

A QUICK GUIDE TO THE FOREIGN POLICY VIEWS OF THE REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES



By Brandon George Whitehill

July 2015





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FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE

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AT A GLANCE

As of this writing, sixteen candidates are formally running for the nomination of the Republican Party for the presidency of the United States. Our purpose here is modest: to report on the foreign policy views of all the candidates, showing where they agree and where they disagree on a selection of issues. On each issue, there seems to be one or two outliers among the candidates but the interesting thing is that the identities of the outliers are different on different issues. The purpose here is not to disparage or praise any one candidate, though sometimes it is hard not to notice an outright error of fact.

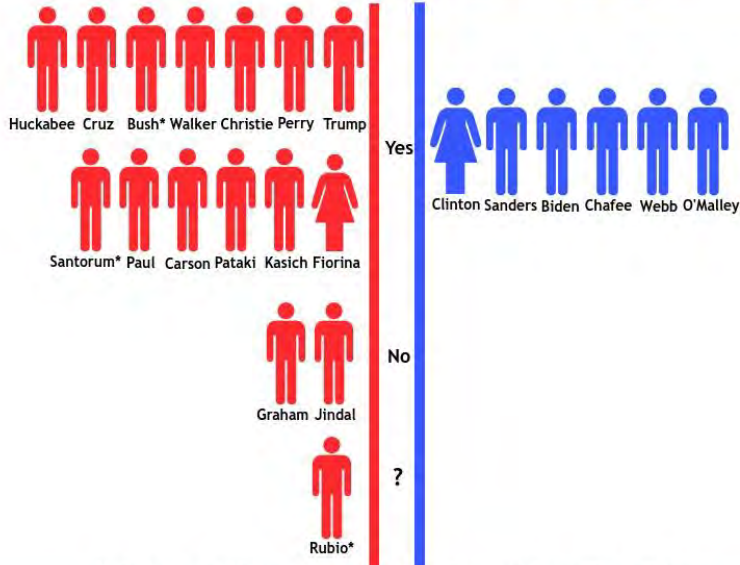
- ❖ On the question of the 2003 invasion of Iraq, the overwhelming majority of candidates say it was a mistake while a minority (Lindsey Graham, Bobby Jindal) maintain that the invasion was the right thing to do. Marco Rubio seemed initially to agree with Graham and Jindal but then not. Jeb Bush tried out four different answers, finally concluding, “I would not have engaged. I would not have gone into Iraq.”
- ❖ On the matter of sending ground troops to defeat ISIL, more than half of the candidates support sending ground troops; four have either ruled that out entirely or wish to keep that option in reserve down the line, including Rand Paul, Ted Cruz, Carly Fiorina, and Bobby Jindal. Some have not made their positions clear.
- ❖ On the negotiations with Iran over its nuclear weapons program, every candidate has expressed disapproval over Obama’s handling of the negotiations but only Rick Santorum is against any deal with Iran.
- ❖ On Israel, all the candidates advocate a stronger relationship and condemn Obama’s treatment of Israel but there are differences on the matter of the two-state solution: Some support the two-state solution (Rubio, Graham, Bush, Walker, Christie, Perry, Carson, Pataki); some oppose (Santorum, Huckabee); and others have not specifically addressed the issue. Ted Cruz and Rand Paul have not expressly opposed it but have sponsored legislation that takes a stringent stance against the Palestinian Authority.
- ❖ On the resumption of diplomatic relations with Cuba, the majority are opposed; Paul and Trump support it.
- ❖ On the debate over the Patriot Act, the majority supported reauthorization of the Patriot Act (Rubio, Graham, Bush, Walker, Christie, Santorum, Perry, Trump, Pataki, and Jindal) but Cruz and Kasich took the middle ground and supported the alternative Freedom Act. Paul, Carson, and Huckabee oppose any bulk collection of metadata and thus did not support either act.
- ❖ On the Trans-Pacific Partnership and the Trade Promotion Authority to facilitate relatively quick consideration of the Partnership, there is more than a little equivocation. Most

candidates are unified in their support for free trade deals – in theory – but the majority oppose TPA even if they support the TPP¹; Santorum opposes both; and a minority support both TPA and TPP (Rubio, Graham, Bush, Walker, and Christie).

¹ Because of the logistics of trade deals, support for TPP with concurrent opposition to TPA is akin to opposition to TPP.

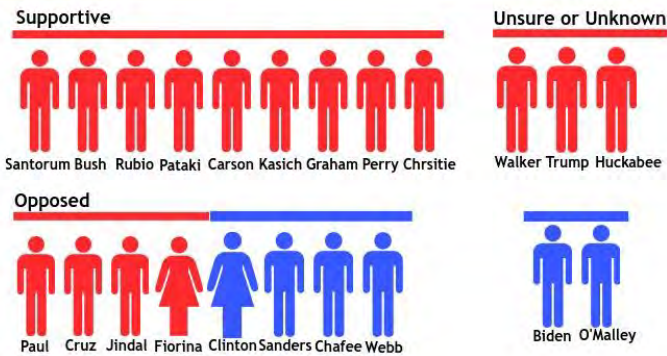
2016 Presidential Candidates' Foreign Policy Views

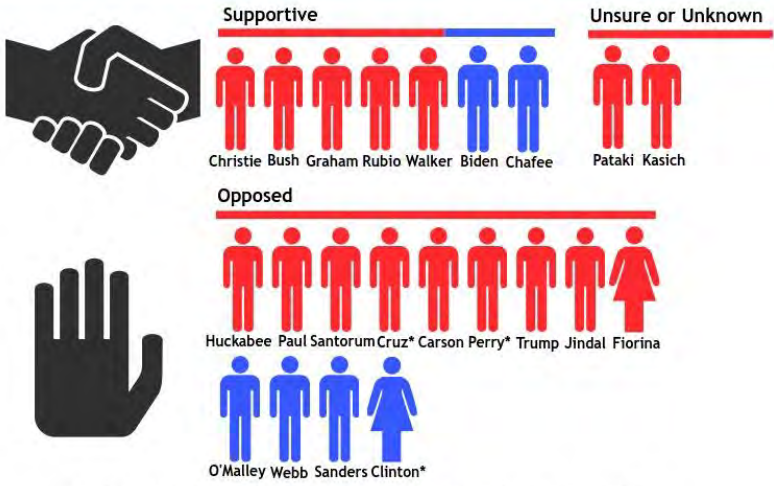
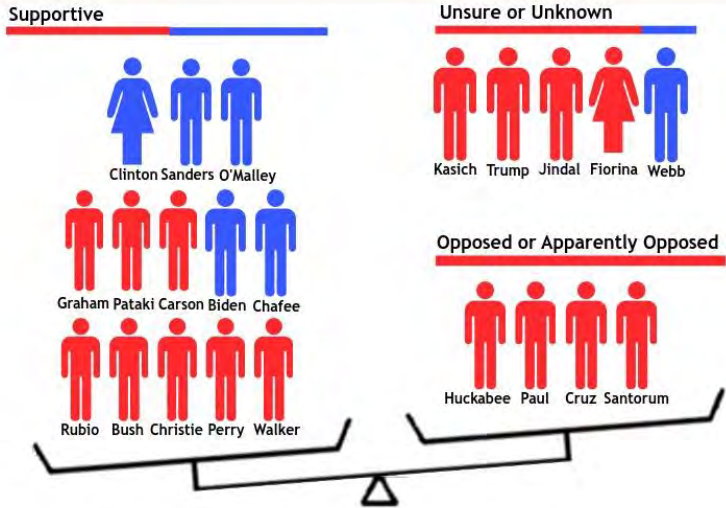
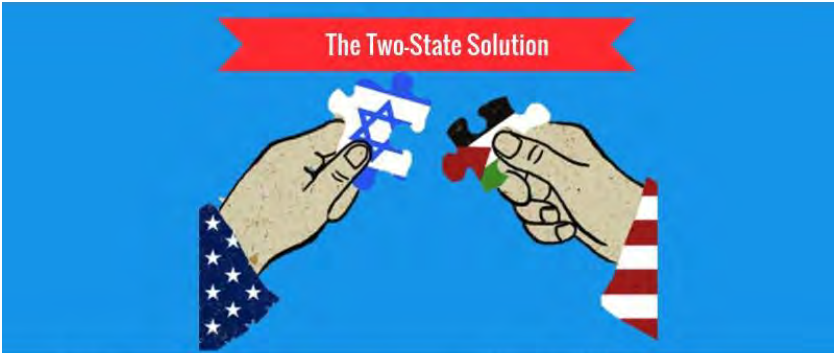
Was the Iraq War a mistake?



* Indicates the candidate gave one or more different answers before settling on this one.

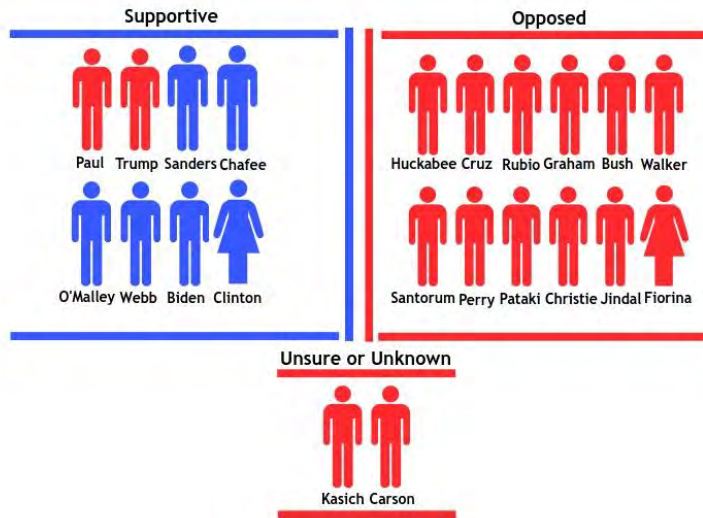
Ground Troops to fight ISIL



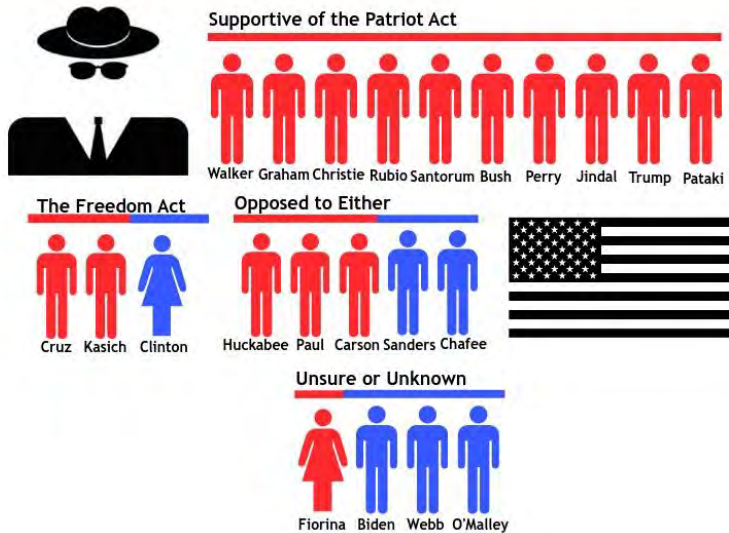


* Indicates the candidate was supportive of TPA/TPP before he/she was against it.

Normalized Cuban Relations



Domestic Surveillance



PART I: A SENATOR'S TURN?

“Governors make much better presidents than members of Congress.”

–Scott Walker

“That’s really stupid.”

–Mark Levin

Rand Paul
Marco Rubio
Ted Cruz
Lindsey Graham

RAND PAUL: A DOVE AMONG HAWKS

If in years past, Republican candidates favored a hawkish, interventionist foreign policy, today there is a contentious intraparty debate that pits non-interventionism against interventionism. There is no more vocal or passionate a voice for the libertarian-leaning, non-interventionist wing of the Republican Party than the junior Senator from Kentucky. Often standing alone, Rand Paul, like his father before him, sees instability, anti-American sentiment, and even terrorism as predictable consequences of many of America's own foreign policy actions not only of the past decade but also the past half century.² He evokes the writings of early American presidents such as George Washington, who warned against obligatory foreign entanglements in his farewell address; Thomas Jefferson who instructed, "Commerce with all nations, alliance with none;" and John Quincy Adams, who advised to "not go abroad in search of monsters to destroy." Paul's supporters see him as a consistent defender of the Constitution and restraint of government power, especially that of the executive branch with regard to the use of force abroad.

Paul, like many of the Republican candidates, does not hesitate to label radical Islam as the greatest enemy of America's national security.³ Unlike many of the Republican candidates, he is likewise not afraid to assign blame where he sees blame is due. He criticizes President Bush for the invasion of Iraq in 2003, arguing that even given the faulty intelligence at the time, he would not have authorized the invasion.⁴ The war, he argues, undermined America's safety. Although Saddam Hussein was a repressive tyrant, the region was stable under his rule and has devolved into chaos and lawlessness since his overthrow: "[ISIL] is more of an aberration than even Hussein was." Moreover, the United States does not have the luxury or authority to determine through brute force who leads in sovereign nations.⁵ The Iraq war caused the deaths of over 100,000 Iraqi civilians and dispensed of the Sunni government, instead ushering in a Shiite one. Paul argues that the resulting anti-American sentiment aided and abetted the rise of the terrorist organization of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, also notoriously known as ISIL. Careless hawkish policies, poorly considered and disingenuously sold, are responsible for many of the threats America faces today, says Paul.⁶ Thousands of tons of weapons that the government sent to the Middle East to aid rebels in their fight against repressive dictators not only fell into the hands of radicals affiliated with ISIL in Syria,⁷ but weakened Assad's grip on the country and created a power vacuum that invigorated and vitalized ISIL. "ISIS exists and grew stronger because of the hawks in our party who gave arms indiscriminately and most of those arms were snatched up by ISIS," Paul contends, "These hawks also wanted to bomb Assad which would have made ISIS's job even easier. They created these

² [Paul, Rand. Interview with Manu Raju. *Politico*, August 28, 2012.](#)

³ [Paul, Rand. "Campaign Launch." \(Transcript, Louisville, KY\). *Time Magazine*, April 7, 2015.](#)

⁴ [Sullivan, Sean. "Rand Paul: 'We still have chaos in Iraq.'" *The Washington Post*, May 17, 2015.](#)

⁵ [Ibid.](#)

⁶ [Paul, Rand. Interview with Joe Scarborough. *Morning Joe. MSNBC*, May 27, 2015.](#)

⁷ A Defense Intelligence Agency memo from October 2012 confirms that the United States did knowingly facilitate the movement of weapons from Libyan rebels to two Syrian ports with the intention of distributing them to rebels.

people...everything they've talked about in foreign policy has been wrong about for 20 years and yet they somehow have the gall to keeping saying and pointing figures otherwise.”⁸

Such a long list of what Paul sees as fundamental errors and mishaps must end to prevent America's security from being severely undermined. Paul proposes sponsoring Arab, not American, boots on the ground and providing technical support to that end. He says that for disenfranchised Iraqi Sunnis, an attractive alternative is ISIL; thus there must be more representation of Sunnis in the predominantly Shiite Iraqi military to combat ISIL. For the Kurds, whose desired homeland is in the epicenter of current conflict and whom Paul says should be among the most virulent fighters of ISIL, Paul promises recognition of a Kurdish state.⁹ Paul connects the battle with ISIL to the destabilization of the region amid a disjointed foreign policy, but levels specific criticisms to what he calls “Hillary's War in Libya.”¹⁰ Not only did Clinton fail to keep American lives at the embassy safe, Paul says, but she advocated sending weapons and conducting airstrikes that toppled the dictator, created space for radicalism, and led to ISIL acquiring the arms from the questionably loyal Libyan rebels. For this, Paul charges that her “abdication of responsibility” and “dereliction of duty” should “forever preclude her from higher office.”¹¹

Another threat in the region is the prospect of a nuclear Iran. Unlike many other candidates who renounce any negotiation between President Obama and Iran, Paul supports the employment of diplomatic means to mitigate the tensions.¹² He signed Senator Tom Cotton's controversial letter to the Iranian leadership warning that President Obama's deal could be nixed in the next administration, but said he did so only to send a message to the president that he needed to consult Congress with any deal he expects the United States to honor.¹³ Paul decries the false dichotomy of allowing Iran to develop weapons or go to war, which is the basis of his support of the open talks. He accordingly criticizes those in his party that seem too willing to resort to war. In the past, Paul has said, “It is unacceptable to not hate war.”¹⁴ Nonetheless, Paul sees President Obama's deal as “unacceptable” for three reasons: “(1) sanctions relief precedes evidence of compliance, (2) Iran is left with significant nuclear capacity and (3) it lifts the ban on selling advanced weapons to Iran.”¹⁵ He therefore intends to vote against the deal, for instead, the negotiations that Paul envisions must be “achieved from a position of strength.” He voted for and supports sanctions, and is concerned by the fact that the Iranian leadership appears to hold a different interpretation of the deal than the Obama administration. Above all, “I will oppose any deal that does not end Iran's nuclear ambitions and have strong verification measures.”¹⁶

⁸ [Paul, Rand. Interview with Joe Scarborough. Morning Joe. MSNBC, May 27, 2015.](#)

⁹ [Ibid.](#)

¹⁰ [Paul, Rand. Speech at the Conservative Political Action Conference. The American Conservative Union. National Harbor, MD, February 27, 2015.](#)

¹¹ [Ibid.](#)

¹² [Paul, Rand. Interview with Hugh Hewitt. The Hugh Hewitt Show, April 10, 2015](#)

¹³ [Paul, Rand. Interview with Igor Bobic. The Huffington Post, March 15, 2015.](#)

¹⁴ [Paul, Rand. Speech at the Values Voters Summit. Family Research Council. Washington, DC, September 19, 2012.](#)

¹⁵ [Paul, Rand. Post on Iran Nuclear Deal. Official Rand Paul Facebook Page, July 14, 2015.](#)

¹⁶ [Paul, Rand. "Campaign Launch." \(Transcript, Louisville, KY\). Time Magazine, April 7, 2015.](#)

Paul is unwavering in his opposition to entangling alliances that drag the country to war and in his opposition to foreign aid, leaving Israel's supporters wondering what he will do to protect America's ally in the turbulent Middle East. In a 2011 budget proposal, Paul proposed cutting \$16 billion in military spending, including all foreign aid, \$3 billion of which America annually dedicates to Israel.¹⁷ Paul has since refined his position, claiming he still supports current aid to Israel, but intends to diminish it with time. In his defense, Paul often cites a 1996 speech that Benjamin Netanyahu delivered to Congress in which he said, "I believe there can be no greater tribute to America's long-standing economic aid to Israel than for us to be able to say: We are going to achieve economic independence. We are going to do it. In the next four years, we will begin the long-term process of gradually reducing the level of your generous economic assistance to Israel."¹⁸ Additionally, on his campaign website Paul calls Israel "America's longtime friend and ally in the Middle East" and touts his proposal of "the 'Stand with Israel Act' to cut off the flow of U.S. taxpayer dollars to the Palestinian Authority."¹⁹ With regard to foreign aid to countries other than Israel and those unfriendly to the United States, Paul says "Let's quit building bridges in foreign countries and use that money to build some bridges here at home. It angers me to see mobs burning our flag and chanting 'Death to America' in countries that receive millions of dollars in our foreign aid. I say it must end. I say not one penny more to these haters of America."²⁰

Paul has an open and accepting position on most other countries that do not threaten America's national security. He views the debt held by China as a point of American weakness and opposes borrowing any more money to be used for deficit spending. To this end, he supports a balanced budget amendment that would prevent the sale of debt bonds to China as long as the proposed budget would add debt.²¹ On Russia, Paul has remained relatively consistent with his non-interventionist beliefs by saying "Some on our side are so stuck in the Cold War era that they want to tweak Russia all the time and I don't think that is a good idea," and "Like Dwight Eisenhower, I believe the U.S. can actually be stronger by doing less."²² After the Russian occupation of the Ukrainian Crimea, Paul intensified his rhetoric a bit, calling to punish Putin and isolate Russia if he does not concede.²³ Paul supports the striking of a deal to create the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a free trade deal with East Asian allies. Nonetheless, he voted against granting President Obama fast-track authority to negotiate and send it to Congress for an up-or-down vote with no amendments. Paul expressed his disdain for the secrecy and, though he said he could very well support the deal, wants Congress to be informed and able to debate if necessary.²⁴ Recently, President Obama has taken measures to reestablish diplomatic and economic ties with Cuba. Paul has praised these measures, calling them "a good idea."²⁵ Paul supports open dialogue with as many countries as possible, and

¹⁷ ["GOP Sen. Rand Paul Urges Cutting Foreign Aid to Israel." CBS News and the Associated Press, January 28, 2011.](#)

¹⁸ [Netanyahu, Benjamin. Speech to United States Congress. Washington DC, July 10, 1996.](#)

¹⁹ ["Israel." Rand Paul Campaign Website. Accessed June 1, 2015.](#)

²⁰ [Paul, Rand. "Campaign Launch." \(Transcript, Louisville, KY\). *Time Magazine*, April 7, 2015.](#)

²¹ ["Spending and Debt." Rand Paul Campaign Website. Accessed June 1, 2015.](#)

²² [Paul, Rand. "Stop Warping Reagan's Foreign Policy." *Breitbart*, March 10, 2014.](#)

²³ [Paul, Rand. "US Must Take Strong Action Against Putin's Aggression." *Time Magazine*, March 9, 2014.](#)

²⁴ [Needham, Vicki. "Rand Paul to Oppose Fast-Track." *The Hill*, March 12, 2015.](#)

²⁵ [Nicks, Denver. "Rand Paul Breaks with Other 2016 Candidates on Cuba." *Time Magazine*, December 18, 2014.](#)

sees travel, trade, and diplomatic restrictions, as well as premature military threats (in cases like Russia), as barriers to progress and prosperity.

Perhaps Paul's greatest point of passion and defining issue of his tenure in the Senate has been domestic surveillance. Recently, Paul designated the bulk collection of Americans' phone records by the National Security Agency as a cornerstone of his campaign. He led an effort in the Senate to block the extension of the Patriot Act, speaking for nearly eleven hours in a quasi-filibuster. The standoff with members of his own party culminated with successful blockage of the Patriot Act as provisions of Section 215 expired at midnight on June 1, but the Senate thereafter voted to approve the bipartisan Freedom Act, which Paul opposed for being just as bad. Paul argues that bulk collection violates the Fourth Amendment right to privacy—a determination shared by the Court of Appeals in a recent ruling—and furthermore claims the program is ineffective and costly. Paul capitalizes on the fact that the Inspector General and FBI have said that the programs have not led to the prevention of a single attack, nor the capture or conviction of a single terrorist.²⁶ "This is a debate over the Bill of Rights. This is a debate over the Fourth Amendment. This is a debate over your right to be left alone," Paul says, "I see no reason why we cannot have security and the constitution at the same time."²⁷ Paul says that the government should seek warrants with specific suspects' names on them, not use general warrants with a telecommunication company name, like Verizon, to collect all innocent Americans' records.²⁸ This stand has drawn vehement criticism from members of his own party and other presidential contenders.

Paul envisions a national defense "robust enough to defend against all attack, modern enough to deter all enemies, and nimble enough to defend our vital interests." He says we should promote stability, not chaos, and our military should be "unparalleled, undefinable, and unencumbered by overseas nation building."²⁹ Rand Paul stands almost alone in his advocacy for non-interventionism, and has gone as far as to call interventionists like John McCain and Lindsey Graham "lapdogs" for President Obama's foreign policy.³⁰ He reminds Americans of his core belief that "America should and will fight wars when the consequences—intended and unintended—are worth the sacrifice," further warning that "we must think before we act."³¹

²⁶ The FBI Inspector General's report concludes, "The agents we interviewed did not identify any major case developments that resulted from use of the records obtained in response to Section 215 orders." <https://oig.justice.gov/reports/2015/o1505.pdf#page=1>

²⁷ "Top Filibuster Quotes." Rand Paul Campaign Website. Accessed June 2, 2015.

²⁸ Paul, Rand. "Campaign Launch." (Transcript, Louisville, KY). *Time Magazine*, April 7, 2015.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Paul, Rand. Interview with Bill Hemmer. *America's Newsroom*. FOX News, April 21, 2015.

³¹ Paul, Rand. Speech at the Conservative Political Action Conference. *The American Conservative Union*. National Harbor, MD, February 27, 2015.

MARCO RUBIO: EXPORTING THE AMERICAN DREAM

Though Senators Paul and Rubio rode the same tea party wave into Congress, their views on foreign policy are nearly diametrically opposed. The junior Senator from Florida and the son of Cuban immigrants, Marco Rubio yearns to export the American Dream. Foreign policy is perhaps the central issue of Rubio's candidacy. He recently released a three-pillar plan that he offers as the "Rubio Doctrine," which includes (1) American strength, (2) protection of the American economy and (3) moral clarity regarding America's core values. The first pillar is relevant to many of the issues that are ravaging Iraq, Syria, and Iran and is predicated on American strength. Rubio believes that the world's safety coincides with American strength and leadership.³² Rubio has been an unrelenting critic of President Obama's foreign policy with regard to allies and adversaries. "If America accepts the mantle of global leadership, by abandoning this administration's dangerous concessions to Iran, and its hostility to Israel; by reversing the hollowing out of our military; by giving our men and women in uniform the resources, care and gratitude they deserve; by no longer being passive in the face of Chinese and Russian aggression; and by ending the near total disregard for the erosion of democracy and human rights around the world;" Rubio says, "then our nation will be safer, the world more stable, and our people more prosperous."³³

When asked about the 2003 invasion of Iraq, Rubio joined a group of Republican candidates who struggled to deliver a coherent and consistent response. Rubio argues that given the intelligence at the time, however faulty, and Hussein's status as a repressive leader, he thinks President Bush decided correctly to invade. If we knew then what we know now, Rubio doubts that President Bush (and Congress) would have authorized the invasion, but maintains that the invasion was not a mistake because "the world is a better place without Saddam Hussein."³⁴ He praises the democratization that accompanied the US presence in Iraq and criticizes President Obama for withdrawing troops prematurely which gave way for instability, a power vacuum, and the rise of ISIL. When asked if his praise of America's efforts in Iraq constituted an endorsement of nation building, Rubio replied, "It's not nation building. We're assisting them in building their nation."³⁵

Rubio resents that the US was not able to abate the rise of ISIL: "I believe we could've prevented much of what's happened with ISIS had we become engaged in the Syrian conflict earlier...I advocated at the time, and I did so forcefully, that we should identify people we could work with on the ground in Syria and empower them."³⁶ In a recent article following ISIL's capture of Ramadi, Rubio charges that the administration's antiterrorism measures are "failing" and its entire Middle East strategy has "backfired:" "The Middle East is more dangerous and unstable than when Obama came into office — a time when Iraq and Syria were more stable, the Iranian nuclear program was

³² ["The Rubio Doctrine." Marco Rubio Campaign Website. Accessed June 2, 2015.](#)

³³ [Rubio, Marco. "Campaign Announcement." \(Transcript, Miami, FL\). *Time Magazine*, April 13, 2015.](#)

³⁴ [Rubio, Marco. Interview with Chris Wallace. Fox News Sunday. *FOX News*, May 17, 2015.](#)

³⁵ [Rubio, Marco. Interview with Gretchen Carlson. *Outnumbered. FOX News*, June 5, 2015.](#)

³⁶ [Rubio, Marco. Speech to Council on Foreign Relations and Interview with Charlie Rose. *CBS*, May 13, 2015.](#)

considerably less advanced and the Islamic State did not yet exist.”³⁷ He is calling on a “broader coalition” of more Sunni, Kurd, and Persian Gulf States’ troops to join the predominantly Shiite Army in the fight against ISIL, and sees an expanded role for the United States in terms of airstrikes, arms, aid and Special Forces. He has further called for more ground forces to embed themselves in Iraq.³⁸ His mantra is entrenchment and an exertion of strong American leadership. Essentially, Rubio sees a multifaceted role of the United States in the Middle East in the realms of both defending against radical enemies and promoting regime change to accomplish a more democratic, pro-western outcome.

Unlike Senator Paul, Rubio and many of the candidates see friction with Iran as the result of opposing interests and values. “Iran’s problem with America is not a grievance, certainly not just a grievance. It goes deeper than that. It’s ideological. It’s their belief that they want to be the dominant power in the region and they want to export their revolution to other territories.”³⁹ He strongly opposes the President’s tactic of negotiating with a country led by a “radical cleric,” especially the specter of the administration lifting billions of dollars of sanctions that will “fuel its export of terrorism and further its regional expansionism, including its efforts to undermine Iraq’s stability.”⁴⁰ Reacting to the details of the deal announced on July 14, Rubio said, “I believe that this deal undermines our national security. President Obama has consistently negotiated from a position of weakness, giving concession after concession to a regime that has American blood on its hands, holds Americans hostage, and has consistently violated every agreement it ever signed.”⁴¹ He intends to vote against the deal in the Senate. He has argued that America should have aided the protesters in the streets of Iran during the 2009 Green Revolution, and cites Obama’s reluctance to do so as more failed “leading from behind.”⁴² Rubio outright believes that Iran has no right to pursue a nuclear weapon, and maintains, “It will then be left to the next President to return us to a position of American strength and re-impose sanctions on this despicable regime until it is truly willing to abandon its nuclear ambitions and is no longer a threat to international security.”⁴³

The second pillar of Rubio’s foreign policy doctrine is unswerving moral clarity in the articulation of core American values that are inseparable from our international presence. Among these are the defense of human rights, democracy, sovereignty of allies and small nations who face invasion and intervention from larger neighboring nations. When asked if this policy is fundamentally tantamount to policing the world, Rubio retorted, “The title is not world’s policeman. But I do think that the world—these problems require a global response. But a global response requires someone to convene the world to take action. And only America’s capable of doing it.”⁴⁴ In the spirit of upholding these values and taking action, Rubio has been an outspoken advocate for Israel in

³⁷ [Rubio, Marco. "Obama's Strategy for the Middle East has Backfired." *The Washington Post*, May 29, 2015.](#)

³⁸ [Ibid.](#)

³⁹ [Rubio, Marco. Speech to Council on Foreign Relations and Interview with Charlie Rose. *CBS*, May 13, 2015.](#)

⁴⁰ [Rubio, Marco. "Obama's Strategy for the Middle East has Backfired." *The Washington Post*, May 29, 2015.](#)

⁴¹ [Rubio, Marco. Statement on Iranian Nuclear Deal. Marco Rubio Official Facebook Page, July 14, 2015.](#)

⁴² [Rubio, Marco. Speech to Council on Foreign Relations and Interview with Charlie Rose. *CBS*, May 13, 2015.](#)

⁴³ [Rubio, Marco. Statement on Iranian Nuclear Deal. Marco Rubio Official Facebook Page, July 14, 2015.](#)

⁴⁴ [Ibid.](#)

American foreign policy. He affixed a controversial amendment to the Senate's bill considering the president's nuclear negotiations that would force Iran to recognize Israel's statehood, an amendment from which he did not back down even in the face of criticism from members of his own party.⁴⁵ On his support for Israel, Rubio declared, "Israel was created as a homeland for the Jewish people in the aftermath of the Holocaust...it is the only free-enterprise, democratic, pro-American country in the Middle East." Rubio supports a two-state solution with the division of land between Israel and Palestine as an "ideal outcome," but seriously doubts its prospects given the current climate.⁴⁶

Holding consistent with his second pillar, Rubio is a harsh critic of Vladimir Putin's occupation of Crimea in violation of Ukraine's sovereignty. He claims that Putin wants to recover Russia from embarrassment and defeat following the Cold War, which explains these unjustified shows of strength. He sharply criticizes then-Secretary of State Hillary Clinton for the failed reset button approach to relations with Russia and says she misunderstood what motivates Moscow. Rubio supports increasing crippling sanctions on Russia and partnering with NATO allies to come to the armed defense of any nation that Russia intends to invade.⁴⁷ He furthermore advocates that the US should boycott the G-8 Summit in Sochi this summer and exclude Russia if they do not relinquish troops from Ukraine. Rubio writes, "The credibility of the alliances and security assurances that have preserved the international order is at stake. If Putin's illegal actions are allowed to stand unpunished, it will usher in a dark and dangerous era in world affairs."⁴⁸

The Rubio Doctrine's third and final pillar rallies around the protection of the US economy in a globalizing world. He views China as an adversarial competitor in the world economy today, and warns against the prospect of sending too many jobs and business to a country that manipulates its currency and violates intellectual property rights. "Gone will be the days," Rubio promises, "of debating whether it is our place to criticize any violations of international waters, airspace, cyberspace, or outer space."⁴⁹ He supports and voted in favor of giving the President fast track authority to negotiate a TPP deal, which he says "will allow us to further unite our economies, creating commerce and business opportunities for millions throughout North America, South America, and Asia."⁵⁰ Conversely, Rubio passionately opposes the President's measures to reestablish relations with Cuba. Rubio maintains that the Communist Castro regime cannot be trusted, and Obama's "unreciprocated opening" to Cuba has been an embarrassment to our country and a devastation to theirs.⁵¹ As president, Rubio contends that he would impose sanctions until American-benefiting provisions are met, designate Cuba a state sponsor of terrorism, and uphold parts of the embargo that restrain economy interaction, telecommunications, and travel.⁵² Until

⁴⁵ [Everett, Burgess. "Marco Rubio won't back away from Iran amendments that could scuttle deal." Politico, April 29, 2015.](#)

⁴⁶ [Rubio, Marco. Speech to Council on Foreign Relations and Interview with Charlie Rose. CBS, May 13, 2015.](#)

⁴⁷ [Ibid.](#)

⁴⁸ [Rubio, Marco. "8 Steps Obama Must Take to Punish Russia." Politico, March 8, 2015.](#)

⁴⁹ ["The Rubio Doctrine." Marco Rubio Campaign Website. Accessed June 2, 2015.](#)

⁵⁰ [Rubio, Marco. "Five Things For President Obama To Keep In Mind During His Trip To Asia" Marco Rubio Official Senate Website, April 24, 2014.](#)

⁵¹ ["The Rubio Doctrine." Marco Rubio Campaign Website. Accessed June 2, 2015.](#)

⁵² [Rubio, Marco. Speech to Council on Foreign Relations and Interview with Charlie Rose. CBS, May 13, 2015.](#)

Cuba undergoes immense domestic reform, a departure from its “incompetent leadership,” Rubio has no interest in gifting them with American interaction.

Finally on the domestic front, Rubio has additionally capitalized on the NSA surveillance debate to position himself as a strong supporter of security, in accordance with his first doctrine pillar. In the Senate standoff, he was among the group that supported a straight extension of the Patriot Act to maintain the Intelligence Community’s legal ability to collect metadata to combat terror. “The national security laws and programs implemented after the 9/11 terrorist attacks have been the cornerstone of our country’s protection since that infamous day,” Rubio says. He further criticizes his Senate colleague and presidential competitor Rand Paul: “Allowing any of these programs to expire is a mistake, but that’s what is happening as a consequence of the reckless spreading of misinformation and political posturing.”⁵³

With an almost Wilsonian undertone, Rubio proclaims that “our nation is a global leader not just because it has superior arms, but because it has superior aims. America is the first power in history motivated by a desire to expand freedom rather than its own territory.” He disagrees with voices in his own party who argue, like Paul, that America should seldom engage and who seek to warn us off from going “in search of monsters to destroy.” Instead, Rubio emanates the sentiment that “in every region of the world, we should always search for ways to use US aid and humanitarian assistance to strengthen our influence, the effectiveness of our leadership, and the service of our interest and ideals. Only American leadership will bring safety and enduring peace.”⁵⁴

⁵³ [Rubio, Marco. Interview with Alex Leary. *The Tampa Bay Times*, May 31, 2015.](#)

⁵⁴ [“The Rubio Doctrine.” Marco Rubio Campaign Website. Accessed June 2, 2015.](#)

TED CRUZ: BRIDGING THE DIVIDE

The vast Tea Party movement that retook the House of Representatives and otherwise diminished Democrat majorities elsewhere ushered in Rand Paul and Marco Rubio in 2010. Two years later, the same coalition, elected a new Junior Senator from Texas. Ted Cruz centers his campaign around adherence to the Constitution – like Rand Paul – but that does not mean that Cruz mimics Paul’s non-interventionist foreign policy. He certainly recognizes the obvious divide: “You can point to two points on two ends of the spectrum, where foreign policy views lie. On one side you have the views of John McCain. The other end of the spectrum, you have the views of Rand Paul.” But Cruz seeks to place himself in the pragmatic middle, saying that his views are “very much the views of Ronald Reagan, which I would suggest is a third point on the triangle.”⁵⁵

On the question of whether the 2003 invasion of Iraq was a mistake, he said “of course it was a mistake.”⁵⁶ Both in retrospect and looking forward, Cruz posits, “I don't think, and I think most Americans don't think, we should be engaged in nation building, building democratic utopias across the world.” Cruz opposes any US involvement in overthrowing Bashar al-Assad; he maintains that the enemy of America’s enemies is not necessarily her friend, warning that supporting rebels may result in a more dangerous outcome for America. “Radical Islamic terrorists infiltrated the rebel groups, and if Assad's regime fell, those terrorists could get their hands on chemical weapons, an even worse outcome for U.S. national security interests.” He recognizes that Assad is a “brutal tyrant,” but resists US involvement in regime change abroad.

Conversely on ISIL, Cruz’s rhetoric becomes more pointed and aggressive. He is committed to sending American ground troops into the region so long as it prevented the terror group from “succeed[ing] in carrying out more horrific acts of terror” and “succeed[ing] in murdering Americans,”⁵⁷ but only as a last resort. On American ground missions abroad, he would require a strategy akin to Ronald Reagan. “If and when we are called to use military force, we should do so with a clear defined objective that is directly keyed off of U.S. national security. We should go in with overwhelming force. And then we should get the heck out.”⁵⁸ In essence, ground troops would be a last resort employed only in the absence or failure of all other options. In the interim, Cruz supports arming the opposition forces that are already fighting and additionally involving the Kurdish Peshmerga. He urges expanded air strikes in the region and criticizes the administration’s approach, which he calls a “photo-op foreign policy, where we drop a bomb here or a missile there.”⁵⁹ He further criticizes the President’s unwillingness to identify radical Islam as the enemy, arguing “It is a bizarre, Orwellian double-speak that this is a president who will not utter the words

⁵⁵ Cruz, Ted. Speech at National Security Action Summit. *EMPAct American and Breitbart*, March 6, 2014.

⁵⁶ Cruz, Ted. Interview with Julian Hattem. *The Hill*, May 12, 2015.

⁵⁷ Cruz, Ted. Interview with George Stephanopolous. *This Week. ABC News*, February 8, 2015.

⁵⁸ Cruz, Ted. Speech at National Security Action Summit. *EMPAct American and Breitbart*, March 6, 2014.

⁵⁹ Cruz, Ted. Interview with George Stephanopolous. *This Week. ABC News*, February 8, 2015.

‘radical Islamic terrorism.’”⁶⁰ Cruz calls ISIL’s radical Islam the second most serious threat the United States faces.

The “single greatest threat to national security” according to Cruz is Iran and its pursuit of nuclear weapons. He has been a harsh critic of the administration’s negotiations with the Iranian leadership, joining the group of 47 Republican senators who signed Tom Cotton’s letter. He charges that President Obama’s concessions have created a deal in which “the international community led by the United States has agreed to not only legitimize and perpetuate the Iranian nuclear program, but also to further arm and enrich the brutal theocratic regime that has oppressed the Iranian people for more than thirty years.”⁶¹ He advises the field of fellow candidates that “any potential White House candidate who’s not willing to reject the emerging deal with Iran is not fit to serve as president.”⁶² Cruz believes that if Iran does attain nuclear weapons, it will use them against the United States and/or Israel; thus he sponsored legislation that imposes even harsher sanctions than the ones Obama has supported lifting. For the US to lift these sanctions, Iran would have to destroy its centrifuges, surrender its enriched Uranium, close its facilities, and discontinue its sponsorship of terrorism.⁶³ Cruz intends to vote against the administration’s deal as Congress reviews it.

Cruz labeled the administration as “the most antagonistic administration to Israel in the history of the country,” tacking on strong adjectives like “shameful” and “disgraceful.”⁶⁴ “Instead of a president who boycotts Prime Minister Netanyahu,” Cruz preached, “imagine a president who stands unapologetically with the nation of Israel.” Cruz has said he would stand with Israel against shows of aggression in the Middle East, especially with threats posed by ISIL and Iran.⁶⁵

Since the Russian annexation of Crimea, Cruz has called on the President to honor America’s treaty commitments by supporting and arming the Ukrainians in their fight for freedom.⁶⁶ In his prioritization of national security threats, he ranks Russian territorial ambition as third, calling President Vladimir Putin a “KGB thug.”⁶⁷ More specifically, in addition to arming Ukraine, Cruz supports economic sanctions, the supply of anti-ballistic missiles to the region, and for the US to invest in the cultivation of domestic liquid natural gas to terminate America’s consumption of one of Russia’s lucrative exports.

In line with traditional Republican views favoring free trade, he originally supported the TPP and voted in favor of granting the President fast track authority. Cruz coauthored an opinion piece with

⁶⁰ Cruz, Ted. Interview with Sean Hannity. Hannity. *FOX News*, March 23, 2015.

⁶¹ Cruz, Ted. We Still have an Opportunity to Tell the Truth about Today's 'Mistake of Historic Proportion.'" Ted Cruz Official Website, July 14, 2015.

⁶² Cruz, Ted. Speech to Voters at Politics & Eggs Breakfast, Manchester, NH, March 16, 2015.

⁶³ Cruz, Ted. Interview with Sean Hannity. Hannity. *FOX News*, March 23, 2015.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Cruz, Ted. "Campaign Announcement." (Transcript, Lynchburg, VA). *The Washington Post*, March 23, 2015.

⁶⁶ FPRI’s John Haines takes a close analytical look at the Budapest Memorandum, the agreement which is often misconstrued as committing U.S. support for Ukraine when faced with territorial threats:

<http://www.fpri.org/articles/2014/03/ukraine-and-misunderstood-budapest-memorandum>

⁶⁷ Cruz, Ted. Interview with Sean Hannity. Hannity. *FOX News*, March 23, 2015.

Representative Paul Ryan expressing his support of the trade deal. “Promoting American trade will create more opportunity in the country, and so we strongly urge our colleagues in Congress to vote for trade-promotion authority,” said the duo, contending that “the measure will strengthen the country’s bargaining position.”⁶⁸ Since its introduction, however, Cruz has changed his mind. On the day of senate reconsideration, Cruz wrote, “TPA in this Congress has become enmeshed in corrupt Washington backroom deal-making, along with serious concerns that it would open up the potential for sweeping changes in our laws that trade agreements typically do not include. The American people do not trust President Obama. And they do not trust Republican leadership in Congress. And the reason is simple: for far too long, politicians in Washington have not told the truth.”⁶⁹ Therefore, Cruz voted “no” on giving President Obama fast-track trade authority.

Like Rubio, Cruz traces his heritage to Cuba, and he likewise opposes President Obama’s measures to reopen relations with the country and laments that they “will be remembered as a tragic mistake.”⁷⁰ Obama’s extended hand, Cruz says, is “seriously misguided” and has “devastating effects.”⁷¹

On the issues of domestic surveillance, Cruz positioned himself between Paul, who opposed both the Patriot Act and the Freedom Act, on the one hand, and Rubio, who supported an extension of the Patriot Act, on the other. Cruz supported and cosponsored the bipartisan Freedom Act. The Freedom Act was passed in the House with a majority of 303 to 121. The Act is seen as a measure that preserves essential government tools to combat terrorism, but also better protects the privacy rights of law-abiding Americans. Instead of the government collecting and storing all records, telecommunications companies will do this and the government will need to obtain a warrant. “The USA Freedom Act of 2015 strikes the right balance by ending the National Security Agency's unfettered data collection program and implementing other surveillance reforms, while at the same time preserving the government's ability to obtain information to track down terrorists when it has sufficient justification and support for doing so,” said Cruz, while also sharply condemning a vote to reauthorize an Patriot Act.⁷² After a showdown in the Senate and the expiration of surveillance programs, the Freedom Act passed with broad bipartisan support.

While Cruz hopes to strike a balance between opposing voices in his party, he is critical of the “mushy middle” of the party, contending that it represents a “failed electoral strategy.”⁷³ Expressing restraint and careful consideration, but condemning irresponsible disengagement, Cruz says, “Unfortunately, right now, as you look across the globe, the failures of the Obama-Clinton foreign policy are manifest...Leading from behind, we are seeing the consequences when America recedes

⁶⁸ Cruz, Ted and Paul Ryan. "Putting Congress in Charge on Trade." *The Wall Street Journal*, April 21, 2015.

⁶⁹ Cruz, Ted. "Obamatrade Enmeshed in Corrupt, Back Room Deals." *Breitbart News*, June 23, 2015.

⁷⁰ Cruz, Ted. Interview with Neil Cavuto. *Your World, FOX News*, December 17, 2015.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Cruz, Ted. "A Bipartisan Bill to Stop Bulk Record Collection." Official Ted Cruz Senate Website, April 28, 2015.

⁷³ Cruz, Ted. Speech at Heritage Foundation Summit. *The Heritage Foundation*, January 12, 2015.

and hides from the mantle of leadership.”⁷⁴ Cruz hopes to thread constitutional conservatism and international engagement to unite a war-weary albeit concerned-for-safety electorate.

⁷⁴ [Lindsay, James M. "Ted Cruz: All You Need to Know." *Newsweek*, March 27, 2015.](#)

LINDSEY GRAHAM: “I WILL KILL YOU”

Joining the three freshmen senators in the race for the presidential nomination is the two-term senior Senator from South Carolina. Among the most hawkish voices in the United States Senate, some speculate that Lindsey Graham’s candidacy exists solely to combat the non-interventionist platform of others. “Those who believe we can disengage from the world at large and stay safe by leading from behind, vote for someone else. I’m not your man,” Graham asserts. “Those who believe the best way to defend ourselves is to lead the world, to make history rather than be overwhelmed by it, I ask for your support.” He revised Ronald Reagan’s dictum of “Peace through Strength” as “Security through Strength,” contending that peace is unattainable in a world with radical Islam run amuck, but that we can destroy our enemies.⁷⁵ If there is one candidate who is diametrically opposed to Rand Paul’s brand of non-intervention and would preside over the most engaged military presence aboard, it is Lindsey Graham.

Unlike the other senators and many of the candidates, Lindsey Graham was involved in politics during the debate over the invasion of Iraq in 2003 and voted in favor of it in the Senate. Graham is unrepentant of his support, answering the question of whether or not it was a mistake with a firm “no” and adding, “At the end of the day, I blame President Obama for the mess in Iraq and Syria, not President Bush.”⁷⁶ He concedes that knowing then what we know now, a ground invasion may not have been the best approach, but “Saddam Hussein was firing at American planes patrolling Iraqi skies under international law. He was denying U.N. weapons inspectors access to sites where we thought there would be weapons of mass destruction. He was killing his own people.”⁷⁷ Graham says he would have found another way to remove and kill Saddam Hussein. He refutes the line of thinking that turbulence and security threats in the Middle East are a result of mistaken US foreign policy, saying “To those who think this is a temporary problem or that we brought this upon ourselves you don't know what you're talking about. We got hit in 2001, two years before we invaded Iraq... this is a religious war, not caused by Iraq or Libya.”⁷⁸ Graham further denounces President Obama for removing troops from Iraq against military advice, designating it as his biggest mistake: “Leaving Iraq too soon, not leaving a residual force has resulted in what you see today and it is in our national security interests to get Iraq in a better position and to do something about Syria.”⁷⁹

Graham envisions a role for the United States in the continued struggle against ISIL. “I am sorry it's going to take reengagement by the American people through their military and economic support to Iraq and Syria.”⁸⁰ Graham would expand the airstrike campaign to the extent that they are “every

⁷⁵ [Graham, Lindsey. "Campaign Announcement." \(Transcript, Central, SC\). Time Magazine, June 1, 2015.](#)

⁷⁶ [Graham, Lindsey. Interview with Wolf Blitzer. Situation Room. CNN, May 18, 2015.](#)

⁷⁷ [Ibid.](#)

⁷⁸ [Ibid.](#)

⁷⁹ [Ibid.](#)

⁸⁰ [Ibid.](#)

night” to create conditions in which “if they picked up the phone, if they got in the car, they'd be subject to being killed.”⁸¹ He would not only arm and assist the Arab troops already on the ground fighting, but he is campaigning on the idea of sending ten thousand American troops back into Iraq, the only candidate to currently support such a measure.⁸² Graham believes that the fight against ISIL “is our fight, it is not just their fight. I will not let this president suggest to the American people we can outsource our security.”⁸³ Graham is seeking to make the fight against ISIL the defining issue of his campaign, claiming that little else matters “if they kill us all here at home,” referencing an imminent attack on American soil that Graham has predicted.⁸⁴

Turning to another haven of radical Islam, Graham distrusts the Iranians in their nuclear negotiations with the United States. About the honesty of the Iranian leadership, Graham said, “My family owned a restaurant, a pool room, and a liquor store. And everything I know about the Iranians I learned in the pool room. I ran the pool room when I was a kid and I met a lot of liars, and I know the Iranians are lying.”⁸⁵ Graham has claimed that the deal that President Obama struck with Iran will cause an arms race that will “unleash hell throughout the Middle East.”⁸⁶ He holds no faith in the negotiations: “My initial impression is that this deal is far worse than I ever dreamed it could be and will be a nightmare for the region, our national security, and eventually the world at large.”⁸⁷ He further worries for the security of America’s allies, charging that the deal is “akin to declaring war on Israel and Sunni Arabs.”⁸⁸ Graham wants the surrender of all physical materials being used to develop weapons; full inspections and closure of the facilities in which development took place; abandonment of all research and development programs and initiatives on the part of Iranian scientists; and certification that the Iranians have changed their behavior to the extent that they may be removed from the list of state sponsors of terrorism.⁸⁹ “[These principles] will protect our national security and that of our close allies,” outlines Graham, “Above all, they will reassert American leadership in the Middle East and reassure our allies in the region. Any deal that does not adhere to them will fail, with dire consequences for global security.”⁹⁰

Among these allies that America needs to reassure is Israel. Graham is another strong critic of President Obama’s behavior during Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu’s visit to Congress. He believes that the administration has failed to honor the country’s everlasting commitment to Israel and to defend her in the face of impending disaster in the region. “Our close ally, Israel, is at risk as a result of Obama’s failed leadership. We share values, we share democracy, and our friendship is unbreakable. To our friends in Israel, I will never abandon you. I will always stand firm in

⁸¹ [Graham, Lindsey. Interview with Wolf Blitzer. Situation Room. CNN, May 18, 2015.](#)

⁸² [Ibid.](#)

⁸³ [Graham, Lindsey. Interview with John Roberts. Fox News Sunday. FOX News, September 14, 2014.](#)

⁸⁴ [Ibid.](#)

⁸⁵ [Graham, Lindsey. Speech to Southern Republican Leadership Conference. SRLC, May 26, 2015.](#)

⁸⁶ [Graham, Lindsey. Interview with Hugh Hewitt. The Hugh Hewitt Show, February 5, 2015.](#)

⁸⁷ [Graham, Lindsey. Interview with Josh Rogin. Bloomberg View. Bloomberg News, July 14, 2015.](#)

⁸⁸ [Ibid.](#)

⁸⁹ [Graham, Lindsey. "8 Principles for an Acceptable Agreement with Iran." Lindsey Graham Official Senate YouTube Channel, April 22, 2015.](#)

⁹⁰ [Ibid.](#)

supporting the one and only Jewish state.”⁹¹ Graham, skeptical but supportive of two-state solution, recently in Jerusalem threatened “violent pushback” against any country supporting a United Nations Security Council resolution that does anything other than encourage direct negotiations between Israel and Palestine.⁹² He has also on multiple occasions threatened to revoke US funding to the United Nations if any country pushed for Israel to be tried in the International Criminal Court for alleged crimes against the Palestinians.⁹³ Graham views the destiny of the United States as intimately intertwined with that of Israel, and will not hold back in coming to her defense.

At a security conference in Munich in early 2015, Graham was a vocal proponent of US military backing of Ukraine and a concerted escalation against Putin’s advance into Eastern Europe. German Chancellor Angela Merkel held the view that more weapons would not improve Ukraine’s progress, but Graham openly confronted her, retorting, “At the end of the day, to our European friends, this is not working. You can go to Moscow until you turn blue in the face. Stand up to what is clearly a lie and a danger.”⁹⁴ In a joint statement with Senator John McCain, Graham argues that “we need to proclaim the failure of the recent ceasefire agreement in Ukraine” and “Ukrainians have the will to resist this aggression...They only ask that the defenders of democracy to give them the means to resist the onslaught of a dictator. Shame on us for failing them.”⁹⁵ Graham believes the United States plays an integral role in providing the lethal mean with which Ukrainians may combat Russian occupation.

On the Trans-Pacific Partnership, Graham has been less vocal as he does not see it as a national security issue. He voted in favor of providing President Obama with fast-track negotiating authority twice and also voted in favor of a series of amendments in the Senate to restrict the ability of China and other nations to manipulate their currencies in such a way that would distort market conditions in the free trade zone. Another amendment would allow Congress to debate and approve or deny new members from joining the TPP.⁹⁶ Graham joins many other Republicans in vehement opposition to President Obama’s Cuba policy. In some ways, he has been more outspoken than even Rubio and Cruz, calling Obama’s trip to Cuba “appeasement to dictators” and the prospect of having an ambassador to Cuba “a snowball’s chance in hell.”⁹⁷ In response to the image of Obama and Raul Castro shaking hands, Graham lamented, “Unfortunately, these latest chapters are ones of America and the values we stand for — human rights, freedom, and democracy — in retreat and decline” and asked “Is it any wonder that on President Obama's watch our enemies are emboldened and our friends demoralized?”⁹⁸ He said he would fight to block funding for the construction of an

⁹¹ [Graham, Lindsey. "Campaign Announcement." \(Transcript, Central, SC\). *Time Magazine*, June 1, 2015.](#)

⁹² [Graham, Lindsey. "Campaign Announcement." \(Transcript, Central, SC\). *Time Magazine*, June 1, 2015.](#)

⁹³ [Graham, Lindsey. *Speech in Jerusalem, Israel*, May 27, 2015.](#)

⁹⁴ [Brown, Stephen and Noah Barkin. "Merkel Defends Ukraine Arms Stance in Face of US Criticism." *Reuters*, February 7, 2015.](#)

⁹⁵ [Graham, Lindsey and John McCain. "Statement on the Fall of Debaltsevo to Russian-Backed Separatists." *John McCain Official Senate Website*, February 18, 2015.](#)

⁹⁶ ["Sens Tim Scott, Lindsey Graham's stances on foreign trade issues differ." *Greenville Online*, May 30, 2015.](#)

⁹⁷ [Graham, Lindsey. *Interview with Bob Schieffer*. *Face the Nation*. *CBS*, December 21, 2014.](#)

⁹⁸ [Graham, Lindsey. "Statement on Obama's Upcoming Meeting with Castro." *Lindsey Graham Official Senate Website*, April 10, 2015.](#)

embassy in Cuba, rally against the confirmation of an ambassador, and work to sponsor legislation to isolate the Castros.

Graham won a senate seat the year following the passage of the Patriot Act, but has been a strong advocate of it ever since. In the recent Senate standoff over its reauthorization, Graham stood firmly with those who supported reauthorization. He rolled his eyes during Senator Paul's objection to a unanimous consent motion to reauthorize it, and has decried "The Obama administration and some of my colleagues in Congress" who "have substituted wishful thinking for sound national security strategy."⁹⁹ He also opposed the bipartisan Freedom Act for compromising too much on the intelligence community's tools to combat terror. Amid the passage of the 2011 National Defense Authorization Act, opponents raised concerns that the authorities granted could be used to deny citizens their right to a lawyer. Graham's response: "When they say 'I want my lawyer,' you tell them, 'Shut up. You don't get a lawyer.'"¹⁰⁰ After Rand Paul's 2013 filibuster against the specter of the president using executive authority to use drones to kill American citizens on US soil, Graham said, "He's saying now that he wants this President to tell him that he will not use a drone to kill an American citizen sitting in a café having a cup of coffee, who is not a combatant. I find the question offensive. As much as I disagree with President Obama, as much as I support past presidents, I do not believe that question deserves an answer."¹⁰¹ On a similar subject, Graham recently threatened, "If I'm president of the United States, and you're thinking about joining Al Qaeda or ISIL — anybody thinking about that? — I'm not gonna call the judge, I'm gonna call the drone. And we will kill you."¹⁰² In most of his stances on domestic privacy and rights versus security, Graham chooses security.

Lindsey Graham is certainly strong on national security and would focus significantly on foreign policy if president. There are numerous situations and threats that exist around the world, and Graham believes he is best suited to provide "security through strength" by being the strongest candidate articulating the strongest proposals. "The most powerful weapon in our arsenal isn't a gun. It's an idea. The terrorists are selling a glorious death. We must sell a hopeful life."¹⁰³ Graham presents himself not as a politician with a focus on elections, but rather as a military man with his focus on the mission.

⁹⁹ [Graham, Lindsey. "Campaign Announcement." \(Transcript, Central, SC\). *Time Magazine*, June 1, 2015.](#)

¹⁰⁰ [Graham, Lindsey. Speech on Senate Floor. CSPAN, December 22, 2011.](#)

¹⁰¹ [Graham, Lindsey. Speech on Senate Floor. CSPAN, March 7, 2013.](#)

¹⁰² [Graham, Lindsey. Speech at Lincoln Dinner. Republican Party of Iowa, May 17, 2015.](#)

¹⁰³ [Graham, Lindsey. "Campaign Announcement." \(Transcript, Central, SC\). *Time Magazine*, June 1, 2015.](#)

PART II: GOVERNORS KNOW BEST

“It’s reasonably well known that governors have a more successful record than senators when it comes to winning the presidential nomination”

–Nate Silver

Jeb Bush
Scott Walker
Chris Christie

JEB! PRESIDENT BUSH 41 43 45

There are a few politically connected families that will forever distinguish themselves in the pages of American history. Among them are surnames like Roosevelt, Kennedy, and more recently, Bush. Seeking a fourth presidential term for the family, the former Florida Governor makes it abundantly clear that he is a proud and loyal member of the Bush family. Bush has made a habit of defending his brother in discussions about foreign policy. Nearly every member of his foreign policy team worked for his brother, his father, or both, and Jeb named George as his single most influential advisor on foreign affairs: “If you want to know who I listen to for advice, it’s him.”¹⁰⁴ Despite this influence, Bush has ensured 2016 voters that he is not a W. carbon copy, saying, “I love my brother, I love my dad, I love my mother as well, I hope that’s okay. And I admire their service to the nation, but I am my own man.”¹⁰⁵ Bush endorses the conventional Republican foreign policy brand, criticizing President Obama for his lack of leadership and sees an expanded role for America abroad: “Under this administration, we are inconsistent and indecisive. We have lost the trust and confidence of our friends. We definitely no longer inspired fear and our enemies.” Under a Bush presidency, he promises that “we can project power and enforce peaceful stability in far-off areas of the globe.”¹⁰⁶

Considering that a potential President Bush 45 has staked his foreign policy on defending President Bush 43 who spearheaded the 2003 invasion of Iraq, questions on its legacy pose a unique challenge to Jeb. When Megyn Kelly asked, “Knowing what we know now, would you have authorized the invasion?,” Jeb responded, “I would’ve.”¹⁰⁷ Later he said that he misheard and misinterpreted the question, and when answering Sean Hannity’s question of whether he would have made a different decision with “Yeah, I don’t know what that decision would have been, that’s a hypothetical.”¹⁰⁸ Finally at the end of that same week Bush settled the matter at a town hall in Arizona when he stated, “If we’re all supposed to answer hypothetical questions: Knowing what we now know, what would you have done? I would not have engaged. I would not have gone into Iraq.”¹⁰⁹ Despite the differences in his responses, Bush’s underlying assertions about the war effort remained constant. He contends that the world is safer because Saddam Hussein is gone. Amid the faulty intelligence and mistakes made, “in the last few years of my brother’s presidency, the surge was quite effective to bring security and stability to Iraq which was missing during the early days of the United States engagement there.”¹¹⁰ He further stresses, “ISIS didn’t exist when my brother was president. Al-Qaida in Iraq was wiped out when my brother was president.”¹¹¹ These assertions predicate Bush’s attacks on President Obama, whose policy of retrenchment and withdrawal from Iraq, he argues, has rendered it conducive to instability and radicalization.

¹⁰⁴ [Bush, Jeb. Speech to the Metropolitan Club. Manhattan, NY, May 7, 2015.](#)

¹⁰⁵ [Bush, Jeb. Speech to Chicago Council on Global Affairs. Chicago, IL, February 18, 2015.](#)

¹⁰⁶ [Ibid.](#)

¹⁰⁷ [Bush, Jeb. Interview with Megyn Kelly. The Kelly File. FOX News, May 11, 2015.](#)

¹⁰⁸ [Bush, Jeb. Interview with Sean Hannity. Hannity. FOX News, May 12, 2015.](#)

¹⁰⁹ [Bush, Jeb. Speech at Arizona Town Hall. Right to Rise PAC, May 14, 2015.](#)

¹¹⁰ [Bush, Jeb. Interview with Sean Hannity. Hannity. FOX News, May 12, 2015.](#)

¹¹¹ [Bush, Jeb. Roundtable Discussion in New Hampshire. Portsmouth, NH, May 20, 2015.](#)

Bush considers asymmetric terror threats like ISIL to be the foremost issue of national security, suggesting that America's strategy must be to partner with Arab countries to destroy ISIL. "I think we need to coordinate with the Iraqi government and with the Iraqi military. We need to embed American troops, as we have done successfully in the past, to help train them, to identify targets, to do what we do really well."¹¹² He says America's role at this juncture should not necessarily be to put combat troops in danger, but rather encourage strategic collaboration, arm the Kurds, limit Iranian influence in the battle, and use airstrikes and Special Forces. Bush has also lost confidence in the administration's negotiations with Iran: "Prevention of nuclear weapons in Iran was once a unifying issue with an American foreign policy. Leaders of both parties agreed to it," he says, "When he launched his negotiations, President Obama said that was the goal – stop Iran's nuclear program. Now we're told the goal has changed and the point of these negotiations isn't to solve the problem, it's to manage it."¹¹³ He calls President Obama's deal a "a dangerous, deeply flawed, and short sighted deal... it appears this agreement does not 'cut off all of Iran's pathways to a nuclear weapon' – in fact, over time it paves Iran's path to a bomb. Most of the key restrictions last for only 10 to 15 years."¹¹⁴ He continues, "The people of Iran, the region, Israel, America, and the world deserve better than a deal that consolidates the grip on power of the violent revolutionary clerics who rule Tehran with an iron fist," and concludes, "This isn't diplomacy – it is appeasement."¹¹⁵ As president, Bush has vowed to revoke the agreement by executive order if it is in the security interests of the United States. He supports reinstating sanctions that force Iran to accept the non-negotiable provision that they cannot have a nuclear bomb.¹¹⁶

In what has been his most substantive foreign policy address thus far, Bush outlines several principles that "will be critical to put American back on the path of firm global leadership."¹¹⁷ First is economic stability to project the strength of capitalism and the democratic values that underpin it. "Free people, free markets, free ideas, implemented faithfully will set a powerful example of what's possible to the rest of the world." Without these examples, Bush predicts, other regions will "move in different directions."¹¹⁸ To bolster international economic partnership, Bush favors fast-track trade authority for the president and the deal that creates the Trans-Pacific Partnership. A second principle that Bush put forth was that America's words, values, and actions must all align. He levels criticism at Obama for his handling of Syria and Russia, saying, "This administration talks, but the words fade. They draw red lines and then erase them. With grandiosity they announce resets and then disengage. Hash tag campaigns replace actual diplomacy and engagement."¹¹⁹ Bush believes the US has an obligation to uphold its NATO alliance with Baltic States, and when asked if that means military intervention or sending troops, Bush remarked, "If we're not serious about Article 5, then we ought to have shut down NATO. And I think shutting down NATO would be a disaster. The

¹¹² [Bush, Jeb. Interview with Bob Schieffer. Face the Nation. CBS, May 31, 2015.](#)

¹¹³ [Bush, Jeb. Speech to Chicago Council on Global Affairs. Chicago, IL, February 18, 2015.](#)

¹¹⁴ [Bush, Jeb. "The Obama Administration's Nuclear Deal with Iran." Jeb Bush Official Website, July 14, 2015.](#)

¹¹⁵ [Ibid.](#)

¹¹⁶ [Bush, Jeb. Speech at the Brown Palace Hotel. Denver, CO, April 7, 2015.](#)

¹¹⁷ [Bush, Jeb. Speech to Chicago Council on Global Affairs. Chicago, IL, February 18, 2015.](#)

¹¹⁸ [Ibid.](#)

¹¹⁹ [Ibid.](#)

Baltic States are counting on the United States to be a leader in this regard.”¹²⁰ Under the auspice of this same second principle, Bush opposes President Obama’s openness with Cuba. He sees unreciprocated concessions to Cuba as a betrayal of democratic and free market values and an endorsement of the Castro’s repressive regime. After the administration removed Cuba from the list of state sponsors of terrorism, Bush remarked, “Neither continued repression at home nor Cuba’s destabilizing activities abroad appear sufficient to stop President Obama from making further concessions to the Communist regime in Havana.”¹²¹ He further warns that Iran takes notice to such American weakness, which will undermine the negotiations and embolden their international belligerence.

A third principle of Bush’s foreign policy emulates Ronald Reagan’s “peace through strength” mantra. “I believe fundamentally, weakness invites war; strength encouraging peace.”¹²² In conjunction with this principle comes a fourth: “an engaged America that needs to strengthen the alliances and relationships that fosters security in the world.”¹²³ In this fashion, Bush stands as an advocate for Israel and a critic of President Obama’s relations with Prime Minister Netanyahu. Speaking from firsthand experience, Bush says, “I’ve seen the extraordinary technology of our strongest ally in the region being able to create prosperity, turn Israel into a first-world country.”¹²⁴ He supports relocating the US embassy to Jerusalem from Tel Aviv in a “show of solidarity” with Israel against neighbors who “have never even accepted Israel’s right to exist.”¹²⁵ With regards to Israel and other allies abroad, Bush says, “Ultimately the goal should be this: Others should want America as a friend. There should be no comfort, no success and no future standing against the United States in alliance with people that believe in freedom.”¹²⁶

To bolster American strength, Bush believes that domestic surveillance through the National Security Agency and Patriot Act serves a vital role. “The best part of the Obama administration,” Bush says, “would be his continuance of the protections of the homeland using the big metadata programs, the NSA being enhanced.”¹²⁷ He supported the full, permanent reauthorization of the Patriot Act in the Senate—legislation that was started under his brother’s administration—and does not believe that bulk collection violates the constitution, adding, “There’s not a shred of evidence that anybody’s civil liberties have been violated by it. Not a shred.”¹²⁸ He also believes that metadata collection has been an effective and indispensable tool in combatting radical Islam. Jeb Bush’s final foreign policy principle, he offers, “Let’s call it liberty diplomacy. America at its founding declared that the power in our country rested with the individual and not the other way around.” Bush maintains that in order to project America’s values abroad, she must be safe and secure at home.

¹²⁰ [Bush, Jeb. Interview with Hugh Hewitt. The Hugh Hewitt Show, March 31, 2015.](#)

¹²¹ [Bush, Jeb. "Governor Bush's Statement on the Removal of Cuba from the State Sponsor of Terror List." Right to Rise PAC, May 29, 2015.](#)

¹²² [Bush, Jeb. Speech to Chicago Council on Global Affairs. Chicago, IL, February 18, 2015.](#)

¹²³ [Ibid.](#)

¹²⁴ [Ibid.](#)

¹²⁵ [Bush, Jeb. Interview with Ashley Killough. CNN, May 30, 2015.](#)

¹²⁶ [Bush, Jeb. Speech to Chicago Council on Global Affairs. Chicago, IL, February 18, 2015.](#)

¹²⁷ [Bush, Jeb. Interview with Michael Medved. The Michael Medved Show, April 22, 2015.](#)

¹²⁸ [Bush, Jeb. Speech in Concord, NH. Concord Chamber of Commerce, May 21, 2015.](#)

“We do this work for others and we also do it for ourselves because time and time again we have learned that if we withdraw from the defense of liberty elsewhere, the battle of eventually comes to us anyway.” He says that America is and has always been a force for good in the world, that we should be unapologetic for our leadership and serving the causes of global security and freedom, and that no one can replace indispensable American leadership.¹²⁹

¹²⁹ [Bush, Jeb. Speech to Chicago Council on Global Affairs. Chicago, IL, February 18, 2015.](#)

SCOTT WALKER: THE CONSERVATIVE ALTERNATIVE

Conservatives to the right of the apparent frontrunner Bush or who are otherwise fatigued with the Bush family name must find an alternative. A popular candidate who has commanded a comfortable lead in the polls is the incumbent Governor of Wisconsin. Conservatives see Scott Walker as a champion of the party's ideals, for instance standing up to the unions and winning three elections in the course of four years.¹³⁰ Where Walker lacks substantive experience, however, is in the realm of foreign policy; so he has traveled abroad and done his homework in order to speak fluently on international affairs. He speaks admirably of Ronald Reagan, saying "Under his leadership, we rebuilt our military, stood up for friends, stood up to our enemies, and—without apology—stood for American values."¹³¹ He condemns the abandoned red lines, underestimation of ISIL and "leading from behind" that he says have come to characterize the Obama foreign policy. Walker's prescription for foreign policy: "People want new, fresh leadership with big, bold ideas and the courage to act on it."¹³²

On the question of the 2003 invasion of Iraq, Walker said, "Any president would have likely taken the same action Bush did with the information he had, even Hillary Clinton voted for it." But he added "knowing what we know now, we should not have gone into Iraq."¹³³ Like others, he attributes instability and chaos in the region to President Obama's hasty removal of troops, as well as the Obama-Clinton policy of retrenchment and "leading from behind." He praises the troop surge ordered by President Bush and says it made significant strides in stabilizing the region.¹³⁴ With regard to managing Iraq, Walker adopts a unique position shared only by Rand Paul: "he thinks it 'certainly worth looking at' the idea of dividing Iraq along sectarian lines. First, he stresses the importance of securing stability: "Before you can start talking about dividing up anything, you've got to get control there. If you have Sunnis and Shiites and Kurds...the Sunnis have to be the freedom-loving ones, responsible ones. It can't be the more radical element of the Islamic State."¹³⁵

Responding to a question about his strategy to defeat ISIL, Walker offhandedly responded, "If I can take on 100,000 [union] protesters, I can do the same across the globe."¹³⁶ Since then, he has constructed a more comprehensive platform. He advocates for returning to the idea of setting red lines, only actually enforcing them this time. In response to Senator Rand Paul's claim that Republican hawks abetted ISIL, Walker rebukes, "I believe the reason that we're facing troubles, and not only in that region of the world, is because of the lack of American leadership. And that certainly doesn't mean looking around for who to blame but rather to say how do we have

¹³⁰ Walker first won the Wisconsin gubernatorial election in 2010. He also won a recall election in 2012, then reelection again in 2014.

¹³¹ [Walker, Scott. Presidential Campaign Announcement. *Time Magazine*, July 13, 2015.](#)

¹³² [Walker, Scott. Interview with George Stephanopoulos. *This Week*. ABC, February 1, 2015.](#)

¹³³ [Walker, Scott. Email to Right Turn. *The Washington Post*, May 15, 2015.](#)

¹³⁴ [Ibid.](#)

¹³⁵ [Walker, Scott. Interview with Chris Salcedo. *The Chris Salcedo Show*, June 3, 2015.](#)

¹³⁶ [Walker, Scott. Speech at the Conservative Political Action Conference. *The American Conservative Union*. National Harbor, MD, February 27, 2015.](#)

solutions.”¹³⁷ Walker’s solutions include expanded airstrikes, but also going beyond that to using Special Forces and possibly boots on the ground.¹³⁸ He says his strategy “means lifting political restrictions on our military personnel in Iraq so they can help our Kurd and Sunni allies reclaim land taken by ISIS.”¹³⁹ Walker has also advocated placing American “spotters” on the ground near combat lines to provide insight for targeted surgical airstrikes, a task that President Obama relegated to Iraqis.¹⁴⁰ While he sees a need for stronger American leadership, he recognizes that ISIL will not desist without the help of Arab allies in the region, arguing, “We need to empower the forces and individuals we have there connected to the military to more fully engage.”¹⁴¹ He echoes several of the other candidates in that if those in the region cannot or will not fight against ISIL, the American mission faces an insurmountable challenge. “On behalf of your children and mine, I’d rather take the fight to them than wait for them to bring the fight to us.”¹⁴²

With respect to Iran, Walker adopts particularly strong rhetoric against the deal that the administration has negotiated. Walker does not equivocate on his assertion that “If I’m honored to be elected by the people of this country, I will pull back on that on January 20, 2017, because the last thing — not just for the region but for this world — we need is a nuclear-armed Iran.”¹⁴³ Walker worries that enabling Iran will provoke a nuclear arms race in the region that will intensify already turbulent conflicts in Syria, Iraq, and Yemen. “We will see more terrorism, more aggression against our allies, and more threats to Americans and to our homeland,” he predicts. He distrusts Iran, and believes they will vacate their end of the deal while leaving the West unprepared to respond. “President Obama’s nuclear agreement with Iran will be remembered as one of America’s worst diplomatic failures,” says Walker, “The deal allows Tehran to dismantle U.S. and international sanctions without dismantling its illicit nuclear infrastructure—giving Iran’s nuclear weapons capability an American stamp of approval.”¹⁴⁴ He encourages Congress to vote against the deal, and as president, he would exert more pressure on Iran in the form of sanctions and punitive consequences for noncompliance, asserting, “We should remain distrustful of Iran, walk away from a bad deal that does not keep Americans safe, and work with Congress and our allies to increase pressure on Iran.”¹⁴⁵ When asked if he would still scuttle the deal if allies declined to support exerting pressure, Walker replied, “absolutely.”¹⁴⁶

Walker wants to distinguish himself from other candidates in his intense support for Israel. He recently traveled to Israel, toured the country, and met with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. “It is time to remind Israel they have an ally in the United States. “It is time to send a message to the rest of the world that we stand with our allies. In America, they should know there is no greater

¹³⁷ [Walker, Scott. Interview with Neil Cavuto. Cavuto. FOX Business Network, May 28, 2015.](#)

¹³⁸ [Walker, Scott. Interview with George Stephanopoulos. This Week. ABC, February 1, 2015.](#)

¹³⁹ [Walker, Scott. Presidential Campaign Announcement. Time Magazine, July 13, 2015.](#)

¹⁴⁰ [Walker, Scott. Interview with Bob Schieffer. Face the Nation, CBS, May 17, 2015.](#)

¹⁴¹ [Ibid.](#)

¹⁴² [Walker, Scott. Presidential Campaign Announcement. Time Magazine, July 13, 2015.](#)

¹⁴³ [Walker, Scott. Interview with Charlie Sykes. Newsradio 620 WTMJ, April 2, 2015.](#)

¹⁴⁴ [Walker, Scott. Post on Iran Nuclear Deal. Official Scott Walker Facebook Page, July 14, 2015.](#)

¹⁴⁵ [Walker, Scott. "Why We Should Worry about Obama's Iran Deal." Our American Revival, April 2015.](#)

¹⁴⁶ [Walker, Scott. Interview with Charlie Sykes. Newsradio 620 WTMJ, April 2, 2015.](#)

friend, and for the rest of the world, they should know there is no greater enemy.”¹⁴⁷ Walker includes not only the United States but also other allies in his criticism of lack of support for Israel, saying, “Nor is it a time to dismiss the rise of anti-Semitism around the world and an increasing effort in places like Western Europe to delegitimize Israel.”¹⁴⁸ Walker supports a two-state solution but recognizes that the region is far too unstable for an accord to occur. Walker also notes that his trip only affirmed his resolve to combat terror and the threats of Iran and ISIL that incite violence throughout the region.¹⁴⁹

This invigorated hardline stance manifests itself in Walker’s rhetoric toward Russia. He opposes President Obama’s and Hillary Clinton’s attempt at resetting relations and John Kerry’s “ill-advised” trip to Sochi, saying, “Now is not the time for American officials to travel to Russia, especially given Putin’s ongoing aggression against Ukraine, his support for Bashar al-Assad in Syria, or his recent announcement to deliver sophisticated missiles to Iran.”¹⁵⁰ Walker sees Putin both an aggressor in his region and a force against American interests in other volatile arenas. Walker says America’s policy should reorient itself to support Ukraine’s anticorruption measures, provide lethal military force, assist the emergence of democratic institutions, and intensify crippling sanctions against Russia. Walker construes Putin’s leadership as that of Lenin’s: “Probe with bayonets; if you encounter mush, push; if you encounter steel, stop.” He says, “With Obama and Clinton, Putin has encountered years of mush. The United States needs a foreign policy that puts steel in front of our enemies.”¹⁵¹

Similarly, Walker charges that the administration’s Asia Pivot is hollow, citing China’s advancing territorial claims in the South China Sea: “China’s leaders have repeatedly eschewed multilateral diplomacy with other parties that have claims to these waters, including our democratic ally the Philippines.” He argues that the United States must increase the size of its Navy and conduct “freedom of navigation” patrols in the Pacific, in addition to confronting China on their “abysmal human rights record.” Additionally, he supports fast-track authority for President Obama to negotiate TPP to augment America’s economic strength in the region. “By restoring America’s military strength, reinforcing our existing alliances, generating new partners in the region, and enforcing international rules,” Walker says, “the United States will continue to shape a peaceful, prosperous, and free Asia.”¹⁵²

Consistent with his ideological opposition to Russia and China, Walker opposes President Obama’s measures to open relations with Cuba. He thinks Cuba should remain on the list of state sponsors of terrorism and that the United States should not extend any unreciprocated gestures to the Castro regime. He said normalization of relations is a “bad idea” and that President Obama is negotiating

¹⁴⁷ [Walker, Scott. Speech at the GOP Lincoln Dinner. The Republican Party of Iowa, May 16, 2015.](#)

¹⁴⁸ [Walker, Scott. "Reflections on my Recent Trip to Israel." *Medium*, May 25, 2015.](#)

¹⁴⁹ [Ibid.](#)

¹⁵⁰ [Walker, Scott. "Statement on Recent Obama Administration Overtures to Russia." *Our American Revival*, May 2015.](#)

¹⁵¹ [Walker, Scott. Presidential Campaign Announcement. *Time Magazine*, July 13, 2015.](#)

¹⁵² [Ibid.](#)

yet another “bad deal.”¹⁵³ He believes that Cuba lacks sufficient systemic change from the policies of the past fifty years. He supports trade and travel restrictions as well as economic sanctions.¹⁵⁴

On domestic surveillance, Walker supports the Patriot Act and has said that he would like to revive it following its defeat and replacement with the Freedom Act. He sees the act as “a matter of collecting the data and accessing it under a very legal constitutional process only when we’ve got clear evidence that someone is connected with an enemy combatant.”¹⁵⁵ Walker condemns Congress’ vote to hinder surveillance powers with the Freedom Act and says we would be “much better off” with a full renewal.

As with most candidates, Walker’s articulated foreign policy platform will expand in detail and specificity as time goes on. For now, it remains stringently critical of President Obama and cites a pervasive lack of leadership and strength as an explanation for most of the problems the country faces today. “I believe the reason that we're facing troubles in not only that [Middle East] region, but around the world is because of the lack of American leadership,” Walker posits; and how he would lead as commander in chief: “I think when you have the lives of Americans at stake and our freedom loving allies anywhere in the world, we have to be prepared to do things that don't allow those measures, those attacks, those abuses to come to our shores.”¹⁵⁶ “Our goal is peace,” he ensures, “but there will be times when America must fight. And if we must, Americans fight to win. America is a great country. We just need to lead again.”¹⁵⁷

¹⁵³ [Walker, Scott. "Statement on President Obama's Cuba Decision." Our American Revival, May 2015.](#)

¹⁵⁴ [Walker, Scott. News Segment by John Berman. This Hour. CNN, December 18, 2014.](#)

¹⁵⁵ [Walker, Scott. Interview with Brian Kilmeade. Fox and Friends. FOX News, June 3, 2015.](#)

¹⁵⁶ [Walker, Scott. Interview with Neil Cavuto. Cavuto. FOX Business Network, May 28, 2015.](#)

¹⁵⁷ [Walker, Scott. Presidential Campaign Announcement. Time Magazine, July 13, 2015.](#)

CHRIS CHRISTIE: HE WHO MINCES NO WORDS

A common criticism of gubernatorial candidates for president, despite their executive experience, is a lack of expertise when it comes to foreign policy. As the former US attorney in New Jersey and current governor of the state, however, Chris Christie touts his experience prosecuting terrorism cases and his understanding of the intricacies of protecting the homeland. He by and large is lockstep with the mainstream Republican foreign policy, distinguishing himself most notably for his direct and blunt words. He often chooses to skip verbose abstractions, delivering instead specific ideas that draw on his gubernatorial experience. In that spirit, he says, “American exceptionalism isn’t a punch line—it’s a set of principles.” Such principles include American strength and presence, solidarity and support for allies, and the willingness to preempt threats to national security.¹⁵⁸ He echoes the sentiment of others in charging that President Obama leads from behind, causing a dwindling of American credibility and strength and warning, “if we want to lead from behind, we’re going to be left behind.”¹⁵⁹ Christie is a proactive proponent of a strong national defense, one that not only protects the homeland but also one that resolves conflicts abroad before they travel here, one that stands for allies and isolates ambitious and abhorrent enemies, and one that does not mince words in its articulation of American exceptionalism and democratic values.

Christie has expressed surprisingly specific initiatives—evidence of his straight-shooting style. Broadly, he opposes diminishing the military to pre-9/11 levels, arguing that there should remain 500,000 Army soldiers, 185,000 Marines, 350 Navy ships, and 6,000 Air Force aircraft.¹⁶⁰ Each of these figures is significantly greater than their planned trajectories now, and Christie has further called on the administration to repeal the sequester that constrains the military’s preparedness and effectiveness. “We need to give our men and women in uniform the resources they need to get the job done—and we owe it to them.”¹⁶¹ Though Christie wants to extend the deployment specifications of the past into the future, he recognizes mistakes of previous administrations. Tackling the scandalous Iraq-mistake question, Christie offers, “President Bush made the best decision he could at the time, given that his intelligence community was telling him that there were weapons of mass destruction and that there were other threats right there in Iraq,” but decisively reproaching, “I don’t think you can honestly say that if we knew then that there were no weapons of mass destruction, that the country should have gone to war.”¹⁶² Christie is willing to fight when vital security interests are at stake, but he cites the faulty post-9/11 intelligence as reason to bolster the intelligence community with more funding and more tools to collect and verify key information.

Christie joins the chorus of Republican candidates who bemoan President Obama’s lack of coherence and strategy in defeating ISIL. He refers to Obama’s characterization of ISIL as the JV

¹⁵⁸ [Christie, Chris. Speech in Portsmouth, NH. Medium Corporation, May 18, 2015.](#)

¹⁵⁹ [Ibid.](#)

¹⁶⁰ [Ibid.](#)

¹⁶¹ [Ibid.](#)

¹⁶² [Christie, Chris. Interview with Jake Tapper. The Lead. CNN, May 13, 2015.](#)

squad and Director of National Intelligence James Clapper's admission¹⁶³ that he severely underestimated the dangers in Syria.¹⁶⁴ He charges that the administration's coordinated airstrike campaign is an incomplete approach, but has persistently remained silent on his own strategy. When pressed on his plan to confront ISIL as Commander in Chief, he responded, "I don't have to answer that question because I'm not the commander in chief."¹⁶⁵ When Christie traveled to Europe and a reporter asked him what he thought of ISIL, he said, "Is there something you don't understand about 'no questions'?"¹⁶⁶ He deflects concrete solutions until the debates and primaries begin, but he has expressed support of arming "moderate opposition to Assad" in Syria and creating a force to combat Iran's influence in the conflict.¹⁶⁷ He has explicitly endorsed sending American troops to fight, if necessary. He wants to work with allies and Sunnis in the region to articulate a clear strategy that the world can rely upon for American leadership: "If we don't have a plan to stop Bashar al-Assad in Syria, or Iraq in Yemen,¹⁶⁸ what's to stop governments lending support to proxy forces like Al Qaeda and ISIS?"¹⁶⁹

On the Iranian nuclear negotiations, Christie expresses his complete lack of trust in the regime to fulfill their end of the deal. "With Iran, the President's eagerness for a deal on their nuclear program has him ready to accept a bad deal. The framework we've negotiated here seems pretty flimsy, and I have grave concerns over how we're going to make the Iranians live up to their end of the bargain and how we can ensure proper, verifiable compliance."¹⁷⁰ Christie has praised the President's original intentions and courage in negotiating with Iran, but now maintains, "After two years of humiliating concessions by President Obama, he has made his deal with Iran. He should have walked away. Iran joins the sad list of countries where America's red lines have been crossed."¹⁷¹ Christie draws parallels between 2015 and 1979, reflecting, "We have an American president who is trying to convince us that, somehow, Iran will change. As sad as it is to say, I am old enough to remember 1979...I was watching gas lines, double-digit inflation and interest rates, the Soviets in Afghanistan, hostages in Iran, and a president who ran on a single idea — 'Trust me'."¹⁷² Christie cites Iran's status as a state sponsor of terror and their increasing influence in the conflicts in Iraq and Syria as prime reasons to inhibit, not empower, their influence and development of nuclear weapons. Contending that the deal "turns 70 years of nuclear policy on its head," he calls upon members of Congress to vote against the deal and override President Obama's veto if necessary.¹⁷³

¹⁶³ "What we didn't do was predict the will to fight. That's always a problem...In this case, we underestimated ISIL and overestimated the fighting capability of the Iraqi army. . . . I didn't see the collapse of the Iraqi security force in the north coming. I didn't see that. It boils down to predicting the will to fight, which is an imponderable."

[via *The Washington Post*](#)

¹⁶⁴ [Christie, Chris. Interview with Dana Bash. *New Day*. CNN, October 14, 2014.](#)

¹⁶⁵ [Ibid.](#)

¹⁶⁶ [Christie, Chris. Interview with Philip Rucker. *Washington Post*, February 3, 2015.](#)

¹⁶⁷ [Christie, Chris. Speech in Portsmouth, NH. *Medium Corporation*, May 18, 2015.](#)

¹⁶⁸ It is worth noting that Iraq is not in Yemen. Christie misspoke. According to the prepared remarks, he intended to say, "If we don't have a plan to stop Bashar al-Assad in Syria or in Yemen what's to stop governments lending support..." But Assad is not in Yemen either. A spokesperson from Christie's staff later said he meant to name Iran as the country in Yemen.

¹⁶⁹ [Ibid.](#)

¹⁷⁰ [Ibid.](#)

¹⁷¹ [Christie, Chris. Post about Iranian Nuclear Deal. Official Chris Christie Facebook Page, July 14, 2015.](#)

¹⁷² [Christie, Chris. Speech to University of New Hampshire. Concord, NH, June 8, 2015.](#)

¹⁷³ [Christie, Chris. Post about Iranian Nuclear Deal. Official Chris Christie Facebook Page, July 14, 2015.](#)

In his vision for foreign policy, Christie ranks relationships with allies as a crucial element. “At the top of the list is Israel. I’m going to be short and sweet here. Our commitment to Israel must be absolute.”¹⁷⁴ He calls Israel a “beacon of freedom” in a “sea of autocracy,” calling on the Obama administration to stop taking Israel for granted and conduct itself with more respect for Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. He sees the fight against ISIL and the prevention of a nuclear Iran—among other things—as intimately connected to our relationship with Israel and other strategic allies. Without American leadership with the former, there will be no possibility of the latter. “When allies lose confidence in us, they take matters into their own hands. I think it’s better for America to extend a helping hand—and help manage events.”¹⁷⁵

Christie praises the ongoing negotiations for the Trans-Pacific Partnership, but calls for an “upgraded presence” in the region. He cites China’s immense increases in military spending, their deployment of troops and missiles throughout the region, and their construction of artificial islands in the South China Sea as reasons we must check their ambitions, saying “That is an issue that we can handle militarily by going out there and making sure that we show them that we don’t respect their claims to these artificial islands in the South China Sea.”¹⁷⁶ “Nothing about these policies is about treating China like a foe. China is a great nation, and we want them to be a partner,” Christie qualifies, “But we must never shy away from demanding that China live up to the rules of the global community, and respect the human rights of its own people and the sovereignty of our allies.”¹⁷⁷

Speaking about Vladimir Putin’s aggressive march into Crimea, Christie said, “I don’t believe, given who I am, that he would make the same judgment. Let’s leave it at that.”¹⁷⁸ And so we will. Christie also slammed President Obama for removing Cuba from the list of state sponsors of terrorism, calling it “an unacceptable offense” and elaborating, “The condition for which Cuba is able to join the rest of the civilized world must rest on the country’s commitment to hand over every terrorist currently being harbored.”¹⁷⁹ In a letter to President Obama, Christie called on the administration to demand the return of domestic terrorist JoAnne Chesimard, who was convicted of killing a New Jersey state trooper, escaped prison, and has since taken refuge in Cuba. Christie relented in his fundamental opposition on the condition that Cuba returns her, calling the possibility for her return and a systemic change in Cuba an opportunity.¹⁸⁰

In accordance with his platform to increase the scope of the intelligence community, Christie fully supports the Patriot Act. He draws on his experience as a US Attorney combatting terrorism in the New Jersey-New York area: “None of them have used the Patriot Act. None of them have prosecuted terrorists — I have.”¹⁸¹ About the expiration of the Patriot Act in the Senate, “This is the

¹⁷⁴ Christie, Chris. Speech in Portsmouth, NH. *Medium Corporation*, May 18, 2015.

¹⁷⁵ Christie, Chris. Speech in Portsmouth, NH. *Medium Corporation*, May 18, 2015.

¹⁷⁶ Christie, Chris. Speech at Town Hall at Village Trestle. Goffstown, NH, June 8, 2015.

¹⁷⁷ Christie, Chris. Speech in Portsmouth, NH. *Medium Corporation*, May 18, 2015.

¹⁷⁸ Barbaro, Michael. “Christie Studies Foreign Affairs for a 2016 Test.” *The New York Times*, September 1, 2014.

¹⁷⁹ Christie, Chris. Speech in Trenton, NJ. *True Jersey*, May 29, 2015.

¹⁸⁰ Wallace, Chris. “Governor Christie’s Letter To President Obama.” *Fox News Sunday*. *FOX News*, December 21, 2014.

¹⁸¹ Christie, Chris. Interview with Brian Kilmeade. *Fox and Friends*. *FOX News*, May 27, 2015.

unfortunate result of misguided ideologues who have no real world experience in fighting terrorism putting their uninformed beliefs above the safety and security of our citizens.”¹⁸² He also opposes the bipartisan Freedom Act and doubts whether telecommunications companies will actually collect the metadata and produce it for the government if it is needed in an investigation. He says that the Patriot Act never violated civil liberties and was effective for 14 years in defending the homeland.

“We need a stronger defense, stronger intelligence and stronger alliances,” says Christie.¹⁸³ He is an unrelenting critic—employing his frank manner of speech—not only of President Obama but of those in his own party whom he perceives as isolationists. He calls on voters to “banish cynicism” about America’s role in the world, to dare to confront the many battles that plague the world. In an optimistic tone, Christie says, “It’s time for us to get to work, and to find our greatness again. Let’s go do the big things that lead America to another century of exceptionalism, and not a century of settling for second place. The world is waiting, and together we can lead it forward.”¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² [Christie, Chris. Speech to Southern Republican Leadership Conference. *SRLC*, May 26, 2015.](#)

¹⁸³ [Christie, Chris. Speech in Portsmouth, NH. *Medium Corporation*, May 18, 2015.](#)

¹⁸⁴ [Ibid.](#)

PART III: TAKE TWO, ACTION!

“If at first you don’t succeed, try, try again.”

–W. C. Fields

Rick Santorum

Mike Huckabee

Rick Perry

RICK SANTORUM: BOMB THEM BACK TO THE 7TH CENTURY

Few gave the former Senator from Pennsylvania much of a chance in the 2012 election. After polling in single digits for months, suffering from financial constraints and a lack of attention from the media, however, Rick Santorum proceeded to win the first-in-the-nation Iowa caucus and ten more states, ultimately placing second for the Republican nomination. As a self-proclaimed expert on foreign policy and national security at a time that is even less stable and safe than it was four years ago, Santorum seeks to capitalize on his previous momentum. He envisions an election between himself and the former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton as a duel of the fates on foreign policy. “We need to look at someone to go up against Mrs. Clinton who has background experience and knowledge,” Santorum argues, adding, “and [who] has gotten it right when she's gotten it wrong.”¹⁸⁵ He envisions a reengaged American military on the forefront of global leadership with an extensive knowledge of the nature, history, and culture of America’s most pressing enemy: radical Islam.¹⁸⁶

Santorum stands out as a candidate who was a senator during the vote to invade Iraq in 2003. He voted in favor, and for a decade thereafter defended the war effort—saying, “There is no question that the Iraq war should have commenced”—and President Bush—saying, “I think he's been a terrific president, absolutely.”¹⁸⁷ After President Obama withdrew troops from Iraq, Santorum says that the region became less stable and the country began to regress. Today, in the midst of each candidate providing his/her own insight about the invasion, Santorum responds to the question of whether it was a mistake with “Yes. Everybody accepts that now.”¹⁸⁸ Nonetheless, Santorum is one of a few candidates that expresses support for immediately sending ten thousand troops into Iraq to combat ISIL. He adds the stipulation, “I'm not talking about front-line troops...these will not be invasionary forces,” but rather a force that shows the dedication and seriousness of the United States and one that “Improve[s] the efficacy on those on the ground.”¹⁸⁹ Santorum supports additional measures such as increasing aid to Jordan, arming the Kurds and expanding airstrikes. A motif of his foreign policy speech consistently includes the line, “If these folks want to return to a 7th-century version of Islam, then let's load up our bombers and bomb them back to the 7th century.”¹⁹⁰ He predicts that ISIL is attempting to obtain and smuggle a nuclear weapon from Pakistan, an assertion that few other candidates have expressed, but one that he says requires an immediate and unyielding response. Santorum emphatically advocates these measures, also criticizing the Obama administration for a dangerous lack of strategy and warning, “ISIS is going to get stronger. They will have much more appeal to jihadists over the world, including in this country.”¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁵ Santorum, Rick. Speech at Iowa Faith and Freedom Coalition Summit. *Iowa Faith and Freedom Coalition*, April 25, 2015.

¹⁸⁶ Santorum, Rick. Presidential Announcement Speech. Butler, PA, May 27, 2015.

¹⁸⁷ Santorum, Rick. Pennsylvania Senatorial Debate. Meet the Press. NBC, September 4, 2006.

¹⁸⁸ Santorum, Rick. Speech at National Republican Committee Meeting. Scottsdale, AZ, May 14, 2015.

¹⁸⁹ Santorum, Rick. Interview with Joe Scarborough. *Morning Joe*. MSNBC, May 29, 2015.

¹⁹⁰ Santorum, Rick. Speech at the Conservative Political Action Conference. The American Conservative Union, February 27, 2015.

¹⁹¹ Santorum, Rick. Interview with Glenn Beck. *The Blaze*, June 10, 2015.

Though Santorum departed the Senate in 2007, even during his time he earned a reputation of severity against Iran. In 2006, he was the original author of the bill that established crippling sanctions on Iran, the same sanctions that he claims brought their leadership to the negotiating table.¹⁹² He calls Iran the greatest threat to America's national security, informing that it is not a secular regime concerned with its safety and security, but rather a theistic one concerned with spreading a radical goal.¹⁹³ Predictably, Santorum opposes the negotiation of any deal with Iran, going as far as to say, "I pray—literally I pray—that we don't strike a deal with Iran"¹⁹⁴ He says the path that the Obama administration is paving for Iran is one of financial resurgence and unfettered nuclear ambition. "Iran is an expansionist Islamic theocracy whose objective is not to survive, but to bring about the end of times so it can conquer the world."¹⁹⁵ Of the deal itself, Santorum calls it a "catastrophic capitulation" and laments that "we have legitimized them."¹⁹⁶ Santorum supports the same sanctions he proposed nine years ago, only more forceful as to keep pace with their forward march in the pursuit of a nuclear weapon. He sees no economic or diplomatic relief for Iran until they entirely abandon their ambitions.

Santorum never misses an opportunity to call for better relations and a strengthened friendship with America's ally Israel. On the matter of a two-state solution, his comments suggest that he opposes such a solution. On the campaign trail in 2012, for example, video captured Santorum arguing, "All the people that live in the West Bank are Israelis, they're not Palestinians. There is no 'Palestinian'."¹⁹⁷ In an email to supporters, his political action committee Patriot Voices rallied opposition to the confirmation of Chuck Hagel as Defense Secretary for his "calling for a sovereign Palestinian state."¹⁹⁸ Critical of the administration's hostility toward Israel, Santorum offers, "Let me give our president a primer: Iran, enemy. Israel, friend,"¹⁹⁹ and "the average Israeli knows whose side that John Kerry and Barack Obama are on, and it's not to protect the security of Israel."²⁰⁰ Santorum believes the US should repair and continue the friendship that has driven their partnership for decades.

Santorum is against not only fast-track authority for President Obama to negotiate the Trans-Pacific Partnership but is also "quite skeptical" of the entire deal itself. Noting that he also voted against NAFTA in the Senate, Santorum remarked, "First off, so much of that trade deal has nothing to do with trade. Secondly, the trade component of ignores some of the bigger problems, which is non-tariff barriers like, for example, currency manipulation."²⁰¹ He also asserted that the deal has the potential to hurt Americans, especially low-income earners and those without a college degree.

¹⁹² [Santorum, Rick. Speech at the GOP Lincoln Dinner. Republican Party of Iowa, May 16, 2015.](#)

¹⁹³ [Ibid.](#)

¹⁹⁴ [Santorum, Rick. Interview with Sean Hannity. Hannity. FOX News, May 27, 2015.](#)

¹⁹⁵ [Santorum, Rick. Interview with Bob Schieffer. Face the Nation. CBS News, April 5, 2015.](#)

¹⁹⁶ [Santorum, Rick. Interview with Chris Cuomo. New Day. CNN, July 14, 2015.](#)

¹⁹⁷ [Kenner, David. "Rick Santorum Wants a One-State Solution." *Foreign Policy*, January 3, 2012.](#)

¹⁹⁸ [Santorum, Rick. Email blast from Patriot Voices. Patriot Voices, February 4, 2013.](#)

¹⁹⁹ [Santorum, Rick. Speech at Iowa Faith and Freedom Coalition Summit. *Iowa Faith and Freedom Coalition*, April 25, 2015.](#)

²⁰⁰ [Santorum, Rick. Interview with J.D. Hayworth. America's Forum. Newsmax TV, August 19, 2014.](#)

²⁰¹ [Santorum, Rick. Interview with Chris Wallace. Fox News Sunday. *FOX News*, June 7, 2015.](#)

On the Russian front, Santorum argues that the President should take a harder stand against Putin. He says that a great feat following the Cold War was Ukraine's nuclear disarmament in exchange for assurances of protection of its territorial integrity. "If the president wants to have nuclear disarmament, he can't then renege on people who actually disarmed," Santorum contends, "I would be saying it's about time we start getting tough with the Russians, standing by our allies and not tolerating this type of outrageous aggression on the part of Putin. Weakness creates vacuums, and Putin has filled that vacuum."²⁰² Another sign of weakness to which Santorum points is Obama's normalization of relations with Cuba. "I oppose normalizing trade with Cuba. I've been 100% in support of the right to a free Cuba, but the U.S. should stand on the side of the Cuban people, not with their despotic leader who is reigning terror there. President Obama has foolishly rewarded this behavior with his actions," Santorum argues.²⁰³ He maintains that diplomatic and economic ties send the wrong message about what ideals the United States supports, and that if an embargo failed to dethrone the Castro regime, certainly empowering it with the partnership of the United States will not either.

Finally with domestic surveillance, Rick Santorum voted in favor of the original Patriot Act while in the Senate and now a decade and a half later still expressed support for its reauthorization. "It has worked very well, and I am not aware of any abuses that have posed a threat to privacy," said Santorum.²⁰⁴ After the Senate failed to pass any duration of the Patriot Act, Santorum embraced and encouraged the Freedom Act in hopes that it would do enough to protect the nation. Santorum claimed that the Patriot Act helped prevent and curtail fears at the time of repeated, recurring terrorist attacks on the American homeland following 9/11.²⁰⁵

Santorum perceives foreign policy to be an area of personal strength. In his view, radical Islamists "hate who we are. Not necessarily what we do."²⁰⁶ He advocates strong adherence to America's values whether in dismantling Iran's nuclear ambitions, sparring with China, or considering relations with Cuba. As his campaign website boasts, "There is no candidate for president with stronger foreign policy credentials than Rick Santorum."²⁰⁷

²⁰² Santorum, Rick. Interview with Lucy McCalmont. *Politico*, March 24, 2014.

²⁰³ Santorum, Rick. "Statement on Obama's Policy Change toward Cuba." *Patriot Voices*, December 17, 2014.

²⁰⁴ Santorum, Rick. Interview with Chuck Todd. *Face the Nation*. *NBC News*, May 31, 2015.

²⁰⁵ Santorum, Rick. Interview with Neil Cavuto. *Your World*. *FOX News*, May 29, 2015.

²⁰⁶ Santorum, Rick. Interview with George Stephanopoulos. *This Week*. *ABC News*, May 28, 2015.

²⁰⁷ "Fighting Radical Islam." Rick Santorum Official Campaign Website, May 2015.

MIKE HUCKABEE: THE PRE-EMINENCE OF FAITH

Mounting another presidential run after an eight year hiatus is Bill Clinton's successor as the former Governor of Arkansas. Joking about his contrast with wealthier elites in the 2008 race, Mike Huckabee used to quip, "I may not be the expert that some people are on foreign policy, but I did stay at a Holiday Inn Express last night."²⁰⁸ Now after eight years outside political office and freely opining from his FOX News soapbox, Huckabee returns to presidential politics with his most salient quality—his devout Christian faith. In the foreign policy realm, he sharply criticizes President Obama for his consistent neglect of persecuted Christians and failure to name the enemy as radical Islam. "Everything he does is against what Christians stand for, and he's against the Jews in Israel," Huckabee charges, "The one group of people that can know they have his undying, unflinching support would be the Muslim community... whether it's the radical Muslim community or the more moderate Muslim community."²⁰⁹ Huckabee supports using American military might to augment pro-Christian causes in the Middle East and defend America against jihad.

In 2008, Huckabee was a vocal critic of President Bush's Iraq troop surge, which sets him apart from the other candidates. Huckabee argues that the surges of Afghanistan and Iraq were a waste as they did not make America safer and did not make her any friends. He called for more humanitarian aid for suffering Muslims to prevent them from aiding radical causes, and supported more open diplomacy with countries that we had alienated, such as Pakistan. "American foreign policy needs to change its tone and attitude, open up and reach out," wrote Huckabee, adding that America was left "vulnerable to the animosity of other countries."²¹⁰ Despite his critical remarks, however, when Jeb Bush struggled to answer Megyn Kelly's Iraq War question, Huckabee offered a reprieve. "I kind of feel sorry for my friend Jeb Bush. I feel like he's been caught in the crosshairs of an unfortunate game of semantics and I'm going to cut him some slack on this one." He concluded, "Leadership is about making decisions with the information you have, not the information people will have 12 years later."²¹¹

While he criticized President Bush for an overbearing approach to the Middle East, he condemns President Obama for what he sees as dangerously skewed priorities. After President Obama's designation of climate change as the single greatest threat to national security, Huckabee responded, "Mr. President, I believe that most of us would think that a beheading is a far greater threat to an American than a sunburn,"²¹² referencing ISIL, the radical group behind numerous beheadings of Christians, homosexuals, American prisoners, and other victims caught in Middle Eastern conflict. Huckabee sees a show of unswerving strength as the remedy for ISIL's reign of terror. Metaphorically speaking, Huckabee mused, "As a kid growing up in south Arkansas, one thing I

²⁰⁸ Huckabee, Mike. "The Bush Administration's Arrogant Bunker Mentality." *Foreign Affairs*, December 16, 2007.

²⁰⁹ Huckabee, Mike. Interview with Brian Kilmeade. *Fox and Friends*. FOX News, February 9, 2015.

²¹⁰ Huckabee, Mike. "The Bush Administration's Arrogant Bunker Mentality." *Foreign Affairs*, December 16, 2007.

²¹¹ Huckabee, Mike. Speech to Republican National Committee Spring Meeting. RNC, May 15, 2015.

²¹² Huckabee, Mike. Speech at Iowa Faith and Freedom Coalition Summit. Iowa Faith and Freedom Coalition, April 25, 2015.

learned about rattlesnakes, you don't try to get in their head and figure out why they want to bite you. You don't negotiate with them. You sure as heck don't feed them. You take their heads off with a .410 shotgun or a hoe before they bite you—because the one thing that you can be sure of is that snake will bite you if he can.”²¹³ In addition to criticism of the administration's mishandling of ISIL, Huckabee also criticizes foreign forces that refuse to fight their own battle. “Instead of fighting ISIS, a lot of nations are fighting over who will fight ISIS...Maybe if we do have to put boots on the ground, they'll allow us to change into them there before we do their fighting for them.”²¹⁴ This statement underscores Huckabee's willingness “eradicate” the “cancer” of ISIL that Huckabee contends is not just content with limited geographic conquest but rather a global caliphate.²¹⁵ Huckabee declared his support for arming Syrian rebels, which he called the “Syrian freedom movement,” against Assad. He opposes resists a strategy to “degrade” ISIL, suggesting that instead that “You would go after it with everything you can, and that means not just airstrikes and going around and hitting a few targets.”²¹⁶ Huckabee, using the same rhetoric as several other candidates, sees the need to take the fight to ISIL before ISIL brings the fight to America.

With a similar tone, Huckabee criticizes the administration for its willingness to make concessions to Iran in the negotiations of their nuclear program. “When I hear the current President say he wants Christians to get off their high horse so we can make nice with radical jihadists, I wonder if he could watch a western from the fifties and be able to figure out who the good guys and bad guys are!”²¹⁷ He distrusts the Iranians, saying it is the “true essence of insanity” to trust a nation that has “violated every agreement they've ever made under the Ayatollahs.”²¹⁸ After Obama struck a deal with the Iranians, Huckabee criticized the administration, saying “Shame on the Obama administration for agreeing to a deal that empowers an evil Iranian regime to carry out its threat to ‘wipe Israel off the map’ and bring ‘death to America.’”²¹⁹ Huckabee continued that he will work with Israel and keep military force on the table to “topple the Iranian regime” and “defeat the evil forces of radical Islam.” His goal is the same as other candidates: “The Ayatollahs of Iran will know that hell will freeze over before they ever get a nuclear weapon!”²²⁰

Huckabee's strong opposition to the radical Islam of ISIL and Iran is juxtaposed by his support for Israel and underpinned by his faith. In 2007, Huckabee said, “The Jews have a God-given right to reclaim land given to their ancestors and taken away from them.”²²¹ He opposes the prospect of a two-state solution, calling it “the nuttiest thing I've ever heard” and “irrational and unworkable.”²²² “One of those parties believes the other one should not exist. In the land of Judea and Samaria, there should not be a question as to whether or not that is going to belong to Israel — because it does

²¹³ [Huckabee, Mike. "Rattlesnake Political Ad." America Takes Action, April 8, 2015.](#)

²¹⁴ [Huckabee, Mike. Statement in Facebook Post. Official Mike Huckabee Facebook Page, October 15, 2014.](#)

²¹⁵ [Huckabee, Mike. Interview with Neil Cavuto. Your World. FOX News, September 5, 2014.](#)

²¹⁶ [Ibid.](#)

²¹⁷ [Huckabee, Mike. Presidential Announcement Speech. Little Rock, AR, May 6, 2015.](#)

²¹⁸ [Huckabee, Mike. Interview with Steve Malzberg. The Steve Malzberg Show. Newsmax TV, March 19, 2015.](#)

²¹⁹ [Huckabee, Mike. Post about Iran Nuclear Deal. Official Mike Huckabee Facebook Page, July 14, 2015.](#)

²²⁰ [Huckabee, Mike. Presidential Announcement Speech. Little Rock, AR, May 6, 2015.](#)

²²¹ [Huckabee, Mike. Speech at Iowa Straw Poll. Republican Party of Iowa, August 14, 2007.](#)

²²² [Huckabee, Mike. Interview with Andrew Kaczynski. Buzzfeed, June 1, 2015.](#)

belong to Israel.”²²³ Huckabee criticizes President Obama for not standing stronger with an ally and for fostering an icy relationship with Netanyahu. On his campaign website, Huckabee writes, “In a world of uncertainty, evil, and moral insanity, Israel is a shining light of moral clarity. The enemies of Israel are the enemies of America.”²²⁴

Coinciding with his criticism of President Obama’s handling of allies is concern over his handling of other adversaries. “What will it take for President Obama to open his eyes?” Huckabee asks, “The way you deal with a bully on the playground is to punch them in the face and put them on the ground because the only thing they respect is power.”²²⁵ In response to recent hacking of federal government personnel files, for which China is an unconfirmed suspect, Huckabee says the United States ought to hack China back. “We should hack the cell phones of some prominent Communist party leaders, hack the bank accounts of intelligence officials, publicly humiliate Chinese families for political corruption, or wipe-out a few critical Chinese computer systems,” he posits.²²⁶

Huckabee has been a longtime vocal critic of free trade agreements. He warns, “We have a lot of globalists and frankly corporatists instead of having nationalists who put forward the best interests of the United States and working families.”²²⁷ Speaking specifically on the TPP, he expressed concern about the potential for reduced wages and job loss, adding that if the deal passes, US workers would “take it in the backside.”²²⁸ “Fast-track means that nobody’s paying attention,” he argues, and “If it’s not fair trade, it’s not free trade.”²²⁹

On Russia, Huckabee criticized President Obama for accommodating Putin’s forward march. After Putin sent troops into Crimea, President Obama warned that there would be costs, to which Huckabee remarked, “If Putin shivered, it was probably just because he was going shirtless.”²³⁰ Huckabee doubts that the administration’s directives deter any of Russia’s ambition, or whether the president’s record inspires fear in America’s adversaries at all. Similarly, he opposes rewarding the Castro regime by normalizing relations. “If my parents had raised me that way, I’d have been a monster. They didn’t reward me with ice cream and candy every time I did something horrible,” finishing his analogy, “Don’t give the Cubans ice cream and candy.”²³¹ In another analogy, Huckabee says regime leaders “kick their people in the groin.”²³² He supports the embargo in order to maintain pressure on the government, and decries other politicians who visit Cuba and return praising their culture and lifestyle.

²²³ [Huckabee, Mike. Speech at Town Hall Event. Providence, New Hampshire, April 28, 2015.](#)

²²⁴ [Huckabee, Mike. "Israel." Mike Huckabee Campaign Website, May 2015.](#)

²²⁵ [Huckabee, Mike. "China Hacking." Mike Huckabee Official Campaign Website, June 2015.](#)

²²⁶ [Ibid.](#)

²²⁷ [Huckabee, Mike. Speech at the Iowa Cattle Call. *The Des Moines Register*, March 7, 2015.](#)

²²⁸ [Huckabee, Mike. Interview with Reporters. *MSNBC*, May 6, 2015.](#)

²²⁹ [Huckabee, Mike. Speech at the Iowa Cattle Call. *The Des Moines Register*, March 7, 2015.](#)

²³⁰ [Huckabee, Mike. "Russia's Uncontested Arrival." Mike Huckabee Official Campaign Website, March 5, 2014.](#)

²³¹ [Huckabee, Mike. Speech at the Iowa Cattle Call. *The Des Moines Register*, March 7, 2015.](#)

²³² [Huckabee, Mike. Speech at Iowa Agricultural Summit. Des Moines, IA, March 7, 2015.](#)

On the issue of domestic surveillance, Huckabee joins Rand Paul in standing against the Patriot Act. As Paul led the charge against renewal in the senate, Huckabee proclaimed, “There’s no doubt that intelligence gathering is vital to the security of all Americans, but there should be a balance between that protection and our privacy. However, Obama’s warrantless NSA spying program is more than just illegal, it’s an unconstitutional, criminal assault on our freedoms as Americans. As president, I will repeal this program and protect the privacy and civil liberties of all Americans.”²³³ He criticized the president who ran on a platform of protecting civil liberties but has since called for the unfettered reauthorization of surveillance authority, adding that as a constitutional scholar, Obama is missing something. “Does the Constitution allow the government to read people’s mail or document everyone’s phone calls?” Huckabee asks, “I think the obvious answer is no, it does not. If you want to snoop, get a warrant.”²³⁴

Huckabee sees the issues of faith, freedom, and security as interconnected: “I will lead with moral clarity in a dangerous world. There’s a difference between right and wrong. There’s a difference between good and evil. I’ll keep all the options on the table in order to defeat the evil forces of the world.”²³⁵

²³³ [Huckabee, Mike. "Statement on Today's Federal Appeals Court Ruling." Mike Huckabee Official Campaign Website, May 7, 2015.](#)

²³⁴ [Huckabee, Mike. Interview with Chris Wallace. Fox News Sunday. FOX News, May 24, 2015.](#)

²³⁵ [Huckabee, Mike. "Nailed Shut Political Ad." Mike Huckabee for President Official YouTube Channel, May 1, 2015.](#)

RICK PERRY: COMBINING MILITARY AND EXECUTIVE EXPERIENCE

It has not been long since a former Governor of Texas served as President of the United States. Rick Perry wants to be the next, and as the longest serving governor in Texas history, one of the few candidates with a military background, and the only candidate with a politically beneficial criminal indictment, he distinguishes himself in his reputation and record. Where some candidates could easily be labeled hawks or doves, Perry's view is more nuanced. "We respect our allies, and we must always seek to engage them in military missions," he says, but "I do not believe that America should fall subject to a foreign policy of military adventurism. We should only risk shedding American blood and spending American treasure when our vital interests are threatened."²³⁶

Was the 2003 invasion of Iraq one of those instances warranting American blood and treasure? In 2012, Perry campaigned on the platform of sending ground troops back in to Iraq to circumvent Iran's influence in the country.²³⁷ He said then, and reaffirmed in his 2016 Presidential announcement, "No decision has done more harm than the president's withdrawal of American troops from Iraq."²³⁸ When asked whether the original invasion was a mistake, Perry said, "I think going into Iraq was a decision that, knowing what I know today, I would not have gone into Iraq,"²³⁹ distinguishing himself from several—though not all—candidates who were unable to answer or continued to defend it. He then further asks, however, "Knowing what we know today, would Secretary Clinton and President Obama have pulled out of Iraq in 2011? That decision, that I will suggest to you was probably made in 2009, has been tragic."²⁴⁰ To defeat ISIL, the new threat in Iraq which the former governor calls "the worst threat to freedom since communism,"²⁴¹ he calls on the United States to use its leadership to build a coalition of Americans, Saudis, Iraqis, Turks, Jordanians, and Israelis to use intelligence gathering, airstrikes, and special forces in the region. He says America missed an opportunity to arm and assist moderate Syrian rebels to contain ISIL to Syria, and then missed the next opportunity to arm the Kurds when ISIL spilled into Iraq. "I think if American and western values are in jeopardy then U.S. troops working with a coalition force is how you stop ISIS,"²⁴² he claims. It is currently unclear whether or not Perry still supports sending American ground troops back into Iraq, and if so, how many.

As the governor of a border state during the near entirety of the War on Terror, Perry draws the domestic issue of border security and immigration into the discussion of national security. He worries that there is a "real possibility" that ISIL operatives "may have already used" the weak border to enter the United States, adding, "We'd be very wise to remember ISIS' own version of

²³⁶ [Perry, Rick. Speech to Veterans. Veterans of Foreign Wars, August 29, 2011.](#)

²³⁷ [Perry, Rick. Republican Candidates Debate. ABC News, January 7, 2012.](#)

²³⁸ [Perry, Rick. Presidential Announcement Speech. Dallas TX, June 4, 2015.](#)

²³⁹ [Perry, Rick. Interview with Joe Scarborough. Morning Joe. MSNBC, June 5, 2015.](#)

²⁴⁰ [Ibid.](#)

²⁴¹ [Perry, Rick. Speech at the Conservative Political Action Conference. The American Conservative Union, February 27, 2015.](#)

²⁴² [Perry, Rick. Interview with Dana Bash. State of the Union. CNN, March 1, 2015.](#)

mission creep, when they start following through on threats they've been making by sending their recruits into this country.”²⁴³ As governor, Perry deployed the National Guard to the border when crises arose, and as President he says he would be willing to do the same in order to protect Americans from ISIL wherever they exist.

Perry sees Iran as another major threat in the Middle East, and the administration’s negotiations with them as an enabling—not prohibitive—measure. “Should I be so fortunate to be elected, one of my first actions in office would be to invalidate the president’s Iran agreement, which jeopardizes the safety and security of the free world,” he vows.²⁴⁴ In negotiations with Iran, Perry speaks of two “non-negotiable principles: first, Iran should not be allowed to develop nuclear weapons. Period. And Second, Israel has the right to exist as a Jewish State. Amen.”²⁴⁵ He cites Iran’s anti-American sentiment, state sponsoring of terrorism, support for proxy forces, and belligerence on the world stage as evidence that Obama’s deal is “one of the most destructive foreign policy decisions in my lifetime”²⁴⁶ and that “no agreement is better than a bad agreement.”²⁴⁷ Perry notes, “This deal is not a binding international treaty, but rather a political agreement among diplomats...For decades to come, the world will have to deal with the repercussions of this agreement, which will actually make it easier for Iran to develop a nuclear weapon.”²⁴⁸ As a replacement, Perry posits, “Further cripple Iran’s economy, maintain the arms and ballistic missiles embargos, undermine the Iranian regime by increasing support for its internal opposition, and then rely on military strikes to take out Iran’s nuclear facilities if necessary.”²⁴⁹ He joined the chorus of Republican voices who supported Senator Tom Cotton’s letter to the Iranian Ayatollahs.

Perry has criticized President Obama for “turning his back” on Israel and condemns any suggestion of “moral equivalency” between the Israelis and the Palestinians because it “gives equal standing to the grievances of Israelis and Palestinians, including the orchestrators of terrorism.”²⁵⁰ Despite this, he supports a two-state solution between the two parties, but “only if the nation of Israel and the Palestinian Authorities do sit down and have direct negotiations between each other.”²⁵¹

With respect to President Obama moves to normalize relations with Cuba, Perry was not so keen. “The administration basically empowered the Castro regime with no thought about helping the people. I think we got a bad deal. The people of Cuba got a bad deal.”²⁵² He supports waiting until the Castros are dead and strengthening trade elsewhere in the world in the meantime to apply pressure to Cuba to change its ways instead of appeasing and accommodating them. That way, he

²⁴³ [Perry, Rick. Speech at the Heritage Foundation. Washington, DC, August 21, 2014.](#)

²⁴⁴ [Perry, Rick. "Defending America" Speech at the Citadel. Charleston, SC, April 6, 2015.](#)

²⁴⁵ [Perry, Rick. Speech at the Conservative Political Action Conference. The American Conservative Union, February 27, 2015.](#)

²⁴⁶ [Perry, Rick. Statement on Iran Nuclear Deal. Official Rick Perry Website, July 14, 2015.](#)

²⁴⁷ [Perry, Rick. "Defending America" Speech at the Citadel. Charleston, SC, April 6, 2015.](#)

²⁴⁸ [Perry, Rick. Statement on Iran Nuclear Deal. Official Rick Perry Website, July 14, 2015.](#)

²⁴⁹ [Rogin, Josh. "Rick Perry's Plan to Kill Obama's Iran Deal" and Interview with Rick Perry. Bloomberg News, April 6, 2015.](#)

²⁵⁰ <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/right-turn/wp/2014/10/14/rick-perry-speaks-in-london/>

²⁵¹ [Perry, Rick. Interview with Mark Halperin. With all Due Respect. Bloomberg News, March 15, 2015.](#)

²⁵² [Perry, Rick. Interview with Bruce Rastetter. Iowa AG Summit. CBS News, March 7, 2015.](#)

sees America coming out on top and not getting the “short end of the deal” like America has with this one.²⁵³

Perry sees a challenge to American global leadership on other fronts as well: “Both the Chinese and the Russians are aggressively working to counter America’s technology edge on land, by sea, in space and in cyberspace.”²⁵⁴ Perry rejects the notion that this century will be the Chinese century, and asserts that the United States must play a role in maintaining the integrity of the South China Sea waterways as well as condemning cyber violations and infringements on intellectual property rights. Interestingly, Perry has reversed on the issue of the Trans-Pacific Partnership. Originally, he expressed support for President Obama’s deal, touting his championship of free trade and the energy sector in Texas. In an email, his spokesperson said, “Gov. Perry has always supported free trade and its positive impact on economic growth and job creation. He believes America can achieve robust economic growth and job creation, similar to what has occurred in Texas, with trade agreements like the Trans Pacific Partnership.”²⁵⁵ Later, however, Perry himself doubted that the secrecy that shrouds the process could lead to a good deal for America, and said, “I would rather Barack Obama not be negotiating for me right now...Until the public and Congress are comfortable that they know what’s in this trade agreement, I’m not going to recommend that they sign it, and if we have to wait until there’s a new president, then that’s okay.”²⁵⁶

Perry’s plan to deal with Russia would put America “in the game,” in contrast with what he charges President Obama has done by putting America “on the sidelines.” His initiatives include providing lethal aid to the Ukrainians, imposing sanctions on Russia and reconsidering its membership with the SWIFT international banking system, fast track permits for East Coast natural gas providers to flood European markets to drown Russia, deploy permanent US and NATO allies to Poland and the Baltics to secure assets and interests, and send the Navy for port visits to the region.²⁵⁷ “Putin’s aggression in Ukraine has cost the lives of thousands of Ukrainian citizens, and is dangerously destabilizing for all of Central and Eastern Europe,” says Perry, “The latest developments underscore the urgent need for the U.S. and E.U. to develop a strategy to deal with the realities of the Russian state under Vladimir Putin.”²⁵⁸

With regard to domestic surveillance, Governor Perry touts his experience commanding the Texas military forces and National Guard and having served in the military himself. He desires a balance between civil liberties and security, saying, “Since the formation of this country, civil liberties versus protecting our citizens have always been trying to find that appropriate balance,” but opining, “I will always err on the side of defending our citizens’ safety.”²⁵⁹ He says that Rand Paul is wrong about just using the constitution and having no reauthorization or replacement of the Patriot Act,

²⁵³ [Ibid.](#)

²⁵⁴ [Perry, Rick. "Defending America" Speech at the Citadel. Charleston, SC, April 6, 2015.](#)

²⁵⁵ [Considine, Travis. "Statement on Gov. Perry's Support for TPP." Email to *Breitbart News*, May 7, 2015.](#)

²⁵⁶ [Perry, Rick. Interview with Hugh Hewitt. *The Hugh Hewitt Show*, June 10, 2015.](#)

²⁵⁷ [Perry, Rick. Statement on US Foreign Policy toward Ukraine. Governor Rick Perry Official YouTube Channel, February 22, 2015.](#)

²⁵⁸ [Ibid.](#)

²⁵⁹ [Perry, Rick. Interview with Hugh Hewitt. *The Hugh Hewitt Show*, May 20, 2015.](#)

expresses concern over the bipartisan compromise that is the Freedom Act, and endorsed the Senate fully reauthorizing the Patriot Act, which it failed to do.

Perry was at one time the frontrunner in the 2012 primary race, and he hopes to once again capitalize on that momentum, pitting himself as having the most military and executive experience. He wants America to fulfill a status that is worthy of the sacrifice of all those who have died for her freedom and prosperity. Perry charges that the administration's divisiveness and weakness as unworthy of that status: "The world has descended into a chaos of this president's own making."²⁶⁰

²⁶⁰ [Perry, Rick. Presidential Announcement Speech. Dallas TX, June 4, 2015.](#)

PART IV: THE OUTSIDERS

“The elite look at people like me and say you’re unworthy, you deserve to be where you are—at the bottom. What they don’t understand is that people like me are the foundation that all other accomplishments of this nation are built on. And if you undercut the foundation, what’s going to happen to the structure above it?”

—William Smith, 2012 Candidate for Congress

Benjamin Carson

Carly Fiorina

Donald Trump

BEN CARSON: IT'S NOT BRAIN SURGERY

Ben Carson is a pediatric neurosurgeon and prides himself on not being a politician. He is an outsider and often politically incorrect. He lacks insider experience in the realm of foreign policy but says he has “learned an enormous amount about foreign policy” and is “ready to talk about it anytime anyone wants to.”²⁶¹ Carson’s poll numbers virtually ensure that he will participate in the debates in which moderators will surely press him on his foreign policy specifics.

Questions about past US actions on the world stage are relatively easy for Carson or any outsider, as they were not in the public eye when the issue occurred. Asked about whether or not the original 2003 invasion of Iraq was a mistake, Carson asserted, “I’ve said definitively that I was never in favor of going into Iraq. And since we did go in, the big problem is that we didn’t secure victory there, and that’s a huge problem.”²⁶² He warns that it was unwise to unilaterally invade a country with such a delicate and complex history, with no understanding of the potential consequences, and no ability to define or secure an end goal. The same could be said for ISIL. Carson traces the divisive lines in Islam back to the book of Genesis, recounting, “You have to recognize they go back thousands and thousands of years, really back to the battle between Jacob and Esau. But it has been a land issue for a very long period of time. Possession is very important to them.”²⁶³ Carson sees the battle as a territorial one, and that bombing ISIL with airstrikes is pointless if the United States does not retake ISIL-controlled land.

Employing a medical analogy that is familiar to him, Carson says of the situation, “If you get rid of the cancer while it’s small, you don’t have to deal with it when it gets big.”²⁶⁴ Carson does not like to see our troops have to “tie their hands around their backs.” Responding to the question of whether he would send American ground troops to fight ISIL, Carson remarked, “I believe if that was necessary I would not hesitate to do that...I would do that in consultation with some of our top military people, who, I think, have been to some degree, disregarded.”²⁶⁵ When further pressed if such a measure is necessary right now—not some point after waiting—Carson added, “In my opinion, yes. Because as you can see, they continue to gain ground. And that’s a very important part of their ideology. And if you can deprive them of that, you’ve struck a major blow.”²⁶⁶ Though sending ground troops immediately is a relatively hawkish stance advocated only by a couple of other candidates, Carson warns not to mistake his intentions. Characterizing and clarifying, Carson says, “I’m a dove, but I’m what’s known as a pragmatic dove. Pragmatic doves do not allow themselves to be destroyed. They will do what they need to do to preserve themselves.”²⁶⁷

²⁶¹ [Carson, Ben. Interview with Megyn Kelly. *The Kelly File*. FOX News, May 6, 2015.](#)

²⁶² [Carson, Ben. Interview with Jonathan Easley. *The Hill*, May 20, 2015.](#)

²⁶³ [Carson, Ben. Interview with Hugh Hewitt. *The Hugh Hewitt Show*, March 18, 2015.](#)

²⁶⁴ [Carson, Ben. Interview with Tony Lee. *Breitbart News*, January 25, 2015.](#)

²⁶⁵ [Carson, Ben. Interview with George Stephanopoulos. *This Week*. ABC News, May 31, 2015.](#)

²⁶⁶ [Carson, Ben. Interview with Howie Carr. *The Howie Carr Show*, May 22, 2015.](#)

²⁶⁷ [Carson, Ben. Speech at The Machine Shed Restaurant, Des Moines, Iowa, June 10, 2015.](#)

Carson has also advocated an expanded role for Congress in connection with the nuclear negotiations with Iran. He condemns President Obama's process of negotiating, arguing, "For the executive branch just to decide we're going to do this our way, we don't care that much what you guys have to say, really is a slap in the face to the Founders of this nation and to the way our government is set up."²⁶⁸ He says that representatives in Congress need to be involved and there is no trustworthy outcome with Iran possessing a nuclear weapon. "I have nothing against negotiations," Carson said, which should include thorough inspections on demand and if they do not comply, concerted sanctions.²⁶⁹ He cautions that the Iranians are benefitting more from the deal, noting the differing deadlines for centrifuge reductions and discrepancies between the Ayatollah's and Administration's public reporting on the progress of the deal. "The main conclusion from these recent months of negotiations is that the Iranians are superior negotiators,"²⁷⁰ Carson maintains, "The Iran deal announced today with fanfare and another heaping dose of false hope is almost certain to prove an historic mistake with potentially deadly consequences."²⁷¹

Like all candidates, Carson supports stronger and closer ties with America's ally Israel, especially in the face of nuclear negotiations that threaten her. "The United States of America has had a special relationship with Israel ever since we were the very first nation to recognize her creation. The depth of our unique bond with Israel has only strengthened over the years."²⁷² He had harsh words for President Obama's disregard of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's visit, urging that America must not turn her back on Israel. On the two-state solution, Carson has a novel approach: "I don't have any problem with the Palestinians having a state," he says, but asks, "Does it need to be within the confines of Israeli territory? Is that necessary, or can you sort of slip that area down into Egypt?"²⁷³ He posits that the Palestinians can have a recognized homeland, just out of the geographic paradigm that dominates the stalemated negotiations. He says this will bolster our relationship with Israel in leading regional negotiations and removing the potential for such proximate attacks by Hamas, and potentially cultivate a new relationship with Palestine. Carson writes, "Many Israelis believe, probably correctly, that the aggressiveness of the hostile nations surrounding them is increased when the perception exists that we in the United States are not seriously committed to their protection."²⁷⁴ He seeks to reverse this perception and position the United States to create the most desirable outcome possible.

Carson takes a hesitant approach to military force with Russia. When asked if he would go to war over aggressive Russian expansionism, Carson replied, "No, I wouldn't go to war over Ukraine. It was agreed that they would be protected if something happened with aggression. Have we lived up to that? Of course we have not. And what does that say to our other allies around the world?"²⁷⁵ He

²⁶⁸ [Carson, Ben. Interview with Chris Cuomo. New Day. CNN, April 9, 2015.](#)

²⁶⁹ [Carson, Ben. Campaign Teleforum. Washington, DC, March 31, 2015.](#)

²⁷⁰ [Carson, Ben. "Iranians are Superior Negotiators Statement." Breitbart News, April 2, 2015.](#)

²⁷¹ [Carson, Ben. Statement in email regarding Iran Nuclear Deal. Breitbart News, July 14, 2015.](#)

²⁷² [Carson, Ben. "Stand With Israel, Our Bulwark Middle East Ally." Ben Carson Official Presidential Website, May 2015.](#)

²⁷³ [Carson, Ben. Statement Bloomberg Politics. Bloomberg, March 20, 2015.](#)

²⁷⁴ [Carson, Ben. "A Lesson in Optimism from Israel." The Washington Times, December 23, 2014.](#)

²⁷⁵ [Carson, Ben. Interview with Chris Wallace. Fox News Sunday. FOX News, May 10, 2015.](#)

calls Russian President Vladimir Putin a “bully” and supports arming Ukraine and incorporating more former members of the Soviet Union into NATO. “We should be establishing relationships with all the former components of the Soviet Union. We should be strengthening NATO. We should be getting them aligned with NATO. I mean, we need to be proactive. Why should we just wait until he does stuff and then say oh, he’s a horrible person and talk about sanctions again? That doesn’t make any sense.”²⁷⁶ An additional proposal of Carson’s for curbing Russian ambition is to reconsider their permanent membership on the United Nations Security Council. Carson opines that if the country cannot act responsibly, they should not possess a pivotal voice in international affairs. There are several issues on which Carson has not defined his position. He has not spoken out about America’s relations with China or the building of artificial islands in the South China Sea. He has spoken only briefly against providing Trade Promotion Authority to the President and the entire Trans Pacific Partnership deal. He has not spoken out about President Obama’s normalization of relations with Cuba or its removal from the list of state sponsors of terrorism. One fight that was unavoidable, however, was the showdown in the Senate over the reauthorization of the Patriot Act. Though equivocating on some points, Carson seemed to be generally in line with Senator Rand Paul in his determination that the bulk collection of metadata is unconstitutional: “Certainly in terms of the Fourth Amendment, the unwarranted mining of data from citizens is a violation. I totally oppose that. Our authorities can get a warrant any time they want. If they need it in the middle of the night they can get it, no problem.”²⁷⁷ Carson said that some provisions in the Patriot Act are important, but that there is no reason to renew legislation that is illegal and ineffective.

Carson will certainly continue to refine his foreign policy platform as his campaign continues. He has already warded off criticisms about his understanding of the history of Islam and the details of NATO, but he says he is prepared to handle a podium on the debate stage later this summer when foreign policy questions arise. He speaks about the fall of the Roman Empire, how they spent vast amounts of money and resources on armaments—they were unbeatable by foreign enemies—but the true enemy that led to its downfall was within. He speaks of the need for ethical leadership of the United States, and to stop aggressors and radical elements in their tracks.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁶ [Carson, Ben. Interview with Hugh Hewitt. *The Hugh Hewitt Show*, March 18, 2015.](#)

²⁷⁷ [Carson, Ben. Interview with Jonathan Easley. *The Hill*, May 20, 2015.](#)

²⁷⁸ [Carson, Ben. "America the Beautiful." Zondervan Publishers, 2013. 131-136.](#)

CARLY FIORINA: HEAR HER ROAR

Though a political outsider, the former chief executive of Hewlett-Packard considers foreign policy one of her greatest strengths. Carly Fiorina claims she has met more world leaders than any other Republican candidate, and as for her potential Democrat opponent, “Like Hillary Clinton, I too have travelled hundreds of thousands of miles around the globe. But unlike her, I have actually accomplished something.”²⁷⁹ She calls for more muscular foreign policy, one that asserts America’s values through dependable leadership, because “When we are not leading, the world is a more dangerous and tragic place.”²⁸⁰

On the Iraq War question, Fiorina begins with one tone, saying, “Having known the head of the CIA at that time, known the head of military intelligence in the United Kingdom at that time, it’s true, in President Bush’s defense, that the intelligence community was pretty unified in their strong belief that Saddam Hussein did have WMD.” She then decisively concludes, however, “Had we known that the intelligence was wrong, no, I would not have gone in. And I have said publicly, on many occasions, that going into Iraq was mismanaged, and coming out of Iraq was mismanaged.”²⁸¹ Thus she places the burden on both the intelligence errors of the Bush administration and the strategic errors of Obama’s. As for how she would fight ISIL, she specifically addresses the requests of America’s Arab allies. She supports providing bombs for Jordan, sharing intelligence with Egypt, and arming the Kurds, for example. “Instead of having a Camp David conference to talk our Arab allies into a bad deal with Iran,” she says, “I would have had a Camp David conference to talk with our Arab allies about how we can support them to fight ISIS.”²⁸² She warns that if America does not provide these things, her allies will turn elsewhere—such as to China or Russia, or worse—and America’s influence will continue to diminish. But when asked if American ground troops need to be involved, Fiorina said that was premature: “It’s a little bit like saying, ‘Okay there are all these alternatives in front of us that our allies who are there have told us will help, and we’re just going to leap over all of those and talk about boots on the ground.’ And I think President Obama has created this dichotomy where basically what he says is, if you don’t agree with me, the only option is to go to war. It’s a false choice.”²⁸³

Fiorina opines that she will not be obligated to honor President Obama’s nuclear negotiations with Iran if the deal is bad. Fiorina’s plan: “On day one I would make a phone call to the Iranian Supreme Leader...and I would say unless you are prepared to open every nuclear facility and every uranium enrichment facility you have to full and unfettered inspections, we will make it as difficult as possible for you to move money around the global financial system.”²⁸⁴ She opposed lifting any

²⁷⁹ [Fiorina, Carly. Speech at Iowa Freedom Summit. Citizens United, January 24, 2015.](#)

²⁸⁰ [Fiorina, Carly. Interview with Opinion Journal. *The Wall Street Journal*, June 15, 2015.](#)

²⁸¹ [Fiorina, Carly. Interview with Sean Hannity. *Hannity, FOX News*, May 13, 2015.](#)

²⁸² [Fiorina, Carly. Interview with Andrea Mitchell. *Lean Forward, MSNBC*, May 28, 2015.](#)

²⁸³ [Fiorina, Carly. Interview with Michael Warren. *The Weekly Standard*, May 28, 2015.](#)

²⁸⁴ [Fiorina, Carly. Interview with Opinion Journal. *The Wall Street Journal*, June 15, 2015.](#)

sanctions while the negotiations are underway and says President Obama has violated two grave rules of negotiating. “He was unwilling to ever walk away from the table, rule number one, if you want a good deal, walk away from the table at least once. Rule number two: never commit yourself publicly until you actually have the deal you want. And President Obama is now committed publicly.”²⁸⁵ In response to the deal, Fiorina doubts President Obama’s claim that it will avoid a regional nuclear arms race: “Our Arab allies have said just the opposite, so there’s reason for suspicion that is not just partisan. From Israel to Arab allies, they don’t agree on much, but they agree this is a bad deal.”²⁸⁶ Fiorina currently opposes aggressive military action against Iran—including airstrikes against nuclear facilities—instead opting to exhaust all diplomatic options, including walking away from the deal and forcing Iran’s hand economically.

Another situation in which Fiorina takes a hardline stance is with President Vladimir Putin’s aggression in Russia and East Europe. “Having sat across the table from Vladimir Putin, I know a red reset button isn’t going to work,” she says.²⁸⁷ She posits that the administration misunderstands and misdiagnoses the issues surrounding Russian ambition: “Putin is not a man of ideology. His is a man who seeks power for power’s sake. Political power, economic power, military power... he sees his role as restoring Russian power, Russian supremacy to the world.”²⁸⁸ In her designation system, Fiorina sees Russia as an adversary—not the enemy status of ISIL and Iran, but certainly not an ally. Above all, America must act or else the advancement will continue, but the answer is not boots on the ground. Fiorina supports specific measures including rebuilding the sixth fleet and missile defense program, conducting regular military exercises in the Baltics to maintain an active American presence, and arming the Ukrainians.

Another country Carly Fiorina calls an adversary is China. She asserts, “I’ve been doing business in China for decades, and I will tell you that yeah, the Chinese can take a test, but what they can’t do is innovate. They’re not terribly imaginative. They’re not entrepreneurial. They don’t innovate. That’s why they’re stealing our intellectual property.”²⁸⁹ She believes that the US can position itself to outpace and outperform China, diminishing its economic prowess. In response to China’s recent actions in the South China Sea, Fiorina contends the United States should stand with its allies to enforce the integrity of important international trade and travel routes.²⁹⁰ With regard to the Trans-Pacific Partnership, “Of course, I support free and fair trade,” she begins, “But President Obama has made lofty promises before and we’ve learned with this White House that the devil is in the details...So I’d like President Obama to tell us what’s in his trade deal before we grant him this broad fast track authority.”²⁹¹ After the broken promises of Obamacare and the concessions of the Iran negotiation, Fiorina distrusts the Obama administration in its brokering of a deal for this new free trade zone.

²⁸⁵ [Fiorina, Carly. Interview with Hugh Hewitt. *The Hugh Hewitt Show*, April 7, 2015.](#)

²⁸⁶ [Fiorina, Carly. Interview with Charlie Rose. *This Morning*. CBS, July 14, 2015.](#)

²⁸⁷ [Fiorina, Carly. Speech in New York, NY. *Committee to Unleash Prosperity*, April 1, 2015.](#)

²⁸⁸ [Fiorina, Carly. Speech at the Conservative Political Action Conference. *The American Conservative Union*, February 26, 2015.](#)

²⁸⁹ [Fiorina, Carly. Speech to Caffeinated Thoughts. *Iowa Politics Blogger*, May 26, 2015.](#)

²⁹⁰ [Fiorina, Carly. Interview with Opinion Journal. *The Wall Street Journal*, June 15, 2015.](#)

²⁹¹ [Fiorina, Carly. Email to Breitbart News. *Breitbart*, June 4, 2015.](#)

Predictably, Fiorina considers Israel an ally, saying her first phone call as President of the United States would be to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu expressing America's support for Israel despite the perceived bitterness of the previous administration. "How we treat our friends is reassuring to our other friends," affirms Fiorina, "This administration has made the world a more dangerous place by the way they have treated Israel."²⁹² On her thoughts about a two-state solution, Fiorina defers to Netanyahu, "I think Bibi Netanyahu has demonstrated over and over again his willingness to come to the negotiating table with Palestinians, to try and find a solution, a two-state solution. But I think it's also clear he has been rebuffed over and over and over again."²⁹³ The rebuffing, she charges, is on the part of both the Palestinians and the Obama Administration, which places a moral equivalence between Hamas and Israel. A stronger friendship with Israel on the part of the United States would be more conducive to peaceful and civil coexistence.

Fiorina has a unique perspective relating to domestic surveillance. She was the CEO of Hewlett-Packard during the September 11th attacks, and thus subsequently served as chairwoman of an advisory board for the NSA and CIA in their construction of the metadata collection apparatus. She says that she advised them at the time to be as transparent and open as possible, advice she says the intelligence community has not heeded. A decade and a half later, Fiorina agrees with surveillance dissenters that "It is not clear to me that Section 215 has stopped a single terrorist attack."²⁹⁴ When asked whether she would use executive authority as president to scale back the dragnet, Fiorina says, "I think we dialed it back with what was passed [the Freedom Act]. Yes, I would be transparent; yes I would dial it back." She left open ended what her own solution would be, however, because she then expressed disapproval of the Freedom Act. She called it a "bad idea" to transition phone record collection to private telecommunications companies, concerned that they do not have the capability. She called the measure a "hodgepodge" compromise that "doesn't satisfy anyone," even though the legislation garnered broad bipartisan support in the House of Representatives and ultimately the Senate.²⁹⁵

Fiorina has earned praise for her unequivocal specifics when answering questions on foreign policy. Her experience as the chief executive of a major company propelled her to the world stage, decorating her with more foreign policy experience than one would expect a Washington outsider to have. She seeks to debunk the "false choice in front of us" perpetuated by President Obama and Secretary Clinton, "They always say unless we go to war there's nothing we can do. There's plenty we can do."²⁹⁶ Through strategic collaboration against enemies and an unyielding stand of diplomatic strength against adversaries, she sees the United States successfully defending itself and securing its interests abroad.

²⁹² [Fiorina, Carly. Interview with Robin Roberts. Good Morning America. ABC News, May 7, 2015.](#)

²⁹³ [Fiorina, Carly. Interview with Michaela Pereir. New Day. CNN, March 18, 2015.](#)

²⁹⁴ [Fiorina, Carly. Interview with Bret Baier. The Special Report. FOX News, June 12, 2015.](#)

²⁹⁵ [Ibid.](#)

The Freedom Act passed in the House by a vote of 303-121 and in the Senate by a vote of 67-32

²⁹⁶ [Fiorina, Carly. Speech at the Unlocking Potential Conference. The Unlocking Potential PAC, March 21, 2015.](#)

TRUMP: THE DONALD

Chairman of the Trump Organization has officially entered the race for president, charging that America's current leaders are "stupid" and "losers," directing many of his attacks at fellow candidates like Jeb Bush and Marco Rubio.²⁹⁷ Trump seeks to use his coarse personality and immense personal wealth to straight-talk his way to the presidency, and when it comes to foreign policy, no one is as rhetorically strong as he. As his oft-repeated slogan conveys, he wants to "make America great again!"²⁹⁸

On what has become a defining question for Republican candidates, Trump has a clear answer. Asked if the 2003 invasion of Iraq was a mistake, he responded, "I never would have been in Iraq. We shouldn't have been there, and once we were there, we probably should have stayed. The Middle East has been totally decapitated. It's a mess. The balance has been lost between Iraq and Iran."²⁹⁹ He criticizes Jeb Bush and Marco Rubio's lack of answers—and their defense of the invasion—charging that anyone who still supports Iraq is unqualified to be president and that the notion that the world is better without Saddam Hussein is wrong because he at least killed terrorists, while the world is left now with ISIL. "You looked at Bush, it took him five days to answer the question on Iraq. He couldn't answer the question. He didn't know. I said, 'Is he intelligent?'" Trump continues, "Then I looked at Rubio. He was unable to answer the question, is Iraq a good thing or bad thing? He didn't know. He couldn't answer the question. How are these people going to lead us? They can't. They can't even answer simple questions. It was terrible."³⁰⁰ Some have speculated that Trump will give these men trouble on the debate stage later this summer on this issue.

To defeat ISIL, Trump says he has a plan. He has repeatedly said, "Nobody would be tougher on ISIS than Donald Trump. Nobody."³⁰¹ He says that he will find the "General Patton" or "General MacArthur" that it takes to make America's military work. More specifically, Trump posits that the US can defeat ISIL by "taking its wealth." Laying out his strategy, Trump offers, "Take back the oil. Once you go over and take back that oil, they have nothing. You bomb the hell out of them, and then you encircle it, and then you go in. And you let Mobil go in, and you let our great oil companies go in. Once you take that oil, they have nothing left."³⁰² Trump has otherwise remained deliberately vague on his proposals. In one interview before his presidential announcement, he said, "I do know what to do and I would know how to bring ISIS to the table or, beyond that, defeat ISIS very quickly. And I'm not gonna tell you what it is tonight."³⁰³ Even after his announcement, he refuses to entirely divulge: "I'm not telling you anything. And the reason I'm not is because if I win, I

²⁹⁷ [Trump, Donald. Presidential Announcement Speech. Trump Tower, NY, June 16, 2015.](#)

²⁹⁸ [Ibid.](#)

²⁹⁹ [Trump, Donald. Interview with Elisabeth Hasselbeck. Fox and Friends. FOX News, May 18, 2015.](#)

³⁰⁰ [Trump, Donald. Presidential Announcement Speech. Trump Tower, NY, June 16, 2015.](#)

³⁰¹ [Ibid.](#)

³⁰² [Trump, Donald. Interview with Bill O'Reilly. The O'Reilly Factor. FOX News, June 16, 2015.](#)

³⁰³ [Trump, Donald. Interview with Greta van Susteren. On the Record. FOX News, May 27, 2015.](#)

don't want them to know the game plan."³⁰⁴ These omissions of detail, according to Trump, are for the sake of military strategy.

Trump, famous and successful for his ability to strike deals, believes he is the best man to negotiate nuclear terms with Iran. Having written *The Art of the Deal*, Trump asserts, "Take a look at the deal he's [President Obama] making with Iran. He makes that deal, Israel maybe won't exist very long. It's a disaster."³⁰⁵ He adds that the deal is "going to lead to nuclear all over the place and everyone's going to want to have it and it's a disaster for this country. And they just don't know what they're doing."³⁰⁶ Trump opposes lifting any sanctions, charging that it will allow Iran to do business and receive cash flow. He wants to strengthen the sanctions and put Iran in a position that they cannot refuse to give up their nuclear ambitions. Trump says that America's negotiators should not have been afraid to walk away from the table, as this is preferable to the deal that the administration struck, which is "absolutely horrible for us, but really, really bad for Israel."³⁰⁷ He also questions why the several American prisoners Iran is detaining were not a component of the deal. Tying the volatile events in the Middle East together, Trump has also warned for years that Iran is going to take over Iraq, a specter that is becoming reality with the Iranians as a prevalent force against ISIL in the region. Trump's determination in curtailing a nuclear Iran stems from his concurrent support for Israel. "Probably, maybe from the beginning," he maintains, "there has never been a greater enemy to Israel than Barack Obama. It's incredible the way he treats them, the way he's speaking to them. I think he treats our known enemies much better."³⁰⁸ Trump has called Benjamin Netanyahu a friend and expressed strong support for Israel.

Donald Trump has extensive experience dealing with China economically, and asks, "We used to have victories, but we don't have them. When was the last time anybody saw us beating, let's say, China in a trade deal? They kill us. I beat China all the time. All the time."³⁰⁹ Trump, though calling China a friend in the end, is critical of China stealing American jobs and devaluing their currency to falsely attract business from America. He warns of the massive amount of debt we owe and their activities in the South China Sea.

Trump opposes the Trans-Pacific Partnership, detesting America's "incompetent" negotiators. "They [China] will devalue their currency, exploit our trade agreements, continue to destroy our economy and put Americans out of work. Politicians are all talk and no action," says Trump.³¹⁰ Trump believes Congress should address China's currency manipulation before even considering forfeiting its power by assenting to the President's Trade Promotion Authority.

³⁰⁴ [Trump, Donald. Interview with Bill O'Reilly. The O'Reilly Factor. FOX News, June 16, 2015.](#)

³⁰⁵ [Trump, Donald. Presidential Announcement Speech. Trump Tower, NY, June 16, 2015.](#)

³⁰⁶ [Trump, Donald. Interview with Simon Conway. WHO Radio Iowa, April 10, 2015.](#)

³⁰⁷ [Trump, Donald. Interview with Trish Regan. The Intelligence Report. FOX Business Network, July 14, 2015.](#)

³⁰⁸ [Trump, Donald. Interview with Jeanine Pirro. Justice with Judge Jeanine. FOX News, November 3, 2014.](#)

³⁰⁹ [Trump, Donald. Presidential Announcement Speech. Trump Tower, NY, June 16, 2015.](#)

³¹⁰ [Trump, Donald. Anti TPP Political Ad. Americans for Limited Government, May 6, 2015.](#)

While some candidates may take a hard stand against Putin’s Russia, Trump seems to have a favorable view of him. He begins, “Putin has no respect for our president whatsoever. He's got a tremendous popularity in Russia, they love what he's doing, they love what he represents,” continuing, “I was over in Moscow two years ago, and I will tell you — you can get along with those people, and get along with them well. You can make deals with those people. Obama can't. I would be willing to bet I would have a great relationship with Putin.”³¹¹ On Crimea and Putin’s aggressiveness in the region, Trump has said very little, other than “it should not have happened” and indicating that if Obama and Putin had a better relationship, it would not have.³¹² On relations with Cuba, Trump has remained silent since President Obama announced relations normalization, but as a businessman has spoken in favor of lifting the embargo. In 1996, Trump wrote, “The people of Cuba are the greatest in the world. I’d like to help them rebuild the country and return it to its original splendor. And as soon as the law changes, I am ready to build the Taj Mahal in Havana.”³¹³ This stance would position him as one of very few candidates—really only with Rand Paul—who are supportive of reestablishing relations and commerce with Cuba.

Trump will disagree with Rand Paul, however, on domestic surveillance. Trump does not oppose the NSA’s metadata collection through the Patriot Act, saying, “Probably today people are willing to sacrifice certain things for security. Security must precede and be preeminent. If anyone wants to listen to my phone calls, I’m fine. They’ll be bored.”³¹⁴ Trump has gone as far as to say that the whistleblower who revealed the massive NSA metadata collection program, Edward Snowden, should be executed. “You know, spies in the old days used to be executed,” Trump exclaimed, “We have to get him back and we have to get him back fast. It could take months or it could take years, and that would be pathetic. This guy’s a bad guy and, you know, there’s still a thing called execution. You have thousands of people with access to material like this. We’re not going to have a country any longer.”³¹⁵ Trump’s position on NSA surveillance fits comfortably in the beliefs of most Republican candidates, but his rhetoric on Snowden surpasses all.

Trump foresees having positive relations not only with Congress, but also with other world leaders, however adversarial. By way of his wealth, he says he will remain free from special interests. He intends to capitalize on voter fatigue with politicians in order to position himself, as he always has, as the force that will save the country.

³¹¹ [Trump, Donald. Interview with Bill O'Reilly. The O'Reilly Factor. FOX News, June 16, 2015.](#)

³¹² [Trump, Donald. Interview with Matt Lauer. Today. NBC News, March 14, 2014.](#)

³¹³ [Miller, Mark and Tony Henthorne. "Investment in the New Cuban Tourist Industry." Quorum Publishing, 1996. 75.](#)

³¹⁴ [Trump, Donald. Interview with Brian Kilmeade. Fox and Friends. FOX News, June 1, 2015.](#)

³¹⁵ [Trump, Donald. Interview with Brian Kilmeade. Fox and Friends. FOX News, June 26, 2013.](#)

THE CHART BEHIND THE INFOGRAPHIC BY ISSUE AND CANDIDATE:

	Iraq War Mistake?	Ground Troops for ISIL	Two-State Solution	TPP/TPA	Cuban Relations	Patriot Act, Freedom Act, Neither
Rand Paul	Yes	Opposes	Opposes	Opposes	Supports	Neither
Marco Rubio	No, Indeterminate	Supports	Supports	Supports	Opposes	Patriot Act
Ted Cruz	Yes	Opposes	Opposes	Supported, Opposes	Opposes	Freedom Act
Lindsey Graham	No	Supports	Supports	Supports	Opposes	Patriot Act
Jeb Bush	No, Indeterminate, Yes	Supports	Supports	Supports	Opposes	Patriot Act
Scott Walker	Yes	Indeterminate	Supports	Supports	Opposes	Patriot Act
Chris Christie	Yes	Supports	Supports	Supports	Opposes	Patriot Act
Rick Santorum	Indeterminate, Yes	Supports	Opposes	Opposes	Opposes	Patriot Act
Mike Huckabee	Yes	Unknown	Opposes	Opposes	Opposes	Neither
Rick Perry	Yes	Supports	Supports	Supported, Opposes	Opposes	Patriot Act
Ben Carson	Yes	Supports	Supports Elsewhere	Opposes	Unknown	Neither
Carly Fiorina	Yes	Opposes	Indeterminate	Opposes	Opposes	Indeterminate
Donald Trump	Yes	Unknown	Unknown	Opposes	Supports	Patriot Act
George Pataki*	Yes	Supports	Supports	Unknown	Opposes	Patriot Act
Bobby Jindal*	No	Opposes	Unknown	Opposes	Opposes	Patriot Act
John Kasich*	Yes	Supports	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Freedom Act
Score (16 Total)	13 Yes / 2 No / 1 Unsure	9 Support / 4 Oppose / 1 Unsure / 2 Unknown	8 Support / 4 Oppose / 1 Unsure / 3 Unknown	5 Support / 9 Oppose / 2 Unknown	2 Support / 12 Oppose / 2 Unknown	10 Patriot Act / 2 Freedom Act / 1 Unsure / 3 Neither
Hillary Clinton**	Yes	Opposes	Supports	Indeterminate, Opposes	Supports	Freedom Act
Bernie Sanders**	Yes	Opposes	Supports	Opposes	Supports	Neither
Joe Biden**	Yes	Unknown	Supports	Supports	Supports	Unknown
Martin O'Malley**	Yes	Indeterminate	Supports	Opposes	Supports	Indeterminate
Jim Webb	Yes	Opposes	Unknown	Opposes	Supports	Unknown
Lincoln Chafee**	Yes	Opposes	Supports	Supports	Supports	Neither

**These candidates are not included in the summary due to low poll numbers or lack of public foreign policy views.
 **These candidates are members of the Democratic Party and are also not included.



THE NATION'S TOP THINK TANK (under 5 million dollars)

(According to the Global Think Tank Index, University of Pennsylvania)

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Founded in 1955 by Ambassador Robert Strausz-Hupé, FPRI is a 501(c)(3) non-partisan, non-profit organization devoted to bringing the insights of scholarship to bear on the development of policies that advance U.S. national interests. In the tradition of Strausz-Hupé, FPRI illuminates foreign policy challenges facing the United States through the lens of history, geography and culture.

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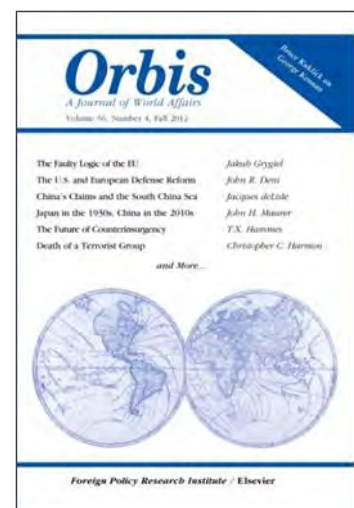
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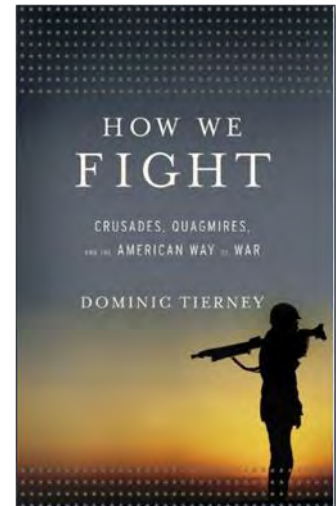
Program on the Middle East, directed by Tally Helfont

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¹ See [“The Impact of the Foreign Policy Research Institute: Or, Can a Small Organization in Philadelphia Change the Course of History?”](#) by Alan Luxenberg, BackChannel, November 2013.

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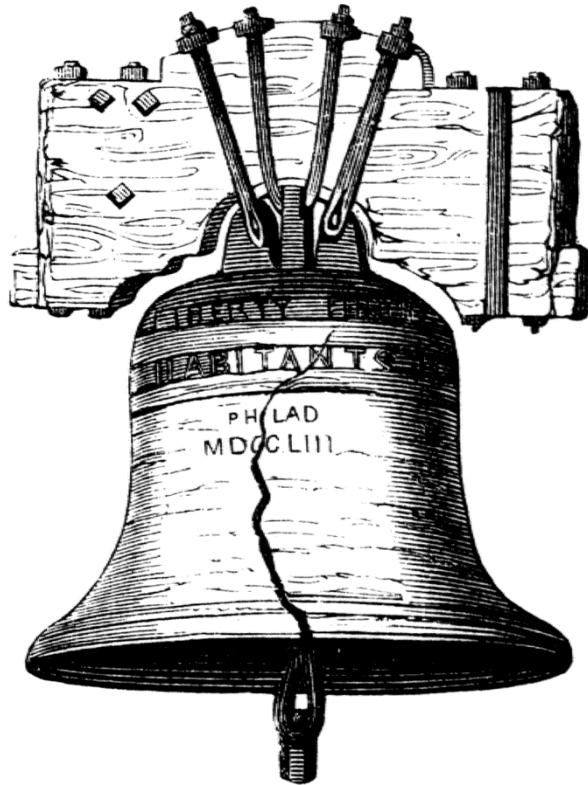
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