

---

# THE FLETCHER FORUM *of* WORLD AFFAIRS

---

THE FLETCHER SCHOOL, TUFTS UNIVERSITY

SPECIAL EDITION 2005 VOL. 29:3

*Special thanks to the conference sponsors*

DR. EILEEN GUGGENHEIM WILKINSON (GMAP '01)  
THE CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK  
NATIONAL DEFENSE UNIVERSITY

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

SPEAKER BIOGRAPHIES.....	3
INTRODUCTORY REMARKS .....	11
Michael J. Glennon, <i>The Fletcher School</i>	
KEYNOTE ADDRESS .....	13
John R. Bolton, <i>Under Secretary for Arms Control and International Security, U.S. Department of State</i>	
PANEL 1:	
THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK .....	21
Michael J. Glennon, <i>The Fletcher School, moderator</i>	
Gilles Andréani, <i>Director of Policy Planning, French Foreign Ministry</i>	
Jack Goldsmith, <i>Harvard University Law School</i>	
Sean Murphy, <i>George Washington University Law School</i>	
PANEL 2:	
THE STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT .....	51
Dean Stephen W. Bosworth, <i>The Fletcher School, moderator</i>	
Ivo Daalder, <i>The Brookings Institution</i>	
Lt. Gen. Bernard E. Trainor, <i>(USMCret.), Council on Foreign Relations</i>	
Stephen Walt, <i>The Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University</i>	

---

LUNCHEON REMARKS .....81  
*Rudolf Scharping, Visiting Professor at The Fletcher School,  
and former German Defense Minister and member of Bundestag*

PANEL 3:  
POLITICS AND DIPLOMACY .....85  
*Alan Henrikson, The Fletcher School, moderator*  
*Hans Binnendijk, Center for Technology and National Security Policy, NDU*  
*Antonia Chayes, The Fletcher School*  
*Robert Litwak, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars*

PANEL 4:  
THE MILITARY AND OPERATIONAL  
ASPECTS OF PREEMPTION .....115  
*Stephen Flanagan, Institute for National Strategic Studies, NDU, moderator*  
*Elaine Bunn, Institute for National Strategic Studies, NDU*  
*Ashton Carter, The Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University*  
*Col. Charles Lutes, Institute for National Strategic Studies, NDU*

---

*The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs aims to provide a broad, interdisciplinary platform for ideas and opinions in international affairs. While we do not expect readers to agree with all of the opinions expressed in these pages, we do hope that readers expect, and value, the publication of divergent and often conflicting viewpoints. This diversity stands behind the very definition of a "forum," i.e., a public meeting place for open discussion. While the editorial board is responsible for the selection of articles, the opinions expressed here are solely those of authors and do not reflect in any way the opinions of The Fletcher Forum or The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.*

---