

back up such words by both Palestinians and Israelis. An affirmative answer by Prime Minister Olmert to the questions raised above would signal a tangible seriousness about moving the peace process forward, and would show a determination and creativity that is so desperately needed. Similar action will also need to come from the Palestinian side so that both Israeli and Palestinians can move the peace process forward and not backward.

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#### DARFUR

Mrs. CLINTON. Mr. President, the crisis in Darfur demands a more robust response. In July 2004, more than 2 years ago, the United States Senate declared genocide in Darfur. As the crisis has continued, as the death toll has mounted, it was hard to believe that the situation on the ground could deteriorate further. Unfortunately, it has, and the realities today are even worse than they were in July 2004.

As many as 4 million civilians have been uprooted from their homes, and by some accounts 400,000 people have been killed. Countless women and young girls are being violently and sexually abused. Escalating violence is forcing the evacuation of many vital relief workers. These realities are well documented. We have United Nations, U.N., reports, State Department reports, reports from our colleagues who have traveled to the region, and countless other reports that tell us what has happened, what is happening, and who may be responsible.

In the face of this crisis, the response of many citizens, officials, relief workers, and journalists has been impressive and inspiring. Their courageous efforts are testimony to the great work that can be done by individuals who act on their moral duty to end atrocities.

The Senate also has taken important steps. We have provided funding to African Union peacekeepers and to humanitarian workers; we have urged NATO assistance; we have encouraged the establishment of a no-fly zone; we have supported sanctions against the perpetrators of violence; we have established Presidential accountability by requiring regular reports on Darfur; and we have demanded the appointment of a Presidential Envoy to Sudan. We must continue to shine a spotlight and to take action wherever possible.

But like many of my constituents, I am disturbed that the killings and rapes and violence continue. I fear that our efforts and those of many Americans are not being complemented by equal efforts from our President. I again urge the administration to be more proactive and to turn the tables on Khartoum.

Khartoum repeatedly has committed to disarm the Jingawit. In fact, the Government of Sudan committed to do so long ago, in the summer of 2004. To

date, this promise remains unfulfilled. And this Spring, Sudanese officials said that U.N. peacekeepers would be allowed into Darfur once a peace deal was agreed. This commitment has been broken also. These abandoned promises may not be surprising in light of Khartoum's long history of intransigence. What is astonishing is that Khartoum has faced few consequences for these massive failures, and worse, that Khartoum still is being allowed to dictate the terms of peacekeeping and humanitarian efforts in Darfur.

I implore the administration to learn from this grim history, and to get one step ahead of the leaders in Khartoum. We must prepare for all scenarios, not just those we seek.

Going forward, our agreements with Khartoum must include some "teeth" to incentivize compliance. We should remind Khartoum that we already have good records of the crimes committed in Darfur and of the suspected perpetrators. We also should pursue without delay all points of pressure that have been authorized by the U.N. Security Council. We must demonstrate to Khartoum that continued intransigence will be more painful than cooperation.

As we pursue these measures with Khartoum, we should remind rebel groups that they will be held accountable for violations of international law. In addition, we should work urgently with partners to stabilize eastern Chad and the Central African Republic.

I suspect that history will pass exacting judgment on all parties who have acted insufficiently to end the suffering in Darfur. But history is a long way off for the people of Darfur, and I will continue to work urgently with colleagues towards peace in Sudan and the region. I urge the President to work more proactively to end this unconscionable crisis.

#### TRIBUTE TO JASON LEE

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I rise today to recognize a member of my staff, Jason Christopher Lee, who has been recalled to active Federal service as a member of the United States Army Reserve and will deploy in support of Operation Iraqi Freedom.

Jason joined my staff in February 2005, where he has done a tremendous job serving Virginians out of my Norfolk office. In addition, Jason is attending college at Old Dominion University, where he is maintaining an excellent grade point average while studying communications.

I believe much of Jason's success is due to his distinguished service in the U.S. Army, where he has attained the rank of corporal and is responsible for leading fellow soldiers into battle. This is not the first time Jason has answered the call of duty in support of our country. He has previously served in both Kosovo and Iraq, where he earned the Army Commendation Medal and was recognized as an outstanding

soldier. Indeed, Jason was originally scheduled to be discharged from the Army prior to his Iraq tour, but he answered his country's call to arms and was deployed to some of the most dangerous locations in Iraq in 2003 and 2004. Following this period, Jason was honorably discharged from the Army and was placed in the inactive reserve.

Though generals and admirals may be the public face of this war, it is servicemembers, such as Jason, who fill the ranks of our formations, who carry out our Nation's policy on the deadly streets of Iraq, Afghanistan, and elsewhere. They do not complain about the hazardous conditions they face, but go on with the knowledge that this Nation relies on them to fulfill their duty under all conditions. We owe them all a tremendous debt of gratitude for their selfless service.

Jason, I salute your courage and your unending personal sacrifice on behalf of this country. I join your family and friends in wishing you a swift and safe return.

#### FAREWELL TO THE SENATE

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, as the time for my departure from the Senate draws near, on behalf of the greatest blessings in my life, my wife Susan, and my children, Tyler, Forrest, and Brooke, I wish to thank my colleagues for their many courtesies and friendships forged during these past 6 years, and offer a few concluding reflections on our time here together, and the future of our Republic.

Our foremost senior statesman in Virginia, one who served with particular distinction in this body—Harry Byrd Jr.—has observed that, with the exception of the Presidencies of Abraham Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt, no time in our Nation's history has been witness to more problems and challenges of great magnitude than these past 6 years.

When I arrived here in January 2001, America was at peace—or so we thought. And then on the bright, blue sky morning of September 11, the skies suddenly darkened with clouds of smoke from the Pentagon, and the horrific collapse of the World Trade Center Towers. And our world changed forever.

When I arrived in this body, accompanying a change of Presidential administrations, our challenges were mostly economic—or so we thought. Our prosperity was already slipping, but most forecasts were for a mild downturn in the economy. That changed on September 11 as well.

A cascade of other great challenges soon followed in rapid succession—issues foreign and domestic, challenges locally and nationally, threats man-made and disasters decreed by nature.

Through all of these unprecedented storms, it was our responsibility to make careful, prayerful decisions for the safety, security and prosperity of the people of our country.

I am particularly grateful to the people of the Commonwealth of Virginia for the opportunity to serve here—to give voice to their values and to fight for their future in this, the world's most distinguished body.

We all understand and respect the will of the people—the owners of the government—in our representative democracy that brings us here and that may, at some point, take us away.

Sometimes winds, political and otherwise, can blow the leaves off branches and break branches off trees. But a deep-rooted tree will stand and grow again in the next season.

And, if Providence accords it the right climate and nourishment, that tree will bear fruit for generations to come, and give life to other trees.

I have been honored, first as Governor and now as Senator, to be a part of important initiatives that have borne fruit for the people of Virginia and America.

As Governor, we worked across party lines to accomplish the honest change that Virginians had desired and deserved. We abolished the deceitful, lenient parole laws, brought truth to sentencing, brought violent criminals to justice, and reformed our juvenile justice laws.

Today, the crime rate is down, and thousands of good people are not victims of crime, have not lost loved ones, have not had their lives shattered, because we stood strong for truth and justice, and our reforms bore fruit.

We also brought high academic standards, accountability and new resources to Virginia's education system. We stopped skyrocketing college tuition rates.

Our education reform initiatives quickly became models for other States, and even for this body in enacting education reform legislation for the nation.

These reforms, too, are bearing fruit today. Virginia students are learning more and performing markedly better on both state and national tests. Our schools are no longer engaging in social promotion.

And with investments in higher education from the coalfields with Appalachian School of Law and School of Pharmacy, to the Institute in Danville, to southwest Virginia and Roanoke HEC's, to the Engineering School of VCU, to new leading-edge research at Virginia Tech, George Mason, Hampton and other universities we are equipping young men and women to succeed in the ever-more-competitive global marketplace.

And we replaced dependency with dignity by reforming Virginia's welfare laws. Now, 11 years later, our welfare rolls are still less than half of what they were when I became Governor. Not only has that saved the taxpayers of Virginia hundreds of millions of dollars—the far more important impact is seen in the eyes of children who watch with admiration and respect as their parents go off to productive, rewarding

jobs rather than sit at home, collecting a check.

Nothing was more rewarding for me as Governor than to help ignite Virginia's economic renaissance. We sent a message to the world that Virginia was "open for business"—we lowered taxes, reduced regulations, implemented prompt permitting, and recruited high-technology companies like IBM and Toshiba, Micron and Infineon—now Qimonda—Oracle's east coast campus, and secured billions of dollars in investment in semiconductor fabrication plants for world-class companies.

Before we recruited those companies 10 years ago, there were no computer memory chips manufactured in Virginia. Today, computer memory chips have replaced cigarettes as Virginia's No. 1 manufactured export. We're not just the "Old Dominion" anymore; now we're the "Silicon Dominion!"

When I came to the Senate, my goal was to use this perspective and experience to continue and build on this work. I wanted to bring to our national policies the same emphasis on education and innovation—the same emphasis on economic opportunity—the same emphasis on protecting the safety and security of law-abiding people—the same time-tested values—that had guided my governorship.

I have been able to do that, and I am grateful to many of you for working in partnership with me on so many issues that are vitally important for the lives and safety and prosperity of our citizens.

Our time together has been full of challenge. But despite the broken branches and shattered limbs and lives of 9/11, America has stood strong like a live oak. We have relied on our roots as a freedom-loving nation. Out of these stormy times has grown a new national sense of urgency, resolve and mission. And this new spirit is bearing fruit today, and will for many years to come.

Yes, the people of America have grown impatient with the pace of this progress. It is not easy during prolonged periods of national trial to sustain an attitude of optimism and a sense of purpose. Our foes know this about democracies, and they seek to exploit it. But they will not succeed.

We Americans, of so many faiths and so many backgrounds, share this spirit above all else: We believe in the positive impact that each of us can achieve during our time here on Earth. But our opponents have no such belief. They fear human freedom, and glorify the extinguishing of human life more than the fruitful living of it. They will not succeed in this great struggle because they are only destroyers, and the world belongs to those who create.

The God who gave us life, and who presides over the affairs of all nature and all nations, endowed mankind with a powerful spirit of creation, regeneration, and renewal.

The attackers of 9/11 thought they would kill our spirit, but they only re-

kindled it. And, despite one of the most unsettled and challenging times in our Nation's history, look at what we have to show for it.

Our economy is displaying unprecedented strength. Unemployment is the lowest it has been in decades. Home values are significantly higher than just a few years ago, and the stock market is at a record high level. The tax burden on our people is at a 20-year low, while Federal tax revenues are at all-time highs, and inflation is under control.

There has not been a single terrorist attack on American soil since 9/11, and numerous major plots have been foiled. The al-Qaida leadership has been decimated, and instead of meeting the enemy here at home, we have taken the fight to them in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iraq and in locales that will never be known. Even with the world at war against a lethal enemy of radical terrorist organizations, Americans are safer today than on 9/11.

We must respectfully work with other countries in intercepting finances, creatively collaborating in counterterrorism efforts to thwart and defeat terrorist activity throughout the world.

This war on terror has many fronts. And all of us are deeply concerned about the lack of progress of the war on the Iraqi front. Although our principles and strategic goals have not changed, mistakes have been made and progress has been too slow. We cannot continue to do the same things and expect different results; we must adapt our operations and change our tactics to meet the evolving terrorist threat. And the Iraqi people and their leaders must take control of their destiny.

Let us never forget, however, that our American troops are liberators who have freed a people from a brutal dictator and regime. In so doing, they and their families have made great sacrifices not only for the freedom of Iraqis, but for the security of Americans. They more than anyone understand the consequences of failure in Iraq are far too high. Leaving Iraq as a safe haven for terrorists to launch new attacks will put America in mortal danger. Our troops should come home as soon as possible, but they should come home in victory—not defeat.

This global war on terror is still a work in progress, and much of the work is difficult. But I will leave here in coming days with satisfaction that so many of the crucial steps we took to meet the challenges of the post-9/11 world have worked, and worked well.

The Patriot Act and other new and technologically sophisticated counterterrorism measures designed to protect our homeland are working, and working well.

Our courageous men and women in uniform, an All-Volunteer military that is the most powerful fighting force in the history of the world, is hard at work for us, and working well.

We have also worked well on the domestic front. And I take great personal

satisfaction from progress achieved on some major initiatives designed to make this a land of opportunity for all—measures that will help secure a future of expanding opportunity for our children by making America the world capital of innovation.

One area of focus for me has been preserving the Internet as a tax-free individualized opportunity zone. The Internet is the greatest invention since the Gutenberg Press for the dissemination of information and ideas, and one of America's greatest innovations for economic growth and jobs.

So far the Federal Government has taken the right approach when it comes to the Internet—by basically leaving it alone.

The American private sector is the best steward of the Internet. We just need to leave it alone and let it prosper as an engine for economic progress—and with your help, that is what we have done. But the need for action will return next year, and I hope you will extend internet tax freedom so that avaricious State and local tax commissars are blocked from imposing an average 18 percent tax on monthly Internet access bills.

We also made major progress in a realm few Americans understand, but one that will transform their lives—nanotechnology. Teaming up with my hard-working friend across the aisle, Senator WYDEN, we sponsored and you approved legislation launching the National Nanotechnology Initiative. This is the single largest federally funded, multiagency scientific research initiative since the space program in the 1960s, and the revolutionary technology it yields may well rival the space program in its impact on our society and economy.

You have heard me say many times on this floor that they key to innovation is education, and that we need to educate more scientists and engineers because they are the ones who will design and develop the ground-breaking and life-changing inventions, innovations, and intellectual property of the future.

But today America is not tapping its full potential in math, science, research and innovation. Only 15 percent of those graduating from our engineering schools today are women; only about 6 percent are African-Americans, and about 6 percent are Latinos. That is simply not enough, especially when we are competing with countries that have literally six or seven times our population.

That is why I have worked with senators in both parties, Senators ALEXANDER, ENSIGN, BINGAMAN, and others, as well as the independent-minded Senator LIEBERMAN—for the National Innovation and PACE Acts, which will invest in wide-ranging scientific education and research, induce capable students with scholarships, provide incentives for teachers and researchers, and take other steps to keep America on the leading edge of science and technology.

That is why I have been the lead Republican cosponsor of the Partnership Access to Laboratory Science Act with Senator MENENDEZ, which will provide science education and laboratory grants for students in rural and low-income schools.

And that is why I have led the charge for legislation to help remedy the opportunity divide at America's minority-serving institutions—the HBCUs, Hispanic-serving institutions, and tribal colleges. I am grateful for the Senate's support for this initiative and hope it will very soon become a reality.

All these initiatives I respectfully urge you all to pass and stay with them until they become law. For my part, I will continue to advocate for these incentives and this major national commitment to make sure that the U.S. is indeed the world capital of innovation.

Investing in education and innovation is vital for our global competitiveness, and so is achieving energy independence. In fact, not only is energy independence an economic necessity; it's also a national security imperative. Our dependence on Middle Eastern oil limits our foreign policy options for addressing terrorism, tyranny and related geopolitical issues.

We have made some important strides in accelerating the exploration and development of American energy supplies, including American oil, natural gas, clean coal and nuclear power. And we have made notable progress in hastening the research, development and deployment of economically viable alternative and renewable sources of energy. But here we must all agree that there is far more to be done.

The bottom line is we need more energy explored, produced, and grown in America, so that hundreds of billions of energy dollars stay in America and are reinvested in America's economy for American jobs, American competitiveness, and American national security, instead of having to worry about the whims of some dictator in the Middle East, or some other hostile part of the world.

There are so many ways that what we have done here during the last six years has made a positive impact on the opportunities facing citizens all across our country.

In Virginia, whether it is the major port expansion at Craney Island, or funding for the Advanced and Applied Polymer Processing Institute in Danville, or the effort to assure that new development opportunities at Fort Belvoir are matched by adequate transportation facilities whether it is educational research funding, or new resources for roads and mass transit, or grants to make our communities safer, or in hundreds of other ways we have been able to have a major, positive impact on people's lives all across the Commonwealth of Virginia.

We have also broken down barriers to opportunity. My very first speech on the Senate floor was on behalf of Roger Gregory's appointment as a federal

judge on the esteemed Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals that sits in Richmond.

Judge Gregory had been nominated at the end of President Clinton's term, but he did not get a vote, and to become a judge he had to be re-nominated by President Bush. So my first speech was to call on my Senate colleagues to rise above partisanship, rise above process, judge Roger Gregory as a person, and give him the fairness of a vote.

You did so, and as a result, Judge Gregory is serving with distinction on the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, the first African American to serve on that esteemed appellate court.

For the good of our country, the Judiciary, and this Senate, I urge you—regardless of the party in power here and at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue—to end the obstructionist practices that deny judicial nominees, or other nominees, the fairness of an up or down vote, and that deny the American people the accountability that the advice-and-consent process should afford.

Miguel Estrada was a victim of this unfair obstructionism, although a majority of Senators supported his confirmation. Let John Bolton be the last victim of these unfair, obstructionist practices.

Our Constitution provides a better way; let's follow it.

Finally, during these times of war, we are all keenly aware of the sacrifice made by the men and women serving in our Armed Forces and their families. Virginia is home to more people serving in uniform than all but a handful of states, and so when a loved one is lost, we feel the pain very directly, very personally. A grateful nation must support the families of those who have fallen in defense of our liberty. That is why I introduced a bill in the first hours of the first days of this 109th Session to increase the military death benefit from the paltry amount of \$12,420 to \$100,000. I thank you for passing it, and I thank the President for signing it.

At each step of the way, on this measure and so many others, I have never worked alone. Always at my side, as a partner—but even more as a gracious mentor, wise counsel, constant encourager, occasional correcter, and unwavering friend—has been our state's senior Senator, JOHN WARNER.

He has been the epitome of the Virginia gentleman, the model of an honest, hard-working Senator, and most of all, a true and loyal friend. I will leave here enriched immeasurably by this latest and best chapter in our partnership of several decades.

My friends and colleagues, as I prepare to take my leave, I am humbled and so grateful for the tremendous honor and privilege that has been accorded to me by the people of Virginia. I am also full of gratitude for the opportunity to serve with you and for the many courtesies you have extended to Susan and me along the way.

I leave with many new and enduring friendships, with some valuable lessons learned, with unrestrained optimism about the potential of America, about our nation's future, and with pride in our accomplishments together.

My friends, don't let these challenging times along our national journey divert your focus from what truly matters.

The tree of American liberty is as strong as ever. Our roots run deep to a wellspring of values as old as our Republic, indeed much older still.

Four hundred years after our Nation's beginning at Jamestown, we are still in the springtime of our life as a nation. Still planting seeds and bearing fruit. Still growing and creating. Still inspiring and innovating. Still providing light and hope for people around the world seeking to escape the chains of tyranny, and embrace the blessings of liberty.

Indeed, the sun is still rising on a bright American morning!

And if we will keep the faith, no matter the challenges or choices, generations to come will remember and think well of us, for this: We never gave up. We never backed down, and, we always stood strong for freedom.

#### REMARKS TO THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND CONFERENCE

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my remarks, delivered in a keynote address at the German Marshall Fund conference on Monday, November 27, in Riga, Latvia, in advance of the NATO Summit, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Thank you, Madam President [Dr. Vaira Vike-Freiberga, President of the Republic of Latvia]. I appreciate your thoughtful introduction and your generous hospitality. It is a pleasure to be back in Riga and to deliver the keynote address here at this important German Marshall Fund conference. This conference and the participants it has drawn are evidence of the deep respect the Fund merits throughout Europe and North America.

In 1991 NATO stood at a crossroads. With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact, the Alliance could have declared victory and disbanded. Instead, NATO chose to adapt to the new security environment and build on its legacy of being the most successful security and defense organization in history.

Since that time, we have welcomed ten new members into the Alliance and have begun a dramatic transformation of our military capabilities. We have also undertaken missions in the Balkans and Afghanistan that have extended the purpose of the Alliance beyond the territorial defense of its membership. However, while NATO is busier than ever, these activities do not guarantee that the Alliance will remain strong and relevant.

For nearly half a century, NATO was oriented toward defending against an attack from the East by Warsaw Pact forces. Today, NATO's posture is influenced by emerging threats such as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, rogue states, terrorism,

and genocide. The security threats of the 21st century require NATO members to deploy forces rapidly over long distances, sustain operations for extended periods of time, and operate jointly as trans-Atlantic partners with the United States in high intensity conflicts. To be fully relevant to the security and well being of the people of its member nations, NATO must think and act globally.

#### THE TEST OF AFGHANISTAN

This is evident in the NATO mission in Afghanistan. That country presents a difficult environment, but NATO must be resourceful, resilient, and ultimately successful. The September 11 attacks were planned in Afghanistan, al-Qaeda still operates there, and the fate of the country remains inexorably tied to the Alliance. NATO's International Security and Assistance Force (ISAF) is responsible for security operations throughout all of Afghanistan.

In recent months, Taliban attacks have occurred with greater frequency, coordination, and ferocity. They have extended well beyond the South and East, where most of the fighting has been located. Although the hunt for al-Qaeda terrorists continues, the primary threat to the stability of Afghanistan is Taliban insurgents who are challenging ISAF in greater numbers, sowing dissent among Afghans, cooperating with the burgeoning narcotics trade, and complicating security efforts in ways that inhibit the rule of law and reconstruction.

If the most prominent alliance in modern history were to fail in its first operation outside of Europe due to a lack of will by its members, the efficacy of NATO and the ability to take joint action against a terrorist threat would be called into question. Moreover, Afghanistan has a legitimately elected government and a long-suffering people, both of which deserve a chance to succeed without the threat of violent upheaval.

It is imperative that NATO fulfills its commitments to Afghanistan. The Alliance has found it difficult to generate the political will to meet NATO objectives. The reluctance in capitals to grant NATO requests for troops and resources have complicated this process. Despite months of intensive discussions, Supreme Allied Commander/Europe, General Jim Jones, disclosed in September that NATO was 2,500 troops short of the minimal commitment requested for ISAF. These troops did not materialize until General Jones and other NATO leaders publicly put Alliance nations on the spot for these shortfalls.

Afghanistan has become a test case for whether we can overcome the growing discrepancy between NATO's expanding missions and its lagging capabilities. NATO commanders must have the resources to provide security, and they must have the flexibility to use troops to meet Afghanistan's most critical security needs. Unfortunately, NATO capitals are making the military mission even more difficult by placing national caveats on the use of their forces. These restrictions, coupled with troop shortages, are making ISAF a less cohesive and capable force.

Similar problems are plaguing the NATO Response Force (NRF), which is slated to be NATO's expeditionary fighting unit. As is often the case, the lack of transport capabilities is a glaring deficiency. I am hopeful that the plan to establish a fleet of C-17s under the command and control of NATO succeeds. To overcome these challenges and similar ones, we must reverse the downward spiral of defense budgets. Only a handful of members spend more than 2 percent of their gross domestic product on defense. Good intentions can only carry a military force so far—the NRF and other NATO assets must have the

equipment, training, and resources to fulfill their mission.

I believe strongly that NATO is capable of meeting the challenge in Afghanistan. NATO commanders have demonstrated that they understand the complexity of the mission. They know that success in Afghanistan depends on the attitudes of the people, the progress of reconstruction, the development of the economy and the building of civil institutions that can deal with the narcotics trade, as much as it depends on battlefield victories.

Most Afghans have welcomed the advances in personal freedom, political participation, and educational opportunities that have come during the last five years. The recent increase in violence in Afghanistan clearly is not evidence of a popular uprising. But to the degree that there is discontent, disillusionment, or fear among the Afghan people due to their security situation, trust in the Afghan government and NATO will dissipate. Insecurity stemming from insurgent activity by Taliban forces has also caused Afghans in some regions to seek the protection of tribal leaders and warlords, which in turn undercuts the authority of the Afghan government and increases the risk of civil conflict between tribal factions. Given these dynamics, we must dispel any doubts about the commitment of NATO and the West to Afghanistan's emergence as a stable and free society.

#### THE CENTRALITY OF ENERGY

NATO's challenges continue to come in new formations. We have to understand not only the military configuration of threats before us, but also the likely basis for future conflict. The NATO alliance has been successful, not because it fought wars, but because it prevented them. If the NATO alliance is to be fully relevant to the security of its members, it must expand beyond the mission of military defense and begin to think about how to prevent the conditions that will lead to war.

In the coming decades, the most likely source of armed conflict in the European theater and the surrounding regions will be energy scarcity and manipulation. It would be irresponsible for NATO to decline involvement in energy security, when it is abundantly apparent that the jobs, health, and security of our modern economies and societies depend on the sufficiency and timely availability of diverse energy resources.

We all hope that the economics of supply and pricing surrounding energy transactions will be rational and transparent. We hope that nations with abundant oil and natural gas will reliably supply these resources in normal market transactions to those who need them. We hope that pipelines, sea lanes, and other means of transmission will be safe. We hope that energy cartels will not be formed to limit available supplies and manipulate markets. We hope that energy rich nations will not exclude or confiscate productive foreign energy investments in the name of nationalism. And we hope that vast energy wealth will not be a source of corruption within nations that desperately ask their governments to develop and deliver the benefits of this wealth broadly to society.

Unfortunately, our experiences provide little reason to be confident that market rationality will be the governing force behind energy policy and transactions. The majority of oil and natural gas supplies and reserves in the world are not controlled by efficient, privately owned companies. Geology and politics have created oil and natural gas superpowers that nearly monopolize the world's oil supply. According to PFC Energy, foreign governments control up to 79 percent of the world's oil reserves through their national oil companies. These governments set