

THE NEXT GENERATION PROJECT

U.S. GLOBAL POLICY & THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

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**MOUNTAIN
STATES
ASSEMBLY**

*JUNE 14-16, 2007
THE ROBERT AND JUDI
NEWMAN CENTER
DENVER, COLORADO*

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PREFACE

On June 14-16, 2007, seventy-three Next Generation Fellows from the Mountain States region and across the nation including government officials, representatives from business, law, international institutions, the military, nonprofit organizations, academia, and the media gathered at the Newman Center for the Performing Arts at the University of Denver for a meeting of the "Next Generation Project: U.S. Global Policy and the Future of International Institutions." The Mountain States Assembly was co-sponsored by the Graduate School of International Studies, led by Dean Tom Farer, and The American Assembly. It was the third meeting in The Assembly's Next Generation Project, which will culminate with a national Assembly held in Washington DC with the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in June 2008, timed to coincide with the run-up to the presidential election. The Fellows at the Mountain States Assembly, representing a range of views, backgrounds, and interests, were divided into three equal groups for four discussion sessions on U.S. foreign policy and the international system in the 21st century. A volume of background reading was compiled to provide common ground for the diverse group of Fellows. The table of contents from the background material can be found at the appendix of this report.

The Next Generation Project is directed by Francis J. Gavin, Tom Slick Professor in International Affairs and director of studies at the Strauss Center for International Security and Law at The University of Texas at Austin. The project is ably assisted by a senior advisory council and

steering committee of distinguished leaders, whose names and affiliations are listed at the end of this report. The senior advisory council is chaired by Admiral B.R. Inman, Lyndon B. Johnson Centennial Chair in National Policy, The University of Texas at Austin. The steering committee is led by Andrew P.N. Erdmann, consultant, McKinsey & Co. Both participated in the Mountain States Assembly.

After introductory remarks, the Mountain States Assembly opened with a panel, moderated by Tom Farer. Mr. Erdmann; Patrick Gorman, Senior Advisor for Strategic Integration and Transformation to the Director of National Intelligence and Assistant Deputy Director National Intelligence for Strategy, Policy, and Plans; and Bonnie Jenkins, Program Officer, U.S. Foreign and Security Policy, The Ford Foundation served as panelists. Colorado Governor Bill Ritter and General James E. Cartwright, Commander, U.S. Strategic Command, addressed the Fellows in evening plenary sessions. The panel and Governor Ritter's address can be found on the Next Generation Project's dedicated website, www.nextgenerationproject.org, along with a link to this and other reports and additional information about the initiative. The site will be continually updated as the project progresses.

The Assembly gratefully acknowledges the generous support of the Ford Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, The Coca-Cola Company, the Hickrill Foundation, the Nasher Foundation, and others. A complete list of funders can be found on the project's website.

The American Assembly and the Graduate School of International Studies take no position on any subjects presented here for public dis-

cussion. In addition, it should be noted that Fellows took part in this meeting as individuals and spoke for themselves rather than for their affiliated organizations and institutions.

We would like to acknowledge and express special gratitude to the discussion leaders and rapporteurs who guided the Fellows in the sessions and helped to prepare the draft of this report: Alexis Albion, Hilary Aldama, Sharon Burke, Joan Dempsey, Patrick Gorman, J.C. Herz, and Colin Kahl, with particular thanks to Joshua W. Busby, the Next Generation Project's deputy director.

David H. Mortimer
The American Assembly

THE NEXT GENERATION PROJECT:

U.S. GLOBAL POLICY & THE FUTURE OF
INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

MOUNTAIN STATES ASSEMBLY

DISCLAIMER

At the close of their discussions, the Next Generation Fellows in the Mountain States Assembly of the Next Generation Project at the Newman Center for the Performing Arts at the University of Denver, June 14-16, 2007, reviewed as a group the following statement. This statement represents general agreement, however, no one was asked to sign it. Furthermore, it should be understood that not everyone agreed with all of it.

INTRODUCTION

The unfolding global landscape – in its breadth, complexity, and interdependence among issues and actors – is creating unprecedented challenges for U.S. foreign policy. Part of this complexity is driven by the rise of new issues, such as climate change and energy security, and part is driven by the accelerating pace of change. Yet, the current institutional architecture was designed for the 20th century world – a world that no longer exists.

Our discussions were structured with several goals in mind. We identified the factors and forces we believe will matter most in the years to come. Before we explored policy options, including domestic and international responses, we examined the new global landscape, including the ways in which once isolated issue areas now are recognized as inter-related. Issues such as energy security and climate change require work across professions, bureaucracies, levels of government, countries, and the public and private sectors.

The first section of this report identifies what we believe are the foundations of the changing global environment within which the United States must operate. The second section explores how public opinion – both domestic and foreign – affects the conduct of U.S. foreign policy. In the final section, we identify interests and challenges and suggest possible options to improve U.S. global policy.

Some Fellows felt that the threat of a catastrophic terrorist attack is the fundamental foreign policy challenge; we chose, however, to focus our attention on longer term and emerging threats.

THREATS AND OPPORTUNITIES

We remain an optimistic people, convinced of a special role for the United States in the world, the vast potential for progress presented by globalization, and the power of human agency to make life better for people around the globe. At the same time, international and domestic developments in places like Iraq and New Orleans raise serious questions about the ability of existing institutions and organizations to manage current chal-

...we chose to focus our attention on longer term and emerging threats.

allenges and exploit emerging opportunities. Contemporary events also suggest a wider array of powerful actors – from rising states to super empowered individuals – that complicate our efforts to navigate the current global landscape. We need to be able to anticipate and shape events rather than be shaped by them.

...we see many so-called threats as opportunities.

However, we reject the false dichotomy between threats and opportunities; instead we see many so-called threats as opportunities. Although many challenges

– such as the rise of China, transnational migration, or climate change – are commonly perceived as threats to American security, we reject this uni-dimensional view. Instead, many supposed problems also present fresh opportunities for international cooperation and mutual benefit. Even as rapid economic growth in China raises concerns of geopolitical rivalry with the United States, if properly accommodated, China's rise could provide tremendous opportunities for trade, investment, and cultural exchange. Similarly, climate change threatens to impair and degrade the life-sustaining functions of the planet, but addressing the problem also creates space for technological innovation, enhanced economic competitiveness, and improved relations among the world's major powers. In charting our course through a complex and uncertain future we must be mindful of these multiple dimensions or we risk counterproductive policies and missed opportunities.

CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM

We retain a steadfast optimism about the possibilities for globalization to bring positive change – to advance and improve human well-being in the world, and enhance and expand the emergent global middle class in places like China and India. At the same time, we recognize that glob-

alization potentially and perhaps inevitably brings with it unintended negative social consequences. By disrupting traditional systems, globalization can cause social dislocation, heightened expectations, and exacerbate inequality within and between countries. What is uncertain is the United States' ability to meet and constructively manage both the positive and negative changes wrought by globalization.

We have been sobered by a number of recent events. We recognize that many of the problems the world faces cannot be addressed by American action alone. But we also believe that U.S. participation and leadership remain essential. For this reason, we are concerned that the United States maintain its innately optimistic problem-solving nature tempered by an appreciation of the difficulties and nuance of social change.

INTERESTS AND VALUES

We also identified a tension between idealism and pragmatism in U.S. global policy. Many Fellows believed we must scale back our efforts to export American values. Others felt American interests are best sustained through the extension of shared global ideas, such as democratic accountability and human rights. We need to evaluate the appropriate role for values and ideals in foreign policy and determine whether responses to issues like genocide in Darfur and AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa should be driven by strategic concerns and/or humanitarian principles.

...many of the problems the world faces cannot be addressed by American action alone.

AUTONOMY AND CONTROL IN AN ERA OF MUTUAL INTERDEPENDENCE

Another tension is between the desire for autonomy and a realization

that interdependence is a fact of life in the 21st century. For example, in the sphere of energy, we see the desire for autonomy reflected in neat slogans about “energy independence” but recognize that the United States and its allies will be dependent on imported oil for years to come. We have to manage and minimize the risks of dependence while recognizing that greater autonomy will be difficult to achieve. Likewise, we often wish to retain control over foreign policy problems, even though most global problems cannot be solved by individual countries. Transnational problems require a mix of collaborative multilateral solutions.

We must address these tensions in a way that maximizes good out-

...interdependence is a fact of life in the 21st century.

comes and minimizes bad outcomes, or face consequences that could rival the darkest days of the 20th century. These consequences might be different but they are no less grave. A failure to prepare for pandemics, address energy security and climate change, and confront the intersection of powerful religious identities in a world of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) proliferation could yield truly dire results. We prefer to think we are an innovative and forward-thinking people, willing and able to lead and partner with others. But we know that legacy institutions – at home and abroad – limit our capacity to effect change. Finally, we also note the fundamental uncertainties of global politics. Events such as 9/11 have the potential to transform the very basis for our policies and priorities. For example, what would happen if there were a financial crisis in the advanced industrialized world? How would the United States and world react in the event of another major terrorist attack either in the United States or at such events as the Beijing Olympics? Will a pandemic disease undermine the relative openness of global trade and

travel to which we have become accustomed? Could China's rise be thwarted by domestic disorder or conflict over Taiwan? How would civil war or regime collapse in Saudi Arabia, Nigeria, or Venezuela affect oil markets and the global economy? Would another massive set of hurricanes or other weather-related natural disasters transform the debate about climate or precipitate failed states in countries with weak regimes? How might technological innovation advance how we produce our food, sustain our health, and generate and store energy? We recognize the need to be better prepared to respond to emerging challenges and new opportunities.

PUBLIC OPINION: WHAT DO THE PEOPLE THINK AND DOES IT MATTER?

We recognize that undifferentiated, mass public opinion polls can reveal snapshots of what some people think, but often suffer from inaccuracy and are perhaps of limited utility for policy formulation. Nonetheless, we agree that public opinion is important. According to the Pew Global Attitudes Project, only 56 percent of the British public, our putative strongest allies, had favorable opinions of the United States in 2006, down from 83 percent in 1999/2000.

Pro-American attitudes in Turkey, a NATO ally, have declined dramatically in a few short years from 52 percent in 1999/2000 to 12 percent in 2006. At the same time, there is a residual concern, even in countries like China and India, about what American retreat and decline might mean for local and regional balances of power.

We recognize the need to be better prepared to respond to emerging challenges and new opportunities.

...the media landscape has become much more fragmented...

Does rising domestic angst about U.S. foreign policy have influence on how our foreign policy leaders behave? Do the attitudes of foreigners matter? If it does matter, can the United States actively do

anything to change the situation or does this negative portrait of America that has emerged in recent years have some durability and structural foundation?

SEGMENTATION AND FRAGMENTATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

Public opinion, both here at home and abroad, has become much more segmented and diverse. Smaller groups of people have very specific issues that they care about deeply – AIDS, Darfur, human trafficking and slavery, religious freedom, and access to markets in different parts of the world. At the same time, the media landscape has become much more fragmented in ways that refract this diversity but also intensify it, allowing people to speak to those who share their concern perhaps at the expense of a unified national dialogue.

We feel public opinion polls fail to capture this diversity, and the relative salience and passion people have for different issues. For example, some of the polling data suggests that most Americans are multilateralists, with strong support for the UN among other international institutions. Polls should measure how strongly the public feels about this issue. It may be more important that smaller organized segments of the public have very intense negative preferences on this topic. Historically, this has meant that highly mobilized constituencies of narrow interests have been able to have their concerns reflected in policy. In part, this is a product of most Americans being less motivated to care about niche

issues and the lack of a counter-constituency that could balance against them. Some are concerned that these interests capture the foreign policy process to the detriment of the national interest. Others worry that the lack of a unified constituency on foreign policy and media to unite us creates a more diffuse and incoherent sense of the national interest, of politicians catering only to the loudest voices in the room.

However, like most of the tensions we described in the first section, the new landscape of public opinion has rendered a more diverse landscape of interest groups and media that cater to them around particular issues of common concern. These preoccupations transcend both the partisan divides of old and the traditional demographic features around which decision-makers and pollsters typically classified constituencies. We increasingly observe nontraditional coalitions of unusual political bedfellows – secular liberals and conservative evangelicals for example – coming together on issues of mutual concern such as Darfur, AIDS, global poverty, and, increasingly, climate change. We see this phenomenon in other spheres with security hawks and environmental activists making common cause in the pursuit of energy independence and a lighter environmental footprint on the planet. In many ways, these developments may be quite positive, creating political space and incentive for leaders to address different sets of issues.

We increasingly observe non-traditional coalitions of unusual political bedfellows...

DOMESTIC PUBLIC OPINION: THE GUARD RAIL ON A BROAD ROAD

There is a sense that publics are not sufficiently engaged or informed on many aspects of global policy. This can provide leaders wide discretion over foreign policy in the absence of major policy failure or allow organ-

ized interest groups of the especially passionate to commandeer inordinate attention and influence. These organized constituencies also establish the broad contours for what is politically possible, and these

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messages are becoming increasingly more targeted. Sophisticated Internet techniques, building on private sector marketing initiatives, allow content creators to track opened messages and click-through links in order to gather additional information. These methods permit policymakers and advocates to tailor their messages to the most effective strategies. Some enable local messaging to bring international events closer to home, such as an email about the death of a local soldier in Iraq sent to the soldier's community. These specific messaging techniques might become a positive force to mobilize the public around global policy issues. On the other hand, these same techniques can be used by groups for partisan political advantage or by demagogues using the most sensationalist of messages. Regardless, while it remains true that "all politics is local," increasingly it appears that international politics also is local.

We retain some concern that events of late may tax the willingness of Americans to foot the bill for international endeavors and entanglements, leading to retreat and the search for easy if not robust solutions. We are additionally aware that the increasing complexity of global affairs will require enhanced civic awareness and education among citizens and a broader role for the media in providing information to encourage understanding and engagement. Should the world around us become more supportive of the United States, aided by judicious leadership from our own foreign policy leaders, we are optimistic that the American people's confidence can recover.

INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION: A CONSTRAINT ON COOPERATION

We want to be liked as a nation, not only because it fits our self-image as a benevolent people, but because effectiveness demands it. The costs of achieving our global policy objectives in a world where only 12 percent of Turks regard the United States favorably and where less than 40 percent of Germans and French do are prohibitive. Unfavorable international opinion of the United States can have real consequences. While negative global opinion has less of a deleterious effect on private sector business and other non-governmental actors, we are alarmed that people are beginning to have similar negative feelings about Americans as they do about American policy.

Thus, convinced that global opinion of the United States matters, we turned to what to do about reinvigorating the U.S. image in the world.

While more effective communication strategies can be important, the nature of what we do matters more. America is unpopular in part because of the style and manner in which we have engaged

Unfavorable international opinion of the United States can have real consequences.

the world, but our policies, notably in Iraq, have been deeply unpopular. Had an unpopular policy proven effective, these negative attitudes might have proven ephemeral.

We are now the sole remaining superpower, a fact that inevitably inspires some degree of suspicion and hostility, if not outright balancing behavior. That said, there is a cohort of public opinion in the world that is malleable and could change with extraordinary speed. We saw this in the swift increase in Indonesian public support for the United States after our robust effort to provide assistance to the victims of the 2004 tsunami.

The 2008 elections provide a natural moment in which the world will reappraise American global policy. A new leader likely will have a window of opportunity to shape our country's global standing. However, much will depend upon what we do with that moment. Many of us were concerned that a number of policies – on Iraq, on torture, on visa opportunities, on climate change, and on public health and foreign aid – will be closely watched by global publics in the years to come. Both the style and the substance of America's approach will matter, but these kinds of choices will demand a pragmatic calculation about what serves the national interest, what resonates internationally, and what is simultaneously supported by the American people.

Both the style and the substance of America's approach will matter...

We recognized that as domestic public opinion has fragmented, there also is diversity on the international scene.

When we think about appropriate policy instruments designed to influence global

public opinion, we have to determine which publics we are trying to influence and for what purpose. Our targets of influence matter equally in democracies and non-democracies. It might be argued that in the short term public opinion is more influential in democracies, but in the long run all publics matter.

Finally, there is a sense that the instruments of U.S. influence at the governmental level have atrophied. While public diplomacy and listening tours are a welcome return, we need to think about a reinvigorated U.S. Information Agency and a more robust presence where foreigners get a chance to air their concerns with our public officials. At the same time, we realize that non-governmental actors may be as effective if not more effective interlocutors and agents of U.S. soft power.

ALIGNING GOALS, POLICIES, AND INSTITUTIONS

GOALS AND POLICY PRIORITIES

We struggle with the appropriate balance between protection of national interests and the need to enhance global well-being and world order. We recognize a set of enduring national interests, including security from existential threats, promoting prosperity, and preserving American values. Several significant challenges and threats confront the United States and the world in the early 21st century particularly nuclear proliferation, catastrophic terrorism, and pandemic disease. We were especially concerned with the near-term dangers and opportunity costs produced by continued violence and instability in the Middle East, in particular Iraq.

Much of our discussion however focused on a narrower range of issues where potential threats could be transformed into opportunities. With that in mind, we identified three additional policy areas that deserve considerable attention in leadership and resources over the next few decades:

1. Climate change and energy security
2. The rise of China and India
3. Economic growth and enhanced institutional capacity in developing nations

We see climate change and energy issues as closely coupled. We agree that global climate change could become a grave danger because of the potential for catastrophic storms, flooding along coastal areas, acute

Several significant challenges and threats confront the United States...

water shortages/desertification, and starvation and mass refugee flows. These problems could potentially cripple the global economy through loss of critical infrastructure and trade and transportation systems, creating hardships for millions. At the same time energy security and competition risks economic instability and violent conflict within and between states.

But these emerging threats to the nation and planet are also opportunities for break-through technologies, enhanced economic competitiveness, better international cooperation, and improved quality of life for us and others. What we need is a more robust approach to climate change and energy security that includes a mix of investments, incentives, and planning. A global framework as well as coordinated national policies are necessary. On the investment side, we need to promote tax credits for alternative energy technology and invest in conservation, renewable energy, and other carbon-free/carbon-capture technologies as well as basic science education. On the incentive side, we need to price carbon

The United States should seek opportunities to work cooperatively with China and India...

through either a carbon tax, whether on the emission or consumption of carbon, or a cap-and-trade regime. On the planning side, we need to address the design of urban areas to include how we manage

emissions, create better transportation systems, and reduce sprawl.

We recognize that China and India represent about 40 percent of the world's population, a growing proportion of global GDP, and increasingly the source of rising academic achievement and innovation. The current global architecture does not provide them with roles and positions of influence commensurate with their population and economic size. This imbalance could lead to the creation of rival global institutions hos-

tile to the current liberal order, and it is in our interest that they become satisfied stakeholders and responsible partners in the existing international system. The United States should seek opportunities to work cooperatively with China and India on climate change, regional security and stability, free and open trade, and anti-terrorism. For example, this could entail India gaining permanent membership on

A revised approach to foreign assistance should focus on building national and local capacity

the UN Security Council, and other institutions as appropriate. Looking internally, America's ability to compete in this new economic order requires a new focus on education as a foreign policy issue.

We realize that the current system cannot continue with the gross disparities within states, regions, and across the globe. We feel that poverty is one of the main drivers of a number of transnational social ills including disease, trafficking, environmental degradation, and uncontrolled migration. We also believe that inequality and disregard for human rights creates grievances and social tensions that could exacerbate civil strife and transnational terrorism. It is both in our national interest and consistent with longstanding U.S. values to improve the quality of life of the world's poorest citizens and enhance opportunities and institutional capacity in the developing world. This is not a call to reinforce traditional mechanisms of foreign assistance, which are often wasteful and ineffective and can foster dependency and corruption. A revised approach to foreign assistance should focus on building national and local capacity essential for long-term development and integration into the global economy. It is also imperative to resist the urge to dictate priorities based on the narrow self-interest of donor nations. Rather, aid decisions should be based on extensive consultations with recipient governments and communities. We also favor a number of

other policies including micro-credit programs, debt relief, investments in new green revolution technologies, women's empowerment, incentives to encourage private sector investments, an international patent regime that supports equitable access to medicines and technology, and greater access to quality education.

OUR APPROACH

While the overall policy priorities and remedies are important, we believe how we execute these policy options is just as important. In this context, we addressed both U.S. leadership and institutional design.

We recognize that we cannot address the world's most pressing challenges on our own. These problems have to be addressed through multilateral means. We need to develop effective coalitions and involve partners up front in the decision-making process. We need to lead by listening and genuinely respecting the opinions of our partners.

This partnership model should extend not only to other governments but also to civil society and the private sector. Top-down approaches that mobilize elites and impose solutions from above are insufficient. We need a bottom-up approach that mobilizes indigenous partners and engages the American public. We should be wary of grandiose projects that overreach and underperform. We are skeptical that the government can pick winners through large-scale, public investments.

We support a "portfolio approach" that balances innovation, risk, and

We need to lead by listening and genuinely respecting the opinions of our partners.

returns. This involves a mix of high-risk, high-return and low-risk, low-return activities. We need to leverage existing economic resources through a variety of incentive mechanisms (tax breaks, tariff

concessions, cap-and-trade systems) that align private behavior with public purposes.

Existing domestic and international institutions have served us well, but we need

to re-envision and reinvigorate them around specific policy issues. International institutions should be tailored to the nature and scope of the problem. We encourage policymakers to consider flexible, small-scale, problem-focused institutions as a supplement to the existing global architecture. Incremental reform within single agencies will not suffice. For an issue like climate change, that would mean a cross-agency approach that would accommodate such institutions as the World Bank, the UN, relevant national agencies, and the private sector and non-governmental actors.

CONCLUSION

As we confront the challenges of the early 21st century we believe it is possible to transform many of our threats into opportunities and be innovative without abandoning existing institutions. Previous generations crafted an institutional framework for an international order that no longer exists. But as the next generation, we need not abandon their legacy. We can recast, recraft, and reinvigorate institutions and our role in the world to chart a fresh course.

We encourage policymakers to consider flexible, small-scale, problem-focused institutions...



BACK ROW: Busby, Cunningham, Gelt, Izard, Setser, Miller

EIGHTH ROW: Spalten, Ristroph, Johnson, Stone

SEVENTH ROW: Hagerman, Wirtzfeld, McArthur, E. Rice, Gregor, Gorman, Biello

SIXTH ROW: Weaver, M. Gavin, Bonfilii, White, Hirschfeld Zeller, George, Gettelman, Stewart

FIFTH ROW: M. Bowman, Busza, Edgar, McKibben, Ibrahim, Lipsher, Megan Bowman, Riley, Biscaye, Jenkins

FOURTH ROW: Romanoff, Lederman, Hawkins, Kelly, J. Rice, Ishay, Chanlett-Avery

THIRD ROW: Simmons, Huttner, Abrams, Anderson, Mantilla, Renné-Malone, Lopez Levy, P. Farer, Sapp, Nagl

SECOND ROW: Derdzinski, Zimmerman, Thompson (GSIS staff), Kirkeby (GSIS staff), Jodeh, Novack, Quesada, Aldama, Muhaisen, Wolin, Sisson, Erdmann

FRONT ROW: Kurtz-Phelan, Dempsey, Wells, Kahl, Wheeler, Inman, T. Farer, F. Gavin, Herz Albion

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SESSION I THE WORLD AS IT IS

SESSION II THE WORLD OF THE FUTURE

- “Seeing the Futures” Philip Bobbitt *New York Times* Dec. 8, 2003
- Global Scenarios, Introduction Prepared by Andrew P.N. Erdmann
- Mapping the Global Future: National Intelligence Council's 2020 Report
http://www.dni.gov/nic/NIC_2020_project.html

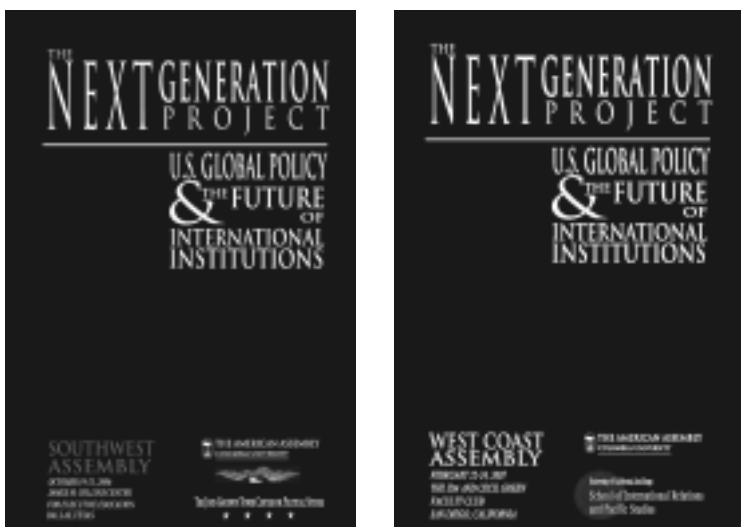
SESSION III WHAT WE BELIEVE ABOUT AMERICA AND THE WORLD

- Global Views 2006 – The U.S. and the Rise of China and India
<http://www.thechicagocouncil.org/UserFiles/File/GlobalViews06Final.pdf>
- Pew Global Attitudes Project
<http://pewglobal.org/reports/display.php?ReportID=252>
- Confidence in U.S. Foreign Policy Index
http://www.publicagenda.org/foreignpolicy/pdfs/foreign_policy_index_fall06.pdf

SESSION IV WHAT SHOULD OUR PRIORITIES BE?

- National Security Strategy of the United States of America 2006
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/insc/nss/2006/>
- “Toward an Effective International Legal Order: From Coexistence to Concert?”
Tom Farer *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* July 2004
- “Forging a World of Liberty Under Law: U.S. National Security in the 21st Century”
Executive Summary of the Princeton Project on National Security
<http://www.wps.princeton.edu/ppns/report/FinalReport.pdf>

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