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# FOREIGN AFFAIRS

NOVEMBER / DECEMBER 2007

==== Campaign 2008 • Part III =====

## Clinton • McCain

### Losing Russia

DIMITRI SIMES

### After the War on Terror

PHILIP GORDON • RICHARD BETTS

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WALTER RUSSELL MEAD

### The Battle Over Burma

MICHAEL GREEN & DEREK MITCHELL

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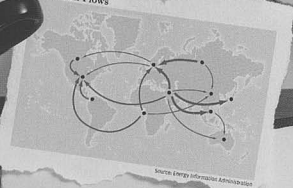


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# There are 193 countries in the world. None of them are energy independent.

So who's holding whom over a barrel?

Global Oil Flows



Source: Energy Information Administration

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?

True 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

## ENERGY IMPORTS BY OIL EXPORTING COUNTRIES

	GASOLINE	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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- Developing energy through partnerships in 26 countries.
- Committing hundreds of millions annually to alternative and renewable energy to diversify supply.
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# FOREIGN AFFAIRS



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VOLUME 86, NUMBER 6

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## Campaign 2008

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

### Security and Opportunity for the Twenty-first Century

*Hillary Rodham Clinton*

2

The next U.S. president will have a moment of opportunity to reintroduce America to the world and restore our leadership. To build a world that is safe, prosperous, and just, we must get out of Iraq, rediscover the value of statesmanship, and live up to the democratic values that are the deepest source of our strength.

### An Enduring Peace Built on Freedom *John McCain*

19

America needs a president who can revitalize the country's purpose and standing in the world and defeat terrorist adversaries who threaten liberty at home and abroad. There is an enormous amount to do. The next U.S. president must be ready to show America and the world that this country's best days are yet to come and be ready to establish an enduring peace based on freedom.

## Essays

### Losing Russia *Dimitri K. Simes*

36

U.S.-Russian relations are deteriorating rapidly. Misguided and arrogant U.S. policies since the end of the Cold War have fueled resentment in Russia, and Vladimir Putin's increasing defiance is inflaming the West. But Washington and Moscow need not be adversaries. Both sides must act soon to avert renewed confrontation.

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Can the War on Terror Be Won? *Philip H. Gordon* 53

It can, but only if U.S. officials start to think clearly about what success in the war on terror would actually look like. Victory will come only when Washington succeeds in discrediting the terrorists' ideology and undermining their support. These achievements, in turn, will require accepting that the terrorist threat can never be eradicated completely and that acting as though it can will only make it worse.

A Disciplined Defense *Richard K. Betts* 67

The United States now spends almost as much on defense in real dollars as it ever has before—even though it has no plausible rationale for using most of its impressive military forces. Why? Because without political incentives for restraint, policymakers have lost the ability to think clearly about defense policy. Washington's new mantra should be "Half a trillion dollars is more than enough."

Washington's Eastern Sunset

*Jason T. Shaplen and James Laney* 82

After 60 years of U.S. domination, the balance of power in Northeast Asia is shifting. The United States is in relative decline, China is on the rise, and Japan and South Korea are in flux. To maintain U.S. power in the region, Washington must identify the trends shaping this transition and embrace new tools and regimes that broaden the United States' power base.

Winning Asia *Victor D. Cha* 98

Pundits, academics, and Bush bashers insist that the United States is losing ground in Asia, but they are wrong. The Bush administration's Asia policy has been an unheralded success. Improved relations with China, stronger U.S.-Japanese cooperation, North Korea's gradual nuclear disarmament, and expanding regional alliances have made Asia more prosperous and secure than it has been in decades.

The Old Turks' Revolt *Ömer Taspinar* 114

The ruckus over the election of a religious conservative as Turkey's president has exposed the illiberal nature of Turkish secularism—as well as the pragmatism of the country's reformed Islamists. Preserving democracy in Turkey by keeping the military out of politics will be a tall order, but the future of the Muslim world's most promising democratic experiment is at stake.

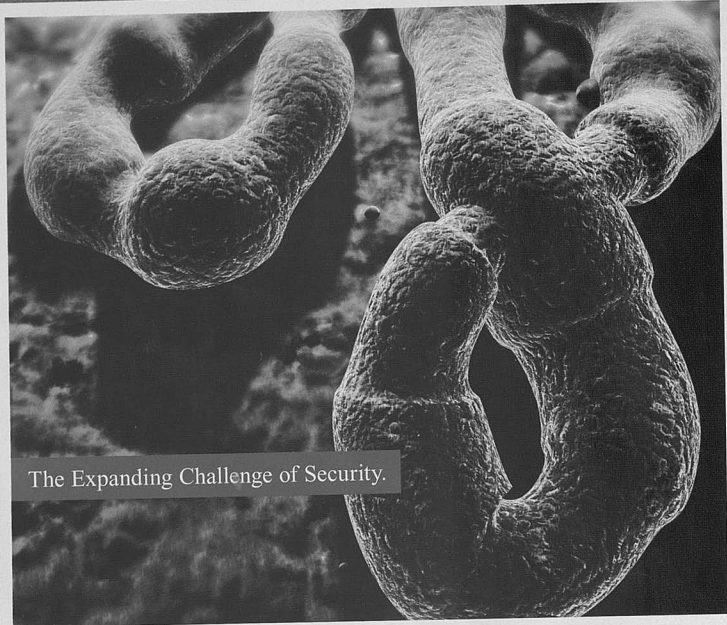
America's Strategic Opportunity With India *R. Nicholas Burns* 131

The rise of a democratic and increasingly powerful India is a positive development for U.S. interests. Rarely has the United States shared so many interests and values with a growing power as we do today with India. By reaching out to India, we have made the bet that the future lies in pluralism, democracy, and market economics.

Asia's Forgotten Crisis

*Michael Green and Derek Mitchell* 147

Over the past decade, Burma has gone from being an antidemocratic embarrassment and humanitarian disaster to being a serious threat to its neighbors' security. The international community must change its approach to the country's junta.



The Expanding Challenge of Security.

## Microscopic threats with devastating potential.

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 Sloppy execution means *The Israel Lobby*, however commendable the intentions of its authors, will have the opposite of its desired effect: impeding new thinking about U.S. policy in the Middle East rather than advancing the debate.
- COIN of the Realm** *Colin H. Kahl* 169  
 The U.S. military's new counterinsurgency manual is an overdue step forward in doctrine. But a look back at the history of counterinsurgency offers a sobering reminder of how low the odds of success are—as Iraq is showing all too well.
- A Quiet Revolution** *Francis Fukuyama* 177  
 Latin America is deepening its democratic institutions, integrating into the global economy, and finally addressing endemic social inequalities—in short, turning into something of a success story even as most outsiders look the other way.
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