

STRENGTHENING OUR COMMON SECURITY BY INVESTING IN OUR COMMON HUMANITY

"To renew American leadership in the world, I will strengthen our common security by investing in our common humanity. Our global engagement cannot be defined by what we are against; it must be guided by a clear sense of what we stand for. We have a significant stake in ensuring that those who live in fear and want today can live with dignity and opportunity tomorrow."

[Barack Obama Foreign Affairs, July/August 2007]

BARACK OBAMA'S STRATEGY TO PROMOTE GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRACY

Barack Obama will restore America's standing in the world by providing a new American leadership to meet the challenges of a new century. At this moment in history, American leadership is urgently needed. This century's threats are as dangerous as and in some ways more complex than those we confronted in the past. They come from weapons that can kill on a mass scale and from global terrorists. But they also come from weak states that cannot control their territory or provide for their people; from extreme poverty and repressive governance that can foment instability; and; from a warming planet that would spur new diseases, spawn more devastating natural disasters, and catalyze deadly conflicts.

Barack Obama's vision of leadership in this new era begins with the recognition of a fundamental reality: the security and well-being of each and every American is tied to the security and well-being of those who live beyond our borders. The United States should provide global leadership grounded in the understanding that the world shares a common security and a common humanity. We must lead not in the spirit of a patron, but the spirit of a partner. Extending an outstretched hand to others must ultimately be more than just a matter of expedience or even charity. It must be about recognizing the inherent equality, dignity, and worth of all people. It will require American leadership that leverages engagement and resources from our traditional allies in the G-8 as well as new actors, including emerging economies (e.g. India, China, Brazil and South Africa), the private sector, and global philanthropy. Yet, while America and our friends and allies can help developing countries build more secure and prosperous societies, we must never forget that only the citizens of these nations can sustain them.

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To achieve the goal of a world of capable, democratic states, Barack Obama will implement a five-part strategy:

- Make the critical investments needed to fight global poverty.
- > Expand prosperity by increasing the capacity of developing countries to generate wealth.
- > Support the building of effective, accountable, and democratic institutions and civil societies that meet the needs of their people.
- ➤ Build the capacity of weak states to confront the common, transnational challenges we face including terrorism, conflict, climate change, proliferation and epidemic disease.
- ➤ Structure the U.S. government to meet critical 21st-century security challenges.

Presidential Leadership

"I'll be a president who finally sends a message to the black, white, and brown faces beyond our shores; from the halls of power to the huts of Africa that says, "You matter to America. Your future is our future. And our moment is now."

-- Barack Obama, Spartanburg, South Carolina, November 3, 2007

A starting point for the Obama agenda will be presidential leadership that renews America's leadership in the world for a new century. Obama's life experience – he is the son of a Kenyan goat herder and has family in Kenya, he lived for several years as a child in Indonesia, he has worked as a community organizer in the economically depressed South Side of Chicago – makes him uniquely suited to show the world a new face of America.

Presidential Diplomacy: Today, America's ability to lead the world – and to promote development and democracy – is set back because we are perceived as arrogant. One of the principle reasons for this is our unwillingness to even talk to nations that we don't like. Through his willingness to engage with all nations – foe and friend – Obama will reverse this perception of American arrogance and obstructionism, making it easier for the United States to rally broad international support for our goals.

Calling Upon the American People: Barack Obama knows that the American people are the greatest asset that this country has. In pursuing ambitious goals, Obama will call upon the know-how, generosity and public spirit of the American people. He will provide new opportunities for a new generation of Americans to serve their country – in the State Department, in the US Agency for International Development (USAID), in the Peace Corps and in an expanded military. And he will seek durable bi-partisan support for our foreign policy, so that a broad majority of the American people supports our efforts to promote both our interests and our values around the world.

Fighting Global Poverty

"In the 21st century, progress must mean more than a vote at the ballot box – it must mean freedom from fear and freedom from want. We cannot stand for the freedom of anarchy. Nor can we support the globalization of the empty stomach. We need new approaches to help people to help themselves. The United Nations has embraced the Millennium Development Goals, which aim to cut extreme poverty in half by 2015. When I'm president, they will be America's goals."

—Barack Obama, Chicago, October 2, 2007

Double Foreign Assistance to \$50 billion. Foreign assistance is a critical piece of our arsenal as we rise to this challenge. As president, Barack Obama will double our annual investments in foreign assistance to \$50 billion by 2012 and ensure that these new resources are invested wisely with strong accountability measures and directed towards strategic goals.

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Achieve the Millennium Development Goals. The United Nations (UN) has embraced the Millennium Development Goals, which aim to cut extreme poverty in half by 2015. The Bush administration tried to keep the UN from affirming these goals. In the Senate, Obama co-sponsored the International Cooperation to Meet the Millennium Development Goals Act. Barack Obama will target new U.S. assistance to help the world's weakest states to build healthy and educated communities, reduce poverty, develop markets, and generate wealth. He will also work to ensure that increases in U.S. assistance are matched by our partners in the G-8 so that developed countries truly live up to their stated commitments.

Fight Corruption. Corruption has existed for centuries, but the urgency to rollback corruption is growing. We must lead by example by making our own contracting decisions merit-based and transparent. And we must couple our assistance abroad with an insistent call for reform, transparency and accountability. Too often when we talk about corruption, we talk about it in the context of *our* assistance. When U.S. taxpayer money is involved, we absolutely must make sure that this money is not wasted or illicitly spent. But we must also keep in mind that corruption is not just about us – it is the daily reality for billions of people around the world: the reality of police encounters, school admissions processes, and housing accessibility. We must commit ourselves to spearheading an international initiative to root out corruption. As a starting point, an Obama administration will add corruption to the annual human rights reports prepared by the State Department.

Eliminate the Global Education Deficit. Education is the critical building block of social and economic development and is a key antidote to the hate peddled by extremists. Yet, today, across the developing world, countless families confront a future devoid of dignity and opportunity. One in five adults cannot read or write. Women's illiteracy exceeds 70 percent in more than 20 countries. One hundred million children – and nearly 60 million girls – do not go to elementary school. The result is a staggering education deficit that traps people in poverty. Barack Obama will spearhead an initiative to eliminate the global education deficit by 2015. An Obama administration will establish at least a \$2 billion Global Education Fund to help fill the financing gap for primary education. He will lead efforts to leverage American commitments through the World Bank's Fast Track Initiative to ensure that funding shortfall is no longer the main impediment to progress on basic education.

Enhance U.S. Leadership in the Effort to Combat HIV/AIDS, TB, and Malaria. There are an estimated 33 million people across the planet infected with HIV/AIDS, including more than 1 million people in the U.S. Nearly 8,000 people die every day of AIDS. Barack Obama believes that we must do more to fight the global HIV/AIDS pandemic, as well as malaria and tuberculosis. The first priority should be to reauthorize the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) when it expires in 2008, but also to rewrite much of the bill to allow best practices – not ideology – to drive funding for HIV/AIDS programs. In that context, Obama will commit \$50 billion over five years to strengthen the existing program and expand it to new regions of the world, including Southeast Asia, India, and parts of Europe, where the HIV/AIDS burden is growing. An Obama administration will also increase U.S. contributions to the Global Fund to ensure that global efforts to fight endemic disease continue to move ahead.

Provide Sustainable Debt Relief to Developing Countries. The poorest countries in the world suffer under the weight of an enormous burden of external debt. Resources are flowing out of the least developed countries to creditors in the rich world, when these resources are desperately needed for health care, education, and infrastructure. We have seen that multilateral debt relief can be effective – 30 countries have seen their debt stocks reduced by almost 90 percent – but more relief is needed. Barack Obama wants to see 100 percent debt cancellation for the world's heavily-indebted poor countries. He is committed to living up to the promise to fully fund debt cancellation for Heavily-Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC). An Obama administration will also dedicate itself to preventing a future in which poor countries face pressing debt burdens again. He will press for reforms at the World Bank to ensure that poor countries receive grants rather than loans, and that countries have

the resources they need to respond to the external shocks that threaten to derail economic progress. And as president, Barack Obama will lead a multilateral effort to address the issue of "odious debt" by investigating ways in which "loan sanctions" might be employed to create disincentives for private creditors to lend money to repressive, authoritarian regimes.

Expanding Prosperity

"We need to invest in building capable, democratic states that can establish healthy and educated communities, develop markets, and generate wealth." -- Barack Obama, Foreign Affairs, July/August 2007

Since World War II, the United States has helped to bring millions of people out of poverty through our bilateral assistance programs and contributions to multilateral organizations. But our work is not done. Maintaining American leadership requires that we continue investments in agriculture, infrastructure, and economic growth so that all developing countries are in a position to reap the benefits of globalization.

Add Value to Agriculture Initiative (AVTA). Agriculture provides a livelihood for the majority of the world's poor, and it is the sector that will be hardest hit by climate change. In order to increase the incomes of subsistence producers, decrease the pressure on shrinking arable lands, and minimize the vulnerability of commodity exports to global price shocks, an Obama administration will launch the AVTA Initiative. Barack Obama is committed to spurring research and innovation aimed at bringing about a Green Revolution for Africa, by partnering with land grant institutions, private philanthropies and business to support agricultural processing through increased investment in research and development for improved seeds, irrigation methods, and affordable and safe fertilizers. As president, Barack Obama will also make critical investments in providing the package of tools needed to allow poor farmers to succeed in the agricultural market, including by providing training in regulation and quality control standards and by increasing finance and financing instruments for rural enterprises as well as access to markets.

A Fund for Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs). It is neither sustainable nor appropriate for developed countries to focus solely on reducing poverty in the developing world. The challenge is to build the capacity of communities and countries in the developing world to generate wealth on their own. Building on the growing evidence that micro finance works, an Obama administration will provide initial capital for an SME Fund. Administered through the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, an independent U.S. government agency, the government will provide seed capital matched by a larger portion from the private sector. The SME Fund will be designed to provide seed capital and technical assistance to catalyze the establishment of job-creating small and medium enterprises, and to build the capacity of entrepreneurs to translate their ideas into viable businesses, including through the creation of regional "SME Universities" supported by America's business schools.

Lead Efforts to Reform the IMF and the World Bank. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank have contributed in important ways to an era of tremendous openness and global growth since 1945, but both institutions face crises of governance and are in need of modernization and reform. As president, Barack Obama will lead an effort in the G-8 to achieve a new consensus on the missions of the IMF and the World Bank, while at the same time securing necessary changes in how both institutions are governed to reflect the increasing influence of middle-income countries.

Supporting Effective, Accountable, and Democratic Institutions

"To build a better, freer world, we must first behave in ways that reflect the decency and aspirations of the American people. This means ending the practices of shipping away prisoners in the dead of night to be tortured in far-off countries, of detaining thousands without charge or trial, of maintaining a network of secret prisons to jail people beyond the reach of the law."

-- Barack Obama, Chicago, April 23, 2007

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U.S. leadership in supporting the growth of accountable and democratic governments around the world cannot become a casualty of the Iraq War. American presidents made the defense of human rights and the advance of democracy central foreign policy objectives long before George W. Bush tarnished their legacy through empty rhetoric, a misguided war and gross incompetence in Iraq. No country in the world has benefited more from the worldwide expansion of democracy than the United States. Democracies are our best trading partners, our most valuable allies, and the nations with which we share our deepest values. Under Barack Obama's leadership, the United States will join with our democratic partners around the world to meet common security challenges and uphold our shared values whenever they are threatened by autocratic practices, coups, human rights abuses or genocide.

Support for Democracy Begins at Home. Barack Obama knows that our greatest tool in advancing democracy is our own example. This asset, however, has been severely damaged in recent years, especially by the horrific acts of prisoner abuse at Abu Ghraib and detention without charges at Guantanamo, and by the failure of our leaders to accept accountability for these acts. Barack Obama will hold the United States to the same standards that we demand of others. That means ending torture without equivocation – including so-called "enhanced interrogation techniques," ending extraordinary rendition and indefinite detentions; restoring habeas corpus; and closing the detention facility at Guantanamo Bay.

Matching Rhetoric with Deeds. In his second inaugural address on January 20, 2005, President George W. Bush used the word 'freedom' 25 times, 'liberty' 12 times, and 'democracy' or 'democratic' 3 times. All of these words, however, have done little to advance democracy around the world. Instead of mere rhetoric, Barack Obama will focus on achieving concrete outcomes that will advance democracy. President Obama will work for the release of jailed scholars, activists, and opposition party leaders such as Ayman Nour in Egypt. President Obama will stand with struggling democrats as they denounce elections that are not free or fair, so that flawed elections can no longer be used to legitimize authoritarian rule in places like Russia, Zimbabwe, and Azerbaijan. President Obama will confront the perpetrators of genocide, such as the Government of Sudan in Darfur, rather than standing by, content with idle half-measures.

Promote Freedom from Fear: As president, Barack Obama will commit his administration to promoting one of Franklin Roosevelt's four pillars: freedom from fear: He will commit to strengthen the pillars of a just society in countries around the globe, through insistent calls for reform and critical investments in the growth of transparent and accountable institutions that provide the opportunity and dignity that people so desperately seek. The U.S. should help build strong legislatures, responsible political parties, free presses, and vibrant civil societies, and help ease the fears of communities in the developing world by strengthening judiciaries and building honest and professional police forces in order to ensure that legal systems enforce peoples' rights and stabilize societies.

Increase Funding for Struggling Democrats Abroad. In our efforts to support courageous democrats abroad, direct financial assistance from the U.S. government will not always be welcome or beneficial. Barack Obama believes that we should channel most support for democratic activists living under the most repressive regimes through independent institutions, committed to supporting democrats but free from perceptions of questionable or ulterior motives. As president, he will significantly increase funding for the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) and other nongovernmental organizations to support these civic activists.

Create a Rapid Response Fund for Societies in Transition. Democracy does not happen overnight. But when a democratic revolution catches, or when conflict yields to fragile peace, the U.S. cannot simply sit by and applaud. Barack Obama will introduce a new Rapid Response Fund – a seed fund that will provide a shot of adrenaline to young democracies and post-conflict societies, through foreign aid, debt relief, technical

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assistance and investment packages that show the people of newly hopeful countries that democracy and peace deliver, and the United States stands by them. For divided societies to heal, former adversaries need support to establish collaborative processes that can resolve long-standing disputes, reconcile competing interests, and set a common agenda for the future. Such efforts have helped consolidate peace from war-torn Burundi to Liberia. Barack Obama will work with international institutions and NGOs to ensure that not simply money but expertise is available to transitional societies in the time of their greatest promise, but also often their greatest vulnerability. He will work with our allies to build a roster of available and deployable policemen, customs experts, engineers, agricultural economists, negotiators, education specialists so that nascent governments and international institutions can draw upon foreign expertise as needed.

Confronting Common Threats

"And since extremely poor societies and weak states provide optimal breeding grounds for disease, terrorism, and conflict, the United States has a direct national security interest in dramatically reducing global poverty and joining with our allies in sharing more of our riches to help those most in need. We need to invest in building capable, democratic states that can establish healthy and educated communities, develop markets, and generate wealth. Such states would also have greater institutional capacities to fight terrorism, halt the spread of deadly weapons, and build health-care infrastructures to prevent, detect, and treat deadly diseases such as HIV/AIDS, malaria, and avian flu."

— Barack Obama, Chicago, April 23, 2007

One of the enduring purposes of U.S. engagement in global development is to counter threats to our national security. As we have seen in Iraq and Afghanistan, military efforts to combat terrorism cannot succeed without stabilization, reconstruction, and development activities that encompass our own civilian expertise and the efforts and resources of our allies overseas. The U.S. increasingly depends on the good will and capacity of governments throughout the developing world as we confront common threats: the rise of extremism, the persistence of deadly conflict, the spread of epidemic disease, the proliferation of weapons, and the crisis of a changing climate. Barack Obama will ensure that we make the necessary investments in building the capacity of our partners so that we can address these global challenges together.

Counter Terrorism through a Shared Security Partnership Program. As president, Barack Obama will create a Shared Security Partnership Program to forge an international intelligence and law enforcement infrastructure to take down terrorist networks from the remote islands of Indonesia to the sprawling cities of Africa. This program will provide \$5 billion over three years for counter-terrorism cooperation with countries around the world, including information sharing, funding for training, operations, border security, anti-corruption programs, technology, and targeting terrorist financing.

Strengthen the Capacity of the UN and Regional Organizations to Prevent and Respond to Deadly Violence. Barack Obama supports renewed US leadership in support of effective United Nations and regional peace operations. Such missions engage nations around the world to bring stable peace to war-torn regions; to establish the rule of law and to prevent state failure; to address threats that are not easily contained by borders and boundaries; and to halt atrocities and genocide. Yet, our expectations of the UN have often not been met -- because obstructionist member states have blocked timely action (as on Darfur and in the UN Human Rights Council) and because corruption and management failures have undermined the UN's effectiveness. An Obama administration will pursue significant UN reforms at the same time as it improves the UN's ability to conduct future peace and stability operations. It will also work with other multinational actors that deploy peacekeeping forces like the African Union, the European Union, the Economic Community of West African States, and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to help strengthen their capacity to conduct such missions. Barack Obama also believes that the US must provide the political leadership required so that UN missions are backed by workable political strategies. As president, Obama will lead in the UN Security Council, work with Congress

to ensure the US pays its peacekeeping assessments on time, and marry peacekeeping missions with serious diplomatic initiatives.

Establish Effective Global Health Infrastructure by 2020. Developing nations need effective health care systems that can support a healthy workforce, sustain economic gains, and protect the citizenry from the threat of contagious diseases that know no borders. This global health infrastructure also matters enormously to the United States, for when infectious disease spreads unabated, the security of Americans is immediately at risk. We need strengthened global cooperation to prevent and respond to the spread of deadly disease like extreme drug resistant tuberculosis or, potentially, avian flu. Barack Obama will take the lead at the G-8, working with and leveraging the engagement of the private sector and private philanthropy, to launch Health Infrastructure 2020 – a global effort to work with developing countries to invest in the full range of infrastructure needed to improve and protect both American and global health. A key part of this initiative will be an effort to address the health care brain drain from the world's poorest countries by training new professionals who commit to sustained service in their home countries and by providing incentives for professionals already trained to stay in their home countries.

Launch the Global Energy and Environment Initiative (GEE). Climate change is a crisis that cannot be contained to one corner of the globe. Studies show that with each degree of warming, rice yields - the world's most significant crop - fall by 10 percent. By 2050 famine could displace more than 250 million people worldwide. In his energy plan, Barack Obama called for the creation of a new Global Energy Forum of the world's largest greenhouse gas emitters. He also made clear that we cannot ignore the developing countries that are being worst affected by climate change and force them to tackle adaptation on their own. To that end, he will call on the Global Energy Forum to launch the GEE Initiative to bring developing countries into the global effort to develop alternative sources of energy and prepare for the ravages of a changing climate. GEE will help build the capacity of the developing world to participate profitably in the global carbon market, promote the transfer of viable and affordable technologies, and ensure that a substantial portion of increased research and development funds is allocated to technology adaptation appropriate to the poorest countries. Barack Obama will incorporate climate change and energy development goals into all tools of U.S. economic engagement, including assistance programs, trade agreements, and debt relief initiatives and help developing countries prepare for climate change by spurring the development of an open-source, real time mapping system to forecast the impacts of climate change country-by country. An Obama administration will also create an Emerging Market Energy Fund, using USG funding to leverage the investment and venture capital needed to expand the developing world's renewable energy portfolio.

Structuring the U.S. Government to Meet 21st Century Challenges

"To succeed, we must improve our civilian capacity. The finest military in the world is adapting to the challenges of the 21st century. But it cannot counter insurgent and terrorist threats without civilian counterparts who can carry out economic and political reconstruction missions – sometimes in dangerous places. As president, I will strengthen these civilian capacities, recruiting our best and brightest to take on this challenge. I will increase both the numbers and capabilities of our diplomats, development experts, and other civilians who can work alongside our military. We can't just say there is no military solution to these problems. We need to integrate all aspects of American might."

— Barack Obama, Washington, August 1, 2007

In confronting unprecedented global challenges, a new commitment of resources will not be sufficient. As we have seen from the failure of the Bush administration's reconstruction efforts in Iraq, assistance is not just money to be thrown at a problem – it is a tool we must use wisely to invest in a more secure and prosperous future.

Barack Obama has called for the creation of a civilian assistance corps, and he will reform the infrastructure that manages U.S. foreign assistance. Today, what we call "foreign aid" is spread across 25 government agencies, programs, and initiatives, with too little of our taxpayers' resources getting to the problem and no single person within our government responsible for directing and managing what should be one of our most powerful foreign policy tools. Successive administrations have talked the talk of reform, while proliferating agencies and programs such that American tax dollars are now spent in an uncoordinated and rigid manner at a time when accountable, flexible, and transparent processes are most needed.

Elevate, Streamline and Empower a 21st Century US Development Agency. Barack Obama will lead an effort to modernize our foreign assistance policies, tools, and operations. Obama will coordinate and consolidate PEPFAR, Millennium Challenge Corporation, Middle East Partnership Initiative and many foreign assistance programs currently housed in more than 20 executive agencies into a restructured, empowered and streamlined USAID. He will ensure that this agency has the highest caliber leadership and plays a central role in the formulation and implementation of critical development and related foreign policy strategies. An empowered and elevated agency should be more nimble in the face of change and use tax dollars more responsibly. It is also essential to ensuring that development is established and endures as a key pillar of U.S. foreign policy. Obama will mobilize our civilian agencies to address a new set of global challenges and boost the stature of the government's long-term development mission to attract the most talented professionals.

Expand our Development Corps: We cannot expect more of our foreign assistance dollars without also hiring, training, and supporting a substantial new cadre of development experts to lead our efforts. In the 1960s and 1970s, USAID was widely seen as the most effective bilateral development agency overseas—nearly 15,000 full time development professionals worked on behalf of the U.S. government around the globe. Today, USAID has only 1,100 Foreign Service direct hires deployed in 84 countries around the world. Half of these will be eligible to retire in less than five years. As part of his effort to reform foreign assistance, Barack Obama will invest the necessary resources to staff a modern development agency prepared for the challenges of the 21st century.

Strengthen the State Department's Capacity to Prevent and Respond to Conflict. The State Department has an essential role as our lead diplomatic agency to assess the risk of conflict in developing countries, to act quickly to prevent and forestall violence, and to spear-head efforts to stabilize countries in the aftermath of conflict. Although the Bush administration has committed itself to building civilian capacity to undertake conflict prevention and post-conflict stabilization activities, little authority and few resources have accompanied its rhetoric. As president, Barack Obama will ensure that the State Department has the authorities and resources it requires to lead U.S. government efforts to prevent and respond to conflict. Obama will increase the size of the Foreign Service, fully fund the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization and create a new Office of Conflict Prevention and Resolution with senior Ambassadors to support high-level negotiations and provide the expertise and capacity to seize opportunities or address crises as they arise. An Obama administration will also build a ready reserve corps of private civilians that can participate in post-conflict, humanitarian and stabilization efforts around the globe.

Integrate Civilian and Military Capacities to Promote Global Development and Democracy. As the U.S. confronts new global challenges, greater cooperation between civilian and military agencies is essential. Barack Obama will create Mobile Development Teams (MDTs) that bring together personnel from the military, the Pentagon, the State Department, and USAID, fully integrating U.S. government efforts in counter-terror, state-building and post-conflict operations. In Washington, an Obama administration will assert a powerful coordinating role for the National Security Council, with a Deputy National Security Advisor empowered to develop integrated strategies to build capable, democratic states and ensure policy coherence in the application of development and democracy programs as key elements of U.S. power.

Additional Resources:

For more information on Barack Obama's vision

- Strengthen America's security, please go to http://my.barackobama.com/page/-/pdf/Fact percent20Sheet percent20Foreign percent20Policy.pdf
- End the War in Iraq, please go to http://my.barackobama.com/page/-/pdf/Fact percent20Sheet percent20Iraq percent20Final.pdf
- A New Beginning to America on Foreign Policy, please go to http://www.barackobama.com/2007/10/02/remarks_of_senator_barack_obam_27.php
- Protect the American homeland, please go to http://www.barackobama.com/issues/homeland
- Real Leadership for a Clean Energy Future, please go to http://www.barackobama.com/2007/10/08/remarks_of_senator_barack_obam_28.php
- Ensure Veteran's rights, please go to http://www.barackobama.com/issues/veterans/
- Win the Battle Against Terrorism, please go to http://www.barackobama.com/pdf/CounterterrorismFactSheet.pdf
- A 21st Century Military for America, please go to http://my.barackobama.com/page/-/HQpress/11.25.07 Defense% 20Fact% 20Sheet.pdf