



FOREIGN AFFAIRS

SEPTEMBER / OCTOBER 2007

Campaign 2008 • Part II

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America's Next Foreign Policy

China's Coming Environmental Crash

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Who Lost Iraq?

JAMES DOBBINS

Congress and the War

WILLIAM HOWELL & JON PEVEHOUSE

HAS BUSH NEUTERED HIS GENERALS?
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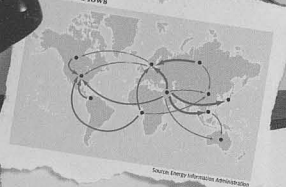
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There are 193 countries in the world. None of them are energy independent.

So who's holding whom over a barrel?

Global Oil Flows



The fact is, the vast majority of countries rely on the few energy-producing nations that won the geological lottery, blessing them with abundant hydrocarbons. And yet, even regions with plenty of raw resources import some form of energy. Saudi Arabia, for example, the world's largest oil exporter, imports refined petroleum products like gasoline.

So if energy independence is an unrealistic goal, how does everyone get the fuel they need, especially in a world of rising demand, supply disruptions, natural disasters, and unstable regimes?

The global energy security will be a result of cooperation and engagement, not isolationism. When investment and expertise are allowed to flow freely across borders, the engine of innovation is ignited, prosperity is fueled and the energy available to everyone increases. At the same time, balancing the needs of producers and consumers is as crucial as increasing supply and curbing demand. Only then will the world enjoy energy peace-of-mind.

Succeeding in securing energy for everyone doesn't have to come at the expense of anyone. Once we all start to think differently about energy, then we can truly make this promise a reality.

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Projected Global Oil Demand

- 2004 DEMAND
82 mbpd*
- 2030 DEMAND
115 mbpd



Source: International Energy Agency
*million barrels per day

OBJECTIVE

ENERGY IMPORTS BY OIL EXPORTING COUNTRIES

	SABAH	ELECTRICITY	NATURAL GAS	COAL
Saudi Arabia	🚗			
Russia	🚗			
Norway		⚡		
UAE	🚗	⚡		
Nigeria	🚗			🔥

Source: Energy Information Administration

WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE

- DIVERSIFY ENERGY SUPPLIES
- FIND MORE TRADITIONAL FUELS
- DEVELOP ALTERNATIVES AND RENEWABLES
- FOSTER OPEN MARKETS & TRANSPARENCY
- ENCOURAGE CONSERVATION/ENERGY EFFICIENCY

⚠️ Chevron Steps Taken:

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SEPTEMBER / OCTOBER 2007
VOLUME 86, NUMBER 5

Campaign 2008

The second batch of articles in a series leading up to the 2008 U.S. presidential election

Toward a Realistic Peace *Rudolph W. Giuliani* 2

The next U.S. president will face three key foreign policy challenges: setting a course for victory in the terrorists' war on global order, strengthening the international system the terrorists seek to destroy, and extending the system's benefits. With a stronger defense, a determined diplomacy, and greater U.S. economic and cultural influence, the next president can start to build a lasting, realistic peace.

Reengaging With the World *John Edwards* 19

In the wake of the Iraq debacle, we must restore America's reputation for moral leadership and reengage with the world. We must move beyond the empty slogan "war on terror" and create a genuine national security policy that is built on hope, not fear. Only then can America once again become a beacon to the world.

Essays

The Great Leap Backward? *Elizabeth C. Economy* 38

China's environmental woes are mounting, and the country is fast becoming one of the leading polluters in the world. The situation continues to deteriorate because even when Beijing sets ambitious targets to protect the environment, local officials generally ignore them, preferring to concentrate on further advancing economic growth. Really improving the environment in China will require revolutionary bottom-up political and economic reforms.

PUSTAKA PERDANA



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The Expanding Challenge of Security.

Missions that evolve from military readiness to peacekeeping to nation building.

A war-torn nation requests international peacekeeping forces. An entire region has been struck by a cataclysmic earthquake. These are examples of scenarios that continue to reshape the challenge of security. Lockheed Martin offers our international partners a full spectrum of support services with greater operational flexibility. And reliable logistics capability. Around the world, our significant domain experience is helping ensure our customers are ready for the expanding challenge of security.

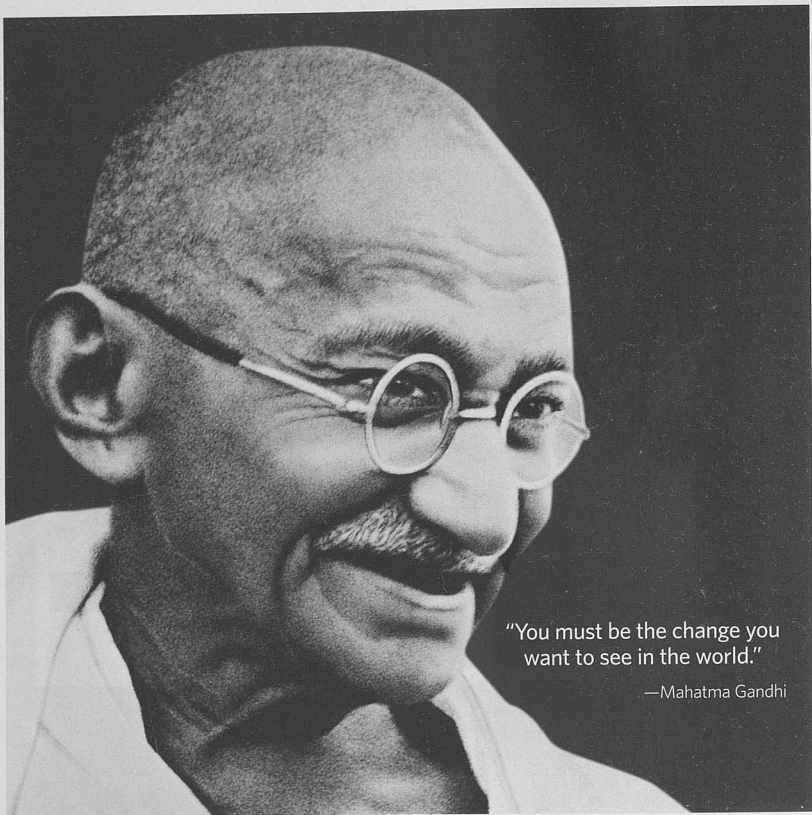
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- The Long Road to Pyongyang *Michael J. Mazarr* 75
The outcome of the North Korean nuclear saga has been held up as an example of the Bush administration defying its bellicose reputation and using multilateralism and diplomacy to defuse a crisis. But in fact, the story is one of extremely poor policymaking and a persistent failure to devise a coherent strategy—with the result that North Korea has managed to dramatically expand its nuclear capability.
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Since the Democrats regained control of Congress, the Hill has been alive with the sound of hearings. Congress' earlier slumber and recent awakening should come as no surprise: for the last six decades, the partisan composition of Congress has defined the politics of war. Now facing a Democratic majority, President George W. Bush will find it far more difficult to stay in Iraq.
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- Democracy Without America *Michael Mandelbaum* 119
Despite the failure of U.S. democracy-promotion efforts, democracy is spreading across the globe, bolstered by the free market. Although the Arab world, China, and Russia present challenges, pressure for democratic governance will only grow as economies liberalize in the years to come.



"You must be the change you
want to see in the world."

—Mahatma Gandhi

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The articles in Foreign Affairs do not represent any consensus of beliefs. We do not expect that readers will sympathize with all the sentiments they find here, for some of our writers will flatly disagree with others, but we hold that while keeping clear of mere vagaries, Foreign Affairs can do more to inform American public opinion by a broad hospitality to divergent ideas than it can by identifying itself with one school. We do not accept responsibility for the views expressed in any article, signed or unsigned, that appears in these pages. What we do accept is the responsibility for giving them a chance to appear.

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