

ESTABLISH AN AMERICA FIRST FOREIGN POLICY

An America First approach to foreign policy is based on the idea that America is best positioned to lead in the world and preserve peace and stability when it places the safety, prosperity, and overall well-being of the American people first. This principle departs from the prevailing Washington approach, which prioritizes the preservation of multinational processes over the protection of American interests. To be clear, America First does not mean America alone, nor does it mean a return to isolationism.

An America First approach to foreign policy acknowledges the reality of the world for what it is and other nations for what they are, rather than how the foreign policy establishment would like them to be. This premise offers the surest path to working productively with other nations in a manner that advances Americans' interests and security while avoiding economic overreach and unnecessary military conflicts. This approach entails a focused and judicious use of military power not only to deter adversaries, but, if deterrence fails, to fight and win our Nation's wars. Utilizing the U.S. military for its intended purpose ensures America does not become entangled in prolonged efforts such as nation- building exercises abroad.

From January 2017 to January 2021, America's pragmatic, interests-driven transactional engagement with other nations coupled with strong pro-American economic and energy policies at home helped make America more secure and more prosperous than at any point in recent years. America's foreign policy approach left other regions of the world more stable and peaceful, and it established a complete and urgently needed reversal of U.S. policy towards Communist China. By doing so, the Trump Administration was able

to protect Americans from systemic theft of intellectual property, guard against espionage on American university campuses, lessen trade imbalances and, when COVID-19 struck American shores, hold Communist China accountable.

The Trump Administration initiated robust efforts to address the threats from Russia and Iran, including sanctions on the Nord Stream 2 pipeline. It also oversaw the initial transfer of lethal aid to Ukraine to bolster its security and sovereignty and restored a needed strategic deterrent against the Iranian government through the maximum pressure campaign.

The America First approach to foreign policy enabled the U.S. to strengthen relationships with allies around the world while creating new opportunities to work with them, as exemplified by the historic Abraham Accords agreement.

The previous administration's efforts regarding NATO highlight the importance of clear and fair burden sharing between America and our allies, both financially and militarily. Despite the Wales Declaration, signed by all NATO members, by January 2017, only five out of the nearly 30 members were slated to meet their commitments. Burden sharing was not only fair but was needed to ensure alignment among allies on collective security.

These historic achievements were possible not only because the Trump Administration rejected establishment positions, but also because these achievements were built on clarity regarding American interests abroad and the threats facing the American people.

THE FACTS

- ★ Before Putin's invasion of Ukraine, only 10 out of 30 NATO members contributed the 2% of their GDP to which they committed in the 2014 Wales Declaration.
- ★ The Abraham Accords is the first peace agreement between Israel and its neighbors in more than 25 years, and the first-ever normalization of relations between the Israelis and the citizens of other Middle East nations.
- ★ After the signing of the Doha Agreement with the Taliban in February 2020 to begin intra-Afghan peace talks, not a single American service member was killed in Afghanistan from that moment until the end of the Trump Administration.

- ★ In situations where multilateral institutions work in conflict with American security and interests,
- ★ America's leadership should reserve the right to withdraw American membership and cease sending taxpayer dollars to them.

THE AMERICA FIRST AGENDA

At the federal level, support policies that:

- ★ End the use of military or tax dollars for nation building.
- ★ Support policies that tie federal funding — whether military, diplomatic, or foreign assistance — to clear objectives that directly benefit the American people.
- ★ Revamp foreign assistance, particularly through institutions such as the U.S. International Development Finance Corporation, into investments in local partnerships with clear economic benefit to their communities.
- ★ Give priority to nations that are willing to fight for themselves against common threats and have demonstrated a willingness to shoulder their share of the burden for providing for collective defense efforts.
- ★ Prioritize working with nations that contribute their fair share to our alliances.
- ★ In the European theater, reimpose defense ties with nations that have met or exceeded their 2% NATO GDP commitments and have demonstrated clear alignment of vision and resources with America's in terms of countering Communist China and addressing the threat from Russia.
- ★ Do not subordinate national security policy to multilateral institutions and other nations.

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MAINTAIN THE WORLD'S MOST POWERFUL MILITARY FORCE

A strong military is foundational to protecting Americans and preserving our Nation's standing and strength. It ensures the American people are safe and that the U.S. can keep its adversaries at bay. As other nations develop new capabilities and technological capabilities advance, it is more important than ever to have the world's best trained and most well-equipped military.

Maintaining a strong military is not exclusively about having a large top-line budget. It also requires our military to maintain a relentless focus on its core mission of deterrence and, if deterrence fails, fighting to win America's wars. In addition, our military needs strong recruitment programs, and our government must ensure that defense acquisition efforts meet our current and future evolving needs. By achieving these objectives, we will ensure that the U.S. military has the right capabilities to protect America's interests and keep Americans safe and free.

Today, the military is distracted from this core mission. The Biden Administration has imposed "woke" policies that have diverted focus from top threats while dividing and deterring America's service members. One high-profile effort by the current administration is focused on rooting out extremism from the military's ranks, which is an action driven more by politics rather than by military priorities. Some military academies have begun to focus their instruction on Critical Race Theory. Its leaders focus on historical revisionism instead of on the history of war. Eliminating divisive policies, which deter some of those seeking to enlist, will likely go a long way in repairing the military's recruitment challenges.

Key to maintaining a strong military is ensuring that America's defense budget and acquisition practices remain competitive and aligned with America's strategic

priorities. Any tax dollars spent in the name of "defense" that do not directly contribute to this mission are a diversion from it.

The challenge of maintaining a responsible and needs-based defense budget is not only one of better congressional oversight. Rather, it is part of a broader and more longstanding component of the Washington ecosystem known as the "military-industrial complex"—a symbiotic relationship between the Department of Defense (DoD) and the country's top defense companies. On one hand, this relationship has sustained a degree of trust and consistency in regards to the modernization of American military equipment. But, on the other hand, this robust relationship with a handful of companies has created a quasi-monopoly in contracting and in defining the technology DoD might need to fight the Nation's wars.

An America First approach to defense acquisition is best exemplified by an open and honest competition within the broader marketplace of ideas and beyond the traditional military-industrial complex. Myriad patriotic American start-up companies, including ones run by veterans drawing on their battlefield experience, can share a stage with the known entities in this space to describe how their services meet tomorrow's threats and add strategic effect to America's credible deterrence. Through this approach, America's military can better inform conversations about how to pursue its mission requirements and about the range of American partners, existing and emerging, with whom to do so.

THE FACTS

- ★ The U.S. has spent more than \$8 trillion on efforts to fight terrorism across 85 countries.
- ★ The Biden Administration has instigated the largest

discharge of service members in history through overly strict COVID-19 vaccination requirements – assuming they are upheld by the courts.

- ★ Almost all service members' requests for relief from the vaccination requirement have been denied, with denial rates across the service branches of 99.53% for the Air Force, 99.75% for the Army, 100% for the Navy, and 99.83% for the Marine Corps.
- ★ Real (inflation-adjusted) federal government expenditures on national defense increased by more than \$100 billion, or roughly 14%, between 2016 and 2020.
- ★ Federal national defense expenditures fell by approximately \$80 billion (-10%) between 2008 and 2016.

encouraging other countries to buy American.

- ★ Repurpose the Overseas Contingency Operations budget into research and development for new technologies and weapons systems, particularly satellites and hypersonic weapons.

THE AMERICA FIRST AGENDA

At the federal level, support policies that:

- ★ Ensure the DoD budget reflects the military's core missions of deterrence and warfighting.
 - Conduct a thorough review of all the training required of service members and ensure it meets core mission needs.
 - Eliminate non-military issues such as climate change and democracy promotion from military doctrine and defense policies.
- ★ Repair recruitment challenges by investing in service members and eliminating divisive departmental policies.
 - Review and revise DoD's definition of what constitutes "extremism."
- ★ Define what "deterrence" and "warfighting" mean in the context of the threat from Communist China and the nature of the military challenge.
 - Conduct an agency-wide review to determine the capabilities needed to prepare for and deter Communist China.
- ★ Ban Communist China's access to U.S. infrastructure and ensure that the U.S. military and law enforcement are not dependent on Chinese drones and other technologies.
- ★ Deepen ties with partner nations by continuing to focus on foreign military sales programs and

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PURSUE A BOLD NEW PATH TO PEACE AND PROSPERITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

One of our Nation's signature foreign policy achievements in the last few years was discarding failed, establishment thinking on the Middle East to achieve real, tangible progress toward peace. For decades prior, the "peace process" paradigm gave Palestinians de facto veto power over peace prospects for the region—to little avail.

This new approach to the Middle East relied on three premises: stand with our friends, stand up to our adversaries, and seek new ways to resolve longstanding challenges. In 2018, the U.S. demonstrated its unwavering support for Israel by implementing the Jerusalem Embassy Act of 1995, recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, and moving the U.S. embassy there. It also recognized Israeli sovereignty over the Golan Heights.

At the same time, it rejected the deeply flawed 2015 nuclear deal with Iran (the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action or JCPOA) and instead introduced the "maximum pressure" sanctions campaign against Iran for its nuclear ambitions and its sponsorship of terrorism. In 2019, when an Iran-backed militia group killed an American contractor in Iraq, our government responded with the killing of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps—Qods Force (IRGC-QF) Commander Qasem Soleimani.

This approach also paved the way for the historic achievement of the Abraham Accords agreement signed between the governments of Israel, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Bahrain, Morocco, and Sudan. The agreement ensured normalization of relations between Israel and its Arab neighbors, establishing channels for commercial and military cooperation between them that had not existed previously.

As with other policy areas, the current administration has reversed many of these Middle East policies. It has halted the "maximum pressure" campaign as it seeks to bring Iran into a new nuclear deal, avoided mention of the Abraham Accords, and reverted to the approach of prior administrations. It has also elevated the Palestinian National Authority (PA), restoring economic assistance to it and opening an "Office of Palestinian Affairs" at the U.S. Embassy in Jerusalem, despite public opposition by the Israeli government to the opening of a Palestinian consulate in the city. After 17 months of snubbing America's Gulf allies, the administration began seeking their assistance to address the domestic challenge of rising gas prices.

Nonetheless, America's allies in the region are building on the Abraham Accords and the bold foundation that was established a few years ago. This includes hosting the first joint military naval exercise between Israel, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), and Bahrain, and an unprecedented free trade agreement between Israel and the UAE. Although our allies have demonstrated their ability to work together, they will need strong leadership from the U.S. to face emboldened adversaries and to continue building towards a safe and prosperous future. It also means pursuing a bold approach to upholding truth and standing up for friends at home by addressing the campaign of Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) that is taking hold of campuses and corporations across America and by combatting false narratives and information advanced in Middle East studies curriculum.

THE FACTS

- ★ The Abraham Accords yielded the first joint military exercise between Israel and Gulf states, the first free trade agreement between Israel and the UAE, and other forms of unprecedented cooperation between Israel and its neighbors.
- ★ In 2017, the PA paid terrorists and their families \$350 million. All U.S. taxpayer dollars going to the PA were halted until it ceased paying families of terrorists.
- ★ To date, 35 states have enacted some form of legislation to counter BDS.

THE AMERICA FIRST AGENDA

At the federal level, support policies that:

- ★ Oppose elevation of the PA by reopening a U.S. Consulate for it in Jerusalem.
- ★ Oppose provision of U.S. assistance to the PA until it ceases support for terrorism.
- ★ Expand and build upon the Abraham Accords by deepening military and commercial ties.
- ★ Oppose any effort to agree to a new nuclear deal with Iran that is worse than the JCPOA. Such a deal could include concessions that would lift all U.S. sanctions and remove of any terrorist designations.
- ★ Restore the previous administration's "maximum pressure" campaign against the Iranian government.
- ★ Work to counter BDS efforts nationwide.
- ★ Refrain from rejoining the United Nations Human Rights Council and restoring funds to United Nations Relief and Works Agency until those organizations institute a balanced and fair treatment of Israel.
- ★ Push for greater integration of Israel into U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) to include coordination with allies in the region in countering Iran's malign influence and activities.

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HOLD COMMUNIST CHINA FULLY ACCOUNTABLE FOR CHRONIC UNFAIR TRADE PRACTICES, STEALING AMERICAN TECHNOLOGIES, AND POLLUTING OUR PLANET'S AIR AND OCEANS

The People's Republic of China (PRC) and its ruling Chinese Communist Party (CCP) represent the premier national security threat to the United States. China's concerning activities include chronic unfair trade practices, stealing American technologies, aggression against its neighbors, abuse of the environment, and an accelerating nuclear weapons program. Additionally, China has displayed a complete lack of transparency about the origins of COVID-19. We must hold China fully accountable for its actions.

Before new tariffs were implemented in 2018, China's intellectual property theft cost the U.S. an estimated \$225 billion to \$600 billion per year, and our trade deficit with China reached \$418 billion. Both of these contributed to a hollowing out of America's manufacturing base, which resulted in 3.7 million American jobs lost between 2001 and 2018.

China is also a consistent aggressor against the free and democratic island of Taiwan. The PRC subjects Taiwan, which is also home to 90% of the world's advanced computer chip production, to political, media, and psychological warfare and has openly stated that it is willing to conquer Taiwan with military force if necessary. We must provide Taiwan with the latest military equipment and training so its people can defend themselves.

The CCP is the world's leading polluter, contrary to the establishment narrative that wants to blame America first. A 2017 study showed that 90% of the single-use plastic that pollutes the world's oceans comes from 10 rivers, six of which are in China, with one billion tons of plastic waste costing the fishing, maritime, and tourism industries billions of dollars that

year. The PRC must be exposed for its disproportionate responsibility for ocean pollution, which poisons populations worldwide.

China is also on track to become a top-tier nuclear power. A 2021 DOD report claimed that China may have "up to 700 deliverable nuclear warheads by 2027" and "likely intends to have at least 1,000 warheads by 2030." On the other hand, the U.S. has an aging and increasingly obsolete nuclear arsenal with no apparent plans to build new weapons.

Finally, the CCP has not been transparent about how COVID-19 spread to the rest of the world, destroying global supply chains, depleting American wealth, and killing nearly one million Americans. Our government must do more to investigate origins of the virus to prevent a pandemic like this from happening again.

THE FACTS

- ★ The PRC has the largest army and largest naval fleet in the world.
- ★ Beijing's official policy is to "reunify" with Taiwan including via military invasion if necessary.
- ★ The PRC is rapidly growing its nuclear warhead stockpile.
- ★ The CCP's systematic intellectual property theft has cost the U.S. hundreds of billions of dollars.
- ★ COVID-19 originated in Wuhan, China, and has killed nearly one million Americans, crippled our economy, and damaged our supply chains.
- ★ China releases up to one billion tons of plastic waste into the ocean annually.

THE AMERICA FIRST AGENDA

At the federal level, support policies that:

- ★ Maintain a defense budget large enough to sustain a robust deterrent in the Western Pacific, including naval, air, space, and cyber domains.
- ★ Vigorously support and equip our regional allies and partners with advanced military capabilities to counter China's rise in East Asia.
- ★ End the political isolation of the Taiwanese people, and supply them with the military, diplomatic, and moral support needed to sustain them.
- ★ Strengthen and modernize our nuclear deterrent capabilities.
- ★ Prohibit intellectual property transfers to Chinese entities, enacting strict punishments for violators.
- ★ Ensure that the Phase One trade agreement with China is fully enforced, and maintain elevated tariffs on Chinese goods.
- ★ Launch a full and transparent investigation into COVID-19's origins in Wuhan, China.
- ★ Seek China's removal from leadership at the WHO.

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