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that when it comes to war, our goal must not just be regime change, but lasting peace. We have won the war in Afghanistan without securing the peace. This administration has failed to make its case on the international stage or to the American people for the rationale of starting the war or for the means of ending it. We cannot afford to put the security of our allies, the region, and ultimately ourselves at risk for the vague promises we have heard to date. We must do better.

American leadership means we must listen to the cultures and histories of other countries and work harder to build coalitions and partnerships. But for 20 months, the Bush administration has drifted from its chosen proactive message of disengagement to the reactive, mixed, and contradictory messages of reluctant engagement.

Draining the swamps of terrorists will require much greater involvement in the world. It must include significant investments in the education and human infrastructure of troubled countries. The globalization of the last decade proved that simple measures like buying books and teaching family planning can do much to expose, rebut, isolate, and defeat apostles of hate. These and other techniques are crucial to ensure that children are no longer brainwashed into becoming suicide bombers and that terrorists are denied the ideological swamplands in which they breed. Foreign aid must be increased and reformed to focus on education.

We must give countries in the Middle East a reason to want peace. In the next few years, if changes aren't made, the potential for violence in that region will only increase. If we fail to reach the children and the families wrecked by the violence of poverty and seclusion, the growing population of unemployed and unemployable kids will find in fanaticism a tragic answer to its problems. Americans' security depends on giving the people of the Middle East reason to believe in peace.

It's up to us to respond. Only the United States is in a position to lead the effort with other governments and private sector partners to beat this pandemic; only the United States has the resources to make a difference. An American president once said: "We cannot sit huddled within our own borders and avow ourselves merely an assemblage of well-to-do hucksters who care nothing for what happens beyond. We cannot be content to rot by inches in ignoble ease within our borders, taking no interest in what goes on beyond them, sunk in a scrambling commercialism, heedless of the higher life, the life of aspiration, of toil and risk." The Republican Party has in too many ways already disavowed the lessons of that Republican leader, Teddy Roosevelt. We can't afford to repeat its mistakes—not when national greatness hangs in the balance. It is time for this party to make clear once more: We will never surrender or submit—not on any issue, and not on any one question before this country. ♦

The Future of NATO

Three steps the alliance should take to refocus on the right threats.

by **Steven J. Nider**

Less than 24 hours after the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) invoked for the first time Article 5—the collective defense provision of the 1949 NATO Treaty. In spite of this unprecedented show of support from the allies, the United States initially turned down most offers of assistance in the Afghanistan campaign. The U.S. decision was a powerful demonstration of the widening gap between the fighting capabilities of the U.S. and European militaries and of how that gap is threatening NATO's future.

The European allies could offer little help in an expeditionary, high-tech military campaign. Because of their lack of precision-guided munitions, intelligence, surveillance, communications assets, and aircraft needed to operate over long distances, the United States was warranted in running the early stages of the operation with the involvement of British forces and a small amount of support from other allies. The United States also did not want its hands tied or its options restricted by NATO and its European allies.

The lessons of the Afghanistan campaign, the weak state of European defense spending, and the large increases planned for the U.S. defense budget have reinforced the perception in some Washington circles that European participation in combat operations alongside U.S. forces is unnecessary. Because of this, some military observers have begun to wonder whether NATO has any enduring role at all.

It would be premature to give up on the European allies, but unless NATO leaders on both sides of the Atlantic take the steps necessary to adapt the alliance to changing circumstances, and do it soon, its future may well be in jeopardy. As Ronald Asmus, deputy assistant secretary of state in the Clinton administration, has said, "We have the best alliance in the world to deal with the least threat, and we don't have an alliance to deal with the most likely threat."

The November NATO summit in Prague offers the North American and European allies an opportunity to adapt the alliance to the most important security challenges of the day. Just as previous developments—such as the end of the Cold War or the conflicts in the Balkans—

PRESSING FOR REFORM:
NATO Secretary General
George Robertson has
advocated an increase in
European defense spending
to combat new threats.

where the new threats reside. In addition, they are in danger of falling further behind the U.S. military as it transforms itself with new technologies and operational doctrines.

Convincing European governments to spend more on defense will be a tough sell. With tight budget ceilings regulating their common currency, it is easier for them to gain political support for spending on health care or education. Since 1986, defense spending as a proportion of GDP has fallen from 5.3 percent to 2.5 percent in Britain, from 3.2 percent to 1.5 percent in Germany, and from 3.9 percent to 2.7 percent in France. The \$48 billion increase in the Pentagon budget that Congress approved this year is more than the combined defense budget of 12 of the 19 NATO allies.

The United States must also work to close the capabilities gap before Washington is faced with a choice: uni-

lateral action or no action at all because the forces are not able to operate together. "The growing capabilities gap between the United States and Europe is the most serious long-term problem facing NATO and must be addressed," Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs Marc Grossman said in February testimony. "Unless the disparity is substantially narrowed, NATO will be increasingly less able to play its part in countering the threats that now face us."

Finally, NATO should continue enlarging to develop strong allies capable of contributing to common goals and of consolidating the integration of Central and Eastern Europe. When the alliance holds its summit in November, it hopes seven countries—Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovenia, Slovakia, Romania, and Bulgaria—will be ready to join. Which candidates are accepted at Prague will depend, in part, on whether they have successfully maintained their political, economic, and military reform processes leading up to the summit. But at a minimum, NATO should take in all those candidates that are now stable democracies committed to the values of other NATO members.

The upcoming NATO Prague summit offers an opportunity for launching a new era of NATO reform. Pursuing this important agenda will transform its organization and practices to prepare for the challenges ahead. The new threats make this transformation vital, for without change, NATO will erode into a relic of the past. ♦

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—have forced the alliance to transform, Sept. 11 and the conflict that has followed require NATO leaders to think boldly and creatively about how to keep the alliance relevant.

What steps should NATO take at Prague? First, alliance members should clearly state that dealing with international terrorism and weapons of mass destruction are the central concern of NATO member states. As part of this new focus, and consistent with the alliance's founding purpose, NATO should also prepare to work outside of the transatlantic area to protect its members and their security interests. As NATO Secretary General George Robertson has stated, NATO "must change once more to deal with the threats of a new century. Threats that cannot be measured in fleets of tanks, warships, or combat aircraft. Threats no longer mounted by governments. And threats that come with little or no warning."

Terrorism cannot be defeated by military means alone, but the military has a vital role. NATO allies can and should share intelligence information; develop civil defense and consequence management planning; and better coordinate various member state special forces, whose role in the anti-terrorism campaign will be critical.

Second, European NATO member states must commit to increasing their defense budgets and making smarter investments in order to improve their military capabilities for missions against the new threats. Today's European militaries, with 2.4 million active-duty troops and \$150 billion in defense spending, are still geared toward deterring an attack from the Soviet Union and lack the capacity to fight

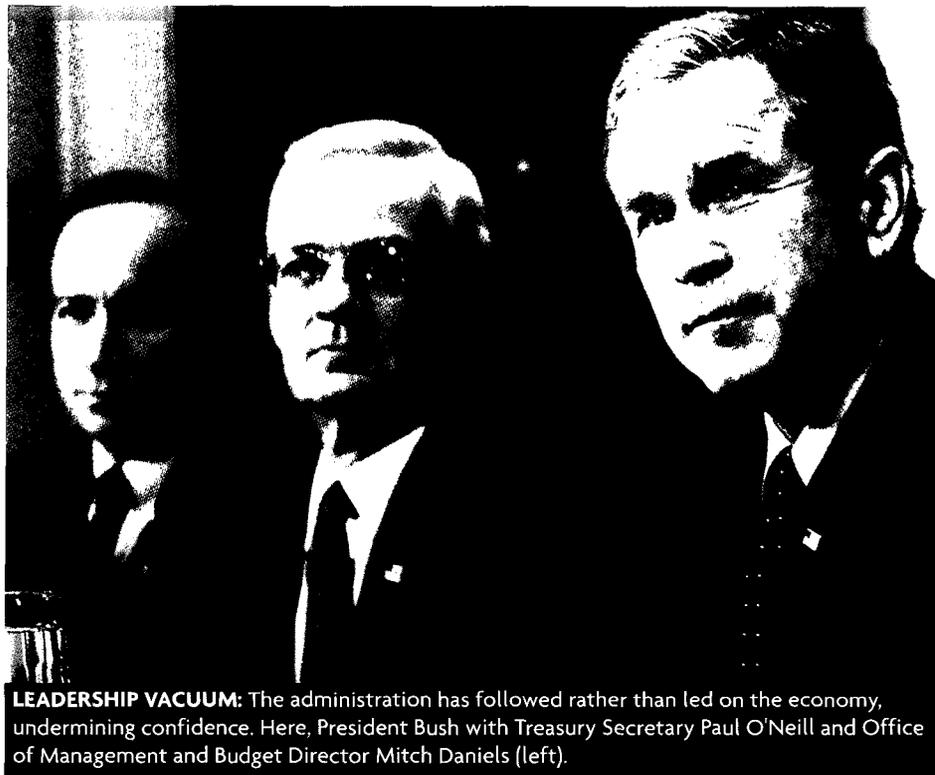
The buck stops where?

The Clinton administration shifted policies to strengthen the economy. The Bush administration seems interested only in shifting blame.

by **Gene Sperling**

Republicans have never been able to decide whether Bill Clinton's economic policies mattered or not. In 1993, they were sure that Clinton's policies would make a big difference—and we Democrats agreed with them. The difference, of course, was that we predicted his economic plan and deficit reduction efforts would lower long-term interest rates and strengthen investor confidence, while Republican leaders from Newt Gingrich to Dick Armey predicted the initiative would be a “job killer” and produce a recession.

When things got better and the economy was on the way to creating (not killing) 22 million jobs, Republicans had a sudden change of heart. While everyone from Alan Greenspan to Paul Volker to *Business Week* to Lehman Brothers was giving President Clinton's fiscal policies credit for reducing the deficit and strengthening the long-term investment climate, the Republicans did an about-face, claiming, in effect, that they had been wrong: Clinton's economic policies had no impact on the economy. Time after time, Republicans claimed that everyone else—including themselves and Ronald Reagan (or, as former Treasury Secretary Bob Rubin used to joke, Herbert Hoover)—had a decisive impact on the economy and the falling deficit, everyone except Bill Clinton. Indeed, a favorite Republican joke was to attribute all economic success to “Bill and Al”—and then, after a slight pause, explain, “Bill Gates and Al Greenspan.”



LEADERSHIP VACUUM: The administration has followed rather than led on the economy, undermining confidence. Here, President Bush with Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill and Office of Management and Budget Director Mitch Daniels (left).

Now that it turns out the economy was slowing at the end of 2000 and some corporate malfeasance began in the late 1990s, Republicans have again changed their minds. Never mind that President Clinton sought to limit tax deductibility on excessive CEO compensation, vetoed the Private Securities Litigation Reform Act because he felt it lacked protection for the little guy, and stuck by his SEC Chair Arthur Levitt as he sought to end the conflicts of interest between auditors and consultants. To hear Republicans tell it now, if a CFO was trying to treat leases as a capital expenditure, Bill Clinton must have been the proximate cause. Indeed, as the Associated Press reported in an Aug. 17 headline, the new Republican strategy is simply “Blame Clinton

for All Economic Woes.”

Well, on behalf of the Clinton economic team, let me say this: We'll take that deal. We will take the blame for whatever the Republicans say went wrong, as long as they are logical and acknowledge that President Clinton must also be responsible for the longest economic expansion, strongest fiscal situation, and greatest period of job growth in our history; a significant increase in productivity; and the lowest unemployment, inflation, and poverty in a generation.

Ultimately, this all-or-nothing approach to assigning blame and credit is not a useful way to judge presidential performance on the economy. More important is whether a president chooses policies that strengthen or weaken the economic

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