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Memorandum To Interested Parties

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WHICH OF GOV. ROMNEY'S POSITIONS WILL HE ADAMANTLY DENY TONIGHT?

The main question about tonight's debate is not whether the Republican candidates demand the President remove the trigger compelling Congress to act to reduce the deficit – we know they will. The main question is which of Governor Romney's positions will he adamantly deny?

In 2008 Romney said: “Barack and Hillary have made their intentions clear regarding Iraq and the war on terror: They would retreat, declare defeat. And the consequence would be devastating.”

In 2007 Romney attacked Obama for promising to end the war in Iraq, saying “Thank heavens Barack Obama wasn't President. We'd have been out of there and al Qaeda would have been dancing in the streets.”

In recent weeks, Romney released a foreign policy agenda that failed to outline a mission for our troops in Iraq or a timetable for withdrawal – leaving them there indefinitely. And Romney attacked the President for keeping his promise to end the war in Iraq.

Will that same Mitt Romney show up tonight? Or will he do what he has done on so many other issues and reinvent himself before our eyes?

In a recent debate, Romney flipped on payroll tax cuts which he had called “little bandaids,” saying he “didn't want to raise taxes on people in the middle of a recession.” In South Carolina, he told veterans he wanted to inject “private sector competition” into the VA health care system and offer vouchers to vets for their health care, but just yesterday, he said he had doesn't have “any proposal of that nature.”

But this penchant for changing positions is of particular concern on matters of national security. A Commander-in-Chief only gets one chance to get it right. But Mitt Romney has been on all sides of the key foreign policy issues facing our nation today:

- Mitt Romney's tough on China campaign rhetoric is nothing but empty, because when the President stood up for American workers and enforced trade laws against China, Romney wrote in his book: "President Obama's action to defend American tire companies from foreign competition may make good politics by repaying unions for their support of his campaign, but it is decidedly bad for the nation and our workers. Protectionism stifles productivity."
- On Libya, Romney gave a series of convoluted statements – supportive and critical of military action, and for and against the removal of Qaddafi.
- On Afghanistan, while declining to outline his own strategy to wind down the war, Romney has been for and against a timetable to withdraw our troops.
- Romney criticized the President for making clear he would go after terrorists in Pakistan if the Pakistanis couldn't or wouldn't – a strategy that ultimately resulted in the elimination of Osama bin Laden.

Past is never present with Mitt Romney -- he will say and stand for anything to win. The only surprise tonight will be if Mitt Romney doesn't deny his record on another key issue.

ROMNEY'S FOREIGN POLICY: HERE TODAY, GONE TOMORROW

Romney: "Barack And Hillary Have Made Their Intentions Clear Regarding Iraq And The War On Terror. They Would Retreat, Declare Defeat. And The Consequence Of That Would Be Devastation. It Would Mean Attacks On America, Launched From Safe Havens That Would Make Afghanistan Under The Taliban Look Like Child's Play. About This, I Have No Doubt." Romney: "Today we are a nation at war. And Barack and Hillary have made their intentions clear regarding Iraq and the war on terror: They would retreat, declare defeat. And the consequence of that would be devastating. It would mean attacks on America, launched from safe havens that would make Afghanistan under the Taliban look like child's play. About this, I have no doubt." [CPAC, 2/7/08]

2007: Romney On Obama Wanting To Wind Down The War In Iraq: "Thank Heavens Barack Obama Wasn't President. We'd Have Been Out Of There And Al-Qaeda Would Have Been Dancing In The Streets." "Romney did plug his plan to do away with taxes on savings and investment accounts for Americans with incomes less than \$200,000. He also attacked leading Democratic candidates Sen. Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama by name. 'I heard Sen. Clinton

say the other day she'd represent change, and she would. I don't like the direction that she'd want to go,' he said, and then criticized Obama for wanting to pull U.S. troops out of Iraq. 'Thank heavens Barack Obama wasn't president. We'd have been out of there and Al-Qaeda would have been dancing in the streets.'" [Palm Beach Post, 9/20/07]

ROMNEY PROPOSED NO PLAN FOR IRAQ BUT CRITICIZED OBAMA FOR WITHDRAWING TROOPS

ROMNEY ATTACKED PRESIDENT OBAMA FOR HIS DECISION TO WITHDRAW TROOPS FROM IRAQ

Romney Attacked President Obama Over His Decision To Withdraw Troops From Iraq. Mitt Romney issued the following statement on President Obama's decision to withdraw troops from Iraq: "President Obama's astonishing failure to secure an orderly transition in Iraq has unnecessarily put at risk the victories that were won through the blood and sacrifice of thousands of American men and women. The unavoidable question is whether this decision is the result of a naked political calculation or simply sheer ineptitude in negotiations with the Iraqi government. The American people deserve to hear the recommendations that were made by our military commanders in Iraq." [Romney For President, [10/21/11](#)]

ROMNEY'S FOREIGN POLICY WHITE PAPER DIDN'T PROPOSE A CLEAR STRATEGY FOR IRAQ -- WOULD LEAVE TROOPS THERE INDEFINITELY WITHOUT A MISSION

Romney's Foreign Policy White Paper Portion On Iraq Said Only That It Would Be "Impossible To Forecast What Conditions In Iraq Will Confront The Next American President" And He Would Use "The Broad Array Of Our Foreign-Policy Tools" To Establish A Lasting Relationship With Iraq. "In light of these developments, it is impossible to forecast what conditions in Iraq will confront the next American president in January 2013. Mitt Romney will enter office seeking to use the broad array of our foreign-policy tools — diplomatic, economic, and military — to establish a lasting relationship with Iraq and guarantee that Baghdad remains a solid partner in a volatile and strategically vital region." [Romney's Foreign Policy White Paper, [10/7/11](#)]

ROMNEY DIDN'T PUT FORTH A PLAN FOR IRAQ IN HIS FOREIGN POLICY SPEECH AND MENTIONED 11 COUNTRIES MORE THAN IRAQ

Romney's Single Iraq Reference: "Over 1400 of your alumni have served in Iraq, Afghanistan, and elsewhere fighting the war against terrorism. And sixteen have paid the ultimate price."

[[Transcript Of Romney's Foreign Policy Speech, 10/7/11](#)]

- Countries Mentioned More Than Iraq: Afghanistan (3), Iran (6), Israel (6), Pakistan (2), China (2), Russia (2), Venezuela (3), Cuba (4), Mexico (2), United Kingdom (3), and Greece (2).

ROMNEY FLIP-FLOPPED ON BEING TOUGH ON CHINA

ROMNEY CRITICIZED OBAMA FOR ENFORCING TRADE LAWS AGAINST CHINA CALLING IT "BAD FOR THE NATION AND OUR WORKERS"

Romney: Obama's Chinese Tire Tariffs Are "Bad For The Nation And Our Workers" And Called It "Protectionism." "President Obama's action to defend American tire companies from foreign competition may make good politics by repaying unions for their support of his campaign, but it is decidedly bad for the nation and our workers. Protectionism stifles productivity." [Romney, No Apology (Case for American Greatness), Page 119 (audio available)]

...THEN CLAIMED THAT HE WOULD IMPOSE TARIFFS ON CHINA

Romney Said He Would Put Tariffs On China "If They Don't Abide By The Rules." In an interview with Mitt Romney, Larry Kudlow asked what Romney's corrective actions would be on China. Romney said, "Well, you take a--when you negotiate, you let them know that you're willing to take whatever action is necessary, and that would include, for instance, if they've stolen intellectual property on a particular series of goods that you're going to put tariffs on their products if they don't abide by the rules." [Kudlow Report, CNBC, 9/6/11]

ROMNEY WAS ALL OVER THE MAP ON LIBYA

FIRST, ROMNEY WAS SUPPORTIVE OF LIBYA ACTION

Romney: "I Support Military Action In Libya. I Support Our Troops There And The Mission That They've Been Given." Romney said, "Well, first, I support military action in Libya. I support our troops there and the mission that they've been given." [Romney Interview, [Hugh Hewitt, 3/21/11](#)]

THEN, ROMNEY WENT SILENT ON LIBYA, REFUSING TO TAKE A POSITION

Romney Was Silent On Libya During Speech To Republican Jewish Coalition And “Fled Down A Hallway And Escaped Up An Escalator” To Avoid Reporter Questions On His Position On Libya. “Yet Romney was silent on Libya, the newest and stickiest military and U.S. policy problem as the United States and its NATO allies enforce a no-fly zone to help rebels oust Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi. After his speech, Romney refused to take questions from reporters about his position on Libya. Instead, he and his wife, Ann, fled down a hallway and escaped up an escalator at The Venetian, where the event was held.” [[Las Vegas Review Journal, 4/2/11](#)]

- **Romney Deflected A Libya Query By A Reporter Saying “I’ve Got A Lot Of Positions On A Lot Of Topics...”** “‘I’ve got a lot of positions on a lot of topics, but walking down the hall probably isn’t the best place to describe all those,’ Romney said, deflecting a Libya query as he walked quickly with half a dozen journalists trailing him.” [[Las Vegas Review Journal, 4/2/11](#)]

THEN ROMNEY BACKTRACKED, AND BECAME CRITICAL OF THE LIBYA MISSION

Romney Attacked President Obama Over Libya Saying He Was Muddling The Mission Of A Humanitarian No-Fly Zone To A Mission To Remove Gaddafi. In an interview with Mark Larson, Mitt Romney said, “I can say with regards to Libya that, like you, when the President indicated that this was going to be a humanitarian mission with a no-fly zone I supported him and continue to support that mission. But, but I think you are seeing an example of mission creep or at least mission muddle because now the President is saying, in what he wrote over the weekend, we are not going to be successful unless we remove Gaddafi and he’s permanently out of office there. Well that’s a different mission. And if the President is proposing a new and different mission for Libya, I would like to hear what it is. Understand the reason for the change in mission, how we are going to accomplish it and so forth. But that’s not something he’s been willing to do yet. I think he needs to report to the American people and to Congress about what his real mission is now in Libya.” [Mark Larson Radio, KCBQ San Diego, 4/20/11]

- **Romney Attacked President Obama On Libya Saying “Military Action Cannot Be Under-Deliberated And Ad Hoc.”** “Last week, the president wrote in an op-ed with his British and French counterparts that ‘to succeed, Qaddafi must go and go for good.’ It is apparent that our military is engaged in much more than enforcing a no-fly zone. What we are watching in real time is another example of mission creep and mission muddle. In an op-

ed in today's Boston Herald, former U.N. ambassador John Bolton rightly notes that Obama has set himself up for 'massive strategic failure' by demanding Qaddafi's ouster 'while restricting military force to the limited objective of protecting civilians.' Military action cannot be under-deliberated and ad hoc. The president owes it to the American people and Congress to immediately explain his new Libya mission and its strategic rationale."

[[Romney, National Review Op-Ed, 4/21/11](#)]

THEN, ROMNEY ATTACKED OBAMA FOR CALLING TO REMOVE QADDAFI

Romney Attacked Obama For Calling For The Removal Of Qaddafi Saying "Who's Going To Own Libya If We Get Rid Of The Government There?" "During remarks in New Hampshire in last month, Mitt Romney accused President Obama of 'mission muddle' for expanding United States operations in Libya beyond enforcing a no-fly zone to a wider goal of preventing Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi from attacking his own people. 'Now the president is saying we have to remove Qaddafi,' Mr. Romney said at the time, adding, 'Who's going to own Libya if we get rid of the government there?'" [New York Times, [8/22/11](#)]

BUT WAIT, ROMNEY LATER CELEBRATED QADDAFI'S OUSTER

Romney Said "The World Celebrates The Removal Of Qaddafi." "But on Monday evening, as the rebels surged through Tripoli, Mr. Romney told Neil Cavuto of Fox Business Network that 'the world celebrates the idea of getting rid of Qaddafi.' And instead of assessing Mr. Obama's actions, he called on a new Libyan government to extradite the man convicted in the 1988 Lockerbie bombing." [New York Times, [8/22/11](#)]

ROMNEY HAS FLIP-FLOPPED REPEATEDLY ON AFGHANISTAN

ROMNEY HAD NO STRATEGY FOR AFGHANISTAN AND DODGED QUESTIONS ON IT

Byron York: Romney Seemed "Off Balance" When Asked What Strategy He Would Employ In Afghanistan Saying "I'm Not In That Position." "Then there's Afghanistan. 'I'm a little surprised that, having made Afghanistan the center of his anti-terrorist strategy, he says he doesn't have a strategy at this stage for what to do in Afghanistan,' Romney says of the president. 'I would have expected him to have accomplished that by this point.' As Romney sees it, Obama has a choice. He can go along with Gen. Stanley McChrystal's expected request for more troops, or he can betray his own campaign promise of a firm U.S. stand in Afghanistan. 'I think his only choice, and the correct choice, is the former,' Romney says. But it might not be

that simple. When I ask Romney, ‘What would you have done?’ he seems slightly off-balance. ‘I’m not in that position,’ Romney says. He pauses a moment. ‘When you say, what would I have done, I, I – ‘Do you think we needed a new strategy in Afghanistan?’ I ask. ‘I’m going to Afghanistan and Iraq in a couple of months,’ Romney says. ‘I’ll get an assessment of what’s happening there and what the prospects are. But I certainly would support our troops with the additional troops which are being called for by General McChrystal, and provide the equipment and the manpower and the budgetary support which our troops deserve.’” [[Byron York, Washington Examiner, 9/27/09](#)]

ROMNEY FLIP-FLOPPED ON WITHDRAWING TROOPS FROM AFGHANISTAN

FLIP: Romney: “It Is My Desire And My Political Party’s Desire To Support The People Of Afghanistan And Not To Leave.” “Although the media have not been invited to his events, a glimpse into Romney’s thinking was provided by an individual who attended the meeting between Romney and the young Afghans and who allowed a reporter to view a video of the event. At one point, Romney said he supports a longer-term US presence in Afghanistan and asked Afghans for their own suggestions about how the United States can help overcome the raging insurgency and endemic corruption here. President Obama’s administration has said it plans to begin reducing the number of US troops in July with the goal of handing over security to the Afghans by the end of 2014. ‘It is my desire and my political party’s desire to support the people of Afghanistan and not to leave,’ Romney said in response to a question about whether the United States was going to pull out of the country soon. ‘So we look to you to tell us the best ways that we can support you.’” [[Boston Globe, 1/14/11](#)]

FLOP: Romney said: “We All Want Out Troops To Come Home As Soon As Possible.” “Some of the leading Republican presidential candidates offered dramatically different reactions to President Obama’s announcement of troop reductions in Afghanistan, a reflection of the schism in the Republican Party over the future of the war... Mitt Romney, the former governor of Massachusetts, is somewhere in the middle. In a statement, Mr. Romney said that ‘we all want our troops to come home as soon as possible,’ but he stopped short of praising Mr. Obama’s speech.” [New York Times, [6/23/11](#)]

- **Romney Said Of Afghanistan: “I Also Think We’ve Learned That Our Troops Shouldn’t Go Off And Try To Fight A War Of Independence For Another Nation.”** At the New Hampshire Republican primary debate Romney said of Afghanistan: “I also think we’ve learned that our troops shouldn’t go off and try and fight a war of independence for another nation. Only the Afghans can win Afghanistan’s independence from the Taliban.” [New Hampshire Debate, [6/13/11](#)]

ROMNEY FLIP-FLOPPED ON SETTING TIMETABLES FOR AFGHANISTAN WITHDRAWAL

FLIP: Romney Criticized President Obama's Announcement Of A Troop Withdrawal Timeline In Afghanistan Saying "The Taliban May Not Have Watches, But They Do Have Calendars." "Romney praised the decision to send additional troops to Afghanistan, but criticized President Obama's announcement of when troops will withdraw. 'The Taliban may not have watches, but they do have calendars,' Romney said." [Boston Globe, [6/3/11](#)]

FLOP: Romney: "The Generals Actually Concur With The Idea That We Should Bring Down The Surge Troops And Ultimately By 2014, Take Our Footprint - Our Large Combat Footprint Out Of Afghanistan, That's Something With Which I Concur." On Morning Joe, Mitt Romney said: "The generals actually concur with the idea that we should bring down the surge troops, and ultimately by 2014, take our footprint -- our large combat footprint out of Afghanistan, that's something with which I concur." [Morning Joe, MSNBC, 9/28/11]

ROMNEY CRITICIZED THE PRESIDENT FOR SAYING HE WOULD TAKE UNILATERAL ACTION

AGAINST TERRORISTS IN PAKISTAN

Romney Said He Didn't Agree With Obama on Taking Unilateral Action Against Al Qaeda Targets in Pakistan. Republican presidential candidate Mitt Romney criticized Democrat Barack Obama on Friday for vowing to strike al Qaeda targets inside Pakistan if necessary as the Obama camp issued a strident defense of his plan. What had been an internecine foreign policy battle between rival Democrats Obama, an Illinois senator, and New York Sen. Hillary Clinton, spilled into the Republican arena in the heavily contested state of Iowa. 'I do not concur in the words of Barack Obama in a plan to enter an ally of ours... I don't think those kinds of comments help in this effort to draw more friends to our effort,' Romney told reporters on the campaign trail. Obama on Wednesday said if elected president in November 2008 he would be willing to launch military strikes against al Qaeda targets inside Pakistan with or without the approval of the Pakistani government of President Pervez Musharraf. 'If we have actionable intelligence about high-value terrorist targets and President Musharraf won't act, we will,' Obama said." [[Reuters, 8/4/07](#)]

- **Romney: US Troops "Shouldn't Be Sent All Over The World" And Obama's Comments Were "Ill-Timed" And "Ill-Considered."** "Romney, the former Massachusetts governor who is one of the Republican front-runners, said U.S. troops 'shouldn't be sent all

over the world.' He called Obama's comments 'ill-timed' and 'ill-considered.' 'There is a war being waged by terrorists of different types and nature across the world,' Romney said. 'We want, as a civilized world, to participate with other nations in this civilized effort to help those nations reject the extreme with them.'" [[Reuters, 8/4/07](#)]

Romney Criticized Obama For Comments About Attacking Terrorists In Pakistan. Romney said Obama's comments were "ill-conceived" and would hurt American efforts to create a global effort to root out radical Islamic terrorists. Romney said, "We want as a civilized world to participate with other nations in this civilized effort to help those nations reject the extreme within them. That doesn't mean that our troops are going to go all over the world," before saying about Obama's comments, "I think his comments were ill-timed and ill-considered." [Associated Press, 8/5/07]

ROMNEY BELITTLED PAYROLL TAX CUT THAN SAID HE WAS FOR EXTENDING IT

FLIP: Romney Said Of The Payroll Tax Cuts **In President Obama's Jobs Act**: "I Don't Like Temporary Band-Aids." At the Republican primary debate Romney was asked about President Obama's economic plan. Goldman: "So you would be OK with seeing the payroll tax cuts?" Romney: "Look, I don't like temporary little Band-Aids, I want to fundamentally restructure America's foundation economically." [Republican Primary Debate, Bloomberg, [10/11/11](#)]

FLIP: When Told That Not Extending The Payroll Tax Cut Would Be A Tax Increase, **Romney Said, "I Don't Want To Raise Taxes On People In The Middle Of A Recession."** "HARWOOD: Governor Romney, if I could follow up, Speaker Gingrich just said he is not prepared to raise taxes on the American people in the middle of a slow economy like this. That's what would happen if the payroll tax cut is not extended. Do you agree with him, and would you also support, when it comes down to it, an extension of the payroll tax cut? ROMNEY: I don't want to raise taxes on people in the middle of a recession. Of course not. ... And that's one of the reasons why we fought so hard to make sure the Bush tax cuts weren't taken away by President Obama. But, look, this issue of deficits and spending is not about just dollars and cents. It's a moral issue. It's a moral imperative. We can't continue to pass on massive debts to the next generation. We can't continue to put at risk the greatest nation in the history of the Earth because of the profligate spending that's going on in Washington, D.C." [CNBC Republican Primary Debate, [11/9/11](#)]

**ROMNEY'S PLAN WOULD ONLY GIVE THE AVERAGE MIDDLE CLASS FAMILY
A TAX CUT OF \$54 A YEAR...**

A Typical Middle Class Family Nationwide Making Between \$40,000-\$50,000 Would See An Average Tax Cut Of \$54 if Romney's Proposal To Eliminate Taxes On Capital Gains, Interest, And Dividends Were in Place in 2011. Over 70 percent of these families would see no benefit at all. [[Tax Policy Center, 6/16/11](#)]

ROMNEY FLIP-FLOPPED ON PRIVATIZING VETERANS HEALTH CARE

FLIP: Romney Suggested Privatizing Veteran's Benefits And Giving Veterans Vouchers For Health Care. Romney: "Sometimes you wonder, would there be some way to introduce some private sector competition, somebody else that could come in and say, you know each soldier gets x thousand dollars attributed to them and then they can choose whether they want to go into the government system or in a private system with the money that follows them, like what happens with schools in Florida where people have a voucher that goes with them, who knows." [Romney Veterans Roundtable In Maudlin, SC, 11/11/11]

FLOP: Romney: "I Don't Have Any Proposal" To Privatize Veterans Health Care. Romney: "I have no proposal of that nature [to privatize the VA]. We has a group of veterans and said, 'tell me about the quality of your care.' Some were concerned about the quality of their health care. I said, 'what kind of options do you have, what do you think about a system that let you go to private as well as VA hospitals?' The response was mixed, but I don't have any proposal of that nature. We have a VA system that needs to be improved and I've got no plans to change that other than to make it better and to invest more money in providing for our veterans." [Nashua Telegraph Editorial Board, 11/21/11]

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