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THE AMERICAN PRIMARY AND THE  
COMMON FOREIGN AND SECURITY  
OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

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## THE AMERICAN PRIMARY AND THE COMMON FOREIGN AND SECURITY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

### Abstract:

*While international affairs and security do not, usually, show up in the primaries, these issues are increasingly important. Following the lines of Barack Obama when he took a decisive step toward the White House introducing the problem of Pakistan in a televised debate, international affairs today are becoming increasingly important in the debates between the candidates, especially among those with more possibilities of winning.*

*With the race for the nomination clear for Mitt Romney, especially after the withdrawal of Santorum, we found that the former Massachusetts governor who is not only the most likely to defeat President Obama as the candidate but also the one that best fits the tenets of the Republican Party.*

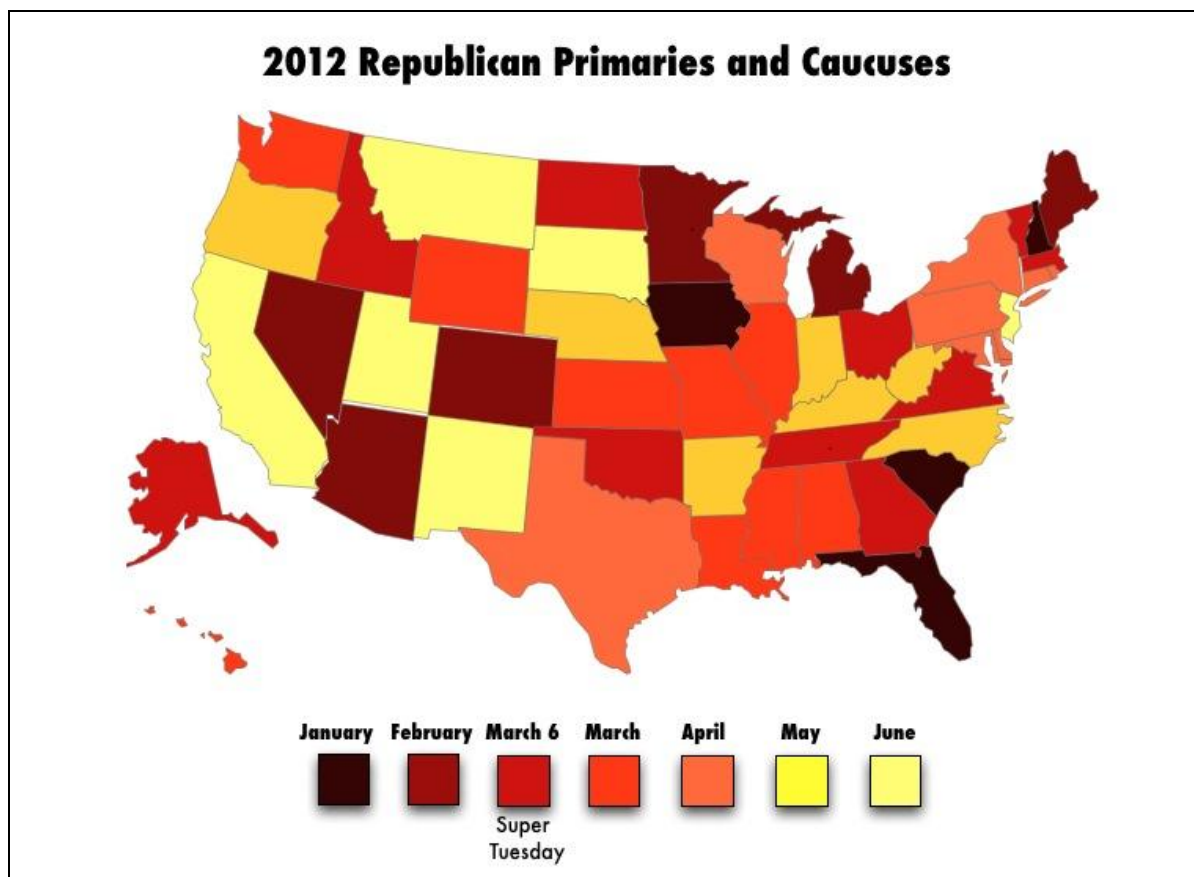
### Keywords:

*International Affairs, Security, Elections, Primaries, United States of America.*

**\*NOTE:** The IEEE and the Spanish Minister of Defence shall not be responsible for the ideas contained in these **Position Papers**, which may not reflect their opinions.

Alberto Priego

This document is intended to give a general overview of the political agenda of the Republican Party and analyze the different tendencies among the candidates running in presidential primaries. Three candidates (apart from Santorum) still have possibilities to face President Obama in the forthcoming US primary elections. All of them are quite heterogeneous and belong to different social groups, so they all present a wide range of options for the future. In principle, former Massachusetts governor Mitt Romney heads for nomination and, although President Obama refers to him as a rival, nothing will be decided until June, since the Republican Party, following the lines of the Democrats in 2008, has opted for long primaries. These are the States that have already voted and those that have not voted yet.

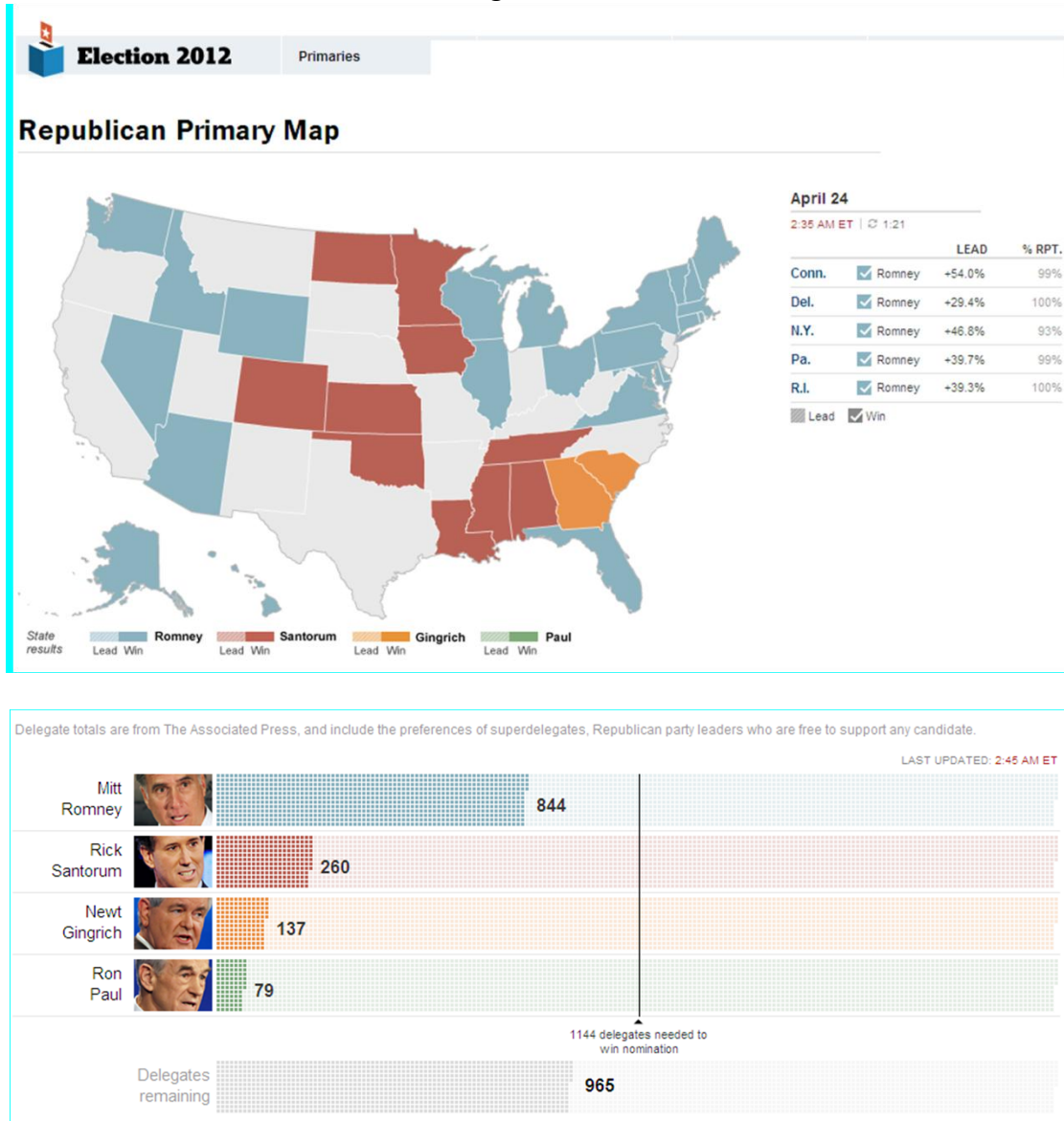
**GRAPHIC 1:** Republican Primary Election Calendar by States.**SOURCE:** WNYC

Notice that the graphic shows the current situation (April 24th 2012) so we can have a general overview of the number of delegates committed to each candidate<sup>1</sup>, bearing in

<sup>1</sup> To become the Republicans Party's nominee for the Presidential Election a candidate needs a majority of 1,144 delegates to vote for him.

mind that, although not all States have already voted, the difference in votes is enough to consider Mitt Romney the future candidate of the Republican Party.

**GRAPHIC 2:** Number of delegates committed to each candidate.



**SOURCE:** New York Times

While international affairs and security do not, usually, show up in the primaries, these issues are increasingly important. Following the lines of Barack Obama when he took a decisive step toward the White House introducing the problem of Pakistan in a televised debate, international affairs today are becoming increasingly important in the debates between the candidates, especially among those with more possibilities of winning. In this regard, a wide variety of studies have been published to show how foreign policy and security are becoming increasingly important in the primaries.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> About the importance of the influence of foreign policy, see HAYES, Danny and GUARDINO Matt "The

Therefore, this document will focus on analyzing and comparing the attitudes towards international affairs of the main candidates of the Republican Party running for the White House. To this end, we will compare their principal approaches and analyze which of the three candidates and Santorum<sup>3</sup> would fit best with this ideal.

## 1. MAIN FEATURES OF FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICIES OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

While the USA enjoys a consensus on foreign policy and security, there is room to question which tenets are the most distinctive of the Republican Party, and which are the most distinctive of the Democrat Party, because there is a huge difference between them. Thus, we will concisely analyze, following the argument of Senator Chuck Hagel,<sup>4</sup> the main principles that should guide Republican foreign policy.

*1. Commitment with the Leadership of the Global Economy* seeking to respect the Rule of Law, to further develop science and technology, and to increase the productivity of those workers that have led the U.S. to become the leader of the global economy. Thus, foreign policy must promote Good Governance and Economic Freedom, that is to say the “Washington Consensus”. One example of this type of policy is the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA), established by the Bush administration.

*2. U.S. foreign policy cannot ignore global energy security.* The U.S. is highly dependent on foreign oil. Therefore, in order to maintain an independent foreign policy, all Republican candidates must seek to achieve its independence from energy security, including renewable energies.

*3. Cooperation with alliances, coalitions and international institutions.* No single country in the world, including the U.S., can successfully meet the challenges of the twenty-first century alone. The alliances must be regarded not as a limitation but as an extension of American power. It is worth mentioning the UN as the main framework for relations, although it faces several problems. However, NATO is the central alliance in U.S. global strategy<sup>5</sup> and therefore, it must be given special consideration.

*4. U.S. foreign policy should support democracies and market economies.* The approach should be to extend the American stability model as has been done at least for the last 60

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influence of Foreign Voices on U.S. Public Opinion”, *American Journal of Political Science*. Vol. 55, No. 4, October 2011.

<sup>3</sup> Last April 10<sup>th</sup> 2012, Santorum withdrew from presidential race.

<sup>4</sup> HAGEL, Chuck “A Republican Foreign Policy” *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2004 Issue 4.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid p. 66.

years; Hagel's article even mentions the Middle East and the Muslim countries. The model seems to be the "Rose Revolution" that took place in Georgia and is being extended to other countries such as Egypt, Tunisia and Libya. This follows the line of the "Forward Strategy for Freedom" and the "Middle East Partnership Initiative" developed by the Bush administration.

*5. The western hemisphere must be moved to the front burner of U.S. foreign policy.* Since President Monroe declared the doctrine that led the U.S. to become the dominant power in the continent, all presidents have paid great attention to international affairs, especially with Mexico and Canada.

*6. The United States must combat poverty and the spread of disease worldwide.* This is one of the core challenges of governance in the developing world which has resulted in thousands of deaths. Quite apart from the AIDS virus, there are other possible pandemics such as SARS (severe acute respiratory syndrome), avian flu, tuberculosis and malaria that can begin an acute crisis in the U.S. and threaten Washington if the average temperature keeps rising.

*7. The importance of strong and imaginative public diplomacy.* This is a new concept of diplomacy, beyond traditional government-to-government diplomacy. Public diplomacy's purpose is to promote American values throughout Soft-Power and cultural influence, which are considered stronger than other traditional methods.

## 2. REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES' FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY AGENDA

Republican candidates differ on foreign policy strategies. Mitt Romney preaches a more moderate policy, while Newt Gingrich and the former presidential candidate Rick Santorum plead for a more conservative strategy. It is worth mentioning the candidate Ron Paul, whose tenets differ not only from those of the other three candidates but also from the Republican Party.

### 2.1. Republican candidates and their advisory teams.

#### 2.1.1. Mitt Romney

Romney is probably the Republican candidate that evokes least sympathy from GOP voters, although he is most likely to beat Obama. According to a polling firm, only 1% of the participants who were looking for a true conservative<sup>6</sup> voted for Romney, while almost 60% deem him an acceptable nominee.<sup>7</sup> He is a different candidate because he had a privileged upbringing. Romney lived in France during his youth and his father was the governor of Michigan, he ran unsuccessfully for president and ultimately joined the cabinet of Richard

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<sup>6</sup> *The Economist*, (14.1.2012)

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

Nixon. Besides, Mitt Romney has also notched up impressive achievements in several sectors, for example in the business sector, with the organization of the Salt Lake City Winter Olympics, and in politics with his victory in Massachusetts, traditionally a Democratic state.<sup>8</sup> His only failure was in 2008, when Romney was forced to withdraw from the presidential race.

With regard to his advisory team, there are some clues. The former governor of Massachusetts has succeeded in combining outstanding figures of the Bush administration, such as the former CIA director Michael Hayden<sup>9</sup>, the former Secretary of Homeland Security Michael Chertoff<sup>10</sup>, and “young” promises such as Senator Jim Talent<sup>11</sup> and Norm Coleman. Members of his team come from all fields, not only politics. There are also some leading experts on Romney’s team, for example, Ashley Tellis<sup>12</sup>, Walid Phares<sup>13</sup> and Robert Kagan, one of the heavyweights of Romney’s agenda in foreign and security policy. The Project for the New American Century was co-founded by Robert Kagan as a think-tank and throughout the 90s the regime change in Iraq remained its consistent position<sup>14</sup>. Eliot Cohen and Vin Weber<sup>15</sup>, relevant figures of the candidacy, are also members of the PNAC.

Noteworthy is his moderation and his distance from the former President G. W. Bush, one of the few heavyweights of the party who has not opted for him yet<sup>16</sup>.

### 2.1.2. Rick Santorum.

Santorum is a Catholic candidate of Italian origin who has held office in the Legislative Houses, although he does not have government experience. He tried to become Governor of

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8 “Towards the Coronation” Ibid.

9 Michael Hayden is a Republican who works in the intelligence services. Not in vain that he occupied positions as important as CIA Director. Previously he was also director of the National Security Agency.

10 Michael Chertoff was Tom Ridge’s successor as Secretary of Homeland Security. He is an old supporter of the Republican Party. He has worked with Giuliani and with George W. H. Bush. He is coauthor of the Patriot Act.

11 Jim Talent participated in Romney’s campaign in 2008. He has been Senator and he is known for his support of increasing defense expenditure. He has worked for the Heritage Foundation, where he published the Document “Keeping our Military Strong” on May 2 2011, whose ideas have inspired Romney’s points of view. He is a defender of renewable energies and he supports drilling in the Arctic to ensure Security and Energy Independence.

12 Ashley Tellis is one of the best experts in Pakistan all over the world.

13 Walid Phares is of Lebanese origin and an expert in Islamic Radicalism.

14 In 1998, a letter to President Clinton to overthrow Saddam Hussein was signed. [www.indyvoice.com/pnac/](http://www.indyvoice.com/pnac/). In 2005 PNAC published an important document on Iraq “Iraq: Setting the Record Straight”. They are also known for the publication of “Statement of Principle”, where they advocate a Reaganite defense policy with an increase in defense expenditure.

15 Vin Weber is a regular supporter of the Republicans who worked in the Bush-Cheney campaign of 2004. He directed Romney’s campaign in 2008. Although in these primaries he began supporting Tim Pawlenty in September 2011, he then joined Romney’s economic team. He is closely linked to think-tanks that advocate for the spread of democracy, such as National Endowment for Peace, the Council of Foreign Relations or the Independent Task Force on US Policy.

16 “Romney isn’t interested in becoming Bush Three” said Ricjard Grenell, spokesman for the US mission to the UN under George W. Bush and Romney supporter. Smith, Ben “Romney hawk new hard line” Politician, (1.19.2012).



Pennsylvania but he was defeated by the former Secretary of the Treasury, Bob Casey. He has some of the most conservative and isolationist points of view, together with those of Herman Cain and Huntsman, who have already been defeated. On April 10 he decided to withdraw from the presidential race but he still has a strong influence on American society. Therefore, we are also going to analyze him.

### 2.1.3. Newt Gingrich.

Gingrich is considered to be the presidential candidate with the highest intellectual level<sup>17</sup>. He actually holds a doctorate in European Studies and he is one of the representatives of the "Conservative Revolution". He has a lot of political experience and he was the first republican speaker of the Congress in 40 years. He is identified with what he himself has termed : the "*Ronald Reagan model of toughness*"<sup>18</sup>, he has declared his admiration for Pope John Paul II and for Margaret Thatcher. His positions on foreign policy defend an extreme free commerce and interventions like those of Bosnia, Kosovo and Haiti. Nevertheless he also defends postulates, which are not in line with the Republican Party, such as his firm environmental defense (Green Conservatism), his position on marijuana legalization and his criticism against Bush for his lack of strength in Iran or North Korea.

Among the members of his team we can find people related to the Reagan administration (James Woolsey<sup>19</sup>, Robert McFarlane<sup>20</sup>, Bill Schneider<sup>21</sup>) as well as to the Bush Jr. administration (David Wumser<sup>22</sup>, Kiron Skinner<sup>23</sup> and Stephen Yates<sup>24</sup>). Among the members of the executive we can find experts of the Hudson Institute, of the AFPC and of the Hoover Institution.

### 2.1.4. Ron Paul.

Ron Paul has been without doubt the most eccentric personality. He is not a typical Republican candidate since in 1988 he ran for the Libertarian Party. In 2008 he fought for the Republican nomination but he did not achieve his objective. He is considered to be the "Intellectual Godfather" of the Tea Party<sup>25</sup>, although he is not its candidate since his ideas are extremely personal. In his team we can find Bruce Fein<sup>26</sup>, Charles Peña<sup>27</sup> and the recently

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17 GROVE, Lloyd "Newt's days of Rage" Newsweek, (2.13.2012)

18 WEIGEL, David "Gingrich at AIPAC" The Washington Independent, (5.9.2012) Available at <http://washingtonindependent.com/41625/gingrich-at-aipac>.

19 James Woolsey has occupied different presidential appointed positions both in Democrat and Republican administrations. He was CIA director from 1993 to 1995 and he has always been linked to intelligence and security issues.

20 National Security Consultant during the Reagan Administration.

21 He was Deputy Secretary of State with President Reagan.

22 David Wumser worked as a consultant: first he worked for John Bolton and then for Vice President Dick Cheney for Middle East and Proliferation issues.

23 Kiron Skinner was a consultant in the Iraq and Afghanistan Department of Defense.

24 Stephen Yates worked as an assistant of the Vice President Cheeney in National Security especially on African, Asian and Latin American affairs.

25 "The Texas congressman Ron Paul and his son the newly elected Kentucky senator Rand Paul come close to resurrecting isolationism" MEAD, Walter R. "The Tea Party and American Foreign Policy. What Populism means for Globalism" Foreign Affairs, March/April, Vol 90, No. 3, p. 31.

26 Bruce Fein has worked in the Department of Justice during the Reagan Administration. He openly supports

deceased Kent Sneyder, who was in charge of the fundraising for the 1988 and 2008 campaigns.

## 2.2. The candidates' positions on foreign policy.

### 2.2.1. China

President Obama's policy towards China has not lacked strength, as the defense aid package for Taiwan<sup>28</sup>, the North American military expansion in Australia and the investigations on Chinese unlawful business practices show. Nevertheless, most of the Republican candidates believe that the Democrats position has not been strong enough especially for Human Rights. Nonetheless they all agree on commercial relationships. There are two aspects, which the Republican Party has always tried to promote: market economy and respect for Human Rights.

Mitt Romney is one of the candidates most critical of China. His attacks go essentially in two lines: an economic line –based on Chinese working practices and on the devaluation of the Yuan- and a political line based essentially on the lack of respect towards Human Rights. With regard to the first line, he has promised to declare China a “currency manipulation” on the first day he sits in the Oval Office<sup>29</sup>. At the political level, Romney has declared his support for the dissidents and he has criticized the “one-child policy”<sup>30</sup>

Rick Santorum has been stricter than Romney since he has included China in a new “Axis of Evil” that he has named “Gathering Storm”, which includes other states such as Nicaragua, Venezuela and Iran<sup>31</sup>. In economic terms, his declarations are not less aggressive since Santorum has stated that he does not want to go to a trade war with China but defeat China<sup>32</sup>.

Newt Gingrich has been critical of Human Rights in China although he is aware that in the long term the US will not be able to compete against China and India. Lastly, Ron Paul advocates promoting free trade and not interfering in China's internal affairs. This is why he refused to condemn Beijing's actions against the Nobel Prize Winner Liu Xiaobo.

### 2.2.2. Iran

The Islamic Republic of Iran has become a central topic in the Primaries. President Obama has also been criticized for his lack of strength and for not having a coherent policy –from

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the Turkish Coalition of Washington (Turkish lobby in Washington).

<sup>27</sup> Charles Peña usually participates in think-tanks, which are very critical of military interventions.

<sup>28</sup> 5.8 trillion dollars.

<sup>29</sup> “I will begin on Day One by designating China as the currency manipulator it is” ROMNEY, Mitt *Washington Post*, (10.9.2012)

<sup>30</sup> “Romney: China's one-child policy barbaric” *The Indian Express* (02.12.2012).

<sup>31</sup> “We're facing a global alliance that includes Russia, North Korea, China, Iran, Syria, Venezuela, Bolivia, Nicaragua” LARISON, Daniel “Another Tedious “Gathering Storm” Warning from Santorum” *The New Conservative*, January 2012.

<sup>32</sup> “I want to beat China. I want to go to war with China” *CNS News*, 03.26.2012.



the Novruz greeting in 2009 to considering the armed action plausible although it is not recognized in the National Security Strategy 2010<sup>33</sup> (from now on NSS).

In 2007 Mitt Romney already developed a strategy for Iran called “*Five Points Plan*”, which urged to take action from diplomacy to intervention including economic sanctions<sup>34</sup>. He reaffirmed his position when he visited Yeshiva University in April 2007 and he has maintained it throughout the Primaries of 2012. Even today, Romney’s words are harsher when he states that Iran is a suicidal nation and the biggest threat on the face of the Earth since Nazism and the USSR<sup>35</sup>. In his AIPAC speech, Gingrich even requested that Iran should lose its right to vote at the UN, although as well as Romney, he considers that previous measures are needed –such as embargos or cyber attacks–. He has even suggested covert actions, such as kidnapping scientists, but he said that force should always be the last option<sup>36</sup>. Santorum has been even harder when declaring that the military option is inevitable<sup>37</sup> or that Iranian scientists are “*enemy combatants*” similar to Al-Qaida or the Taliban<sup>38</sup>. On the contrary, Ron Paul offered Iran friendship with the US and said that his colleagues from the presidential race were “*warmongers*”<sup>39</sup>.

We can see that all of the candidates, except Paul, defend clear positions of harassing Iran and want to build bridges with Israel. On March 6 three of the four candidates –with the exception of Ron Paul– went to the pro-Israel lobby AIPAC to make it clear the Israel continues to be a key partner<sup>40</sup>. In general we can see that the candidates’ positions –with the exception of Paul– are those expected of the Republican Party and therefore they correspond to the Party’s established views. When developing their foreign policy towards Iran, the candidates are inspired by the gamble on democracy, Human Rights and the search for energy security. They all agree that President Obama has had a position of weakness and ambivalence, which has wasted time.

### 2.2.3. Russia

<sup>33</sup> “If they ignore their international obligations, we will pursue multiple means to increase their isolation and bring them into compliance with international nonproliferation norms” White House, *National Security Strategy*, 2010, p. 24. Available in:

[http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss\\_viewer/national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf) Date of reference: 04.17.2010

<sup>34</sup> Plan available in:

[http://www.thepoliticalguide.com/Profiles/Governor/Massachusetts/Mitt\\_Romney/Views/Iran/](http://www.thepoliticalguide.com/Profiles/Governor/Massachusetts/Mitt_Romney/Views/Iran/)

<sup>35</sup> “Mitt Romney’s Foreign Policy” *Foreign Policy*, November 2011.

<sup>36</sup> Council on Foreign Relations *The candidates on US-Iran Policy*, CFR, (03.9.2012) Available in:

<http://www.cfr.org/iran/candidates-us-iran-policy/p26798> Date of reference: 03.12.2012.

<sup>37</sup> “Santorum has stated that an Israeli military strike on Iran is inevitable” in “Rick Santorum’s Foreign Policy Profile” *Foreign Policy*, (11.16.2012). Available in: [http://www.foreignpolicy.com/rick\\_santorum/profile](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/rick_santorum/profile) Date of Reference 04.16.2012.

<sup>38</sup> “Among the possible methods for dealing with the Iranian nuclear threat listed on Santorum’s campaign website is treating nuclear scientists working for the Iranians like enemy combatants” ABC (02.12.2012)

<sup>39</sup> “Paul suggest GOP presidential rivals are Warmongers” *The Washington Post* (03.23.2012)

<sup>40</sup> “Three of the four Republican presidential candidates will speak to the AIPAC conference by satellite on Super Tuesday” JTA, (03.6.2012). <http://www.jta.org/news/article/2012/03/01/3091923/three-gop-candidates-to-address-aipac-via-satellite>

Russia has been one of the priorities of the foreign policy of the Obama administration. Every initiative has been determined by the “reset policy”, which intended to leave behind the inheritance of the Bush administration. There has been talk about important advances, such as the new *START Treaty*, the 123 Agreement, Russia’s entry in the WTO or the famous Jackson Vanik Amendment. Nevertheless, there have been several conflicts between the two countries such as problems with the Missile Shield, the energetic dependence, elections in Russia or the sanctions against Iran and Syria.

Mitt Romney has been one of the most critical candidates of the Reset policy. In his Citadel speech in April 2007 he called sincerely and openly for cooperation with Russia. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the former Massachusetts Governor has a weak and permissive position with Moscow. In fact, Romney also expressed his concern about the energy relationship between Europe and Russia<sup>41</sup>. Therefore, Romney pledged his commitment to the Nabucco project, since it would give energy independence and foreign policy freedom to their European partners.

The candidate from Detroit has also criticized the nuclear policy and the disarmament agreements with Russia. For the Mormon candidate, the new START treaties will allow Moscow to rearm but will force the US to do the opposite<sup>42</sup>. He has also adopted a belligerent approach to the absence of people’s rights and liberties in Russia and he clearly and openly defends building a free civil society, which favors a freer and less corrupt government. In the same line, he goes for the improvement of relationships with the former Republics in Central Asia, a clear challenge to Russian influence in its “Near Abroad”<sup>43</sup>. This position would conflict with that of President Putin, who Romney has said wants to rebuild the Russian Empire<sup>44</sup>.

He has also criticized the Obama administration on its position on Russia’s accession to the World Trade Organization and the missile shield. Romney has expressed that he “will reset the reset” and he has gone even further by saying that Russia is their geopolitical enemy #1<sup>45</sup>, even before Iran or North Korea. This affair has become more important after President Obama was caught in the Seoul summit talking to President Medvedev and promising Russia more flexibility on the matter of the missile shield.

<sup>41</sup> “Will he (Putin) try to reverse that tragedy and bludgeon the countries of the former Soviet Union to submission, and intimidate Europe with the levels of its energy resources?” Ivanov, Eugene “Mitt Romney: The no-apology candidate” *Russia Beyond the Headlines*, (11.02.2012).

<sup>42</sup> “New START gave Russia room to expand its arsenal while requiring the United States to reduce our own. In any event, even if we put aside the demerits of the treaty, it was a squandered opportunity to extract concessions from the Russians that would have advanced our interests” en <http://www.mittromney.com/issues/russia>. Fecha de consulta 16.04.2012.

<sup>43</sup> “A Romney administration will build stronger relationships with the states of Central Asia by enhancing diplomatic ties, increasing military training and assistance, and negotiating trade pacts and educational exchanges” *Russia. An American Century* <http://www.mittromney.com/issues/russia>

<sup>44</sup> “Vladimir Putin is intent on rebuilding the Russian Empire” “Mitt Romney’s Foreign Policy” *Foreign Policy*, 16.11.2012.

<sup>45</sup> “Mitt Romney Says Russia Is No. 1 Geopolitical Foe” *ABC News* (29.11.2011)

Santorum has not been very explicit with regard to what concerns Russia except for a few criticizing comments to Obama regarding the Seoul “slip-up”<sup>46</sup>. Nonetheless, Newt Gingrich has been very clear on what his relationship with Moscow would be, like Romney, he has appeared to be very combative regarding the lack of democracy in Russia and with Vladimir Putin in particular. He has said that the Prime Minister is close to being a dictator<sup>47</sup>. This comments should not surprise anyone, for Gingrich has a long history of supporting pro-democratic groups in Russia. He even disagreed with Clinton and Bush when they approached their positions to Russia’s in 1993 and 2002.

Ron Paul maintains again a more heterodox position, favoring dialogue and trade as the only ways to reduce the tension with Russia<sup>48</sup>. Actually, Paul has been the candidate who less criticized President Obama’s policy regarding Russia.

#### 2.2.4. Defense

One of the elements that has historically separated Republican and Democrats is defense. While the democrats have always been in favor of reducing the defense budget, the republicans have always been in favor of augmenting it.

Mitt Romney has been very blunt on this matter: the military budget is not sufficient. In April 2007 he asked for an augmentation of 100,000 troops and 50 trillion dollars to modernize the military. On that same line, while still being governor of Massachusetts he established an Air National Guard (ANG) base in that state, which shows his compromise with the armed forces. Based on Reagan’s “America requires a strong military and a strong economy”<sup>49</sup>, Romney has criticized Obama’s decision of reducing the GDP assigned to defense. The Mormon candidate believes that 4% of the GDP<sup>50</sup> should be assigned to defense, so that the US can face new challenges. Romney stated that the budget is one of the lowest since the II World War. Reagan already included this in the 1987 NSS<sup>51</sup>.

Rick Santorum follows a line similar to Romney’s. The Italian American candidate considers that a strong military budget would reduce the unemployment rate, even though he hasn’t

<sup>46</sup> “suggesting that he’s willing to sacrifice American security and willing to sacrifice the security of our allies,” Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> “Putin represents a dictatorial approach that’s very violent” in FRIEDMAN, U and KEATING J. “Newt vs. Newt Gingrich’s most outrageous foreign-policy flip-flops.” *Foreign Policy*, Diciembre de 2011. Disponible en [http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/12/09/newt\\_vs\\_newt?page=full](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/12/09/newt_vs_newt?page=full). Consultation date 16.04.2012.

<sup>48</sup> “Not threatening Russia in any way because doesn’t think it’s necessary. If we are friends with Russia and we trade with Russia I think there’s a less likely chance that we will ever fight with Russia” in “Ron Paul’s Foreign Policy” *Foreign Policy*, (16.11.2012) available at [http://www.foreignpolicy.com/ron\\_paul/profile?page=full](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/ron_paul/profile?page=full) Consultation date 16.04.2012.

<sup>49</sup> ROMNEY, Mitt “Rising to a new Generation of Global Challenges”. *Foreign Affairs*, 86 (4)2007, pp. 21.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. 22

<sup>51</sup> “In fact, in the past seven years, Americans have devoted an average of only 6.1% of GNP to defense—well under rates in the 1950s and 1960s, which ranged from 7 % to 9.2 %” White House National Security Strategy, 1987 pg. 37. available at: [http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu/research/pdfs/national\\_security\\_strategy\\_87.pdf](http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu/research/pdfs/national_security_strategy_87.pdf)

clearly decided on the increase in military expense<sup>52</sup>. Gingrich has a similar position and has also criticized the Obama administration low levels of expense. However, he does not clearly vote for a huge investment in defense because, as he stated in October's debate, Gingrich considers himself a Hawk, but a cheap one<sup>53</sup>. Ron Paul supports the expense in defense, but not all those millions wasted in all the wars that the US has gotten involved.

Thereby, we see that Romney is the candidate who follows his own guideline, different to the others. Even if all the candidates vote for a raise of the military budget, only Romney promises to carry it out without restrictions. The rest condition it to economic growth and budgetary discipline. Romney could be the only one behaving according to the Republican Party principles, because only by augmenting the expense in defense, can the US reach the position of economic and military leader. An explanation is that he is the only one with possibilities in the presidential race.

### 2.2.5. Afghanistan and Pakistan

Afghanistan and Pakistan are two of the main and most conflictive points of the Republican primary elections and will be decisive in the presidential election. As he announced in the NSS 21, Obama has strongly supported what he himself called *Af-Pak*<sup>54</sup>. It is his flagship project even though some of his decisions —like the augmentation of troops, the announcement of withdrawal and the conversations with the Taliban— have been very controversial. Therefore the republican candidates have found in *Af-Pak* a weak spot in the image of president Obama.

Mitt Romney has criticized the withdrawal of the troops as well as the conversations with the Taliban. Romney has stated that the U.S should not limit itself to supporting Iraq or Afghanistan, that they should have greater presence because the threat of the radical Islam concerns several nations<sup>55</sup>. However, Romney's positions from 2007 and 2008 have changed considerably. In the debate that was held on June 14th 2011, Romney said that it was time to go back home, if the military commanders consider it appropriate<sup>56</sup>. He gave the reason

<sup>52</sup> "has defended robust U.S. military spending on the ground that it creates U.S. Jobs" en "Rick Santorum's Foreign Policy Profile" Foreign Policy, (16.11.2012). available at:

[http://www.foreignpolicy.com/rick\\_santorum/profile](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/rick_santorum/profile) Consultation date 16.04.2012.

<sup>53</sup> "I am a hawk, but I am a cheap hawk. . . . I don't think the Pentagon should be any more exempt from reengineering, downsizing, and rethinking than any other part of the federal government" BRENAN, Peter "Do You Know Newt? He sometimes sounds just like Obama" *National Review*, January 2012. available at:

<http://www.nationalreview.com/articles/289288/do-you-know-newt-patrick-brennan> Consultation date 16.04.2012.

<sup>54</sup> White House 2010, *op. cit.*

<sup>55</sup> "Yet jihad is much broader than any one nation or even several nations. It is broader than the conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq" Mitt "Rising to a new Generation of Global Challenges". *Foreign Affairs*, 86 (4) 2007, p. 21.

<sup>56</sup> "Withdrawal of U.S. forces from Afghanistan under a Romney administration will be based on conditions on the ground as assessed by our military commanders" available at:

<http://www.mittromney.com/issues/afghanistan-pakistan>

that the US cannot fight in another nation's independence war<sup>57</sup>. These statements go against Romney's line in 2007 and 2008 and against the principles of the Republican Party and the United States. However, the electoral pressure made the Mormon candidate fall into these contradictions.

However, if Romney has been clear on something it is on rejecting to talk with the *jihadi*, because they go against the values of the U.S and threaten the survival of the moderate Muslims<sup>58</sup>. That is why Romney has been so clear about the negotiations between Washington and the Taliban "*We should not negotiate with the Taliban, we should defeat the Taliban*"<sup>59</sup>. Concerning Pakistan, Romney is in favor of the targeted assassinations from Drones. The bilateral relationship with Islamabad became complicated when Romney declared that Pakistan is almost a failed state<sup>60</sup>.

Rick Santorum's position has been different to Romney's. He has also criticized Obama's decision to withdrawal<sup>61</sup> from Afghanistan and hasn't agreed either to Romney's line. Concerning Pakistan, he is closest to former president George W. Bush' position, he has supported maintaining good relations with Pakistan as long as they have nuclear weapons<sup>62</sup>. Newt Gingrich has expressed his doubts about a "happy ending" in Afghanistan<sup>63</sup> while criticizing the Obama administration for carrying out such a hasty withdrawal. However, since the assassination of 16 Afghans by an American soldier his position has turned towards the withdrawal, even asking for immediate withdrawal<sup>64</sup>. On the other hand, on November 12th Gingrich talked about the need to count on the neighboring countries to prevent the Taliban from seeking refuge in other places<sup>65</sup>. He agrees with President Obama on this matter.

Finally, we have to talk about Ron Paul, who also defends a totally different approach. As happened with the Iraq intervention and the *Patriot Act*, Ron Paul is against the North

<sup>57</sup> "One lesson we've learned in Afghanistan is that Americans cannot fight another nation's war of independence" "Mitt Romney's Foreign Policy" Foreign Policy, (16.11.2011) available at:

[http://www.foreignpolicy.com/mitt\\_romney/profile](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/mitt_romney/profile) Consultation date 16.04.2012.

<sup>58</sup> "Extremists who promote violent jihad against the US and the universal values" Mitt "Rising to a new Generation of Global Challenges". *Foreign Affairs*, 86 (4) 2007 pp. 21-22.

<sup>59</sup> "We should not negotiate with the Taliban, we should defeat the Taliban" en SMITH, Ben "Romney hawk new hard line" *Politico*, (19.02.2012) available at [www.politico.com/news/stories/0112/71632.html](http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0112/71632.html) Consultation date 20.03.2012.

<sup>60</sup> "Close to being a failed state" Foreign Policy, (16.11.2011) available at:

[http://www.foreignpolicy.com/mitt\\_romney/profile](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/mitt_romney/profile) Consultation date 16.04.2012.

<sup>61</sup> "We cannot leave the region when there is still a good chance the Taliban to take the control" Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> "the US needs to continue foreign policy aid to Pakistan and maintain good relations with the nuclear-armed country" Foreign Policy, (16.11.2012). available at: [http://www.foreignpolicy.com/rick\\_santorum/profile](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/rick_santorum/profile) Consultation date 16.04.2012.

<sup>63</sup> "It's not possible. These are people who have spent thousand years hating people. And what we have done by staying is become the new foreigners" CFR "The Candidates on Afghanistan" Council on Foreign Relations-Campaign 2012(19.02.2012) available at: <http://www.cfr.org/united-states/candidates-afghanistan/p27376> Consultation date 12.04.2012

<sup>64</sup> "If it were president, it would be time to make major policy changes in Afghanistan including immediate withdrawal" Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> "You are never going to stop the Taliban as long as they can hide" Ibid.



American actions in Afghanistan. He is clear about the occupation: “our chances of getting attacked increase, if we occupy a country”<sup>66</sup>. Even in May 2011 he talked about the possibility of withdrawing from Afghanistan taking advantage of Bin Laden’s assassination<sup>67</sup>. This position contradicts the Republican Party’s.

### 2.2.6. *Islam and the Arab Democracies*

Maybe on this point is where the Republican candidates and President Obama agree the most, because since its birth as a nation until the American intervention in Iraq and Afghanistan, the international actions of the United States have been based on their faith in democracy, which was stated in president Obama’s NSS<sup>68</sup>. The change from rhetoric to action probably came with the democrat Wilson and since then we can say that the United States, regardless of the political color of the president and guided by an idealistic foreign policy, has tried to promote democracy all around the world as a means to preventing war<sup>69</sup>. Therefore, and in spite of the Tea party’s isolationist position, Democrats and Republicans have more or less maintained a respected consensus on this particular matter. However, and over any other element, we shall not forget that the States are guided by the national interest.

Romney has always agreed on the Arab-Muslim world’s democratization. In his article published in *Foreign Affairs* in 2007, he even brings up the possibility of creating an initiative (Partnership for Prosperity and Progress) aimed at the Middle East, to stop the progress of radical ideas (Wahabism) just like the Marshall Plan stopped the USSR in the fifties. Concerning the Arab Spring, candidate Romney has shown his support for the democratization processes. However, he has blamed President Obama for not standing firm against the excesses and for his lack of control<sup>70</sup>.

Although he was particularly critical about the attacks against the Christian communities, especially in Egypt<sup>71</sup>, Gingrich has also criticized Obama’s lack of steadiness, describing his intervention as “amateurish”. Rick Santorum has spoken in the same vein, as he had seen the Arab Spring as a danger for Israel. Once again, Ron Paul stands on the sidelines, openly rejecting an intervention in Libya and refusing to take any measure in Syria. The Texan

<sup>66</sup> “We’ll have less danger to us if we don’t occupy foreign countries, because that’s the top motivation for the Desire to come here and kill Americans” Foreign Policy, (16.11.2012) available at:

[http://www.foreignpolicy.com/ron\\_paul/profile?page=full](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/ron_paul/profile?page=full) Consultation date (16.11.2011)

<sup>67</sup> “now that bin Laden is dead, it would be a good time to get the troops out of Afghanistan” en “The Candidates on Afghanistan” Council on Foreign Relations, (19.02.2012)

<sup>68</sup> “The United States supports the expansion of democracy and human rights abroad because governments that respect these values are more just, peaceful, and legitimate” White House 2010 op. cit. p. 37.

<sup>69</sup> “American’s national security would be preserved by promoting democracy abroad as a way to build a lasting peace” ROPER, Jon American Politics, Oxford, One World, 2011, p. 152.

<sup>70</sup> “out of control in some respects because the president was not as strong as he needed to be in encouraging our friends to move towards representative forms of government” “Mitt Romney’s Foreign Policy” Foreign Policy, (16.11.2011) Available in: [http://www.foreignpolicy.com/mitt\\_romney/profile](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/mitt_romney/profile) Date of reference 16.04.2012.

<sup>71</sup> “Gingrich Says ‘Arab Spring’ is Really ‘Anti-Christian’ Spring” *Christian Post*, (31.10.2011)



candidate raises the argument that the United States no longer can afford to police the world<sup>72</sup>.

As we have seen, except for Paul, all the candidates share their faith in democracy and consider that it should be promoted in the Arab world. Romney, just like Bush did, is searching for initiatives to be created to stop Islamic radicalism, as expected from the Republican Party.

### 2.2.7. Energy

Energy security means freedom in external policies. Therefore, both Republicans and Democrats agree on reducing the external dependence concerning energy. The strategy focused on three topics. First of all, Obama administration invested its efforts in developing clean energies, –nuclear, solar and wind energy among others–, by accepting the "Blueprint or a secure energy future<sup>73</sup>" document. Secondly, it was announced in 2012 state of the Union debate that 75% of the United States' subsoil resources would be exploited, which until then was a topic reserved for the Republicans. Thirdly, Obama has promised to reduce the gas flow emitted into the atmosphere in order to implement his international commitments.

Romney clearly has an environmental vocation at the service of energetic independence. In this way, some measures need to be taken in order to prevent the United States and its allies' energetic external dependence, especially on Russia<sup>74</sup>. We can see the ethanol aids, the construction of alternative gas and oil pipelines such as Nabucco or the energetic approach between the US and Canada.

Gingrich is famous for his environmental concern and for being responsible for the development of "Green Conservatism"<sup>75</sup>. However, not all the candidates agree on the green movement. For example, Santorum described the climate change as "rubbish science" and supported coal as an energy source. **On the other hand**, Ron Paul not only refuses the climate change but also bets on the end of restrictions to the **oil explorations**, on **coal exploitation** and on nuclear energy development. He has also manifested his wish to suppress the Environmental Protection Agency.

<sup>72</sup> "No longer can afford to police the World" Foreign Policy, (16.11.2012) Available in: [http://www.foreignpolicy.com/ron\\_paul/profile?page=full](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/ron_paul/profile?page=full) Date of reference (16.11.2011)

<sup>73</sup> [http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/blueprint\\_secure\\_energy\\_future.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/blueprint_secure_energy_future.pdf)

<sup>74</sup> "He will pursue policies that work to decrease the reliance of European nations on Russian sources of energy" en ROMNEY, Mitt *An American Century: A Strategy to Secure America's Enduring Interests and Ideals A Romney for President White Paper*, Mitt Romney Candidacy Available in: [http://www.mittromney.com/sites/default/files/shared/AnAmericanCentury-WhitePaper\\_0.pdf](http://www.mittromney.com/sites/default/files/shared/AnAmericanCentury-WhitePaper_0.pdf) Date of reference 16.04.2012.

<sup>75</sup> We can find, among other measures, initiatives like "six points energy policy" or the publication of his book "Contract with the Earth".

All the candidates in general agree with their party on the subject of promoting **energetic diversification**. However, while some candidates like Romney or Gingrich decide on a modern and environmentally friendly policy, some others like Santorum or Paul opt for less ecologic or more innovating solutions.

### 2.2.8. Allies

Unlike what people might think, Republicans are not unilateralist. In fact, if we look at the Bush administration we can see that its policy is not exactly republican but something completely different. Reagan is the reference president for every candidate. The Californian president always trusted his bilateral alliances (FRG, United Kingdom and Japan) as his multilateral alliances, especially within the NATO. Hagel defined the Atlantic Treaty as “the central Alliance in the U.S Global Strategy<sup>76</sup>”. The UN must be especially mentioned, as it has been strongly criticized by the Republicans for being an institution that limits American power. President Obama is against this opinion and after receiving the Nobel Prize for his contribution to multilateralism, he has shown on many occasions his trust in the UN. This policy has been confirmed in the 2010 NSS<sup>77</sup>.

Candidate Romney made clear in his article in *Foreign Affairs* that “The US is stronger when its friends are strong” and at the same time considers that the Atlantic Treaty is the most effective tool to fight challenges such as Islamic radicalism or nuclear proliferation<sup>78</sup>.

Maybe Romney was, again, the most moderate about the UN, as he acknowledged his role concerning Human Rights and the promotion of democracy. However, he became more and more moderate in his statements since 2007 when he described the UN as an “extraordinary failure<sup>79</sup>”

The rest of the candidates spoke in the same vein, highlighting Santorum’s initiative to stop paying the UN, or Ron Paul’s, who proposed to de-recognize the UN<sup>80</sup>. Romney fulfils the Republican Party’s premises concerning this subject. The rest of the candidates are critical about both the UN and regional alliances, staying apart from the Republican Party’s opinion.

<sup>76</sup> HAGEL, *op. cit.* p. 69.

<sup>77</sup> “We are enhancing our coordination with the U.N. and its agencies. We need a U.N. capable of fulfilling its founding purpose—maintaining international peace and security, promoting global cooperation, and advancing human rights” White House 2010 *op. cit.* p. 46.

<sup>78</sup> “I agree with former Spanish Prime Minister Jose María Aznar that we should build on the NATO alliance to defeat radical Islam. We need to work with our allies to pursue Aznar’s call for greater coordination in military, homeland security and non proliferation” ROMNEY 2007, *op. cit.* pp. 21-22

<sup>79</sup> “The United Nations has been an extraordinary failure of late” USA Today, October, 18<sup>th</sup>, 2007.

<sup>80</sup> “I wish the Us would de-recognize the UN” en “The Candidates on the UN” CFR-Campaign 2012 Available in: <http://www.cfr.org/us-election-2012/candidates-united-nations/p27070>

### 3. CONCLUSION

With Mitt Romney clearly leading the race to nomination, especially after Santorum's withdrawal, we can see that the former governor of Massachusetts is not only the most likely to defeat President Obama but also the candidate that fits in the most the Republican Party's postulates. Despite the critics among his colleagues during the primary elections, Romney is supported by a group of international experienced consultants, a complete and coherent program which was created in 2007 and his experience both in government and in private enterprise.

Concerning his idea of foreign policies, Romney shares the seven subjects highlighted by Hagel as those belonging to the Republican Party. He assumes the commitments to leadership concerning both security and economy; he trusts his allies, applies the Monroe Doctrine and faces new challenges using every tool that is at his fingertips, such as public diplomacy and even the use of force. The rest of the candidates also respect these postulates but in many cases their position is outside the Republican Party's traditional path. For instance, both Gingrich and Paul sometimes share an isolationist position while Santorum defends ultraconservative postulates different from his party's traditional opinion.

Romney's position is more moderate. He follows the ideals belonging not only to his party but also to his country concerning Iran, Afghanistan and North Korea. That's why he is the most likely candidate to face President Obama. However, Romney and Obama agree on lots of issues so we will certainly experience a very interesting presidential race.<sup>i</sup>

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**\*NOTE:** The IEEE and the Spanish Minister of Defence shall not be responsible for the ideas contained in these *Position Papers*, which may not reflect their opinions.