

1. Why do you want to be President?

I love our country and am very concerned about its future and the challenges we must confront together. As a father, I am more concerned today than ever with the kind of country our children and grandchildren will inherit from us. I believe that the basic conservative principles of limited government, personal freedom and responsibility, lower taxes and spending, a vigorous national defense, and the rule of law have been the fundamental building blocks of American success and must remain the core tenets of our country. As the only leading Republican candidate who has consistently supported these conservative positions throughout my political career, I am the candidate best equipped to defend and apply them as the next President of the United States.

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

My vision for the country is summed up in the words that guide my campaign: security, unity, prosperity. A free people must protect their freedom through a strong national security; we can afford to do so only as a prosperous nation; and we can achieve continued greatness for our country by coming together as a people, recognizing our shared values and goals, and acting together in a united fashion.

The most important goal I have for our country reflects my view that the first responsibility of the federal government is to protect the nation. We must defend our nation against the radical Islamic terrorists who want to destroy us and our way of life. That goal can be achieved only by rebuilding and strengthening our military, improving our intelligence capabilities, improving our homeland security, and enforcing our nation's border security.

My second goal flows from the first. In order to protect our country and advance our interests, we must have the resources available to pay to defend our country. Today we are facing a crisis caused by unsustainable entitlement costs. As a nation, we must restrain the cost of these entitlements or our economy will be crippled, leaving us too few resources to address the other challenges our nation faces. Our personal freedom is at risk from our current fiscal course. I am committed to addressing the looming entitlements crisis, but doing so in a way that preserves the basic goals of the programs without raising taxes. I will also seek to reform the federal tax system in ways that will strengthen our economy. And I will seek to reform the federal government so that it focuses on its basic responsibilities, including returning appropriate programs and authority to the states, reducing federal spending for unnecessary programs, and reforming the delivery of federal services.

Finally, my third goal is to promote the rule of law. No one in this country is above the law, and no one is beneath it either. We must secure our borders and enforce existing laws on immigration. The rule of law depends fundamentally on open and fair courts to resolve disputes impartially. Our courts must be staffed by judges who understand their appropriate role in a democratic republic with a government of limited powers. So to promote and protect the rule of law, I will ensure that the judges I appoint to the federal courts know that their role is to interpret



and apply the text of the Constitution and the laws made by the branches of government accountable to the people and not to seek to impose on the rest of us law they make up to reflect their own personal policy preferences.

If I can leave office having made our country safer and more secure, having put the federal government on a sustainable and sound fiscal basis, and having strengthened the rule of law by stopping illegal immigration and assuring the courts remain within their appropriate bounds, I will consider my administration to have been a success.

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?

My parents, my family, and my own life's circumstances have taught me more than anything else. I am the first person in my family to graduate from high school. A teen-aged father, I went to work and then went off to college to make something of myself. After graduating from college, I attended law school. I was inspired along the way by the conservative principles and philosophy of Senator Barry Goldwater and President Ronald Reagan. I am an example of what can be achieved in this country with initiative and with the support of a loving family. I have lived the full range of the American experience, and that is the most important preparation anyone can have to serve as President.

To me, government service should not be a career, but a way of giving back to our country and of serving its people. The different strands of my career have allowed me to confront many issues. I have been a federal prosecutor and served as counsel to the Senate Watergate Committee. I was a lawyer in private practice, representing clients in private suits and in criminal cases. One of my clients took on a corrupt Governor in Tennessee and won in a law suit. I appreciate the fundamental importance of the rule of law. I also know the appropriate role of a judge. I have appeared before both activist judges and good judges, and I know the difference. Recently, I had the opportunity to shepherd the nomination of John Roberts to be Chief Justice of the United States through the Senate on behalf of the President.

My eight years in the United States Senate allowed me to focus on critical issues facing our country. I played a leadership role in examining the failings of the operations of federal government agencies, the wasteful spending of these agencies, their inability to perform the tasks expected by our citizens. My report on these issues, *Government at the Brink*, was published in 2001 and has been widely hailed as an accurate and complete catalog of the short-comings of the federal government. And yet little has been done since the report's publication to address these issues. I also fought to keep our taxes low and to promote limited government by trying to limit the role and responsibilities of the federal government. Too often, we want to impose a national solution, but the closer government is to the governed, the more accountable it is to the people.

During my years in the Senate, I also served on the Intelligence Committee, dealing with national security issues. I understand the intelligence failures that led to 9/11. I came to appreciate the nature of the threat from radical Islamic terrorist organizations and the nations that



back them. I know what we need to do to improve our intelligence efforts and to continue to improve the efforts the government has undertaken to share intelligence appropriately. I also saw the effects of the budget cuts we imposed on our military during the 1990's. These cuts resulted in a failure to equip them fully and adequately for the burdens we have asked our brave men and women to undertake. And we have seen that we have failed our veterans as well.

In the Senate I was also able to travel extensively to meet with world leaders, visit global hotspots, and to get a much better understanding of events on the ground, and how the U.S. should address them. In just two years alone I traveled to Colombia and Ecuador to assess the U.S. role in curtailing drug trafficking; to Northern Ireland to observe the peace process in action; to Russia to learn more about its struggling democracy; and to China, to express to the leaders in Beijing my concerns about many of their policies. I have also met with several of our allies in NATO and our friends in the European Union to discuss the major issues facing the U.S. and its allies. I traveled to Afghanistan to meet with President Karzai just months after 9/11, and then to Pakistan to meet with that country's leaders and visit the frontier region. Most rewarding, however, has been the opportunity to spend time with our military forces abroad, whether at an outpost in Kosovo with U.S. Army troops; watching flight operations with the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps aboard an aircraft carrier in the Indian Ocean; or flying aboard a cargo aircraft with the U.S. Air Force in South America and South Asia. I am always impressed by the courage, competence, and commitment of our men and women in uniform. They inspire us all.

In the Senate I also had the opportunity to play in a leading role in the largest reorganization of the federal government since the creation of the Defense Department in 1947: the creation of the Department of Homeland Security. Through that effort, I came to appreciate the challenges facing federal agencies and their state and local partners in law enforcement and other first responders in seeking to address the wide range of threats we face in the modern world.

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?

My philosophy is based on the U.S. Constitution, which clearly enumerates the limited powers conferred on the national government and spreads them among the three branches of the federal government, with the states retaining all other authorities. Conservatism began to resonate fully with me after I read *The Conscience of a Conservative* by Barry Goldwater. I recognized the principles that underlie conservatism are based on human nature; they stem from the recognition that our basic rights come from God and not from government, and that these rights have been revealed to us through the course of history and man's excesses against his fellow man. These are the basic principles of the Founders of our country, and they remain the best guide to limited government and the preservation of liberty. I relied heavily on this philosophy while in the U.S. Senate, where all too often Members of Congress would turn to a federal solution to solve State and local issues. I resisted this temptation and, while I was sometimes on the losing side of votes that expanded the federal government's role in the daily lives of Americans, I considered it my responsibility to stand firm. For me, my conservative principles will always come first over political expediency.



I believe it is imperative for any President to weigh the impact of federal actions at the state and local level. Therefore, in considering any action by government, as President, I will always ask two fundamental questions: (1) is government better equipped than the private sector to perform a task, and, if so, (2) what level of government (federal or state) should perform the task. It is my belief that the federal government's functions should be limited and narrowly focused on providing a common defense and on exercising the enumerated powers conferred on it in the Constitution to promote the general welfare of the people.

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.

I am firmly committed to what I call "First Principles." These principles originated from the documents that established our nation and represent the collective wisdom of our founding fathers. They are the core beliefs that would be the framework of my presidency. They include:

Individual Liberty. As Thomas Jefferson spelled out in the Declaration of Independence, our basic rights come from God, not from government. Among these inalienable rights is the right to liberty. Individuals should be able to live their lives with very minimal government interference.

Personal Responsibility. The corollary to liberty is responsibility. No society can succeed and thrive for any duration unless free people act in a responsible way. All of us must take responsibility for our actions and strive to improve our own.

Limited Government. The Constitution grants specific powers to government and upholds the rights of individuals. With these powers in mind, I believe government must be strong enough to protect us, competent enough to provide basic government services, but modest and humane enough to let the people govern themselves.

Protecting Our Country. The first responsibility of the federal government is to protect the nation and the American people. There is no more important task.

The Rule of Law. Articles 1, 2, and 3 of the Constitution give specific responsibilities to each branch of government with regard to our nation's laws. The legislative branch was granted the power to make the laws, the executive branch was given the power to execute the laws, and a judiciary was given the authority to adjudicate conflicts within the law. I believe that any action by a branch of government that goes beyond its assigned roles is contrary to the intent of the founding fathers and should be opposed. In particular, the judiciary should be free and independent but must only interpret the law by adhering strictly to the legal text and respect its limited role in our system of government. We need judges who understand that role if we are to preserve our republic and freedom.



Traditional American Values. A healthy society is predicated on belief in God; respect for all life; strong families centered on the institution of marriage – the union of a man and a woman; and self-respect and tolerance of others. While we are all free to live our lives in the pursuit of our own happiness, the government has a responsibility to respect the rights of parents to raise their children and to promote the values that produce the strongest society.

Free Markets. Free people are best equipped to order their own affairs. Our country benefits from and is improved by the aggregate success for all. Government regulations should be minimized so as to promote the expansion of the economy and bring increased wealth to all Americans.

6. Discuss your philosophy of and vision for the federal government in the 21st 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?

Our federal government is outdated, inefficient, and wasteful. It is often unable to perform even the most basic tasks our citizens expect. It is not enough to want limited government; we must demand in addition an effective federal government. Given the challenges our nation confronts, we can no longer afford to address 21st century challenges with an outdated approach to government. A federal government unable to accomplish what it is supposed to do today will be hard-pressed to meet the challenges of tomorrow. We must make the federal government more transparent, accountable, efficient, and effective. We must be able to hire the best and the brightest and encourage technical innovation. Most importantly, we must tackle head-on the problems of waste, fraud, and mismanagement. As the former Chairman of the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee and the author of the highly regarded “Government at the Brink” report of 2001, no one is better positioned to address these challenges.

Our first challenge is to restore the people’s trust in the federal government. We can achieve this goal by making government more transparent, telling Americans what works and what does not work in government. Fully implementing federal law requiring full public disclosure of all government spending on contracts, grants, and earmarks is the first place to start. We should also make information about the performance of every agency, office, program, budget, contract, grant, loan and transaction easily accessible to the public.

The next step is to focus on performance and results including compliance with the Government Performance and Results Act. We must set clear priorities, refocus the work of the federal government on issues that require a national solution, and restore federalism and empower state and local governments. We must then use performance budgeting for federal agencies and hold managers accountable for making agencies more efficient and effective, accomplishing agency missions, and achieving announced and measurable goals. By actually holding managers accountable and enhancing transparency, we can take major strides towards restoring trust in government.



We must change the federal government's civil service system to reflect a modern workforce. In most government positions, everyone gets the same pay raise no matter how well or poorly they perform. This system ultimately demoralizes good performers. We need to bring to government the common principle that employee performance and results should be at the center of personnel practices and rewards. We need to do a better job of hiring employees promptly, and removing poor performers.

The federal government needs to do a better job of deploying its limited resources. We are living in a regulatory state. To do a better job of regulating, we need to adopt legislation requiring agencies to rely on cost-benefit analysis in deciding what rules to issue and what the content of those rules should be. The government should not be imposing huge burdens on American business for little return.

The federal government needs to do a better job of deploying information technology. The private sector has made huge gains in productivity using new technology. The federal government spends \$65 billion annually on information technology. We are not seeing the results for that amount of spending, much of which is being wasted (although no one knows how much). Better recruiting, better rewards for high performers, better procurement practices and project management and oversight will bring benefits to the federal government and to the American people it serves.

Finally, we must do more to eliminate wasteful spending and fraud. Many agencies still cannot pass an audit. This year alone, federal agencies made \$40 billion in improper payments. On top of that figure, fraud costs taxpayers tens of billions of dollars more. And then there are earmarks, which number in the thousands and include billions of dollars of pork-barrel spending. We can go much further in eliminating improper payments. We can require agencies to publish annual reports to account for their improper payments and demonstrate progress in eliminating them. We must redouble our efforts to prosecute fraud by government employees, contractors, and beneficiaries of government programs by strengthening agency inspectors general and the Justice Department. We must demand that all agencies be able to pass audits to account for the tax dollars they receive. Congress needs to bring more transparency to the earmark process, and as President I will direct agencies not to fund earmarks that are not included in bills themselves but are only included in committee reports. And we must hold appointees accountable for achieving these goals. Things will change only when government managers and political appointees understand that there is a price to pay for failure.

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 21st Century? Please provide specific examples related to such things as the World Trade Organization, the United Nations, UNESCO, international treaties, etc.

American sovereignty was established by the Declaration of Independence and reinforced by the U.S. Constitution. Explicit in these documents is the principle of consent – power is transferred from the people to the federal government in a specific and enumerated manner for specific purposes. To enable the federal government to engage in effective foreign affairs, Article VI of

the Constitution allows it to enter into treaties and establishes these agreements as the supreme law of the land provided that they are not contrary the Constitution. Furthermore, the Constitution allows the President under Article II to make treaties only with and by the Advise and Consent of two-thirds of the U.S. Senate. These provisions were intended to ensure that the U.S. sovereignty is not transferred or conveyed to another nation or international organization.

Over the last 50 years, however, there have been numerous attempts to undermine U.S. sovereignty through international agreements and conventions. These efforts are often intended to regulate the domestic concerns of our nation by reaching into our borders and binding our citizenry.

Advocates for these agreements often argue that international conventions are needed to address problems affecting several different nations and to bring unanimity to the international community. They believe the U.S. displays true leadership when it agrees to yield the rights of its people to international organizations that are not bound by our laws and are not constrained by the principle of consent of the governed.

I could not disagree more strongly with these advocates for ceding U.S. sovereignty. Agreements like the Kyoto Protocol on Global Climate Change, the Rome Statute on the International Criminal Court, and the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea undercut U.S. sovereignty by requiring the American people to comply with international mandates developed and arbitrated by international decision-makers who are neither accountable to nor elected by the American people. These types of international agreements, such as international multilateral trade agreements, can be beneficial to U.S. interests, but they must be evaluated very carefully to ensure they never intrude excessively on our sovereignty.

I also believe we must be very judicious in our involvement in the United Nations. While I believe the United Nations provides a useful forum for resolving disputes, all too often the U.N. has taken on issues beyond the scope of its charter and engaged in activities that run contrary to the beliefs and freedoms of our country. The recent U.N. decision, for example, that allowed nations under Security Council sanction for gross abuses of human rights to be members of the newly-formed Human Rights Council was appalling and contradicted by the very purposes of the Council. In another instance, the United Nations Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights declared that international human rights law requires all nations to adopt strict gun control laws. These “minimum” provisions were much more restrictive than any of those on the books anywhere in the U.S. and would almost certainly violate the Second Amendment of our Constitution.

Finally, I would seek to appoint judges who do not rely on international law and international and foreign legal developments in interpreting the U.S. Constitution. We do not share the same legal framework as other nations. I agree with Justice Scalia that the Framers of our Constitution would have been surprised by the notion that the meaning of the Constitution could be determined by reference to foreign law. The views of prospective judicial nominees on this subject would be important to know.

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.

Our nation's foreign policy should be guided by a set of principles that reflect the rights and values established by the U.S. Constitution and the history of our great nation. By doing so, we encourage the embrace of democratic ideals and safeguard our nation's own interests. The second ingredient critical to crafting good policy is good people. The President must appoint people who understand and agree with these principles, which are listed below.

Promote Individual Liberty. There are basic freedoms endowed to man by the Creator and these rights should be provided to all. These basic freedoms include among others the right to free expression, the right to practice one's religion freely and openly, the right to vote, and the right to assemble peacefully. The United States should encourage, but not seek to impose, the development of civil society and democratic institutions to uphold the rule of law and protect free society from tyranny.

Encourage Commitments to Freedom. Legitimate governments are those that are committed to freedom, democracy and its institutions. Membership in international institutions that espouse freedom does not equate to freedom in practice. The United States should build its bilateral and multilateral relationships with those nations that practice freedom or are seeking to develop the institutions to support freedom and withhold its support from those who do not.

Develop Free Markets. Competition is the engine for change within a free society and creates opportunity for all. America's economic security and long-term prosperity cannot be separated from our leadership in the global economy. The United States should work to open markets around the world and expand opportunities for American workers. International frameworks should be vehicles for promoting free trade and economic opportunity, not for redistributing wealth or entrenching domestic subsidy programs. The United States should assist countries develop the institutions and commitment to the rule of law that will permit the development of market economies and promote stable economic growth and development. We must also continue to combat corruption that distorts markets.

Ensure America's Military Strength. Terrorists, proliferators, and dictators are looking to take advantage of any weakness in America military's strength. To preserve peace, sustain our credibility with our allies, and protect the innocent from war and tyranny, the United must revitalize its military strength. Military strength also gives legitimacy and value to all other forms of our national power, including economic and diplomatic levers of power.

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?

Energy, the environment, and America's economic future are intricately connected. We must pursue new sources of energy in order to reduce our dependence on foreign oil and non-democratic regimes that do not have our best interests at heart. Our dependence on these sources threatens our national security, limits our foreign policy options, and places our economy at risk. Indeed, all too often the United States finds its options limited by the actions of unstable governments who have used the revenue from their oil exports to sustain their regimes and illicit activities. Our dependent relationship with these types of regimes hinders our efforts to promote freedom and democracy abroad.

To achieve energy diversification, we must increase our domestic supplies, expand our use of alternative energy sources, and invest in future technologies that can free us from our dependence on oil. Key areas that should be explored include expanding the use ethanol and other bio-fuels; investing in nuclear power; and developing new more affordable forms of renewable sources of energy. We should encourage State and local communities as well as the private sector to promote ways to reduce energy consumption and improve energy efficiency. Improving transportation networks and incentivizing industry could also lead to increased energy conservation.

As we explore other sources of energy, we must be careful to protect the environment. Government regulation to this end should be limited to those areas that the private sector has not been able to effectively manage on its own. Because the federal government is one of limited and enumerated powers, the States and local communities are, in most cases, best able to determine whether government regulation is required, although I recognize that the transient nature of pollution often requires federal intervention. Before the federal government imposes any regulation, however, it should conduct a cost-benefit analysis and, if regulation is appropriate, regulate in the most efficient and less burdensome manner to achieve the optimal utility.

On Global Climate Change, I believe it is prudent for the U.S. to take steps to reduce its Carbon Dioxide emissions. Possible solutions include promoting advanced energy technologies, developing alternative fuels, and encouraging greater involvement of the private sector. I strongly oppose international agreements like the Kyoto Protocol that are not universal in application and that likely will do much more harm to our economy than good for the environment.

With regard to our economic future, I believe that the federal government can make the most difference in sustaining our nation's long-term growth by giving Americans more control of their own lives and more power over their pocket books. This means we must cut taxes and keep them low. We need to make fundamental tax changes that reduce federal taxes, make them fairer, and simplify the system. I believe making President Bush's 2001 and 2003 tax cuts permanent, eliminating the death tax, getting rid of the AMT, and reducing the impact on marriages would be steps in the right direction. I also believe the federal government should give people and their doctors more control over their health care decisions with less interference from the federal government. Lastly, we need to create long-term financial security by saving



and protecting social security and giving Americans more choice when it comes to their retirement future.

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

The American people are looking for leadership and ideas. I believe the American people should have more control over their lives and that the federal government's role in their lives should be limited at best. I plan to take on the tough issues by proposing bold solutions to the real challenges facing our nation. These solutions will seek to empower State and local communities as well as the private sector to take the lead in addressing the concerns of the American people. I will strongly oppose those solutions that infringe upon the lives of Americans and increase the control of the federal government.

Courage, honesty and integrity will be hallmarks of my strategy. I will not down-play the need for reforms nor diminish the importance of acting quickly. I believe the American people value leaders who are straight-forward with them and tell them the real challenges facing our nation. I also believe the American people are resourceful and independent. They appreciate and are constantly looking for opportunities to succeed. My goal is to give them those opportunities.