will work to strengthen the EPA Office of Environmental Justice and expand the Environmental Justice Small Grants Program, which provides non-profit organizations across the nation with valuable resources to address local environmental problems. They will also work to ensure that environmental health issues in the wake of man-made or terrorist disasters are promptly addressed by federal, state and local officials. They will work to provide low-income communities the legal ability to challenge policies and processes that adversely affect the environmental health of low-income and minority communities.

**Build Healthy Communities:** How a community is designed – including the layout of its roads, buildings and

parks – has a huge impact on the health of its residents. For instance, nearly one-third of Americans live in neighborhoods without sidewalks and less than half of our country's children have a playground within walking distance of their homes. This lack of a safe place to walk and play is a major contributor to the growing numbers of overweight children. Barack Obama introduced the Healthy Places Act to help local governments assess the health impact of new policies and projects, like highways or shopping centers. Once the health impact is determined, the bill gives grant funding and technical assistance to help address potential health problems. Minorities in America are significantly more likely to be affected by toxins and pollutants. To focus federal attention on this environmental health problem, Barack Obama introduced the Healthy Communities Act, which would expand research on toxins and provide the resources to clean up blighted communities.

**Encourage Organic and Sustainable Agriculture:** Organic food is the fastest growing sector of the American food marketplace. Demand for sustainable, locally-grown, grass-finished and heritage foods is also growing quickly. These niche markets present new opportunities for beginning farmers because specialty operations often require more management and labor than capital. To support the continued growth of sustainable alternative agriculture, Barack Obama and Joe Biden will increase funding for the National Organic Certification Cost-Share Program to help farmers afford the costs of compliance with national organic certification standards. They will also reform the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) Risk Management Agency's crop insurance rates so that they do not penalize organic farmers.

**Support Local Family Farmers with Local Foods and Promote Regional Food System Policies:** Farming is a vanishing lifestyle. Less than one million Americans claim farming as their primary occupation. Those farmers who sell directly to their customers cut out all of the middlemen and get full retail price for their food - which means farm families can afford to stay on the farm, doing the important work they love. Barack Obama and Joe Biden recognize that local and regional food systems are better for our environment and support familyscale producers. They will emphasize the need for Americans to Buy Fresh and Buy Local, and they will implement USDA policies that promote local and regional food systems.

## **PRESERVING OUR LAND**

Barack Obama and Joe Biden believe that we have a responsibility to our children to leave this Earth better than we found it. All Americans have an interest in the protection and proper maintenance of our irreplaceable national treasures. Conservation is also vitally important to providing clean drinking water, cleaning our air and reducing greenhouse gas pollution. Barack Obama and Joe Biden believe we need a new vision for conservation that both protects our existing publicly-owned lands while dramatically expanding investments in protecting and restoring forests, grasslands, and wetlands across America for generations to come.

**Protect National Parks and Forests:** For too long, America's National Parks and Forests have been threatened by lax protection. Barack Obama fought efforts to drill in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

Obama supports the Roadless Area Conservation Rule to keep over 58 million acres of national forests pristine.

As president, he and Joe Biden will repair the damage done to our national parks by inadequate funding and emphasize the protection and restoration of our National Forests.

Barack Obama is also an original cosponsor of the Combat Illegal Logging Act, which would prohibit the importation of illegally harvested wood products. This would make foreign companies much less likely to engage in massive, illegal deforestation in other countries. Saving these endangered forests preserves a major source of carbon sequestration.

**Conserve New Lands:** Barack Obama is a strong supporter of increased funding for the Land and Water

Conservation Fund, which supports land acquisition and maintenance of parks. As a state senator, he supported the creation of the Illinois Open Land Trust Act, which allowed the state to buy property from willing sellers for conservation and recreation purposes and make grants and loans to local governments for acquiring land for open spaces.

While Americans can take great pride in our National Parks and other public lands, there are many landscapes and ecosystems which do not have adequate protection. As president, Barack Obama will lead efforts to acquire and conserve new parks and public lands, focusing on ecosystems such as the Great Plains and Eastern forests which do not yet have the protection they deserve.

**Partner with Landowners to Conserve Private Lands:** Because most land is privately-owned, private landowners are the principle stewards of America's land and water. As a U.S. Senator, Barack Obama has supported conservation programs that serve as a resource to landowners and assist them with sustainable environmental planning and best land management practices. As president, he and Joe Biden will put an unprecedented level of emphasis on the conservation of private lands. They will advance legislation that works with landowners and follows in the tradition of the Wilderness Act, the Clean Water Act, and the Clean Air Act to focus federal attention and increased resources for this key environmental issue. They will also increase funding for the Conservation Security Program and the Conservation Reserve Program and will create additional incentives for private landowners to protect and restore wetlands, grasslands, forests, and other wildlife habitat.

**Encourage Farmers at the Cutting Edge of Renewable Energy and Energy**

**Efficiency:** Farmers realize that they can help their bottom line and the environment by using more wind and solar power production systems and sharing energy with other users. They are using new irrigation practices to conserve energy and water. Barack Obama and Joe Biden will encourage the use of methane digesters that are being used to produce power from animal waste.

"No till" and other agricultural practices are reducing energy input and keeping the health of our soil sustainable. Barack Obama and Joe Biden will expand USDA projects that focus on energy efficiency and conservation.

## Ralph Nader

### A Real World Environmental Policy

The epidemic of silent environmental violence continues. Whether it is the 65,000 Americans who die every year from air pollution, or the 80,000 estimated annual fatalities from hospital malpractice, or the 100,000 Americans whose demise comes from occupational toxic exposures, or the cruel environmental racism where the poor and their often asthmatic children live in pollution sinks located near toxic hot spots (that are never situated in shrubbered suburbs), preventable, harmful, situations abound.

Now, as the evidence of global warming mounts, it is evident that we threaten the global environment with tremendous economic threats facing humanity, including bankrupting the reinsurance industry, the spread of infectious tropical diseases, massive ecological disruption and increased severe and unpredictable weather, all of which will significantly impact commerce, agriculture, and communities across America. Toxic standards need to be strengthened. Currently toxic standards are designed for adults, not for more vulnerable children. This should be reversed. We need to make environmental protection a priority for our energy, trade, industrial, agricultural, transportation, development, and

land use policies. Indeed, protecting the environment must be weaved throughout our governance.

#### End Mountaintop Removal Mining

Mountain-top removal, as it is aptly named, is a form of surface mining in which explosives are used to remove up to 1,000 feet of mountaintop in order to reach the coal deposits lying within the mountain.

Forests are first clear-cut, destroying ecosystems and displacing or eliminating any resident wildlife. The now-bald top of the mountain is then exploded and excavated. Soil and the remaining rock are pushed out of the way into adjacent valleys or streams, a tactic which earns this vicious practice the additional name of Valley-fill Mining. Over 1,200 miles of Appalachian headwater streams have been filled in.

The harms of this mercenary practice are both short and long-term. The process destructively rips out forests, carves away soil and rock, and destroys neighboring streams and valleys. The adjacent areas are often endangered by both the solid waste dumps in streams and wetlands, and the liquid slurry waste which is stored in silos. These toxic slurry dams house the run-off from the coal processing, a "blackwater" laden with carcinogens and heavy metals.

Not only harmful to the environment when they are intact, the slurry dams are much more dangerous if they fail; when they fail. In 1972, 125 people were killed, 1,121 injured, and 4,000 left homeless when The Buffalo Creek Dam gave way.

At the behest of the Clinton administration and carried to fruition under the Bush administration, the May 2002 rule change to the 1977 Clean Water Act allowed mining spoils to be included as "fill material," and sanctioned the burial of hundreds of miles of streams by the coal companies.

In *The Good Fight*, Ralph Nader said, "Trashing the environment for short-term profit amounts to a radical assault on freedom perpetrated by corporations who have bought our state and federal politicians." The coal companies assault local people with massive explosions, debris, rain, flooding and fouled water supplies and leave them with flattened land, fewer jobs, and in poverty, while they increase mechanization and shareholder profits.

That's why, at the request of Ohio Citizen Action, an environmental advocacy group, Mr. Nader was the first presidential candidate to sign a letter stating: "If elected President, I will ban mountain-top removal mining by appropriate executive authority and by signing the Clean Water Protection Act when it reaches my desk."

<http://www.votenader.org/media/2008/08/14/MountaintopRemoval/>

It is tragic and ironic that Ralph Nader is once again at the forefront of protecting the environment, here speaking out against a destructive change to the very water protection act that he helped bring about. Now, as then, Ralph Nader stands with those who would seek to preserve our biological resources for ourselves and future generations.

<http://www.ohiocitizen.org/>

<http://www.mountainjusticesummer.org/facts/steps.php>

Oppose Offshore Drilling

**Offshore Drilling is fool's black gold**

*Ralph Nader criticizes Obama and McCain for not standing strong against offshore*

*drilling*  
*15 Sep 2008*

As we begin to assess the [damage caused by Hurricane Ike](#), which forced the shutdown of this country's oil industry and sent adrift two oil rigs in the Gulf of Mexico, our members of Congress are poised to vote on legislation this week that would undermine a decades-old ban on offshore oil drilling.

Offshore drilling is severely damaging to the environment, and dangerously vulnerable to turbulent weather and hurricanes. For 27 years, beginning under an initiative signed by Ronald Reagan, our country has managed to protect sensitive parts of our ocean coastlines from the ravages of offshore drilling — a commendable feat considering the many pristine areas of our public lands and ecosystems that have been violated by extractive activities. After initially indicating his intent to uphold the 1981 ban on offshore drilling, Barack Obama, following the example of his Republican rival John McCain, flipped on the issue. This reversal by Obama and McCain could open the door for one of the last remaining vestiges of our country's natural beauty to be trampled upon by commercial forces.

The case against offshore drilling has been made time and time again, illustrated by the numerous incidents in which oil rigs have led to ecological destruction and severe contamination of waters. In 2001, for example, an explosion on board the world's largest oil rig helped sink it to the ocean floor off the coast of Brazil, killing 11 workers and spewing 316,000 gallons of diesel into the Atlantic. These types of spills will no doubt escalate with the increased frequency of violent hurricanes, fueled by global warming.

As for rigs that do manage to stay afloat, the Rainforest Action Network estimates that a single oil rig, in its lifetime, dumps more than 90,000 metric tons of drilling fluid and metal cuttings into the ocean, and may drill up to 100 wells, each dumping 25,000 pounds of toxic metals including lead, chromium, and mercury.

Our country's coastal wetlands, bays, and beaches — and the many creatures that live in them — are not just in danger from potential big spills, but under threat from the business-as-usual streams of pollution flowing from offshore rigs. If the ban on offshore drilling were reversed, the potential for harm would soon increase significantly.

The biggest strike against offshore drilling this election year is that, contrary to what some candidates would have you believe, it will not reduce gas prices anytime soon, or at all.

If we are really serious about bringing down gas prices, we should implement long-overdue increases to fuel-efficiency requirements. The Nader/Gonzalez campaign calls for increasing the average efficiency of our gas guzzlers from about 20 miles per gallon to more than 40 mpg over the next five years. That would save us 5 million barrels of oil a day — barrels that do not have to be produced or imported.

On offshore drilling, McCain and Obama differ in a most peculiar way. Obama acknowledges the futility of drilling to reduce gas prices but supports it anyway out of political expediency, in part as a bargaining chip if needed to get a comprehensive energy deal, and in part to take a populist arrow out of McCain's quiver. McCain, who also once opposed offshore drilling and acknowledged its futility in reducing gas prices, now chooses to ignore what most analysts say concerning offshore drilling: that because of the time it would take oil companies to secure permits, obtain and set up equipment, and conduct research required to extract oil, we won't start to receive oil shipments or feel the relief of lower gas prices for 10 years. Nor does McCain mention a [widely cited report](#) from the Department of Energy's Energy Information Administration that predicts peak production of offshore drilling would not be reached until 2030, and would still produce too little oil to affect world oil prices.

The House Committee on Natural Resources released a telling report in June appropriately titled [The Truth About America's Energy: Big Oil Stockpiles Supplies and Pockets Profits](#). In it, the committee points out that there has been a sharp increase in the number of drilling permits issued to oil companies starting in the 1990s and concludes that "there is simply no correlation" between the number of drilling permits issued and the price of gas. Moreover, the report shows that of the 91.5 million acres of federal land being leased to oil companies, nearly 68 million acres are not being worked.

Rather than exposing McCain's categorical falsehoods and misrepresentations about the issue, Obama — who has thus far in his presidential campaign accepted more than \$450,000 from executives and other employees of oil and gas companies (McCain has taken \$1.6 million) — instead chooses to ride along with the Republicans and the oil companies. By capitulating to the Republicans, as he has on other matters, he surrenders moral authority on struggles concerning the health, safety, and well-being of individuals and the environment. Obama is not only selling out our environment, but displaying political behavior that does not stand its ground.

Defend Wildlife

The Nader campaign endorses The Defenders of Wildlife's *Wildlife Conservation Agenda for the Next Administration*. The agenda calls on the next administration to:

End the political manipulation of science

Responsibly manage America's federal lands

Safeguard America's rarest plants and wildlife

Make America a leader in addressing global warming and its impacts

Restore America's role as a global leader in wildlife conservation

Restore our connection to nature through education and stewardship of our federal lands

Global Climate Change Requires Us to Break Our Addiction to Fossil Fuels

The Nader campaign believes it is time to break our addiction to fossil fuels. The evidence of global warming is mounting. We threaten the global environment with our continued use of fossil fuels. Not only is this an ecological threat, it is a tremendous economic threat, facing all of humanity. Global warming will bankrupt the re-insurance industry, spread infectious tropical diseases, cause massive ecological disruption, and increased severe and unpredictable weather all of which will significantly impact commerce, agriculture, and communities across America and throughout the world.

We urge a new clean energy policy that no longer subsidizes entrenched oil, nuclear, electric and coal mining interests — an energy policy that is efficient, sustainable, and environmentally friendly. We need to invest in a diversified energy policy including renewable energy like wind and other forms of solar power, more efficient automobiles, homes and businesses that would break our addiction to oil, coal, and atomic power. A new clean energy paradigm will mean more jobs, more efficiency, greater security, environmental protection, and increased health.

The Nader campaign endorses the statement below, *Greenpeace on Climate Change*, and urges people to get involved with Greenpeace's efforts, as well as the efforts of others, to forge a new energy policy that is sustainable, efficient, and environmentally friendly.

[See greenpeace.org for more information.](http://greenpeace.org)

#### Greenpeace on Climate Change

For more than a century, people have relied on fossil fuels such as oil, coal, and gas for their energy needs. Now, worldwide, people and the environment are experiencing the consequences: global warming, caused by burning fossil fuels, is the worst environmental problem we face today.

People are changing the climate that made life on earth possible and the results are disastrous extreme weather events, such as droughts and floods, disruption of water supplies, melting Polar regions, rising sea levels, loss of coral reefs, and much more. Scientists and governments worldwide agree on the latest and starkest evidence of human-induced climate change, its impacts, and the predictions of what is to come.

It is not too late to slow global warming and avoid the climate catastrophe that scientists predict. The solutions already exist. Renewable energy sources, such as wind and solar, offer abundant clean energy that is safe for the environment and good for the economy.

Other green technologies, such as the refrigeration technology Greenfreeze, offer viable alternatives to climate-changing chemicals.

Corporations, governments and individuals must begin now to phase in clean, sustainable energy solutions and phase out fossil fuels. Major investments must be made in renewable energy, particularly in developing economies, replacing current large scale fossil fuel developments.

At the same time, immediate international action must be taken to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases (the gases that cause global warming), or the world may soon face irreversible global climate damage.

Ratifying the Kyoto Protocol, the climate treaty finally agreed at Marrakech in November 2001, is a crucial first step in this process. However, the greenhouse gas reduction targets agreed at Marrakech are only a fraction of what is needed to stop dangerous climate change and the Kyoto Protocol is under fierce attack.

The US refuses to sign the climate treaty and take action to reduce emissions. With less than 5 percent of the world's population, the US is the world's largest producer of greenhouse gases and is responsible for 25 percent of global emissions. Also, governments continue to subsidize the fossil fuel industries, keeping dirty energy cheap while clean energy solutions remain under-funded.

Greenpeace is campaigning globally on a variety of fronts to stop climate change from the campaign to pressure the ExxonMobil and George W. Bush to work with the rest of the world to halt climate change to researching and promoting clean energy solutions.

#### Protecting the Oceans

The U.S. Commission on Ocean Policy (COP) issued a report on April 20, 2004 that recognizes that the coasts and oceans are in serious trouble. The problems on our coasts and oceans are caused by bad decisions by government that allow overfishing for the global seafood market, in addition to coastal development and sprawl, agricultural and industrial, pollution and fossil-fuel driven climate change.

The report echoes concerns raised by the independent Pew Oceans Commission report that came out in June 2003. While the two commissions made similar findings, they had different recommendations. Pew's commission was made up of scientists, fishermen, and environmentalists; US COP emphasized industry reps, academics and admirals. Not surprisingly, the former had stronger recommendations. Below is a comparison by the Blue Frontier Campaign — a non-profit environmental group.

They both agree on the need for Ecosystem management (recognizing that nature doesn't recognize political boundaries). They both call for a National Ocean Council within the White House. But where Pew also calls for an independent ocean agency, COP suggests strengthening the National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), while keeping it within the trade-driven Department of Commerce. Where Pew suggests establishing Watershed based Regional Councils to carry out ecosystems management, COP suggests establishing voluntary programs on a trial basis. While Pew suggests establishing no-take Marine Protected Areas (like National Parks in the sea), that could also help restore depleted fisheries, COP takes a far more timid position calling for more study and definition.

Both Commissions call for reorganizing fisheries management to separate the science ("dead fish tend not to reproduce") from the allocation ("who gets the last fish?") The U.S. Commission doesn't really challenge built-in conflict-of-interest however. The eight regional fisheries councils that set fishing policy in US waters are the only federal regulatory bodies exempted from conflict-of-interest law. The result is they're dominated by the fishing industry. The original idea is that the fishermen had the expertise, which is true. They're expert at killing fish. Now even many fishermen are suggesting it's time for a more radical change.

The Nader Campaign shares the views of the Blue Frontier Campaign's official comments on the US Commission on Ocean Policy Draft Report, which are on the web at [bluefront.org](http://bluefront.org) and reprinted below.

Public Comment on US Commission on Ocean Policy Draft Report: Submitted by David Helvarg, President Blue Frontier Campaign, Washington, DC

America is and always has been an Oceanic society. From the Bering Sea Land-bridge to the Jamestown Settlement to the processing lines of Ellis Island we have been a tempest tossed people, a saltwater people, a coastal people.

We have lived well on the abundance of our seas and coastlines from the earliest canoe tribes setting fish-traps along the Jersey shore, to today's giant gantry crane operators unloading container ships at the Port of Long Beach.

As the U.S. Commission on Ocean Policy Draft Report emphasizes, America owes much of its wealth, bounty and heritage to the blue in our red, white and blue. It provides us the oxygen we need to breath, is a driver of climate and weather, brings rain to our farmers and food to our tables. It provides us recreation, transportation, food, medicine, energy, security, and a sense of awe and wonder from sea to shining sea.

Our oceans also extend our identity as a frontier nation. Unfortunately our frontier waters are facing a cascading series of disasters that could turn America and the world's oceans into dead seas within our lifetime. We are witnessing the collapse of marine wildlife with over 90% of the world's large fish decimated by unrestrained global fishing. We're seeing our nearshore waters poisoned by toxic and nutrient runoff from factory farms and city streets, leading to growing numbers of beach closures, harmful algal blooms and oxygen-depleted dead zones where nothing can live. Uncontrolled coastal sprawl is degrading and destroying the salt-marshes, mangroves, seagrass meadows, and barrier islands that act as the filters and nurseries of the seas, while fossil-fuel fired climate change, which the draft report unfortunately fails to address in a meaningful way is causing sea-level rise, beach erosion, coral bleaching and intensified hurricanes that put growing numbers of Americans at risk.

What the Draft report confirms is that there are common sense solutions that can save our blue frontier. Protecting and restoring our nation's public seas makes sense both morally and economically. Healthy seas also help assure vibrant coastal communities and economies.

Protecting our blue frontier has to be as integral a part of our public polices as protecting our terrestrial environment, our trade routes, our health, our sciences, and our national security, because in the end, they too depend on our oceans. Just as broad sectors of the nation mobilized in the last century for passage of the Clean Air and Clean Water Acts that have helped revitalize our environment, and improved the quality of our lives, the time is right for an American Oceans Act for the 21st Century.

Having reviewed the Ocean Commission Draft Report and its more than 200 recommendations, we believe that the following key principles should to be incorporated in US Ocean Policies and also be used to inform any Ocean Act that focuses on on erring on the side of what is known about how marine ecosystems function.

- Commit the funding necessary to reduce overcapacity and harmful practices in our fishing fleet while assuring the long-term viability of fishing communities

- through collaborative efforts free of conflict-of-interest. Expand the commitment to ocean exploration and science needed to better understand our living seas, while fully protecting special areas of interest in our public seas such as unique coral reefs, deep-sea sponge gardens, submarine mountains, and kelp forests.
- Reduce polluted runoff into coastal waters. Establish and cap total daily maximum loads for pollutants flowing down America's rivers and waterways. Commit to upgrading our national sewage treatment infrastructure to improve both public health and the environment. Commit to nutrient reduction programs for agriculture, urban storm drains, tailpipe emissions and other sources, and expand public education on the problems of dumping waste on streets and down storm drains. Reduce the dumping of toxic wastes and plastics into our waters. Assure that shipping and port operations are done in a coordinated, economically and environmentally beneficial way that does not spread contaminated sediments or exotic species.
  - Establish watershed based regional planning that recognizes the link between land and water protection for our families and our future. Develop incentives for more permeable roads, parking lots, and other urban surfaces to reduce polluted runoff and recharge our aquifers. Through zoning, tax-incentives and other democratic means encourage sustainable development that includes urban brown fields, conservation easements, and setbacks from high-risk areas of coastal flooding and erosion. Assure public access to public beaches. Reform or eliminate federal subsidies that place people in harm's way. Expand the Coastal Barrier Resources Act to protect those areas at highest risk of storm surge and flooding, while providing full funding for the Land and Water Conservation Fund. Work for full and vigorous enforcement of Clean Water Act provisions that protect coastal wetlands and salt marshes.
  - Control and mitigate climate change impacts. It's unfortunate the commission draft report did not more fully address the critical role of human-enhanced climate change on our oceans. We need to commit full funding to the Estuaries Restoration Act, and support efforts to restore coastal Louisiana, the Everglades, and other projects that enhance mangroves, salt marshes, barrier islands, coral reefs, and other ecosystems that act as protective storm barriers for America's coastlines. Support efforts aimed at a rapid transition from fossil fuels to renewable non-carbon based energy systems, including a full re-evaluation of energy-development in our offshore waters. By becoming a leader in new energy technologies the United States will not only help protect itself from the impacts of climate change, but can also regain its competitive edge in the global energy market while achieving true energy independence.
  - Create a new model of public governance for our public seas. Recognizing all Americans have a common stake in our Blue Frontier we need to unify America's ocean management systems. This has to be based on the precautionary principle (what the report calls ecosystems management), a recognition of the unitary nature of water from the top of our watersheds to the depths of our seas, and an understanding that when we do harm to the parts, we damage the whole.

Ocean Management should be multi-jurisdictional, open to public participation, and transparent. Decision-making should be based on the best available science and the ethical standards of society.

At the regional level it should be organized around watersheds rather than arbitrary political boundaries and include participants from local, state, tribal and federal agencies.

Nationally there should be an independent ocean agency, a kind of EPA for the seas, whose primary mission is the sustainable use, exploration, protection and restoration of America's seas as a common public trust. In addition, following the Commission recommendation, there should be an interagency national oceans council within the executive branch to coordinate the work of all agencies that impact America's seas.

We believe this is all necessary and achievable but only when we're able to mobilize a seaweed rebellion of citizen activism and convince large sectors of the public who get so much out of our living seas that it's now time to give something back. As has been said before, when the people lead the leaders will follow.

*The Nader Campaign is committed to stewardship of the oceans, their protection, and restoration of America's seas and coastline. The Nader Campaign urges immediate action to restore one of the great public trusts of the United States.*

Encourage private landowners, states, and tribes to conserve wildlife and habitat

## Bob Barr

No environmental policy in the public domain.

"...that human beings are more important than mussels. If we can emerge from this temporary crisis with a broadened recognition that human survival trumps shellfish reproduction, then something quite positive will have resulted." Source: Campaign website, [www.bobbarr2008.com](http://www.bobbarr2008.com), "Articles: 2007" Dec 31, 2007

## Chuck Baldwin

"I will champion the property rights of individuals & families and I will oppose eminent domain abuse whenever and wherever I find it in this country! We must not allow government to violate the property rights of citizens for the private financial benefit of developers or special commercial interests. Eminent Domain abuse is often simply another form of corporate welfare. I will provide strong and vocal leadership to stand up for the property rights of Americans and against eminent domain abuse." Source: Campaign website, [www.baldwin2008.com](http://www.baldwin2008.com), "Issues" May 27, 2008

## Environment Evaluation:

Basis for evaluation: more responsible, sustainable management of the American environment

Score	McCain	Obama	Nader	Barr	Baldwin
	6/10	8/10	7/10	1/10	1/10

Rational: Baldwin and Barr only environmental policies are the free market, and therefore they are very limited. McCain's policy lacks the broadness and specificity of Obama's policy, and it is less progressive in deal with Climate Change than Obama's; Nader's policy is less broad than Obama's policy, but it deals with some critical issues in a more thorough way than Obama such as Mountain Top Mining, Off-shore drilling, and protection of oceans. Overall, Obama has the most broad, comprehensive environmental policy.

# Foreign Affairs

John McCain

## Strategy for Victory in Iraq

### The Importance of Succeeding

John McCain believes it is strategically and morally essential for the United States to support the Government of Iraq to become capable of governing itself and safeguarding its people. He strongly disagrees with those who advocate withdrawing American troops before that has occurred.

It would be a grave mistake to leave before Al Qaeda in Iraq is defeated and before a competent, trained, and capable Iraqi security force is in place and operating effectively. We must help the Government of Iraq battle those who provoke sectarian tensions and promote a civil war that could destabilize the Middle East. Iraq must not become a failed state, a haven for terrorists, or a pawn of Iran. These likely consequences of America's failure in Iraq almost certainly would either require us to return or draw us into a wider and far costlier war.

The best way to secure long-term peace and security is to establish a stable, prosperous, and democratic state in Iraq that poses no threat to its neighbors and contributes to the defeat of terrorists. When Iraqi forces can safeguard their own country, American troops can return home.

### Support the Successful Counterinsurgency Strategy

John McCain has been a leading advocate of the “surge” and the counterinsurgency strategy carried out by General David Petraeus. At the end of 2006, four years of a badly conceived military strategy that concentrated American troops on large bases brought us near to the point of no return. Sectarian violence in Iraq was spiraling out of control. Al Qaeda in Iraq was on the offensive. Entire provinces were under extremists’ control and were deemed all but lost. At that critical moment, John McCain supported sending reinforcements to Iraq to implement a classic counterinsurgency strategy of securing the population.

That strategy has paid off. From June 2007 through March 2008, sectarian and ethnic violence in Iraq was reduced by 90 percent. Civilian deaths and deaths of coalition forces fell by 70 percent. This has opened the way for a return to something that approaches normal political and economic life for the average Iraqi. Political reconciliation is occurring across Iraq at the local and provincial grassroots level. Sunni and Shi'a chased from their homes by terrorist and sectarian violence are returning. The "Sons of Iraq" and Awakening movements, where former Sunni insurgents have now joined in the fight against Al Qaeda, continue to grow.

Those gains would be lost if we were to follow the policy advocated by Senator Barack Obama to withdraw most of our troops and leave behind only a small “strike force” to battle terrorists. That is, in essence, the same strategy of withdrawing from Iraq’s streets that failed in 2006. John McCain advocates continuing the successful counterinsurgency strategy that began in 2007.

### Push for Political Reconciliation and Good Government

Thanks to the success of the surge, Iraq's political order is evolving in positive and hopeful ways. Four out of the six laws cited as benchmarks by the U.S. have been passed by the Iraqi legislature. A law on amnesty and a law rolling back some of the harsher restrictions against former

employees of the Iraqi government have made it possible for Iraqis to move toward genuine reconciliation. The legislature has devolved greater power to local and provincial authorities, where much of the real work of rebuilding Iraq is taking place.

More progress is necessary. The government must improve its ability to serve all Iraqis. A key test for the Iraqi government will be finding jobs in the security services and the civilian sector for the “Sons of Iraq” who have risked so much to battle terrorists.

Iraq will conduct two landmark elections in the near future – one for provincial governments in late 2008 and the other for the national government in 2009. John McCain believes we should welcome a larger United Nations role in supporting the elections. The key condition for successful elections is for American troops to continue to work with brave Iraqis to allow the voting to take place in relative freedom and security. Iraqis need to know that the U.S. will not abandon them, but will continue to press their politicians to show the necessary leadership to help develop their country.

## Get Iraq's Economy Back on its Feet

John McCain believes that economic progress is essential to sustaining security gains in Iraq. Markets that were once silent and deserted have come back to life in many areas, but high unemployment rates continue to fuel criminal and insurgent violence. To move young men away from the attractions of well-funded extremists, we need a vibrant, growing Iraqi economy. The Iraqi government can jump-start this process by using a portion of its budget surplus to employ Iraqis in infrastructure projects and in restoring basic services.

The international community should bolster proven microfinance programs to spur local-level entrepreneurship throughout the country. Iraq's Arab neighbors, in particular, should promote regional stability by directly investing the fruits of their oil exports in Iraq. As these efforts begin to take hold in Iraq, the private sector, as always, will create the jobs and propel the growth that will end reliance on outside aid. Iraq's government needs support to better deliver basic services—clean water, garbage collection, abundant electricity, and, above all, a basic level of security—that create a climate where the Iraqi economy creation can flourish.

## Call for International Pressure on Syria and Iran

Syria and Iran have aided and abetted the violence in Iraq for too long. Syria has refused to crack down on Iraqi insurgents and foreign terrorists operating within its territory. Iran has been providing the most extreme and violent Shia militias with training, weapons, and technology that kill American and Iraqi troops. American military spokesmen have also said there is evidence that Iran has provided aid to Sunni insurgents.

The answer is not unconditional dialogues with these two dictatorships from a position of weakness. The answer is for the international community to apply real pressure to Syria and Iran to change their behavior. The United States must also bolster its regional military posture to make clear to Iran our determination to protect our forces and deter Iranian intervention.

## Level with the American People

John McCain believes it is essential to be honest with the American people about the opportunities and risks that lie ahead. The American people deserve the truth from their leaders. They deserve a candid assessment of the progress made in the last year, of the serious difficulties that remain, and of the grave consequences of a reckless and irresponsible withdrawal.

Many Americans have given their lives so that America does not suffer the worst consequences of failure in Iraq. Doing the right thing in the heat of a political campaign is not always easy. But it is necessary.

## John McCain on the Road Ahead

“I do not want to keep our troops in Iraq a minute longer than necessary to secure our interests there. Our goal is an Iraq that can stand on its own as a democratic ally and a responsible force for peace in its neighborhood. Our goal is an Iraq that no longer needs American troops. And I believe we can achieve that goal, perhaps sooner than many imagine. But I do not believe that anyone should make promises as a candidate for President that they cannot keep if elected. To promise a withdrawal of our forces from Iraq, regardless of the calamitous consequences to the Iraqi people, our most vital interests, and the future of the Middle East, is the height of irresponsibility. It is a failure of leadership. “

“I know the pain war causes. I understand the frustration caused by our mistakes in this war. And I regret sincerely the additional sacrifices imposed on the brave Americans who defend us. But I also know the toll a lost war takes on an army and on our country's security. By giving General Petraeus and the men and women he has the honor to command the time and support necessary to succeed in Iraq we have before us a hard road. But it is the right road. It is necessary and just. Those who disregard the unmistakable progress we have made in the last year and the terrible consequences that would ensue were we to abandon our responsibilities in Iraq have chosen another road. It may appear to be the easier course of action, but it is a much more reckless one, and it does them no credit even if it gives them an advantage in the next election.” –John McCain

## National Security

### A Strong Military in a Dangerous World

In a dangerous world, protecting America's national security requires a strong military. Today, America has the most capable, best-trained and best-led military force in the world. But much needs to be done to maintain our military leadership, retain our technological advantage, and ensure that America has a modern, agile military force able to meet the diverse security challenges of the 21st century.

John McCain is committed to ensuring that the men and women of our military remain the best, most capable fighting force on Earth - and that our nation honors its promises to them for their service.

The global war on terrorism, wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, threats from rogue states like Iran and North Korea, and the rise of potential strategic competitors like China and Russia mean that America requires a larger and more capable military to protect our country's vital interests and deter challenges to our security. America confronts a range of serious security challenges: Protecting our homeland in an age of global terrorism and Islamist extremism; working with friends and partners overseas, from Africa to Southeast Asia, to help them combat terrorism and violent insurgencies in their own countries; defending against missile and nuclear attack; maintaining the credibility of our defense commitments to our allies; and waging difficult counterinsurgency campaigns in Afghanistan and Iraq.

John McCain understands national security and the threats facing our nation. He recognizes the dangers posed by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, violent Islamist extremists and their terrorist tactics, and the ever present threat of regional conflict that can spill into broader wars that endanger allies and destabilize areas of the world vital to American security. He knows that to protect our homeland, our interests, and our values - and to keep the peace - America must have the best-manned, best-equipped, and best-supported military in the world.

John McCain has been a tireless advocate of our military and ensuring that our forces are properly postured, funded, and ready to meet the nation's obligations both at home and abroad.

He has fought to modernize our forces, to ensure that America maintains and expands its technological edge against any potential adversary, and to see that our forces are capable and ready to undertake the variety of missions necessary to meet national security objectives.

As President, John McCain will strengthen the military, shore up our alliances, and ensure that the nation is capable of protecting the homeland, deterring potential military challenges, responding to any crisis that endangers American security, and prevailing in any conflict we are forced to fight.

## Fighting Against Violent Islamic Extremists and Terrorist Tactics

The attacks on September 11th represented more than a failure of intelligence. The tragedy highlighted a failure of national policy to respond to the development of a global terror network hostile to the American people and our values. The 1993 World Trade Center bombing, the 1998 attacks on the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, and the 2000 bombing of the USS COLE indicated a growing global terrorist threat before the attacks on New York and Washington. On the morning of September 11, 2001, Osama bin Laden's declaration of war against the United States hit home with unmistakable clarity.

America faces a dedicated, focused, and intelligent foe in the war on terrorism. This enemy will probe to find America's weaknesses and strike against them. The United States cannot afford to be complacent about the threat, naive about terrorist intentions, unrealistic about their capabilities, or ignorant to our national vulnerabilities.

In the aftermath of 9/11 John McCain fought for the creation of an independent 9/11 Commission to identify how to best address the terrorist threat and decrease our domestic vulnerability. He fought for the establishment of the Department of Homeland Security and the creation of the U.S. Northern Command with the specific responsibility of protecting the U.S. homeland.

As President, John McCain will ensure that America has the quality intelligence necessary to uncover plots before they take root, the resources to protect critical infrastructure and our borders against attack, and the capability to respond and recover from a terrorist incident swiftly.

He will ensure that the war against terrorists is fought intelligently, with patience and resolve, using all instruments of national power. Moreover, he will lead this fight with the understanding that to impinge on the rights of our own citizens or restrict the freedoms for which our nation stands would be to give terrorists the victory they seek.

John McCain believes that just as America must be prepared to meet and prevail against any adversary on the field of battle, we must engage and prevail against them on the battleground of ideas. In so doing, we can and must deprive terrorists of the converts they seek and counter their teaching of the doctrine of hatred and despair.

As President, John McCain will take it as his most sacred responsibility to keep America free, safe, and strong - an abiding beacon of freedom and hope to the world.

## Effective Missile Defense

John McCain strongly supports the development and deployment of theater and national missile defenses. Effective missile defenses are critical to protect America from rogue regimes like North Korea that possess the capability to target America with intercontinental ballistic missiles, from outlaw states like Iran that threaten American forces and American allies with ballistic missiles, and to hedge against potential threats from possible strategic competitors like Russia and China. Effective missile defenses are also necessary to allow American military forces to operate overseas without being deterred by the threat of missile attack from a regional adversary.

John McCain is committed to deploying effective missile defenses to reduce the possibility of strategic blackmail by rogue regimes and to secure our homeland from the very real prospect of missile attack by present or future adversaries. America should never again have to live in the shadow of missile and nuclear attack. As President, John McCain will not trust in the "balance of terror" to protect America, but will work to deploy effective missile defenses to safeguard our people and our homeland.

## Increasing the Size of the American Military

The most important weapons in the U.S. arsenal are the men and women of American armed forces. John McCain believes we must enlarge the size of our armed forces to meet new challenges to our security. For too long, we have asked too much of too few - with the result that many service personnel are on their second, third and even fourth tours of duty in Afghanistan and Iraq. There can be no higher defense priority than the proper compensation, training, and equipping of our troops.

Our existing force is overstretched by the combination of military operations in the broader Middle East and the need to maintain our security commitments in Europe and Asia. Recruitment and retention suffer from extended overseas deployments that keep service personnel away from their homes and families for long periods of time.

John McCain believes that the answer to these challenges is not to roll back our overseas commitments. The size and composition of our armed forces must be matched to our nation's defense requirements. As requirements expand in the global war on terrorism so must our Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines, and Coast Guard be reconfigured to meet these new challenges. John McCain thinks it is especially important to increase the size of the Army and Marine Corps to defend against the threats we face today.

John McCain knows that the most difficult and solemn decision a president must make is sending young Americans into harm's way. Having experienced firsthand the brutality of war, as president, John McCain would never make the decision to use force lightly, only when the cause is just, and our nation's values and interests absolutely demand it.

## Modernizing the Armed Services

Modernizing American armed forces involves procuring advanced weapons systems that will help rapidly and decisively defeat any adversary and protect American lives. It also requires addressing force protection needs to make sure that America's combat personnel have the best safety and survivability equipment available.

Modernizing the armed forces also means adapting our doctrine, training, and tactics for the kind of conflicts we are most likely to face. Today, American forces are engaged in dangerous operations throughout the world. From Iraq and Afghanistan to Somalia and the Philippines, American forces are fighting the battles of the 21st century against terrorists and insurgents. These asymmetric conflicts require a very different force structure than the one we used to fight and win the Cold War.

The missions of the 21st century will not center on traditional territorial defense or mass armor engagements. Instead, the men and women of the U.S. armed forces will be engaged in, among other things, counter insurgency, counter terrorism, missile defense, counter proliferation and information warfare. This calls not just for a larger and more capable military, but for a new mix of military forces, including civil affairs, special operations, and highly mobile forces capable of fighting and prevailing in the conflicts America faces.

## Smarter Defense Spending

John McCain has worked aggressively to reform the defense budgeting process to ensure that America enjoys the best military at the best cost. This includes reforming defense procurement to ensure the faithful and efficient expenditure of taxpayer dollars that are made available for defense acquisition. Too often, parochial interests - rather than the national interest - have guided our spending decisions. John McCain supports significant reform in our defense acquisition process to ensure that dollars spent actually contribute to U.S. security.

John McCain also feels strongly that our nation's military spending, except in time of genuine emergency, must be funded by the regular appropriations process, not by "emergency" supplementals that allow defense to be funded outside the normal budget cycle. This process gives Congressional committees less ability to closely scrutinize defense budget requests to ensure military funding is being budgeted wisely. It makes possible Congressional pork-barrel spending that diverts scarce defense resources to parochial home-state interests. And it allows the administration to add spending above that set by budget caps, bloating the federal deficit. Budgeting annually through emergency supplemental appropriation bills encourages pork barrel spending. The American taxpayer has a right to expect us to get the most out of each and every defense dollar, especially at a time when those dollars are so critical. Throughout his career, John McCain has fought pork-barrel defense spending that diverts scarce defense resources to parochial, home-state projects rather than addressing the needs of service personnel. He believes that unauthorized earmarks drain our precious defense resources and adversely affect our national security. John McCain will continue to fight pork-barrel spending to ensure that military funds are spent where they are needed most - in support of our military personnel and our national defense.

**John McCain Will Work With Our Allies To Ensure Unity Of Command In Afghanistan.** One of the reasons there is no comprehensive campaign plan for Afghanistan is because there is no unity of command. Today, there are no less than three different American military combatant commands operating in Afghanistan, as well as NATO. The top commander in Afghanistan needs to be just that: the supreme commander of all coalition forces operating a successful counter-insurgency strategy that integrates all instructs of our national power.

**John McCain Will Appoint An Afghanistan Czar To Ensure Commanders Have What They Need To Win.** Unity of command is a principle lacking in Washington. Too often, even as our soldiers and diplomats cooperate in the field, their superiors back home have been squabbling. Last year, the Administration took a step in the right direction and appointed a war czar. But the situation in Afghanistan demands a separate Czar based in the White House, reporting directly to the President and dedicated to the sole mission of ensuring we bring the war in Afghanistan to a successful end.

**John McCain Supports Sending At Least Three Additional Brigades To Afghanistan.** Our commanders on the ground say they need these troops, and thanks to the success of the surge, these forces are becoming available, and our commanders in Afghanistan must get them.

**John McCain Will Double The Size Of The Afghan Military.** The Afghan army is already a great success story: a multiethnic, battle-tested fighting force. Yet, it's too small, with a projected strength of only 80,000 troops. We need to at least double the size of the Afghan army to 160,000 troops. To pay for this increase, the international community should share the costs. The United States and our allies should establish an international trust fund to provide long-term financing for the Afghan army.

**John McCain Will Increase Our Non-Military Assistance To The Afghan Government.** Through a multi-front plan, we will increase assistance to the Afghan government to strengthen its institutions, the rule of law, and the economy. Essential to success of the mission in Afghanistan is getting control of narcotics trafficking. Alternative crops must be able to get to market and

traffickers must be arrested and prosecuted by enhanced Special Courts. We should agree on specific governance and development benchmarks with the Afghan government and then work with them closely to ensure they are met.

**John McCain Will Enhance Our Regional Diplomatic Efforts By Appointing A Special Presidential Envoy.** The violence in Afghanistan has many causes, but chief among them is the fact that the country is treated by some regional powers as a chessboard to pursue their own ambitions. John McCain will appoint a special presidential envoy to address disputes between Afghanistan and its neighbors. Our goal must be to turn Afghanistan from a theater for regional rivalries into a commons for regional cooperation.

**As Part Of This Regional Strategy, John McCain Will Put Special Focus On Pakistan.** We must strengthen local tribes in the border areas who are willing to fight the foreign terrorists there. We must also empower the new civilian government of Pakistan to defeat radicalism with greater support for development, health, and education.

## Barack Obama

### A Responsible, Phased Withdrawal

Barack Obama and Joe Biden believe we must be as careful getting out of Iraq as we were careless getting in. Immediately upon taking office, Obama will give his Secretary of Defense and military commanders a new mission in Iraq: ending the war. The removal of our troops will be responsible and phased, directed by military commanders on the ground 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. That would be the summer of 2010 – more than 7 years after the war began. Under the Obama-Biden 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. They 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.

### Encouraging Political Accommodation

Barack Obama and Joe Biden believe that the U.S. must apply pressure on the Iraqi government to work toward real political accommodation. There is no military solution to Iraq's political differences, but the Bush Administration's blank check approach has failed to press Iraq's leaders to take responsibility for their future or to substantially spend their oil revenues on their own reconstruction.

Obama and Biden's plan offers the best prospect for lasting stability in Iraq. A phased withdrawal will encourage Iraqis to take the lead in securing their own country and making political compromises, while the responsible pace of redeployment called for by the Obama-Biden plan offers more than enough time for Iraqi leaders to get their own house in order. As our forces redeploy, Obama and Biden will make sure we engage representatives from all levels of Iraqi society—in and out of government—to forge compromises on oil revenue sharing, the equitable provision of services, federalism, the status of disputed territories, new elections, aid to displaced Iraqis, and the reform of Iraqi security forces.

### Surging Diplomacy

Barack Obama and Joe Biden will launch an aggressive diplomatic effort to reach a comprehensive compact on the stability of Iraq and the region. This effort will include all of Iraq's neighbors—including Iran and Syria, as suggested by the bi-partisan The Iraq Study Group Report. 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.

### Preventing Humanitarian Crisis

Barack Obama and Joe Biden believe that America has both a moral obligation and a responsibility for security that demands we confront Iraq's humanitarian crisis—more than five million Iraqis are refugees or are displaced inside their own country. Obama and Biden will form an international working group to address this crisis. He will provide at least \$2 billion to expand services to Iraqi refugees in neighboring countries, and ensure that Iraqis inside their own country can find sanctuary. Obama and Biden will also work with Iraqi authorities and the international community to hold the perpetrators of potential war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide accountable. They will reserve the right to intervene militarily, with our international partners, to suppress potential genocidal violence within Iraq.

## The Status-of-Forces-Agreement

Obama and Biden believe 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. Obama and Biden also believe that any security accord must be subject to Congressional approval. It is unacceptable that the Iraqi government will present the agreement to the Iraqi parliament for approval—yet the Bush administration will not do the same with the U.S. Congress. The Bush administration must submit the agreement to Congress or allow the next administration to negotiate an agreement that has bipartisan support here at home and makes absolutely clear that the U.S. will not maintain permanent bases in Iraq.

**Talk to our Foes and Friends:** Obama and Biden are willing to meet with the leaders of all nations, friend and foe. They will do the careful preparation necessary, but will signal that America is ready to come to the table, and that he is willing to lead. And if America is willing to come to the table, the world will be more willing to rally behind American leadership to deal with challenges like terrorism, and Iran and North Korea's nuclear programs.

**Israeli-Palestinian Conflict:** Obama and Biden will make progress on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict a key diplomatic priority. They will make a sustained push – working with Israelis and Palestinians – to achieve the goal of two states, a Jewish state in Israel and a Palestinian state, living side by side in peace and security.

**Expand our Diplomatic Presence:** To make diplomacy a priority, Obama will stop shuttering consulates and start opening them in the tough and hopeless corners of the world – particularly in Africa. They will expand our foreign service, and develop the capacity of our civilian aid workers to work alongside the military.

**Fight Global Poverty:** Obama and Biden will embrace the Millennium Development Goal of cutting extreme poverty around the world in half by 2015, and they will double our foreign assistance to \$50 billion to achieve that goal. They will help the world's weakest states to build healthy and educated communities, reduce poverty, develop markets, and generate wealth.

**Strengthen NATO:** Obama and Biden will rally NATO members to contribute troops to collective security operations, urging them to invest more in reconstruction and stabilization operations, streamlining the decision-making processes, and giving NATO commanders in the field more flexibility.

**Seek New Partnerships in Asia:** Obama and Biden will forge a more effective framework in Asia that goes beyond bilateral agreements, occasional summits, and ad hoc arrangements, such as the six-party talks on North Korea. They will maintain strong ties with allies like Japan, South Korea and Australia; work to build an infrastructure with countries in East Asia that can promote stability and prosperity; and work to ensure that China plays by international rules.

**Diplomacy:** Obama supports tough, direct presidential diplomacy with Iran without preconditions. Now is the time to pressure Iran directly to change their troubling behavior. Obama and Biden would offer the Iranian regime a choice. If Iran abandons its nuclear program and support for terrorism, we will offer incentives like membership in the World Trade Organization, economic investments, and a move toward normal diplomatic relations. If Iran continues its troubling behavior, we will step up our economic pressure and political isolation. Seeking this kind of comprehensive settlement with Iran is our best way to make progress.

**Secure Loose Nuclear Materials from Terrorists:** Obama and Biden will secure all loose nuclear materials in the world within four years. While we work to secure existing stockpiles of nuclear material, Obama and Biden will negotiate a verifiable global ban on the production of new nuclear weapons material. This will deny terrorists the ability to steal or buy loose nuclear materials.

**Strengthen the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty:** Obama and Biden will crack down on nuclear proliferation by strengthening the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty so that countries like North Korea and Iran that break the rules will automatically face strong international sanctions.

**Toward a Nuclear Free World:** Obama and Biden will set a goal of a world without nuclear weapons, and pursue it. Obama and Biden will always maintain a strong deterrent as long as nuclear weapons exist. But they will take several steps down the long road toward eliminating nuclear weapons. They will stop the development of new nuclear weapons; work with Russia to take U.S. and Russian ballistic missiles off hair trigger alert; seek dramatic reductions in U.S. and Russian stockpiles of nuclear weapons and material; and set a goal to expand the U.S.-Russian ban on intermediate- range missiles so that the agreement is global.

**Consultative Group:** Obama and Biden will convene a bipartisan Consultative Group of leading members of Congress to foster better executive-legislative relations and bipartisan unity on foreign policy. This 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. This group will meet with the president once a month to review foreign policy priorities, and will be consulted in advance of military action.

**Getting Politics out of Intelligence:** Obama would insulate the Director of National Intelligence from political pressure by giving the DNI a fixed term, like the Chairman of the Federal Reserve. Obama and Biden will seek consistency and integrity at the top of our intelligence community – not just a political ally.

**Change the Culture of Secrecy:** Obama will reverse President Bush's policy of secrecy. He will institute a National Declassification Center to make declassification secure but routine, efficient, and cost-effective.

**Engaging the American People on Foreign Policy:** Obama and Biden will bring foreign policy decisions directly to the people by requiring his national security officials to have periodic national broadband town hall meetings to discuss foreign policy. They will personally deliver occasional fireside chats via webcast.

**Ensure a Strong U.S.-Israel Partnership:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden strongly support the U.S.-Israel relationship, believe that our first and incontrovertible commitment in the Middle East must be to the security of Israel, America's strongest ally in the Middle East. They support this closeness, stating that that the United States would never distance itself from Israel.

**Support Israel's Right to Self Defense:** During the July 2006 Lebanon war, Barack Obama stood up strongly for Israel's right to defend itself from Hezbollah raids and rocket attacks, cosponsoring a Senate resolution against Iran and Syria's involvement in the war, and insisting that Israel should not be pressured into a ceasefire that did not deal with the threat of Hezbollah missiles. He and Joe Biden believe strongly in Israel's right to protect its citizens.

**Support Foreign Assistance to Israel:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden have consistently supported foreign assistance to Israel. They defend and support the annual foreign aid package that involves both military and economic assistance to Israel and have advocated increased foreign aid budgets to ensure that these funding priorities are met. They have called for continuing U.S. cooperation with Israel in the development of missile defense systems.

**A Comprehensive Strategy:** Russia today is not the Soviet Union, and we are not returning to the Cold War. Retrofitting outdated 20th century thinking to address this new 21st century challenge will not advance American national interests. Instead, Obama and Biden will address the new challenges Russia poses by pursuing an integrated and vigorous strategy that encompasses the entire region. The core components of this strategy include:

Supporting democratic partners and upholding principles of sovereignty throughout Europe and Eurasia while working proactively to gauge effectively the intentions of actors in the region, and address tensions between countries before they escalate into military confrontations;

Strengthening the Transatlantic alliance, so that we deal with Russia with one, unified voice;

Helping to decrease the dependence of our allies and partners in the region on Russian energy;

Engaging directly with the Russian government on issues of mutual interest, such as countering nuclear proliferation, reducing our nuclear arsenals, expanding trade and investment opportunities, and fighting Al Qaeda and the Taliban; and also reaching out directly to the Russian people to promote our common values; and,

Keeping the door open to fuller integration into the global system for all states in the region, including Russia, that demonstrates a commitment to act as responsible, law-abiding members of the international community.

**Stop the Genocide in Darfur:** As president, Obama will take immediate steps to end the genocide in Darfur by increasing pressure on the Sudanese and pressure the government to halt the killing and stop impeding the deployment of a robust international force. He and Joe Biden will hold the government in Khartoum accountable for abiding by its commitments under the Comprehensive Peace Accord that ended the 30 year conflict between the north and south. Obama worked with Senator Sam Brownback (R-KS) to pass the Darfur Peace and Accountability Act in 2006.

**Fight Poverty:** Obama and Joe Biden will double our annual investment in foreign assistance from \$25 billion in 2008 to \$50 billion by the end of his first term and make the Millennium Development Goals, which aim to cut extreme poverty in half by 2015, America's goals. They will fully fund debt cancellation for Heavily Indebted Poor Countries in order to provide sustainable debt relief and invest at least \$50 billion by 2013 for the global fight against HIV/AIDS, including our fair share of the Global Fund.

**Expand Prosperity:** Obama and Biden will expand prosperity by establishing an Add Value to Agriculture Initiative, creating a fund that will extend seed capital and technical assistance to small and medium enterprises, and reforming the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. They will launch the Global Energy and Environment Initiative to ensure African countries have access to low carbon energy technology and can profitably participate in the new global carbon market so as to ensure solid economic development even while the world dramatically reduces its greenhouse gas emissions. They will also strengthen the African Growth and Opportunity Act to ensure that African producers can access the U.S. market and will encourage more American companies to invest on the continent.

**On Latin America & the Caribbean**

**The Problem:** George Bush's policy in the Americas has been negligent toward our friends, ineffective with our adversaries, disinterested in the challenges that matter in people's lives, and incapable of advancing our interests in the region. As the Americas have changed, we have sat on the sideline, offering no compelling vision and creating a vacuum for demagogues to advance an anti-American agenda.

**Start a New Chapter of Engagement with Latin America and the Caribbean:** Obama and Biden will rebuild diplomatic links throughout the hemisphere through aggressive, principled, and sustained diplomacy in the Americas from Day One. He will bolster U.S. interests in the region by pursuing policies that advance democracy, opportunity, and security and will treat our hemispheric partners and neighbors with dignity and respect.

**Promote Democracy in Cuba and Throughout the Hemisphere:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden will support democracy that is strong and sustainable in the day to day lives of the people of the Americas. In the case of Cuba, they will empower our best ambassadors of freedom by allowing unlimited Cuban-American family travel and remittances to the island. Using aggressive and principled bilateral diplomacy he will also send an important message: if a post-Fidel government takes significant steps toward democracy, beginning with freeing all political prisoners, the U.S. is prepared to take steps to normalize relations and ease the embargo that has governed relations between our countries for the last five decades. Throughout the hemisphere, Obama and Biden will increase support for the building blocks of durable democracies—strong legislatures, independent judiciaries, free press, vibrant civil society, honest police forces, religious freedom, and the rule of law.

**Work Towards Energy Security:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden will bring together the countries of the region in a new Energy Partnership for the Americas to forge a path toward sustainable growth and clean energy. They will call on the American people to join this effort through an Energy Corps of engineers and scientists who will go to the region and beyond to help develop clean energy solutions.

**Advance Opportunity from the Bottom-up:** Obama and Biden will substantially increase our aid to the Americas and embrace the Millennium Development Goal of cutting extreme poverty around the world in half by 2015, and they will double our foreign assistance to \$50 billion to achieve that goal.

**Trade Policy That Works for All People in All Countries:** Obama and Biden believe that trade with foreign nations should strengthen the American economy and create more American jobs. They will stand firm against agreements that undermine our economic security and will use trade agreements to spread good labor and environmental standards around the world.

**Advance Security Across the Region:** Obama and Biden believe that we need to target all sources of insecurity through a new hemispheric security initiative. This initiative will foster cooperation within the region to combat gangs, trafficking and violent criminal activity. It will strive to find the best practices that work across the hemisphere, and to tailor approaches to fit each country.

### **Invest in a 21st Century Military**

**Rebuild the Military for 21st Century Tasks:** As we rebuild our armed forces, we must not simply recreate the military of the Cold War era. Obama and Biden believe that we must build up our special operations forces, civil affairs, information operations, 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 more robust capacity to train, equip, and advise foreign security forces, so that local allies are better prepared to confront mutual threats.

**Expand to Meet Military Needs on the Ground:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden support plans to increase the size of the Army by 65,000 soldiers 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.

**Leadership from the Top:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden will restore the ethic of public service to the agenda of today's youth, whether it be serving their local communities in such roles as teachers or first responders, or serving in the military to keep our nation free and safe.

**Lighten the Burdens on Our Brave Troops and Their Families:** An Obama-Biden administration will create a Military Families Advisory Board to provide a conduit for military families' concerns to be brought to the attention of senior policymakers and the public. Obama and Biden will end the Bush administration's stop-loss policy and establish predictability in deployments so that active duty and reserves know what they can and must expect.

### **Build Defense Capabilities for the 21st Century**

**Fully Equip Our Troops for the Missions They Face:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden believe we must get vitally needed equipment to our soldiers, sailors, airmen and Marines before lives are lost. We cannot repeat such failures as the delays in deployment of armored vehicles, body armor and Unmanned Aerial Vehicles that save lives on the frontlines.

**Review Weapons Programs:** We must rebalance our capabilities to ensure that our forces have the agility and lethality to succeed in both conventional wars and in stabilization and counter-insurgency operations. Obama and Biden have committed to a review of each major defense program in light of current needs, gaps in the field, and likely future threat scenarios in the post-9/11 world.

**Preserve Global Reach in the Air:** We must preserve our unparalleled airpower capabilities to deter and defeat any conventional competitors, swiftly respond to crises across the globe, and support our ground forces. We need greater investment in advanced technology ranging from the revolutionary, like Unmanned Aerial Vehicles and electronic warfare capabilities, to essential systems like the C-17 cargo and KC-X air refueling aircraft, which provide the backbone of our ability to extend global power.

**Maintain Power Projection at Sea:** We must recapitalize our naval forces, replacing aging ships and modernizing existing platforms, while adapting them to the 21st century. Obama and Biden will add to the Maritime Pre-Positioning Force Squadrons to support operations ashore and invest in smaller, more capable ships, providing the agility to operate close to shore and the reach to rapidly deploy Marines to global crises.

**National Missile Defense:** An Obama-Biden administration will support missile defense, but ensure that it is developed in a way that is pragmatic and cost-effective; and, most importantly, does not divert resources from other national security priorities until we are positive the technology will protect the American public.

**Ensure Freedom of Space:** An Obama-Biden administration will restore American leadership on space issues, seeking a worldwide ban on weapons that interfere with military and commercial satellites. He will thoroughly assess possible threats to U.S. space assets and the best options, military and diplomatic, for countering them, 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.

**Protect the U.S in Cyberspace:** An Obama-Biden administration will work in cooperation with our allies and the private sector to identify and protect against emerging cyber-threats.

### **Restore the Readiness of the National Guard and Reserves**

Barack Obama and Joe Biden will provide the National Guard with the equipment it needs for foreign and domestic emergencies and time to restore and refit before deploying. They will make the head of the National Guard a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to ensure concerns of our citizen soldiers reach the level they mandate. They will ensure that reservists and Guard members are treated fairly when it comes to employment, health, and education benefits.

### **Develop Whole of Government Initiatives to Promote Global Stability**

**Integrate Military and Civilian Efforts:** An Obama-Biden administration will build up the capacity of each non-Pentagon agency to deploy personnel and area experts where they are needed, to help move soldiers, sailors, airmen and Marines out of civilian roles.

**Create a Civilian Assistance Corps (CAC):** An Obama-Biden administration will set a goal of creating a national CAC of 25,000 personnel. This corps of civilian volunteers with special skill, sets (doctors, lawyers, engineers, city planners, agriculture specialists, police, etc.) would be organized to provide each federal agency with a pool of volunteer experts willing to deploy in times of need at home and abroad.

### **Restore Our Alliances**

**Engage Our Allies in Meeting Our Common Security Challenges:** America's traditional alliances, such as NATO, must be transformed and strengthened, including on common security concerns like Afghanistan, homeland security, and counterterrorism. Obama and Biden will renew alliances and ensure our allies contribute their fair share to our mutual security.

**Organize to Help Our Partners and Allies in Need:** An Obama-Biden administration will expand humanitarian activities that build friends and allies at the regional and local level (such as during the response to the tsunami in South and Southeast Asia), and win hearts and minds in the process.

### **Reform Contracting**

**Create Transparency for Military Contractors:** Barack Obama and Joe Biden will require the Pentagon and State Department to develop a strategy for determining when contracting makes sense, rather than continually handing off governmental jobs to well-connected companies. An Obama-Biden administration will create the transparency and accountability needed for good governance. Finally, it will establish the legal status of contractor personnel, making possible prosecution of any abuses committed by private military contractors.

**Restore Honesty, Openness, and Commonsense to Contracting and Procurement:** An Obama-Biden administration will realize savings by reducing the corruption and cost overruns that have become all too routine in defense contracting. This includes launching a program of acquisition reform and management, which would end the common practice of no-bid contracting. Obama and Biden will end the abuse of supplemental budgets by creating a system of oversight for war funds as stringent as in the regular budget. Obama and Biden will restore the government's ability to manage contracts by rebuilding our contract officer corps. They will order the Justice Department to prioritize prosecutions that will punish and deter fraud, waste and abuse.

## Ralph Nader

### Middle East Policy

Nader/Gonzalez would reverse the current policy in the Middle East.

The current political strategy of pre-emptive war in the Middle East is a disaster for both the American people and the people of the Middle East. It has bloated the already wasteful military budget and has cost at present over 4,000 American lives, nearly 100,000 American injuries, and over a million Iraqi civilian lives, plus the destruction of their country.

Nader/Gonzalez propose a rapid withdrawal of troops from Iraq.

A target of withdrawing troops in six months will be set.

Fifty-eight percent of Americans want troops withdrawn from Iraq and a January 2006 poll shows that 72 percent of American soldiers in the field in Iraq wanted the U.S. out of Iraq within six to twelve months.

The war is costing taxpayers nearly \$4,600 every second — and that doesn't include the long-term reconstruction costs.

Nader/Gonzalez proposes that a rapid negotiated withdrawal from Iraq, with UN sponsored elections, is the first step toward delivering peace to Middle East.

On Israel/Palestine, a recent Haaretz poll showed that 64 percent of Israeli people want negotiations for peace between Israel and Hamas, while only 28% oppose it.

The Israeli people want peace. The Palestinian people want peace.

All kinds of people to people peace groups are forming in Israel and Palestine.

Among them:

The Combatants for Peace – fighters on both sides of the divide who have put down their guns to join together for a non-violent solution.

The Bereaved Families for Peace – the brave Israelis and Palestinians who have lost a loved one to the conflict and who are joining together to seek a non-violent solution.

The Arab-American and Jewish Americans who have stood up courageously together for a non-violent solution to the unending conflict.

And of course, the majority of the American Jewish community want peace.

By a 46-to-43 percent plurality American Jews continue to support the creation of a Palestinian state. Other polls show even higher support, among Jewish Americans, for a two-state solution.

Instead, both Democrats and Republicans reflexively support the militarists in Israel.

Israel has militarily occupied Gaza for forty years. It pulled out its colonies in 2005 but maintained an iron grip on the area — controlling all access, including its airspace and territorial waters.

Its F-16s and helicopter gunships regularly shred more and more of the areas' public works, its neighborhoods and inflict collective punishment on civilians in violation of Article 55 of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

The Israeli government's blockade of Gaza prevents critical food, medicine, fuel, electricity and other necessities from coming into this tiny enclave through international relief organizations.

The resulting humanitarian crisis is received with predictable silence or callousness by members of Congress, including John McCain, Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama.

Nader/Gonzalez will continue to speak out about this humanitarian crisis and side with the strong and courageous Israeli/Palestinian peace movements who are working for a peaceful two-state solution.

The plight of the Tibetan people is one of the great human rights tragedies of the Twentieth Century. The Chinese government has brutally oppressed the people of Tibet and engaged in a conscious campaign to wipe out traditional Tibetan culture.

Unfortunately, the political reality does not currently allow for an independent Tibet state, but the people of Tibet must be given autonomy over their domestic affairs. In addition, the horrific human rights abuses and widespread limitations on free speech, assembly, and movement must end.

Tibet existed as an independent, sovereign nation for hundreds of years prior to the Chinese occupation in 1950. For centuries, Tibet held a strategic position at the nexus of historical powers India, Mongolia, and China. Tibet had complex linguistic, economic, political, and cultural interactions with each of the surrounding nations, but there is a clear consensus among historians that Tibet was for many years an independent nation-state.

The International Committee of Jurists declared in 1960 that "acts of genocide were committed" by the Chinese against the Tibetan people. Only a handful of the over 6,000 monasteries in Tibet have escaped Chinese occupation unscathed. Thousands of Tibetans have been killed, raped, or tortured by Chinese forces in the half century since the onset of occupation. Tibet's natural resources have been unsustainably ravaged for use in the population centers of Eastern China. Millions of Han Chinese have been brought to Tibet in part in an attempt to dilute the influence of Tibetans in their own land.

The Dalai Lama, the political and spiritual leader of Tibet, has led a noble attempt to resist the attempt to wipe out Tibetan culture, and his constant calls for just treatment of his people have been an example for social movements across the world. His demand for sane treatment of the Tibetans must be mirrored by global community and heard by the Chinese government. Unfortunately, bowing to the financial interests of predatory transnational corporations, the United States has given up its best bargaining chip by ending the annual review of China's human rights record.

The affronts to human dignity must end. The Chinese Government must:

End the systematic suppression of free speech, free assembly, free press, and freedom of religion in Tibet.

Immediately end the use of torture, arbitrary arrest, and prison labor in Tibet.

Reevaluate environmentally destructive resource-extraction and public-works projects in Tibet.

End the horrific practice of forced abortions and forced sterilizations on Tibetan women.

Slow the transfer of low-income Han Chinese from Eastern China, a practice designed to dilute Tibetan cultural influence within Tibet.

Immediately free Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, the 11-year-old Tibetan lama who has been held as a political prisoner in China since the age of six.

The international community must take a stand against the continued abuses in Tibet. There needs to be a concerted effort to have:

Systematic political pressure from world leaders across the country.

- Revocation of China's Permanent Normal Trade Relations status with the US specifically and similar "free" trade agreements until the international community is assured that human rights will be guaranteed in China.

- Limitations on the excessive power of transnational corporations over US and Chinese policy.

The plight of the Tibetans is a true travesty. In contrast to their oppressors, the Tibetan people have set an extraordinary example in their organized non-violent resistance to tyranny. The United States and the world community would do well to follow their example.

Independent presidential candidate Ralph Nader continued his dialogue with Abraham Foxman, the National Director of the Anti-Defamation League. The dialogue, which began this summer when Foxman criticized Nader for questioning the militaristic approach of the Sharon government and the U.S. government's puppet-like support of Israel, has focused on whether criticizing Israel is akin to anti-semitism.

Nader favors a two-state solution and believes that the United States needs to highlight the broad and deep peace movement in Israel and its counterparts among Palestinians and among Americans of the Jewish faith. In this letter Nader urges Foxman to meet with these people so Foxman "can play a part in the historic effort to establish a broad and deep peace between the two Semitic peoples."

## Bob Barr

American foreign policy should emphasize swift, decisive and winning action against those who vowed would harm us. This means defense, not foreign intervention.

America should not be the world's policeman. The American purpose is to provide a strong national defense, not to engage in nation building or to launch foreign crusades, no matter how seemingly well-intentioned.

It is time to reemphasize the word "defense" in national defense. By maintaining a military presence in more than 130 nations around the world in more than 700 installations, with hundreds of thousands of troops deployed overseas, the U.S. spends more to protect the soil of other nations than our own. Bringing these soldiers home would better protect America while saving lives and money. The U.S. requires a military strong enough to defend this nation, not to support and defend much of the rest of the world.

Moreover, foreign aid has proved to be a drain on the U.S. economy while doing little good for the recipients. Aid is routinely used by corrupt foreign governments to oppress their people and enrich powerful elites. Foreign aid almost always discourages economic and political reform, while subsidizing nations which often work against U.S. interests. American foreign policy should emphasize swift, decisive and winning action against those who vowed would harm us. This means defense, not foreign intervention. We should encourage private involvement around the world, particularly through free trade.

The most effective way to preserve peace is through an expanding free market, backed by a full range of cultural and other private relationships, not by maintaining permanent military presences around t The invasion and occupation of Iraq were two separate mistakes, which collectively have cost thousands of American lives and hundreds of billions of U.S. taxpayer dollars. Every day that the occupation in Iraq continues without a withdrawal plan is a day that more American blood and treasure (some \$400 million a day) is needlessly wasted.

Unlike Republicans, who are calling for essentially permanent bases in Iraq, and Democrats, who have done nothing to counter Republican calls for an indefinite occupation, I would put in place plans for withdrawal without undue delay. While I support an exit from Iraq as quickly as possible, I would not publicly announce a timetable to our adversaries. However, as President, I would begin to immediately and significantly begin to reduce both the military and the economic security blanket we are providing the government.

The Iraqi government has come to rely too heavily on American forces to maintain control of its country, and our U.S. taxpayer dollars to artificially support its economy. A continued U.S. presence in Iraq emboldens both insurgents and terrorists, and discourages the Iraqi government from taking control of promoting peace and prosperity in Iraq.

Chuck Baldwin

### **A Free And Sovereign Republic, Not A World Empire!**

**"We will stop this international meddling...this international empire building. When Chuck Baldwin is sworn in as President of these United States the 'New World Order' comes crashing down!"**

The United States is properly a free and sovereign republic which should strive to live in peace with all nations, without interfering in their internal affairs, and without permitting their interference in ours. If I were President, I would begin the process of safely extracting our troops from Iraq. In the first place, our troops are no longer fighting a war, they are an occupation force, which occupies a sovereign country. And this is being done without a Declaration of War. The Iraqi people resent our occupation as much as we would resent another nation stronger than ours invading and occupying America.

If such a thing happened to our beloved country, I'm sure many of us would also become insurgents.

In the second place, the invasion and occupation of Iraq was absolutely unnecessary. Instead of sacrificing more than 4,000 American lives and the lives of tens of thousands of Iraqi citizens (not to mention some 2-3 trillion dollars), President Bush should have supported Ron Paul's bill, H.R. 3076, the September 11 Marque and Reprisal Act of 2001. This is the constitutional way to deal with rogue terrorist organizations. This is the way President Thomas Jefferson responded to the Barbary pirates.

According to Congressman Paul, A letter of marque and reprisal is a constitutional tool

specifically designed to give the President the authority to respond with appropriate force to those non-state actors who wage aggression against the United States while limiting his authority to only those responsible for the atrocities of that day. Such a limited authorization is consistent with the doctrine of just war and the practical aim of keeping Americans safe while minimizing the costs in blood and treasure of waging such an operation.

Had President Bush responded in this manner, tens of thousands of lives would have been saved, trillions of dollars would not have needed to be spent, Osama bin Laden and most of his fellow terrorists would likely be dead, and we would not be bogged down in a nightmarish military quagmire in Iraq. And, if I were President, this is exactly how I would handle terrorist organizations such as al Qaeda.

Neither of the two major parties has any interest in bringing our troops home. No matter which of those parties wins the White House, our troops would continue to be used for U.N. missions all over the world. They would continue to stick our nose wherever it does not belong. They would continue their utopian plans of nation-building, empire-building and international meddling. When I become President empire building and playing policeman of the world will come to an immediate halt and the United States of America will once again begin conducting itself as the Republic it was meant to be.

### **A Strong National Defense For America**

"We will have a national defense that is second to none, with armed forces that serve only under our flag, whose mission is to defend these United States of America!"

**--Chuck Baldwin**

It is a primary obligation of the federal government to provide for the common defense of the United States of America, and to be vigilant regarding potential threats, prospective capabilities, and perceived intentions of potential enemies.

The maintenance of a strong, state-of-the-art military on land, sea, in the air, and in space will be of the highest priority in a Baldwin Administration. As General Charles E. Jones, III, USAF (Ret), as said, 'Our Air Force and Navy must be so strong that no aggressor, whether terrorist or otherwise, could ever believe they would survive an attack by our forces. Our Army and Marines must be kept strong, well equipped and prepared to deal with any threat to our nation. Having a military which is second to none in strength and preparedness for the defense of our nation, there should be, with few exceptions, no need for the boots of our military on foreign soil.

I strongly support the modernization of our armed forces, in keeping with advancing technologies and a constantly changing world situation. I further support the deployment of a fully-operational strategic defense system as soon as possible. We will not allow a unilateral disarmament and dismemberment of America's defense infrastructure. History shows that which is hastily torn down is not be easily rebuilt.

Recent history also shows that foreign military adventurism is likewise destructive to this nation's national security capability. I will insist that all defense expenditures should be directly related to the protection of our nation, and that every item of expenditure must be carefully reviewed to eliminate foreign aid, waste, fraud, theft, inefficiency, and excess profits from all defense contracts and military expenditures. The primary beneficiaries of a strong national defense should be the American people, not the military-industrial complex.

The goal of U.S. security policy is to defend the national security interests of these United States. Therefore, except in time of declared war, for the purposes of state security, no state national guard or reserve troops shall be called upon to support or conduct operations in foreign theatres.

As Commander-in-Chief, I will always give our troops my full support and will make it the highest priority of my administration to make sure that our soldiers are well-trained, well-equipped and well-led. 'Supporting the troops' means putting their interests and America's interests first and not in needlessly endangering them by engaging in "policeman off the world" military adventures all over the world. We should be the friend of liberty everywhere, but the guarantor and provisioner of ours alone.

As President I will never deploy American troops into combat without a declaration of war by Congress, pursuant to Article I, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution.

Under no circumstances will the Baldwin Administration commit U.S. forces to serve under any foreign flag or command. I am adamantly opposed to any New World Order, and will reject U.S. participation in or a relinquishing of command to any foreign authority.

In a Baldwin Administration, the armed forces of the United States will always serve under the flag of the United States and the mission of our armed forces will always be to provide for the common defense for the United State of America.

### Foreign Policy Evaluation:

Basis for evaluation: sound, responsible use of American resources and military personnel in foreign lands

Score	McCain	Obama	Nader	Barr	Baldwin
	5/10	5/10	7/10	7/10	7/10

Rational: Obama and McCain propose to continue the aggressive US military policy. In essence, there is very little separating their policies. Though Obama proposes a more multilateral approach.

Nader's policy lacks comprehensiveness and broadness. Barr's and Baldwin's emphasis on defense is attractive, but their policies lack comprehensiveness.

Issue: Should the US be a world's policeman and/or strive to influence the world through diplomacy and military might?

Aggression versus defensiveness.

Defensive approach is the more responsible use of America's resources and military personnel. McCain and Obama would continue the huge military drain on the US economy.



## Overall Results

Score	McCain	Obama	Nader	Barr	Baldwin
-------	--------	-------	-------	------	---------

Candidates:

Background	9/10	5/10	8/10	8/10	4/10
Vision	5/10	5/10	10/10	6/10	4/10

Totals for

Candidates: 14/20 (70%) 10/20 (50%) 18/20 (90%) 14/20 (70%) 8/20 (40%)

Policies:

Economic	6/10	5/10	8/10	7/10	2/10
Health	6/10	5/10	9/10	5/10	5/10
Environment	6/10	8/10	7/10	1/10	1/10
Foreign Affairs	5/10	5/10	7/10	7/10	7/10

Totals for

Policies: 23/40 (57.5%) 23/40 (57.5%) 31/40 (77.5%) 20/40 (50%) 15/40 (37.5%)

Adjustment of

Policies score: 34.5/60 34.5/60 46.5/60 30/60 22.5/60

Overall Total

Scores:	McCain	Obama	Nader	Barr	Baldwin
Candidates	14/20	10/20	18/20	14/20	8/20
Policies	34.5/60	34.5/60	46.5/60	30/60	22.5/60
Totals:	48.5/80 60.6%	44.5/80 55.6%	64.5/80 80.6%	44/80 55%	28.5/80 36.6%

## Overall Ranking:

1. Nader 64.5/80 (80.6%)
2. McCain 48.5/80 (60.6%)
3. Obama 44.5/80 (55.6%)
4. Barr 44/80 (55%)
5. Baldwin 28.5/80 (36.6%)

\* Scores for policies of the candidates' political parties are given three times more weight over scores for candidates' backgrounds and visions. The rationale is that candidates are extensions of their political parties, and policies are what the candidates will do if elected.

## Analysis

Ralph Nader has a very high ranking--20% higher than next candidate.

Obama and Barr separated by .6% or .5 out of 80.

McCain's separation from Obama, (60.6% to 55.6%), is based on McCain and Obama's scores for Background (9/10 versus 5/10).

Nader has highest candidate grade for any FDA evaluation.

McCain's score for Republican policies, 56.6% corresponds to the score the Conservative Party of Canada received for policies, 57.5%. (2008 Evaluation of the Kootenay-Columbia Riding)

## Conclusion

Clearly, with a 20% margin of over the nearest opponent, Ralph Nader is the presidential candidate better in America's interest. However, due to the dominance of the Republican and Democrats, in which Nader is expected to receive 1% or less of the US vote. This is sad reality due to what Nader offers the American people. Instead the American people will be settling for a distant second or third best.

Will democracy been served in the United States on November 4, 2008? We say no, because of the tyranny of the US two party system. Unfortunately, the better interest of the American people is not being served.

Regarding Obama, the FDA recommends that people look beyond the smile, speaking ability, new face, and party slogans, and at what the candidate actually offers. The FDA found little difference overall between the policies of Obama and McCain, and this "change" which Obama keeps referring to was found wanting. An Obama administration, based on our policy evaluation, will do very little to solve the problems of American society. In fact, we think an Obama or McCain administration will worsen the American problems. We can see this in the foreign policies of both Obama and McCain in which there is little restraint in the foreign intervention.