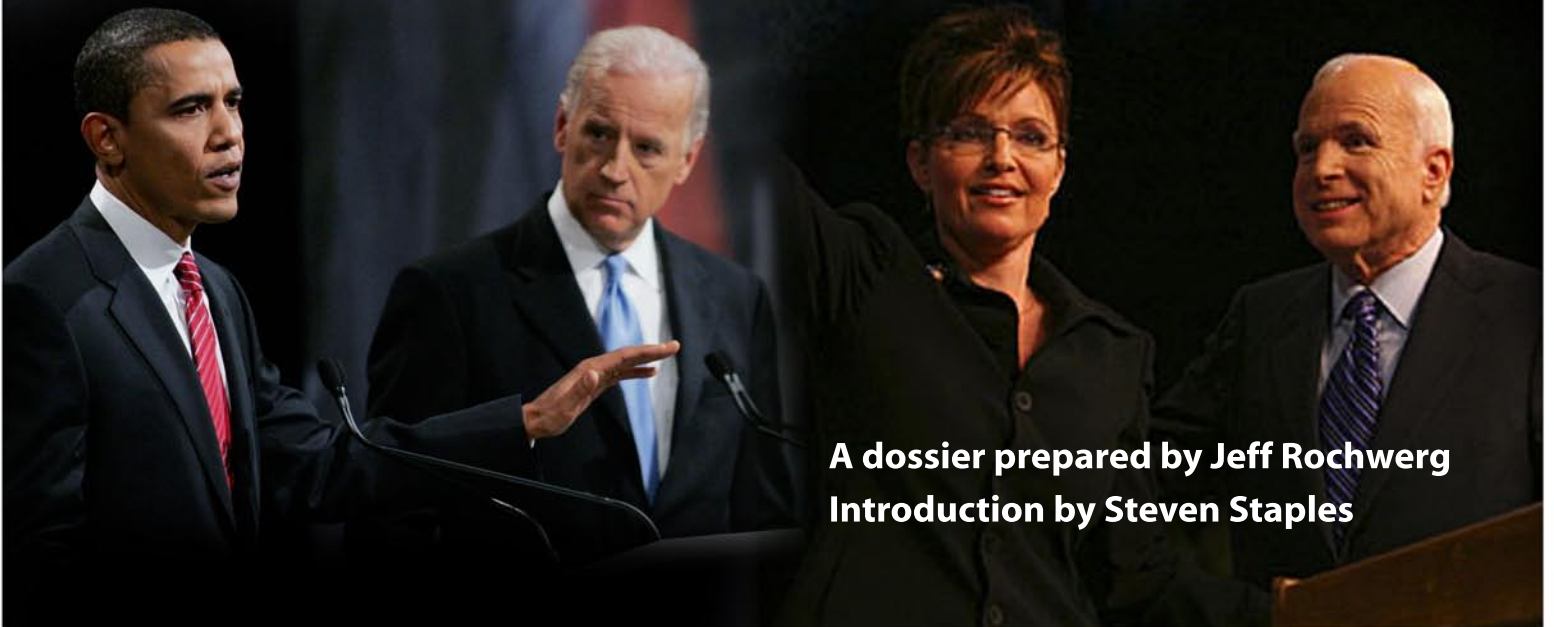




CANADA AFTER BUSH

**How the Next U.S. President
Could Affect Our Country**



**A dossier prepared by Jeff Rochweg
Introduction by Steven Staples**

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	3
UNDERSTANDING THE CANDIDATES	4
John McCain	4
Barack Obama	5
FREE TRADE AND THE ECONOMY	7
McCain's Platform	7
Obama's Platform	8
CLIMATE CHANGE	9
McCain's Platform	9
Obama's Platform	10
ENERGY SECURITY	11
McCain's Platform	11
Obama's Platform	12
AFGHANISTAN AND FOREIGN POLICY	14
McCain's Platform	14
Obama's Platform	15
THE BORDER AND CONTINENTAL SECURITY	17
McCain's Platform	17
Obama's Platform	18
ENDNOTES	19

Jeff Rochweg received his master's degree in Political Science in 2008 from Carleton University.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

The Rideau Institute would like to thank Jeff Rochweg for conducting the research required to assemble this impressive summary of the McCain and Obama biographies and policies. In addition, the institute would like to thank the following people who contributed their unique experience and analysis of the candidates' policies and where Canada's influences lie: Maureen Webb, Aaron Freeman, Tony Clarke, Bruce Campbell, Peggy Mason, Steven Shrybman, Peter Larson, John Foster, Keith Newman, Roch Tasse, and Andrew Jackson.



October 2008

Rideau Institute
Hope Building, 63 Sparks, Suite 608
Ottawa, ON K1P 5A6

Tel.: 613 565-9449
Fax: 613 249-7091
operations@rideauinstitute.ca
www.rideauinstitute.ca

OCTOBER 2008

The United States Presidential election will dramatically shift the continental political dynamic, no matter who wins on November 4, 2008.

By virtue of conjoined geography, history, economies and political cultures, Canada and the United States are inextricably linked, and it is only a matter of time before the shifts in U.S. politics realign Canada's politics as well.

One need look no further than the dramatic rise of the U.S. national-security state in the wake of the September 11, 2001 attacks when President Bush embarked on the U.S.-led War on Terrorism, and challenged nations of the world, including Canada, to join the war or be considered unfriendly to the United States' interests.

In Canada, the Chrétien government quickly implemented far-reaching national security measures to harmonize with U.S. priorities – with terrible results, as Canadians saw when Maher Arar was trapped and tortured by the post-9/11 secret security apparatus – while famously refusing to join the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq, emphasizing instead Canada's military role in Afghanistan.

Prime Minister Martin continued the government's emphasis on harmonizing Canadian policy with U.S. national security priorities, spurred on by the domestic defence and business establishments, with little consideration for the long-term impacts. Military spending jumped dramatically, the defence lobby seized greater power, and the military establishment convinced the government to take on a bloody and conflict-ridden mission in Kandahar, southern Afghanistan.

Like Martin, Conservative Prime Minister Harper has carried on Canada's march alongside the U.S., helping it to erect a new Fortress North America, with Canada firmly ensconced behind the U.S. security perimeter walls.

Canada's attempts to curry favour with the Bush administration has been costly to our country, but those costs pale in comparison to the damage his administration has inflicted on the United States.

Bush's disastrous military adventures, which would eventually end in Iraq, have done incalculable damage to international relations and the U.S. economy. By many accounts, a good many Americans feel that the Bush administration has been the worst in memory for the United States.

He leaves office with an over-stretched military, massive budget and trade deficits, and a financial system on the brink of collapse, and a greatly diminished global stature that could slip uncontrollably into renewed East-West tension. The American people, and indeed the world, are warmly anticipating the new era of "life after Bush."

The U.S. election has arrived at a time when Americans are looking for change. It is unclear which party's presidential and vice-presidential nominees will win the election, but no matter which party wins, there will be changes in Washington, and that will again necessitate changes in Ottawa.

The forecast for Canada is a mixture – sun with clouds on the horizon. The end of the Bush administration brings with it new opportunities to renew the Canada-U.S. relationship on many issues – such as addressing climate change and improving NAFTA. However, deep structural forces within the U.S. will continue to exert pressure on Canada (and the new president, for that matter) that will continue to place demands and strains on Canada – such as those in Afghanistan.

This report examines the two presidential candidates, their biographies, their policies and their strategies. It has been written while the pages of history are turning rapidly: the recent nominations of the two vice-presidential candidates have added new dimensions to the campaigns, and in Canada the snap election call in September has cast new possibilities in the realignments of Canada-U.S. relations.

It is our hope that this report will serve to begin a discussion amongst Canadians about our priorities in the new political moment that is being ushered in by the U.S. election. Those opportunities and dangers will have to be navigated carefully.

Steven Staples

President, Rideau Institute

UNDERSTANDING THE CANDIDATES

JOHN MCCAIN



John Sidney McCain III, the son and grandson of Navy admirals, was born on August 29, 1936, and, according to his campaign website, his family upbringing taught him the values of honour, duty and service of country.¹ McCain followed in his father's and grandfather's footsteps by attending the United States Naval Academy, from which he launched a 22-year career as a naval aviator.² In 1967, McCain earned war hero status when, while fighting in the Vietnam war, his plane was shot down and he was taken prisoner by the North Vietnamese. As a POW, McCain was held at the infamous Hanoi Hilton where, instead of receiving medical treatment for his injuries, he was constantly beaten and interrogated – torture that has left him permanently unable to raise his arms above his head.³ McCain was released after five and a half years of captivity in 1973 and served for eight more years as a naval admiral. His naval honours include the Silver Star, Bronze Star, Legion of Merit, Purple Heart and the Distinguished Flying Cross.⁴

After retirement from the Navy, McCain moved to Arizona (the home of his second wife, Cindy Lou Hensley), where he first ran for office and won a seat as a Congressman in 1982.⁵ McCain was subsequently re-elected to Congress in 1984 and won a Senate seat in 1986.⁶

As a senator, McCain has earned the reputation of a straight-talking “maverick,” unafraid to challenge the party establishment. McCain has teamed with Democrats to craft legislation on campaign-finance reform with Senator Russ Feingold (D-WI) and immigration reform with Ted Kennedy (D-MA), to vote against the Bush tax cuts in 2001 and 2003, to oppose the execution of the Iraq war, to criticize Bush's response to hurricane Katrina, and to crusade against the influence of lobbyists in Washington. He even called social conservative preachers Pat Robertson and the late Reverend Jerry Falwell “agents of intolerance” during the 2000 campaign.⁷

However, McCain's reputation as an independent thinker and his aggressive, brusque and abrasive nature have earned him the wrath of conservatives (including Rush Limbaugh and his 13.5 million listeners) and the religious right. Richard Viguerie, a conservative fundraiser and the pioneer of direct mail, writes that conservatives have a hard time lining up behind McCain because of his past opposition to the Bush tax cuts, his work on the campaign finance file, his opposition to drilling in ANWR and his support of measures to combat global warming.⁸ Social conservatives point to his comments on Robertson and Falwell, his support of embryonic stem-cell research, and his opposition to a constitutional amendment to reserve legal marriage for heterosexual couples as proof that McCain is undeserving of their support.⁸

Despite McCain's “maverick” reputation, however, *Congressional Quarterly* magazine notes that over his career, McCain has sided with the Republican Party 84 percent of the time, a score that Paul Waldman notes is “not the highest...in the Senate but hardly evidence of a great deal of independence.”¹⁰ James Carney of *Time Magazine* writes that “conservative fears about McCain are often irrational: through a 25-year career in Congress...McCain has proved himself consistently pro-life on abortion and a hawk on defense, a scourge on wasteful government spending and a generally reliable vote in favor of tax cuts.”¹¹ *New York Times* columnist Frank Rich slams McCain's “renegade reputation” as “inaccurate” and “defunct,” noting that on the day Katrina hit he was laughing it up with Bush at his Arizona mansion, he has never criticized the Iraq war plan until the growing insurgency was undeniable, and he has even embraced the religious right's “agents of intolerance” by spending months courting Rev. John Hagee, whose fringe views about Roman Catholics and the Holocaust have been widely circulated on YouTube.¹²

Though he promised to wage a civil campaign after winning the Republican nomination, McCain seems to have taken a page out of the Karl Rove playbook in waging a typical Bush-style, divide-and-conquer campaign. When McCain ran in the 2000 Republican primary he cast himself as an authentic hero, a reformer and a straight-talker who “wasn't going to compromise his principles or hold his tongue to please his party.”¹³ David Brooks, a conservative columnist for *The New York Times*, notes that McCain has not been able to run the same sort of campaign as he did in 2000, when he “would venture forth on the back of his bus, going places other Republicans don't go, saying things

Despite McCain's 'maverick' reputation...over his career, McCain has sided with the Republican Party 84 percent of the time

politicians don't say, offering the country the vision of a different kind of politics – free of circus antics – in which serious people sacrifice serious things.”¹⁴ Instead, McCain has embraced the negative Bush tactics that sank his own 2000 Republican primary campaign, has gone against his principles by allowing lobbyists to run his campaign, and has even hired former Bush stalwarts such as Steve Schmidt, a man known for his tough management style who made clear he would leave the campaign if he was not given the authority to impose discipline.¹⁵ This has led to a campaign that produces advertisements comparing Obama to Britney Spears and Paris Hilton, and comments by McCain that Obama “would rather lose a war in order to win a political campaign” – a moment that *New York Times* columnist Bob Herbert described as “tantamount to calling Mr. Obama a traitor.”¹⁶

McCain's campaign style is thus contradictory, “veering between a shoot-from-the-hip tendency and assertions of damn-the-consequences authenticity on one hand and a grudging acceptance on the other of the need to give in to the discipline of programmed politics.”¹⁷ His style has led to numerous campaign gaffes: for example, he had trouble distinguishing Sunnis from Shiites, referred to an Iraq-Pakistan border, and called Iraq the first major conflict after 9/11, apparently forgetting about the war in Afghanistan.¹⁸ These mistakes could result from a candidate weighing in on all major decisions but not getting involved in too many campaign details.¹⁹

If McCain wins the White House, at 72 years of age he will become the oldest person ever to ascend to the presidency.

BARACK OBAMA



Barack Hussein Obama, born on August 4, 1961, views his biography and his candidacy as a 21st-century version of the archetypical “only in America” story. His father, Barack Obama Sr., was born in a small village in Kenya where he grew up herding goats, while his mother, Ann Dunham, grew up in small-town Kansas.²⁰ Obama's parents separated when he was two years old and his father returned to Kenya; Obama would only see his father one more time before his death in 1982.²¹ Obama was raised by his single mother, often with the aid of his maternal grandparents, in both Hawaii and Indonesia, the country of origin of Dunham's second husband.²²

Following high school, Obama attended Columbia University in New York City, from where he graduated in 1983.²³ Though he received many offers from the legal and corporate world upon graduation, Obama remembered the values of empathy and service passed down from his mother and instead took a job as a community organizer in Chicago.²⁴ There, Obama spent three years working as a grass-roots organizer on Chicago's south side where he sought to improve the living conditions in poor neighbourhoods plagued with high crime rates and unemployment.²⁵ Obama later highlighted in his autobiographies *Dreams from My Father* and *The Audacity of Hope* that his work as a community organizer was also a quest to find his racial identity, believing that membership in the black community had to be earned “through organizing [and] through shared sacrifice.”²⁶ Though his career as a community organizer was filled with successes, Obama realized that in order to improve the lives of people in communities, change would have to occur at both legal and political levels as well.²⁷

Obama entered Harvard Law School in 1988, where he distinguished himself by becoming the first African-American president of the *Harvard Law Review*.²⁸ After his graduation, he returned to Chicago to practise civil rights law and teach constitutional law, his advocacy work ultimately leading to a successful run for the Illinois State Senate in 1996, where he served until 2004. As a state senator, Obama gained a reputation for bipartisanship and worked with Republicans to enact legislation reforming ethics and health care laws.²⁹ Obama was also a champion of working families, creating programs favouring early childhood education and doling out over \$100 million in tax cuts to families across Illinois.³⁰

Obama was elected to the United States Senate in 2004, where he continued his reputation of building bridges by partnering with Republicans such as Senator Tom Coburn (R-OK) on a bill to improve transparency in government spending, and travelled to Russia with Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN) to begin a new generation of non-proliferation efforts designed to find and secure deadly weapons around the world.³¹ Though he trumpets his reputation as a bipartisan, however, for the most part Obama has stuck to the party line as a senator, voting with the Democrats 97 percent of the time in 2007, according to the *Congressional Quarterly*.³²

Obama has a pragmatic style, running a businesslike campaign with a tight-knit group of advisors that has...remained remarkably cohesive and united

Obama first rose to national prominence when he gave the keynote address to the Democratic National Convention in 2004, in which he offered hope for a less bitterly divided partisan future, a theme that he has continued during his 2008 campaign.³³ In perhaps the most famous passage of the speech, Obama proclaimed how

there's not a liberal America and a conservative America — there's the United States of America. There's not a black America and white America and Latino America and Asian America; there's the United States of America... We are one people, all of us pledging allegiance to the stars and stripes, all of us defending the United States of America.³⁴

Though his ability to give a rousing speech is undeniable, critics have assailed Obama for being an “all hat, no cattle” candidate. Obama was accused in a *New York Times* article of being more intently focused on his own celebrity and political rise than making a strong mark in any of the institutions in which he previously worked, whether it was teaching law school, or working in the Illinois State Senate or even the United States Senate.³⁵ Another *New York Times* article noted how Obama grew frustrated by the “glacial pace” of the Senate and opted to exploit his star power “running for president even as he was still getting lost in the Capitol’s corridors.”³⁶ Accusations that he is inexperienced and naïve have continued to dog Obama both during the Democratic primaries and in the general election.

Obama has also had to deal with the increased scrutiny that comes with being a major party’s first African-American candidate. Janny Scott of *The New York Times* writes that Obama’s “success as a politician has come from walking a fine line...as a biracial American whose political ambitions require that he appeal to whites while still satisfying the hopes and expectations of blacks.”³⁷ Obama thus represents a new class of African-American politicians who are too young to have experienced segregation and have thrived in white institutions.³⁸ In doing so, Obama has abandoned the approach of African-American politicians before him who tended to be more liberal and militant than the Democratic party as a whole, and has embraced an approach that is more conciliatory than confrontational, and more technocrat than preacher.³⁹ This has led to criticisms from prototypical African-American politicians such as the Reverend Al Sharpton and Jesse Jackson, who (despite being a supporter of Obama) argued that he “needs to stop acting like he’s white.”⁴⁰ Obama brushed off these criticisms and has made clear that his career and candidacy will not be defined by his race, leading both academics and members of the African-American political community to label the Obama candidacy as “the end of black politics.”⁴¹

Obama has a pragmatic style, running a businesslike campaign with a tight-knit group of advisors that has, throughout both the primaries and the general election, remained remarkably cohesive and united.⁴² The campaign also functions as a populist movement and has embraced Democratic National Committee Chair Howard Dean’s idea of a “50 state strategy” that is focused on voter registration, helping down ballot Democrats get elected, and building a grass-roots organization in every state.⁴³ The Obama campaign has also ushered in the “Internet era” of electoral politics by using their vast e-mail list to garner campaign contributions, sending out text message updates (even to inform supporters of his choice for vice-president), running a massive Facebook page, and encouraging supporters to set up their own blogs to express why they are supporting Obama.⁴⁴

Obama’s biography and strategy is best summarized by New York Times columnist David Brooks, who writes that

he is unconnected with the tired old fights that constrict our politics. He is in tune with a new era. He has very little experience but a lot of potential. He does not have big achievements, but he is authentically the sort of person who emerges in a multicultural, globalized age. He is therefore naturally in step with the problems that will confront us in the years to come...these are arguments that reinforce Obama’s identity as a 21st-century man.⁴⁵

FREE TRADE AND THE ECONOMY

While Canada can expect four more years of the status quo on the free trade file if McCain is elected president, an Obama victory would give Canadians an opportunity to improve the free trade regime, or at least rid it of its most egregious measures. While his call to amend NAFTA to include environmental and labour standards is well known, Obama would also amend NAFTA to ensure that laws and regulations protect citizens first and cannot be overridden by foreign investors.

Public opinion polls in Canada continue to show that NAFTA is an unpopular agreement. For example, a Reid poll in March 2008 said 45% of Canadians want to re-negotiate, 8% want to scrap the treaty, and only 24% are pleased with the status quo. This makes free trade a sleeper issue among Canadians, and Canadians can challenge our political leadership to rise to any re-negotiation challenge put before us. Canadians can also push for our political leaders to adopt a North American economic strategy while simultaneously carving out an independent niche for Canada that abandons the failed policies of free trade and neoliberalism that have hurt Canada since NAFTA was adopted.

MCCAIN'S PLATFORM



Senator McCain has positioned himself as a strong promoter of NAFTA and free trade, calling himself “the biggest free marketer and free trader that you will ever see.”⁴⁶ McCain voted in favour of NAFTA in 1994 and is on the record as viewing trade and national security as interconnected.⁴⁷ During the primaries, McCain criticized his Democratic opponents for attacking NAFTA and argued that threats to re-negotiate the treaty could “affect Canadian public opinion adversely,” thereby causing Canada to withdraw its military support from Afghanistan.⁴⁸

McCain reiterated his commitment to upholding NAFTA and the free trade regime in a speech to the Economic Club of Toronto in Ottawa this June. Stating that “no other nation shares so many ties with the United States,” McCain highlighted the common interests between Canada and the United States and told his Canadian audience that it was the job of the next president to strengthen the economic community that was founded with the signing of NAFTA.⁴⁹ In the same speech, McCain implicitly chastised his Democratic opponent by stating that “demanding unilateral changes and threatening to abrogate an agreement that has increased trade and prosperity is nothing more than retreating behind protectionist walls.”⁵⁰

Despite his cheerleading on the NAFTA file, McCain has admitted that free trade has not been a positive for everyone. Domestically, McCain’s platform proposes reforms to the U.S. unemployment insurance and worker retraining programs to account for job losses resulting from outsourcing.⁵¹

McCain’s free trade and economic plan, however, has many critics in progressive circles. Paul Krugman accuses McCain of continuing George W. Bush’s disastrous economic policies, which have put the United States on the brink of recession and led to the slowest levels of job growth in sixty years.⁵² McCain also infamously stated that he does not understand economics as well as he should.⁵³

McCain’s economic platform has also found an unlikely critic in the Canadian press in *Globe and Mail* columnist Jeffrey Simpson. Simpson has attacked McCain for succumbing to the same supply-side economics used by Reagan and the second President Bush, which have never once balanced a budget and which have turned the United States into the world’s largest debtor nation, the country with the world’s largest trade deficit, the largest oil deficit, and an annual fiscal deficit that U.S. political institutions cannot manage. Supply-side Republicans, notes Simpson, “insist that ever-lower taxes produce more economic growth that, in turn, eliminates deficits. This has never happened outside textbooks and Republican speechifying, but facts apparently are not allowed to interfere with dogma.”⁵⁴ Simpson writes that despite McCain’s pledge to balance the books, “there’s not a chance the books would be balanced if Mr. McCain pursues the policies he now espouses.”⁵⁵ For example, though McCain opposed the Bush tax cuts of 2001 and 2003 arguing that they would lead to deficits and were tilted towards the rich, he now favours not only making them permanent, but adding to them.⁵⁶ Simpson writes that McCain’s desire to increase spending while cutting taxes is a “surefire recipe for more deficits,” which would mean “more borrowing for a country already in hock to the world for its fiscal and trade deficits.”⁵⁷ Though McCain has said he might balance the budget at the end of a hypothetical second term (in 2016), Simpson responded by writing, “when a politician promises something eight years down the road, it’s a sure sign he’s not serious.”⁵⁸

McCain has positioned himself as a strong promoter of NAFTA and free trade, calling himself ‘the biggest free marketer and free trader you will ever see’

OBAMA'S PLATFORM



Senator Obama has expressed concerns about free trade agreements that do not include environmental and labour protections. Obama also blamed the U.S. trade deficit on policies that reflect fiscal irresponsibility resulting from borrowing and promised to adopt new trade policies that “serve the interests not just of multinational corporations but of America’s hardworking families.”⁵⁹

Obama is on the record as calling NAFTA a bad trade deal, and said in a Democratic debate that he would meet with Canadian and Mexican heads of state to “try to amend NAFTA.”⁶⁰ Obama has threatened to re-negotiate NAFTA and use the hammer of a potential opt-out as leverage to ensure enforceable labour and environmental protections.⁶¹ However, Obama has stated that it is not realistic to quash NAFTA, as the absence of a continental free trade agreement could lead to more job losses than job gains.

The Obama campaign was left scrambling in February 2008 with the eruption of the NAFTA-gate crisis. After a debate with Democratic rival Hillary Clinton, during which Obama pledged to re-negotiate NAFTA, CTV News reported that a top Obama staff member telephoned Michael Wilson, Canada’s ambassador to the U.S., to assure Canadians that the candidate’s criticisms of NAFTA should not be taken seriously.⁶² CTV reported in the same story that the Clinton campaign, which had also threatened to opt out of NAFTA unless the treaty was re-negotiated, had assured Canadian officials that their rhetoric was merely political posturing.⁶³ Despite denials from both the Obama and Clinton campaigns of any contact with Canadian officials, CTV later reported that Austan Goolsbee, the senior economic advisor to the Obama campaign, assured the Canadian consul in Chicago that Obama’s protectionist rhetoric “is more reflective of political maneuvering than policy,” though Goolsbee later denied making such a statement.⁶⁴

Despite Goolsbee’s denials, consulate official Joseph DeMora recalled Goolsbee saying that “Obama is less about fundamentally changing the agreement and more in favour of strengthening/clarifying language on labour mobility and environment and trying to establish these as more ‘core’ principles of the agreement.”⁶⁵ The Clinton campaign seized on this CTV report and accused Obama of flip-flopping on the NAFTA issue, saying that “he conveyed to the people of Ohio one thing about NAFTA, and conveyed another thing to the Canadian government.”⁶⁶ The Obama campaign denied any conversations between his advisors and Canadian officials, and the Canadian embassy in Washington later issued a statement expressing deep regret for the affair, stating that “there was no intention to convey, in any way” that Obama was being inconsistent about NAFTA.⁶⁷ Obama went on to lose the Ohio primary to Clinton on March 4.

A day after the Ohio primary, *The Canadian Press* reported that the entire controversy originated with a remark to journalists by Stephen Harper’s former chief of staff Ian Brodie, who stated that he received assurances from the Clinton campaign that her anti-NAFTA rhetoric was merely political manoeuvring in an attempt to win blue-collar voters in the Ohio primary.⁶⁸ A day later, Brodie denied mentioning either Obama or Clinton to reporters. The affair was seized on by Canada’s opposition parties, who saw NAFTA-gate as an attempt by the Harper government to harm Obama’s campaign and help Republican John McCain. Their sentiments were best summarized by NDP leader Jack Layton, who accused the Harper government of “interfering in the U.S. Democratic primaries with false accusations trying to silence Barack Obama who simply wants to amend the NAFTA.”⁶⁹ If Obama is elected, Canada’s standing in the eyes of an Obama administration vis-à-vis NAFTA could be harmed as a result of the NAFTA-gate affair.

Domestically, Obama has promised to protect homeownership, crack down on mortgage fraud, reverse the tax cuts initiated by George W. Bush and supported by John McCain by providing tax relief to middle-class Americans, strengthen retirement security, and address predatory credit card practices.⁷⁰ However, like McCain, Obama been accused by Canadian columnist Jeffrey Simpson of having no credible plan to balance the budget or fix the trade deficit.⁷¹ Simpson wrote that “a lot of ‘yes we can’ rhetoric can’t mask the fact that Mr. Obama’s spending initiatives can’t be paid for while balancing the budget if taxes are only raised on those earning more than \$250,000 a year and closing ‘corporate loopholes.’”⁷²

Obama has threatened to re-negotiate NAFTA and use the hammer of a potential opt-out as leverage to ensure enforceable labour and environmental protections

CLIMATE CHANGE

On the climate change file, Canada is inextricably linked to the choices made by the next U.S. president. This is because climate policy is linked to energy policy, and the decisions made by a McCain or an Obama administration regarding energy sources will determine the carbon-intensiveness of their economy and whether emissions will go up or down. Since both candidates are advocating a cap-and-trade system, Canada will have no choice but to integrate with the American system. If Canada fails to adopt a cap-and-trade system, our industries will be placed at a competitive disadvantage, especially if the United States has a more stringent regime with more stringent targets. This cap-and-trade system can also be blended with a carbon tax because putting a price on carbon is the key component to any successful climate policy. Obama's platform includes a de facto carbon tax, as he would tax windfall profits from oil companies to fund his \$150 billion alternative fuel investment.

Additionally, there is a shame factor within the climate debate because the United States already has a stronger environmental policy than Canada and is showing more leadership on the environmental file, especially with respect to international negotiations (which both McCain or Obama have promised to lead post-Kyoto).

On the subject of the Alberta tar sands, Obama's plans to extend the low carbon fuel standard could adversely affect exports from the tar sands as its oil increases carbon emissions by 3 to 5 percent. Already, eleven states have followed California's lead in refusing to import tar sands oil.

MCCAIN'S PLATFORM



Though he comes from the same party as Senator James Inhofe (R-OK), who once called global warming “the greatest hoax ever perpetrated on the American people,” John McCain has taken a different route on the issue of climate change.⁷³ He first attempted to introduce climate change legislation with Senator Joe Lieberman (ID-CT) in 2003 with the Climate Stewardship Act. Though the Act failed to pass, McCain's efforts were heralded by climate change expert Bill McKibben, who stated that McCain “managed to force the first real Senate vote on actually doing something about the largest environmental peril our species has yet faced.”⁷⁴ The bill was re-introduced in 2007 with bipartisan sponsorship (including that of Senator Obama) with the expectation that it would significantly reduce greenhouse gases through a combination of trading markets and the deployment of advanced technologies.⁷⁵

On the campaign trail, McCain has called for a successor to the Kyoto Treaty and a cap-and-trade system “that delivers the necessary environmental impact in an economically responsible manner.”⁷⁶ The plan, which would also facilitate international efforts to solve global warming, would set limits on greenhouse gas emissions and allow entities to buy and sell rights to emit. The McCain cap-and-trade plan includes a feature that would allow the market to decide and encourage the lowest-cost compliance options.⁷⁷ McCain's climate policy also includes several target dates for emission reductions. By 2012 McCain says U.S. emissions should reduce to 2005 levels, and by 2050 he says U.S. emissions should be 60 percent lower than 1990 levels.⁷⁸

McCain has called for a successor to the Kyoto Treaty and a cap-and-trade system

Despite McCain's maverick reputation on the climate change issue, the League of Conservation Voters (LCV), a non-partisan conglomerate of environmental groups, has given McCain a 24% lifetime rating on environmental issues and a 0% rating for the past congressional session.⁷⁹ The 0% score was due to the fact that he was absent for all significant environmental votes.

OBAMA'S PLATFORM



Throughout his senate career, Barack Obama has worked to introduce legislation to combat climate change, a scourge he referred to as an “epochal, man-made threat to the planet.”⁸⁰ Obama co-sponsored the 2007 Climate Stewardship and Innovation Act with Senator Joe Lieberman (ID-CT) and his presidential opponent John McCain. With Democratic primary rival Hillary Clinton, Obama also co-sponsored the Global Warming Pollution Reduction Act in 2007.

Like his Republican counterpart, Obama endorses a market-based cap-and-trade system as part of his presidential platform and promised to make combating climate change one of the top priorities of an Obama administration. Though he says the United States has a responsibility to lead the effort to reduce climate change, decreasing greenhouse gas emissions would require an international coalition and he has promised to rekindle an international dialogue on this environmental threat with the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.⁸¹ Domestically, Obama’s platform calls for the United States to reduce its carbon emissions by 80% by 2050, 20% more than what John McCain proposes.⁸² Jeffrey Simpson notes that the 80% targets leap far past Stephen Harper’s plans to lower greenhouse gas emissions by 50% from 2006 levels by 2050.⁸³

Obama has also promised to invest \$150 billion over ten years to advance clean energy technology if elected president.⁸⁴ An Obama presidency would also seek to introduce legislation for a National Low Carbon Fuel Standard (LCFS) to speed the introduction of low-carbon non-petroleum fuels, and a Technology Transfer program within the Department of Energy dedicated to exporting climate-friendly technologies to developing countries.⁸⁵

The Obama campaign is proud to have the endorsement of the League of Conservation Voters, which has given the Democratic candidate one of the highest lifetime ratings of anyone running for president. LCV President Gene Karpinski said that “Senator Obama’s proven record and his commitment to a clean, renewable energy future make him the best choice for President.”⁸⁶ Obama received an 86 percent lifetime score from the LCV.⁸⁷

Obama’s platform calls for the United States to reduce its carbon emissions by 80% by 2050

ENERGY SECURITY

Canada has surpassed Saudi Arabia as the largest supplier of oil to the U.S., and there is a tacit agreement that there will be a fivefold increase in tar sands production and export of tar sands crude to the Americans by 2020. However, Canada is not currently in a position of strength due to the nature of the free trade regime, and because Canada lacks a cohesive national energy strategy. While both McCain and Obama are piecing together energy strategies that view Canadian oil as part of the American reserve under NAFTA, Canada is unwilling to use NAFTA as leverage (as the Americans did with softwood lumber) to protect our interests and resources. The Security and Prosperity Partnership (SPP) process started by Harper will speed up the process of turning Canadian oil and crude into a North American commodity.

Though the McCain and Obama platforms propose alternative energy sources, neither has reckoned with the fact that none of their proposed solutions carries the same potential energy output as oil. Canada can expect more of the status quo from McCain, who makes domestic oil exploration the centerpiece of his platform, but an Obama administration may be more reliant on oil than his platform currently expresses. This is because Obama would be inheriting a system where energy is seen as a national security priority, would be overseeing military alliances and pacts that protect oil production and supply lines, and would be forced to steward trade regimes and proportionality sharing clauses built into trade agreements that, currently, do not protect Canadian oil.

It is therefore in Canada's interest to re-negotiate NAFTA to ensure that Canadian oil exports can be taxed at the border, which would help Canada regulate the flow of resources out of our country. As a result of these discrepancies, Canada needs to have a debate similar to the current one going on in the United States regarding a comprehensive Canadian energy platform that protects our interests and resources (instead of continuing the policy to sell oil to foreign multinationals).

MCCAIN'S PLATFORM



While John McCain rhetorically promises to chart a new direction for American energy security, closer inspection of his campaign platform shows that he implicitly favours continuing the disastrous Bush agenda of seeking oil exploration as the key to securing America's energy future. In speeches, McCain rails against American dependence on oil, which he calls a costly and uncertain resource, and suggests that the next president "must be willing to break with the energy policies not just of the current administration, but the administration that preceded it, and lead a great national campaign to achieve energy security for America."⁸⁸

However, the central plank of McCain's energy platform, entitled The Lexington Project, calls for an expanded use of U.S. domestic oil supplies by lifting the current ban on offshore drilling and expanding the use of natural gas.⁸⁹ Campaign Money Watch, a watchdog organization, said the McCain campaign received a glut of donations from oil company employees after he came out in favour of offshore drilling, a policy he once opposed.⁹⁰ He has also called for a suspension of the gas tax between Memorial Day and Labour Day, calling gas prices "a regressive tax" that disproportionately affect "lowest income Americans."⁹¹ To his credit, McCain has made a commitment to breaking American dependence on foreign sources of oil and has stressed the importance of refuges such as the Arctic National Wildlife Reserve.⁹²

The central plank of McCain's energy platform...calls for an expanded use of U.S. domestic oil supplies

Though domestic oil and gas exploration form the highlights of The Lexington Project, McCain says he favours an "all-of-the-above" approach to energy security and would "support the development of alcohol-based fuels, establish a permanent research and development tax credit to support energy innovation, and encourage an even-handed system of tax credits for renewable energy sources like wind, solar and biomass."⁹³ McCain is also a supporter of nuclear energy and has proposed building 45 new reactors by 2030, with the ultimate goal of constructing 100 new plants.⁹⁴ Additionally, McCain believes that clean coal technology is essential to securing America's energy future and would commit \$2 billion annually until 2024 to clean coal research, development, and deployment.⁹⁵ McCain stated in a June 2008 speech that by following The Lexington Project, America will achieve strategic energy independence by 2025.⁹⁶

McCain's platform doles out further funding for alternative energy research through a "Clean Car Challenge," which would encourage U.S. automakers to create a car that does not emit carbon. McCain would offer a \$5000 tax credit to each consumer who purchases such a car, when it exists.⁹⁷ He has also proposed a \$300 million "prize" for the development of a car battery that has the size, capacity, cost and power to leapfrog the commercially available plug-in hybrids or electric cars.⁹⁸

McCain's energy platform has been criticized by third party groups for lacking a price tag and for his commitment to tie America's energy future to offshore oil exploration. Energy analyst Brian Uhlmer of Pritchard Capital Partners says, "the entire process takes five years and probably seven to eight years before we get any meaningful production," and the ultimate yield would probably be seven billion barrels.⁹⁹ Current energy consumption in the U.S. stands at 20 million barrels a day – meaning offshore sources would yield just one year of oil.¹⁰⁰

Additionally, the Sierra Club, which once supported McCain, has recently attacked the Republican candidate for skipping a crucial vote in February 2008 on an economic stimulus package that included important clean energy incentives.¹⁰¹ The bill was quashed by a single vote, prompting Sierra Club Executive Director Carl Pope to ask, "what is more important than helping us reduce our reliance on dirty power that kept him from showing up to vote?"¹⁰² *New York Times* columnist Thomas Friedman states that this was typical behaviour from McCain, who has skipped all eight clean energy votes over the past year, even one time when he was in his Washington Senate office and refused to leave to vote.¹⁰³

OBAMA'S PLATFORM



Unlike John McCain and George W. Bush, Barack Obama not only admits that the United States must curb its oil consumption but also proposes a plan for energy independence. "Saying that America is addicted to oil without following a real plan for energy independence is like admitting alcoholism and then skipping out on the twelve-step program," Obama said in 2006.¹⁰⁴

The central goal of Obama's energy plan, entitled *New Energy for America*, is to reduce U.S. dependence on foreign oil and to provide "short-term relief to Americans facing pain at the pump" due to high gas prices.¹⁰⁵ The plan would impose a windfall profits tax on oil companies (a policy opposed by John McCain) and use the proceeds to provide a \$1000 tax rebate for married couples and a \$500 tax rebate for individuals. Obama stated that these rebates would "offset the entire increase in gas prices for a working family over the next four months, or pay the entire increase in winter heating bills for a typical family in a cold weather state."¹⁰⁶ In the short term, Obama also promises to crack down on excessive energy speculation, and in August 2008 he stated that he supports the sale of 70 million barrels of oil from the Strategic Petroleum Reserve "for less expensive crude, which in the past has lowered gas prices within two weeks."¹⁰⁷ This statement signals a shift in position for Obama, who just one month earlier said that the United States should not tap into the Strategic Petroleum Reserve.¹⁰⁸

In the long term, Obama has set a goal to reduce oil consumption by 7.64 million barrels a day by 2025 from current levels. This would be accomplished through a \$150 billion investment over ten years towards new alternative energy, which would also "accelerate the commercialization of plug-in hybrids, promote development of commercial scale renewable energy, invest in low emissions coal plants, and begin transition to a new digital electricity grid."¹⁰⁹ Obama has also pledged to increase fuel economy standards, put 1 million plug-in electric vehicles on the road by 2015, and provide a \$7000 tax credit (\$2000 more than McCain) for the purchase of advanced-technology vehicles.¹¹⁰ An Obama administration would also provide \$4 billion to domestic auto manufacturers so these advanced-technology vehicles can be built in the United States.

Obama has set a goal to reduce oil consumption...[which] would be accomplished through a \$150 billion investment over 10 years towards new alternative energy

Obama has also committed to diversifying America's energy sources, setting a goal of 10% of electricity to come from renewable sources such as solar, wind and geothermal power by 2012, and 25% by 2025.¹¹¹ Obama finds common ground with McCain in supporting the development of clean coal technology and has stated that nuclear energy should be explored as part of the energy mix.¹¹²

Though *New Energy for America* explicitly states that “the U.S. cannot drill [its] way to energy security,” recently Obama has flipped his position and mused that he may lift the ban on offshore drilling if elected president, a shift that may have reflected the favourable public opinion polls towards offshore drilling.¹¹³ Reiterating his goal to lower gas prices, Obama stated in August 2008 that “if, in order to get that passed, we have to compromise in terms of a careful, well-thought out drilling strategy that was carefully circumscribed to avoid significant environmental damage – I don’t want to be so rigid that we can’t get something done.”¹¹⁴ Obama also promotes the responsible domestic production of oil and natural gas, specifically suggesting that America “tap more of our substantial natural gas reserves and work with the Canadian government to finally build the Alaska natural gas pipeline.”¹¹⁵ Obama disagrees with McCain on the gas-tax holiday proposal, which he believes will “take \$3 billion a month out of the Highway Trust Fund and hand it over effectively to our oil companies.”¹¹⁶

While Obama has been criticized for his reversal on the offshore drilling question, overall his energy plan has been praised by third party groups such as the Sierra Club. In their endorsement press release, Executive Director Carl Pope called Obama “the leader who will put America on the path to a clean energy economy that will create and keep millions of jobs, spur innovation and opportunity [and] make us a more secure nation.”¹¹⁷

AFGHANISTAN AND FOREIGN POLICY

On the foreign policy front, the upcoming election provides a key opportunity for Canadians to engage on the core national security issue and international law issue of our time: how to abandon the counterproductive approach to the War on Terror and implement methods that have a promise of working. The RAND Corporation recently completed an exhaustive study called *How Terrorist Groups End*, which notes that terrorism is best defeated through negotiated political settlements and the rule of law rather than overwhelming military force, policies that have been articulated by Obama.¹¹⁸ Though Obama has been clear on his approach to responsibly end the war in Iraq, Canadians may have reasons to worry about his approach to Afghanistan and his calls for an increased combat contribution from Canada. It is, however, hard to reconcile Obama's position on Afghanistan with his approach to other foreign policy areas, where he has shown clarity of thought. Canadians can hope that if he is elected president, once he receives briefings about the situation in Afghanistan Obama would reverse his course and adopt policies similar to his Iraq approach, where he would seek to shut down financial networks, increase intelligence-gathering capabilities, and make a domestic and international link to terrorism. An Obama administration will need to be pressured by realists to see that winning wars is not about having more troops on the ground, but rather using productive counterterrorism strategies such as the ones articulated by the RAND study, which describes a successful, multifaceted approach.

MCCAIN'S PLATFORM



On the subject of the Iraq war, John McCain offers a continuation of George W. Bush's policies: he previously voted to authorize the war, he is one of the most outspoken proponents of the "surge" strategy, and he even mused in January 2008 that it "would be fine" with him if the United States stays in Iraq for another hundred years.¹¹⁹ Though the McCain campaign is large on bluster, with foreign policy advisor Randy Scheunemann on the record as saying, "Barack Obama has determined that he would rather lose a war that we are winning than lose an election," the McCain campaign offers no tangible goals for moving forward in Iraq.¹²⁰ Instead, McCain's platform highlights the importance of "succeeding" in Iraq and he has said it is "not a matter of how long we're in Iraq, it's if we succeed or not."¹²¹ McCain has pledged to "win" the war in Iraq

by the end of his first presidential term in 2013, when he envisions that Iraq will be a "functioning democracy, although still suffering from the lingering effects of decades of tyranny and centuries of sectarian tension."¹²² By 2013, he said, he hopes to have defeated Al Qaeda in Iraq, and expects the government of Iraq to be "capable of imposing its authority in every province of Iraq and defending the integrity of its borders."¹²³

McCain was an early and vocal proponent of the "surge" counter-insurgency strategy carried out by General David Petraeus. McCain credits the surge for drops in sectarian violence and praises it for opening the way for a return to political reconciliation.¹²⁴ A McCain administration would push Iraqis to work towards political reconciliation and good governance, continue to support Bush's supply-side economic policies for Iraq, pressure Syria and Iran to change their behaviour vis-à-vis Iraq, and continuously remind the American people about "progress" in Iraq.¹²⁵ Nowhere in his platform does McCain put a monetary value on his Iraq policy or suggest a timeline for how long the United States will remain engaged in Iraq. Though the success of the surge is debatable, John Ibbitson notes that progress as a result of the surge may be more helpful to Obama than McCain, as it would see the national security issue shift from public consciousness in favour of the economy (where Obama is seen as stronger), and it would allow Obama to fulfill his pledge to withdraw troops within 16 months of taking office.¹²⁶

With his singular focus on searching for elusive "success" in Iraq, the McCain platform offers little commentary on his plans for the Afghanistan conflict. In the same speech in which he pledged to win the Iraq war, McCain also predicted that by the end of his first term, the Taliban threat will have been "greatly reduced but not eliminated" and that U.S. and NATO forces will "remain [in Afghanistan] to help finish the job, and continue operations against the remnants of Al Qaeda."¹²⁷ The only information about McCain's Afghanistan plan on his website is found in a press release that promises that a McCain administration would ensure unity of

With his singular focus on searching for elusive 'success' in Iraq, the McCain platform offers little commentary on his plans for the Afghanistan conflict

command among NATO forces, appoint an Afghanistan czar to ensure that commanders have what they need to “win,” send an additional three brigades, double the size of the Afghan military and put a special focus on Pakistan.¹²⁸ McCain’s focus on the Iraq war at the expense of Afghanistan has found many critics; for example, Colin Cookman notes that “so long as [McCain] clings to an open-ended commitment in Iraq, it seems unlikely that Afghanistan will ever become more than a second-tier priority for him.”¹²⁹

Though McCain is in lock-step with President Bush on the Iraq issue, he promises to chart a different path on nuclear disarmament. In a March 2008 speech, McCain said that the United States “shares an obligation with the world’s other great powers to halt and reverse the proliferation of nuclear weapons,” and that the United States should work to “reduce nuclear arsenals all around the world, starting with our own.”¹³⁰ In a May 2008 speech, McCain laid out his policy plans to reduce the nuclear threat, pledging that as president he would have the Joint Chiefs of Staff “engage in a comprehensive review of all aspects of our nuclear strategy and policy,” while arguing that the United States should maintain a nuclear deterrent.¹³¹ Though he voted against the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1999, in the same May 2008 speech McCain said he would be willing to give it “another look.”¹³² McCain also promised to strengthen the Non-Proliferation Treaty, increase funding to the International Atomic Energy Agency, and support a legally binding accord between the United States and Russia to replace the expiring Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty.¹³³

On the subject of the United Nations and multilateral diplomacy, McCain has generally supported U.S. engagement with the UN but has noted that scandals such as oil-for-food and faulty human rights institutions demonstrate a “crying need for reform.”¹³⁴ McCain has also mused in the pages of *Foreign Affairs* about the need to establish a League of Democracies which would bring like-minded nations together to work for peace.¹³⁵ This hypothetical organization would act when the UN fails, for example, to relieve human suffering in Darfur or combat HIV/AIDS in Africa.¹³⁶ This League of Democracies would be a complement to the UN and other multinational alliances such as NATO and the EU.¹³⁷

McCain has proposed to increase the size of the U.S. Army and Marine Corps from the currently planned level of 750,000 troops to 900,000 troops.¹³⁸ McCain has also pledged to spend more on national defence, which he says “currently consumes less than four cents of every dollar that our economy generates.”¹³⁹ Despite these plans to increase the size of the military and the defence budget, the McCain campaign gives no monetary estimates regarding costs for this transformation.

OBAMA’S PLATFORM



Barack Obama has made his early and vocal opposition to the Iraq war the central focus of his foreign policy platform. In 2002, as many in Congress and the Senate lined up with President Bush for war, Obama warned of “an occupation of undetermined length, with undetermined costs, and undetermined consequences,” and cast his vote against authorizing military action in Iraq.¹⁴⁰ Obama’s main reasons for opposing the war, which he outlined in a July 2008 *New York Times* op-ed, were that he “believed it was a grave mistake to be distracted from the fight against Al Qaeda and the Taliban by invading a country that posed no imminent threat and had nothing to do with the 9/11 attacks.”¹⁴¹ Obama sees no military solution to the situation in Iraq and he has pledged, as president, to bring the Iraq war “to a responsible end.”¹⁴² Unlike Senator McCain, Obama strongly opposed and has stayed firm against the troop surge, saying that in its aftermath “the strain on our military has grown, the situation in Afghanistan has deteriorated and we’ve spent nearly \$200 billion more in Iraq than we had budgeted.”¹⁴³ An Obama administration would make ending the Iraq war a priority from day one, and he stresses that “we must be as careful getting out of Iraq as we were careless getting in.”¹⁴⁴ This would be accomplished by redeploying combat brigades from Iraq at a pace of 1 to 2 brigades a month for sixteen months, or by the summer of 2010.¹⁴⁵ This timeline is supported by the current Iraqi government. Though a residual force would remain in Iraq to conduct targeted counter-terrorism missions and protect American diplomatic and civilian personnel, there would be no effort on the part of an Obama administration to build permanent military bases in Iraq.¹⁴⁶ Obama also supports a UN-led Iraqi constitutional convention in order to forge national reconciliation and to reach compromises on federalism, oil revenue sharing and de-Baathification.¹⁴⁷ As president, Obama would also establish an international working group to solve the Iraqi refugee crisis and commit \$2 billion to this effort.¹⁴⁸

Obama continually notes in his speeches that the greatest tragedy of the Iraq war is that it has diverted resources from the central front of the war against Al Qaeda – Afghanistan and Pakistan – a war Obama says “we have to win.”¹⁴⁹ Obama is backed up by Adm. Mike Mullen, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who has pointed out that the United States will not have sufficient resources to “finish the job in Afghanistan until we reduce our commitment to Iraq.”¹⁵⁰ Obama has pledged to send at least two additional combat brigades, or 50,000 soldiers, to Afghanistan, “and use this commitment to seek greater contributions – with fewer restrictions – from NATO allies.”¹⁵¹ In a CBC feature documentary in August 2008, Susan Rice, a foreign policy advisor to the Obama campaign, said that despite Canada’s pledge to end combat operations in 2011, an Obama administration would ask that Canada “continue its contribution,” which Dr. Rice later clarified as its combat role.¹⁵² Obama has also called for a stronger partnership between Afghanistan, Pakistan and NATO “to secure the border, to take out terrorist camps, and to crack down on cross-border insurgents.”¹⁵³ On the aid front, Obama has pledged \$1 billion in non-military assistance each year to Afghanistan and has promised to triple non-military aid to the Pakistani people and sustain it for a decade.¹⁵⁴ Obama’s Afghanistan plan, however, has been met with criticism by some in progressive circles – such as Tom Hayden, who calls Obama’s troop escalation “symbolic” and merely “holding actions until the next administration makes a decision about its ultimate strategy. Obama may be proposing an escalation simply in order not to lose.”¹⁵⁵ Hayden concludes his analysis by stating how ending one war in Iraq to start two more in Afghanistan and Pakistan seems to be a dumb idea.¹⁵⁶

Obama has pledged to send at least two additional combat brigades... to Afghanistan and use this commitment to seek greater contributions – with fewer restrictions – from NATO allies

If ending the war in Iraq and re-committing military and diplomatic resources to Afghanistan and Pakistan form the first two planks of Obama’s foreign policy platform, his third goal is to pursue policies of nuclear disarmament. Obama agrees with the so-called Gang of Four of national security statesmen (Kissinger, Shultz, Perry and Nunn) who have advocated for a nuclear free world.¹⁵⁷ If elected, an Obama administration would “work with other nations to secure, destroy and stop the spread of nuclear weapons...and seek a global ban on the production of fissile material for weapons.”¹⁵⁸ Obama will also “strengthen the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty so that nations that don’t comply will automatically face strong international sanctions” and make the ratification of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty a priority.¹⁵⁹ Though an Obama administration would seek a world without nuclear weapons, Obama has pledged to retain an arsenal as a strong deterrent as long as nuclear weapons exist.¹⁶⁰

Obama has repeatedly stated that multilateral alliances such as the United Nations should play a key role in managing global crises, such as Darfur. Obama views multilateralism as “necessary to confront common threats and enhance common security” and has promised to “rebuild our ties to our allies in Europe and Asia and strengthen our partnerships throughout the Americas and Africa.”¹⁶¹ Obama has also pledged to strengthen NATO, reform the United Nations so it “can become a more perfect forum to share burdens,” and create a Shared Security Partnership Program that will strengthen co-operative networks to take down global terrorist networks and stand up against torture and brutality.¹⁶²

Obama believes that in order to renew American leadership in the world, the U.S. military must be revitalized to deal with 21st-century threats and, as a consequence, defence spending must remain high. Obama proposes to expand ground forces by adding 65,000 soldiers to the army and 27,000 marines, and give these servicemen and women first-rate equipment, armour, incentives and training.¹⁶³ Like the McCain platform, the Obama campaign has given no dollar estimates regarding his proposed defence budget.

THE BORDER AND CONTINENTAL SECURITY

Since 9/11, the Bush administration has demanded an integrated security space with Canada and the rest of the world, which has led to mass surveillance programs, cross-border information sharing, proliferation of watch lists, integrated security teams, new data-mining programs and other demands that have been implemented without using democratic forums, such as the smart border agreement and the SPP. These increased security measures pose threats to Canadian sovereignty because they allow the United States to determine our security priorities, take away our ability to uphold citizen civil liberties and protect citizens abroad from abuses, and put the border at risk by hindering our ability to keep it open to trade and people. While an Obama administration would improve human rights on the continent, there is less to distinguish him from McCain regarding the more far-reaching security infrastructure that was set up post-9/11. This is because Obama has refused to commit to repealing the Patriot Act, voted to continue the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) to keep the domestic spying program in place, and will give retroactive immunity to telecom companies. Additionally, Obama does not talk about unravelling power from the executive branch. However, Obama does promise to take a more rational look at security against terrorism, will allocate homeland security dollars according to risk, and has a more progressive platform than McCain on immigration.

Though continental security and human rights issues were of crucial importance in the aftermath of 9/11 as a result of Bush administration abuses of human rights, the issues of national security and human rights could be trumped by the slowing economy and concerns about energy security in the coming years. As a result, there may not be enough political capital to build on the post-9/11 security infrastructure because attention will be focused in other areas, and as a result border questions could wither and fall off the table.

MCCAIN'S PLATFORM



On the issue of border security, the McCain campaign sees securing American borders as tied to the immigration question, and focuses its policies on its southern, rather than northern borders. However, his campaign has pledged to set up guidelines and objectives for securing the border through physical and virtual barriers, ensure adequate funding for resources on the ground, dedicate funding to U.S. Attorneys' offices in border states, implement sound policies for contracting Department of Homeland Security software and infrastructure, and continue the implementation of the US-VISIT comprehensive visitor security program.¹⁶⁴ In his June 2008 speech to a Canadian audience, McCain highlighted the continued challenge of keeping borders closed to terrorists and open to trade, noting that tens of millions of people cross the Canadian-American border annually, and suggested that Canada and the United States extend their security partnership to "ensure continued flows of people and commerce while maintaining security on which these very flows depend."¹⁶⁵

In addition, the McCain campaign offers a break from the failed Bush policies that have seen human rights repeatedly violated both on the North American continent and abroad. McCain, who famously spent five years as a POW during the Vietnam War, has pledged to shut down the Guantanamo Bay prison and believes that the prisoners should be moved to the military prison at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.¹⁶⁶ McCain stated in a March 2008 speech that the United States should "close Guantanamo and work with our allies to forge a new international understanding on the disposition of dangerous detainees under our control."¹⁶⁷ However, though McCain supports closing Guantanamo Bay, he is in line with the Bush administration's past decision to suspend habeas corpus and in June 2008 echoed the traditional Republican line by criticizing a landmark Supreme Court hearing that allowed Guantanamo prisoners to challenge their detention in civilian courts. McCain stated that the ruling was "one of the biggest mistakes that's been made in terms of our ability to defend our nation in a long, long time."¹⁶⁸ McCain also previously supported the Military Commissions Act of 2006 which favoured bringing justice to "unlawful enemy combatants" by military tribunal rather than civilian trial.¹⁶⁹

McCain...is in line with the Bush administration's past decision to suspend habeas corpus

Though he would continue to suspend certain human rights as president, McCain has clearly signalled that under his administration, he would take steps to restore America's moral and ethical compass by outlawing the use of torture. In

2005, McCain sponsored anti-torture legislation known as the Detainee Treatment Act, arguing from the Senate floor that “the enemy we fight has no respect for human life or human rights. They don’t deserve our sympathy. But this isn’t about who they are. This is about who we are. These are the values that distinguish us from our enemies.”¹⁷⁰

OBAMA’S PLATFORM



Though his campaign platform does not specifically mention Canada, Obama notes that the “national border security system is broken” and as a result, believes the United States is vulnerable.¹⁷¹ While Obama is vague about how he would fix the border security problem, his campaign highlights how Obama has been a “consistent advocate of strengthening our borders” and voted to transfer \$367.6 million to add an additional 1000 border agents to the most vulnerable areas.¹⁷² Obama has also pledged to put increased federal resources towards protecting America’s skies and ports.¹⁷³

While the McCain campaign has flip-flopped on the issue of human rights on the North American continent, Obama offers a clear break from the Bush administration by promising to restore the rule of law and habeas corpus, and end the practice of torture by the United States. An Obama administration would close the Guantanamo Bay prison and ensure that habeas corpus is restored for detainees.

Obama has said that in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks, the United States should have “developed a real military system of justice that would sort out the suspected terrorists from the accidentally accused.”¹⁷⁴ Obama believes that Guantanamo detainees should be tried in a U.S. criminal court or by a military court martial. Unlike McCain, Obama praised the Supreme Court decision allowing Guantanamo prisoners to challenge their detention in civilian courts, calling the ruling “an important step toward re-establishing our credibility as a nation committed to the rule of law, and rejecting a false choice between fighting terrorism and respecting habeas corpus.”¹⁷⁵ Obama also differs from McCain, as he voted against the Military Commissions Act of 2006.¹⁷⁶

Like McCain, Obama is a strong advocate of ending the practice of torture as a tool of American policy. Obama has called torture “an outrageous betrayal of our core values and a grave danger to our security,” and believes that the Bush administration’s willingness to use torture has created more enemies, resulted in more bad intelligence, and set back America’s standing in the world.¹⁷⁷

Obama offers a clear break from the Bush administration by promising to restore the rule of law and habeas corpus, and end the practice of torture by the United States

ENDNOTES

- [1] McCain, John. *About John McCain*. 12 August 2008 <http://www.johnmccain.com/About/>.
- [2] Ibid.
- [3] Ibid.
- [4] Ibid.
- [5] Ibid.
- [6] Ibid.
- [7] Carney, James. *The Resurrection of John McCain*. 23 January 2008 <http://www.time.com/time/politics/article/0,8599,1706450,00.html>.
- [8] Viguerie, Richard. *Here's the Beef: Conservatives' Problems With John McCain*. 16 April 2008 <http://conservativehq.com/news-from-the-front/ravonmccain080416>.
- [9] Ibid.
- [10] Waldman, Paul. *The Maverick Myth*. 12 February 2008 http://www.prospect.org/cs/articles?article=the_maverick_myth.
- [11] Carney, James. *The Resurrection of John McCain*. 23 January 2008 <http://www.time.com/time/politics/article/0,8599,1706450,00.html>.
- [12] Rich, Frank. *The Candidate We Still Don't Know*. 17 August 2008 <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/17/opinion/17rich.html?em>.
- [13] Carney, James. *The Resurrection of John McCain*. 23 January 2008 <http://www.time.com/time/politics/article/0,8599,1706450,00.html>.
- [14] Brooks, David. *The Education of John McCain*. 19 August 2008 <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/19/opinion/19brooks.html?ref=opinion>.
- [15] Nagourney, Adam, and Jim Rutenberg. *In Loose Style, McCain Leads a Camp Divided*. 10 August 2008 <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/10/us/politics/10mccain.html?ex=1376193600&en=d4d9f5565f0468a0&ei=5124&partner=permalink&exprod=permalink>.
- [16] Herbert, Bob. *Getting to Know You*. 26 July 2008 <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/07/26/opinion/26herbert.html?em&ex=1217217600&n=6691c72c745c4a8c&ei=5087%0A>.
- [17] Nagourney, Adam, and Jim Rutenberg. *In Loose Style, McCain Leads a Camp Divided*. 10 August 2008 <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/10/us/politics/10mccain.html?ex=1376193600&en=d4d9f5565f0468a0&ei=5124&partner=permalink&exprod=permalink>.
- [18] Herbert, Bob. *Getting to Know You*. 26 July 2008 <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/07/26/opinion/26herbert.html?em&ex=1217217600&n=6691c72c745c4a8c&ei=5087%0A>.
- [19] Nagourney, Adam, and Jim Rutenberg. *In Loose Style, McCain Leads a Camp Divided*. 10 August 2008 <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/10/us/politics/10mccain.html?ex=1376193600&en=d4d9f5565f0468a0&ei=5124&partner=permalink&exprod=permalink>.
- [20] Obama, Barack. *Meet the Candidate*. 12 August 2008 http://www.barackobama.com/learn/meet_barack.php.
- [21] Merida, Kevin. *The Ghost of a Father*. 14 December 2007 <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/story/2007/12/13/ST2007121301893.html>.
- [22] Obama, Barack. *Meet the Candidate*. 12 August 2008 http://www.barackobama.com/learn/meet_barack.php.
- [23] Ibid.
- [24] Ibid.
- [25] Ibid.
- [26] Kovalski, Serge. *Obama's Organizing Years, Guiding Others and Finding Himself*. 7 July 2008 <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/07/07/us/politics/07community.html>.
- [27] Obama, Barack. *Meet the Candidate*. 12 August 2008 http://www.barackobama.com/learn/meet_barack.php.
- [28] Ibid.
- [29] Slevin, Peter. *Obama Forged Political Mettle in Illinois Capitol*. 9 February 2007 <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/02/08/AR2007020802262.html>.
- [30] Obama, Barack. *Meet the Candidate*. 12 August 2008 http://www.barackobama.com/learn/meet_barack.php.
- [31] Ibid.
- [32] Adair, Bill. *Rating Confusion: Is Obama a Liberal?* 19 June 2008 <http://www.cqpolitics.com/wmspage.cfm?docID=news-000002900172>.
- [33] O'Neil, John. *Barack Obama: A Freshman Senator's Hope-Fueled Campaign*. 12 March 2007 <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/03/12/us/politics/12topic-obama.html?scp=19&sq=2004%20Keynote%20Address%20Barack%20Obama&st=cse>.
- [34] Obama, Barack. *Keynote Address at the 2004 Democratic National Convention*. 27 July 2004 http://www.barackobama.com/2004/07/27/keynote_address_at_the_2004_de.php.
- [35] Kantor, Jodi. *Teaching Law, Testing Ideas, Obama Stood Slightly Apart*. 30 July 2008 <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/07/30/us/politics/30law.html?scp=1&sq=Teaching%20Law,%20Testing%20Ideas,%20Obama%20Stood%20Slightly%20Apart&st=cse>.
- [36] Zernicke, Kate, and Jeff Zeleny. *Obama in Senate: Star Power, Minor Role*. 9 March 2008 <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/03/09/us/politics/09obama.html?scp=1&sq=Obama%20in%20Senate:%20Star%20Power,%20Minor%20Role&st=cse>.
- [37] Scott, Janny. *A Biracial Candidate Walks His Own Fine Line*. 29 December 2007 <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/12/29/us/politics/29obama.html?scp=1&sq=A%20biracial%20candidate%20walks%20his%20own%20fine%20line&st=cse>.
- [38] Ibid.

- [39] Ibid.
- [40] Ibid.
- [41] Bai, Matt. *Is Obama the End of Black Politics?* 10 August 2008 <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/10/magazine/10politics-t.html?scp=2&sq=Matt+Bai+Obama+End+Black+Politics&st=nyt>.
- [42] Smith, Ben. *Obama runs a tight campaign ship.* 21 December 2007 <http://www.politico.com/news/stories/1207/7508.html>.
- [43] Trygstad, Kyle. *Obama's 50 State Strategy.* 26 June 2008 http://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2008/06/obamas_50_state_strategy.html.
- [44] Lasky, Ed. *Barack Obama's Goldmine.* 5 May 2008 http://www.americanthinker.com/2008/05/barack_obamas_goldmine_1.html.
- [45] Brooks, David. *The 21st-Century Man.* 26 August 2008 <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/26/opinion/26brooks.html>.
- [46] CNN. *Election Center 2008: Free Trade.* 12 August 2008 <http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2008/issues/issues.freetrade.html>.
- [47] Quaid, Libby. *McCain Tags Dems on Trade Treaty.* 1 March 2008 http://www.mlive.com/elections/index.ssf/2008/03/mccain_tags_dems_on_trade_trea.html.
- [48] ABC News. *Clinton Campaign Demands Obama Answers on NAFTA.* 3 March 2008 <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/Vote2008/Story?id=4365922&page=3>.
- [49] McCain, John. *Remarks by John McCain on the Relationship Between the United States and Canada.* 20 June 2008 <http://www.johnmccain.com/Informing/News/Speeches/6925c6d4-93fe-4ff4-bfb0-bd1e1aed3c3b.htm>.
- [50] Ibid.
- [51] McCain, John. *Jobs for America.* 18 August 2008 <http://www.johnmccain.com/Issues/jobsforamerica/>.
- [52] Krugman, Paul. *It's the Economy Stupor.* 18 August 2008 <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/18/opinion/18krugman.html?ref=opinion>.
- [53] Stein, Sam. *Short on Economic Understanding, McCain Brings Phil Gramm to Meeting.* 21 January 2008 http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2008/01/21/short-on-economic-underst_n_82529.html.
- [54] Simpson, Jeffrey. *Canada has learned its deficit lesson, Uncle Sam hasn't.* 29 April 2008 http://www.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/Page/document/v5/content/subscribe?user_URL=http://www.theglobeandmail.com%2Fservlet%2Fstory%2FRTGAM.20080429.wcosimp29%2FBNStory%2FspecialComment%2F&ord=143496657&brand=theglobeandmail&force_login=true.
- [55] Simpson, Jeffrey. *Free-trader McCain and the dark (supply) side.* 21 June 2008 http://www.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/Page/document/v5/content/subscribe?user_URL=http://www.theglobeandmail.com%2Fservlet%2Fstory%2FLAC.20080621.COSIMP21%2FTPStory%2F%3Fquery%3DFree-trader%2BMcCain&ord=143449912&brand=theglobeandmail&force_login=true.
- [56] Ibid.
- [57] Ibid.
- [58] Simpson, Jeffrey. *Canada has learned its deficit lesson, Uncle Sam hasn't.* 29 April 2008 http://www.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/Page/document/v5/content/subscribe?user_URL=http://www.theglobeandmail.com%2Fservlet%2Fstory%2FRTGAM.20080429.wcosimp29%2FBNStory%2FspecialComment%2F&ord=143496657&brand=theglobeandmail&force_login=true.
- [59] Obama, Barack. *Obama Statement on Trade Deficit Increase.* 10 June 2008 http://www.barackobama.com/2008/06/10/obama_statement_on_trade_defic.php.
- [60] CNN. *The CNN Democratic Presidential Debate in Texas.* 21 February 2008 <http://www.cnn.com/2008/POLITICS/02/21/debate.transcript/>.
- [61] Ibid.
- [62] Factcheck.org. *The Facts about 'NAFTA-Gate'* 6 March 2008 http://www.factcheck.org/elections-2008/the_facts_about_nafta-gate.html.
- [63] Ibid.
- [64] Ibid.
- [65] Ibid.
- [66] Ibid.
- [67] Ibid.
- [68] Ibid.
- [69] Ibid.
- [70] Obama, Barack. *Barack Obama's Economic Agenda.* 18 August 2008 <http://www.barackobama.com/issues/economy/EconomicPolicyFullPlan.pdf>.
- [71] Simpson, Jeffrey. *The U.S. Economy is Broken, But Who's Going to Fix It?* 16 July 2008 http://www.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/Page/document/v5/content/subscribe?user_URL=http://www.theglobeandmail.com%2Fservlet%2Fstory%2FRTGAM.20080716.wcosimp16%2FBNStory%2FspecialComment%2F&ord=131411378&brand=theglobeandmail&force_login=true.
- [72] Ibid.
- [73] McKibben, Bill. *McCain's Lonely War on Global Warming.* 1 April 2004 <http://www.alternet.org/story/18283/>.
- [74] Ibid.
- [75] CNN. *Election Center 2008: Environment.* 12 August 2008 <http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2008/issues/issues.environment.html>.
- [76] McCain, John. *Remarks by John McCain to the Los Angeles World Affairs Council.* 26 March 2008 <http://www.johnmccain.com/Informing/News/Speeches/872473dd-9ccb-4ab4-9d0d-ec54f0e7a497.htm>.

- [77] McCain, John. *Climate Change*. 12 August 2008 <http://www.johnmccain.com/Informing/Issues/da151a1c-733a-4dc1-9cd3-f9ca5caba1de.htm>.
- [78] Ibid.
- [79] League of Conservation Voters. *National Environmental Scorecard*. 12 August 2008 <http://lcv.org/scorecard/2007.pdf>.
- [80] Obama, Barack. *Renewing American Leadership*. Foreign Affairs. July/August 2007 <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20070701faessay86401-p40%20/barack-obama/renewing-american-leadership.html>.
- [81] CNN. *Election Center 2008: Environment*. 12 August 2008 <http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2008/issues/issues.environment.html>
- [82] Obama, Barack. *Promoting a Healthy Environment*. 12 August 2008 <http://www.barackobama.com/issues/pdf/EnvironmentFactSheet.pdf>.
- [83] Simpson, Jeffrey. *Besotted by Obama, Canadians Should Look Closer*. 2 August 2008 http://www.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/Page/document/v5/content/subscribe?user_URL=http://www.theglobeandmail.com%2F servlet%2Fstory%2FRTGAM.20080802.wxcosimp02%2FBNStory%2FspecialComment%2F&ord=133904668&brand=theglobeandmail&force_login=true.
- [84] Obama, Barack. *Promoting a Healthy Environment*. 12 August 2008 <http://www.barackobama.com/issues/pdf/EnvironmentFactSheet.pdf>.
- [85] CNN. *Election Center 2008: Environment*. 12 August 2008 <http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2008/issues/issues.environment.html>
- [86] League of Conservation Voters. *New Hope. New Energy*. 21 July 2008 <http://lcv.org/newsroom/press-releases/new-hope-new-energy.html>.
- [87] League of Conservation Voters. *National Environmental Scorecard*. 12 August 2008 <http://lcv.org/scorecard/2007.pdf>.
- [88] McCain, John. *John McCain 2008 Launches New Web Ad: Energy Security*. 23 June 2008 <http://www.johnmccain.com/Informing/News/PressReleases/Read.aspx?guid=ecc2b3bb-30d6-4f2f-8c3f-457a5b475cc0>.
- [89] McCain, John. *The Lexington Project*. 25 June 2008 <http://www.johnmccain.com/Informing/Issues/17671aa4-2fe8-4008-859f-0ef1468e96f4.htm>.
- [90] Rohter, Larry. *Obama, in New Stand, Proposes Use of Oil Reserve*. 5 August 2008 <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/05/us/politics/05campaign.html?scp=1&sq=Obama%20in%20New%20Stand%20Proposes%20Use%20of%20oil%20Reserve&st=cse>.
- [91] Curry, Tom. *McCain 'gas-tax holiday' is a campaign retread*. 15 April 2008 <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/24128739/>.
- [92] McCain, John. *The Lexington Project*. 25 June 2008 <http://www.johnmccain.com/Informing/Issues/17671aa4-2fe8-4008-859f-0ef1468e96f4.htm>.
- [93] Holtz-Eakin, Douglas. *Obama's False Claims on McCain's 'All of the Above' Energy Plan*. 6 August 2008 http://blogs.suntimes.com/sweet/2008/08/mccain_policy_advisor_doug_hol.html.
- [94] McCain, John. *Remarks by John McCain on his Comprehensive Plan for Energy Security*. 25 June 2008 <http://www.johnmccain.com/Informing/News/Speeches/1b708e23-5496-42a3-8771-aec271bf823e.htm>.
- [95] Ibid.
- [96] Ibid.
- [97] Ibid.
- [98] Ibid.
- [99] Britt, Russ. *Is offshore drilling a viable solution to energy needs?* 24 July 2008 http://www.marketwatch.com/news/story/offshore-drilling-viable-solution-energy/story.aspx?guid={DE7C465E-78BD-40CA-A2E0-55B31AB0A5A0}&dist=msr_1.
- [100] Ibid.
- [101] The Sierra Club. *Where was Senator McCain on Clean Energy?* 7 February 2008 <http://www.sierraclub.org/pressroom/releases/pr2008-02-07.asp>.
- [102] Ibid.
- [103] Friedman, Thomas L. *Eight Strikes and You're Out*. 13 August 2008 <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/13/opinion/13friedman.html?scp=1&sq=Eight%20Strikes%20and%20You're%20out&st=cse>.
- [104] CBS News. *Obama Stresses Energy Independence*. 3 April 2006 <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2006/04/03/politics/main1466288.shtml>.
- [105] Obama, Barack. *New Energy for America*. 4 August 2008 http://www.barackobama.com/pdf/factsheet_energy_speech_080308.pdf.
- [106] Ibid.
- [107] Ibid.
- [108] MSNBC. *Obama for tapping U.S. oil preserve*. 4 August 2008 <http://firstread.msnbc.msn.com/archive/2008/08/04/1245196.aspx>.
- [109] Obama, Barack. *New Energy for America*. 4 August 2008 http://www.barackobama.com/pdf/factsheet_energy_speech_080308.pdf.
- [110] Ibid.
- [111] Ibid.
- [112] Ibid.
- [113] Ibid.
- [114] Associated Press. *Obama Open to Drilling*. 2 August 2008 http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/nation/politics/bal-te.campaign02aug02_0,4653419.story.

- [115] Rohter, Larry. *Obama, in New Stand, Proposes Use of Oil Reserve*. 5 August 2008 <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/05/us/politics/05campaign.html?scp=1&sq=Obama%20in%20New%20Stand%20Proposes%20Use%20of%20Oil%20Reserve&st=cse>.
- [116] ABC News. *Obama Criticizes McCain on Flood Funding*. 21 June 2008 <http://blogs.abcnews.com/politicalradar/2008/06/obama-criticize.html>.
- [117] The Sierra Club. *Sierra Club Endorses Obama for President*. 19 June 2008 <http://www.sierraclub.org/pressroom/releases/pr2008-06-19.asp>.
- [118] Jones, Seth G., and Martin C. Libicki. *How Terrorist Groups End*. 2008 http://www.rand.org/pubs/research_briefs/RB9351/.
- [119] CNN. *McCain defends '100 years in Iraq' statement*. 15 February 2008 <http://www.cnn.com/2008/POLITICS/02/14/mccain.king/>.
- [120] Weiner, Rachel. *McCain Advisor: Obama Would Rather Lose War Than Election*. 17 July 2008 http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2008/07/17/mccain-adviser-obama-woul_n_113273.html.
- [121] CNN. *McCain defends '100 years in Iraq' statement*. 15 February 2008 <http://www.cnn.com/2008/POLITICS/02/14/mccain.king/>.
- [122] McCain, John. *John McCain's Four Year Vision for America*. 15 May 2008 <http://www.johnmccain.com/Informing/News/Speeches/e8114732-e294-4a0d-b0b6-e5fa16857f61.htm>.
- [123] Ibid.
- [124] McCain, John. *Strategy for Victory in Iraq*. 12 August 2008 <http://www.johnmccain.com/Informing/Issues/fdeb03a7-30b0-4ece-8e34-4c7ea83f11d8.htm>.
- [125] Ibid.
- [126] Ibbittson, John. *Ironically, success of the surge in Iraq is helping Obama*. 11 July 2008 http://www.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/Page/document/v5/content/subscribe?user_URL=http://www.theglobeandmail.com%2Fservlet%2Fstory%2FLAC.20080711.IBBITSON11%2FTPStory%2F%3Fquery%3Dsuccess%2Bof%2Bthe%2Bsurge%2Bin%2BIraq%2Bis%2Bhelping%2BObama&ord=92559261&brand=theglobeandmail&force_login=true.
- [127] McCain, John. *John McCain's Four Year Vision for America*. 15 May 2008 <http://www.johnmccain.com/Informing/News/Speeches/e8114732-e294-4a0d-b0b6-e5fa16857f61.htm>
- [128] McCain, John. *John McCain's Comprehensive Strategy for Victory in Afghanistan*. 15 July 2008 <http://www.johnmccain.com/Informing/News/PressReleases/Read.aspx?guid=e92e0317-02b3-4345-82f9-9eac8bb0a50d>.
- [129] Cookman, Colin. *John McCain Plays Catch Up on Afghanistan*. 15 July 2008 <http://thinkprogress.org/wonkroom/2008/07/15/mccain-catch-up-afghanistan/>.
- [130] McCain, John. *Remarks by John McCain to the Los Angeles World Affairs Council*. 26 March 2008 <http://www.johnmccain.com/Informing/News/Speeches/872473dd-9ccb-4ab4-9d0d-ec54f0e7a497.htm>.
- [131] McCain, John. *Remarks by John McCain on Nuclear Security*. 27 May 2008 <http://www.johnmccain.com/Informing/News/Speeches/e9c72a28-c05c-4928-ae29-51f54de08df3.htm>.
- [132] Ibid.
- [133] Bumiller, Elisabeth. *McCain breaks with Bush on nuclear disarmament*. 28 May 2008 <http://www.ihf.com/articles/2008/05/28/america/28mccainbush.php>.
- [134] McCain, John. *Senator McCain's Floor Statement on the Nomination of John Bolton to be the U.S. Ambassador to the UN*. 21 April 2005 <http://www.friendsofmccain.com/news/dspnews.cfm?id=249>.
- [135] McCain, John. *An Enduring Peace Built on Freedom*. November/December 2007 <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20071101faessay86602/john-mccain/an-enduring-peace-built-on-freedom.html>.
- [136] Ibid.
- [137] Ibid.
- [138] Ibid.
- [139] Ibid.
- [140] Obama, Barack. *Plan For Ending the War in Iraq*. 12 August 2008 <http://www.barackobama.com/issues/iraq/>.
- [141] Obama, Barack. *My Plan for Iraq*. 14 July 2008 <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/07/14/opinion/14obama.html?sq=Barack%20Obama%20July%2014&st=cse&scp=4&pagewanted=print>.
- [142] Obama, Barack. *Renewing American Leadership*. July/August 2007 <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20070701faessay86401/barack-obama/renewing-american-leadership.html>.
- [143] Obama, Barack. *My Plan for Iraq*. 14 July 2008 <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/07/14/opinion/14obama.html?sq=Barack%20Obama%20July%2014&st=cse&scp=4&pagewanted=print>.
- [144] Obama, Barack. *A New Strategy for a New World*. 15 July 2008 http://www.barackobama.com/2008/07/15/remarks_of_senator_barack_obam_96.php.
- [145] Obama, Barack. *Plan For Ending the War in Iraq*. 12 August 2008 <http://www.barackobama.com/issues/iraq/>.
- [146] Ibid.
- [147] Obama, Barack. *Turning the Page in Iraq*. September 2007 <http://www.barackobama.com/issues/pdf/IraqFactSheet.pdf>.
- [148] Ibid.
- [149] Obama, Barack. *A New Strategy for a New World*. 15 July 2008 http://www.barackobama.com/2008/07/15/remarks_of_senator_barack_obam_96.php.

- [150] Obama, Barack. *My Plan for Iraq*. 14 July 2008 <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/07/14/opinion/14obama.html?sq=Barack%20Obama%20July%2014&st=cse&scp=4&pagewanted=print>
- [151] Obama, Barack. *A New Strategy for a New World*. 15 July 2008 http://www.barackobama.com/2008/07/15/remarks_of_senator_barack_obam_96.php.
- [152] MacKinnon, Leslie. *Obama Rising*. 25 August 2008 http://www.cbc.ca/national/blog/video/internationalus/obama_rising.html.
- [153] Ibid.
- [154] Ibid.
- [155] Hayden, Tom. *Obama Wants to Shrink One War, But Expand Two Others*. 16 July 2008 <http://www.alternet.org/story/91645>.
- [156] Ibid.
- [157] Obama, Barack. *Renewing American Leadership*. July/August 2007 <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20070701faessay86401/barack-obama/renewing-american-leadership.html>.
- [158] Ibid.
- [159] Obama, Barack. *A New Beginning*. 2 October 2007 http://www.barackobama.com/2007/10/02/remarks_of_senator_barack_obam_27.php.
- [160] Obama, Barack. *A New Strategy for a New World*. 15 July 2008 http://www.barackobama.com/2008/07/15/remarks_of_senator_barack_obam_96.php.
- [161] Obama, Barack. *Renewing American Leadership*. July/August 2007 <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20070701faessay86401/barack-obama/renewing-american-leadership.html>.
- [162] Ibid.
- [163] Ibid.
- [164] McCain, John. *John McCain on Border Security and Immigration*. 13 August 2008 <http://www.johnmccain.com/Informing/Issues/68db8157-d301-4e22-baf7-a70dd8416efa.htm>.
- [165] McCain, John. *Remarks by John McCain on the Relationship Between The United States and Canada*. 20 June 2008 <http://www.johnmccain.com/Informing/News/Speeches/6925c6d4-93fe-4ff4-bfb0-bd1e1aed3c3b.htm>.
- [166] Moore, Martha T. *Guantanamo Bay Puzzles Candidates*. 19 June 2007 http://www.usatoday.com/news/politics/2007-06-18-gitmo-candidates_N.htm.
- [167] McCain, John. *Remarks by John McCain to the Los Angeles World Affairs Council*. 26 March 2008 <http://www.johnmccain.com/Informing/News/Speeches/872473dd-9ccb-4ab4-9d0d-ec54f0e7a497.htm>.
- [168] Zernike, Kate. *McCain and Obama Split on Justices, Guantanamo Ruling*. 13 June 2008 http://www.nytimes.com/2008/06/13/us/politics/13candidates.html?_r=2&adxnnl=1&oref=slogin&ref=politics&adxnnlx=1219677148-c2sZo7sZ4iAGSocoSKsb0Q.
- [169] McCain, John. *John McCain on Barack Obama and Habeas Corpus*. 18 June 2008 <http://www.johnmccain.com/Informing/News/PressReleases/21f5ccf4-869c-46a3-b75e-69d1f5563e60.htm>.
- [170] McCain, John. *Statement of Senator John McCain on an Amendment to the Army Field Manual*. 25 July 2005 <http://www.friendsofmccain.com/news/dspnews.cfm?id=287>.
- [171] Obama, Barack. *Strengthening Homeland Security*. 12 August 2008 <http://www.barackobama.com/issues/pdf/HomelandSecurityFactSheet.pdf>.
- [172] Ibid.
- [173] Ibid.
- [174] White, Elisabeth. *Obama Says Gitmo Facility Should Close*. 24 June 2007 <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/06/24/AR2007062401046.html>.
- [175] Zernike, Kate. *McCain and Obama Split on Justices, Guantanamo Ruling*. 13 June 2008 http://www.nytimes.com/2008/06/13/us/politics/13candidates.html?_r=2&adxnnl=1&oref=slogin&ref=politics&adxnnlx=1219677148-c2sZo7sZ4iAGSocoSKsb0Q.
- [176] McCain, John. *John McCain on Barack Obama and Habeas Corpus*. 18 June 2008 <http://www.johnmccain.com/Informing/News/PressReleases/21f5ccf4-869c-46a3-b75e-69d1f5563e60.htm>.
- [177] Obama, Barack. *Obama: Torture and secrecy betray core American values*. 4 October 2007 http://www.barackobama.com/2007/10/04/obama_torture_and_secretary_betr.php.