

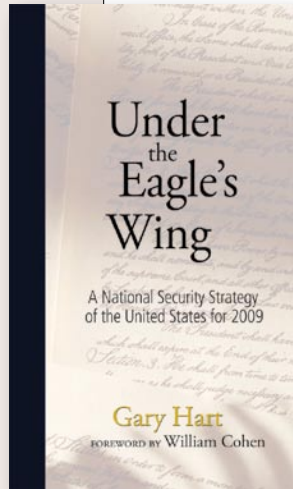
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

Under the Eagle's Wing

A National Security Strategy of the United States for 2009

By Gary Hart

Foreword by William Cohen



Senator Gary Hart presents a visionary approach to national security for our future

“An ever expanding circle of nations will accept the notion that the security of individual nations is increasingly inseparable from the security of the global commons.”

—Gary Hart

Denver, CO (3/1/2008)—Senator Hart speaks from experience, having served on the United States Commission on National Security for the 21st Century, which predicted the events of 9/11. He has had an inside look at how the United States has approached foreign policy and matters of national security. In *Under the Eagle's Wing* Hart draws on this experience

and presents a sound national security strategy for our upcoming administration. While this book examines some of the issues around the Iraq War, that isn't the single focus. Senator Hart examines other global threats such as disease, climate change, and terrorism. Hart illustrates that global threats require global solutions. *Under the Eagle's Wing* takes a nonpartisan approach to issues that affect every human being and shows how nations will need to work together and lean on each other. We must share our knowledge and resources in order to make our world a safer place.

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Gary Hart
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Gary Hart represented the state of Colorado in the U.S. Senate from 1975 until 1987. He is currently Wirth Chair Professor at the University of Colorado, distinguished fellow at the New America Foundation, and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. He was co-chair of the U.S. Commission on National Security for the 21st Century. The commission performed the most comprehensive review of national security since 1947, predicted the terrorist attacks on America, and proposed a sweeping overhaul of U.S. national security structures and policies for the post-Cold War century and the age of terrorism. Senator Hart is the author of 17 books, including *The Courage of Our Convictions*, *The Shield and the Cloak*, and *God and Caesar in America*.

For more information on *Under the Eagle's Wing*, please visit www.fulcrumbooks.com.



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A Note From the Publisher

Fulcrum Publishing is proud to announce the publication of *Under the Eagle's Wing* by former senator Gary Hart. Notables ranging from former senator Sam Nunn to General Daniel Christman (Ret.) have endorsed the book, and the foreword is written by former secretary of defense William Cohen. Their contributions underlying the non-partisan nature of the project. Further, it is the concluding work in a trilogy by Hart, which also includes *The Fourth Power* and *The Shield and The Cloak*. Together they represent a comprehensive strategy for America's role in the new world of the twenty-first century. No other writer in the last twenty-five years has put forth such a comprehensive body of work looking at America's strategic imperatives in the coming century, and none since the late George Kennan has produced such a readable and intelligent body of work on American foreign policy.

—Sam Scinta

Summary of National Security Strategy: 2009

America's new national security strategy may be summarized in these conclusions:

The United States will act as the *watchman on the global tower*, alert to dangers on or just over the horizon of history and sharing warnings of those dangers as well as proposals for reducing them before they arise.

We will become the *principal guardian of the global commons*, undertaking to organize common responses to common challenges. We will seek to manage the opportunities of globalization while containing its risks.

The *architecture of common security* will be built upon a new concert of liberal democracies constructed around the notion of collaborative sovereignty and the ability of nations sharing common political values to act quickly and decisively when required to respond to dangers.

Those not currently in the liberal democratic fold will be welcomed into its common security and shared economic prosperity as they adopt liberal democratic institutions and practices.

Nation strengthening and nation restructuring will increasingly be a requirement for the stability of the global commons. Fragmentation into ethnic and religious stateless nations and enclaves must be resisted.

Peacemaking will preclude peacekeeping, and those stable nations of good will and common purpose will unite in enforcing the laws on the global commons.

Regional powers will be encouraged and invited to use their economic and political strength to pacify the regions they occupy in cooperation with other nations of good will, and they will find it increasingly to their advantage to do so.

America's military strength will increase through reform and restructuring of our military to meet new realities and challenges, and new types of forces will augment reformed traditional force structures.

The United States homeland will become more secure and resistant to attack by restructuring those governmental institutions at federal, state, and local levels dedicated to the prevention of foreign incursion and to the response to unavoidable attacks. The standard for homeland security will be national resilience.

Independence from unstable oil supplies from the Persian Gulf will become a centerpiece of America's national security and will enable us to avoid further wars in the Middle East even as we seek diplomatic and political solutions to its conflicts. In the interest of global economic stability, the task of guaranteeing the free flow of oil supplies will become an international obligation.

The United States now recognizes the imperative of investment in scientific innovation as the cornerstone of our economic, and therefore our national, security.

Together with the advanced nations of the world, we will explore for new ways to create opportunity and thus inspire hope for the majority of humans who currently possess neither.

It is the policy of the United States to resist hegemony without seeking hegemony for itself. We will pursue this course because it is required by our ancient republican heritage. This is our national security strategy.

(Excerpt taken from *Under the Eagle's Wing* Appendix 1)



Op-ed for The Huffington Post

The Burdens of Empire

Posted January 29, 2008 | 05:25 PM (EST)

The Huffington Post



SPEAKER'S CORNER

Speaker's Corner is Fulcrum Publishing's provocative series designed to stimulate, educate, and foster discussion on significant topics facing society. The entire series is identified by its small trim size, allowing the books to be slipped into a purse or coat pocket, read anywhere, and then shared with others. Topics range from gun control and health care to global warming and biodiesel. Written by experts in a variety of fields, these brief and engaging books should be read by anyone interested in the trends and issues that shape our world.

For the better part of a year before the gratuitous invasion of Iraq, along with others I wrote often about the real neocon plan, the secret one not disclosed to the American people. It involved the use of Iraq as the U.S. political and military base in the Middle East, dictation of terms to surrounding nations, protection of our oil dependencies, long term occupation, and the construction of permanent military bases. All of this would be administered by a proconsul of Roman proportions, safely sequestered behind a multi-billion dollar fortress now known as the Green Zone.

Yesterday, President Bush signed the Defense Authorization Bill, including Section 1222 prohibiting permanent military bases in Iraq, with the now customary "signing statement" declaring that he has no intention of enforcing the law of the land, including this provision, though bound by oath and Constitution to do so.

To seal the deal, with the expectation of binding future presidential successors, Mr. Bush and Iraq president Nouri al-Maliki are in the process of negotiating a "status of forces agreement" that would commit the U.S. military to combat any internal or external factions the Iraqi government deemed a threat. This represents a one-directional security treaty cloaked in the form of an agreement not subject to Senate ratification. And it guarantees U.S. involvement in age-old Iraqi sectarian conflict for decades to come.

As John Isaacs, the knowledgeable director of the Council for a Livable World has noted, this "ignores the 1969 National Commitments Resolution which holds that assisting a foreign country through the 'use of Armed Forces' is a 'national commitment' that requires a treaty, statute, or concurrent resolution (of Congress)."

Now Congress must hold hearings not only on the legal implications of this major end run of the Constitutional process but also on the current status and planned expenditure on permanent U.S. military bases in Iraq. The costs to the American taxpayers, who the Republicans constantly say they care about, of a fifty year American presence in Iraq will be in the hundreds of billions of dollars, not to say the potential tens of thousands of American casualties ("casualty;" killed or wounded).

Of course, the next Democratic president can simply cancel this back-door deal. But Karl Rove, Jr., will have those pictures of half-finished bases to use in future elections to prove the Democrats soft on terrorism. By the way, al Qaeda still represents less than ten percent of the attacks still underway in Iraq. The rest are still carried out by sectarian tribes, clans, and gangs. But Mr. Bush still finds it politically profitable to call them all "al Qaeda."

Though the press doesn't seem interested in finding out, my guess is that the bases now under construction are garrisons outside the cities. They will be fortresses in the desert reminiscent of French fortresses in the jungles of Indochina. Future occupying troops will provide target practice for mortar and rocket attacks for decades to come. Thus does one empire repeat the folly of another.

