

Introduction: Winning the Wider War Against Terrorism

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Thank you.

I want to thank Dr. Horst Teltschik and his team for inviting me to speak and for their vision in making this Munich Conference such a relevant and valuable international security forum, year in and year out. The course of human events seems never to leave us without an agenda of pressing matters to discuss, and that is unfortunately true again this year.

Let me say here in Munich that the people of the United States are particularly grateful to the German people for the moral, material, and personal support they have provided since September 11th. Ambassador Dan Coats, my former colleague in the Senate, has spoken with us of the outpouring of emotion for America he has witnessed here. We also thank Ambassador Ischinger for establishing the German-American Solidarity Fund, which has sent a clear and poignant message that it was not only the American people but all free people who were attacked on September 11th.

I thank all of America's friends, new and old, who are represented in this room for your steadfast support and solidarity since September 11th.

In the middle of the last century Winston Churchill said of the Nazi threat, "We shall not escape our dangers by recoiling from them." What was true of Nazism and Fascism soon became true of Communism. The formation of NATO in 1949 was an act of tremendous vision and courage in the face of Communism's grave and growing threat to the sovereignty of our individual nations and the security of the wider world. Since then NATO's principled strength has not only protected the peace and freedom of the Trans-Atlantic community, but has built a world that is vastly more free, more democratic, and more prosperous. In fact, the number of democracies in the world has surged from 22 in 1950... to 40 in 1970... to an inspiring 120 today.

The Cold War ended with the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. The Post-Cold War world ended on September 11th, 2001. On that date we began a world war against terrorism which directly responds to the newest global challenge to the swift spread of freedom—extremist Islamic terrorism. In 1946, Churchill described the Communist domination of Eastern Europe as an Iron Curtain that had descended across Europe, from Stettin (Shtet-TEEN) in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic. Today, from the terrorist camps in the hills and valleys of Central Asia, to the sands of Somalia, Sudan and Saudi Arabia to cells in Singapore, Indonesia, the Philippines, and many other places including Europe and America, the fanatical forces of Jihad are trying to build a Theological Iron Curtain to divide the Muslim world from the rest of the globe.

But this is not, in my view, a war of Islam against the rest of the world. It is first a civil war within the Islamic world, between the militant and violent minority and the moderate and peaceful majority. We are all now caught in the crossfire of that bloody confrontation, and must therefore strengthen the moderate majority as we wage war against the fanatical

minority. If the wrong side should win this civil war, the new Iron Curtain that would fall would imprison behind it hundreds of millions of people just as the old Iron Curtain did.

Al Qaeda is our immediate enemy, but it is surely not our only target in the war against terrorism. The United States and our coalition partners must be firm and unequivocal in pursuing and preempting other terrorist groups that threaten to turn regional conflicts into global security crises. And we cannot claim victory in our war against terrorism until we decisively address the profound threat posed by Saddam Hussein and his weapons of mass destruction. As President Bush declared on Tuesday in his State of the Union address, "America will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons."

The new wall our Islamist antagonists would construct is built from bricks of poverty and repression and sealed with the mortar of religious fanaticism and hatred. So, we must match our military campaign to drain the swamp with an equally dedicated non-military campaign to seed the garden—to confront and combat the poverty and despotism in the Islamic world that fanatics exploit. That means aggressively encouraging Muslim nations to open their economies to a freer flow of goods and services... their cultures to a livelier flow of information... their societies to greater human rights... and their politics to the institutions on which civil society, and democratic governments, are based.

General George Marshall said it well after the Second World War when describing the plan to reconstruct and renew Western Europe: "Our policy is not directed against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos." So too our policy today should be directed not against any religion, but against the hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos that lead to fanaticism and terrorism.

The best way to fight those poisons is with their antidotes: freedom and opportunity—exactly the values NATO is based on. If we stand together as an Alliance and apply our moral, political, economic, and, when necessary, military might with patience and precision, we will not fail. That work was advanced greatly by the generous commitments made in Tokyo to support Afghanistan's reconstruction, but that is just the beginning of what we need to seed the garden. And that is why the presence of the United States and our NATO allies in the international peacekeeping force in Afghanistan is so critical. Only with the security we can create there will the stability be maintained that is the precondition of Afghanistan's recovery and rebirth.

Renewing NATO to Overcome the New Threats

Fifty-three years ago, our nations answered a grave threat to our security by forming NATO. Today, I believe we can meet the new global threat of terrorism if we reform NATO, and its sense of itself, in four ways.

First, the attacks of September 11th and the response thus far in Afghanistan should settle the question, with which America once again recently flirted, of whether unilateralism can be an adequate answer to the array of threats we all face in the world today. The answer is "no." The United States has carried the bulk of the military load in Afghanistan to date, but the ongoing cooperation of coalition partners has been critical and will continue to be so. One good way for our Administration in Washington to express its gratitude for the multilateral support we are receiving from our NATO and non-NATO allies would be for it to act more multilaterally in other important areas such as global climate change.

Second is NATO's proper role and reach. For years, physical defense of member nations' home soil, as defined under Article V, has been the core of our alliance. That changed with Bosnia and then Kosovo, as NATO applied necessary force just outside its immediate borders for the common good of stability in Europe.

The awful events of September 11th prompted another evolution, as NATO invoked Article V, responding to the attacks on American soil by supporting a war against an enemy half a world away from America. Technology has collapsed geographical distinctions to the point that today, a plot conceived in North Africa, South America or Southeast Asia can pose just as serious a threat to NATO members' security as an aggressive military movement by a nearby nation. NATO must accept this new reality and embrace a more expansive geographical understanding of its mission.

Third, we must close the growing gap in armed forces capabilities between the United States and our European NATO partners. The gap isn't just lingering. It is widening. Allowing it to persist threatens your security, puts a disproportionate burden on us, and creates an awkward imbalance in our alliance.

America's military is the best in the world for a simple reason: we spend a lot to train our forces and to buy the sophisticated weapons systems they employ in combat. It's time for all NATO nations to overcome internal political resistance and place an immediate priority on upgrading their capabilities. And together we should develop new mechanisms within NATO to assure more effective war fighting together.

Fourth, NATO membership should be opened to a large number of nations. If it is, NATO can become an even more potent protector of trans-Atlantic and global security from threats including terrorism, a better facilitator of regional conflict resolution, and a more influential incubator of democracy.

Any democratic European nation that meets NATO's criteria and is able to be a net contributor to the security of the whole should be admitted to the Alliance. I support welcoming into NATO at the Prague summit as many candidate nations as meet these criteria. Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovenia, Slovakia, Bulgaria, and Romania have made impressive progress in that direction.

Since September 11, NATO's members and Russia have grown closer than ever. We must now create new institutions that will engage us more consistently and beneficially with our great neighbor to the East.

Conclusion

It's fitting that the next NATO summit will take place in Prague, because it is in that city, and Budapest, that the brave advocates of democracy began their most potent and passionate resistance against the forces of Communism 30 years ago. A rising tide of successive and expanding waves of freedom has now brought us to this unprecedented moment in human history, where no force rivals democracy. We should celebrate the fact that the collective will of millions of individuals, expressed through their democratic governments, is the single greatest power in the world today.

That power cannot and will not yield to the terrorists' evil designs and deeds. That power can

and will empower and elevate the great majority of people in Islamic countries who want to join the new world, not wage Jihad against it.

The historian Edward Gibbon wrote that, "The greatest success of Mohammed's life was effected by sheer moral force without the stroke of a sword." So too will the greatest success of this long and noble struggle against terrorism we have begun with our allies in the Islamic world be effected by moral force. That is NATO's new mission. I have no doubt that together we can and will achieve it.

Thank you very much.