

## 1. Why do you want to be President?

I am running for president to protect our country from harm and defeat its enemies. I am running for president to restore trust in our government and to ensure it remains worthy of that honor. I am not running to leave our biggest problems to an unluckier generation of leaders, but to fix them now, and fix them well. I am running for president to make sure America maintains its place as the military, political and economic leader of the world; the country that doesn't fear change, but makes change work for us; the country that does not look longingly to the past, but aspires to even better days. I am running for President to serve our nation, a blessed country, a proud country, a hopeful country, the most powerful and prosperous country and the greatest force for good on earth.

## 2. What is your mission statement for America and the three most important goals you intend to achieve as President?

I believe our nation's best days are ahead and remain committed to an America with a strong national defense; a smaller, more accountable government; a robust economy with abundant opportunity for all who seek it; a judiciary that interprets the law and does not make it; and a nation of traditional values that protects the rights of the unborn and the traditional family.

As president, I will strengthen the security of our nation, restore trust in our government through greater accountability and by limiting its size, and reform our health care system.

As president, I will take all my responsibilities to the American people seriously. But I will have one responsibility that will outweigh all the others and that is to protect the security of this great nation from all enemies. In particular, we must understand that we confront a lengthy struggle against Islamic extremism that will not be won quickly or easily. But we will win it. While our ultimate victory is not in doubt, the length and intensity of this struggle remain to be determined. It's up to us. We must recognize that our enemies are in this fight to win, and I assure you that I would employ all instruments of national power – military, intelligence, law enforcement, economic and political – to defend our nation and defeat them.

At home, Americans have lost trust in their government. My presidency will restore that trust. I will fight to ensure a political process worthy of the sacrifices that have been made by so many to keep us free and proud and will see to it that the institutions of self-government are respected pillars of democracy. Special interests have too much influence in Washington. That will end. I will secure the border, period. I will bring spending under control, veto pork-barrel spending bills and keep taxes low by reforming a tax code that is too complex and too burdensome. I will work to modernize Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid and bring accountability, choice and competition to our schools, so our children are equipped for the best jobs of the 21st century. I

will also nominate strict constructionist judges who understand that their job is to rule on what the law says and not to impose their opinions through judicial fiat and at the expense of the democratic process.

I will address health care in America, an issue that touches every family in this nation and impacts our economy and fiscal outlook. I believe we can reform our health care system to lower costs without sacrificing quality. But I know the answer is not to increase the amount of bureaucracy through a government-controlled health care or single-payer system. The answer is to enhance the ability of the market participants to offer affordable and portable insurance options for as many Americans as possible and to help those without insurance to access the health care system with the dignity and quality care that all Americans expect and deserve.

### **3. Describe your education and preparation to serve as President.**

**A) Who and what have informed your intellectual preparation to be President?**

**B) What has practically prepared and informed you to be President?**

In 1974, Ronald Reagan gave his famous "Shining City Upon a Hill" speech and concluded by saying: "We cannot escape our destiny, nor should we try to do so. The leadership of the free world was thrust upon us in the little hall of Philadelphia. In the days following World War II, when the economic strength and power of America was all that stood between the world and the return to the dark ages, Pope Pius XII said, 'The American people have a great genius for splendid and unselfish actions. Into the hands of America, God has placed the destinies of an afflicted mankind.' We are indeed, and we are today, the last best hope of man on earth."

It was my privilege to hear Governor Reagan deliver that speech at the first Conservative Political Action Conference. I had recently been released from my captivity in Hanoi and was seated as Governor Reagan's guest. His words back then and his resolve as president inform today as it falls to America to lead the world against the global threat of Islamic Extremism.

It's easy to forget the strong opposition Reagan faced, particularly to his Soviet policy, which was opposed by many Democrats and elites in the media. Back then, many argued for different course with our global adversary. But Reagan held firm. He called for resolve and firmness in dealing with the Soviet Union. He rejected calls for a nuclear freeze and the defunding of weapons systems and freedom fighters. As a member of Congress at the time, I was proud to stand with him. Thanks to his leadership, the Soviet Union dissolved and the Cold War was won on our terms.

Today, as politicians seek to undermine the gains we have made in places like Iraq through funding cutoffs and withdrawal timelines, I often recall Reagan's steadfastness. As president, in the face of a similar defeatist stampede, the lesson of Reagan would be at the forefront of my mind.

Of course, there's no one factor that prepares a person for the presidency. Rather, it is the sum total of one's life experiences that provide the basis for stepping into the awesome responsibility of president and commander-in-chief. Successful presidents don't manage; they lead. They rally



the nation's citizens behind a cause and get the job done. As one of our Founding Fathers put it, "Well done is better than well said." Today, we face big challenges from defeating our enemies to ending the era of spending profligacy and bigger government. As president, I will draw on many of the leadership lessons I learned during my time as a midshipman at the Naval Academy, as a prisoner-of-war, as commander of the biggest squadron in the U.S. Navy, and subsequent years of deep involvement with many national issues in the House and Senate to meet America's biggest challenges.

**4. Please describe your philosophy of what it means to be a conservative President: What is conservative governance in your view and how would your philosophy manifest itself in your principles, policies, plans, and priorities as President?**

I believe true conservative governance means limiting the reach of government because no government should have a right to impose itself between human beings and their lawful aspirations to make of their lives what they will. I believe that government that governs least governs best; that government should do only those things individuals cannot do for themselves, and do them efficiently. Much rides on that principle: the integrity of the government, our prosperity; and every American's self-respect, which depends, as it always has, on one's own decisions and actions, and cannot be provided as another government benefit. I believe in limited government in a federal system, individual and property rights, and finding solutions to public problems closest to the people. Conservative governance must also be grounded in the principle that the greatness of our country is derived from the free exercise of the rights and responsibilities of liberty.

Consistent with this philosophy, I would pursue a broad agenda that promotes a strong national defense and bigger military to protect our liberty; a culture of life, personal responsibility and the traditional family; increasing wealth and expanding individual opportunity; low taxes, fiscal discipline, free trade and open markets. Furthermore, limiting the size and reach of government cannot succeed in the face of rampant judicial activism. As president, I would select judges who interpret the Constitution and don't usurp, by legislating from the bench, the public's right to elect representatives to write our laws. Judicial activism is simply incompatible with conservative principles of limited government.

To reign in government, I believe we must do many other things with controlling spending a top priority. I believe you cannot achieve limited, smaller government without spending restraint, which is why I voted against the prescription drug benefit that became law a short time ago. Let's start with pork barrel spending and corporate welfare, eliminate all earmarks, pass the line item veto, employ honest budget accounting, and end emergency spending bills for non-emergencies as a way around budget limits. Controlling costs is also at the core of transforming our health care system into one that puts families and individuals first, not government bureaucrats. As president, I would use the power of markets, not government mandates, to strengthen health care and, thus, weaken the heavy hand of government in our health care.

We also need to shake up failed government-enforced school monopolies with competition, empower parents with choice, remove barriers to qualified instructors, attract and reward



superior teachers, and have a fair, but sure process to weed out incompetents. Tax reform also goes hand-in-hand with limited government. Our massive, onerous tax code perpetuates intrusive government and must be made simpler and flatter to bolster our market economy, lessen the burden on taxpayers and help more people climb the next rung on the opportunity ladder.

**5. What are the most important governing principles that you would rely upon as the framework for your presidency? Describe how those principles would guide your decision-making process in conducting the affairs of the nation as President? Relate each of your governing principles to the U.S. constitution and the vision of the founding fathers.**

My administration will be built on the principles of expanding personal, political and economic freedom. I believe that government should do only those things individuals cannot do for themselves, and do them efficiently. Defending the freedom of individuals through limited government is a central pillar of my government philosophy and a principle descended from our Founding Fathers and embedded in the Constitution.

America was founded through the blood of our forefathers to establish political freedom. My Administration would honor this sacrifice and others throughout our history by respecting our political freedom and protecting it from the influence of special interests and the judicial assault by those that legislate from the bench.

My administration would be committed to preserving and enhancing economic freedom in the U.S. and round the globe. Expanding economic freedom is a pro-growth agenda that is built on a competitive private sector and a small, responsive, results-oriented government. Economic freedom is my primary economic objective because a free society will be a prosperous and just one.

**6. Discuss your philosophy of and vision for the federal government in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century – its structure, personnel, operations and functions. What are the innovations you envision to modernize and restructure the federal government in keeping with the governing principles you described in your response to question # 5 above?**

I will begin by eliminating every program that infringes on the private sector. Government should only spend money to serve a purpose that the private sector cannot, and that serves our Nation's interest.

Every federal program will have goals and issue public progress reports on how well or poorly they met them. Government programs will be judged for the success they've had in meeting a need that people can't be expected to meet for themselves. If they're not giving Americans good value for their tax dollars, they will have to change or they will be out of business.



I believe it is essential to the nation's honor that we reform the way government is funded and structured, and to hold it accountable for its ability or inability to address the serious challenges of our time. I'll hold the agencies of the federal government accountable for the money they spend. And I'll rely on the foundation of America – a free and informed citizenry – to help me. I will make every aspect of government purchases and performance transparent. Information on every step of contracts and grants will be posted on the Internet in plain and simple English.

Employees in the private sector know that if they don't do their job right they will lose their job. Competition and consequences are the driving force of excellence. Taxpayers deserve the same commitment to excellence from their employees.

There must be a new bargain with federal employees, one that is worthy of the American people and mindful that public service is a privilege and a responsibility not a right. The civil service has strayed from its reformist roots. Employment is treated as an entitlement, good performance as an option and accountability as someone else's problem. We must streamline our workforce, demand high standards of behavior, promote excellence at every level based on merit and accountability and not let good workers be crippled by the fine print of the latest union contract.

**7. Describe your view of the meaning of the American sovereignty. How would your administration approach issues related to preserving and protecting American sovereignty in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century? Please provide specific examples related to such things as the World Trade Organization, the United Nations, UNESCO, international treaties, etc.**

The American president must jealously guard, preserve and protect American sovereignty, putting any element of it at risk only when the gains from doing greatly outweigh the actual and potential costs and with appropriate safeguards – which is why I have deep reservations regarding the Law of the Sea Treaty. Like all other nations, the United States must reserve the sovereign right to defend our vital national security when and how we deem necessary. Our great power does not mean we can do whatever we want whenever we want, nor should we assume we have all the wisdom, knowledge and resources necessary to succeed. When we believe international action is necessary, whether military, economic, or diplomatic, it is in the national interests of the United States to persuade our friends and allies that we are right, and to be willing to be persuaded by them.

But our partners must be good allies, too. No alliance can work unless all its members share a basic faith in one another and accept an equal share of the responsibility to build a peace based on freedom.

I believe we should expand the circle of our democratic community, not by surrendering sovereignty but by strengthening its reach through key partnerships. We should start bringing democratic peoples and nations from around the world into one common organization, a worldwide League of Democracies. Too often, the United Nations has simply failed to act responsibly if it acts at all. This new organization would not be like the universal-membership

and failed League of Nations of Woodrow Wilson, but much more like what Theodore Roosevelt envisioned: like-minded nations working together in the cause of peace and freedom. It would be the one organization where the world's democracies could come together to discuss problems and solutions on the basis of shared principles and a common vision of the future.

I also believe that we have a strong national interest in upholding and strengthening international laws and norms, such as the Geneva Conventions. We do so not out of a misguided desire to surrender sovereignty, but because it is profoundly in our interest to do so, since our failure to abide by these rules puts our own soldiers at risk.

America has fought a Revolution, a Civil War, two world wars and a Cold War to vindicate the principles we hold dear and to ensure that freedom could be enjoyed, as Abraham Lincoln promised, "by all people of all colors everywhere." We were right to struggle for these values then, and we are right to do so today.

**8. Describe the principles on which your Administration would conduct foreign affairs and diplomacy, relating specifically to your philosophy of the National Security Council, the State Department, as well as military affairs and the Pentagon.**

I believe that America must be at the forefront of building a new global order of peace, where the dangers and threats we face diminish, and where human progress reaches new heights.

The path to an enduring peace lies in a clear-eyed pursuit of our national interest that does not accede to autocratic trends. We must expand the power and reach of democratic institutions, freedom and human rights using our many strengths as a free people. But that means making some substantial changes in how we do business, and change must begin at home.

We must launch, as the Truman administration did in 1947, a massive overhaul of the nation's foreign policy, defense and intelligence agencies to meet new challenges. Our needs are clear in the organization, skills and capabilities needed to prevail in the conflict with violent extremists: an intelligence community that is able to collect and analyze information on and conduct operations against our enemies; a public diplomacy effort that makes our case to the world effectively; a diplomatic corps that understands stability does not mean supporting dictatorships; foreign aid programs that foster good governance; generals that understand and learn from past wars and apply those lessons to the future; defense procurement that is transparent, accountable and effective; and civilian defense leadership that is held accountable for results and provides the resources necessary to achieve results. We must never again conduct a military operation with too few troops to complete the mission. When we fight a war, we must fight to win.

To build a new era of peace based on freedom, we have to work even harder through our economic and trade policies to encourage open societies and create a climate of opportunity and hope. Our economic strategies in the Middle East must complement our political strategies by supporting modernizers who want to improve the lives of their people against those radicals and autocrats who would impoverish them. In Latin America and Africa, we need to support those who favor open economies and democratic government against populist demagogues who are



dragging their nations back to the failed socialist policies of the past. In Asia, we need to show that growing democratic economies can do more for the average man and woman and less for corrupt senior officials than growing economies in a one-party state.

Our support for democracy and expansion of free markets, combined with a clear-eyed pursuit of our national interests, does not represent idealism. It is the truest kind of realism. As Ronald Reagan proclaimed in his speech to the British Parliament in 1982, “Let us go to our strength. Let us offer hope. Let us tell the world that a new age is not only possible but probable.” As president, I will do just that.

**9. What principles would your administration adhere to in the realm of energy, the environment and America’s economic future? How would your administration relate those principles to the philosophy and issues described in your responses to questions #7 and #8 above?**

America’s dependency on foreign oil is a major strategic vulnerability for our nation. One element in al Qaeda’s war against us is to target the U.S. economy by driving up the price of oil in the hope that severe recession and higher inflation will follow. Osama bin Laden and other al Qaeda terrorists have spoken many times about the need to “mount ... operations accordingly” in order to hit energy supply points in the Middle East and other regions to spike oil prices. Moreover, while most of the world’s known reserves are in the Persian Gulf, oil supplies are no more secure elsewhere on the globe. In Russia and Venezuela, Vladimir Putin and Hugo Chavez have rolled back democracy and utilized oil and gas as foreign policy weapons. Nigerian supplies – our fifth-largest supplier – are endangered by internal strife. Oil’s availability is uncertain and its price at the mercy of countries where our values aren’t typically shared and our interests aren’t their first priority.

As president, I’ll propose a national energy strategy that will amount to a declaration of independence from the uncertainty bred by our reliance on oil sheiks and our vulnerability to the troubled politics of the lands they rule. My plan that won’t be another grab bag of handouts, a full employment act for lobbyists, nor another round of tax breaks and other subsidies.

We have in use today, a zero-emission energy that could provide electricity for millions more homes and businesses than it currently does – nuclear power. Yet it has been over 25 years since a nuclear-power plant has been constructed. The barriers to nuclear energy are political not technological. We’ve let the fears of 30 years ago, and an endless political squabble over the storage of nuclear spent fuel make it virtually impossible to build a single new plant that produces a form of energy that is safe and non-polluting.

America competes in a global economy where innovation and entrepreneurship are the pillars of prosperity. The competition is stiff and the stakes are high. We have the opportunity to apply America’s technological supremacy to capture the export markets for advanced energy technologies, reaping the capital investment and good jobs it will create. Our innovators, scientists, entrepreneurs and workers have the knowledge, resources and drive to lead the way on energy security, as we have in so many other world-changing advancements. The race has

always been to the swift and America must be first to the market, with innovations that meet mankind's growing energy and environmental needs.

Answering great challenges is nothing new to America. It's what we do. We built the rockets that took us to the moon – not because it was easy, but because it was hard. We harnessed nuclear energy, mapped the human genome, created the Internet, and pioneered integrated circuits that consolidate the computing power of the Apollo spacecraft onto a barely visible silicon chip. If we can do all this, we can surely solve our oil-dependence problem and strengthen our security.

**10. Describe your general strategy for accomplishing your objectives and goals for governing America.**

When it comes to getting things done, there is no substitute for strong presidential leadership. Americans are not looking for a caretaker president who simply manages the daily affairs of state and presides over business-as-usual in Washington. Republicans lost their majorities because we increased the size of government in the false hope that we could bribe the public into keeping us in office. And the people punished us. We lost our principles and our majority. There is no way to recover our majority without recovering our principles first to regain the trust of Americans soured by empty election-year promises.

As president, I will regain that trust. I will offer a clear direction for America. I will adhere to our principles. I will work with those who act in good faith to solve our nation's challenges consistent with my conservative principles. But I will also regularly make my case to the American people that our principles of limited government and individual freedom are for our country's sake. I will use the bully pulpit should Congress obstruct needed reforms and play politics to advance their parochial interests at the expense of the national interest. I won't hesitate to wield my veto pen when necessary to show the American people that business-as-usual is over in Washington. I know the American people will respond.