

**Senator Barack Obama**  
**AIPAC Policy Conference 2008**  
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Thank you so much. It is great to see so many good friends from all across the country. I want to congratulate Howard Friedman, David Victor, and Howard Kohr on an extraordinary Conference and on the completion of a new headquarters just a few blocks away. I want to thank my great friend, Lee Rosenberg who has been just tireless in working on behalf of the US Israel relationship.

I want to--I want to make a point of acknowledging our extraordinary Speaker of the House, Speaker Nancy Pelosi who spoke just before me, and how important her words were and particularly in remembering the three soldiers that are still held by Hizballah. We will not forget them and we will bring them home. That is a priority of US policy and Israel's policy.

I also have to note that we had an eventful night last night and my staff and I may still be a little bleary-eyed but we have a number of supporters in this room and we're very grateful to them, and I also want to acknowledge that following my speech I know that you are going to have the great pleasure of hearing from an extraordinary candidate and an extraordinary public servant, and I want to publicly acknowledge Hillary Clinton for the outstanding race that she has run. She is a true friend of Israel; she is a great senator from New York; she is an extraordinary leader of the Democratic Party and she has made history alongside me over the last 16 months, so I'm very proud to have competed against her.

Before I begin I also want to mention that I know some have been receiving provocative emails that have been circulated throughout the Jewish communities across the country and a few of you may have gotten them. They're filled with tall-tales and dire warnings about a certain candidate for President and all I want to say is let me know if you see this guy named Barack Obama because he sounds pretty scary. But if anybody has been confused by these emails I want you to know that today I'll be speaking from my heart and as a true friend of Israel.

And I know--and I know that when I visit AIPAC I'm among friends--good friends, friends who share my strong commitment to make sure that the bond between the United States and Israel is unbreakable today, unbreakable tomorrow--unbreakable forever.

One of the many things that I admire about AIPAC is that you fight for this common cause from the bottom up. The life-blood of

AIPAC is here in this room; grassroots activists of all ages, from all parts of the country who come to Washington year after year to make your voices heard--nothing reflects the face of AIPAC more than the 1,200 students who have traveled here to make it clear to the world that the bond between Israel and the United States --that the bond between Israel and the United States is rooted in more than our shared national interest; it's rooted in the shared values and shared stories of our people. And as President I will work with you to insure that it is this bond that is strengthened.

You know I first became familiar with the story of Israel when I was 11 years-old. I had a camp counselor who was an American Jew but had lived in Israel for a time and he told me stories of this extraordinary land and I learned of the long journey and steady determination of the Jewish people to preserve--preserve their identity through faith, family, and culture. Year after year, century after century, Jews carried on their traditions and their dreams of a homeland in the face of impossible odds. The story made a powerful impression on me; I had grown up without a sense of roots. My father was black; he was from Kenya. He had left when I was two. My mother was white and she was from Kansas and I had moved with her to Indonesia and then back to Hawaii and in many ways I didn't know where I came from, so I was drawn to the belief that you could sustain a spiritual, emotional, and cultural identity and I understood the Zionist idea that there is always a homeland at the center of our story. And I also--I also learned about the horror of the Holocaust and the terrible urgency it brought to the journey home to Israel. For much of my childhood I lived with my grandparents and my grandfather had served in World War II and so had my great-uncle. He was a Kansas boy who probably never expected to see Europe let alone the horrors that awaited him there. And for months after he came home from Germany he remained in a state of shock, alone with the painful memories that wouldn't leave his head. You see my great-uncle had been a part of the 89<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division, the first Americans to reach a Nazi concentration camp. They liberated Ohrdruf, part of Buchenwald on an April day in 1945. The horrors of that camp go beyond our capacity to imagine, tens of thousands died of hunger, torture, disease or plain murder; part of the Nazi killing machine that killed six million people. When the Americans marched in they discovered huge piles of dead bodies and starving survivors. And General Eisenhower ordered Germans from the nearby towns to tour the camp so they could see what was being done in their name. He ordered American troops to tour the camp so they could see the evil they were fighting against. He invited Congressmen and journalists to bear witness and he ordered that photographs and films be made.

Explaining his actions, Eisenhower said he wanted to produce firsthand evidence of these things. If ever in the future there develops a tendency to charge these allegations merely to propaganda. I saw some of those very images at Yad Vashem and they never leave you and those images just hint at the stories that survivors of the Shoah carry with them. Like Eisenhower, each of us bears witness to anyone and everyone who would deny these unspeakable crimes or ever speak of repeating them. We must mean what we say when speak the words never again.

It was just a few years after the liberation of the camps that David Ben-Gurion declared the founding of the Jewish State of Israel. We know that the establishment of Israel was just and necessary, rooted in centuries of struggle and decades of patient work, but 60 years later we know that we cannot relent, we cannot yield, and as President I will never compromise when it comes to Israel's security.

Not when there's still voices that deny the Holocaust; not when there are terrorist groups and political leaders committed to Israel's destruction; not when there are maps across the Middle East that don't even acknowledge Israel's existence and government funded textbooks filled with hatred towards Jews; not when there are rockets raining down on Sderot and Israeli children have to take a deep breath and summon uncommon courage every time they board a bus or walk to school. I have long understood Israel's quest for peace and need for security but never more so than during the travels that Lee referred to two years ago when I went to Israel. Flying in an IDF helicopter I saw a narrow beautiful strip of land nestled against the Mediterranean. On the ground I met a family who saw their house destroyed by a Katyusha rocket and I spoke to Israeli troops who faced daily threats as they maintained security near the Blue Line. I talked to people who wanted nothing more simple or more illusive than a secure future for their children.

I have been proud to be a part of a strong bipartisan consensus that has stood by Israel in the face of all threats. That is a commitment --that is a commitment that both John McCain and I share because support for Israel in this country goes beyond party. But part of our commitment, part of our commitment must be speaking up when Israel's security is at risk and I don't think any of us can be satisfied that America's recent foreign policy has made Israel more secure. Hamas now controls Gaza; Hizballah has tightened its grip on southern Lebanon and it's flexing its muscles in Beirut. Because of the War in Iraq, Iran which always posed a greater threat to Israel than Iraq is emboldened and poses the greatest strategic challenge to the United States and Israel in the Middle East in a generation. Iraq is unstable and Al Qaeda has stepped up its

recruitment. Israel's quest for peace with its neighbors has stalled despite the heavy burdens borne by the Israeli people and America is more isolated in the region reducing our strength and jeopardizing Israel's safety. The question is--how to move forward? There are those who would continue and intensify this failed status quo ignoring eight year of accumulated evidence that our foreign policy is dangerously flawed. And then there are those who would lay all the problems of the Middle East at the doorstep of Israel and its supporters as if the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is the root of all trouble in the region. These voices blame the Middle East's only democracy for the region's extremism. They offer the false promise that abandoning a stalwart ally is somehow the path to strength. It is not; it has never been and it never will be.

Our alliance is based on shared interests and shared values. Those who threaten Israel threaten us; Israel has always faced these threats on the frontlines and I will bring to the White House an unshakable commitment to Israel's security. That starts with insuring Israel's qualitative military advantage. I will insure that Israel can defend itself from any threat from Gaza to Tehran. Defense cooperation, defense cooperation between the United States and Israel is a model of success and it must be deepened. As President I will implement a memorandum of understanding that provides \$30 billion in assistance to Israel over the next decade, investments to Israel's security that will not be tied to any other nation.

First we must approve the foreign aid request for 2009 and I understand that Speaker Pelosi and Senator Reid are ready to move on that. Going forward we can enhance our cooperation on missile defense; we should export military equipment to our ally Israel under the same guidelines as NATO and I will always stand up for Israel's right to defend itself in the United Nations and around the world.

Across the political spectrum Israelis understand that real security can only come through lasting peace and that is why we, as friends of Israel, must resolve to do all we can to help Israel and its neighbors to achieve it because a secure lasting peace is in Israel's lasting interest. It is in America's national interest and it is in the interest of the Palestinian people and the Arab world.

As President I will work to help Israel achieve the goal of two states--a Jewish state of Israel and a Palestinian state living side-by-side in peace and security and I won't wait--I won't wait until the waning days of my presidency. I will take an active role and make a personal commitment to do all I can to advance the cause of peace from the start of my administration.

Now the long road to peace requires Palestinian partners committed to making this journey. We must isolate Hamas unless and

until they renounce terrorism, recognize Israel's right to exist and abide by past agreements. There is no room at the negotiating table for terrorist organizations. That is why I opposed holding elections in 2006 with Hamas on the ballot. The Israelis and the Palestinian Authority warned us at the time against holding these elections but this Administration pressed ahead and the result is a Gaza controlled by Hamas with rockets raining down on Israel. The Palestinian people must understand that progress will not come through the false prophets of extremism or the corrupt use of foreign aid. The United States and the international community must stand by Palestinians who are committed to cracking down on terror and carrying the burden of peacemaking. I will --I will strongly urge Arab governments to take steps to normalize relations with Israel and to fulfill their responsibility to pressure extremists and provide real support for President Abbas and Prime Minister Fayyad.

Egypt must cut-off the smuggling of weapons in the Gaza. And Israel can also advance the cause of peace by taking appropriate steps consistent with its security to ease the freedom of movement for Palestinians and improve economic conditions in the West Bank, and to refrain from building new settlements as it's agreed to do with the Bush Administration at Annapolis. Now let me be clear; Israel's security is sacrosanct. It is non-negotiable; the Palestinians need a State--the Palestinians need a state that is contiguous and cohesive and that allows them to prosper, but any agreement with the Palestinian people must preserve Israel's identity as a Jewish state with secure, recognized, defensible borders. And Jerusalem will remain the capital of Israel and it must remain undivided.

I have no illusions that any of this will be easy. It will require difficult decisions on both sides but Israel is strong enough to achieve peace if it has partners who are committed to the goal. Most Israelis and Palestinians want peace and we must strengthen their hand. The United States must be a strong and consistent partner in this process--not to force concessions but help committed partners avoid stalemate and the kinds of vacuums that are filled by violence. And that's what I commit to do as President of the United States.

The threats--the threats to Israel start close to home but they do not end there. Syria continues its support for terror and meddling in Lebanon and Syria has taken dangerous steps in pursuit of weapons of mass destruction which is why Israeli action was entirely justified to end that threat.

I also believe that the United States has a responsibility to support Israel's effort to renew peace talks with the Syrians. We must never force Israel to the negotiating table. But neither--neither should we ever block negotiations when Israelis' leaders decide that they may

serve Israeli interests; as President I will do whatever I can to help Israel succeed in these negotiations and success will require the full enforcement of Security Council Resolution 1701 in Lebanon and a stop to Syria's support for terror. It is time for this reckless behavior to come to an end.

Now there's no greater threat to Israel or to the peace and the stability of the region than Iran. This audience is made up of both Republicans and Democrats and the enemies of Israel should have no doubt that regardless of party, Americans stand shoulder to shoulder in our commitment to Israel's security, so while I don't want to strike a two-partisan note here today I do want to address some willful mischaracterizations of my position. The Iranian regime supports violent extremists and challenges us across the region. It pursues a nuclear capability that could spark a dangerous arms race and raise the prospect of a transfer of nuclear know-how to terrorists. Its President denies the Holocaust and threatens to wipe Israel off the map. The danger from Iran is grave; it is real; and my goal will be to eliminate this threat. But just as we are clear-eyed about the threat we must be clear about the failure of today's policy. We knew in 2002 that Iran supported terrorism, we knew that Iran had an illicit nuclear program, we knew Iran posed a grave threat to Israel; but instead of pursuing a strategy to address this threat we ignored it and instead invaded and occupied Iraq. When I opposed the War I warned that it would fan the flames of extremism in the Middle East; that is precisely what happened in Iran. The hardliners tightened their grip and Mahmoud Ahmadinejad was elected President in 2005. And the United States and Israel are less secure. I respect Senator McCain and I look forward to a substantive debate with him these next five months but on this point we have differed and we will differ. Senator McCain refuses to understand or acknowledge the failure of the policy he would continue. He criticizes my willingness to use strong diplomacy but offers only an alternative--reality, one where the War in Iraq has somehow put Iran on its heels.

The truth is the opposite. Iran has strengthened its position; Iran is now enriching uranium and it has reportedly stockpiled 150 kilos of low enriched uranium. Its support for terrorism and threats towards Israel has increased; those are the facts and they cannot be denied and I refuse to continue a policy that has made the United States and Israel less secure.

Well Senator McCain and others offer a false choice--stay the course in Iraq or cede the region to Iran. I reject this logic because there is a better way. Keeping all of our troops tied down indefinitely in Iraq is not the way to weaken Iran; it is precisely what has strengthened it. It is a policy for staying; not a policy for victory. I

have proposed a responsible, phased redeployment of our troops from Iraq. We will get out as carefully as we were careless getting in; we will finally pressure Iraq's leaders to take meaningful responsibility for their own future. We will also use all elements of American power to pressure Iran. I will do everything in my power to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon--everything in my power to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon--everything.

That starts with aggressive principled tough diplomacy without self-defeating preconditions but with a clear-eyed understanding of our interests. We have no time to waste. We cannot unconditionally rule out an approach that could prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon. We have tried limited piecemeal talks while we outsource the sustained work to our European allies. It has not worked; it is time for the United States to leave. And there will be careful--there will be careful preparation. We will open up lines of communication, build an agenda, coordinate closely with our allies, especially Israel, and evaluate the potential for progress. And contrary to the claims of some I have no interest in sitting down with our adversary just for the sake of talking. But as President of the United States I would be willing to lead tough and principled diplomacy with the appropriate Iranian leaders at a time and place of my choosing if--and only if it can advance the interests of the United States. That is my position. I want it to be absolutely clear.

Only recently have some come to think that diplomacy by definition cannot be tough. They forget the example of Truman and Kennedy and Reagan. These Presidents understood that diplomacy backed by real leverage was a fundamental tool of statecraft. And it is time to once again make an American diplomacy a tool to succeed--not just a means of containing failure. We will pursue this diplomacy with no illusions about the Iranian regime. Instead we will present a clear choice. If you abandon your dangerous nuclear program, your support for terror, and your threats to Israel there will be meaningful incentives, including the lifting of sanctions and political and economic integration with the international community. If you refuse, we will ratchet up the pressure. My Presidency will strengthen our hand as we restore our standing. Our willingness to pursue diplomacy will make it easier to mobilize others to join our cause. If Iran fails to change course when presented with this choice by the United States it will be clear to the people of Iran and to the world that the Iranian regime is the author of its own isolation and that will strengthen our hand with Russia and China as we insist on stronger sanctions in the Security Council. And we should work with Europe, Japan, and the Gulf States to find every avenue outside the United Nations to isolate the Iranian regime from cutting off loan guarantees and expanding financial

sanctions to banning the export of refined petroleum to Iran to boycotting firms associated with the Iranian Revolutionary Guard whose Kuds forces have rightly been labeled a terrorist organization.

I was interested to see Senator McCain propose divestment as a source of leverage, not the bigoted divestment that is sought to punish Israeli scientists and academics but divestment targeted at the Iranian regime. It's a good concept but not a new one; I introduced legislation over a year ago that would encourage states and the private sector to divest from companies that do business in Iran. This bill has bipartisan support; this bill has bipartisan support but for reasons that I'll let him explain, Senator McCain never signed on. Meanwhile an anonymous senator is blocking the bill. It is time to pass this into law so that we can tighten the squeeze on the Iranian regime. We should also pursue other unilateral sanctions that target Iranian banks and Iranian assets.

And if we want real leverage over Iran we must free ourselves from the tyranny of oil. The price--the price of a barrel of oil is one of the most dangerous weapons in the world. Petro dollars paid for weapons that killed American troops and Israeli citizens and the Bush Administration's policies have driven up the price of oil while its energy policy has made us more dependent on foreign oil and gas. It is time for the United States to take real steps to end our addiction to oil and we can join Israel building on last year's US Israeli Energy Cooperation Act to deepen our partnership in developing alternative sources of energy.

We should work--we should work with Israel, increasing scientific collaboration and joint research and development. The surest way to increase our leverage in the long-term is to stop bankrolling the Iranian regime.

Finally, let there be no doubt, I will always keep the threat of military action on the table to defend our security and our ally, Israel. Do not be confused. Sometimes there are no alternatives to confrontation but that only makes diplomacy more important. If we must use military force we are more likely to succeed and we'll have far greater support at home and abroad if we have exhausted our diplomatic efforts. That--that is the change we need in our foreign policy, change that restores American power and influence; change accompanied by a pledge that I will make known to allies and adversaries alike--that America maintains an unwavering friendship with Israel and an unshakable commitment to its security.

As members of AIPAC you have helped advance this bipartisan consensus to support and defend our ally, Israel. And I'm sure that today on Capitol Hill you'll be meeting with members of Congress and spreading the word. But we are here because of more than policy; we are here because the values we hold dear are deeply embedded in the

story of Israel. Just look at what Israel has accomplished in 60 years-- from decades of struggle in the terrible wake of the Holocaust, a nation was forced to provide a home for Jews from all comers, all around the world, from Syria to Ethiopia to the Soviet Union. In the face of constant threats Israel has triumphed. In the face of constant peril, Israel has prospered. In a state of constant insecurity Israel has maintained a vibrant and open discourse and a resilient commitment to the Rule of Law.

As any Israeli will tell you, Israel is not a perfect place but like the United States it sets an example for all when it seeks a more perfect future. These same qualities can be found among American Jews. It is why so many Jewish Americans have stood by Israel while advancing the American store because there is a commitment embedded in the Jewish faith and tradition to freedom and fairness, to social justice, and equal opportunity—Tikkun Olam, the obligation to repair this world.

I will never forget that I would not be standing here today if it weren't for the commitment that was made not only in the African American community but also in the Jewish American community and the great social movements in our country's history--Jewish and African Americans have stood shoulder to shoulder. They took buses down South together; they marched together; they bled together; and Jewish Americans like Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner were willing to die alongside a black man, James Cheney on behalf of freedom and on behalf of equality. Their legacy is our inheritance; we must not allow the relationship between Jews and African Americans to suffer. This is a bond that must be strengthened; together we rededicate ourselves to end prejudice and combat hatred in all its forms. Together we can renew our commitment to justice. Together we can join our voices together and in doing so even the mightiest of walls fall down. That work must include a shared commitment to Israel. You and I know we must do more than stand still. Now is the time to be vigilant in facing down every foe just as we move forward in seeking a future of peace for the children of Israel and for all children.

Now is the time to stand by Israel as it writes the next chapter in its extraordinary journey. Now is the time to join together in the work of repairing this world and I'm looking forward to being a partner with AIPAC in making that happen. Thank you very much everybody; God bless you.