

commitment in Iraq, taking into account its much larger population, would require 526,000 U.S. and other troops through 2005, Dobbins says. [At last count, only 130,000 U.S. and 21,000 other troops (half of them British) were in Iraq.] Kosovo also had 4,600 international civil police officers; for the same protection per capita, Iraq would need 53,000. Foreign aid in Kosovo during the first two years of occupation amounted to \$814 per inhabitant, and in Bosnia, \$1,390. Those lev-

els of aid in Iraq would add up to \$20 billion and \$36 billion, respectively, through 2005. [The Bush administration recently called for \$21 billion in aid.]

To meet all of these needs, the United States will have to broaden international participation in the effort, conclude Dobbins and his RAND colleagues. Recent history suggests that nation-building is “the inescapable responsibility of the world’s only superpower,” they say, but even a superpower can’t do it alone.

Defending the Coasts

“The Unwatched Ships at Sea” by H. D. S. Greenway, in *World Policy Journal* (Summer 2003), New School Univ., 66 Fifth Ave., 9th fl., New York, N.Y. 10011.

Since 9/11, Americans have paid a lot of attention to airport security. But terror could as easily come by sea as by air, and it’s far harder to make America’s ports and 95,000 miles of coastline secure, observes Greenway, a *Boston Globe* columnist. “Every day, some five million tons of cargo—more than 95 percent of this country’s non-North American trade—comes in through 361 ports, and less than 2 percent of it is ever inspected.”

The task of guarding the ports and coastline, he notes, falls to the “hitherto undermanned, underfinanced, ill-equipped” U.S. Coast Guard, a force of 35,000 regulars and 8,000 reservists. Incorporated into the new Department of Homeland Security last March, the Coast Guard is scheduled to get a \$1 billion increase in its \$5 billion budget, and 5,000 more personnel.

Budgetary constraints aren’t its only problem. Some 211,000 commercial vessels car-



A \$1 billion budget increase will help the U.S. Coast Guard defend against maritime threats.

rying 5.8 million 40-foot containers entered American ports in 2000. To search a single container takes a five-inspector team three hours. “Even if it were possible to search them all at U.S. ports of entry,” Greenway says, “an overzealous approach could stop trade dead in its tracks and bring this country’s economy to ruin.”

Efforts are under way “to push this country’s borders overseas to the points of loading,” notes Greenway. Under the Container Security Initiative undertaken by the U.S. Customs Service last year, customs officials can be stationed in foreign ports to inspect U.S.-bound cargoes. The needed agreements with other countries are now being negotiated.

“Were foreign ports to be made responsible, with American help, for guaranteeing the safety of containers and for properly sealing them before they are loaded onto ships

bound for the United States, security would be enhanced and commerce would not be unduly slowed,” Greenway observes.

Most goods that reach the United States by sea (excluding petroleum products) pass through Hong Kong, Singapore, Hamburg, Antwerp, or Rotterdam. These “superports” are the key to establishing a common standard for security.

Foreign ships approaching U.S. ports now must inform the Coast Guard four days in advance of arrival, listing their cargoes and crew members; before 9/11, only 24 hours’ notice was required. “Eventually,” writes Greenway, “a system will be worked out where reliable shippers who follow proper procedures in cooperating foreign ports will be allowed into U.S. ports without hassle, just as airports are trying to organize security to allow frequent and trusted travelers through quickly and easily.”

EXCERPT

Europe’s Exceptionalism

Europe is not a second America. It is at once less and more than a nation: It is a community of nations. Europe is perhaps the first example in history of a non-dominant world power. It has a rich historical experience, economic force, and its own social model. It is achieving its unification, and it is starting to endow itself with a foreign policy and a shared security policy. It has its own way of envisioning international concerns—always friendly when it comes to the U.S., rarely antagonistic, but sometimes just different. You should not then think that Europe’s calling is simply to be a host of docile—and generous—nations, following in your wake.

Such as it is, Europe can bring to the world a unique experience and a nuanced approach to current realities. Europe is first of all a zone of peace and a pole of stability. This is a great historical change! Let us not forget that European rivalries provoked two world wars and fostered two totalitarian regimes. Americans should be glad, as we are, that we have rejected nationalism, imperialism, and the desire to dominate.

Today, Europe offers those nations at odds with each other an example of how to get past historical antagonisms and peacefully resolve conflicts. If France, Germany, and Great Britain—who have often been at war with each other—are now friends, then India, Pakistan, and China could become friends, too. If the two Germanies have been reunited, then why shouldn’t there be, one day, a single Korea? If the Balkans are progressively reaching a state of peace, then why shouldn’t Central Asia arrive at the same end? Why shouldn’t Israelis and Palestinians live one day peacefully side by side? With the condition, of course, that peace be set as the goal.

—Lionel Jospin, former prime minister of France, in *The Hedgehog Review* (Spring 2003)